



DISCOURSE OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATORY “FAMILY PLANNING” PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION AGAINST WOMEN: A STUDY OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE CONVERSATION INDONESIA

Hanifa Paramitha Siswanti¹

¹Universitas Padjajaran

Correspondence Email: hanifa21003@mail.unpad.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The Family Planning (KB) Program is a national-scale government program initiated in the 1970s. The aim is to reduce the birth rate and control population growth in Indonesia. The National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN) reported that the national KB program services in the past year had exceeded 120 percent – or exceeded the target. However, without realizing it, the practice of family planning programs turns out to be gender biased and discriminatory against women. The participation rate of women in contraception is 96.7%, while the participation rate of men is only 3.3%. This study aims to explore the discourse on the implementation of KB programs that are gender unequal and discriminatory against women in an article in *The Conversation Indonesia*. This research method uses the Critical Discourse Analysis framework of the Teun Van Dijk model at the level of text, social cognition, and social context. This study used a qualitative approach to analyze the dimensions of the text that consists of macrostructure (thematic), superstructure (thematic), and microstructure (semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical), the social cognition, and the social context in the article written by Robiatul Adawiyah entitled “Are We Aware That the Implementation of KB is Gender Unequal and Discriminatory against Women?”. The results of this study indicate that the article on the discourse on the implementation of the family planning program, which is gender unequal and discriminatory against women, fulfills the three elements emphasized in Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. Socially cognitively, this study also meets Van Dijk's Social Cognition Analysis Model/Scheme, which consists of Person Schemas, Self Schemas, Role Schemas, and Event Schemas.

Keywords: Gender equality; population growth; birth rate, family planning, critical discourse analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

The Family Planning (KB) Program is an Indonesian government program initiated in the 1970s. The aim is to reduce the birth rate and control population growth in Indonesia. Nowadays, family planning is not only an effort to reduce birth rates but is also related to the goal of fulfilling reproductive rights, as well as promotion, prevention, and management of reproductive and sexual health problems, as well as the health and welfare of mothers and babies. The government organizes family planning by encouraging people to use contraception to prevent or delay pregnancy. From year to year, the differences in the participation rates of women and men in contraceptive use are unequal (Adawiyah, 2022).

The disparity in participation between men and women in family planning programs is due to several factors. First, it is caused by the provision of contraceptives by the State, in this case, particularly for women, such as IUDs, injections, MOP pills, MOW, and implants, but for men, only vasectomy and condoms. Second, the family planning program has made women the program's target from the start, so there is an assumption that new people have family planning if they use the spiral/IUD. It is impressive that the family planning program is likely to be carried out by women or is more suitable than men. Third, within the family, women also have little opportunity to make decisions in family planning because families/societies with a male patriarchal system rule in the community and in the family (Astuti, 1994).

Reproductive health rights are human rights that should be obtained by the community, especially family planning (KB) acceptors through quality family planning services, which are a government program. Quality services, including medical quality, means offering contraceptive methods that match the services available, supported by appropriate counseling and technically competent providers. Services must also accommodate women's expectations that require interpersonal relationships so that women's views and opinions can be known (POGI, 2003).

Some health workers do not provide counseling and provide information which causes a lack of client knowledge in choosing the type of family planning. The community tolerates family planning services even though family planning services do not fully meet the quality service requirements. The community's knowledge and understanding of reproductive rights, especially

family planning, is not good due to a lack of information and counseling, so clients tolerate these services (Handayani, 2012)

However, the State, which men represent, is the issue's source, not women's. Women are confined to staying at home and lack access to the political and economic spheres. Women are always economically dependent on men, which makes it simple for them to be forced into sterilization for family planning. It is implied by a social construction of a society that falls under the purview of a patriarchal culture that males should not engage in family planning because there is a worry that they would be utilized for having an affair if they do so (Adawiyah, 2019).

The perception of society is linked to the notion that males will be free to engage in extramarital affairs since they must always be outside the home. Women work in the domestic sphere so that the community considers it appropriate to carry out or participate in the Family Planning (KB) program. The imbalance in the roles and division of labor between women and men by society causes inequality and violence against women.

The difference in social status between men and women in a society where women's position is lower has made women vulnerable to violence, including regarding reproductive organs, the use of which is everyone's basic right. On the other hand, patriarchal religion and culture also encourage women's participation in family planning programs (Adawiyah, 2019).

The State supervises, disciplines, and controls the behavior of both individuals and groups. Sexuality is not only seen as a biological representation but also as a medical phenomenon with the use of modern technology to realize new phenomena in increasing population (Foucault, 1978). The Family Planning Program evolved into a widespread initiative with women in charge. Statistics show that women execute family planning at a rate of over 90%. The ambitions of the government to lower Indonesia's extremely high population depend on women. Behind the successfully established family planning program, the State abuses women physically, psychologically, economically, and politically (Sukeni, 2009).

In Indonesia, family planning is implemented, and the State uses the bodies of women as a tool to regulate sexuality, particularly female sexuality. Female sexuality is viewed as an inevitable cultural trait and a common-sense cause of overpopulation. Because women are thought of as a group who experience pregnancy, giving birth is also seen to be accountable for their ability to

reproduce. Instead of focusing on marital sexuality, reproductive function is emphasized from the perspective of feminine sexuality (Adawiyah, 2019).

The State uses its power to implement family planning programs for women. In addition to state power, the implementation of family planning programs is supported by a patriarchal culture. Patriarchal culture, besides the presence of women in the domestic/private sphere, also supports the coercion of using family planning programs on women.

2) METHODS

This study uses Teun Van Dijk's model's analytical framework at the text, social cognition, and social context level with Teun Van Dijk's speech analysis model. This research also uses a qualitative approach concerning meaning and interpretation (hermeneutics). This method is typical of the human sciences. The point is that the study of this research makes researchers directly related and establishes a dialectical relationship with their research studies. According to Atwar (2017: 40), the subjective approach in qualitative research has assumptions about scientific truth or reality as normalism, anti-positivism, voluntarism, and ideography.

Moleong (2016: 6) states that qualitative research is research that intends to interpret the phenomena experienced by research subjects, such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, actions, etc., holistically and employing descriptions in the form of words and language in a particular natural context and by utilizing various natural methods. This study aims to discover how the discourse on the implementation of family planning programs is gender imbalanced and discriminatory against women in articles written by Robiatul Adawiyah posted in *The Conversation Indonesia*.

The data collection employed text analysis and literature study. Critical discourse analysis of Van Dijk's model is known as the "social cognition" model. This analytical model is not only based on text analysis alone but also on the process of producing this discourse called social cognition. Dijk tries to connect the discourse with its social context. In this case, the social context seems like a large element of social structure (macrostructure) and discourse elements such as language style, sentences, and others (microstructure).

Discourse, according to Van Dijk has three dimensions, namely in the text (microstructure). Van Dijk tries to research and interpret how the structure of the text and discourse strategies

linguistically (sentence forms, word choices, metaphors used); at the level of social cognition, this paper study how the process of news text production involves individual cognition of journalists/writers; at the level of the social context (macrostructure) studying the construction of discourse that develops in society about a problem. The superstructure is a discourse structure related to the framework of a text consisting of schematics. The microstructure is a small part of a discourse consisting of semantics, syntax, and rhetoric.

Discourse analysis aims to reveal the politics hidden in or behind socially dominant discourses, such as systems of belief, religion, regulations, and interpretations or people's views of the world. Through critical discourse analysis, the researcher seeks to reveal the political motivation behind arguments for or against a method, knowledge of values, and teachings. Critical discourse analysis also has an agenda to correct biases due to politicization and include minorities who are usually excluded or excluded by discourse (Darma, 2004).

Discourse analysis is a study that examines or analyzes the language used naturally, both in written and spoken form, towards users as an element of society. The study of discourse can be carried out structurally by connecting text and context, and looking at a discourse functionally by analyzing the actions taken by someone for a specific purpose to give meaning to the participants involved. The data used in discourse analysis focuses on discursive construction, including written text in the form of a variety of written and spoken text in the form of a variety of utterances (Nurhadi, 2017). Van Dijk created a bridge that connected the large elements of social structure with the micro elements of discourse with a dimension called social cognition. Social cognition has two meanings. On the one hand, he shows how the process of the text being produced by journalists/media and on the other hand describes the values of society that spread and are absorbed by journalists' cognition and are finally used to make news texts. According to Van Dijk, research on discourse is not enough to be based solely on text analysis, because text is only the result of a production practice that must also be observed (Eriyanto, 2001).

3) RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Conversation Indonesia

The Conversation is an independent news and analysis from academia, and the research community channeled directly to the public. The editing team collaborates with professionals to

make their knowledge accessible to as many people as possible. Democracy's foundational element is the availability of independent, excellent, trustworthy, and enlightening journalism. The Conversation Indonesia aspires to improve the caliber of public discourse by increasing public awareness of significant and complicated issues.

To aid in restoring public confidence in journalism, the media introduces additional monitoring procedures and instruments. Their Editorial Charter applies to all authors and editors. Additionally, all contributors are required to abide by their Community Standards Policy. Only writers who have disclosed their areas of expertise alongside their articles are permitted to write for The Conversation Indonesia. Disclosure of author funding and possible conflicts of interest is required. Failure to comply with this could result in restricting writing for media websites. The Conversation Indonesia supports unrestricted access to information and the free exchange of ideas. The Conversation is an open source that allows for free sharing and republishing under the Creative Commons license and is always free to read. Readers just need to follow their simple guide. The Conversation Indonesia has also become a useful resource for the media: providing free content, ideas and sources for radio, television, web, and print media.

The Conversation was born in Melbourne (Victoria, Australia). Its innovative technology platform and technology development team are based on campus in Carlton, Melbourne. The Indonesian edition of The Conversation, launched as a 'pilot', is headquartered in Jakarta. Their team is part of an international network of editors who host Australian, UK, US, African, French, Canadian, Spanish, and global editions. The Open Society Foundation funded the 'pilot' of The Conversation Indonesia and for the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (AIPI) to host The Conversation Indonesia in Jakarta.

Text Structure Analysis

Macrostructure Analysis (Thematic)

The macrostructure of the article illustrates that the theme raised is the implementation of gender-biased family planning programs. This theme can be seen from the subtitles with the headings "Targeting Contraception Only Focuses on Women" and "Women Don't Get a Choice, Their Bodies Are Controlled by the State". In addition, the title of the interview article also contains a value that questions awareness about inequality by using the headline "Are We Aware That the

Implementation of Family Planning Is Gender Imbalanced and Discriminatory Against Women?” The title's purpose is to provide a quick summary of the writing's overall contents. The title of the article also grabs the reader's attention, describes the content, prompts reading, condenses the contents of the piece, summarizes the writing, facilitates searching, and describes the news story's subject (Sugianto, 2014).

Superstructural/Schematic Analysis

Two major types of schemes—Summary and Story—were looked at in the schematic in the article "Are We Aware That the Implementation of Family Planning Is Gender Imbalanced and Discriminatory Against Women?" in *The Conversation Indonesia*. A title and leads are used to identify the summary. Both of them point to the discourse's central idea. Editorial headlines were chosen using interrogative clauses that questioned whether the general public was aware that the implementation of the family planning program had been unfair to women and based on gender. Also, in this article, statistics from the BKKBN regarding family planning program services that went beyond the 120 percent objective is shown in the lead or opening piece.

“The National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN) has just reported that national Family Planning (KB) program services in the past one year have exceeded 120 percent - or exceeded the target. Data compiled by the BKKBN until Saturday, June 18 2022, shows that the number of acceptors (users of family planning services or contraceptives) is 1,325,813 people. This is higher than the BKKBN target of only 1,146,000 acceptors.”

Story is the content of the writing as a whole. The article entitled “Are We Aware That the Implementation of Family Planning is Gender Law and Discriminatory against Women?” in *The Conversation Indonesia* is an opinion based on valid data regarding inequality in the number of contraceptive acceptors in Indonesia because women dominate it.

“Family planning campaigns anywhere rarely emphasize and prioritize the use of condoms for men. In fact, condoms are often associated with prostitution. From this alone, it can be seen how the success of the national family planning program shows gender inequality. In fact, women suffer from many side effects as a result of using contraceptives on their bodies. This includes weight gain they don't want because contraception affects the hormones in their body.”

Micro Analysis

The microstructure consists of four aspects: semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. According to Sobur (2009), Semantics in discourse analysis is categorized as local meaning, namely the meaning that emerges from the relationships between sentences, the relationships between propositions that build certain meanings in a text building (p. 78). Semantic elements include background, detail, intent, presupposition, and nominalization.

The syntax analyzes how the forms and structures of sentences are selected and used. Syntax in van Dijk's discourse analysis consists of sentence form, coherence, and pronouns. Sobur (2009) revealed that strategies for presenting oneself positively and opposing oneself negatively can be done by using syntax such as the use of pronouns, grammar rules, the use of specific syntactic categories, the use of active or passive sentences, the placement of clauses, the use of sentences complex, and so on (p. 80). Based on this opinion, how can the application of sentence form or structure closely related to syntax be used as a manipulative strategy or influences the reader or listener.

Next is the stylistic or diction used in the text. Stylistics is closely related to language style and consists of the lexicon. Eriyanto (2011) revealed that the lexicon element indicates how a person selects words for the various possible words available. The last is rhetorical which is closely related to how or in what way the emphasis on a particular text is done. According to Sobur (2009), strategy at the rhetorical level here is the style expressed when someone speaks or writes (p. 83). The rhetorical elements consist of graphics, metaphors, and expressions.

The semantics in the article entitled “Are We Aware That the Implementation of Family Planning is Gender Law and Discriminatory against Women?” in *The Conversation Indonesia* were obtained based on observations of setting, details, presuppositions, and nominalization. The background is an element of knowing the purpose to be conveyed.

The background element in this article illustrates that the differences in participation rates of women and men in contraceptive use are unequal. The results of the 2018 BKKBN survey show that the female participation rate in contraceptive use is 96.7%. This is much higher than the male participation of only 3.3%. This inequality is largely due to the provision of contraceptives by the State which are more aimed at women, such as intrauterine devices (IUDs) or spirals, injections,

pills, implants, and tubectomy (female sterilization). Meanwhile, for men, the only options available are vasectomy (male sterilization) and the use of condoms during sexual intercourse.

The detail elements relate to the information controls displayed. This article relates why so far the main targets of family planning programs have been mostly women. Robiatul concluded that current family planning practices in Indonesia show gender inequality and a thick patriarchal culture. The element of intent or rationality is the truth that lays the foundations of predetermined desires, attitudes and beliefs. This ideology appears in the notion that reproductive health is only a woman's issue, because women can give offspring (reproduce). Apart from that, many people still think that domestic roles, such as caring for, caring for, and educating children, are "natural" for women.

The presupposition element is an effort to support an opinion by providing premises that are believed to be true. The presupposition argument comes from the author. Women seem unable to control their bodies and bodies. The State carries out control of women's bodies through political intervention in family planning programs, plus control by men, such as husbands. In fact, every woman has the right to reproductive rights. Various legal regulations guarantee this, including the General Declaration of Human Rights (HAM), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, and Law Number 10 of 1992 concerning Population Development and Prosperous Family Development. Reproductive rights include the right to freely and responsibly determine the number of children, the interval and when to give birth, the right to obtain information and standard facilities for sexual and reproductive health, and the right to make decisions regarding reproduction without discrimination and pressure. Family planning programs in Indonesia are often only the responsibility of women, supported by the decisions of men as husbands. In fact, it is often the husband who decides which method of contraception the wife should use, while the option of using a condom is rarely a priority.

The nominalization element is related to changing the verb (verb) into a noun (object) which is generally done by adding the affix "pe-an". This can be seen from several words written by Robiatul such as: *“pelayanan”*, *“pertumbuhan”*, *“penurunan”*, *“pemenuhan”*, *“pencegahan”*, *“penanganan”*, *“penargetan”*, *“perbedaan”*, *“penggunaan”*, *“Penyediaan”*, *“pelacuran”*, *“penambahan”*, *“pengendalian”*, *“perkembangan”*, *“perawatan”*, *“pengasuhan”*, *“pendidikan”*, *“penerapan”*.

The syntax in the article entitled “Are We Aware That the Implementation of Family Planning Is Gender Imbalanced and Discriminatory Against Women?” in *The Conversation Indonesia* is seen based on coherence, sentence form, and pronouns. In terms of coherence, the researcher finds that the writer uses sentences that contain cause-and-effect relationships. The sentence form often used is a declarative sentence, indicating that the communicator is trying to strengthen the message. The pronoun that is often used in this interview is the first plural pronoun, “We.”

The stylistics or style of language used in the article entitled “Are We Aware That the Implementation of Family Planning Is Gender Imbalanced and Discriminatory Against Women?” in *The Conversation Indonesia* is a straightforward and explanatory style.

“These reproductive rights include the right to freely and responsibly determine the number of children, the interval and when to give birth, the right to obtain information and standard facilities for sexual and reproductive health, and the right to make decisions regarding reproduction without discrimination and pressure. Family planning programs in Indonesia are often only the responsibility of women, supported by the decisions of men as husbands. In fact, it is often the husband who decides which method of contraception the wife should use, while the option of using a condom is rarely a priority. In the end, women lose the authority to regulate their bodies and manage and control their reproductive aspects. The one who understands the condition and health of a woman's body is the woman herself.”

In terms of rhetorical research in this article, researchers did not find graphic elements, expressions, and metaphors because the writing was made based on the author's opinion regarding inequality and discrimination in the implementation of family planning programs in Indonesia.

Social Cognition Analysis of the Writer

To find out individual social cognition, researchers used a literature study to find out the profile of Robiatul Adawiyah to be analyzed using Van Dijk's social cognition analysis scheme. Van Dijk's Social Cognition Analysis Scheme/Model consists of Person Schemas. This scheme describes how a person expresses and views other people; Self Schemas, it relates to how oneself is seen, understood and described by someone; Role Schemas, it relates to how a person perceives and describes the role and position of a person in society; Event Schemas, these schemes relate to events that are interpreted and interpreted (Eriyanto, 2001).

Person-schema explains how someone describes another person. Robiatul described the participation of women using family planning nationally, which was also caused by certain ideologies

that influenced the perspectives of the parties involved. The difference in social status between men and women in a society where women's position is lower makes women vulnerable to violence, including regarding reproductive organs, the use of which is everyone's basic right. On the other hand, patriarchal religion and culture also encourage women's participation in family planning programs.

Self-schemas explain how a person describes himself. The researcher concludes that Robiatul Adawiyah is an Islamic education lecturer who pays attention to the issue of gender equality through the perspective of sociology and Islam. In the role scheme (Role Schemas) explains how a person describes his role and position in society. As an academic, he expresses his thoughts academically through scientific publications indexed by Google Scholar with the title "Violence in the Implementation of Family Planning (KB) Against Women in an Islamic Perspective."

Event schemas relate to events being interpreted and interpreted. In this case, Robiatul interprets it through a data set by the BKKBN until Saturday, June 18, 2022, showing that the number of acceptors (users of family planning services or contraceptive devices) was 1,325,813 people. This is higher than the BKKBN target of only 1,146,000 acceptors and the 2018 BKKBN survey results show that the female participation rate in contraceptive use is 96.7%. This is much higher than the male participation of only 3.3%.

Social Context Analysis of The Writer

The Conversation is an independent source of news and analysis from academia and the research community channeled directly to the public. Through The Conversation Indonesia, as a sociologist and academic, Robiatul highlights the large number of women using family planning nationally, which is also caused by certain ideologies that influence the perspectives of the parties involved. The difference in social status between men and women in a society where women's position is lower makes women vulnerable to violence, including regarding reproductive organs, the use of which is everyone's basic right. On the other hand, patriarchal religion and culture also encourage women's participation in family planning programs.

According to her, the implementation of the family planning program under the authority of the BKKBN during the New Order government put forward a qualitative approach, namely reaching as many family planning acceptors as possible without ever thinking about the quality of

family planning services, the impact of contraceptive use on reproductive health, the majority of acceptors were women. The implementation of the family planning program during the New Order period, when it was observed together that the implementation of the family planning program tended to harm women.

In policies and in the implementation of family planning programs during the New Order era, the gender approach was not adequately integrated. This is reflected in the practices and methods of ‘coercion’ in family planning, and the targets are only aimed at poor women. Women lose and do not have the autonomy to regulate their bodies, manage and control their reproductive aspects, even though women themselves understand the condition and health of women's bodies. Women are not given the opportunity to choose suitable and appropriate contraception which consequently has a negative impact on their reproductive health. Meanwhile, information about the side effects of using contraceptives and adequate family planning service centers is very limited.

Robiatul sees that women are localized in the private/domestic sector, so countries with a patriarchal culture use women’s bodies to reduce birth rates. In implementing family planning in Indonesia, women's bodies are an object of the State in controlling sexuality, especially female sexuality. Female sexuality is considered a common-sense cause of excess population and an unavoidable cultural phenomenon. This is conceptualized because women are considered as a group that experiences pregnancy, giving birth is also considered responsible for their reproductive function. Reproductive function is highlighted from the point of view of feminine sexuality and not as conjugal sexuality.

Robiatul considers that the power or domination possessed by the State, the husband in the implementation of the Family Planning Program for Indonesian women has been accepted by women as the party that is dominated because the values and norms and culture of society force women to accept. The condition of women being subordinated from all aspects of life facilitates domination. It happened. There is a social construction that health is a woman's issue, because those who are able to give offspring (reproduction) and give birth are women too, the extension of reproduction such as educating, caring for children and other domestic roles seems to be the nature of women.

The State or men as the dominant group is a strong group that holds an important role. This group owns and has certain facilities or resources that women do not own. Ideology that is embodied in values and rules that are deliberately formed to reduce contradictions between existing systems. In the family planning program for women, the dominant gender ideology forces women to use family planning. Social construction considers women weak, thus providing opportunities for the State to play an important role in directing and controlling the form of debate over the implementation of family planning programs. The State represents the interests of capital (a social class dominated by men) and the family as a small-scale instrument but the main one in shaping and influencing values through the process and socialization of the family environment.

4) CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Robiatul Adawiyah wrote the article in the media of *The Conversation Indonesia* entitled “Are We Aware That the Implementation of Family Planning Is Gender Imbalanced and Discriminatory Against Women?” regarding media and gender fulfills the three elements emphasized in Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. The macrostructure of the article results illustrates that the theme raised is the implementation of gender-biased family planning programs. The article also fulfills the microstructure consisting of four aspects: semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. Socially cognitively, individual interviewers also meet the Van Dijk Social Cognition Analysis Scheme/Model, which consists of Person Schemas, Self Schemas, Role Schemas, and Event Schemas.

The social context level of the writer shows that as a sociologist and academic, the writer tries to highlight the large participation of women using family planning nationally which is also caused by certain ideologies that influence the perspectives of the parties involved. The difference in social status between men and women in a society where women's position is lower makes women vulnerable to violence, including regarding reproductive organs, the use of which is everyone's basic right. Female sexuality is considered a common-sense cause of excess population and is an unavoidable cultural phenomenon.

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