

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Historically the special features of the Special Region of Yogyakarta have gone through a long struggle with hegemony and political dynamics that accompany it. The researcher used Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony which was carried out by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta through culture with a leadership model with cultural, domination, strength, and agreement. Thus, taken from the concept of Gramsci's hegemony is about power, comonsent, domination, and intellectual and moral leadership, its has reletion ecah other and can not be separated or can not stand alone even influence ech other. This is done by Sultanate using charismatic leadership, domination all sectors, strong in al sectors, and getting approval from the legal formal and legal culture by community. Thats sector are economic, cultural, social, and social politic. Hegemony according to Gramsci refers to the notion of a socio-political situation which in its terminology called 'moment' where philosophy and social practice of society unite in a balanced state: domination is a concept of reality that spreads through society in an institution and individual manifestations. The influence of "spirit" form morality, customs, religion, political principles and social relations, especially from intellectual leaders. Hegemony is a victory that is obtained through a consensus mechanism rather than through the oppression of other social classes. Furthermore, it is the transfer of consciousness carried out by a leader who

dominates other social classes in order to submit and obey without any coercion but voluntarily.

This hegemony through the leadership, political, social, cultural, economic and sultan land has been around for a long time and has been agreed upon by all elements in Yogyakarta. The Yogyakarta Sultanate used a model of hegemony in leadership and domination, strength, and which was devoted to Javanese Power which was endorsed by a culture that was centered on the king in the Sultanate. With the model of charismatic leadership, the legitimacy of the leader's culture of divine domination has an unreasonable (supernatural/powerful) power and has become the starting of formation in the continuity of the Specialties of the Special Region of Yogyakarta before and after Indonesian independence. The dominance carried out by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta was not only an intellectual and moral leader but the Sultanate of Yogyakarta also dominated in all fields such as culture, economy resources and sultan ground. Thus, power hegemony was used not only to gain power but also to maintain the power of the Yogyakarta Sultanate.

Meanwhile the Privilege Law has openly become a legal institution in the granting of power by the state to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and Pakualaman. This position is supported by economic power in the form of privileged affairs in the fields of land and spatial planning, social power and cultural symbols through special authority in culture, and institutionalization of bureaucracy through privileged institutional authority. It is no longer in line with the enactment of the

Privileges Law in holding positions and powers that are close to absolute, dominant without rival, and legal according to legislation.

Thus, it raises a question whether with the current character of the power possessed by the Yogyakarta Sultanate guarantees the continuity of the privilege of the Special Region of Yogyakarta and the hegemony of the Yogyakarta Sultanate in maintaining power. The findings of this research study showed that people still remain loyal and obedient or can be said that the sultanate's hegemony is very strong. As for those who threaten privileges, namely the accumulation of political, economic and socio-cultural power in one hand, it has caused a contradiction to the privileges of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, which was carried out by the Sultan of Yogyakarta: *first*, Sabda Tama Sultan who carried out King's succession conditioning to his daughter, of course, GKR Pembayun (which is now called GKR Mangkubumi) ignore value and auger. This, action seems too far and no longer in accordance with the regulations in force in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta which caused protests from his brothers. The impact is a new conflict within the Sultanate and in the community itself. *Second*, regarding the Sultan's land, evictions took place in the new airport area and on the beach in Gunungkidul for the tourism area which causes arise from civil society, NGOs and other organizations despite the decision of the Sultanate Constitutional Court to win it. *Third*, the cultures only focus on the traditional ceremonies of Sekaten, Labuhan, Malem Suro and so on.

From those explanations above, it was believed that the political interests of the Sultan have increasingly thickened. GKR Pembayun can replace him as Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. In some fundamental changes carried out by the Sultan as reflected in the Sultan's Word, there was confidence in the part of the Sultanate's family at this time that GKR Pembayun had been adopted as the Crown Princess. That means that in the future Pembayun will rise to the throne as Sultan. However, it was reaffirmed that the GKR Pembayaun was still merely appointed as the leader of the royal breed. There are also key groups of society that are still limited to the temporary safekeeping of power until there are suitable candidates to occupy the Sultan position in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Even in the case of land owned by the Sultan, this also caused a lot of conflict in the community. It is clear that the Privilege Law is adhered to and carried out as far as interests are concerned.

Although there are many challenges and causes of conflict, the people are still loyal, submissive and obedient voluntarily to the sultanate. This is because there is a political hegemony in defending its power that is manifested through cultures such as the tradition of Sekaten, and other traditional ceremonies that have been embedded in the community and become an identity for the people that the Sultanate of Yogyakarta is their property and even the people respect local wisdom. The practice of hegemony is indeed done by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta as follows.

First, it is done through cultural traditions that have been carried out and accepted by the community, namely Sekaten, Labuhan, and Malem Suro and others. This is no longer a cultural tradition, but rather a necessity and must be done by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta to build an atmosphere in Yogyakarta and maintain and make the people loyal to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. An example of the practice of the Sultanate Hegemony through the Sekaten tradition is in which this tradition is to welcome the birth of the prophet and aim to spread Islam or to invite people to embrace Islam. The people will gather together after the enlightenment. Meanwhile, *Grebeg Sekaten* as a symbol of the alms of the Yogyakarta Sultanate to the community in the form of *gunungan* is carried out three times on Islamic holidays with the philosophy of the spirit of *grebeg*, thousands and crowded. *Gunungan* is a representation of plants (vegetables and fruit) and snacks (*rengginang*). Those are all carried by the courtiers who wear maroon and old batik clothes and hats with white circle and flower in the middle. *Gunungan* was taken from *Kori Kamandungan* as the starting point for *Grebeg Sekaten* to be taken to the courtyard of the *Gedhe Mosque*. Arriving *Gedhe Mosque* there was a handover carried out by the army with the head of the *Gedhe Mosque* to be prayed for the prince and then distributed to the community. People who have gathered from all over Yogyakarta even from outside Yogyakarta are also fighting over the *gunungan* because they believe that anyone who gets any part of the *gunungan* will get a blessing. The philosophy of the *gunungan* is that humans in their lives to achieve their goals must be brave enough to make

competition and problems. Life must be brave to be faced, not to be avoided. There is also *gunungan* of red eggs pierced with the meaning of the philosophy of the egg is the beginning of life, meanwhile bamboo that penetrates the egg which symbolizes that all life on earth has an axis, *Gusti Alloh* (God) and red means luck, blessing and courage.

Second, the sultanate's hegemony is done through socio-political ruler. 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. This is to get the sympathy of the people and the mean to be close to the people.

Third, hegemony is done through the economy aspect as the economy ruler and at the same time the control of economic sources and the sultan ground. As was 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 was varied from high to low levels. This mastery requires extensive land so that most people who live and even have business on the line of the sultan sell their land and move to other areas for example, the people who were displaced due to the construction of the airport in Kulon Progo the people were not moving and could not fight even the national government could not touch the land in the Special Region of Yogyakarta in the reform of agrarian land. It indicates that the sultanate's hegemony is very strong.

The impact of the practice of cultural hegemony made the community respect local wisdom and loyal to it without being instructed for example when the people celebrate the Sekaten ceremony and other ceremonies. The practice of hegemony through economic sources and sultan's land made people try to approach the sultanates and were loyal to him because they lived in the sultanate's land to benefit the business community. Meanwhile the practice of hegemony through social politics and cultural symbols is done such as GKR Hemas, activists who are close with the people and it made the sultanate be in the hearts of the people and the community feel comfortable and peaceful. There is also a cultural symbol for many people or officials who devote themselves as courtiers so that their levels can rise quickly.

The other impact of the practice of the Yogyakarta Sultanate hegemony are very interesting findings where hegemony is said to have a negative impact, this does not apply in Yogyakarta. Although the Sultanate Hegemony is very strong even the central government cannot touch the province of Yogyakarta with the existence of this hegemony, people do not care about any system that wants democracy or monarchy because people feel comfortable, peaceful and happy. this is because of the practices of hegemony over social culture. this is what makes hegemony worse but not in Yogyakarta.