

# *Sabda Raja* against *Paugeran Lanang*: Quest for Gender Equality in Yogyakarta Kingdom

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**Abstract.** The aim of the study was to analyze how Sultan Hamengku Buwono X transformed *Paugeran Lanang* (old tradition privileging male leadership). This case study took place in the Yogyakarta Kingdom using structuration theory of Anthony Giddens and conflict theory of Dahrendorf. The sultan had the privilege to change the norms. Structure of significance was found in the king's dominant power, in which the Sultan owned the resources of culture, economy (lands, buildings, sugar plants, corporations), and 4,487 people as devoted servants of the kingdom. Another king's power in his practical politics was that he was capable of creating new structure to reconstruct the government of Yogyakarta Special Region in line with the power he had as a Governor. The sultan transformed *Paugeran Lanang* through his privilege as a king by declare a statement called *Sabda Raja* which inherently was as a law. The king stated that female can be a ruler called as Sultanah.

**Keywords:** female agency, gender equality, *Sabda Raja*, Yogyakarta Kingdom.

## 1 Introduction

In Nusantara (currently called as Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia), there were approximately 250 kingdoms with the governmental system of absolute monarchy in its era [1]. However, none of the kingdoms' prosperity in Nusantara is left lately. The Mataram Islamic Sultanate throughout its history metamorphosed to the Government of Yogyakarta Special Region with its uniqueness. The reigning king/sultan in Yogyakarta Kingdom is also the governor of the Government of Yogyakarta Special Region. Yogyakarta Kingdom was one of the capitals of Indonesian Independence when King/Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX declared the union with the Republicans. It was what differentiated Yogyakarta Special Region with other provinces in Indonesia. The government of Yogyakarta Special Region is a modern government and Yogyakarta Kingdom is the traditional government [2]. Both of them exist in its own domain.

The declament of the Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012 became the proof that the traditional politics existence of Yogyakarta Kingdom was inseparable from the history of Mataram Islamic Kingdom authority [2]. The king who made Yogyakarta special was Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, the ninth king of Mataram Islamic Kingdom. In the history of Indonesian Independence, Yogyakarta Kingdom was the first kingdom declaring its union with the modern country of Indonesian Republic which was declared by Ir. Soekarno in the struggle era of the independence of Indonesian Republic [3].

Yogyakarta Kingdom was originated from Medang Kingdom which had strong Islamic teaching, metamorphosed to Yogyakarta Special Region, a provincial region governed by a governor who was also the sultan/king reigning in Yogyakarta Kingdom [3]. The uniqueness record was different from other regions in Indonesia. Yogyakarta Special Region succeeded to maintain its existential entity of traditional politics when the modern country of Indonesian Republic was born. The success could be seen when Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Adipati Paku Alam were appointed as the governor and vice governor of Yogyakarta Special Region.

Sumarjan mentioned that the traditional political entity of Yogyakarta could survive until now because it was inseparable from the policy of Sultan Hamengku Buwono VIII sharing his land to the people, conducting agricultural reorganization, and expanding the political participation of the people [4]. The policy was succeeded by his crown prince, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX [2]. The skill of Sri Hamengku Buwono IX in maintaining the traditional political entity was shown by his alignment with the nationalist group fighting for Indonesian independence from the Dutch colonialization and his declaration of union with Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Therefore, the traditional political entity of Yogyakarta Kingdom still survives nowadays.

As the specialty form of Yogyakarta Special Region, since its foundation (in 1946 de facto and in 1960 de jure) until 1988, the Sultan of Yogyakarta Kingdom was automatically appointed as the governor/head of the special region not bound with tenure, requirements, and appointment method of other governors/region heads (Law no. 22 of 1948, Law no. 1 article 57, Presidential Law no. 6 of 1959, Law no. 18 of 1956, and Law no. 5 of 1974). Between 1988-1998, the governor/the region head was occupied by the vice governor/vice head of the Special Region who was also the ruler of Paku Alaman. After 1999, the successors of Yogyakarta sultan fulfilling the requirements received the priority to be appointed as the governor/head of the Special Region [2].

Yogyakarta Special Region was highly different from the other provincial regions in Indonesia because the governor was occupied as well by the king/sultan of Yogyakarta Kingdom, who was Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X through the formal juridical basis of Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012 [2].

The long history of the existence of Yogyakarta Kingdom was reflected in its traditional political aspect, spread of *adiluhung* culture, and diffusion of knightmanship philosophy of its kings/sultans through the visions and missions of the Government of Yogyakarta Special Region. On its way of current advancement and modernity, would Yogyakarta Kingdom keep maintaining its old tradition which required the Sultan or King to be male?

The contra of gender leadership was mentioned in Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012 in article 18 section 1 stating that the requirements of the governor candidates had to submit the name of their wife and etc. It meant that the governor of Yogyakarta Special Region had to be male. Could the people accept the fact that the governor of Yogyakarta Special Region who was also the Sultan of Yogyakarta Kingdom or vice versa had to be male? Moreover, what was the role of the reigning Sultan in facing the phenomena? Would the reigning sultan be silent or did he have a gender perspective in his leadership? Therefore, the researcher was interested to conduct this research.

## 2 Research Method

This phenomenology study was a case study that took place in Yogyakarta Kingdom. The problem arose when some followers of an orthodox group who obeyed the rule that sultan must be male, expressed their disagreement on *Sabda Raja*. The above contradictory conditions motivated the researcher to discuss the problems as follows: 1). How was the female's agency narrated in the old tradition *Paugeran Lanang* (old tradition privileging male leadership)? 2) How did Sultan HB X transform *Paugeran Lanang* (old tradition privileging male leadership)? 3). How was the dynamic of discourse of the pros and cons of female leadership? The theory of structuration by Anthony Giddens was used in this study to analyze the character of the reigning Sultan as the agent of change by using also the theory of conflict by Dahrendorf [5].

The analysis unit was Yogyakarta Kingdom as an entity of politics, economy, culture, and social, while the analysis units supporting this research in studying the case of the kingdom's external conflict were the social group of the people association as the contra party and the pro party of the case of *Sabda Raja* and Female Sultan. The informants were determined based on purposive random technique and cluster technique [6]. The cluster technique was used to determine the conflict point in the internal side of Yogyakarta Kingdom (The pro and the contra

group of *Sabda Raja* and Female Sultan). The conflict in the external side of Yogyakarta Kingdom was the contra group of the kingdom namely PMI (Pejuang Mataram Islam) and the pro group of *Sabda Raja* namely the kingdom/the reigning sultan group. The research data were collected by using observation, in-depth interview, semi-structured interview, and library research/documentation.

### 3 Results and Discussion

Female leadership became a polemic matter, particularly in the people who inherited patriarchal culture. The fact showed that in Yogyakarta Kingdom, since 1755, there has never been a female king/sultan. *Paugeran*, the applicable law, was an unwritten law. *Paugeran* was a law stated by the reigning king/sultan which was also called as *Sabda Raja* [3].

Values regulated and determined the leadership succession of a Java King. It could be referred from the text of *Serat Puji*, a ten-requirements concept of an ideal king, which could bring prosperity and welfare of the kingdom and its people in the world and in the hereafter. One of the requirements was that a king must be mainly male, but there was an exception clause. It stated that if it were an emergency, for instance the reigning king died and he did not have any male successor but he had female successor, the female successor could be appointed to be a queen [7].

Based on the data analysis of Sultan (King) succession of Yogyakarta Kingdom, there were several variations of succession mechanisms, namely: (1) In the succession period of Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, the throne was given to his son, Sultan Hamengku Buwono II [8], (2) In the succession period of Sultan Hamengku Buwono II, he was abdicate the throne and his throne was given to his crown prince, Sultan Hamengku Buwono III. His appointment was not conducted with the succession procedure of the kingdom. However, his appointment was conducted during the war by Daendels [9], (3) In the succession period of Sultan Hamengku Buwono III to the next Sultan, *Paugeran* was used which stated appointed Sultan Hamengku Buwono IV who was the crown prince even though he was still young (13 years old) [8], (4) The successor of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IV was the crown prince, Sultan Hamengku buwono V who was still very young (3 years old). Due to his young age, his government was assisted by the trusteeship council consisting of his mother, his grandmother, and prince Diponegoro (his uncle) [9], (5) The succession from Sultan Hamengku Buwono V to Sultan Hamengku Buwono VI did not follow the *Paugeran* because he was the brother of Sultan Hamengku Buwono V [9], (6) The next leadership succession followed the *Paugeran* because Sultan Hamengku Buwono VII was the crown prince of Sultan Hamengku Buwono VI [9], (7) The successions after that until that of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX followed the *Paugeran* with the requirement that the Sultan would appoint his crown prince as his successor and he had to fulfill several ability and skill requirements described in the symbols of characteristics and skills [9], and (8) The appointment of Sri Sultan Hamengku buwono X used a new mechanism of king succession in Yogyakarta Kingdom. He was appointed as the crown prince and the king in the family meeting forum involving the children of Sultan Hamengku Buwono VIII and those of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX [8].

The conflict was about the possibility of a female government in which in article 3 section 1 clause (m) it was stated that the candidates of governor and vice governor must submit the list of biography consisting of educational background, occupation, list of siblings, wife, and children. This law clearly blocked the possibility of Yogyakarta having a female governor. The additional conflict occurred when the reigning sultan declared *Sabda Raja* on the 6th of March 2015 in Javanese which approximately meant: (1) No one was allowed to go ahead of the Kingdom (King/Sultan), (2) No one was allowed to decide or talk about the matters of Mataram Kingdom, particularly the rules about King/Sultan which could only be decided by the King/Sultan [10].

The resolution of the reigning sultan was continued by the declarement of *Sabda Raja* on the 30th of April 2015 [11]. It was the changes of old *Paugeran* items from the term *buwono* (world) to *bawono* (a wider world), *khalifatullah* (leader of religion, a term inherited during the era when

Islam was introduced to Yogyakarta Kingdom by the Turks) to *suryaning* mataram (the bringer of light in Mataram Kingdom/Yogyakarta Kingdom). The reigning sultan then declared the next *Sabda Raja* on the 5th of May 2015 [12].

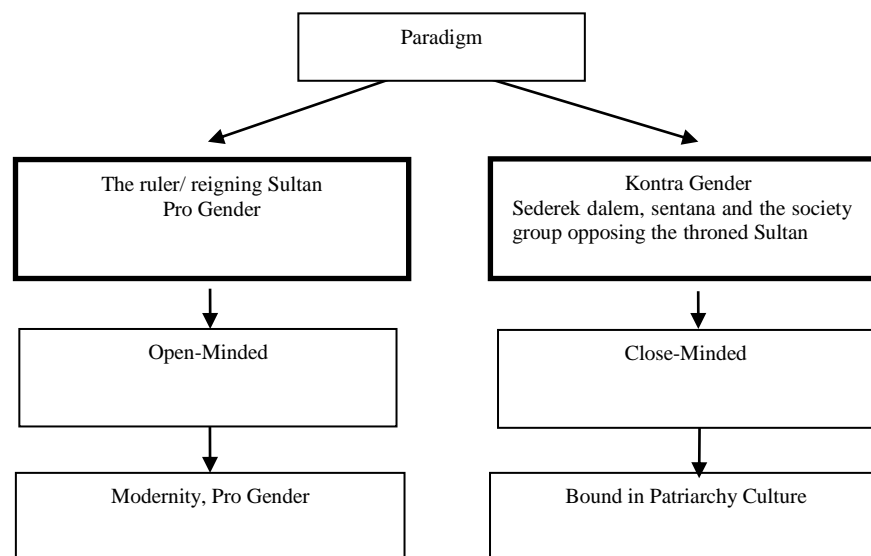
The appointment of the Sultan's first princess, Gusti Kanjeng Raden Pembayun to Gusti Kanjeng Raden Mangkubumi Hamemayu Hayuning Bawono Langgeng ing Mataram, became a symbolism of the leadership succession dynamics in Yogyakarta Kingdom causing the conflict between the pro group of the reigning sultan (pro gender) and the contra group of the reigning sultan (contra gender). It can be seen on Figure 1 that there was a conflict-causing variable between the pro group of the reigning king (pro gender) and the contra group of the reigning king (contra gender).

#### a. Conflict Causal Variable

First Conflict Problem		Second Conflict Problem	
	Sabda Raja April 30, 2015		Sabda Raja May 5, 2015
1	The title change of buwono into bawono	The appointment of the first princess of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, GKR Pembayun as GKR Mangkubumi Hamemayu Hayaning Bawono Langgeng in Mataram	
2	The removal of <i>khalifatullah</i> title and addition of <i>suryaning mataram</i> phrase		
3	<i>Kaping sedasa</i> is changed into <i>kasepuluh</i>		
4	The agreement change between Ki Ageng Giring and the founder of Mataram, Ki Ageng Pamanahan		
5	Keris Kyai Kopek is perfected into Keris Kyai Jaka Piturun		

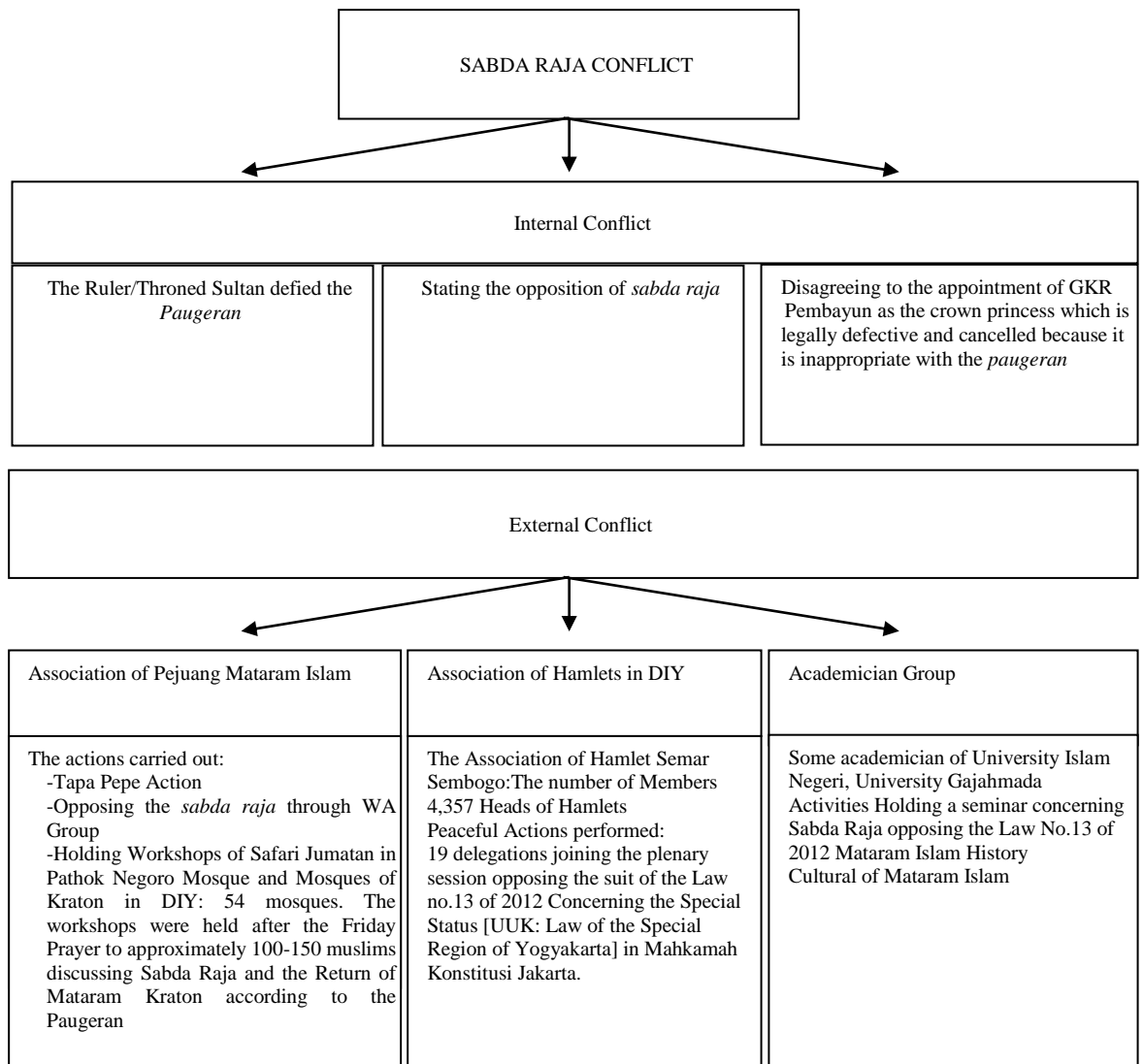
Fig 1. The Factors Causing the Conflict

#### b. Cultural Conflict



**Fig 2.** The Cultural Conflict in Yogyakarta Kingdom

Figure 2 explained the two groups involved in the cultural conflict. The pro group of the reigning sultan consisted of those who had modern mindset/paradigm, pro gender. The group was open-minded related to the leadership chance by a female in Yogyakarta Kingdom which automatically would be the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region due to the mandate of Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012. Conversely, the contra group of the reigning sultan had a firm belief on the old paradigm, blocking any possibility of female leadership in Yogyakarta Kingdom.



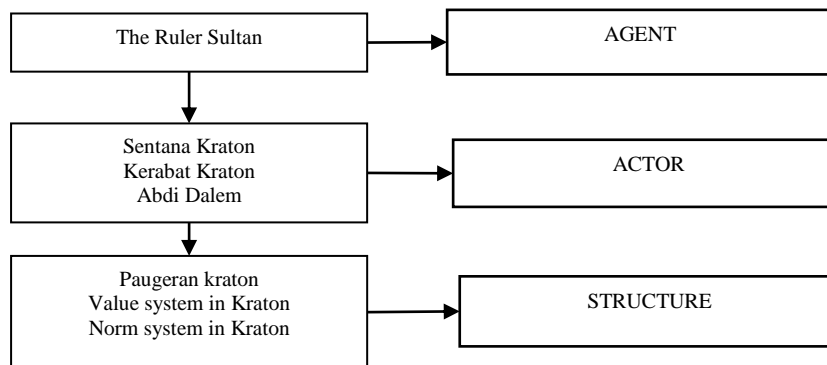
**Fig 3.** The Internal and External Conflict in Yogyakarta Kingdom

Figure 3 described the internal conflict inside and outside Yogyakarta Kingdom. For the internal parties of Yogyakarta Kingdom, their principle was to hold onto the use of old rule (*Paugeran*) which stated that the king (sultan) must be male. The old culture and custom were what they wanted to hold onto because they believed that it was

required to maintain the originality and existence of Yogyakarta Kingdom which was the only Kingdom in Indonesia which still existed from the social, cultural, economical, and political aspects. On the other side, according to the reigning sultan and the open-minded group, the changes and advancement of the era made it possible for the dynamics of various life aspects to occur. One of them was law renewal including the *Paugeran* which was more conducive with the changes and advancement of the era.

The role of the reigning sultan and his efforts to bring forth his new paradigm could be seen on Figure 4.

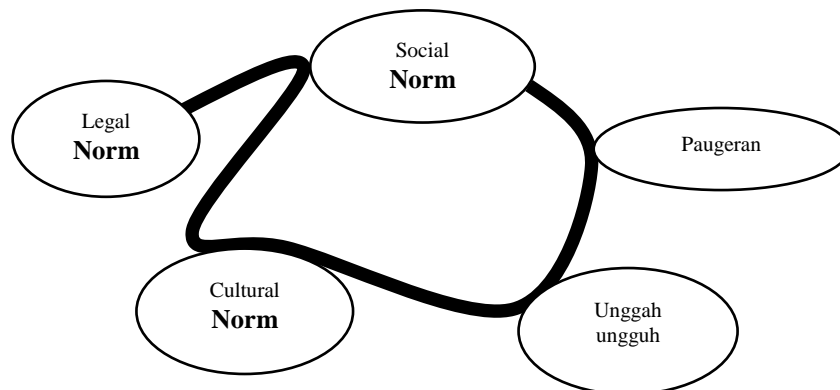
**c. Power Structure**



**Fig 4.** The Significance among the Agent, Actor, and Structure in the Kingdom

Yogyakarta Kingdom factually still had authority over its own sources of culture, economy (lands, buildings, sugar plants, and corporations), 4,487 people as the kingdom’s devoted servants, and ownership of various social and political institutions. The reigning sultan as the agent had the authority of imposing the law (*Sabda Raja*) of gender perspective paradigm. The demand of era changes and obedience to the implementation of the 1945 Constitution on the same rights between men and women required the change of the old habitus which has been implemented in the Kingdom since years ago. Yogyakarta Kingdom consciously and structuredly conserved its existence in the aspect of culture, social, economy, and politics. The officers and staffs of Yogyakarta Kingdom played the role as the actors of change in the structuration theory of Giddens [13]. The renewed structure was the value and norm system contained in the *Sabda Raja* declared by the reigning sultan.

**d. The Legitimation of Yogyakarta Kingdom**



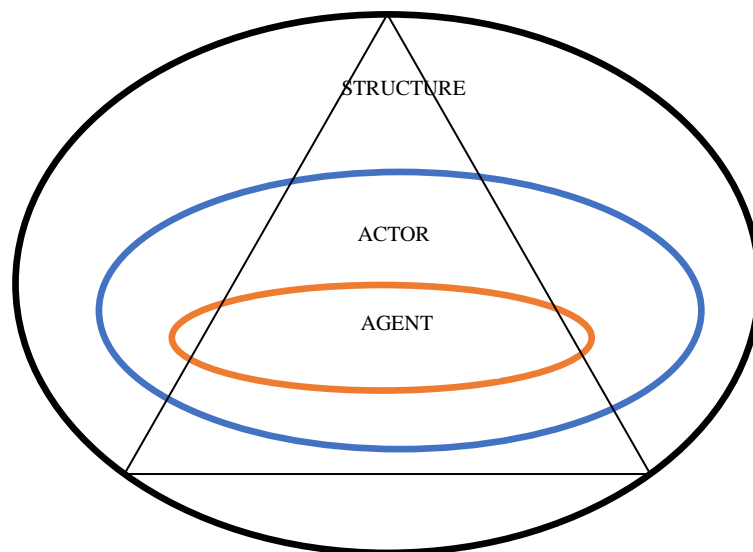
**Fig 5.** The Legitimation of Yogyakarta Kingdom

The explanation of the legitimation theory of Giddens on the phenomena in Yogyakarta Kingdom was that the reigning sultan had the legitimation power to give sanctions if the officer, staff, and family of the sultan did not obey the *Paugeran* and the Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012. It was where the structural legitimation could be seen. The duality between the structure and the actor occurred as the media of social practice. As a reigning sultan, the legitimation device did not arise on its own, but through a device of continuous repetitive process which finally became the norm regulating the behavior in conducting social practice. The implementation of the norm in the form of sanction for those not obeying the legitimation was an act of legitimation reproduction. The power of giving sanction and obedience on the other side was a social practice originated from the structural duality with the actor [13].

**e. The Dominance of the Reigning Sultan's Authority in Yogyakarta Kingdom**

The principle cluster of dominance in the structural order was seen on the authority of the officer. In the context of the interaction between the people and the officer with the reigning sultan as the king in Yogyakarta Kingdom and governor of provincial government of Yogyakarta Special Region would involve dominance cluster. All people, officers, and family of the sultan must comprehend and understand the consequences when they were included in the structure. They had to understand the meaning of *Paugeran* and Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012 [2]. Therefore, they would know and understand the acts they had to do in the structure or in new places.

Each act of the people had a significance about the ruler as the dominance structure in the kingdom environment and provincial government of Yogyakarta Special Region as the social practice. As a form of dominance, the reigning sultan tried to implement the pro gender policy as adaptive effort to globalization era. The dominance of the structural duality with authority practice involved the medium in the form of facility. In the authority context, the reigning sultan as the king in the Kingdom and the governor in the Yogyakarta Special Region imposed his authority on the obedience to *Sabda Raja* (*Paugeran*) and Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012 which were revised and gender-perspective.



**Fig 6.** The Domination of Sultan's Authority in Yogyakarta Kingdom

The article 18 section 1 clause *m* Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region which was gender-biased was brought to the Constitutional Court by the pro gender group. In 2017, Indonesian government through the Decision of Constitutional Court (MK) no. 88/PUU-XIV/2016 cancelled the Privileges Act of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 13 of 2012 article 18 section 1 clause (*m*). The decision of the constitutional court became the power of political legality of the possibility of female candidate of the local governor.

#### **4 Conclusion**

As an adaptation from the demand of era advancement and current of globalization, if it could be realized, the idea of anti-patriarchy would be a new paradigm in Yogyakarta Kingdom.

The adaptation effort of era demand (globalization era and the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia) from the old habitus, encouraged the reigning Sultan to declare *Sabda Raja*, a new policy of the reigning Sultan. The new policy of the throned Sultan (*Sabda Raja*) was inevitable. It was expected to be enforced in the area of Kraton entity as well as in the public area (Local Government of Yogyakarta Special Region and people of Yogyakarta Special Region /Kawula Mataram). The reigning Sultan as an agent had the authority to impose the enforcement of the policy (*Sabda Raja*) of gender perspective paradigm. The demand of era changes and obedience to the implementation of the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia on the same rights between men and women (Human Rights) required a change of the old habitus that was enforced in the Kraton.

Some of the people still believed that *Paugeran* was the rules of kraton/king that could not be changed. It defied the historical facts, considering that *Paugeran* was the rule made by the ruler Sultan. The misunderstanding about the essence of *Paugeran* definition became an element triggering the conflict of authority in Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and affected the political authority in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. In line with Dahrendorf, in order to understand the historical dynamics and changes of people, an elaboration with conflict approach was required.

Borrowing the term of dialectic conflict of Dahrendorf, the discourse of gender equity and female Sultan, the significance formed among the agent (throned Sultan), actors (sentana, abdi dalem), and structure (*Paugeran/Sabda Raja*) still existed in the dialectic process. Because the society had two sides in their social life, it could cause conflicts and on the other hand it could promote a good cooperation. Dahrendorf stated that the society had two faces, namely conflict face and consensus face.

The application of authority in the conflict along with a form of physical violence was not proved in this research. The conflict was manifested with symbolic violence by the contra group and there was not any physical violence by the Kingdom party following the peaceful conflicts. The Kingdom party in its daily life was still peaceful. The life of the people in the Special Region of Yogyakarta was still strong and they conserved the Kingdom culture. The culture of hamemayu hayuning bawono, as the intangible culture richness and the asset of Yogyakarta Kingdom, should be conserved and widely spread in a greater coverage.



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