

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGY OF THE YOGYAKARTA SULTANATE IN THE REFORM ERA: MEDIA, RELIGION AND CULTURAL APPROACHES

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the political communication strategy carried out by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in the reform era which included the political communication of the Yogyakarta Sultanate through media, religious and cultural approaches. These three approaches cannot be separated from the position of Sultan Hamengkubuwono who is a government political leader as well as a cultural leader and religious leader. The findings of this study state that the Sultanate of Yogyakarta has a political communication strategy that includes media, religious and cultural approaches. In terms of the media approach, the Yogyakarta Sultanate was carried out through mass media, namely the word rubric in Kedauletan Rakyat. Also through book publications that contain the Sultan's political ideas. As for the religious approach, the Sultanate of Yogyakarta uses Pathok Negoro Mosque and Grebeg Ceremony as a medium for political communication. In the cultural approach, it uses the tradition of Pisowanan Ageng, Cermo, Wayang Kulit, and the Titah Raja for its political communication media. This study also strengthens the statement that the success of decentralization of democracy in Indonesia cannot be separated from the socio-cultural conditions that lie behind it.

KEYWORDS Political Communication, Sultanate of Yogyakarta, Reformation Era



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INTRODUCTION

The Sultanate of Yogyakarta is the only kingdom in Indonesia that has full power, both culturally and structurally. Cultural power is manifested in the form of Yogyakarta as a cultural center of Java and structural power are manifested in a government system whose existence is protected by the Law on the Special Region of Yogyakarta (UUK DIY). One of them is the right to regulate its government affairs, including the

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appointment of Sultan Hamengkubuwono as governor and Adipati Pakualam as vice governor (UUK DIY, 2012).

The existence of this power cannot be separated from the history of the establishment of the Yogyakarta Sultanate on March 13th, 1755 through the Giyanti Agreement which began with the struggle of Prince Mangkubumi (M.C. Ricklefs, 1974). According to the Javanese version, the war was a struggle to expel the colonialists to cancel the Ponorogo Agreement that had bound the sovereignty of Kasunanan. On the other hand, the Dutch version states that the resistance was actually a war of succession or a power struggle that occurred in Kasunanan Surakarta (Sabdacakarutama, 2008).

Another thing is that during the colonial era, they were very active and provided a lot of material assistance for the Indonesian independence struggle (Wardani, 2012) including using their military power (Ricklefs, 1974). This struggle was inspired by the spirit of realizing independence from colonialism. Furthermore, during the Indonesian independence period in 1945, or precisely after Japan surrendered at the end of World War II, the Yogyakarta government was truly independent and was politically able to stand alone to become a country. However, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Adipati Pakualam VIII welcomed the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia government. They made a statement that both of them stood behind the Republic and were directly responsible to the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Sultanate then put forward several conditions to the Republic of Indonesia government regarding Yogyakarta, namely; the government system in Yogyakarta remains a kingdom, all matters related to the politics and government of Yogyakarta were entirely the rights of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Pakualam VIII, and the provincial government of Yogyakarta was directly responsible to the President of the Republic of Indonesia (Ariobimo, 1999). The peak was when the Dutch returned to Indonesia to carry out the second military aggression (1946) which created conditions in the capital city that became critical, they asked President Soekarno and Vice President Moh. Hatta temporarily moved the capital of the Republic of Indonesia to Yogyakarta. By Moh. Hatta, the offer was then accepted and the capital of Indonesia was moved to Yogyakarta (Hajarini et. al., 2012).

Not only that, all officials of the People's Command Army (TKR) were also assisted in the form of official residences by Puro Pakualaman. This attitude was then followed by all the people of Yogyakarta by participating in the hard struggle to defend the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, to give appreciation to all its people, the Yogyakarta Government provided an official record of the sacrifices of the people of Yogyakarta during the War of Independence (19 December 1948 – 30 June 1949) (Pamadhi, 2010). This is what later became the background for Yogyakarta being known as the 'City of Struggle' (Brata, 2009, Dwiyanto, 2009).

The Sultan had been offered the position of "*Super Wali Nagari*" by the Dutch for control over the Java and Madura regions in the framework of the planned formation of a federal state (Cornelis, et.al, 2008, Atmakusumah, 1982). However, the Sultan's commitment to the Indonesian government was final, so the Dutch offer—through its

envoys consisting of Resident E.M. Stock, Berkhuis, Colonel Van Langen, Sultan Hamid II, and Husein Djajaningrat—was rejected outright by the Sultan. However, the rejection later caused General Spoor to threaten to break down the gates of the Yogyakarta Palace with a tank (Baskoro, 2010).

Yogyakarta's choice to join the Republic of Indonesia was of course very beneficial to Indonesia because it still did not have a clear territory on August 17th, 1945, while the Yogyakarta Sultanate already had territory, people, and a local government that was still alive and working effectively (J.S. Reid, 1996, Ratnawati, 2011).

Therefore, it is not surprising that Yogyakarta has a 'special' status in Indonesia. This is because philosophically, Yogyakarta is an integral part of the history of the founding of the Indonesian nation-state. The conscious choice to join the Republic of Indonesia is a form of reflection by them on the diversity in unity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) contained in the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The handover also signifies a fusion of the relatively homogeneous citizens of Yogyakarta in the early days of independence into the pluralistic entity of Indonesian society (Cornelis, 2008, Atmakusumah, 1982).

In addition, historically and politically, the special status of Yogyakarta is not a gift from a national political entity, but rather an awareness of the struggle of the people of Yogyakarta that has been inherent in the history of the Indonesian struggle. From a legal perspective, the genealogy related to the special status of Yogyakarta can be seen from the mandate of them. Both mandates can be described as 'legal novum' stating that the status of Yogyakarta—in the formal legal realm—has changed from a region with an autonomous nature to a special region within the territorial of the Republic of Indonesia.

Then, from a psycho-sociological perspective, the community considers the Sultan to be a socio-cultural symbol of Java, and most of the community does not even differentiate between the Sultan and the Governor. In terms that are easier to understand, the Sultan is the Governor and the Governor is the Sultan. This was reflected when the filling of the position occurred in 1998 when the majority of the community wanted Yogyakarta to maintain its special status and expressed their ideas through demonstrations that culminated in the issuance of the Yogyakarta People's Decree on August 26, 1998 (Cornelis, 2008, Atmakusumah, 1982).

In general, several studies have examined the political communication of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. Bayu Dardias (2016) has studied the phenomena that occurred after the issuance of *Sabda Raja* (April 30, 2015) and *Dawuh Raja* (May 5, 2015), including the responses of groups who are pro and con with the Sultan's policies. In conclusion, he argues that—measured from the effectiveness of the regime as defined by Munck (1996) and Beetham (1991)—his regime began to weaken within the Yogyakarta Sultanate due to the failure to use mystical legitimacy in determining the successor to the throne. According to him, the weakening of the aristocratic regime was caused by the failure of heavenly legitimacy as a basis for political legitimacy. From the internal side, the legitimacy of the sky is considered incapable of fighting the

customary tradition of electing the Sultan which has been going on for more than 200 years. Meanwhile, from the external side, the rejection of the legitimacy of the sky based on mysticism does not find a place in an increasingly rational society (Dardias, 2016).

Also, research by Sugiaryo et.al (2016) focuses on the discussion of the position of filling the Governor and Vice Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta through the determination mechanism as stated in UUK DIY No. 13 of 2012 and Regulation of Special Region of Yogyakarta (Perdais) No. 1 of 2013. This study concludes that to realize the special status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta which is based on the principles of recognizing original rights, citizenship, democracy, unity in diversity, national interests, and utilization of local wisdom interests, the position of filling the Governor and Vice Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta is managed using an appointment mechanism (Sugiaryo, et. al., 2016).

From several studies that have been conducted, the author focuses on analyzing the political communication strategy carried out by the Yogyakarta Sultanate in the reform era to maintain the special status of Yogyakarta. Specifically, this study aims to analyze the political communication strategy of the Yogyakarta Sultanate through media, religious, and cultural approaches.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a qualitative-descriptive research type (Sugiyono, 2011) with primary data sources obtained from interviews (Azwar, 1998) with informants, especially with political communicators of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Sultanate's servants who are in charge of political communication. Meanwhile, the secondary data is taken from books, theses, dissertations, journals, newspapers, internet articles, seminar results, and various other references that are by this research. In addition, researchers also collect data using documentation techniques in the form of written materials or films that are relevant to the research data (Moleong, 2001).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sultan as a Religious, Governmental, and Cultural Leader

Since its inception, the Yogyakarta Sultanate has been under the leadership of a Sultan who has been hereditarily given the title *Ngarsa Dalem Sampean Dalem Ingkang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengkubuwono Senapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrakhman Sayyidin Panatagama Kalifatullah Ingkang Kaping*, hereinafter referred to as Sultan Hamengkubuwono (UUK DIY, 2013). The conferral of this title signifies that the Sultan is the legitimate ruler of the world (Soemardjan, 1981).

In addition, the title is also a legal recognition of cultural wealth and recognition of the figure of Sultan Hamengkubuwono as head of government and religious leader in the Yogyakarta Sultanate. The position of the Sultan as a religious leader is a manifestation of one of the main functions of the palace which is the center of spirituality (Baskoro, 2010, As'ad, 2012). Therefore, the Sultan has a special obligation to spread and develop Islam in the territory of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. This is what

then distinguishes between a king and a Sultan (As'ad, 2012, Wijaya, 2007). In addition, the Sultan must also be able to protect all adherents of other religions in his territory, including ensuring the implementation of freedom of religion (Iswara, 2015). The Sultan in his position as a cultural leader is a manifestation of the palace which is seen as the center of Javanese culture (Prasetyanto, 2010). It is from the palace that Javanese culture is developed, transmitted, and inherited. The palace also has cultural experts and poets. The Kings of Mataram and later the Sultans of Yogyakarta were given the title of *Raja Pinandhita* and *Nalendra Sudibyo*, namely the creators of productive culture. The Sultans together with traditional experts gave birth to ideas about art, literature, economic systems, social systems, and so on (Purwadi, 2007).

Because of his position as a cultural leader, the Sultan is obliged to accommodate and protect without distinguishing between groups, tribes, beliefs, and religions. All of these elements must be treated fairly (Dawuh Dalem, 1999). Even Sultan's authority in preserving culture is also stated in the UUK DIY which provides the freedom to maintain and develop the results of creativity, taste, will, and work, whether in the form of values, knowledge, norms, customs, objects, art and noble traditions that are rooted in the DIY community (UUK DIY, 2012).

Political Communication of the Sultanate Through Mass Media

Mass media is a very important element in the political communication process because, through mass media, political actors can convey political messages to the wider public. In other words, mass media is a transmitter of political messages carried out by political actors to the public (Junaedi, 2013). According to KRT. Jatiningrat, there is no specific media owned by the palace internally, which is more due to the problem of minimal palace funding. This is proven by the existence of media owned by the palace and managed by the palace internally during the reign of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX called "Hudyono Woro". The media was finally closed in 1942 when the Japanese colonization occurred in Indonesia, one of which also occurred in Yogyakarta (Jatiningrat, 2015).

However, to convey his political ideas, the Sultan wrote his thoughts in the form of articles or books that were published publicly. For example, *Revitalitalisasi Nasionalisme* (Hamengkubuwono, 2004), *Merajut Kembali Keindonesiaan Kita* (Hamengkubuwono, 2007), *Bercermin di Kalbu Rakyat* (Hamengkubuwono, 1998). In addition, the Sultan also has a special column published on Tuesday Wage in the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily called "*Sabda*". In this column, the Sultan conveys his views related to political, cultural, religious issues, and so on in the form of articles. This includes the principles of Javanese leadership, which are then published as a book entitled "*Sabda, Ungkapan Hati Seorang Raja*," which contains seven values as the principles contained in the *Serat Sastra Gendhing* (Hamengkubuwono, 2003, Artha, 2009).

Then, in its development, the Yogyakarta Sultanate created an official page on the social media Facebook with the name "*Kraton Jogja*" to inform on activities that will or are being carried out by the Yogyakarta Sultanate. In addition, it is also about

philosophical matters related to the Yogyakarta Sultanate. This page does not specifically contain information about the Sultanate's political policies, but indirectly this page is a medium to strengthen political legitimacy through a cultural approach through an explanation of the philosophical meaning of traditions, arts, and traditional clothing in the Sultanate (Kraton Jogja, 2015).

Through this page, the Yogyakarta Sultanate also conveys philosophical views on palace life which are also the basis of life for the people of Yogyakarta. A special column called *Wartaning Carita (Warta)*. For example, the discussion about *Golong gilig*, which is the philosophy of life of the people about the concept of *manunggaling kawula gusti* was initiated in the era of Sultan Hamengkubuwono I (Kraton Jogja, 2015).

On December 23rd, 2016, the Yogyakarta Sultanate also released an official website, namely www.kratonjogja.id which contains various information about everything related to the Yogyakarta Palace. It contains information about the history of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, Events, Governance, *Tata Rakiting Wewangunan*, *Hajad Dalem*, *Kagungan Dalem*, and *Ragam*. The website, in addition to explaining the history, governance, and culture in the Yogyakarta Palace, also explains the agenda of activities that will be held by the Yogyakarta Sultanate, both those related to religious and cultural activities. On this official website, various information about the latest things happening in the Yogyakarta Sultanate environment is published, especially those related to cultural and religious activities that will be and have been held by the Sultanate. In addition, in the political field, this website displays information about the Sultanate's diplomatic work with various countries in the world related to strengthening the existence of the Yogyakarta Sultanate (kratonjogja.id, 2015).

Political Communication Strategy with Religious Approaches

1. Pathok Negoro Mosque

Historically, mosques have not only functioned as places of worship but have also been used as centers for all activities of the Islamic community (Harahap, 2001), especially as centers for the development of knowledge, community gatherings, and also for preaching. In addition, mosques have also become places for fostering the community (Ayub, et. al., 2001) which includes economic, educational, political, and cultural activities. This was also done by the Yogyakarta Sultanate through the establishment of the Pathok Negoro Mosque by Sultan Hamengkubuwono I as a center for defense, security, and education, and also functioned as a place to carry out the process of political communication between the Sultan and his people (Yudhanigrat, 2015).

In addition, the establishment of the mosque was also to meet the religious needs of the people of Yogyakarta, both those in the Keraton environment, outside the city (*Kuthanegara*) and those in the corners of the city (*negara agung*) namely in the middle of the people's community which was then named the Pathok Negoro Mosque (Tim Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala, 2000) which when viewed from the linguistic side means the border of the country (the border of the capital of the

Yogyakarta Sultanate). Initially, it was a mosque built by the Yogyakarta Sultanate to monitor the movements of the Dutch colonialists who began to enter the Yogyakarta area or as a defense fortress for the people of Yogyakarta at that time (Citraiswara, 2015).

However, in its development, this mosque also functioned as a place for political communication between the Sultan and his people. Several mosques that are referred to as Pathok Negoro Mosques are Mlangi Mosque (Sleman), Ploso Kuning Mosque (Sleman), Dongkelan Mosque (Bantul), Babadan Mosque (Bantul), and Wonokromo Mosque (Bantul) (Putranto, 2015).

Because the function of the Pathok Negoro Mosque is not only for religious activities, it is also referred to as a social and political building. This is proven, for example, by making the four Imams of the Pathok Negoro Mosque members of the Religious Court of the Palace with its center at the Great Mosque of Yogyakarta. In this case, the Yogyakarta Sultanate also provides land and houses (*tanah plungguh*) for the imams to live in, which are usually located behind the Pathok Negoro Mosque. In addition, the Imams are also *Abdi Dalem* and at the same time become religious advisors to the palace (Purnomo, 2015). In addition to religious matters, the four imams are also tasked with fortifying the Sultanate, spreading Islam, and strengthening the nationalism of the surrounding community to overcome Western influences (westernization) in all areas of life that can damage Javanese culture (Lampito, et. al., 2015). In this place, the Yogyakarta Sultanate usually carries out the communication process with the general public regarding social problems that are usually carried out by the Palace family. This also includes several studies of the *Shohih Bukhari* Book (*Majelis Bukhoren*), the *Fath al-Mu'in* and *Fath al-Wahab* books are also used as routine monthly studies.

In carrying out its duties, the Yogyakarta Sultanate is usually represented by GKP. Djoyokusumo who is the younger brother of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X (Maula, 2015). However, after GKP. Djoyokusumo passed away and the political conditions were still unstable, the process of these activities was not carried out routinely. In addition, in routine activities, in several mosques owned by *Kagungan Dalem*, all palace servants also perform Friday prayers around. This moment is not only an effort to get closer to the community but also an effort to absorb the aspirations of the Yogyakarta community itself (Jatiningrat, 2015). Pathok Negoro can reflect itself as a reflection of the character and character of the palace because of its position as a creative work of the palace. This is what gives rise to the understanding that the character possessed by Pathok Negoro is the character possessed by the palace. In addition, Pathok Negoro is a medium for controlling the spiritual boundaries of the palace (Azizah, 2017).

2. Grebeg Ceremony

In terms of language, "*Grebeg*" comes from the word "*Garebeg*" which means to accompany or follow behind people who are respected or glorified (Citraiswara, 2015). In other words, "*Garebek*" means "*anggrebek*" or "*andhereake*" which means to

accompany; many people who accompany something. It is said so because in the process—when the Sultan enters Siti Hinggil—he is then followed or accompanied by many people. They consist of the Sultan's family, *Abdi Dalem*, and the public. When the king is visited or followed by many people, the king gives *hajat ndalem* or *kucah dalem* (alms) to his people (Yusuf, 2009).

Grebeg can also be interpreted as a ceremony of offerings held by the Yogyakarta Sultanate to unite all levels of society. This event is held three times a year, namely *Grebeg Maulud* (to commemorate the Prophet's Birthday), *Grebeg Besar* (to commemorate the legendary figures Hasan and Husein), and *Grebeg Syawal* as a statement of gratitude for the end of the month of Ramadan (Soemardjan, 1981). Another meaning of the *Garebeg* is a grand ceremony of the Yogyakarta Sultanate as a form of gratitude to Allah which is manifested in the form of a mountain of alms by the Sultan's family. The ceremony is also a symbol that the Yogyakarta palace is an Islamic palace because formally the *grebeg* ceremony has an Islamic nuance, the peak of which is held in front of the Gedhe mosque. Including the time of implementation which is associated with Islamic holidays, namely on *Grebeg Maulid*, *Grebeg Pasa*, and *Gregek Besar* (Yusuf, 2009).

The most important element in the *grebeg* ceremony is the giving of a mountain from the King. A mountain is an arrangement of various types of food and vegetables formed to resemble a mountain which is distributed to the palace relatives, the employees, and the community. At the end of the ceremony, the *gunungan* is fought over by the community after the procession (parade) and is prayed for. *Grebeg* itself has the meaning of "*disowani wong akeh*" (visited by many people), "*diiring dening bala akeh*" (followed by many people), or "*dibyuki dening wong akeh*" (attacked by many people). Because the palace is visited by many people, the king gives king's wishes for his guests, employees, and people who come to visit, namely *gunungan* (Brata, 2009). The *grebeg* ceremony has at least three important meanings: *first*, the meaning of religiosity because its implementation is related to Sultan's obligation to spread and protect Islam in his kingdom, by his position and role as *Sayyidin Panatagama Khalifatullah*. *Second*, the historical meaning because its implementation is related to the legitimacy of the Sultan and his kingdom as the heirs of Panembahan Senopati from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom. *Third*, the cultural meaning because this event concerns the position of the Sultan as the leader of the Javanese tribe who inherited the culture of his ancestors and the obligation to preserve it (Soelarto, 1979).

Political Communication Strategy with Cultural Approaches

1. *Pisowanan Ageng*

Pisowanan Ageng comes from the word '*sowan*' which means to meet, so *Pisowanan Ageng* means the words "Great Meeting" or "Grand Meeting". Spiritually, *pisowanan* is the embodiment of *manunggaling kawulo gusti*, or the unification of the people and the Sultan or King with God or God with His people. That is the true meaning of a symbolization of the existence of the palace as a protector of the common

people, namely the meeting between the Sultan and the people of Yogyakarta (Hadiwijoyo, 2009).

If observed in-depth, *Pisowanan Ageng* is a medium of political communication using cultural media. So the idea of *Pisowanan Ageng* which is only understood as a cultural tradition cannot be fully justified. It does have an ideal meaning (Hadiwijoyo, 2009), but the phenomenon that occurred in the *Pisowanan Ageng* tradition during the regime of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X was full of political content. This is at least reflected in the five *Pisowanan Ageng* that took place during the Sultan Hamengkubuwono X era (Kismoyo, 2008). Generally, it does not have a rule to be carried out in a certain period, but rather according to the needs or conditions in the Yogyakarta Sultanate. This is then reflected in various *Pisowanan Ageng* which when viewed from an irregular time.

First, Pisowanan Ageng I which was held in May 1998, right before the impeachment of President Soeharto's throne was the peak of the accumulation of the long struggle process of the reform movement in Indonesia. At that time, various elements who were dissatisfied with the leadership of the New Order built a joint force and united to overthrow President Soeharto who had been in power for 32 years. This opportunity was used by the Sultan to invite the people of Yogyakarta and all Indonesian people to jointly support the reform movement and strengthen national leadership (Dwiyanto, 2009).

In that momentum, a wave of action flocked to the North Square of the Yogyakarta Palace. They listened to the edict from the people of Yogyakarta which was read by the Sultan himself. However, the Sultan still invited all the people of Yogyakarta from various elements to prevent anarchic actions and together pray for the safety of the nation (Pertiwi, 2018). His frank attitude in resisting the regime was rarely done by informal leaders during the New Order era. As a result, the name of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X was placed alongside other reform figures; Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati, and Amien Rais. The *Pisowanan Ageng* also became a depiction of *manunggaling kawula gusti* (the unity of students, the people, and the Sultan) (Artha, 2009).

Second, Pisowanan Ageng II occurred shortly after the death of Pakualam VIII as Vice Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in September 1998. The vacancy of the governor's office after the death of Pakualam VIII gave rise to a debate between the Central Government, the DIY House of Representative (DPRD), the Yogyakarta Palace Puro Pakualaman, and the community. At the insistence of the people through *Pisowanan Ageng*, the Sultan and Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangkunegara (KGPA) IX were appointed as Governor/Head and Vice Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta without going through an election mechanism (Hadiwijoyo, 2009).

Third, Pisowanan Ageng III occurred on April 18th, 2007, or nine years after *Pisowanan Ageng II*. The third *Pisowanan Ageng* moment was carried out ahead of the D.I.Y Governor election. In this momentum, the Sultan stated his political statement delivered in front of the Yogyakarta people which emphasized his attitude of not being

willing to be nominated again as Governor of the D.I.Y. Of course, this statement surprised the supporters of Yogyakarta's special status. According to them, the Sultanate must be able to become a cultural representation that strengthens D.I.Y as a geo-cultural region, because the specialness of Yogyakarta is based on the strength of the Kraton culture and its leadership. So to maintain the values of the specialness of Yogyakarta, the second *Pisowanan Ageng* was held with the agenda of the community urging Sultan Hamengkubuwono X to remain the Governor of D.I.Y (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2007).

In this situation of political turmoil—including the less than harmonious relationship between the central government and D.I.Y, in the tug-of-war process of formulating the UUK D.I.Y. which until then still had a pending status—the people of Yogyakarta then held the *Pisowanan Ageng* IV which was held on October 28th, 2008, which was held at the Pagelaran Kraton Yogyakarta. The momentum of *Pisowanan Ageng* was carried out ahead of the 2009 Presidential Election. In this agenda, the Sultan stated his readiness to be nominated as President in the 2009 election. The statement of the Sultan's readiness to advance in the national political arena, according to Ari Dwipayana, is a strategy of the Sultan in measuring the level of public support for the Yogyakarta Sultanate (Artha, 2009).

Fifth, the Pisowanan Ageng V was held on March 7th, 2015, which was held at the Pagelaran Complex of the Yogyakarta Palace. The purpose of this *Pisowanan Ageng* was to launch the new logo of Yogyakarta and the 26th anniversary of the accession of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. According to the Sultan, the launch of the new logo was aimed at reaffirming the meaning and essence of the special status of Yogyakarta which has been guaranteed by Law Number 13 of 2012. The *Pisowanan Ageng* was also a momentum for the cultural movement that was to be achieved together. The use of lowercase letters in the new logo symbolizes the egalitarian spirit (equality, brotherhood, and social solidarity between the palace and the people) which must be realized in all levels of society without exception. Meanwhile, the red color of the king on the logo symbolizes the courage that has been experienced during the pre and post-independence period of the Republic of Indonesia. The existence of the new logo is also to be the spirit of strengthening the welfare of the people in the spirit of the *Renaissance*. In other words, the special status marked by the new logo is interpreted as the spirit of the greatness of the Yogyakarta-Mataram civilization being able to rise again (Wicaksono (Ed.), 2018)

2. Cermo and Wayang

Wayang in its history has a function for religious ceremonies as a form of respect for *Sang Hyang* in the form of culture. However, *wayang* is not only used as a medium for performing rituals, but also as a social communication medium that is useful for the development of society itself. The story in *wayang* is a reflection of the depiction of life in the world which includes a depiction of the attitudes and characters of human beings (Dwiandiyanta, 2012). For Javanese society, wayang has a special place, not

only as entertainment but also as a reflection of Javanese culture as well as the essence of Javanese culture that is inherited from generation to generation (Sukirno, 2009).

In its development, *Wayang* is not only used to convey cultural messages with stories of wisdom but is also used as a medium to convey messages of Islamic preaching to society, as was done by *Walisongo* through the internalization of Islamic values in *Wayang* stories that previously contained Hindu teachings (Supriyanto, 2009). This concept is contained in the properties of nature, such as the properties of water, mountains (manifested in the form of *gunungan*), and the concept of gods (Ponimin, 2005). *Wayang* is also used as a medium to convey political messages through implicit messages, so as not to reduce the essence of the cultural values themselves (Jatiningrat, 2015).

This is what is done in the Yogyakarta Sultanate, where wayang is used as a medium to convey the ideas or political views of the sultanate to the community. This performance is held at least every day and takes place in the hall of the Yogyakarta Palace which includes *wayang kulit*, *wayang golek*, and *wayang orang*. In the Palace itself, there are several *Cermo* (which is a title given by the Yogyakarta Sultanate to puppeteers who come from within the palace) who are tasked with preserving the *wayang* culture. the Sultanate also provides a puppetry school which is attended by 60 students in each class. This school is specifically for preparing puppeteers who can preserve Javanese culture.

However, in addition to being a cultural preserver, *cermo* is also given the obligation to convey palace policies through wayang performances held at the Siti Hinggil Pagelaran in the North Square of Yogyakarta which are usually routinely held every two weeks. In the performance, palace policies and everything related to the palace are presented through wayang kulit performances (Yudhaningrat, 2015). Messages that are presented neatly and packaged in a play are considered more effective than political messages that are too vulgar. Therefore, the most appropriate strategy to convey the political messages of the Yogyakarta Sultanate is to internalize these messages into a wayang story (Jatiningrat, 2015).

The wayang stories used by the *Cermo* are sourced from several old books, for example the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Pustaka Raja Purwa*, and *Purwakanda*. Now, there are also books containing composed and written plays that have been popular with the public for hundreds of years, such as *Abimanyu Kerem*, *Doraweca*, *Suryatmaja Maling*, and so on. Among all the old books used, the *Purwakanda* Book is the one most often used by puppeteers from the Yogyakarta Palace (Yudhaningrat, 2015).

3. King's Decree (*Titah Raja*)

The *Titah Raja* can be classified into three; *Sabda Raja*, *Sabdatama*, and *Dawuh Raja*. The *Sabda Raja* were addressed to internal palace circles and announced in Siti Hinggil. When making the announcement, the Sultan wore black regalia, complete with an octagonal diamond heirloom and a blue *kuluk* which he last wore in 1989. Meanwhile, *Sabdatama* was intended for external circles and was announced in Bangsal Kencono. When announcing the Sultan wore *Peranakan* style batik clothing

using a *blangkon*. *Sabdatama* was attended by the reigning Pakualam and most of his younger brothers. Meanwhile, *Dawuh Raja* is more about the orders given by the king to the internal and external parts of the palace.

The Sultan was given the right to issue *Sabdatama* and *Sabda Raja* as media to convey his policies and attitudes towards a problem. Linguistically, *Sabdatama* contains the meaning of the first word. Meanwhile, the *Sabda Raja* means the words of the king which shows his prerogative in responding to a problem. Like a country that has a constitution, the Sultanate of Yogyakarta also has a rule that is used as a benchmark in making policies. This *Paugeran* became a norm that regulated the rules of life of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, including issuing *Sabdatama* and *Sabda Raja*. Therefore, in issuing both, it must not conflict with the *Paugeran* in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

The *Sabda Raja* is the king's words which have strong and fundamental internal legal force in the palace where the position of the *Sabda Raja* is higher than the *Sabdatama*. So, whatever the king says must be obeyed (Rahim, 2016). This *Sabda Raja* was issued by the Sultan when there was an issue that became a problem within the internal and external circles of the Palace to resolve the problem. If viewed from the perspective of its legal force, both the *Sabda Raja* and *Paugeran* each have legal force within the *Kraton*. Therefore, the *Sabda Raja* cannot conflict with the *Paugeran*, even though the legal force of the *Sabda Raja* is higher than the *Paugeran* itself (Rahim, 2016). Since the reform era until 2020, there are two *Sabdatamas*, one *Sabda Raja* and one *Dawuh Raja* have been identified.

Table 1. *Sabdatama, Sabda Raja, and Dawuh Raja* Sultan Hamengkubuwono X (Dardias, 2016).

	Sabdatama I	Sabdatama II	Sabda Raja	Dawuh Raja
Announcement date	May 10 th , 2012	March 6 th , 2015	April 30 th , 2015	May 5 th , 2015
Time difference	-	1.030 hari	55 hari	5 hari
Nature	Open	Open	Closed	Closed
Place	Bangsals Kencono	Bangsals Kencono	Siti Hinggil	Siti Hinggil
Main content	Affirming that the Sultanate is an independent country and deserves	The successor to the throne can be male or female and has been outlined. The basis for changing the	1. Changing the Sultan's title from <i>Buwono</i> to <i>Bawono</i> and <i>Khalifatullah</i> . 2. The agreement	1. GKR Pambayun's title became <i>Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Mangkubumi Hamemayu Hayuning Bawono</i>

	special privileges	DIY UUK is this Sabdatama	between Ki Ageng Giring and Pemanahan has ended. 3. Resting the Sultan's <i>keris (Kiai Kopek)</i> and the Crown Prince's <i>keris (Kiai Joko Piturun)</i>	<i>Langgeng ing Mataram.</i> 2. GKR Mangkubumi sat at Watu Gilang as the successor to the Sultan's throne
Background	Drafting of the RUUK DIY	Drafting Regulation of D.I.Y. (Perdais) and succession	Succession	Succession
Achievement	UUK DIY successfully passed	Failed (Perdais does not delete the word 'wife')	<i>Contested</i>	<i>Contested</i>

Discussion

Political Communication and Media

The function of the media in a democratic political system, according to McNair is as a channel of political communication that initially comes from outside the media itself and at the same time as a sender of political messages constructed by journalists (media) (McNair, 2004). Even Matthias Barner believes that the core of democracy itself lies in the relationship between media and politics (Lozanof and Spassov, 2011). In addition, Galperin in Patrick D. Murphy states that the media has become a source that can be used as a tool to publish politics to the entire community in the contemporary political system (Murphy, 2007). Likewise, Karol Jakubwicz argues that the media is likened to a battlefield in achieving and/or maintaining power in the era of freedom and democracy (Jakubwicz, 2012).

The presence of media as a means of carrying out political communication has become a vital need for modern human life. McQuail has provided a view of the role of the media in modern human life. *First*, mass media as a window on events and experiences. *Second*, media is also often considered as a mirror of events in society and the world, implying a faithful reflection. *Third*, mass media is also considered a filter or gatekeeper that selects various things to be given attention or not. *Fourth*, mass media is often considered a guide or interpreter and shows the direction of uncertainty or various alternatives. *Fifth*, media is seen as a forum to present various information,

ideas, and ideas to the public, thus allowing for responses and feedback, and sixth, mass media is seen as an interlocutor (Subiakto, 2012).

Therefore, political communication and media in the current era are two things that cannot be separated. The effectiveness of political communication will be influenced by the media where its existence has been able to penetrate spatial and geo-spatial boundaries. All of this is due to the nature of mass media which can transport information and images massively and reach audiences that are so far away, diverse, and widely scattered (Parwito, 2009).

Political and Religious Communication

According to al Qardhawi, political Fiqh (*Fiqh as-Siyasah*) has long been known in Islamic literature, which underlies his view that Islamic Sharia is not only regulating divinity, but also the relationship between humans and their God, morals, also includes the relationship between individuals and the state and government, or the relationship between leaders and the people which is regulated in *fiqh daulah* (Qardhawi, 1999). This is because Islam not only teaches about ritual matters (worship) but also teachings related to politics or statehood (Cheema, 2013). In this case, religion and politics are two interrelated things, if both are understood as a means of organizing the needs of human life as a whole (Mahfudz, 2014).

Meanwhile, Christians (Calvinists) highly value political life, as they wrote that political power is a calling, that is not only holy and legitimate before God, but also the most sacred and most honorable among all callings in the entire environment of mortal life (Sasmita, 2009). This is different from Buddhism, according to which religion is based on morality, purity, and belief, while politics is based on power. Even when viewed from history, according to him, religion has often been used to give rights to those in power, used to justify war and conquest, persecution, cruelty, rebellion, and destruction of works of art and culture. Therefore, when religion is used as an intermediary for political actions, religion can no longer provide high moral examples, and its degree is lowered by worldly political needs so that it is far from the value of religion itself (Sujayo, 2015).

Meanwhile, Hinduism is considered more open to politics. In its religious teachings, taken from Bhagavad Gita 3:20, namely *Lokasangraha* (working for the welfare of the world) for example, it has been able to encourage Indian women to fight to free their people from discrimination and marginalization in all areas of life (Sharma, 1994). Likewise, in the *Bhagavan Vedah* book, it is stated that everyone is obliged to realize prosperity and serve the world community (Veda, 1997). Both doctrines have at least been able to encourage both men and women to enter the world of politics. Seeing the relationship between politics and religion that is so strong, it is not surprising that political communication practices cannot be separated from religion by using a religious approach or making religion a medium of political communication.

Political Communication and Culture

Humans and culture are two things whose existence cannot be separated from one another. Culture as a result of human feelings, wills, and creations (Koentjoroningrat, 1987) is something that goes hand in hand with the existence of human civilization itself. Along with the development of the times, culture is not only used as a symbol of identity or self-identity of a group, but more than that culture has also become an interesting 'commodity' to be used as a medium for political communication.

The debate about the relationship between art (which is part of cultural products) and politics in Indonesia has sparked a long debate. There are two major paradigms about the concept of art, one of which states that the main value of a work of art lies in its existence as something free from external influences. Art is in its world while things related to social and political relations stand alone. This paradigm is based on the concept of "art for art's sake" which was popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This understanding was taken from the idea of a classical liberal politician from France, Benjamin Constant (1767-1830) who stated "*l'art pour l'art*" in one of his articles published in the *Journal Time* about Kant's aesthetic theory (Sedjono, 1993).

Meanwhile, there is another paradigm that state that the main value of a work of art is reflected in its ability to express certain feelings or ideas. This view is influenced by theories such as Marxist and Neo-Marxist aesthetic theories which state that works of art cannot be separated from the social context, and can be used as a tool to convey certain messages and ideas from the artist to the public to achieve certain goals. Departing from this paradigm, art can be used as a medium of propaganda, in the sense that the existence of art with all its potential characteristics, can function as a tool or medium to convey ideas or messages, and can also influence viewers and connoisseurs (Larson, 1989). William R. Bascom stated that one of the functions of traditional media is as a tool of coercion and social control so that societal norms are obeyed by its collective members (Tridayatanti, 2014).

CONCLUSION

To maintain the existence of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and convey the palace's policies to the public, through three main approaches carried out by the Yogyakarta Sultanate as an approach in the political communication process through media, religious, and cultural approaches. Finally, the author concludes that Samuel Huntington's opinion about the royal regime that will not survive the pressure of the modern state does not apply to Yogyakarta. Because its strong sociological, philosophical, and cultural background has made the modern state order (read: democracy) have to merge into the political system that has been established for a long time.

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