

The Dynamics of Women and Political Heritage in Yogyakarta: A Critical Reflection in Welcoming the Next Leader

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Article History **Abstract**

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Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY) is an area still retains a strong cultural heritage, ranging from customs of Javanese-Islamic culture and Mataram Sultanate system. DIY becomes the only province that has a special authority to institutionalize the administration of government by placing the roles and responsibilities of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Kadipaten Pakualaman in filling the positions of provincial leaders. This process was legitimized by Indonesian Law No. 13 of 2012 about Special Administrative Status for Yogyakarta. But over time, polemics have emerged since Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X issued Sabda Raja and Dawuh Raja who reaped pros-cons and were clashed with the royal tradition's values from generation to generation. Based on these realities, it becomes interesting to discuss about the dynamics of women and politics of heritage in DIY as a critical reflection in welcoming the next leader. On the one side, the system of the Javanese-Islamic Mataram Sultanate as a cultural heritage must be maintained. But on the other side, the aspect of modernity through the struggle for gender equality also opens the opportunity for Indonesian women are also capable of being and have become capable democratic leaders in the 21st Century.

Keywords: *women, political heritage, leadership, Yogyakarta*

Abstrak

Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY) merupakan daerah yang masih kuat mempertahankan warisan budaya, mulai dari adat istiadat hingga sistem Kasultanan Mataram Jawa-Islam. Bahkan DIY juga menjadi satu-satunya provinsi yang memiliki wewenang khusus untuk melembagakan penyelenggaraan pemerintahan dengan menempatkan peran dan tanggungjawab Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat dan Kadipaten Pakualaman dalam pengisian jabatan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur. Proses ini dilegitimasi dengan terbitnya Undang-Undang No. 13 Tahun 2012 tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. Akan tetapi seiring berjalannya waktu, polemik muncul semenjak Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X mengeluarkan Sabda Raja dan Dawuh Raja yang menuai pro-kontra dan dibenturkan dengan nilai-nilai tradisi turun temurun. Berdasarkan realitas ini, penelitian ini menjadi menarik untuk membahas tentang dinamika perempuan dan politik warisan di DIY sebagai refleksi kritis dalam menyambut pemimpin selanjutnya. Di satu sisi, system Kasultanan Mataram Jawa-Islam sebagai warisan budaya harus dipertahankan. Namun di

sisi lain, aspek modernitas melalui gerakan perjuangan kesetaraan gender juga membuka kesempatan perempuan Indonesia untuk menjadi pemimpin yang demokratis di abad ke-21.

Kata Kunci: perempuan, politik warisan, kepemimpinan, Yogyakarta

INTRODUCTION

The Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or more popular with the Yogyakarta Sultanate is a local kingdom that remains present and influential, even despite the challenges of changing times. For more than two and a half centuries, the Sultan's Palace (*Keraton*) has attempted to preserve and conserve Javanese cultural values, local wisdom (*Kejawen*), and Islamic teachings, as well as the Palace's own traditions and norms. Located in the Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY) Indonesia, the Palace has inherited the heritage of the Mataram Sultanate. It was established in the 18th century (in 1755), well before the Indonesian state was proclaimed in the 20th century (in 1945). The Palace has served as the center of post-Mataram Javanese-Islamic governance and been home from Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono I until Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X. Even today, the Palace stands firm as the residence of the royal family.

In the history of Indonesia as a nation-state, the Yogyakarta Sultanate and Kadipaten Pakualaman have played an important role. During the early years of Indonesia's independence, both the Yogyakarta Sultanate and Kadipaten Pakualaman were sovereign kingdoms with their own system of government, territory, and citizens. However, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (born GRM Dorojatun) and Adipati Paku Alam VIII (born BRMH Sularso Kunto Suratno) made a political decision in the face of a Dutch offer to grant the sultan full power over the island of Java. Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX rejected this offer, choosing instead to join the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. This political decision has had extensive implications for political, social, economic, and cultural life within and without the Yogyakarta Sultanate and Kadipaten Pakualaman.

With its sovereignty being surrendered to the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, the Yogyakarta Sultanate experienced significant changes in its governance. Initially, the Palace served as the center of power for the Mataram Sultanate, which operated as a monarchy. It is not easy to find comparative lessons regarding the issue of traditional monarchy exist at the provincial level, while on the national level adopt modern democracy (Kurniadi, 2009,

p.199).

The political decision was consciously made by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Adipati Paku Alam VIII as a form of respect and positive contribution to nascent Indonesian nation. It also showed that the commitment and political courage for becoming part of a plural Indonesia. Nevertheless, this decision led to polemics regarding the Sultan's power and leadership as King of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the future of Yogyakarta's special status in Indonesia.

To answer the question of Yogyakarta's special administrative status, it was urgently necessary to legislatively formulate regulations. Ultimately, in 2012, Indonesian Law No. 13 of 2012 about Special Administrative Status for Yogyakarta (*Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*). The enactment of this law was not free of pro- and counter-arguments from various stakeholders, which drew attention locally in Yogyakarta and nationally. Not all stakeholders shared the same political aspirations and interests. One point of debate was Article 18, Paragraph 1c, which stipulates who may fill the positions of Governor and Deputy Governor (i.e. serve as regional political leaders). It states that these leaders must "reign as Sultan Hamengku Buwono for gubernatorial candidates and reign as Adipati Paku Alam for deputy gubernatorial candidates". As such, the position of Governor is automatically filled by a member of the Yogyakarta Sultanate royal family and Deputy Governor is automatically filled by a member of the Kadipaten Pakualaman royal family.

DIY is administratively unique in its political leader, the Sultan, serves as the head of both a traditional political institution (the Yogyakarta Sultanate) and a modern political institution (as Governor of DIY). Over time, this duality in leadership was accepted as one of the special administrative privileges of DIY. In the context of regional autonomy, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X (born Bendara Raden Mas [BRM] Herjuno Darpito) is the first Sultan of Mataram to serve as governor. Using the terminology of political and government sciences, the regional autonomy in DIY can be considered as asymmetrical decentralization (Lay, *et al.*, 2008, p.24).

The dynamics of local political in DIY in responding to debates regarding Yogyakarta's status as a special administrative region have not been limited to the legitimacy of political rule. They also cover polemics that have emerged since Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X issued his *Sabda Raja* (Decree of the King) and *Dawuh Raja* (Command of the King), both of which have been controversial within and without the palace. In his more than 27 years

in power, the *Sabda Raja* was the first such decree made by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X. The *Sabda Raja* is the highest law that can possibly be made by a monarch.

On 30 April 2015, at *Siti Hinggil* (high land) in the Yogyakarta Palace, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X issued his decree, which contained five key points. *First*, the name Buwono would be changed to Bawono. *Second*, the title *Khalifatullah* would be removed from the Sultan's full title, i.e. *Ngarso Dalem Sampeyan Dalem Inkgang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwono Senopati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrakhman Sayidin Panatagama Khalifatullah ingkang Jumeneng Kaping Sedasa ing Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat*. *Third*, the regnal number *Kaping Sedasa* would be changed to *Kaping Sepuluh*. *Fourth*, the Mataram Sultanate's founder would be identified as Ki Ageng Pemanahan rather than Ki Ageng Giring. The *fifth* point involved the heirloom *keris* Kanjeng Kyai Ageng Kopek and Kanjeng Kyai Ageng Joko Piturun (Tempo, May 9, 2015).

At the same location, five days later, on 5 May 2015, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X issued the *Dawuh Raja*. As cited by *Kompas.com* on Friday, 8 May 2015, the Sultan stated that the *Dawuh Raja* was a command revealed by God Almighty and the Palace ancestors, rather than the Sultan's personal desire. In this command, the Sultan changed his eldest daughter's name from Gusti Kanjeng Ratu (GKR) Pembayun to GKR Mangkubumi (Harian Jogja, May 9, 2015). By doing so, the Sultan named GKR Pembayun the Crown Princess and heir presumptive to the throne. The *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* were only circulated internally, within the royal family. This activity was brief, and closed to the public and the media. However, though *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* were issued within the Palace to reinforce his daughter's position as heir presumptive to the throne, they have the potential to influence the future dynamics of DIY's local regime and the political position of Governor.

In cultural terms, the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* represent an unprecedented phenomenon in the Yogyakarta Sultanate, which has to date been dominated by patriarchal traditions. Departing from the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* issued three years ago, this study attempts a critical reflection to welcome the future leader, both as monarch and/or Governor of DIY. As such, this research focuses on two core issues. *First*, to what extent may the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* influence the politics of heritage that have been maintained by the Palace family, particularly in welcoming the future monarch and/or governor of DIY? *Second*, how do the politics of heritage in the Sultanate affect gender mainstreaming promoted by the Sultan as monarch and governor of DIY?

This research was conducted in DIY. In achieving the comprehensive research, this research is applied a qualitative research. Data were collected by using primary and secondary data. For the collection of primary data, the authors collected by: (a) in-depth interview with some key informants; (b) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), a data collection procedure conducted to complement in-depth interview with the key person; and (c) observation, which in this research will be used to collect contextual data regarding the socio-political condition in DIY. While, for the collection of secondary data, the authors collected data from literature and document reports published by government, journals, and previous research document, as well as various policies related to this topic.

DISCUSSION

The Politics of Heritage

Cultural heritage can be understood as cultural elements that are inherited and passed over generations, and that remain conserved, respected, and maintained (Ardika, 2007, p.19). Various types of cultural heritage can be found, including tangible cultural heritage such as buildings, monuments, statues, historical sites, artworks, documents, photographs, and other ancestral artefacts passed over time; as well as intangible cultural heritage such as language, songs, oral poetry, beliefs, etc. Cultural heritage indicates a shared identity that is passed over time, from one generation to another.

The politics of heritage can be understood as a political approach used to conserve cultural heritage, understood as traditions and ancestral values shared by a state or nation over time and considered to have an important role in the past character of the state or nation as well as a special place in current society. As presented by the Department of Archaeology, Conservation, and History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo, in the doctoral course "The Politics of Heritage: Museums, Landscapes, Material Culture" (2016), diverse cultural heritages and debates over the politics of heritage are related not only to museums, archaeological sites, excavations and landscapes, and material culture, but also studies involving cultural ownership and repatriation, feminism and LGBTQ studies, Eurocentrism and post-colonial history, governance, bureaucracy, etc.

The politics of heritage approach is important for this study. Harrison (2010), in a book series titled "Understanding Global Heritage", stated that the politics of heritage explores the political role of heritage (which has received rather less attention than the

economic role of heritage as a resource for tourism) in contemporary societies. It is grounded in a perspective that might be termed 'critical' heritage studies. It emphasizes that heritage is a matter of essentially political choices about what societies choose to remember (and to forget) and what to conserve and interpret. Based on the following quote, politics of heritage may be defined as a political choice taken in the present to determine, based on varied political interests, which kinds of cultural heritage will be conserved or neglected over time.

Studies regarding the politics of heritage have also been undertaken in Indonesia. *First*, the research conducted by Kathleen M. Adams, published in 2003 with the title "The Politics of Heritage in Tana Toraja, Indonesia: Interplaying the Local and the Global". This research concluded that:

—As the case study of Ke' te' Kesu' illustrates, the emergence of heritage sites is not a 'natural' process, but rather one borne out of complex exchanges, competitions, and collaborations between local groups, as well as national and international entities. While there are important 'Toraja' indigenous ideas about heritage inscribed in the *tongkonan* that comprise the village of Ke' te' Kesu' (cf. Adams, 1998), the hamlet itself is also very much a product of the Dutch colonial past. Moreover, in the course of its evolution over the past century, Ke' te' Kesu' has been shaped by other processes and institutions that stretch far beyond the local. While local actors and rivalries between local elites are salient to understanding Ke' te' Kesu' trajectory to candidacy as a World Heritage site, a more informed analysis requires situating this particular cultural landscape into a larger national and global context.¶

Second, the research conducted by Marshall Clark and published in 2013 under the title "The Politics of Heritage: Indonesia and the Malay World". This research showed that:

"Relations between Indonesia and Malaysia are generally characterized by diplomatic pleasantries, with reference often made to 'shared values', 'special relationship' and 'common cultural traditions', all of which are purportedly anchored by the same racial and ethnic 'stock' (*serumpun*). Malaysian politicians and media in particular often mention the familial bond between the two countries (*persaudaraan*), borne by a common language, culture and history. Yet, in a general sense, bilateral ties over the last decade have been marked by rivalry, acrimony and conflict. Key issues include Malaysia's cavalier treatment of Indonesian foreign workers and various border or territorial disputes. Underlying these tensions is a low-level dispute over shared Indo-Malay cultural heritage and art forms, which increasingly overshadows all other aspects of the bilateral relationship."

Unlike these above two studies of the politics of heritage, the current study will focus on the politics of heritage involved in the traditions of the Yogyakarta Sultanate.

Gender Equality Discourse in Local Politics: Islam, Tradition, and Modernity

After the New Order, gender discourse has become an interesting point of discussion and debate in the contextual reality of Indonesia. Various religious and academic discourses have highlighted issues of gender mainstreaming at the local, national, and international level. This has occurred in the midst of greater awareness regarding equality between men and women. Various theories and perspectives have attempted to explore gender equality, and as such different interpretations of gender equality have emerged. To date, gender issues have been dominated mainly by a female (feminist) perspective, with discussion of male (masculine) perspectives being limited. Nonetheless, gender equality concerns both men and women.

In this research, the concept of gender equality will be examined from three perspectives. *First*, the concept of gender equality will be discussed from Islam cultural terms, namely: a classical-traditional and moderate Islamic thought. The classical Islamic thought holds that gender divisions began when humans were first created (Malisi, 2012). According to religious teachings, God created Adam—a man—as the first person on Earth. Afterwards, God used Adam's rib bone to create Hawa (Eve)—a woman—as the second person on Earth. The belief that Hawa was created as a woman and as a partner to Adam is interpreted as meaning that women complete men. This interpretation positions women as second-class beings. This thought cannot be separated from existing patriarchal traditions in Arabia. This interpretation can be used to subjugate women through, for example, the concepts of *hijab* (modesty), polygamy, and *talak* (repudiation). Followers of this classical Islamic thought understanding reject gender equality as a core issue.

They position women as *konco wingking* (persons who accompany from behind), who must take a domestic role, behind the scenes. Their spaces are limited to include *sumur* (the well, for washing), *kasur* (the mattress, for sex), *dapur* (the kitchen, for cooking), and their activities prioritize in *masak* (cooking), *manak* (giving birth to and raising children), and *macak* (looking beautiful). As such, women are viewed as occupying the lowest rung of the social ladder. This is used to limit women's roles (discriminate against women) in the public sphere. Islam is viewed as discriminating against women and their roles, and thus

incompatible with gender equality. According to Munir (2002, p.6), "Islam is a source of discrimination and oppression against women; this results in a common belief that as a religion Islam hinders the promotion of women rights".

To eliminate practices that are discriminative against women and to transform perspectives on gender equality and justice, a moderate Islamic thought has emerged. This perspective emphasizes respect, recognition, and acknowledgement of women's roles, and judges women as equal with men. This involves limiting polygamy, granting inheritance rights to wives and daughters, and opening opportunities for women in both the public and domestic sphere (Nursyam, 2012). The moderate Islamic thought does not trap women in a dilemmatic choice between the domestic and public sphere, focusing more on the spirit of realizing gender equality. As such, the roles of men and women are mutually complementary, with no male dominance or superiority over inferior women. In the specific context of the Yogyakarta Palace and the people of Yogyakarta, and in Indonesia in general, both classical-traditional and moderate Islamic thought teachings are followed.

Second, the concept of gender equality in patriarchal culture. The word *patriarchy* is derived from two Greek words, namely *patér*, meaning 'father', and *arché*, meaning 'command'. As such, patriarchy can be understood as power being held by fathers (i.e. men) (Davies, 1976). If contextualized within the Javanese–Islamic tradition, patriarchal culture positions men as the sole and central authorities. As such, patriarchal culture can be understood as a cultural system built upon a structure of dominance and subordination, creating a hierarchy in which masculinity is normative.

In the context of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, this normative standard stems from Islam and Javanese culture. Javanese Muslims continue to practice patriarchal culture. Men are considered superior, while women are considered inferior. This, in the end, shapes the character of the Javanese patriarchal culture that positions men in the public sector and women in the domestic sector. In the Javanese language, women are referred to with the term *wanita*, a contraction of *wani ing tata* (willing to be ordered). The phrase *waniing tata* is not understood to support women actualizing themselves, but rather promote women fulfilling their husbands' needs and handling domestic affairs. The term *wanita* suggests the subordination of women and emphasizes the strength of the patriarchal system and inequality between men and women (Jati, 2015).

Third, the view rooted in modernity aspect (modernization). Koentjaraningrat in Lan

(2015) defines modernization as an effort to live in accordance with present-day demands. As it has developed, modernization has had a positive influence on gender mainstreaming. This can be seen by the increased role and participation of women in various aspects of the public sphere, including as regional leaders, members of legislature, bureaucrats, etc. This has been undertaken to break down the walls of patriarchy by ensuring that women's involvement was no longer limited to discourse but part of practical politics, bringing real change to the development of democracy in Indonesia (UNDP Indonesia, 2010).

In the past decade of democratization in Indonesia, many women leaders have emerged, including (but not limited to) Megawati Soekarnoputri (the first female Indonesian president, serving from 2001 to 2004), Tri Risma Harini (Mayor of Surabaya), Airin Rachmi Diany (Mayor of South Tangerang), and Illiza Saaduddin Djamal (Mayor of Banda Aceh), Ratna Ani Lestari (Regent of Banyuwangi) and so on. While, the phenomenon in the Yogyakarta Sultanate, *Sabda Raja* dan *Dawuh Raja* were issued within the Palace to reinforce his daughter's position as heir presumptive to the throne, they have the potential to influence the future dynamics of DIY's local regime and the political position of Governor as well as for the future Sultan.

So, in the modernity aspect, every Indonesian women are capable of being and have become capable democratic leaders in the 21st century, moreover the position of GKR Mangkubumi. The modern perspective positions the gender mainstreaming agenda as a priority for development and democratization in Indonesia. Patriarchal culture, meanwhile, is viewed as a manifestation of male fears regarding the transformation of women's roles from purely domestic ones to public ones, or, in other words, a fear regarding the emergence of firm, courageous, and responsible women leaders who focus on their duties and obligations.

The Dilemma of Heritage Politics: Between Tradition and Power

The *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* have led to internal discord within the Yogyakarta Sultanate. This discord has been strengthened by Governor Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X changing his name to Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawana ka-10 through a report to the Ministry of Domestic Affairs (Tribun Jogja, May 2, 2015). This name change is a political-administrative act by the Sultan as the Governor of Yogyakarta. However, this name

change has led to polemics within both the royal family and the people of Yogyakarta. However, ultimately, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X formally annulled this name change at the State Court of Yogyakarta (Tempo, July 6, 2015). This name also goes against Article 1, Paragraph 5, Indonesian Law No. 13 of 2012, which stipulates:

"The Yogyakarta Sultanate, henceforth referred to as the Sultanate, is a cultural and national heritage ruled successively over generations and led by *Ngarsa Dalem Sampeyan Dalem ingkang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwono Senapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrakhman Sayidin Panatagama Kalifatullah*, henceforth Hamengku Buwono".

In changing his name, the Sultan changed Buwono to Bawana and eliminated *Khalifatullah* from his full title. As such, his full title has become "*Ngarsa Dalem Sampeyan Dalem Inggang Sinuwun Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawana Inggang Jumeneng Kasepuluh Suryaning Mataram Senopati ing Ngalaga Langgenging Bawono Langgeng Langgenging Tata Panatagama*". This has led to the royal family fragmenting into two blocs, namely those agreeing with and disagree with the Sultan's name change. Royal family members who agree with the Sultan's decision consider it to be in accordance with the God's Word, as revealed by God to the royal ancestors. As such, the Sultan's decision must be respected and honoured.

Meanwhile, members of the royal family who consider the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* to go against the *paugeran* (traditional rule) that has been maintained for ten generations. As a result, this bloc no longer recognizes the Sultan as *Ngarso Dalem* or King. This rejection among the royal family can also be linked to the continued maintenance of patriarchal culture, in which leaders and their successors must be men. This is reinforced by the Islamic doctrine followed by the royal family and by much of Yogyakarta's population, which is mostly Muslim. It should be understood that, after the Mataram Sultanate was established, it was divided into two (Yogyakarta and Surakarta) through the Giyanti Treaty, and until today Islam remains the religious grounding for the Sultanate. The title Sultan refers to a man.

The title *Khalifatullah* refers to a leader who received a mandate from God to serve as caliph on Earth and promote Islam. Generally, such caliphs are men. This can be seen in the fact that all of the Islamic prophets were men, as were the four leaders after Muhammad: Abu Bakar As-shidiq, Umar bin Khatab, Usman bin Affan, and Ali bin Abi Thalib, known collectively as the *al-Khulafā'u ar-Rāshidūn* (Rightly Guided Caliphs). Furthermore, the name "Hamengku Buwono" also refers to a man. The naming of GKR

Pembayun, under the name GKR Mangkubumi, as Crown Princess is thus understood as an attempt to challenge the traditions that have been preserved over the generations, with Yogyakarta's leaders—from Hamengku Buwono I to Hamengku Buwono X—all having been men. No historical record shows women as occupying a leadership position in the Mataram Sultanate.

Owing to the Sultan's decision, some of his kin have also not recognized him as the Governor of DIY; as stipulated by Article 18, Paragraph 1c, of the Law on Special Administrative Status for Yogyakarta, which identifies the Governor of DIY as being from the lineage of Sultan Hamengku Buwono and not Bawana. This bloc holds that, if the Sultan wants to challenge the *paugeran*, he should establish a new sultanate in which he is no longer Hamengku Buwono X, but rather the first in a new line. This would thus have no effect on the politics of heritage maintained in the Yogyakarta Sultanate for over two centuries. Furthermore, according to the politics of heritage, the Sultan must meet at least eight criteria, as represented symbolically below.

1. *Banyak* (swan), signifying watchfulness.
2. *Dhalang* (deer), signifying intelligence and adroitness.
3. *Sawung* (cockerel), signifying courage and responsibility.
4. *Galing* (peacock), signifying elegance.
5. *Hardawalika* (kingly dragon), signifying power.
6. *Kutuk* (moneybox), signifying that the Sultan must give and share.
7. *Kacu emas* (clean gloves), signifying purity of heart and mind.
8. *Kandhil* (lantern), signifying enlightenment.

These eight criteria must be met to ensure that the Sultan can lead justly, wisely, and with the blessing of God.

In Javanese culture, it is believed that the Sultan's authority is derived from a divine revelation given to certain, select individuals. As such, the legitimacy of their authority is rooted not in the people they lead but in the divine (Artha, 2009). The Sultan has absolute power because his power is a divinely revealed responsibility. The Yogyakarta Sultanate positions the Sultan as having the highest power and authority in the region, referred to in Javanese as "*wenang wiseso ing sanagari*". Yogyakarta society believes that the Sultan's leadership is rooted not in his public support, but rather a divine revelation from the Creator. As such, the Sultan is not responsible to his people, but God. The Sultan is the

worldly manifestation of God (in Islam, "Khalifatul *fil Ardhi Sayidin Panotogomo*") tasked with keeping the faith.

Considering this condition, some of the royal family is concerned that a woman (i.e. GKR Mangkubumi) cannot meet these criteria. If the Sultan forces his view, without any consideration for his kin, it is possible that GKR Mangkubumi's taking the throne will trigger the decline and ultimate collapse of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. This is supported by a prophecy by the Surakarta court writer Raden Ngabehi Rangga Warsita (better known as Ronggowarsito), which is still believed by most of Yogyakarta's residents. He predicted that the Yogyakarta Sultanate will be led by a woman and ultimately be destroyed as a result. The question, then, is what step the Sultan Hamengku Buwono X will take next. Will he pass the crown to his daughter, which will negatively influence his relationship with his brothers, or will he surrender the crown and position to his eldest younger brother Gusti Bendoro Pangeran Haryo (GPBH) Prabokusumo, thus ensuring no internal fragmentation and positively affecting the Yogyakarta Palace?

Women as Successors: Patriarchal Culture vs Gender Equality

The Sultan's decision to name GKR Pembayun, under the title GKR Mangkubumi, as Crown Princess has not only significantly influenced the Yogyakarta Sultanate, but also reinforced the issue of gender mainstreaming. As Governor, the Sultan is required to implement Decree of the Minister of Domestic Affairs No. 15 of 2008 on the General Guidelines for Implementing Gender Mainstreaming at the Regional Level. Article 1, Paragraph 1, states:

"Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for integrating gender as an integral dimension of planning, formulating, implementing, supervising, and evaluating policies, programs, and development activities at the regional level".

Owing to this policy, the Sultan's decrees are frequently linked to the question of gender mainstreaming and the obligation to guarantee women's participation in and offer opportunities to contribute to regional development. More concretely, these guidelines are intended to ensure that all provinces in Indonesia guarantee women's rights and obligations in the public and political sphere.

According to these guidelines, gender mainstreaming must be realized in all parts of Indonesia. As such, the issue of gender mainstreaming has frequently been linked to the

Sabda Raja and *Dawuh Raja*. The pro-gender mainstreaming approach taken by the Sultan as monarch and governor of DIY has been considered a step towards reinforcing gender mainstreaming. In the history of the Mataram Sultanate, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X is the first monarch to have been pro-gender equality, as indicated by his respect and honour for women in the Palace and his refusal to follow the patriarchal traditions traceable to when the Palace was first established. *First*, the Sultan has not practiced polygamy, despite having no a son with the queen consort GKR Hemas. The Sultan has remained faithful to her, having made the decision to not take another wife. Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X and GKR Hemas (born Tatiek Drajad Suprihastuti) have had five daughters: GKR Pembayun/Mangkubumi (born GRA Nurmawati Sari), GKR Condrokirono (born GRA Nurmawati), GKR Maduretno (born GRA Nurkamnari Dewi), GKR Hayu (born GRA Nurabra Juwita), and GKR Bendoro (born GRA Nurastuti Wijareni).

Second, the Sultan has given his wife and daughters the opportunity to become actively involved in various public activities, as can be seen by GKR Hemas representing DIY in the Regional Representative Council. Furthermore, GKR Hemas has long been active in various social organizations in DIY (Kurniadi, 2016, p.174). In addition, the Sultan's daughters have been involved in various formal political, social, and economic activities. For instance, GKR Pembayun has been active with such organizations as the *Karang Taruna* youth organization, *Pedagang Pasar* organization for merchants, micro-business groups for women, the rescue of animals in Yogyakarta, and so on. She has also served as director of the companies Yogyakarta *Tembakau Indonesia* and Yarsilk Gora Mahottama, as well as chief commissioner of *Madu Baru*.

Third, the Sultan has named GKR Pembayun the Crown Princess, under the title GKR Mangkubumi. This name, Mangkubumi, had been used by the Sultan in his youth; he had been known as Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Haryo Mangkubumi before taking the thrown and changing his name to Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X. The pro-gender equality attitude of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X is quite unlike the attitude of previous sultans, under whom women generally did not have the space to become involved in public affairs, instead focusing their activities on domestic and family affairs. As such, the current Sultan's attitude has been considered by some at the Palace to be opposed to the cultural heritage passed over generations within the Sultanate.

To date, the politics of heritage in the Yogyakarta palace have involved a combination

of Islamic teachings and Javanese culture. Siti Chamamah Soeratno, Michael Vatikiotis, et al. (2004), in "Kraton Jogja: The History and Cultural Heritage", state that "Kraton Jogja [i.e. the Yogyakarta palace] is built upon its own worldview which is derived from the Islamic-Javanese culture". Referring to the palace traditions, which are strongly linked to patriarchal culture, it is apparent that women lack the right to reign over the sultanate. Women do not have the right to take the throne or become monarchs.

Under the patriarchal culture, women are positioned as not equal to men, and as such they may not hold a position where they wield power over a man. Even when the monarch has no male issue, traditionally a woman may not be crowned Sultan. As such, in palace tradition a son of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X should inherit the crown. Unfortunately, GKR Hemas, as the queen consort and only wife of the sultan, has not borne him any sons. In cases where the queen consort (such as GKR Hemas) does not have any sons, a son born to a secondary wife or concubine may replace his father as sultan. However, the current Sultan does not have a secondary wife or concubine. As such, according to tradition the Sultan may be replaced upon his death by his eldest younger brother, thus ensuring no leadership vacuum.

In the history of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, a similar situation occurred under Sultan Hamengku Buwono V, who had no male issue. Sultan Hamengku Buwono V followed the traditional laws, or *paugeran*, that there is none but the Sultan, who must be male. As such, after his death he was succeeded by his younger brother, born to the queen consort, who became Sultan Hamengku Buwono VI, rather than one of his daughters. In the present-day context of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, under traditional rules the *trah* lineage of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X cannot continue their reign. Rule over the Sultanate should instead pass to the Sultan's eldest younger brother, born to the same mother. By doing so, the values of the patriarchy will be realized by Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, while the traditional succession system will be maintained.

Members of the royal family who consider themselves the rightful heirs to the sultanate (in this case, the Sultan's younger brothers) have been unable to accept and unwilling to recognize the legitimacy of the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja*. They have warned the Sultan that the special status of the Yogyakarta Sultanate is dependent on its ability to preserve the traditional hierarchy and patriarchal culture. For these people, the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* indicate that Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X desires to form a new order,

one incompatible with the Yogyakarta Sultanate's politics of heritage.

On the other hand, the Sultan—who serves concurrently as Governor—faces the dilemma of implementing gender mainstreaming, as required by the central government. Contextually, Yogyakarta is a province in Indonesia, and as such the central government's policy on gender mainstreaming must also be implemented in DIY, despite its special administrative status. Equality and justice for women, as well as the recognition of their rights and obligations, are central to gender mainstreaming.

As Governor, Sri Sultan implemented the above-mentioned Decree of the Minister of Domestic Affairs through DIY's Local Government Law No. 7 of 2008 regarding the Organization and Administration of the Inspectorate, Regional Development Agency, Regional Technical Institution, and Public Order Enforcement of the Special Administrative Region of Yogyakarta as the basis for establishing the Agency for Empowering Women and Society (Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Masyarakat, BPPM) of Yogyakarta.

A year later, the Governor issued Gubernatorial Decree No. 52/EP/2009 on the Establishment of the Gender Mainstreaming Work Group of the Special Administrative Region of Yogyakarta. This was done both to promote and expedite gender mainstreaming in DIY and to introduce gender equality values into the Palace. Slowly but surely, the Sultan has realized the values of gender equality in his family. The introduction of gender equality issues has also led to a shift in the traditional cultural values of the Palace. However, this process has not been easy, as the effort to introduce gender equality to the Palace has been challenged by the strong patriarchal culture.

Based on the above, gender mainstreaming, *Sabda Raja*, and *Dawuh Raja* are intended to bring change to the Palace and allow it to better face the challenges of the modern era. Although this risks internal discord within the Yogyakarta Sultanate and may disrupt its traditional cultural order, it can also be assumed that the Sultan intends to maintain his family's power and interests. As such, it is possible that gender mainstreaming is being used here as a political instrument for preserving dynasty politics in a democratic society, one that will also offer women the opportunity to legitimately lead the Sultanate.

Positioning GKR Mangkubumi as Sultan and/or Governor of DIY

The patriarchal resistance to GKR Mangkubumi potentially becoming Sultan and/or

Governor of DIY has threatened the continuance of the *paugeran* of the Yogyakarta Sultanate as well as the local regime in DIY. Questions thus emerge regarding the possibilities for GKR Mangkubumi should she be positioned as Sultan and/or Governor of DIY in the future, taking the place of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X. The following analysis offers several possibilities.

Tabel 1. Possibilities for GKR Mangkubumi as Sultan and/or Governor of DIY

No	Possibility	Argument	Counterargument
1.	GKR Mangkubumi as Crown Princess and heiress presumptive of the Sultan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commanded by God and the ancestors. - First Queen of the Yogyakarta Sultanate; will change the history of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and patriarchal values. - Reduces cultural limitations to women's roles in public sphere. - Passing the crown through his <i>trah</i> lineage and preserving the dynamics of dynasty politics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The current Sultan has eleven younger brothers from four mothers. They have agreed to reject GKR Mangkubumi as Sultan, instead choosing GBPH Prabokusumo to become Sultan Hamengku Buwono XI. - The title and name Sultan Hamengku Buwono refer to a man.
2.	GKR Mangkubumi as governor of DIY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First female governor of DIY. - Increases prestige of women. - Concrete manifestation of gender mainstreaming in the Palace and DIY. - Minimize fragmentation in the royal family of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. - GKR Mangkubumi will be respected by the royal family of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No juridical basis for selecting a female governor for DIY. - If GKR Mangkubumi becomes Sultan of Yogyakarta, she may not necessarily be able to become governor. - The successor to Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono XI may not be from his <i>trah</i> lineage, because it is possible that his younger brother, GBPH Prabokusumo, may inherit the throne.
3.	GKR Mangkubumi as neither the Crown Princess nor the heiress presumptive of the sultan / governor of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Desired by God and the ancestors. - The right to power of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X's <i>trah</i> lineage is not preserving the dynamics of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Yogyakarta Sultanate family members respect and honor GKR Mangkubumi. - GKR Mangkubumi may unite the pro- and con-blocs in the Palace.

DIY	<p>dynasty politics.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No internal fragmentation in the Yogyakarta Sultanate. - Cultural traditions and structure of the Yogyakarta Sultanate remain firm 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - GBPH Prabukusumo may be chosen as Sultan Hamengku Buwono XI, continuing the line of succession and becoming the next governor of DIY.
4. GKR Mangkubumi as Crown Princess and heiress presumptive of the sultan / governor of DIY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Desired by God and the ancestors. - As governor, GKR Mangkubumi may support more concrete gender mainstreaming. - GKR Mangkubumi has a high level of education, so she has capability to be Sultan/ Governor of DIY. - As Crown Princess, GKR Mangkubumi will become the first woman from the Yogyakarta Sultanate to serve as governor. - Collapse of patriarchal culture in the Yogyakarta Sultanate. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No longer considered an heir of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. - Continuous fragmentation and discord within the Yogyakarta Sultanate. - GKR Mangkubumi cannot gain the support and sympathy of the con bloc. - GKR Mangkubumi not recognized in the Yogyakarta Sultanate and gubernatorial structure. - No legal basis for a female governor in the Law on Special Administrative Status for Yogyakarta.

Source: The researchers analysis, 2018

Critical Reflections on Future Leadership

Based on the above discussion, several notes and critical reflections may be presented in welcoming the future leader of Yogyakarta as Sultan/Queen of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and/or Governor of DIY. These notes and reflections, based on three core orientations, are as follows:

First, DIY Local Regime Orientation. The local regime in di DIY represents an intersection of modern elements and traditional ones after Indonesia's independence, as can be seen clearly in the gubernatorial position privileged to the sultan. In the context of the politics of heritage, this has been capable of maintaining both patriarchal culture and Javanese-Islamic culture within the social and political relations in DIY, in accordance with the theoretical expectation that heritage be conserved as local indigenous.

From a modern perspective, this condition can be understood as the subjugation of formal politics through the heritage politics and traditions associated with the Yogyakarta Sultanate. However, there is still a need to conserve cultural heritage and traditions, as part

of the region's unique identity, in the face of the current of modernity sweeping over and growing within DIY. This intersection of modern and traditional perspectives is key to successful development in DIY, particularly as compared to other regions in Indonesia (Azizah and Akbar, 2016). In other words, the local regime in DIY will, in the future, continue to maintain traditional and modern elements to ensure its continued existence.

Second, Gender Mainstreaming Orientation. The succession traditions and mechanisms of the Yogyakarta Sultanate only recognize a sultan and not a sultana. As such, the leadership of the Mataram Sultanate requires a man to become Sultan. It is believed, within the patriarchal traditions of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, that male leadership is natural and cannot be challenged, for it has been revealed by God and blessed by the ancestors. The naming of GKR Mangkubumi as Crown Princess has been considered by some of the Palace family and Yogyakarta community, particularly those influenced by patriarchal culture, as disrespectful and even a violation of the *paugeran*.

Furthermore, the Sultan's decision has been viewed as impugning upon the right of the sultan's brother to become Sultan Hamengku Buwono XI. As such, reinforcement of the patriarchal system, with men as the center of power, is necessary to preserve tradition. If gender mainstreaming were to take root in the Yogyakarta Sultanate, it would be possible for women to occupy other strategic positions within the Yogyakarta Sultanate structure. However, such position would not include Sultan.

Presently, conditions in the Yogyakarta Sultanate are clearly opposed to the precepts of gender mainstreaming, in which leadership positions may be filled by men or women. This is based in the belief that leadership is not determined by God's will or immutable, but conditioned through nurture and mutable over time. On the one hand, the ancestral customs and traditions that have been maintained in the Yogyakarta Sultanate over generations must be respected.

On the other hand, changes have occurred in society over time. This situation indicates a dynamic shift brought on by gender mainstreaming, as mandated by the central government. In other words, efforts towards gender mainstreaming in the Yogyakarta Sultanate and in DIY in general do not only exist, but have coloured the development of democracy. Gender mainstreaming must bring with it a passion for reforming relational and power patterns involving men and women. This deconstruction will challenge patriarchal traditions and Islamic conservatism.

Third, Formal Political and Democracy Building Orientation. The Sultan, who serves concurrently as Governor, has the right to propose revisions to laws, including to the Law on Special Administrative Status for Yogyakarta. Nevertheless, these critical notes on gender mainstreaming will be of considerable use for increasing women's role in and contribution to local democracy building in DIY.

However, any such decisions will have future administrative and political consequences. For example, the Governor may propose revisions to the Law on Special Administrative Status for Yogyakarta. In Articles 18 and 19 of Indonesian Law No. 13 of 2012, the administrative criteria are identified as follows: (1) Gubernatorial candidates must have a letter of confirmation states that Sultan Hamengku Buwono reigns in the Sultanate; (2) Gubernatorial candidates must of a letter of candidacy, signed by the *Penghageng Kawedanan Hageng Panitrapura* (equivalent to secretary general) of the Yogyakarta Sultanate; (3) Gubernatorial candidates must include a biography covering their education, work experience, siblings, wife, and children;

The criteria in these articles are administratively incompatible with the Governor's pro-gender equality position. This indicates that regulations do not offer any opportunity for women from the Yogyakarta Sultanate to serve as the Governor of DIY. These administrative criteria are instead firmly and directly discriminative against women and their ability to exercise their political rights.

This law, which gives men exclusive right to serve as governor and deputy governor, is seen as perpetuating and preserving the patriarchal cultural traditions (Javanese-Islamic/Mataram) in the Yogyakarta Sultanate. In other words, this law exhibits gender bias and blocks women from occupying the strategic position of governor.

As such, should Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X still intend to respond to the demands of modernity and gender mainstreaming by identifying GKR Mangkubumi as the next governor of DIY, he must take the concrete step of proposing a revision to Indonesian Law No. 13 of 2012.

Such a step would allow GKR Mangkubumi to gain legitimacy and legal recognition. However, such proposed revision could lead to arguments with certain blocs of DIY society, who may consider DIY's special status threatened by contestation between traditional palace politics and modern provincial politics.

Another possibility, which may have political consequences, is that the people of DIY may make greater demands. As such, the political decision may affect the development of local democracy in DIY. *First*, to limit the terms of the Sultan and Governor of DIY. *Second*, to separate the position of governor/deputy governor and ruler of Yogyakarta Sultanate/Kadipaten Pakualaman. *Third*, to implement the direct election of regional leaders, as in other regions.

Challenges to this political decision may emerge if the people of DIY believe that the patriarchal culture and special status of DIY has collapsed. Such demands may be made as part of an effort to preserve traditional political institutions if most of DIY's population believes that the region's patriarchal culture and special status has been threatened by encroaching modern political institutions that prioritize substantive democracy over simple procedural democracy.

CONCLUSIONS

In the socio-political context of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and/or DIY, circumspection is required when reading the manifestation of the politics of heritage. The *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja*, opened the opportunity for the first queen for DIY and in doing so denied the politics of heritage, particularly by challenging patriarchal practices.

Women have been granted the opportunity to occupy the highest position in the Javanese-Islamic cultural hierarchy, an opportunity that they never had before. Opponents of the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* emphasize, in their arguments, the inherited patriarchal traditions that limit the position of sultan to men. Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X's ability to resolve the internal conflict in the royal family will determine the future of the palace and the modern political structure of the region.

On the other hand, the determination of the Crown Princess may be perceived as a strategy for maintaining the Sultan's power in the face of the current of modernity sweeping over DIY. Opening space for a female sultan will offer new and greater opportunities for public support in DIY, especially for the existence of Keraton and the Royal Family, particularly as related to gender mainstreaming. The strategy of preserving heritage while also welcoming modernity has long been implemented in DIY and will not, it appears, change in the near future.

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