

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. The Hegemony of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

1. The hegemony concept includes relation each leadership, dominance, strength, and approval.

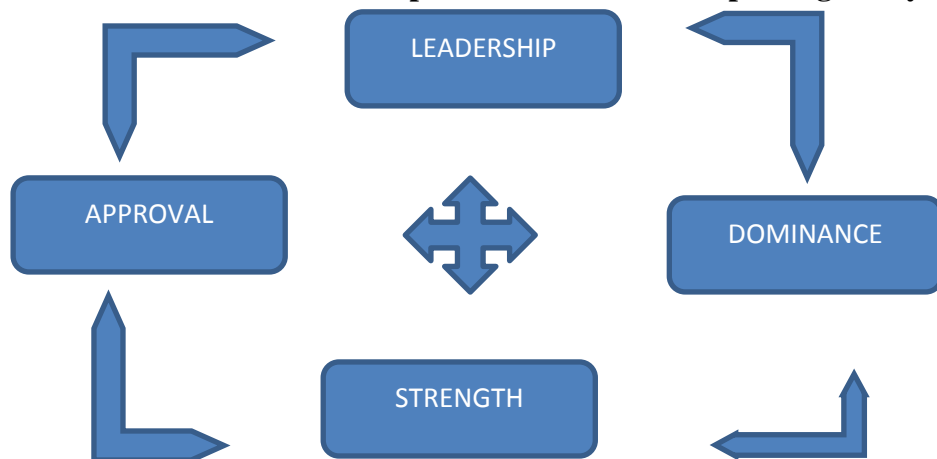
Every country has a governance system that must be adhered to and lived by every citizen. In this case, the community only accepts the system that is needed and does not have full authority over the system of government whose land has been approved by invitation.

This tendency occurs because the government seems to be operated on the outside of human consciousness. In the end, the new community feels its existence when it collides with power that can affect everyday life (Patria & Arief, 2015, p. 23), which in political discourse, it is called as the reality of government power.

From time to time, the ancient Greek thoughts such as those from Plato and Aristotle who thought that administrative funds is needed to educate rational moral values of the people needs to be reviewed further. In the Middle Ages, the Church was the representative of God and the government was a representative of the Church to uphold moral life in the world. Then in the Renaissance era, there was a process of secularization that replaced the government of the Church such as those ideas of Thomas Hobbes, Locke, and

Rousseau trying to criticize and to offer a system of governance of *liberalism* that could guarantee human autonomy from control beyond what was desired (Patria & Arief, 2015, p. 24). The focus of this attention is to solve how power in advanced industrial countries can maintain its circle of power while at the same time giving legitimacy to the power of the political elite. Hegemony is always closely related to the preparation of government power as a dictator or authoritarian class.

Table 1.2 Relationship to Each of The Concepts Hegemony



The table has relations with each other even though it has its own points. The leader who dominates with strength and approval or otherwise agrees with the dominant groups produces a strong leader. This concept can be called interrelated between each of the points and not separate. Next is an explanation of the hegemony of the men of Antoni Gramsci, which was realized in the Special Region of Yogyakarta and the concepts put forward by each point.

The model of the Sultan's leadership in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta is a leader who is cultured by culture based on the theory of power of the Java religion. Anderson (1990) made some comparison about the conception of traditional Javanese power and modern conceptions using various criteria. *First*, in traditional conception, the strength exists and manifests in the universe as it is held by divine energy. *Second*, the energy that sustains power comes from the Divine, making all sources of power homogeneous. *Third*, this view believes that its strength is constant because it radiates from the Divine. Thus, power is a game where increasing power for one person or group means reducing power from another. *Fourth*, the problem of legitimacy does not arise, such as the origin of divine energy. Compared to modern conception, this perspective provides the root of a different understanding of power because it depends on the beliefs of those people whose authority is a representation of the Divine (1990, pp. 21-23). Leadership according to Weber comes from a charismatic, legal formal leader with, legitimacy of culture/tradition that creates compliance from the community (Weber, 1978). In the system of inheritance of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, traditional legitimacy is the most important thing. In the building process of the people's trust in the authorities with extraordinary capacity, legitimacy is based

primarily on the charisma that makes hegemonic society which voluntarily/loyally submits to it.

The leaders who believe in culture and charismatics are easily determined in society because they demand the common norms and values that exist in the community and influence them. The Sultan is a leader who has a morality. There are also some views about the Sultanate of the Yogyakarta and the Sultan.

“...kesultanan yogyakarta niku sakral....mboten saget di logika kaleh akal sehat...”¹

"...the sultanate of Yogyakarta is sacred...cannot be [fully] comprehend by using the logic and common sense..."

“...kesultanan yogyakarta memiliki kekuatan yang tidak dapat di jelaskan dengan logika.....Sultan itu sendiri memiliki sesuatu aura yang memancar....yang karisma...”²

"...the Sultanate of Yogyakarta has a power that cannot be explained by logic...The Sultan himself has radiating aura... that is charisma..."

“...kekuatan sihir yang membuat masyarakat membuatnya sebagai panutan...kekuatan dari Allah untuk melindungi masyarakat...”³

"...the magic power that makes the people consider his as a leader...the power from the God to protect the society ..."

Those views explain why the community is dominated by the Sultan's leadership model in the charismatic Sultanate of Yogyakarta

¹ Majik, wawancara dengan masyarakat biasa, 27 Januari 2019

² Budi, selaku masyarakat biasa yang bekerja sebagai pengacara dan mengerti hukum , 8 Januari 2019

³ Birun, Wawancara dengan tokoh petani kelompok tani wilayah kabupaten sleman, 11 Desember 2018.

and by the legitimacy of culture. The concept of leadership hegemony and dominance has been carried out by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta since the Netherlands, Britain, and Japan were in Indonesia before.

“...saya selaku masyarakat biasa tidak begitu mengetahui sistem hegemoni yang sesungguhnya, akan tetapi yang saya alami dan rasakan sejauh ini sistem kerajaan jauh lebih nyaman apabila dibandingkan dengan system pemerintahan demokrasi”⁴

"... I as an ordinary citizen do not really know the real hegemony system, but what I have experienced and felt so far is that the monarchy system is more comfortable compared to the democratic governance system"

“...pada kenyataannya masarakat hanya menganut dan mengikuti sabda raja yang selama ini dipandang sebuah bentuk kepemimpinan yang jauh lebih nyaman tanpa memiliki tekanan politik yang kuat apabila dibandingkan dengan system demokrasi”⁵

"...in fact, the community only adheres to and follows the king's word which has been seen as a form of leadership that is far more comfortable without having strong political pressure compared to the democratic system"

“...kita selaku masyarakat mengikuti sebagaimana yang disabdakan raja, sebagai bentuk pengabdian kepada raja, dan kita meyakini hal tersebut merupakan yang terbaik untuk kelangsungan hidup masyarakat”⁶

"...we as a society follow what is said by the king, as a form of obedience to the king, and we believe that it is the best for the survival of the society"

⁴ Paidi, Wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan Keluarga Keraton, 14 Desember 2018.

⁵ Maman Handaka, Wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan trak keluarga kraton Yogyakarta, 16 Desember 2018.

⁶ Birun, Wawancara dengan tokoh petani kelompok tani wilayah kabupaten sleman, 11 Desember 2018.

Viewed from outside, the public and the ordinary people in the monarchy system is full of restraints and the system itself looks authoritarian, but in reality, it is not so, even as said above the people themselves feel peace and comfort. This is certainly the influence of the figure of the king's leadership in protecting the people.

There is a far-reaching difference between the monarchical and the democratic system of government, both in terms of the leadership system and the prevailing cultural values. At the end what was done by the Yogyakarta Kraton itself is aimed for the satisfaction and tranquility of the people's lives. It can be said that the system still managed to hold the value of from the people, by the people, and for the people, meanwhile the king as the policyholder is not separated from the rules or the royal system that has been valid from before until now.

Nevertheless, nowadays the culture of the people of Yogyakarta itself has shifted considerably when compared to the past. Because foreign culture is quite difficult to be filtered, especially with the rapid development of technology, it can affect the mindset and daily life of the local people.

“...Masnya bisa dilihat yang terjadi selama ini. Kami selaku warga Yogyakarta merasa ayem tentrem (damai) tanpa ada gesekan antara raja dan warganya. Hanya saja akhir-akhir ini kultur masyarakat lokal tergerus oleh kebudayaan luar, seperti masyarakat Yogyakarta secara perlahan mulai meninggalkan

bahasa jawa, bahkan kalangan muda banyak yang tidak memhami bahasa jawa karma inggil..."⁷

"... you can see what has happened so far. We as citizens of Yogyakarta feel peaceful without any friction between the king and his citizens. It's just that lately the culture of the local communities has been eroded by the foreign culture, such as the fact that the people of Yogyakarta is slowly starting to leave the Javanese language, even there are many young people who don't understand the Javanese language of Krama Inggil..."

"...Kenapa masyarakat Yogyakarta selalu damai, karena filosofi jawa itu nggak banyak omong dan yang terpenting tidak mengganggu kenyamanan dan hak orang lain, dan hal itu kami mencontoh sebagaimana yang dilakukan kerajaan yang turun temurun dari dulu hingga sekarang"⁸

"...(the reason of) why the people of Yogyakarta are always peaceful is, because in Javanese philosophy, we do not talk much and the most important thing is that we do not interfere with the comfort and the rights of the others, and that we follow the example from the kingdom that has been passed down from then until now"

"...Ada pepatah bilang raja itu sebagai abdi Tuhan yang diberi tanggung jawab untuk memimpin..."⁹

"...There is a saying that the king is a servant of God who is given the responsibility to lead..."

The king has a central leadership role, so he is required to have the closeness with his people (fusing with the community) regardless of the castes. Basically the king himself, before serving the throne, works as an ordinary citizen.

⁷ Sabi, selaku pedagang di pasar Brengarjo Malioboro, 3 Januari 2019

⁸ Asat, selaku mantan Profesor dosen sosiologi UGM, 28 November 2018

⁹ Radal, selaku masyarakat yang memiliki kekerabatan dengan keratin karena darah ketrunan, 12 November 2018

Whether it was realized or not, the people of Yogyakarta themselves had a high loyalty to the Sultan/the King. It is due to the system applied which is absent from the coercion or oppression that can harm its citizens. Besides, it enables the King to maintain his wealth through various practices of hegemony such as carrying out cultural wisdom, morals, customs/traditions, and even supernatural belief.

As what has happened and believed especially by the people of Yogyakarta, the Sultan is the leader appointed by the Divine. Although it is manifested in the form of luxury and splendor, and bathed in worship, but the God's (Allah) is considered as simple spirit. The king himself is seen as the man having an extraordinary ability to protect his people. This is because the King must have the following qualifications.

“...Menjadi seorang raja tentunya bukanlah hal yang sangat mudah, ia harus memiliki garis keturunan yang jelas seperti bobot, bibit, bebet, dan watak, sifat, sikap, (keturunan pahlawan yang bijaksana), sehingga nantinya dapat menjadi panutan bagi setiap warganya”¹⁰

"...Being a king is certainly not a very easy thing, he must have a clear lineage such as quality, origin, caste, and trait character, attitude, (a descendant of a wise hero) so that later he can be a role model for every citizen"

¹⁰ Paidi, Wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan Keluarga Keraton, 14 Desember 2018

From the above discussion, a conclusion can be drawn that a king must have a noble soul that always upholds humanity, justice, peace, and prosperity for the sake of his people. Moreover, the king himself is a divine agent in carrying out his leadership in the royal body.

The ability possessed by the king is an ingenuity in his insights of nationality, state order, social order, and governance, and also in organizing and maintaining security and comfort for the people. Then the King/Sultan always upholds the value of discipline such as not doing corruption, oppression, and even if he manipulates his people for power. Those are the attitudes and leadership spirits that must be possessed by the Sultan/King to be a role model for his citizens, so that he is able to uphold the safety and the welfare of his people.

The above characteristics are the priority beside the legitimacy of culture, namely descent, which is an authority accepted by society as a part of their habit. It means that the leaders are hereditary. Where the rulers enjoy a legitimacy based on the tradition and charisma, an obedience from the society is created both through the arrangement of offspring and the common norms and values accepted by the people (Alagappa, 1995, p. 29). The findings in the field are as follows.

“.....jika itu bertapa, puasa, mendekatkan diri kepada Allah adalah legitimasi kultur....Hamengku Buwono X di pertanyakan atas hal ini...kenapa masyarakat tetap menerimanya karena beliau keturunan dari Sultan

sebelumnya...apalagi anak perempuan yang di angkat untuk tahata selanjutnya pun sangat dipertanyakan atas legitimasi kulturalnya...(tetapi) masyarakat tetap patuh karena sang putri keturunan Sultan..”¹¹

"...if they are being ascetic (tapa), fasting, getting closer to Allah, they are part of the legitimacy of the culture... Hamengku Buwono X has been questioned about this...why the people continue to accept him is because he is descended from the previous Sultan...let alone the girls raised for the next throne is also questioned for her cultural legacy...(but) the community remains obedient because the princess is the Sultan's descendant.. "

Nevertheless, at the same time the moral leaders mentioned above have also created a domination since according to Gramsci, domination was carried out without showing military strength but rather a moral-intellectual leadership and becoming a role model for the people, just like what has happened in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. The domination exists because of the reality that spreads in society through institutions and individuals and even culture, and the influence of 'the spirit' forming morality, customs, religion, and the things that show morality.

2. The inclusion of strength in the concept of hegemony

The source of the strength of the Yogyakarta Sultanate's hegemony is found in Yogyakarta's public belief in the legitimacy of Javanese culture, namely the legitimacy of the Divine (the leader of the God's command), as for the hegemonic cultural power lies in the local culture that gives birth to the society's morality.

¹¹ Paidi, Wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan Keluarga Keraton, 14 Desember 2018.

“...kita itu sebagai masyarakat Yogyakarta hanya mengikuti aturan yang disabdakan raja.... Toh setiap yang disabdakannya demi kepentingan dan kemakmuran rakyatnya...”¹²

"...we, as the people of Yogyakarta, only follow the rules spoken by the King... After all, everything that was said was for the benefit and prosperity of people... "

For the word of the King (Sabda Tama), which is of course, not arbitrarily spoken, there are steps that must be followed. Unlike the leadership system of the democratic system in which, the community can appeal in the court, every word of the King is final and inviolable. It is due to the Yogyakarta palace system that the King has a duty from the Divine (Ilahi).

“...fungsi pangandikane Raja niku kangge ngrampungaken setiap persoalan yang ada di dalam kraton maupun luar kraton Kesultanan Yogyakarta...”¹³

"... the function of the word of the King is to solve the problems existed in the palace or outside the palace of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta ..."

“...Sebagai conotoh sultan melakukan puasa, tirakat (bertapa) kepada Allah SWT untuk mendapatkan petunjuk sebagai jalan keluar dari permasalahan yang ada... Belum lama ini Sultan melakukan tirakat dalam menentukan penerusnya yang akan memangku tahta kerajaan kraton Yogyakarta, yaitu putrinya. Saat itu sempat mengalami polemik, akan tetapi itu sabda raja, sehingga semua keluarga maupun masyarakatnya harus mengikuti sabda raja...”¹⁴

"... For example, the Sultan performed fasting, asceticism (tapa) for Allah SWT to obtain guidance as a solution to the existing problems... Not too long ago the Sultan performed

¹² Paijan, wawancara dengan masyarakat biasa, 1 Januari 2019

¹³ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018

¹⁴ Raji, selaku abdi dalem Keraton Yogyakarta, 25 Desember 2018

asceticism (tirakat) in determining his successor who would take the throne of the Yogyakarta palace, his daughter. There was a polemic, but it was the King's words so that all the families and communities must follow the words (sabda) of the King..."

The strength of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta lies in the leadership of the local wisdom of its culture that has existed since long ago (Harsono, 2018, p. 17). There are some remarks from Anderson in regards with it. *First*, the traditional concept of strength exists and manifests in the universe as the embrace of the Divine energy. *Second*, the energy that sustains power comes from the Divine, making the sources of all powers homogeneous. *Third*, this view holds that power is constant because of the realization of the Divine. *Fourth*, the legitimacy of the beliefs of people under the ruler is a representation of the Divine. Traditional legitimacy is the most important thing built on the people's trust in the capacity of the ruler, especially in the charisma and the leadership culture of Java.

3. The approval in the concept of Hegemony

Hegemony is built by a consensus mechanism (agreement) because the hegemony is generated through culture which is accepted as an active commitment based on a legitimate high position. The culture that runs long enough in the local community that is done and with the approval of the community that the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

as local wisdom such as culture, Tugu, Kerataon, Raja/Sultan is a symbol of cultural identity of the community of Yogyakarta.

Then the Kraton or the King of Yogyakarta is recognized by the community legally (through cultural legitimacy) as its existence in the life of the people is under the auspices of the royal leadership. Of course, the people of Yogyakarta will follow and submit obediently to various policies prescribed by the king..

“...tepatnya pada jaman dahulu para leluhur kita menyetujui adanya kepemimpinan dibawah raja, serta symbol-simbol lainnya seperti tugu Yogyakarta, kraton, dan sultan atau raja sebagai pemimpin terkuat...”¹⁵

"... precisely in ancient times our ancestors agreed to the leadership of the king as well as other symbols such as the monument of Yogyakarta, the palace, and the sultan or king as the strongest leader ..."

“...selama saya mengabdikan diri di kraton Yogyakarta yang saya ketahuibahwa raja memiliki kekuatan legitimasi kepemimpinan seperti karismatik, dan tanah kesultanan Yogyakarta, dan masyarakat mengakui hal itu..”¹⁶

"... as long as I served as the court retainers in the Yogyakarta palace, I know that the king has legitimate power of leadership such as charisma, and the land of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, and the people acknowledge it ..."

Those statements explain that Yogyakarta people are loyal to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta by voluntarily obeying and submitting without any coercion or oppression but the consensus (agreement) that has happened for a very long time makes the people of Yogyakarta not

¹⁵ Basuki, tokoh agama sekaligus takmir masjid di dusun Manukan, 14 Januari 2019

¹⁶ Bagio, selaku Abdi dalem yang memiliki kekerabatan dengan keluarga Keraton, 3 Januari 2019

aware that they are submissive, obedient, and loyal to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

As mentioned earlier, under the hegemony of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, the results of mass consensus through cultural practices have been going on for a long time. The levels of hegemony from the consensus period explained previously are the sultans or kings, the cultural sites such as palaces, monuments, sultan's land (sultan ground), and the culture prevailed in Yogyakarta.

4. The Three Levels of Hegemony Indicator on This Case

The Yogyakarta Sultanate certainly has a level of hegemony that it is operated in. In Gramsci's hegemony, there are three levels of hegemony, namely: total hegemony (integral), decadent hegemony, and minimum hegemony (Patria & Arief, 2015, p. 128). Those three levels can be used as the indicators of the level of hegemony that belong to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

In fact, everyone has its own characteristics in carrying out the given mandate, and they cannot be separated from their advantages and disadvantages. In this case, in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, every king has a distinctive leadership style. It becomes one of the indicators of local wisdom possessed by Yogyakarta.

It is important to note the Gramsci's level of hegemony which are: *First*, integral hegemony which is characterized by a mass affiliation that

approaches loyalty and totality, which can be exemplified by the society which is able to show a strong moral and intellectual unity. *Second*, decadent hegemony in which the masses are not really in a harmony with the dominant thinking of the subject of hegemony. Therefore, the cultural and political integration are easily collapsed. *Third*, minimum hegemony which is the lowest form of hegemony compared to the two forms above.

First, Integral hegemony. Integral hegemony is characterized by mass affiliation that approaches totality. Society shows a strong level of moral and intellectual unity. This is evident in the organizational relations between the government and the governed. This relationship is not filled with contradictions and antagonisms both socially and ethically.

Second, declining hegemony. In a modern capitalist society, economic domination of the bourgeoisie faces severe challenges. He showed the potential for disintegration there. With this potential nature, it is intended that disintegration can be seen in hidden conflicts. This means that even if the system has achieved its needs or objectives, the mass "mentality" is not really in harmony with the dominant interpretation of the subject of hegemony. Therefore, cultural and political integration easily collapses. This situation is called the decadent hegemony.

Third, minimum hegemony. This third form is the lowest hegemony compared to the two forms above. This situation is what happened in Italy from the period of unification until the middle of this

century. Hegemony relies on the ideological unity between economic, political and intellectual elites that goes along with a reluctance to intervene in the life of the state. Thus, hegemonic groups do not want to adjust their interests and aspirations to other classes in society. Instead, they maintain regulations through the transformation of the unification of cultural, political, social, and economic leaders that potentially contradicts the "new state" that the hegemonic group aspires.

“...selama bertahun-tahun saya menjadi abdi dalem di kraton Yogyakarta, bahwa masyarakat memiliki kultur moral yang sangat baik, ditandai dengan kesantunan dan keramahan yang sangat baik...”¹⁷

"... over the years I have been a court retainers in the palace of Yogyakarta, (and), that the community has a very good moral culture which is characterized by excellent politeness and support ..."

“...bisa dilihat Yogyakarta itu kulturnya ramah sehingga orang yang berkunjung ke yogyakarta merasa aman, tentrem, & damai, sehingga tidak jarang orang-orang atau wisatawan merasa betah untuk berlibur, sekalipun tinggal di Yogyakarta.... Itu sebagai bukti salah satu indicator kesuksesan system kerajaan yang dimiliki kraton Yogyakarta...”¹⁸

"... You can see that Yogyakarta's culture is friendly, so the people who come to Yogyakarta feel safe, secure, and peaceful, so it is not common for people or tourists to like being here for a vacation, or even to live in Yogyakarta ... (it serves) as the evidence of one indicator of the success of the royal system owned by the Yogyakarta court ... "

¹⁷ Paimin, selaku Abdi dalem keraton, 26 Januari 2019

¹⁸ Tri Wahyono, selaku tokoh masyarakat dan yang di tuakan di dusun manukan, Sleman , 5 Desember 2018

“...Yogyakarta itu unik, selain kultur budaya dan orang-orangnya yang ramah, mereka juga memiliki keharmonisan yang sangat baik antara raja dan rakyatnya tanpa memandang kasta-kasta...”¹⁹

"... Yogyakarta is unique, in addition to its culture and friendly people, it also has a very good harmony between the king and the people without discriminating the caste difference..."

To get the idea of how the hegemony implemented by the Yogyakarta palace so far, the cooperation between the court and all elements of the society. On the other hand, Yogyakarta's hegemony is beyond that point in which it does not confront the life harmony of the Yogyakarta community.

More than a few people voluntarily maintain the integrity of the specialties of Yogyakarta through preserving cultural assets with strong morality and intellectual totality. Meanwhile, it can be said that the level of hegemony carried out by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, in Gramsci's theory, is considered as total hegemony (*integral*).

Table 1.1 Three Levels of Gramsci's Hegemony

Level of Hegemony	Indicator
Total Hegemony (<i>integral</i>)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mass affiliation is close to totality 2. Strong moral and intellectual unity. 3. There is not any contradiction and antagonism, both socially and ethically.
Declined Hegemony	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The "mentality" of the community is not in harmony with the dominant thinking of the subject of hegemony.

¹⁹ Sandi, Selaku Warga pendatang / mahasiswa UIN yang sudah lama di Yogyakarta, 28 Oktober 2018

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>(decadent)</i> | 2. The cultural and political unification is easy to collapse. |
| Minimum
Hegemony | 1. The society relies on the ideological unity between economic, political and intellectual elites.
2. There is no mass interference. |

The Sultanate's hegemony is said to be at the highest level, namely integral hegemony for the first, mass affiliation that approaches the totality in which the Sultanate of Yogyakarta uses targeted socialization. Relationships between social contacts carried out by the Sultanate produce relationships or interdependent relationships between other individuals and others, between communities and their leaders. This relationship is from the Sultanate to the Community to get recognition and be accepted by the entire community. Public relations to government/sultanate to fulfill their needs in the form of economy, politics, social, culture, and religion because the community cannot live without making affiliations between individuals with each other even with the Sultanate and the Sultanate are rulers of economic resources, political social, symbol buday and land. So the community made a connection with the ruler as well as the ruler to swing his power.

"...Omahe sederk kula sak derenge di gusur kangge bandara adek kula utawi masyarakat sekitar kang tinggal teng meriku tanah sultan dados hubungan baik...Mereka urep lan tinggal teng tanah Sultan lan manfaatke tonpo di jalui upeti nopo bayar

sewo...Mereka digusur kangge kepentingan umum lan sak sedoyonipun di ganti..."²⁰

"...My sister's house before being evicted into my Adek airport or the surrounding community who lived on the land of the Sultan had good relations...They lived on the Sultan's land as such and used it without being asked to pay rent or anything else...They also not evicted their land and it was in the public interest and even compensated... "

"...Kula mboten wong kang duwe status teng Muhammadiyah nangeng kula ngertos Muhammadiyah niku nduwe hubungan kang apik ro Kasultanan amergi kegiatan nipun Muhammadiyah onten ing duwor lemah sultan.." ²¹

"...I am not a person who has the same status as Muhammadiyah but I know that Muhammdayah has good relations with the Sultanate because some of their activities are above the land of the Sultan..."

"...Masyarakat Yogyakarta tidak terlalu peduli dengan sistem demokrasi atau apa pun...Masyarakat ngikut sultan atau manut dengan Sultan dan mereka nyaman..."²²

"...Yogyakarta people don't really care about the democratic system or anything else...People are in accordance with the Sultan and they are comfortable..."

Second, the Society shows a strong level of moral and intellectual unity. This is evident in the organizational relations between the government and the governed. This is very evident in Yogyakarta because the Sultanate is the ruler of social and political resources.

"...Sakniki masyarakat Yogyakarta pun podo pinter dadi kadang-kadang kebijakan nopo persoalan di baleke teng masyarat...Masyarakat niku selalu ikut serta teng pembuatan

²⁰ Sumarmo, Selaku dukuh di dusun Gendu Kulon Progo, 19 Januari 1019

²¹ Basuki, selaku masyarakat biasa, 15 Mei 2019

²² Asat, selaku masyarakat biasa dan pensiun Pprofesor dosen sosiologi UGM, 28 November 2018

peraturan nopo kebijakan lan persoalan dados masyarakat niku nduwe partisipasi teng meriku..."²³

"...Now the community has become smart so sometimes the policies issued or problems are returned to the community...That people always participate in solving problems or in making regulations..."

"...Ada tiga kelompok dalam perjalanan penetapan di mana ada orang-orang yang setuju bahwa ada orang-orang yang tidak setuju (akademisi) dan ada juga yang di tengah...Kesultanan mengembalikan semua keputusan ke masyarakat apakah mereka ingin penetapan atau tidak...Sebenarnya masyarakat menginginkan penetapan dan kelompok akademisi membantu membuat isi dari penetapan, di mana mereka dulu menginginkan demokrasi di Yogyakarta namun akhirnya mengikuti keinginan masyarakat..."²⁴

"...There are three groups of stipulations where there are those who agree that there are those who disagree (academics) and there are also those in the middle...The Sultanate returns all people to whether they want a determination or not...In fact the community wants a determination, the academics helped make draft for Law 13 of 2012, where they used to want democracy in Yogyakarta..."

Third, this relationship is not filled with contradictions and antagonisms both socially and ethically. The Yogyakarta Sultanate did not discriminate against its societal class but rather united them. The Sultanate never addressed military power to influence its people but through culture and non-violence.

"...Walau ketimpangan sosial di Yogyakarta sangat tinggi tapi kebahagiaan di masyarakat Yogyakarta juga sangat tinggi...Ini karena masyarakat merasa di ayomi oleh pemimpinnya..."²⁵

²³ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018

²⁴ Radal, selaku masyarakat biasa yang memiliki kekerabatan dengan Keraton atau abdi dalem keraton, 12 November 2018

²⁵ Qeno, selaku Elit Borjuis, september 2018

"... Even though social inequality in Yogyakarta is very high but happiness in the people of Yogyakarta is also very high ... This is because people feel protected and cared for by their leaders ..."

"...Aku gor super Greb tetep seneng ayem mas... omah ku digusur wae tetep seneng ayem tentrem, mung wong luar Jogja wae seng gedek-gedek ke permasalahan..."²⁶

"... I am only a driver of Greb and still feel happy, comfortable and peaceful ... My house has been evicted and I still feel happy and peaceful, only outsiders exaggerate in the matter ..."

"...Kesultanan ra pernah mempengaruhi masyarakat ngo kekerasan...Biasane nganggo Budya kang gampang diterimo masyarakat...Meh di kepiyekke wae masyarakat bakal tetep manot Sultan soale kui wes budoyono kene..."²⁷

"... The Sultanate has never influenced the community to use violence ... usually through a culture that is easily accepted by the people ... What do you want to do with the people who will still submit and obey the Sultan and that has become a culture here ..."

As previously stated, the hegemony of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta is total hegemony (*integral*) through the culture directed by the high morality and intellectuality. It obviously contains an organic relationship between the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the community which go beyond contradiction and antagonism (oppression) both socially and ethically. Thus this total hegemony is able to maintain the power of the Yogyakarta Palace from time to time.

The total (*integral*) hegemony of the Sultanate's was very visible in the event regarding with Yudhoyono's statement in 2010 which said that it is impossible to tolerate monarchy in Indonesia's democratic system. Due

²⁶ Dedi, selaku masyarakat biasa yang terkena pengusuran bandara, 18 Mei 2019

²⁷ Paidi, selaku tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kekerabatan dengan keluarga Keraton/ pakualaman, 16 Mei 2019

to that statement, the pressure for Hamengku Buwono to act was increased. The Sultan finally asked for help from his people. Through a series of statements, speeches, and public events, the sultan was sought to increase people's resistance to the efforts of the Yudhoyono administration to held direct elections of governor of Yogyakarta. In other words, Hamengku Buwono tried to mobilize the people of Yogyakarta to demand for an appointment of their traditional rulers as governors rather than having a direct election.

At one of the major events in 2012, the Sultan stated a royal statement (*Sabdatama*) that Yogyakarta was an independent sultanate governed by Sultan and Pakualam as the governor and the deputy. Even though there is also a formal legal basis for the Sultan which is intended for the people of Yogyakarta. It also sent a strong message to the central government about the historical importance of Yogyakarta and the intention of the Sultan for himself and the province in the modern nation of Indonesia.

The mass demonstrations held to support the sultan in 2011 and 2012 reflected an increasing anger at the central government's plans. For many residents of Yogyakarta, the proposed introduction of governor elections is a violation of their cultural belief. According to Efendi (2012, p. 104) the institutional arrangements in Yogyakarta with the sultan as an appointed governor is a kind of 'daily politics' and a part of people's daily

lives. The introduction of direct election for governor will disrupt this ordinary life because the sultan as their traditional ruler occupies a special position in their tradition (Harsono, 2011). Many believe that forcing the sultan to run in the gubernatorial election is not polite for him as a traditional leader who does not need public legitimacy. The longer the dispute between Yogyakarta and the central government took place, the more impatient and provocative the protests in the streets of Yogyakarta was. Then, in the end, the Sultan and the President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, could meet and finally agreed to accept the draft for the determination of direct election.

The above events explain that the indicators in integral hegemony are included in the criteria of the Yogyakarta Sultanate's hegemony in the meaning of power. As the sultanate is a solid intellectual and moral compass, the affiliation of the total population or the mobilization of the society is almost evenly distributed and has succeeded in dominating pro-democracy groups.

B. The Defense of Kesultanan Yogyakarta's Power

1. Political Dynamics of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

The Sultanate has a strong reference in terms of circulation and power succession. How this process is governed is summarized clearly in what is called a task or value system. Until now there have been 14 times

of change of the king in the Sultanate from the 10 kings that have ever existed.

The revolving power of the 10 kings in the sultanate which has happened 14 times shows that in practice the replacement and the determination of the king do not always and fully conform with the provisions stipulated in the rules and values. There is a deviation in the obligation and also the political dynamics that contribute to it. The occurrence of the ascending and descending of the throne events of Hamengku Buwono II and HB III, as well as the kings descended before their death, showed that there had been political dynamics in the succession process of power that had ever existed.

The tradition of power succession in the internal of Sultanate and Pakualaman has placed the Sultan in a central position and at the same time a symbol that represents the existence of the kingdom they led. It becomes the capital of power that synergizes the concept of Javanese philosophical power which places the king as the center of power with the society. In this perspective, the figure of the Sultan in the eyes of the people is a king who has absolute political, military, and religious power, which is recognized traditionally. In this context, the position of a king determines the direction and the color of how the power is exercised. The color of leadership is greatly influenced by the skill, integrity, and vision of the ruling king. In this context, the process of forming the Yogyakarta

as a Special Region cannot be separated from the influences and the figure of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX. The influence's magnitude and attachment to the figure of the Sultan in the eyes of the DIY's community has formed a positive and accommodating attitude towards the monarchy in Yogyakarta.

The accommodation of the central and unique position by the Sultan has become the entry point in the arrangement of filling the positions of governors and deputy governors of DIY in the subsequent periods. This then becomes a reference in the procedure and practice of filling the positions of governors and deputy governors.

As stipulated in the Privileges Law, the process of filling the positions of governors and deputy governors is carried out with a separate mechanism, while the absolute requirement that must be fulfilled by the candidates for the DIY governor is for him to be enthroned as Sultan.

These dynamics grow and are developed above the three areas of power struggles with mutual influences among each other. Those three areas are the tradition and practices in the succession of kings in the Sultanate, the unique and special position of the Sultan in the process of filling the position of the governor, and the strategy used by the Sultanate to obtain and to perpetuate its power. Those three things not only became the arena for the battle of discourse and power struggles but at the same time also became a determining factor in the formation of the DIY

specialty format and its transformation in its new form as stipulated in Law Number 13 of 2012.

Opinions regarding agreeing or disagreeing for the Law Number 13 of 2012 after being ratified governs the Procedures for filling in positions, duties and authorities of the Governor and Deputy Governor, DIY Regional Government Institutions, Culture, Land and Spatial Planning.

Figure 2.3 Referendum Demonstration of Yogyakarta



Source: www.antaraneews.com 2011

The picture is a handful of photos taken in 2011 where the community wanted a stipulation for the Yogyakarta Privileges Act. A very visible moment is that the Sultanate's hegemony is very strong even

though the central government cannot oppose or touch Yogyakarta to use a fully democratic system.

“...Wes pasti setuju le mengenai penetapan Undang-Undang Keistimewaan 2012.....Opo meneh seng mengatur Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur kuwi seko Kesultanan ro Pakualaman...Isi seko Undang-Undang kui aku ora reti sak kabehane seng ku reti gor pemimpin seko Rojo..”²⁸

"... Certainly agree, son about the stipulation of the 2012 Special Law ... What else governs the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Sultanate and Pakualaman ... To discuss the contents of the Act do not know everything I know, only the Leader from the King ... "

“...Kula mung ngerti Keistimewaan niku pun di peroleh Yogyakarta pas kemerdekaan Indonesia...Dadi masyarakat pun setuju mengenai keistimewaan...Niku pun di janjiake kaleh Indonesia kangge Yogyakarta lan Aceh...Anggaran dana kula mboten ngertos lan masyarakat kebanyakan mboten ngerti dana keistimewaan dingge nopowae selain kebudayaan lan saget di akses masyarakat biasa nopo mboten...”²⁹

"... I only understand the privileges obtained by Yogyakarta since Indonesia's independence ... So the people have agreed on Privileges ... That has been promised by Indonesia for Yogyakarta and Aceh ... budget funds I do not know and the general public does not understand Privileges for what only people who know about the culture and how to access the community still don't know ... "

“...Tanpa di minta persetujuan masyarakat sudah setuju apalagi mengenai kesultanan Yogyakarta atau Sultan raja...Sejak dulu pemimpin dari Kerajaan dan itu sudah turun menurun bahkan itu sudah menjadi kearifan lokal dan bisa di sebut politik keseharian di Yogyakarta...”³⁰

"... Without the consent of the community, I agree, especially regarding the Sultanate of Yogyakarta or the Sultan of the King ... The leaders of the Kingdom and that has been declining for a long time even that has become local wisdom and can be called daily politics in Yogyakarta ..."

²⁸ Maman Handaka, selaku masyarakat biasa, 16 Mei 2019

²⁹ Supri, selaku pensiunan Duku Manukan Condongcatur, 11 Januari 2019

³⁰ Paidi, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 12 Mei 2019

The above explains that the community agrees to Law 13 of 2012. The leadership of the King in Yogyakarta has occurred from now until now and has been passed down through generations in addition to leaders who use Javanese theory where leaders who have obtained the legitimacy of the leader culture of the Divine. The community also agrees because it respects leaders with local wisdom and the Law can even preserve local wisdom, talking about the Sultanate has become a daily politics in Yogyakarta. Although most people do not know the contents of the Law on the Privileges of the people, they still agree, most people only know the Privileges governing the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Sultanate and Pakualaman and regulating culture.

We know that Privileges have been running for 6 years and the budget in 2019 is around 1.2 Trillion. community regarding funds privileges the community does not know the amount, allocation, and access to these funds. The community still agrees to Act 13 of 2013 because they respect local wisdom and feel comfortable and at ease with it.

The Sultan of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta inherits three identities at once, which are a person and a citizen, a king who rules over the kingdom, and a governor who carries out state duties. The Sultanate has been so far involved in launching strategies and efforts to make the Sultan remain in power. The Kasultanan family attempts to maintain and loosen

the power by accumulating its control of social capital, political capital, economic capital, cultural identity hegemony, cultural and dynamics.

**a. The Mastery over Social and Political Capital by the Sultanate of
Kraton Yogyakarta Family**

Every leadership certainly cannot be separated from power by which, both individuals and groups are formed. Thus, the term power has a variety of meanings and is delegated to the authorities. This study gives at least a little explanation on how the social and political mastery of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta has been established for centuries.

One proof of the perpetuating power of the Yogyakarta's palace is the social and political control. The form of the Yogyakarta social court body is one that manages institutions or families in several organizations, professional associations, seniors and sports, foundations and social and educational institutions available in the Yogyakarta region.

“...masyarakat Yogyakarta pada umumnya sadar atau tidak sadar hampir semua lini sosial dan kendali politik di bawah kekuasaan kraton Yogyakarta... seperti contohnya penguasaan beberapa organisasi, seni, olahraga, lembaga sosial maupun pendidikan di bawah pengawaan atau kendali kesultanan atau keluarga kraton Yogyakarta...”³¹

"... the people of Yogyakarta generally, whether they are aware or not, under the control of the Yogyakarta's Palace on all of social and political aspects... such as the mastery over several organizations of arts, sports, social institutions, and education are under the supervision or control of the sultanate or the family of Yogyakarta ..."

³¹ Asat, selaku mantan Profesor dosen sosiologi UGM, 28 November 2018

“...pada dasarnya hampir semua masyarakat Yogyakarta pada umumnya menyadari, bahkan mengetahui tentang bagaimana penguasaan sosial yang dibawah kendali kraton. Akan tetapi masyarakat sendiri tidak mempermasalahkan hal ini. Karena yang dilihat masyarakat bukan bentuk kekuasaan, melainkan kesejahteraan, kenyamanan dan kemakmuran...”³²

"... basically, almost all of the people of Yogyakarta generally realize, even know, about how social life is under the control of the palace. However, the people themselves do not mind this. Because what people see is not a form of power, but welfare, comfort, and prosperity ... "

From the above statements, it can be seen that everyone has their own views about how the social life in Yogyakarta is governed. However, it gets back to the rights and forms of power possessed by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the validity and legality mentioned laws. The community itself, in this case, recognizes and approves it indirectly because basically what people expect is the existence of prosperity, comfort, safety, and prosperity in their daily life.

“...GKR Hemas istri Sultan nggeh aktifis sedanten aktifis bidang sosial, pendidikan, kesehatan, kebudayaan, pemberdayaan perempuan dan anak, lan olahraga...aktif kang bidang iku lan cerak kaleh masyarakat bawah gawe GKR Hemas neng ati rakat...”³³

"... GKR Hemas, the Sultan's wife, has played an active role in social life, education, health, culture, women and children empowering and sports as an activist... her active role in those aspects and closeness with the grassroots makes the people fond of her"

What was conveyed by one of the sources about GKR Hemas above explained that the community has been hegemonized on the fields

³² Asat, selaku mantan Profesor dosen sosiologi UGM, 28 November 2018

³³ Mujiyono, selaku abdi dalem keraton (tida sengaja bertemu di warung Burjo ngobrol santai saat beliau pulang kekaliurang dengan jalan kaki), 12 September 2018

of social life, education, health, culture, empowerment of women and children, and sports. Meanwhile the sentence issued by the community is hampered 'GKR Hemas refers to the people in the direction in the hearts of the people or can be considered that loved by her people so that her people are loyal to her and to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

The mastery of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta does not stop in the social sphere, but it also covers the political world involving the families and descendants, such as political parties, social organizations (mass organizations) or associations, professional organizations, and so on (Paryanto, 2016, pp. 115–116). Some of the proofs or forms of social and political organization of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta such as those mentioned by Paryanto (2016, p. 115) that can be found from the interview as follows:

Table 2.1 Social and Political Organization of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

No	Institution	Position/Officer
1	Karang Taruna Provinsi DIY	GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua Umum 2002-2012 GKR Condrokirono/Ketua 2014-sekarang
2	BPD AKU (Asosiasi Kelompok Usaha) Provinsi DIY	GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua Umum 2003-2011
3	International Association of Wild Silk Moth (berbasis di Jepang)	GKR Mangkubumi/Wakil Ketua 2003-2008
4	Koperasi AKU Sejahtera	GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua Umum 2005-2009
5	Yayasan Royal Silk	GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua Pembina 2006-2010
6	Asosiasi Masyarakat Sutera Alam DIY	GKR Mangkubumi/ Wakil Ketua 2002-2006

7	ASEPHI (Sosiasi Handicraft)	GKR Mangkubumi/Wakil Ketua 2002-2006
8	Masyarakat Persuteraan Alam Liar Indonesia	GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua 2006-2010
9	Asosiasi Pedagang Pasar Seluruh Indonesia DIY	GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua 2006-2011
10	DPD KNPI DIY	KGPH Joyokusumo (alm)/ Pegiat 1982-1991, Ketua DPD 1982-1985 GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua 2012-2015 GKR Condrokirono/Ketua 2015-2020
11	Pusat Penyelamatan Satwa Jogja (PPSJ)	GKR Mangkubumi/ Ketua 2012-sekarang
12	Kwartir Daerah Gerakan Pramuka DIY	GKR Mangkubumi/Ketua 2015-sekarang
13	KADIN DIY	GBPH Hadiwinoto/Ketua GKR Magkubumi/Ketua-sekarang
14	Jogjakarta Investment Forum	KBPH Hadiwinoto/Ketua
15	Partai GOLKAR	Sultan Hamengku Buwono X/ Ketua DPD I Golkar DIY dan DPP Golkar. GBPH Hadiwinoto/Ketua DPD II, Anggota DPRD DIY. KGPH Joyokusumo (alm)/ Anggota DPRD DIY 1982-2009/Anggota DPD 1978
16	Sentra Organisai Karyawan Swadiri Indonesia (SOKSI)	GBPH Joyokusumo (alm)/Anggota 1981, Wakil Ketua Depipar XI 1985-1995
17	Himpunan Pengusaha Muda Indonesia (HIPMI) DIY	KGPH Joyokusumo (alm)/Wakil Ketua 19841990, Ketua Umum 1988-1991
18	Himpunan Nelayan Seluruh Indonesia (HNSI)	KPH Wironegoro (menantu HB X)/Ketua DPD

19	Yayasan Yogyakarta Seni Nusantara (Jogja Nasional Museum)	KPH Wironegoro/Ketua
20	Yayasan Edukasi Anak Nusantara	KPH Wironegoro/Ketua

Based on the table, it is clear that the socio cultural and political dynamics of the Yogyakarta's Sultanate are under the hands of the palace. However, behind it, the Palace's family advised the community, in general, to always put professionals outside of the Yogyakarta's Place.

Authority is not only based on the charismatic and tradition, but can also be based on action accepted by the values and norms of the society. Charisma and tradition are used for the authority of action in influencing the society through social and political organizations so that the society becomes hegemonized. This is very evident in the table above, that by using the authority, the Sultanate controls social and political organizations to hegemonize the society.

b. *Sabda Raja* or *Titah Raja* in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

The word of the king and the decree of the king are the issue behind the succession of the Sultanate. The statements that were appeared as the *Sabda Raja* is intended to legalize the power and interests of him as a king and his descendants. One interpretation of that word raised in the public is the conditioning of GKR Pembayun's child as a crowned princess on the throne while on the other hand, negating the interests of Adika, who based on his lineage, is more entitled to be the successor of the throne.

It raises a lot of protest from the royal family, especially from his younger siblings by doing fasting in the ceremony since the sibling is more appropriate to be the successor of the royal throne. However the King kept on his stance and statement in that he will pass the throne to his daughter although he got eventually protested in the form of an open letter and absenteeism at the Sultanate.

“...tidak memandang siapa orangnya, yang jelas apabila tidak taat kepada kraton, ya silahkan untuk henggang dari bumi Mataram... disini lain keluarnya Titah Sultan dinilai untuk menyingkirkan para pembangkang dalam rangka transisi kekuasaan Keraton...”³⁴

"... No matter who the person is, if he does not obey the Palace, he can leave the land of Mataram ... on the other hand, the issuance of the Sultan's order is considered as the effort to get rid of dissidents for the sake of the Sultanate's power transition ..."

“...sabda niki wes mboten isu meleh mas, serangkaian upacara tradisi pengangkatan putri sampun di lakokne lan jenenge wes ganti GKR Pembayun dados GKR Mangkubumi (sabda raja ini sudah bukan isu lagi mas, serangkaian upacara tradisi pengangkatan putri sudah di jalankan dan namanya sudah berganti GKR Pembayun menjadi GKR Mangkubumi) ...Pengangkatan GKR Pembayun niki di kerucutke meleh dadi pemimpin trah Sultan tesh dereng dados Rojo nopo Gubernur.... (pengangkatan GKR Pembayun ini di kerucutkan lagi menjadi pemimpin trah Sultan masih belum menjadi Raja atau Gubernur)...”³⁵

"... This King's word is no longer a mere statement, a series of traditional ceremonies to crown the princess has been carried out and her name has been changed from GKR Pembayun to GKR Mangkubumi ... The appointment of GKR Pembayun was exclusively intended to make her the chief successor of the Sultan's lineage, not the king or even governor yet... "

³⁴ Paidi, Paidi, Wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan Keluarga Keraton, 14 Desember 2018

³⁵ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018

“...Sabda niki fungsi sakbenere dingge kemaslahatan umat, Sultan sak derenge mngucap Sabda nopo Titah niku Sultan ngelakok laku prihatin yaiku poso, tapa, lan zikir wirit supoyo di paringi informasi kang gusti Allah nopo wangsit (Sabda ini fungsi sebenarnya untuk kemaslahatan umat, sultan yang sebelumnya berkata sabda atau titah itu sultan melakukan laku prihatin yaitu puasa, bertapa, dan berzikir supaya di beri informasi dari Allah atau mendapat wangsit)...”³⁶

"... the real function of the *Sabda* is actually for the benefit of the people ... Before the Sultan said the *Sabda* or the *commandement*, the Sultan did the some *prihatin* (limiting one's desire) practices such as fasting, asceticism, and praying for the help from Allah or for the *wangsit* (the God's sign of guidance) ..."

“...Putri Sultan naik tahta bisa di maksudkan menitipkan kekuasaan sementara hingga ada calon yang pas dan cocok menjadi Sultan..”³⁷.

"... The appointment of the Sultan's daughter can be interpreted as to temporarily entrust the power until there is a suitable candidate and suitable to become a Sultan .."

Besides doing asceticism, fasting, and thinking, the Sultan made the people and even the royal family and relatives unable to argue frontally. Since the people still believe in cultural legitimacy of the Javanese power beliefs such as fasting, doing asceticism, surrendering to the God to obtain the Divine's grace, there were only some comments on the community that some of them were fine meanwhile some other were not.

“....Sultan tidak boleh perempuan, namanya juga Kesultanan bukan Keratuan... apalagi putri raja ini di pertanyakan legitimasi

³⁶ Paimin, selaku Abdi dalem keraton, 26 Januari 2019

³⁷ Paidi, Paidi, Wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan Keluarga Keraton, 14 Desember 2018

kulturnya, karismanya, dan kemasyarakatannya atau kedekatan dengan masyarakatnya saja kurang...”³⁸

"... The Sultan cannot be a woman, the name of the palace is also the Sultanate (in which sultan means king) not *Keratuan* (in which “*ratu*” can be roughly translated into “queen”) ... moreover the King's daughter was questioned about her cultural legitimacy, charismatic, and social closeness since she lack of closeness to the community ..."

“...Setuju saja perempuan menjadi Sultan/Ratu....ini terlihat bahwa Sultan mulai menyesuaikan dengan era modern dengan tidak memandang jenis kelamin....Zaman Rasulullah aja ada Ratu Bilqis...”³⁹

"... I agree if a woman becomes the Sultan/Queen... It can be seen that the Sultan, has begun to adjust the palace with the modern era by creating more equality in the gender aspect ... Even there was Queen Bilqis in the Prophet era..."

The idea of the above statements is the daily local politics of the people of Yogyakarta who are divided into two groups which are those who are pro with the appointment of the King's daughter and those who want men to become the sultan. According to Efendi (2012, p. 104) the institutional arrangements in Yogyakarta with the sultan as an unelected governor are a kind of 'daily politics' and a part of people's daily lives. In this sense, the community accepts anyone who will lead the origin of the dynasty of the Palace. An educational authority is more like a habit compared with charismatic and cultural legitimacy. The Charismatic leadership and legitimacy which is inherited make the people remain loyal. If the King's word is intended for the benefit of society, the community

³⁸ Yamik, selaku pemdua dan masyarakat biasa yang juga suka melakukan hal-hal supranatural, 12 Januari 2019

³⁹ Yudi, selaku masyarakat biasa yang bertempat tinggal di bantul, 14 Januari 2019

will not feel too problematic since whoever will be the leader of the community remain loyal to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

c. The Control and the Mastery over Symbolic-Cultural Capital by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

The Sultanate of Yogyakarta has the control and the mastery over capital-culture symbols. It is utilized to control various regions through the revitalization of courtiers, often called as *abdi dalem*.

“...abdi dalem kui ono loro, abdi dalem Punokawan karo abdi dalem Keprajan. Punokawan kui seng ngelayani Sultan seko mayarakat biasa ra duwe kekdudukan neng pemerintahan, biasane kui neng keraton. Lak Keprajan kui seko Pemerintahan opo pejabat lan militer barang...”⁴⁰

"... There are two kinds of *abdi dalem*, those who serve in Punokawan palace and Keprajan. Punokawan's *abdi dalem* serves the sultans who come from ordinary people that has no position in the government and they are usually in the palace ... meanwhile the Keprajan's *abdi dalem* serve those people from government officials to military officials ..."

“...kula niki abdi dalem Punokawan. Kula masyarakat biasa kang nyambut damel teng keratin dados Abdi Dalem jabatan kula napa pekerjaan dados Pawoko... semisal jenengan nyamut damel teng meriki dados Abdi Dalem lan gawean sami kalah kula namine panjenengan dados Wildan Pawoko....”⁴¹

"... I am a Punokawan's *abdi dalem*. I am an ordinary person who works in the palace as a servant and my position or my job is as Pawoko ... so if, for example, you work in the palace with the same job as me, your name will be Wildan Pawoko"

⁴⁰ Bagio, selaku abdi dalem yang memiliki kekerabatan dekat dengan keluarga keratin, 3 januari 2019

⁴¹ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keratin, 25 Desember 2018

“...biasanya pejabat pemerintahan sekaligus sebagai abdi dalem karirnya cepet naik karena ada hubungan dengan pihak dalem penguasa...”⁴²

"... Usually, the government officials who also serve as *abdi dalem* will have a quick rising career because they have a relation with the inner circle of authorities ..."

The above statements explain that the construction of *abdi dalem* is a structure of delegation of socio-political power that is run by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in controlling various areas by establishing partnerships with local leaders.

“...pengangkatan dadi *abdi dalem* Keprajan iku ono dalih makna neng pakaian seng dinggo karo pejabat iku. Setiap pakaian due makna..... nopo simbol tersendiri neng setatus level iso didelok seko pakaiane nopo corak pakaiane...”⁴³

"... the naming of the *abdi dalem* of Keprajan means that the bearer also holds the symbols on the clothes worn. Every outfit has its own meaning ... the symbol is also based on the status level which can be seen from the pattern of the cloth..."

The status of *abdi dalem* is also given to people who are considered as meritorious, contributing to the Kingdom. The brilliant examples in this regard are the appointment of Hendarman Supanji (while serving as the head of the BPN), all regents/mayors in DIY Province, Arie Yuriwin (while serving as the Head of the DIY's BPN Regional Office), A. Riyanto (while serving as the commander of military

⁴² Paidi, wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan keluarga keratin, 14 Desember 2018

⁴³ Bagio, selaku abdi dalem yang memiliki kekerabatan dekat dengan keluarga keratin, 3 januari 2019

headquarters at the district of the Keraton), and M. Ali Muthohar (while serving as the head of the DIY's High Prosecutor's Office)⁴⁴. The power of those people with their authorities can control various matters ranging from local communities to government officials.

2. The Mastery over the Economic Capital and Resources Ownership by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

As what is stated earlier, the control of economic capital and resources is under the authority of the Yogyakarta's Palace in that the royal family has some involvements in various forms of business and trade organizations. Besides, the Sultanate has rights for the land of (Sultan Ground).

There are dozens of Sultanate's companies engaged in various business fields, ranging from financial services, mining, modern markets, hotels, sugar factories, broadcasting, advertising, convection, and parking services. The mastery over economic resources are varied from high to low levels. This mastery requires extensive land so that most people sell their land and move to other areas.

“...satu sisi kita itu sebagai warga Negara Indonesia yang tinggal di wilayah Yogyakarta merasa aman, nyaman dan tentram, disamping itu orang-orangnya yang ramah. Akan tetapi kenyamanan tersebut sekarang seakan banyak berubah, banyaknya warga asli lokal jogja yang menjual tanahnya dengan dalih

⁴⁴ Lihat <http://jogja.solopos.com/baca/2014/02/05/wisuda-abdi-dalembupati-pun-jalan-jongkok-487242>; <http://jogjanews.com/kraton-yogyakartaangkat-260-abdi-dalem>, <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/09/21/03441517/Ketika.Pejabat.Menjadi.Abdi.Dalem>; dan <http://www.radarjogja.co.id/blog/2015/02/20/keraton-wisuda-400-abdi-dalem>

kebutuhan ekonomi dan pindah ke pinggiran, dan tidak sedikit tanah-tanah warga yang terkena dampak gusur paksa...⁴⁵

"... on one hand, we as Indonesian citizens living in the Yogyakarta area feel safe, comfortable and peaceful, besides the people are friendly. On the other hand, the comfort has now changed a lot with many Yogyakarta's native people sell their land due to the financial needs and move to the outskirts of the town, and there are more than a few residents' lands affected by forced evictions ... "

"...saya merasa sedih dengan kenyataan saat ini pembangunan dimana-mana, hotel, perumahan, gedung-gedung usaha memadati Kota Yogyakarta. Dampak dari itu semua dari tahun ke tahun semakin padat dan macet, harga-harga muali beranjak naik, ketika hujan secara perlahan mulai banjir, dan yang lebih di sayangkan lagi di wilayah 4 tahun terakhir ini mulai dipadati para pendatang, dan orang lokal pindah ke pinggiran... kan efek itu memiliki dampak negative bagi warga jogja asli. Maka jangan heran jika kultur Yogyakarta mulai bergeser...⁴⁶

"... I feel sad about the fact that there are vast development of hotels, housings, andbusiness buildings which make the city of Yogyakarta become crowded. Its impact is that as the year goes, the city becomes more congested and there are more traffic jam, the prices begin to rise, the flood comes when it is raining, and what is more regretted is that the in the last 4 years, the town has begun to be crowded with migrants while local people move to the outskirts... it means the effect has a negative impact on the indigenous people of Yogyakarta. So don't be surprised if the Yogyakarta's culture begins to shift ... "

"...setiap kebijakan tentunya ada hal positive, dan saya menyadari hal itu. Akan tetapi dibalik itu semua kita bisa melihat bagaimana perubahan yang sangat cepat di Yogyakarta. Dahulu yang digadang-gadangkan kota berkultur jawa lokal sekarang mulai terkikis, bisa dilihat salah satunya anak-anak bahkan orang tua rata-rata tidak menggunakan bahasa jawa, begitupun adanya penurunan tatakrama jawa asli...⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Yatno, selaku masyarakat biasa yang tinggal di Gunungkidul di pesisir pantai, 28 Januari 2019

⁴⁶ Samat, selaku masyarakat biasa, 1 September 2018

⁴⁷ Ramilah, selaku masyarakat biasa dan sebagai penjual sekitar Keraton Yogyakarta, 25 Desember 2018

"... there is certainly something positive in every policy, and I am aware of that. But behind it, we can see how the changes are very fast in Yogyakarta. What previously known as the city with local Javanese culture is now has begun to lose its culture in which, one of the examples can be seen on the children, even the adults, who generally does not use Javanese anymore, as well as the decrease in the original Javanese manners ... "

The above statements explain that not every individual feel pleasant with the existence of security, peace and calmness in their life since there is still something that they do not really like about it. However, it is not as easy as one might imagine. There is often a difference between what we desire and what is suitable. Therefore, it is only natural if there are pros and cons in each policy. It is certain that there are some people who are benefited meanwhile some other may get disadvantage such as the local people who have limitations to be able to compete with the newcomers or the investors from the outside of Yogyakarta.

Yogyakarta Place the policy holder, certainly does not necessarily imply that all its policies harm the society which yet it has a very positive vision and mission for the good and the progress of the citizens from backwardness. Actually, that is a good step for the continuity of the citizens of Yogyakarta. What should be considered is just how the local residents of Yogyakarta respond to and deal with those various changes. As evidence of the progress, the people of Yogyakarta experience a considerable growth especially in the matter of education which is always ahead compared with other regions. Besides, Yogyakarta's tourism assets

are also not far behind the other regions. It means that the Yogyakarta Palace frankly and statistically has achieved success in dealing with and carrying out the efforts to change for the good and the survival of its citizens.

Whereas the business assets owned by the party which is related with Sultanate and Pakualaman Yogyakarta are as follows:

Table 2.2 Business Assets Owned by the Yogyakarta Sultanate and Pakualaman

No	Business Assets	Business Field	Board of Director/CEO/Investors
1	PT. Jogja Magasa Mining	Tambang Pasir Besi (Iron Sand Mine)	KGPH Joyokusumo/Komisaris GKR Mangkubumi/Komisaris BRM Haryo Seno (Pakualaman)/Direktur Utama
2	PT. Madubaru/PS Madukismo	Sugar, Ethanol	HB X (Pemodal) 65 % saham GKR Mangkubumi/Komisaris Utama
3	PT. Yarsilk Gora Mahottama	Benang Sutera (Silk Yarn)	GKR Mangkubumi/Direktur Utama
4	PT. Yogyakarta Tembakau Indonesia	Rokok (Cigarettes)	GKR Mangkubumi/Direktur Utama 20032008, Komisaris Utama GKR Condrokirono/Direktur Utama 2012 GKR Maduretn
5	PT. Indokor Bangun	Udang (Shrimp)	GKR Mangkubumi/Pemilik

	Desa		
6	PT. Mataram Mitra Manunggal (BPR Mataram)	Financial	GKR Mangkubumi/Komisi Utama
7	PT. Karka Abisaty Mataram	Advertising Services	KGPH Prabukusuma/Diriktur Utama
8	Jogja TV	Media	KGPH Prabukusumo/Komisaris Utama
9	Jogja City Mall	Hypermall	KGPH Hadiwinoto/Komisaris (PT Garuda Mitra Sejati)
10	Ambarukmo Plaza	Hypermall	HB X/Pemilik, PT. Putra Mataram Mitra Sejahtera (pengelola)
11	Ambarukmo Royal Hotel	Hotel	HB X/Pemilik, PT. Putera Mataram Mitra Sejahtera dan PT. Grahawita Santika (pengelola)
12	Nurkadhatyan Spa (satu kompleks Dengan Ambarukmo Royal Hotel	Kecantikan (beautiness)	GKR Maduretno/Pendiri GKR Bendoro/Diriektur Operasional 2015-kini
13	PT. Buana Alam	Kebun Binatang (Zoo)	GKR Maduretno/Komisaris
14	PT. Java Messa Sarana	Jasa Parkir (Parking Services)	KPH Wironegoro (menantu HBX)/Komisaris
15	The Sahid Rich Hotel	Hotel	KGPH Hadiwinoto/Komkisararis (PT. Garuda Mitra Sejati)

The table above shows that the business assets linked with the people of Yogyakarta Palace. It has actually been initiated since the era of the previous Sultan (Hamengku Buwono IX) (Muhaimin, 1985, p. 46). The Hamengku Buwono Group is considered as one of the business groups influencing the rise of capitalism in Indonesia. Moreover, there was a time when Sultan HB IX held a strategic position as a cabinet member in the era of President Soekarno and President Suharto. It is certain that the position is very strategic for HB IX for the sake of an involvement in the business circle of lobbyists at that time. The effect is that the Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX faced directly with the flow of other's political and economic interests.

“...keluarga keraton seperti adik Sultan Gustihadi sebagai komisaris Hotel Riz dan Jogja City Mall atau pemilik saham terbesar dan memiliki kontrol penuh terhadap pembisnis lainya...kedekatan saya dengan beliau sebagai teman pembisnis dan mengenal beliau orang yang tidak gila dengan dunawi dan sebagai contoh yang baik bagi para elit pembisnis di Yogyakarta....keinginan saya Gustihadi naik menjadi Sultan karena pandangan semua teman-teman saya beliau bukan orang yang gila harta bahkan tidak juga gila duniawi yang bersifat sementara ini...”⁴⁸

"... the Palace's family such as the younger brother of Sultan, Gustihadi, is acted as the commissioner of Riz Hotel and Jogja City Mall or the largest shareholder, and he has a control over other businessmen ... my close relation with him is a relation between two businessmen, and I know him as an unworldly man so sets a good example for the business elite in Yogyakarta ... I want

⁴⁸ Qeno, selaku elit borjuis cina (Gineral Manager dan pemilik saham di JCM), September 2018

Gustihadi to rise for the throne, to become a Sultan, because all of my friends see that he is not a materialistic man, and not a worldly man ... "

The Yogyakarta Sultanate controlled the businesses and these economic resources must be applied to control the market, the community, and the private sector. Those various data constitute a form of power possessed by the Sultan and Hamengkubuwono Yogyakarta in the Yogyakarta region, not to mention that they also have it on areas far outside the city of Yogyakarta. However, the initial vision and mission of all those businesses are for the good and advancement of the people of Yogyakarta in living their daily, so that their life is safe, peaceful and comfortable.

Sultan Ground

In terms of mastering the economic resources, especially the land sector, it was found that the efforts to control the land rights (the rights of ownership of the land) are seen to be increasingly intensive and widespread after the establishment of the DIY Specialization Law. Basically, the control of the land rights increasingly complements the involvement of the Sultanate and the Pakualaman in various establishment and ownership of business entities. One of the main instruments that are quite dominant in economic and political control is this existence of the control over the land rights.

After the enactment of the Law, the privilege of controlling the land rights by the Sultanate and the Pakualaman was at least carried out by

two means, namely the political-administrative and hegemonic cultural way. This political-administrative way was carried out in the form of making the DIY Governor Regulation Number 112 of 2014 concerning the Utilization of Village Land and the issue of the Governor's Decree number 593/4811 (November 12, 2012) and the Governor's Decree no 593/0708 (February 15, 2013) for the Head of BPN DIY concerning Control of Application of the Rights over the State Land by the DIY Regional Government. Besides, it was also carried out by encouraging the immediate ratification of the civil service concerning the use and management of the Sultanate and Duchy land, whose discussions involved politicians in the DIY's DPRD.

“...tidak sedikit masyarakat Yogyakarta khususnya tidak memiliki tanah hak milik pribadi, karena rata-rata milik kraton... pada akhirnya sewaktu-waktu kraton atau sultan dapat mengambilnya kembali...”⁴⁹

"... more than few people, especially in Yogyakarta, do not own any private land, because generally it belongs to the Palace ... in the end, the Palace or the Sultan are able to take it back at any time..."

“...pada dasarnya masyarakat Yogyakarta yang terkena dampak pengusuran hanya pasrah dan mengikuti undang-undang yang berlaku...”⁵⁰

"... basically, the Yogyakarta people affected by eviction can only surrender and follow the application of the laws ..."

“...sejatinya kami sebagai masyarakat hanya mengikuti aturan yang berlaku. Apalagi yang terkena dampak mereka hanya patuh

⁴⁹ Supri, selaku mantan dukuh manukan , 8 Januari 2019

⁵⁰ Budi, selaku masyarakat biasa yang bekerja sebagai pengacara dan mengerti hukum , 8 Januari 2019

dan tidak bisa melawan... diantara mereka biasanya ada yang pindah ke daerah perkampungan dan ada juga yang merantau...⁵¹

"... actually, we as the society can only follow the rules. Moreover, those affected by them can only be obedient and are unable to fight ... among them, there are usually those who move to the village area and there are also those who migrate ... "

Observing the dynamics of the discussion of the regulations draft in the DPRD and the growing discourse in the community, it appears that what the Raperdais asks to the government has many weaknesses. Judging from the nomenclature and the substance, the regulation draft is very impressive, in that it is being a political and administrative instrument that legitimize the interests of the Sultanate and Pakualaman in controlling the land.

Prayanto (2016, p. 121) in his research stated that Ni'matul Huda as an expert in constitutional law and conducted a lot of research on DIY privileges in the DPRD Special Committee meeting that the draft regulation accommodates the interests of the Pakualaman Sultanate and Duchy and does not accommodate the authority of the government. As a way out, Ni'matul Huda proposed two things: *first*, the nomenclature of the Raperdais about "management and utilization of the Land of the Sultanate and the Duchy" was changed to Raperdais "Pertanahan"; *second*, the inclusion of the role and authority of the regional government should be added.

⁵¹ Sumarmo, masyarakat biasaya yang saudaranay tergusur oleh proyek bandara baru, 18 Januari 2019

Behind all of those, there are interesting things to be studied and understood. It is because the discussion process of the Raperdais on "management and utilization of the land of the Sultanate and the Duchy" included a list of lands claimed by the Sultanate and Pakualaman as cultural legal entity property rights, signed by the Head of Service, Ir. Hananto Hadi Purnomo, M.Sc regarding with the temporary data of the Pakualaman Sultanate and Duchy land from the 2015 data. As a note, the total area of the Sultanate and Pakualaman in all of DIY is approximately 59,331,371 M2 (Paryanto, 2016, p. 121).

Table 2.3 The Land Claimed by the Sultanate and Pakualaman

No	Regency	Plot	Large (M)
1	Yogyakarta	339	613.345
2	Bantul	3.074	7.031.574
3	Kulonprogo	1.574	17.564.759
4	Gunung Kidul	4.046	26.656.191
5	Sleman	4.86	7.456.502
	Jumlah	13.519	59.331.371

Source: Dinas Pertanahan dan Tata Ruang DIY Tahun 2016.

In addition, there was political resistance from various politicians in the DIY's DPRD hindering the actions of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono and the Sultanate who made the efforts to control the land claimed as the land of the sultan. (Paryanto, 2016, p. 125). Not only that, but the debate was also among the people because it has become the daily

politics of the Yogyakarta's community, concerning that the Sultanate has also become a part of the conversation in their daily lives.

"...Terlepas dari dinamika politik masyarakat sendiri hanya sebagai pengamat dan pengikut dari kekuasaan tanah yang dimiliki kraton dan pakualaman... toh kita juga sebagai masyarakat tidak memiliki kekuatan penuh untuk melakukan perlawanan..."⁵²

"... Apart from the political dynamics, the people themselves are only basically observers and followers of the rights of the land owned by the Sultanate and Pakualaman Palace ... Moreover, we also do not have the full power to fight ..."

"...tentunya masyarakat pernah, bahkan sering melakukan perlawanan dalam mempertahankan hak milik tanah sendiri dengan berbagai upaya, baik itu melalui LSM, kelompok masyarakat, sekalipun jalur politik, tapi hasilnya kita kalah dalam UU agraria kesultanan Yogyakarta... pada intinya kita sudah melakukan perlawanan, dan sejauh ini hasilnya kita mengalah..."⁵³

"... It is certain that people have, even often, fought back in defending their ownership rights of land by doing various efforts, whether through NGOs, community groups, and even political channels, but as a result we still lost to the Yogyakarta Sultanate agrarian law ... essentially, we have resisted, and so far the results show that we have succumbed to it... "

"...ya, pada intinya kita sebagai masyarakat menerima-menerima saja, toh itu juga dikelola oleh kraton dan demi kelancaran dan kelangsungan masyarakat Yogyakarta sendiri... kita juga selama ini tetap nyaman-nyaman saja..."⁵⁴

"... Well, basically we as the people accept it, yet it is also managed by the Palace and for the smoothness and continuity of the people of Yogyakarta's life itself ... we have always been comfortable in so far ..."

In the case of frequent eviction of people affected by the loss of their land ownership rights, they often carry out various forms of

⁵² Basuki, tokoh agama sekaligus takmir masjid di dusun Manukan, 14 Januari 2019

⁵³ Fajar, selaku pemuda yang sempat tinggal di area bandara baru, 30 Januari 2019

⁵⁴ Andi, sealku masyarakat biasa bekerja sebagai suoir Grep, 30 Januari 2019

resistance, whether it is organized by community groups, NGOs (*LSM*) or political channels. Nevertheless, the defeat goes to the plaintiff and the case is won by the official legal entity of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

“...biasanya masyarakat yang melakukan protes melalui berbagai aksi, kemudian ada juga pemberian bentuk pemahaman dan penyadaran kepada masyarakat melalui berbagai diskusi dan pelatihan kemandirian supaya tidak bergantung pada masalah yang sedang dihadapi, melainkan masyarakat dibimbing untuk fokus kepada solusi tentang bagaimana menjalani kehidupan pasca penggusuran...”⁵⁵

"... usually people do the protest through various actions, then there are also some activities which give understanding and awareness to the community through various discussions and training on the independence to not depend the life of the community on the problems being faced, but the community is guided to focus on the solutions of how to live after the eviction ... "

“...seperti yang terjadi di kulon progo pembangunan bandara dan gunung kidul yang dijadikan lahan wisata gumuk pasir, kan waktu itu sempat rame, masyarakat melakukan berbagai aksi, sekalipun pernyataan di media sosial tentang bagaiman mempertahankan kan hak tanah milik mereka yang sudah diwariskan secara turun menurun...”⁵⁶

"... As what happened in Kulon Progo, the construction of the airport and facilities in Gunung Kidul which are being developed to be a sand dune tourism spot, in which there was big dispute over it, the community took various actions, even by giving statements on the social media about how they defend their ownership rights of the land which has been inherited to them from the previous generations..."

The resistance over the ownership of government land was not only from the public and political circles outside of the Palace, but also from the Sultanate's relatives and Pakualaman themselves. One of those

⁵⁵ Asat, selaku mantan Profesor dosen sosiologi UGM, 28 November 2018

⁵⁶ Haidar, Wawancara dengan aktifis mahasiswa Yogyakarta, 28 April 2018.

resistances came from the sultan of Hamengku Buwono VII, by going to the villages' chief to have them record the lands they claimed to belong to the descendants of HB VII and make them have a legal proof of ownership over those lands.⁵⁷

A conclusion that can be made is that the Sultan Ground in Yogyakarta created a considerable amount of polemic in ordinary people and politics even though the Yogyakarta Sultanate's descendants have legal rights over it.

In the essence, every community is affected by the Sultan Ground, so that they resisted in various ways to defend their rights and land inherited from the generations of their ancestors. If there is not any favorable result, the community takes a middle ground to focus on the next life. Because basically, the people of Yogyakarta themselves are aware of their rights and the ownership of the lands in Yogyakarta.

3. Cultural Dynamic & Identity as the instruments in defending the power with hegemony

Culture is one of the things that makes Yogyakarta special even though Act 13 of 2012 explains that the specialty of Yogyakarta lies in its executives. However, most Yogyakarta's people, especially those living in rural areas, always assume that what makes Yogyakarta special is not only their executives or leaders, but also their culture. The culture also becomes

⁵⁷ Berita Harian Bernas dan Kedaulatan Rakyat, Sabtu 11 Desember 2016

a kind of energy emitted from the Sultanate to color up the political system of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. The tradition, since the days of Hindu's and Buddha's domination, was carried out continuously so that it is transformed to be the culture.

The power of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta can remain strong until now even to the end of time. The Sultanate of Yogyakarta managed to maintain its power even though it was in a very threatening condition during the Dutch and Japan occupation, the independence era, the Suharto regime, and the Yudhoyono administration in the stipulation of Law 13 of 2012 on the Special Province of Yogyakarta that cannot be accessed directly at the Governor. The power remains because the Sultanate of Yogyakarta has managed to hegemonize the society through the Javanese cultures or traditions.

Culture is a tradition that is carried out continuously for a long time. A culture comes from the human mind, a model that must be accepted by humans, connected to the others, and then materialized in a certain phenomena. There are some characteristics of culture stated by Raymond Williams:

Raymond Williams membagi tiga batasan tentang budaya. Pertama, budaya dapat digunakan untuk merujuk pada proses umum tertentu dari perkembangan intelektual, spiritual, dan estetika masyarakat. Kedua, budaya juga ditafsirkan sebagai cara hidup tertentu yang diadopsi oleh orang-orang dan kelompok-kelompok dalam masyarakat. ketiga, budaya dapat digunakan untuk merujuk pada karya

dan praktik intelektual, terutama aktivasi estetika (astuti, 2003, hal. 56).

Raymond Williams mentioned three definitions of culture. First, culture can be used to refer to certain general processes of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development of society. Second, culture is also interpreted as a particular way of life adopted by people and groups in society. Third, culture can be used to refer to intellectual work and practice, especially those involving aesthetic activation (astuti, 2003, hal. 56).

Hegemony is used to explore how dominant culture influences other groups, especially in creating an identity or in adjusting the people to social norms; and cultural construction theory is used to explore how the people build the culture and how it shapes humans (Kumbara, 2018, p. 44). The hegemony is used by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta to defend its people in order to maintain its power.

In the concept of hegemony, there are some key points such as dominance of leadership, strength, and agreement/approval (consensus). The Yogyakarta's Sultanate has a charismatic and culturally legitimate model of moral leadership, has the authority inherited from previous kings with the power from the Divine, rules over economic sources, social politic, landlords, and cultural symbols, and is accepted by the civilized society. The practice of Sultanate's hegemony is carried out through civil traditions existed since the Hinduism era until now and accepted by the values and the norms of the Yogyakarta's community.

The cultures or the traditions existed among the people of Yogyakarta which are quite well-known to outsiders and attract tourists are still existed today. Radal, in the interview, stated some of those cultures or traditions in which one of them is Sekaten Ceremony. The Sekaten ceremony is held to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad every 5th of *Mulud* of Javanese calendar (or *Rabiul Awal of the Islamic year*) in the northern square of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. This ceremony was used by Sultan Hamengkubuwono I, the Founder of the Yogyakarta Palace, to invite people to follow and embrace Islam. In the Sekaten ceremony, there are so many loyal and voluntary people participated and enlivened it. Even without the Sultan does not give an order for the community to come to it, the crowd fill the Sekaten ceremony in the northern square of Yogyakarta.

Figure 2.4 The Sekaten Ceremony



Source: *Momotrip Jurnal* (2017)

Another culture or tradition is Labuhan Ceremony which is a Yogyakarta Traditional Ceremony carried out since the days of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in the XIII century until now in the Special Province of Yogyakarta. The community believes that by traditionally holding the Labuhan Ceremony, there will be security, peace, and welfare for the people and the state. The ceremony is held in four places, which are in Dlepih area of Wonogiri District, Central Java, in Parangtritis in the south of Yogyakarta, in the peak of Mount Lawu, and in the peak of Mount Merapi. This ceremony is religious in nature and only carried out by the order of the king as the leader of the kingdom. Moreover, according to the Sultanate tradition in Yogyakarta, Labuhan ceremony is carried out officially in the context of events such as the Coronation of the Sultan, *Tingalan Panjenengan* (Sultan's coronation birthday), and the commemoration the Sultan's birthday, "*Windaon*" which is held once every eight years.

Figure 2.5 Labuhan ceremony



Source: *Florenzia (2017)*

There are other cultural ceremonies such as *tumplak wajik*, *siraman pusaka*, *saparan (bekakak)*, *nguras enceh*, *jaman kereta kencana* and so on. The practice of hegemonizing the society by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta is very visible every 1st of Sura's Night ceremony based on the Javanese calendar which is special especially for the people of Java. In Yogyakarta's Palace, on that night a variety of rituals are held as a prayer to thanks the Creator and to ask for salvation. There is a unique tradition called mute act (walking in silence). It is a ritual in which the people surround the Palace's Fort on foot without saying a word. There are the Palace's relatives, surrounding communities, and the tourists participated in the event (*Kompasiana, 2015*).

Figure 2.6 Mute act of the 1st of Sura



Source: *Susanto (2016)*

It is a form of culture which is very popular that those who actually do not know before can join and merge with the crowd in this sacred ritual.

Culture as Identity

Identity is an abstract and diverse concept that plays an important role in the interaction of intercultural communication. Globalization, intercultural marriage, and immigration patterns add to the complexity of cultural identity in this century. Identity refers to the special character of an individual or member of a particular group or social category. Identity comes from the word "idem" in Latin which means the same. Thus, identity implies equality or unity with other people in an area or certain things (Santoso, 2006, p. 44).

Cultural identity is a characteristic that someone shows as that person is a member of a particular ethnic group. This includes learning and accepting tradition, innate nature, language, religion, and cultural desires (Daruwati, 2016, p. 7). According to Dorais, cultural identity is a basic awareness of the specific characteristics of a group that a person has in terms of life habits, customs, language, and values (Santoso, 2006, p. 45). According to Santoso (2006, p. 45) ethnic identity is closely related to the cultural identity because in order to categorize a society, one must know their cultural characteristics, or in other words, ethnic identity can show the cultural identity of a group. Ethnic identity is generally closely related

to culture, politics, and economy. This identity has a strong relationship with politics which is defined as the power to control. The Yogyakarta Sultanate controls its society with a culture that has been going on for a long time and even the culture itself has become a part of its society and the identity of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

“...Budaya sudah menjadi identitas bagi masyarakat jogja. Bahkan masyarakat jogja merasa memiliki Yogyakarta...masyarakat merasa memiliki keraton itu sendiri..... apabila budaya atau Yogyakarta di usik oleh orang luar sontak masyarakat jogja melawan dan memperjuangkannya.....nilai-nilai dan norma budaya sudah meresap di masyarakat Jogja dari sejak dulukala...”⁵⁸

"... Culture has become an identity for the people of Jogja. Even the people of Yogyakarta feel that they own the Yogyakarta ... the people feel they own the palace... if its culture or the Yogyakarta itself is being bullied by outsiders, the Yogyakarta's people fight for and against it ... the cultural values and norms have permeated the Yogyakarta's society from the first time ... "

“...banyak pemuda kita sudah lupa terhadap nilai-nilai dan norma budaya sendiri seperti tidak berbahasa yang sopan ketika berbicara dengan orangtua....semua kembali kepada diri masing-masing dan orangtua bagaimana mendidik anak....walau terlihat luntur, estetika budaya kesakaralannya masih melekat..”⁵⁹

"... Many of our young people have forgotten their own cultural values and norms such as speaking politely when talking to the parents ... everything depends on each of them and how the parents educate their children ... even though it looks faded, the sacredness of the aesthetic culture is still attached on it... "

The culture that has become the identity of the community will not be easily eroded and it makes the community's loyalty very visible every

⁵⁸ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018

⁵⁹ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018

time it is put into practice and when there is a threat from the outside of the cultural symbols.

Cultural Dynamics in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta

The Sultanate of Yogyakarta has its own way of practicing the culture in the face of increasingly modern times. It is an ancient culture but it still exists in the community and even in the outside of the Yogyakarta region, and not eroded by the changing of times and the foreign culture's influences. In fact, the Yogyakarta's culture itself has getting more and more well-known internationally.

The uniqueness of the art and the culture of Yogyakarta that continues to survive the scouring and rolling wheel of modernization, but they can still flexibly compensate the effect and remain to firmly stand the crowd of people transforming the existing arts and culture due to the changing times. The current Yogyakarta is unlike its old kingdom, since it has become a new kind of civilization while still uphold the old form of arts and culture.

“.....Bangunan kuno tetap dipertahankan, bahkan beberapa bangunan modern mengambil konsep bangunan tempo dulu. Batik yang dulu menjadi simbol-simbol dalam berbusana, kini semakin legendaris sejak ditetapkan menjadi warisan dunia...”⁶⁰

"..... Ancient buildings are still maintained, even some modern buildings take on the concept of the ancient building's design. Batik that used to be the symbols of dress, is now increasingly legendary since it was set to become a world heritage ... "

⁶⁰ Radal, selaku masyarakat yang memiliki kekerabatan dengan keratin karena darah ketrunan, 12 November 2018

The cultural change or the function of culture as the pillar of Yogyakarta's Sultanate's power can be seen on the *Sekaten* ceremony. There are always many people attending the *Sekaten*. It shows the high loyalty of public.

“...upacara sekaten sudah ada sejak zaman kerajaan Hindu Buddha dan ketika Wali Songo datang dengan membawa Islam bersamanya Sekatan menjadi alat untuk menarik masyarakat untuk masuk memeluk Islam, karena pada zaman Mataram Islam hingga berdirinya Kasultanan sekaten masih dipakai sebagai alat mengislamkan masyarakat, siapa yang akan masuk dalam acara sekaten harus membaca dua kalimat sahadat pada gapura gerbang masuk acara sekaten di laun-alun utara. Ketika zaman semakin moderen sekaten hanya sebagai perayaan biasa atau festival penyambutan maulid nabi...”⁶¹

"... the sekaten ceremony has been existed since the domination of the kingdom of Hindu Buddha and also when the *Wali Songo* came by bringing Islam with them. The *Sekatan* has become a tool to attract the community to embrace Islam, as in the era of Islamic Mataram until the establishment of the Sultanate *Sekaten* was used as a mean of Islamizing the society. Those who will enter the *Sekaten* must recite the sahadat sentences on the entrance gate of the event in the north square. As the era increasingly becomes more and more modern, the *Sekaten* has only become an ordinary celebration or a festival for welcoming the commemoration of the prophet's *maulid*..."

The biggest reason that makes people became obedient and submissive with by volunteering without any coercion is that the Sultanate is a symbol of strength that cannot be logically interpreted or comes from the God. Every ceremony of cultural traditions is carried out by the people with the drive to respect the local wisdom.

⁶¹ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018

“...Kesultanan Yogyakarta memiliki Pemimpin sebagai Raja dengan rahmat Allah yang karismatik, religius, sakral, memiliki kekuatan diluar akal manusia dan memiliki estetika tersendiri yang membedakan antara Pemimpin di daerah lain...”⁶²

".... The Sultanate of Yogyakarta has a leader who is a King with the charisma, religiosity, sacred grace of God, strength beyond human's understanding, and its own aesthetic distinguishing it from the leaders of other regions ..."

“...masyarakat patuh dan tunduk tanpa paksaan karena sekenario budaya yang berjalan terus menerus dan sudah menjadi bagian diri masyarakat menyebabkan masyarakat mematuhi Sultan tanpa ada paksaan dan loyal bahkan tidak sadar merka sangat loyal terhadapnya karena masyarakat menghormati kearifan lokal atau pemimpin dengan kearifan lokal...”⁶³.

".... the community obeys and complies without any coercion because of a cultural scenario that has been continued and has become a part of the community causing the community to obey the Sultan without any coercion and with loyalty even unconsciously they are very loyal because they respect the local wisdom or the leaders with the local wisdom ... "

The number of problems and conflicts described earlier are due to the political dynamics of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and to control people in order for them to remain loyal to the Yogyakarta Sultanate through a ceremonial culture which values and norms are accepted by society. It can be considered as soft politic to hegemonize the society.

“.....ini bukan lagi sebuah budaya melainkan suatu keharusan yang harus dilakukan/wajib dilakukan untuk membentuk atsmofir di Kesultanan dan yogyakarta itu sendiri sehingga masyarakat tetap loyal....”⁶⁴.

⁶² Majik, selaku masyarakat biasa, 30 Desember 2018

⁶³ Paidi, Paidi, Wawancara dengan tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kedekatan dengan Keluarga Keraton, 14 Desember 2018

⁶⁴ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018

"... it is no longer a culture but a necessity which must be done/is obligatory to form the atmosphere in the Sultanate and in the Yogyakarta itself so that the people remain loyal ..."

"...banyak masyarakat Yogyakarta tidak tahu setiap makna yang ada dalam seremonial budaya atau tradisi seperti upacara maulid nabi yang ada gamelan di masjid mataram dengan gending jawa, masyarakat tidak tahu filosofi dan makna setiap pukulan gamelan.....yang mereka tahu adalah nilai kesakralan dalam upacara tradisi atau budaya....."⁶⁵

".... many people in Yogyakarta do not know every meaning that exists in ceremonial culture or traditions such as the Prophet's *Maulid* ceremony that involves gamelan at Mataram mosque with Javanese tune. The people don't know the philosophy and the meaning in every beat of the gamelan... all they know is that there is value of sacredness in traditional or cultural ceremonies....."

The above statements explain that the practice of the Yogyakarta Sultanate's political hegemony in maintaining power after the Act 13 of 2012 has been applied through Javanese culture and traditions in which their values and norms are accepted by the community and the community respect the wisdom of the leader and the cultured tradition, which has become a necessity for them to form the atmosphere of loyalty and obedience in the society towards the Sultanate even if they do not realize it.

⁶⁵ Marjanto Pawoko, selaku abdi dalem keraton, 25 Desember 2018