

**On Women Governor Discourse In Yogyakarta Special Regions:  
A Muhammadiyah View Toward The Constitutional Court  
No. 88 / PUU-XIV / 2016**

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**Abstract**

*This study aims to answer the discourse of an Islamic organization, namely Muhammadiyah, in response to a female governor in an Islamic society in Yogyakarta who the Indonesian Constitutional Court overthrew. The study used a qualitative descriptive method. The theory used in this research is perception, discourse, leadership, gender, and power. The data in this study are in the form of documents, information based on interviews with Muhammadiyah residents and women activists who are the Governor's discourse. The researcher also uses the Nvivo 12 Plus Application to support this analysis. This study describes that Muhammadiyah as the most influential Islamic group in the Special Region of Yogyakarta does not issue a policy regarding the Governor's discourse and women's resistance, which is relatively closed. This research will be helpful for researchers in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and political science. Also, it will help policymakers to understand their justification for the policy.*

**Keywords:** *Constitutional Court, Discourse, Muhammadiyah, Policy, Women's Governor*

**INTRODUCTION**

The Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) recognizes its legal position based on history and fundamental rights. The presence of Law No. 13 of 2012 also complements the shortcomings of Law No. 3 of 1950, Law No. 19 of 1950, Law No. 9 of 1955 concerning the formation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Law No. 13 of 2012 emphasizes specifically regulating the filling of positions and special functions of Yogyakarta compared to other regions in Indonesia due to Yogyakarta's status as a Special Region. Special Region

and Special Autonomy are also given to the Province of Aceh, the Special Capital Region of Jakarta and Papua, with the principle of decentralization through Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government which explains the existence of regional autonomy, which is a form of delegation of authority from the central government to local governments (Pawana, 2020).

. The Kraton's condition is already good. Why should it be changed, which confuses the community? Sultan Hamengku Buwono X's decision to strengthen his eldest daughter, one of the people who crashed into the court's traditional Palace, does not agree that the women king is not talking about equality but traditional custom (Tempo. co, 2015). On August 31, 2017, in Jakarta, the Constitutional Court (MK) granted the case test number 88 / PUU-XIV / 2016, petition for testing of Article 18 paragraph (1) letter m of Law number 13 of 2012 concerning DIY privileges (KDIY Law), which states the decision with the phrase includes, among others, employment history, siblings, wife, and children, in article 18 paragraph 1 letter m of Law number 13 of 2012 which is contrary to the 1945 Constitution and has no binding legal force (Tirto. id, 2017).

Different from previous studies conducted by social scientists in Indonesia about Muhammadiyah such as, to mention few, focusing on religious reform by (Burhani, 2005), (Kim, 2010), (Ali, 2015), (Djamil, 1995), on social service (Latief, 2016), economic movement by (Njoto-Feinard, 2014), and electoral politics, by (Asyari, 2008), (Nurmandi et al., 2017) and (Wardana & Hidayat, 2019), this study is unique because Muhammadiyah is rarely researched in the local political context related to royal dynasties or customs which concerns the position of women in the Yogyakarta governor's discourse which is legally-formally must be occupied by a king who reigns in this unique regions.

The organization and movement of gender disparities in their organization come from a more "invisible" aspect, such as the stereotype may not even know that they possess, but the influence of how women see themselves as a leader. The computational model is the Appropriate methodology for researching the processes associated with the factors and linking specific structural factors mechanisms (Samuelson et al., 2019). Not much different from the opinion (Schock et al., 2019), organizations and individuals may help pave the way for justice by carefully elaborating on the contributions of women in leadership roles and by being mindful that it might be appropriate for women to demonstrate group behaviors to

fulfill their gender role even when such responses are not required to achieve a leadership position. In this discussion, the author will explain related to the results of research on the perception of Muhammadiyah in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) in the discourse of the women governor in the Privileges Act DIY before and after the decision of the constitutional court number 88 / PUU-XIV / 2016. This research was conducted by interview and documentation. The author will explain and explain the problem with various perceptions of Muhammadiyah in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) and many individual perceptions related to research so that the emergence of opinions in everyone, as for the authors classify the perceptions of Institutional, personal Muhammadiyah and activist discourse of the woman governor. According to (Sugiaryo & Hartiwiningsih, 2016), Regions underpinning the principle of recognition are the right of birth, citizenship, democracy, solidarity in diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), national interests, and the use of local information interests. Recommended that Governor and Vice-Person fill positions Special Region Governor of Yogyakarta is established by Usage of the appointment process.

This fact causes researchers to be interested in examining the views of the oldest Islamic organization in Indonesia, namely Muhammadiyah which can be said to be an organization that is in line with the ideals of the nation as stated in the 1945 Constitution and Muhammadiyah as the most influential Islamic group that does not issue policies regarding the governor's discourse and relatively female resistance. closed. So it is natural that Muhammadiyah has the perception of filling the seat of the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. This research uses data collection techniques are the most crucial step in qualitative research in general, including observation, interviews, and document analysis. Researchers will use more than one data collection technique for validating findings (Emzir, 2014). So the data collection techniques in this study are interviews, documentation, and the help of data processing software Nvivo 12 Plus. From this phenomenon, the author is interested in learning further how Perceptions of Muhammadiyah in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) in the Discourse of the Governor of Women in the Privileges Act before and after the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 88 / PUU-XIV / 2016.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

Leaders in public office are leaders who undergo functions as government officials and work for the Crowd (public) (Luh et al., 2016). Gender issues are issues associated with the construction of social culture that runs dynamically. Social aspects always run dynamically, thus demanding the Law to run dynamically and responsively to be relevant to the dynamics of times (Ma, 2015). The leadership of the Yogyakarta Sultanate towards religious life in the community and the status of Yogyakarta privileges that become the current political commodity. The characteristic of the leadership style of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta is (patron-Klien) (Rahman, 2014). According to (Udasmoro, 2017) the gender norm, long thought to be an established orientation of the gender dispersed by various social actors in Indonesia to claim differences in the gender through men and women values which can be shared in societies. Differ in the study (Begum, N., 2013) In such circumstances; different results can be accomplished by men and women members, according to the social, institutional viewpoint. This is because men are given greater status and privilege, and are more likely to be In leadership positions consistent with their sociodemographic class. Women, on the other hand, are seen to have lower status and less power, and leadership.

The importance given by leaders (Fisk et al., 2020), often the lack of linkage between women's policies and gender issues is noteworthy (Recalde et al., 2019). in addition, Empowering women to participate fully in the sector of society that believes to participate in economic growth and political stability (Lopez-Gonzalez, 2018). Often gender role stereotypes are rooted in cultural and social attitudes towards traditional masculine and feminine roles and gender roles show that men and women sometimes behave differently in societal norms (Matheus & Quinn, 2018) (Stratou et al., 2018). In practice, there are there is often an imbalance in the number of female and male members (Pinilih, 2020). The gender gap is also felt in Thailand which must take into account views and involvement in activities (Treemek et al., 2020). The interaction of gender and education resulted in consistent differences in leadership behavior (Barbuto et al., 2007). Women are more likely than men to demonstrate that they use an interactive management style called transformational leadership (Burke & Collins, 2001).

Discourse and power that has a reciprocal relationship as said (Foucault, 2017), this element that is related to strategic and political studies of this legislative term do not always

mean factors by the government with everything hegemony both in culture and ideology that has construction to realize power, through the discourse, there is a relationship between power on the one hand with knowledge and on the other side that will occur. The debate over the privilege of Yogyakarta departs from the meaning of right as an irreplaceable local leadership who automatically becomes the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region. The emergence of Sabdatama (important statement) I 10 May 2012, Sabdatama II March 06, 2015, sabda of the king 30 April 2015, and the king's dawuh 5 May 2015 delivered by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X conveyed the contents of the king's statement (sabda raja), in essence, is a change in name from buwono to bawono, the abolition of khalifatullah and mention of kaping sedoso to kaping ten, which made this condition also raises questions for the public regarding Sabda raja about the symbol of surrendering power to his daughter through the title Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Mangkubumi to Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Pembayun. Sabda Raja is the highest statement (sabda) issued by a Sultan.

Sabdaraja position is more elevated than Sabdatama. The Sultan has the right to determine when and where the sabdaraja is issued. One of the rejections of the King's Word related to changing the name of Buwono to Bawono based on the re-determination of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X who was enthroned as the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta following article 18 must attach or send a Custom Law according to the DIY Privileges Act, article 43. In this case, the government disregarded the letters of the heirs of the Hamengku Buwono IX dynasty who had not recognized him as a sultan since the Sabdorojo's release

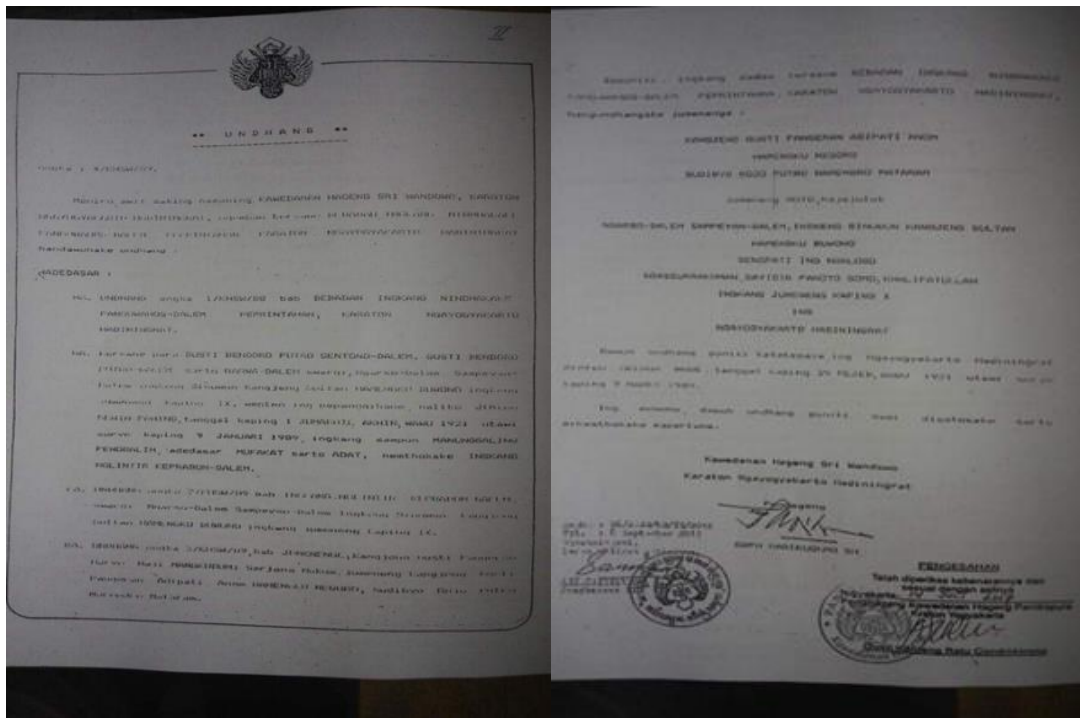


Figure 1 Undhang 1989, huruf Na

Based on the picture above, to understand the sultan "sultan that reigns" following the Special Privileges Law of Yogyakarta, article 18 must follow the customary arrangement and legal standing between the sultan (ngarso dalem) with the sultanate (negeri dalem) as a single entity as well as the identity of civilization culture of adiluhung ngayogyakarta hadiningrat. According to Heru Wahyu Kismoyo related to Sabdaraja, the name of a sultan (ngarso dalem), the Sultanate of Yogyakarta (negeri dalem) is a legal standing that reflects the entity as well as the civilization identity of a society in which there are elements of siblings or one sultan's father (sentono dalem); heirs of one nasab or tus (darah dalem), the culture servants (abdi dalem) and the people (kawulo dalem) who are committed to the culture of adiluhung ngayogyakarta hadiningrat. For those who are committed to the mataram ancestral agreement "Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat" will take part in the adat paugeran which originates from the book of Allah, mandated by the ancestors of mataram ancestors.

The Sultan's Sabdaraja received a rejection from the Kraton internally, especially from a number of Sultan's younger brothers who argued that the Sultan had violated the Palace's rules (paugeran). One of the actions of the Sultan's siblings issued the HB IX heir's Voice of truth about a legitimate Sultan according to the Customary Paugeran that was still maintained in accordance with the mandate of the ancestors of Mataram which was guarded for 270 to 500 years.

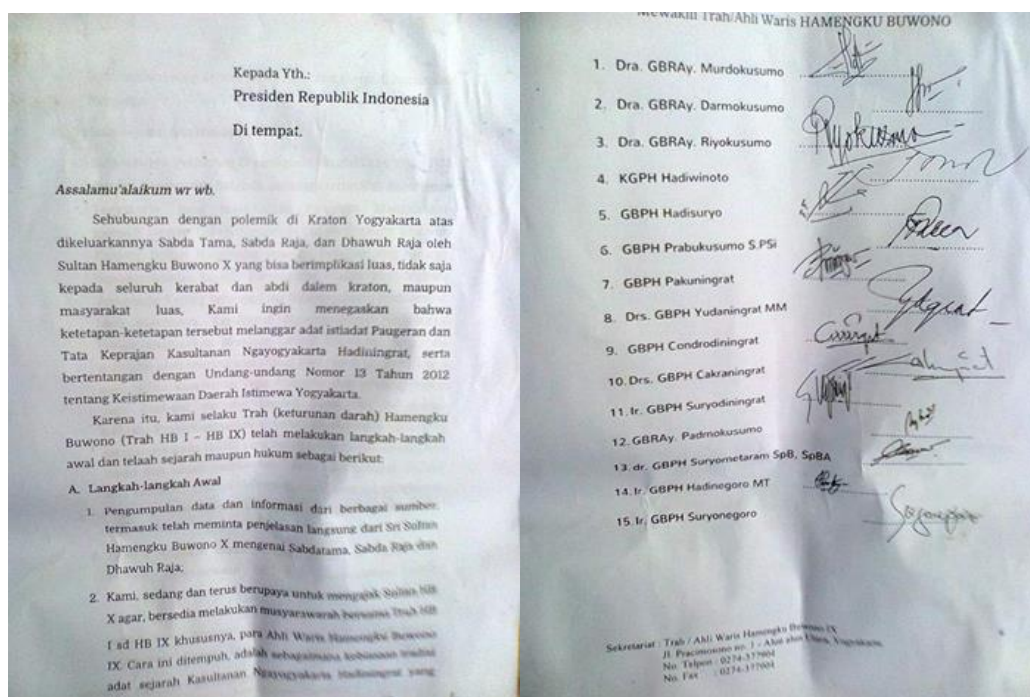


Figure 2 Letter of heirs HB X

A letter is a form of rejection of the younger siblings of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X addressed to the Regional Representative Council (DPRD) of DIY and the President of the Republic of Indonesia, but the letter was ignored by the DPRD DIY and the President of the Republic of Indonesia when setting the Governor of Yogyakarta post-Sabdaraja. Pros and cons emerge, the pros based on their choice because the Word of the King is the prerogative of HB X. While the counterparties consider the substance of the sabdaraja has deviated from the order (paugeran) Yogyakarta Palace. As for the political parties that have become polemic Sabdaraja, so that the emergence of perception. One of the Sultan's younger siblings, GBPH Yudhaningrat, said that the change of name and title of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X to the tenth Sultan of Hamengku Bawono was a sign of the

end of the Hamengku Buwono dynasty which was established since Giyanti's agreement, which in the Giyanti agreement on February 13, 1755, contained the division of the Kingdom of Mataram into two parts. That is, the old Mataram led by Susuhunan Paku Buwono III received an area on the east side and led the Surakarta Sunanate. The other half on the west side became the Pengeran Mangkubumi region, which then held the title Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, he was the one who led the new Hamengku Buwono dynasty with the royal center in Yogyakarta. "His name changed and his title changed, so that means the Hamengku Buwono dynasty ended. Not up to ten, but nine and a half. Because, before changing the name, the Sultan once used the name Hamengku Buwono X," said GBPH Yudhaningrat.

In an interview with the author, KRT Jatiningrat or often called Romo Tirun who was a grandson of Sri Sultan Hamengkubowono VII said the removal of the title under his own Khalifatullah by eliminating order palace which has been there Hamengkubowono I and is already chaos (paugeran) that is already in the Privileges Act. Romo Tirun said that the name of the Sultan was already complete with the title of the Crown Prince Hamengkubuwono Senopati at the Ngabdulrakhman Sayyidin Panatagama Khalifatullah The Eleventh Day in Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat. He said that what the Sultan did was unacceptable given the fact that the Palace was still in control of Hamengkubowono I.

Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X once made a promise to Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono XI, one of whom was not to violate the arrangement of the Yogyakarta Palace. The guarantee was made before Sultan Hamengku Buwono X came to the throne and there were five promises made by Sultan Hamengku Buwono. The five promises are to not have the prejudice and envy of others, to continue to embrace others even if the other people are not happy. To not violate the state ranks, to be more courageous in saying what is right is right and wrong is wrong and not to have any ambition other than to improve people's welfare. This reinforcement builds the Sultan's gender discourse, which has caused controversy since the presence of the privilege bill then became the public spotlight, in general, the issue of animals regarding cultural aspects because of the Palace as the center of Javanese cultural preservation to the castle. Entering the circle of political power, as conveyed by the power of Weber, originated from traditions, charisma, and rational instruments such as power obtained based on rational-legal rules.

RM Neoryanto or often called Father Noer as one of the palace representatives as experts in the Constitutional Court session number 88 / PUU-XIV / 2016, said that "Women can be governors. As for the throne, it is entirely the authority of Ngarsa Dalem (Sultan Hamengku Bawono Ka 10. "In his search, there is not a single text in the Palace that mentions the sultan must be male even if the first sultan to the ten men is more a historical fact. "Historical facts are not paugeran". Then he said that the Sabdaraja was delivered by the Sultan on April 30, 2015, where the sultan changed his name and title from Sultan Hamengku Buwono X to Sultan Hamengku Bawono Kasepuluh. Whereas in the title Ngarsa Dalem Sampeyen Dalem Inggang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwono Senopati ing Ngalaga Nganurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Khalifatullah ingkang Jumeneng Kaping Sedasa ing Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, which was also renamed Ngarsa Dalem Sampeyen Dalem Inggang Sinuwun Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawono ingkang Jumeneng Kasepuluh Suryaning Mataram Senopati ing Ngalaga Laggeng ing Bawana Langgeng, Langgen ing Tata Panatagama. In "history where proving and changing the name becomes the prerogative right of the king enthroned". The emergence of pros and cons controversies related to filling the Governor and king in the Palace in the spotlight, so that groups appear in rejection.

Based on the analysis of Nvivo 12 Plus Word similarity explained that the results of interviews from various sources have the perception of a women governor's discourse by stating an opinion through a presentation of 1.10% Discourse on the Governor of Yogyakarta, 1.42% Opportunity of the Governor of Women, 0.27% Islamic Leadership, 0, 76% Kalifatullah, 1.22% Women's Rights, 0.70 Gender and 0.63% Indigenous Palace. The Palace and Muhammadiyah are inseparable from history where there was a close relationship with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate with the Muhammadiyah association. The presentation explained that the opportunity for women to become the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region with the highest performance was 1.42%. Some speakers from Muhammadiyah ABD Samik Sandhi, Ghifari Yuris, Azman Latief, Arif Jamali Muiz, Budi Setiawan dan Alimatul Qibtiyah. Argued that Muhammadiyah did not formally issue a formal decision in response to the discourse of the women governor of Yogyakarta. The problem of the Palace is not part of the Muhammadiyah because the realm of the castle is not the public realm; in the Constitution, it is stated that the Governor is the legitimate king. Therefore, the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta which is a matter of being

legally appointed within the Palace is only an internal matter of the castle rather than a public civil for the Muhammadiyah, the right in the realm of the Muhammadiyah palace to withdraw not to get too involved in the conflict, in determining the position of Governor of women or men filling seats.

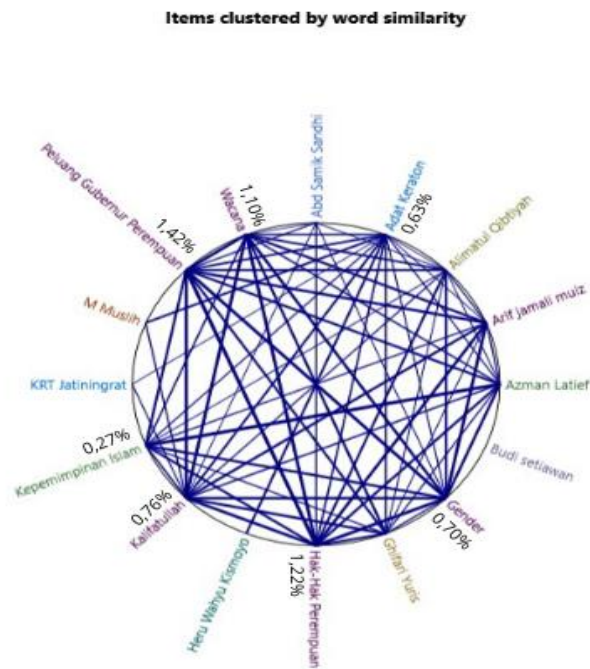


Figure 3 Perceptions of Women's Governor Discourse

Perception has factors that influence it, Kreh and Crutchfield (1977) mentioned that there are several factors, namely functional, structural elements, situational factors, and personal factors. Muhammadiyah citizens' perceptions regarding the discourse of the Yogyakarta women's governor, overall from an interview with the author, stated that the conflict over the women's Governor's speech was in the interests of the Palace itself, however, when they were asked questions related to women's gender, they would become women governors. Muhammadiyah does not formally issue a Constitution on filling positions. Still, for Muhammadiyah, it is not within the framework of making official decisions Muhammadiyah DIY responds correctly in the discourse of the women Governor. Muhammadiyah follows the rules that apply in the Privileges Law, Muhammadiyah has no problem whether the leader is a woman or a man. Gender equality is a phase in terms that are often brought up by social activists, feminists, politicians, even almost always interpreted

as conditions of justice that are guaranteed by women. Leadership can influence people to achieve results through emotional appeal and is better than power (GU Cleeton and CWMason (1934). Although according to (Saputra et al., 2020), the lack of women's education in politics, the cadre of political parties, the issue of the spouse, financial capital, descendants of political figures, beliefs, and patriarchal culture still exists thick. This becomes an obstacle for women to participate in the political meanwhile. While according to (Wahyuni et al., 2021), Empowering women can develop their potential and change politics to a healthier climate, and prepare strong women in the fields of politics, culture, economy, and education. Abd Samik Sandhi (Interview data) said gender issues were not a concern for Muhammadiyah. Still, its capacity and capability of a candidate and compliance with regulations Muhammadiyah have a massive debt of gratitude to the Sultanate, a lot of lands was made for Muhammadiyah associations, schools, mosques and others which belonged to the difficulty, so that it was difficult for Muhammadiyah to convey Muhammadiyah's attitude towards filling the seat of the Governor of DIY.

Azman view said that Muhammadiyah was aware that the name of the Sultan was not a king/queen but that the name of the leader of Yogyakarta was the Sultan, and the Sultan was a designation for men. Men, when speaking of the sultan that it would be a matter for the Palace, then it was troublesome why the king was to become a governor because it was automatic through the decision of the Privileges Law. Women's leadership is a system that cannot have the absolute authorization of leaders today. For Muhammadiyah men or women, it is not a problem to be a leader, because we understand that the leader of a system. According Azman to him, the leader who is worthy of leading Yogyakarta, if the leader is the Governor, must be smart, progressive with his intelligence then, he will have a future mission and have a clear purpose to take him to in the future. Then leaders can get along with various levels of society.

### **Activist Perceptions related to Women's Governor Discourse**

Heru Wahyu Kismoyo was a former member of the DPRD DIY from 2004-2008, who was also a servant of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace. He is known as the goalkeeper of DIY privileges because his writings are related to privileges in interviews with writers. Explained that, Muhammadiyah was part of the strategy of Sultan Hamengku Buwono VIII which gave a relationship to the da'wah to develop missionary and broadcast missions that

were once the responsibility of the Sultan, then the condition of Yogyakarta today was being pushed so that the only Islamic empire in the archipelago that still existed to collapse, which is the principles of the Imammaah based on the Qur'an and the hadith are constructed based on Shari'a thinking.

He said that the filling of the Governor's seat or Palace is seen from Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX before there was a wire letter from Hamengku Buwono to IX which supported the establishment of the Indonesian republic, where it said "our respective countries", emphasizing that there was a kip could not forget, Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX mentions the Sultanate and the Pakualaman "our respective countries" because the Islamic kingdom of Pakualaman and the Sultanate of Ngayogyakarta was a country. Because it already has the people, the constitution, the government, and the territory then integrates with the Indonesian republic, which is unlikely that in a country there is a state, because of the commitment of Sultan Hamengku Buwono XI, Bung Karno issued the Sultan's name in full namely Sampeyan Dalem Ingkeng Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwono Sinopati Ing Ngalogo, Sayidin Panota Gomo, Ngabdurrakhman Khalifatullah, the full name is written because the name and openness is a law, the name of the country is written by Ngayogakarta Sultanate, the name of the Sultan and the Sultan's country are called Ngraso dalem and Negeri dalem a cultural terminology that has both an entity and a law. Identity peradap culture and built with mataram that continues the footsteps of the Prophet.

Related to the Privileged Law, the principles of Bung Karno giving the title of the Sultan and the name of the Kingdom are already doomed, meaning that it should be like that in which by the Law and by the Gianti agreement as a customary arrangement where the legal umbrella. Negeri dalem and ngraso dalem by the last charter Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX with a charter and a mandate. 5 December, 30 October which mentioned the Special Region of the Kingdom, meaning that the Special Region of Yogyakarta was special: there were characteristics of the kingdom that chose customary traditions in which the Islamic kingdom was damaged but still maintained because it could carry out the mandate of the Prophet as principles to be carried out to become Imamat, that's where the Sultan is associated as a leader or imam, where the Sultan has 64 mosques in villages scattered in the Special Region of Yogyakarta built by the Sultan, there is located why the Sultan must be male.

The Law that Decides the Constitutional Court that intends to protect adat, the Privileges Law, authorizes customary ranks because the sovereign Sultan is by adat standards, the procession is as carried out as the previous Sultans from Hamengku Buwono I to Hamengku Buwono X, in principle the paugeran custom is the first a Sultan must be Men, the second who is entitled to become a Sultan is the crown prince, where the crown prince is a son taken from the legal wife of a sultan, which is now a shift which is where the Sultan now does not consider a maiden to IX because his four wives in Islam are legitimate all their children are entitled to become Sultan.

Yogyakarta still has 11 sons of the Crown, namely the Sultan's younger siblings, but when the Sultan does not have a son then decrypts the Privileges Act through Article 18 paragraph m, it is there that girls can lead who violate customary Law, violate Islamic Law and violate state law. Why violate state law if the Sultan is a woman because Sultan and the Governor are essentially not the Governor but the Regional Head. The naming the Governor of Yogyakarta Specialties, according to him, is also wrong because the Governor is the representative of the central government who comes from the region, and now we are using the wrong paradigm. which was the former Governor of the Netherlands, general. The truth is that the Regional Head because our country has mixed Dutch concepts mixed with our ideas, related to the Governor of DIY. The specialty of Yogyakarta can be seen, namely: First, the history of the formation of the Regional Privileges, which we can interpret as inherent from a unified whole. Secondly, history still upholds the values of traditional and cultural traditions, because the region is unique, which still uses the royal system. The third is the Regional Head, where there is no election, the Sultan who is enthroned automatically becomes the Regional Head.

Heru said that "If the nomination of the Sultan of Women, it is OK, but this violates Islamic regulations, violates the historical regulations mandated by Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX to Hamengku Bawono I, the Constitutional Court's Decision according to him would instead become jurisprudence against the assistance of the Law in Indonesia". If the reason is gender or discrimination, why don't the UUK revoke Yogyakarta and other cities, the essence of every citizenship has the same rights. If you want modern, why not modern at all why bear it. When anomaly only had one side's interest, it was already a sign of the struggles of the people of Yogyakarta who each wanted Sultan Hamengku Buwono to remain

a unique feature, if not the first Hamengku Buwono that was not special. It's the same kind of fooling of the people, scientists. It is as if it follows the modern thinking of gender, anti-discrimination, and democracy, but the truth is not democratic. "When the Sultan does not have a son, then the right to be the successor to his uncle, younger siblings or older siblings who had been the son of a king".

The sons and daughters of Hamengku Buwono IX numbered 15 people as heirs and successors to the throne of the "tu" dynasty of Hamengku Buwono who were legitimate, because of that when the empire's throne emptied in Yogyakarta because Sultan Hamengku Buwono X metamorphosed into Hamengku Bawono Kasapuluh, they were the holders of the mandate of transitional power up to the empire of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. The succession of HB XI. The Meaning of the Philosophy of "Negeri Dalem" as desired by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, where the founder of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate in 1755 was a Fair, Prosperous, Safe, Sentient, Prosperous, Prosperous, Happy World and Hereafter, led by a khalifatullah "Ngarso Dalem" that is fair, trustworthy, intelligent, honest, and can educate its people "Kawula Dalem" according to the commands of the Quran and Hadith.

M. Muslih, as a native of Yogyakarta, said the sultan or Governor in Yogyakarta must be men because the sultan was aimed at men. The polemic that was raised in charging the king or Governor, when viewed from the wrong cultural side, the customary side, the religious team, and the state law which violated UUK article 13 of 2012, where article 1 explained the Sultan who was enthroned was Hamengku Buwono. He said the sultan had to obey the UUK if it was not following the Law; the government would be chaotic. The appearance of the king's words stating the name change automatically does not match the Identity Card (KTP), which is the name on the Sultan Hamengku Buwono Identity Card (KTP) which has changed since the appearance of the king's word and if the difference in letters in the KTP will undoubtedly be a problem.

## **CONCLUSION**

Based on the previous explanation, the authors conclude that the emergence of gender discourse in leadership at the Yogyakarta palace presents various public responses both inside the castle and outside actors such as Muhammadiyah. Broadly speaking, there are several variations in the perception of Muhammadiyah DIY (The Special Region of Yogyakarta)

actors in responding to the discourse of women governors. Firstly, from an institutional perspective, Muhammadiyah DIY considers that the discourse of the women governor is an internal matter of the Palace because the Palace has regulations that they apply in its political system without any external intervention. Secondly, it is different from the overall view of Muhammadiyah institutions; some Muhammadiyah personalities consider that gender issues in the leadership of the Palace are not a matter of debate. This means that anyone can be a leader, including women because even in Islam, they do not prohibit women from becoming leaders. Thirdly, the perception of the people of Yogyakarta specifically some activist groups reject women's discourse through demonstrations on the grounds of violating the cultural, religious, and legal aspects of the country where violate the Privileges Law (UUK).

Pre and Post Constitutional Court Decision number 88 / PUU-XIV / 2016 experienced controversy making a discourse into political upheaval. Still, the decision of the Constitutional Court should not only be based on the principles and authority possessed by the Constitutional Court as a State Institution. The determination should also take into account the considerations of the people of the Yogyakarta Special Region to make decisions not made based solely on formal authority but must involve the attention of the people of the Special Region of Yogyakarta to see the process of changing the Governor.

The position of the Palace should be emphasized as a pillar guarding tradition and culture, and the Palace should be used as a Centre for the development and preservation of Javanese culture, especially Yogyakarta. The castle should also be aligned outside the political power environment. Instead, the placement of the Palace in the political circle has the potential to reduce the authority of the castle in the eyes of the community. It should be wise to make decisions and focus on maintaining tradition or cultural development. From the aesthetic point of view, many parties see the Palace as having to be affirmed its position as a pillar guarding tradition and culture, that the Palace must be used as a center for the development and preservation of Javanese culture. The castle must place itself outside the conditions of political power, which are conditional with momentary and wiser interests.

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