Local Political Dynamics of the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta: An Analysis from a Culturalist Perspective

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Abstract
This article will discuss the dynamics of local politics in the Special Region of Yogyakarta which is analyzed through a culturalist perspective. In this research, culturalist theory is used to analyze whether the granting of special autonomy to Yogyakarta will be able to produce a culture, politics and economy that is different from other regions (which are not given special regional autonomy). The research method used to analyze written problem formulations is a qualitative method with data analysis in the form of descriptive analysis. Data collection was carried out through literature studies, obtained from similar research in the form of journals, articles and online news to support research. The results of this research reveal that the dynamics of the 'Yogyakarta Special Region' through a culturalist perspective provide an explanation that culture gives rise to an influence on politics as a whole. In D. I. Yogyakarta, there is a long historical journey in fighting for their culture to be maintained to this day. Until the birth of Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Yogyakarta Special Region Law which grants special autonomy to the Yogyakarta Special Region to manage its own region. The recommendation of this research is the need for further research by future researchers regarding the special legislation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta from different perspectives or theories.

Keywords: Local Politics, Special Autonomy, Culturalist Theory.

A. INTRODUCTION
The study in this journal will discuss the dynamics of local politics in the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta' to then be analyzed through a culturalist perspective. Since the beginning of Indonesia's independence on August 17, 1945, the nation's founders have sought to find the perfect form of regional government construction. This effort was based on the formation of regions to facilitate accessibility between the central government and the local governments and also to facilitate the regions in organizing and achieving their goals.
Referring to Law No. 32 of 2004 which states that Regional Autonomy is the authority of the Region to regulate and manage its own interests according to its needs. Just like in Indonesia, some regions are granted Special Autonomy status, which allows them to have their own legislation, one of which is D.I Yogyakarta. D.I Yogyakarta achieved special status after a long journey, which was then legalized in 2012 by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono through Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning the special status. This special status is certainly based on the historical origins, cultural traditions, customs, and various other special features owned by Yogyakarta. The special status granted to D.I Yogyakarta includes five fields: (1) the procedures for filling the positions, duties, and authorities of the Governor and Deputy Governor; (2) the institutional structure of the Regional Government of D.I Yogyakarta; (3) cultural aspects; (4) land aspects; and (5) spatial planning.

To implement the special policy based on the law above, the Central Government allocates a 'special' fund which in 2014 amounted to Rp. 523,000,000,000 (five hundred and twenty-three billion rupiahs) and continues to increase every year, reaching Rp. 1,420,000,000,000 in 2023 as shown in the following graph:

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3 Nurfurqon, “Politik Hukum Otonomi Daerah Studi Terhadap Desentralisasi Asimetris Di Indonesia.”
In relation to the above explanation, the researchers want to know first how the historical origins of D.I Yogyakarta led to its special autonomy status. Second, whether the special status granted to Yogyakarta can produce a different political system that subsequently impacts the economic and social culture of the community.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Several similar studies have been conducted regarding the dynamics of local politics in the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta'. For instance, Paryanto and Achmad Nurmandi in their work "The Dynamics of Special Autonomy in Yogyakarta Post-Law No. 13 of 2012" stated that the Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning special autonomy eventually clarified the legal instrument granted by the state in bestowing power to the Sultan. Thus, the enforcement of the special autonomy law seemingly gives near absolute or dominant and legal power with the support of legislation.5

Additionally, Asmorojati's study in "The Dynamics of Special Autonomy Arrangement in the Special Region of Yogyakarta in the Perspective of a Unitary State" discusses the long history of Yogyakarta in fighting for special autonomy before the enactment of Law No. 13 of 2012, which legally clarified the special authority of D.I Yogyakarta such as the appointment of the Governor, etc.6 Another study by Jawahir Thontowi titled "The Impact of the Yogyakarta Special Autonomy Law on the Welfare of the People of the Special Region of Yogyakarta" shows that the enactment of Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning special autonomy was positively received by the wider Yogyakarta community. It indicates that the law has a positive impact, as evidenced by the implementation of the Perdaist (Regional Regulations on Special Autonomy) that can reduce poverty in D.I Yogyakarta.7

By reviewing previous studies, there are indeed similarities, but this research provides a renewal by looking at the dynamics of the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta' from a Culturalist perspective.

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5 Ibid.
C. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study will further explain the dynamics of local politics in the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta' analyzed through a culturalist perspective. The research design used is qualitative with data analysis in the form of descriptive analysis. The sources of information used in this study are obtained from secondary data. Secondary data such as journal articles, books, e-proceedings, and online news relevant to the research are needed to support the study. Data collection is carried out through literature studies (literature review) obtained from previous research in the form of journal articles, books, e-proceedings, and online news discussing the dynamics of local politics in the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta' analyzed through a culturalist perspective and similar previous research. Data from one source will be compared with another to provide accurate data analysis for this study.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

a. Culturalist Perspective

Culturalism is a viewpoint that assumes every group or community, along with its various localities, represents a unique entity. From a culturalist perspective, there are some communities that cannot be separated from their localities, and thus, they tend to have their own distinct identity and social structure, which is naturally different from the national identity. Culturalist communities strongly oppose all forms of national centralization and policy uniformity. In this culturalist perspective, the locality of a community is applied not only in one aspect but in almost all aspects and structures of society.

Based on the above theory, the Special Region of Yogyakarta is a region with special autonomy where local governance or local politics operates differently from the political concept in Indonesia. Following the enactment of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Governance, and after a lengthy process, Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Special Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta was also ratified. This has granted Yogyakarta special autonomy, allowing local politics to develop different structures and authorities.

b. History of Special Autonomy of Yogyakarta as a 'Special Region'

After the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Paku Alam VII took steps to welcome Indonesia's

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8 Zuliadi Prabowo, “Multikuturaisme,” Binas University.
independence by issuing a proclamation (Amanat on September 5, 1945) as a sign of integrating the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the Duchy of Pakualaman, both of which declared that the Nagari Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat was a Special Region within the Republic of Indonesia. This proclamation can be considered the initial step towards the formation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. This opinion was further reinforced by the issuance of Proclamation No. 18 of 1946 regarding the establishment of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in Yogyakarta.

In general, the history of Yogyakarta’s special status can be clearly understood with the enactment of Law No. 13 of 1950, concerning the Formation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. This law explained that the Special Region of Yogyakarta consisted of the Sultanate of Ngayogyakarta and the Duchy of Ngayogyakarta. Yogyakarta's journey to gain legitimate recognition as a Special Region was long, with continuous changes to previous laws, eventually becoming Law No. 19 of 1950. Further changes occurred with Law No. 9 of 1955, implemented based on the Provisional Constitution of 1950. This process continued through the era of the parliamentary and guided constitution until the Reform phase. During the Reform phase, there were five main agendas for democratizing regional governance, with the broadest possible autonomy being one of the points.

During this phase, Law No. 12 of 1999 was enacted and later revised by Law No. 32 of 2004, recognizing the special governance system of the Special Region. After a long history and debate, the Government and the House of Representatives finally agreed on the Special Law, passing Law No. 13 of 2012 on the Special Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. This law confirmed the 'Special Status' of the Yogyakarta Region and its scope.

In implementing Law No. 13 of 2012, the central government prepared various

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11 DPRD.DIY, “Dibalik Keistimewaan DIY: Jejak Sejarah Dan Konstitusi Yang Membentuk Identitas.”
instruments, including 'special' funds to support the implementation of the law and various special programs. These special funds were disbursed in three stages: 15% in Stage I, 65% in Stage II, and 20% in Stage III. According to the Ministry of Finance's website, based on the Minister of Finance Regulation No. 36/PMK.07/2014 regarding the General Guidelines and Allocation of Special Funds for the Special Region of Yogyakarta in the 2014 fiscal year, the amount was Rp. 523,874,719,000.00. The allocation breakdown of the Special Funds is detailed in the following table; 14.

| Procedures for filling the positions, positions, duties and authority of the Governor and Deputy Governor | Rp. 400,000,000,00 |
| Regional Government Institutions | Rp. 1,676,000,000,00 |
| Cultural field | Rp. 375,178,719,000,00 |
| Land sector | Rp. 23,000,000,000,00 |
| Spatial planning | Rp. 123,620,000,000,00 |

Table 2: Allocation Breakdown of Special Funds

From the special funds received in 2014, the special funds obtained by Yogyakarta as a Special Region have continued to increase over the last ten years. 15

c. Dynamics of the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta'

Since the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, Indonesia has undergone various dynamic political changes. This includes the politics established for the Special Region of Yogyakarta (D.I. Yogyakarta). The enactment of Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Special Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta has had a significant impact on several aspects of the order in D.I. Yogyakarta. One notable area is local politics in D.I. Yogyakarta, including its structure and policies. The enactment of this Special Law has allowed D.I. Yogyakarta more freedom in formulating policies. The authority granted to D.I. Yogyakarta through this special autonomy law reflects an effort to maintain its local cultural values 16.

There are several reasons behind the special autonomy granted to D.I. Yogyakarta. Firstly, a long historical process led to the approval of the request for special autonomy,

16 Thontowi, “Pengaruh Undang-Undang Keistimewaan Jogyakarta Terhadap Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.”
coupled with a strong desire from Sultan Hamengkubuwono as Governor and Paku Alaman as Deputy Governor in a hereditary manner. Secondly, D.I. Yogyakarta has a unique governance entity known as cultural governance, which includes a self-identity in their culture regarding spiritual values, historical values, philosophical values, cultural values, aesthetic values, and religious values. These values represent the cultural uniqueness of Yogyakarta, necessitating preservation. Thirdly, the rich cultural heritage and cultural reserves owned by D.I. Yogyakarta are part of Indonesia's cultural wealth. These reasons led to the enactment of the Special Law of D.I. Yogyakarta as a nationalistic embodiment to preserve cultural values in Indonesia, specifically in the Yogyakarta region.

The enactment of Law Number 13 of 2012 on the Special Status of D.I. Yogyakarta represented a realization of hope for both the government and the people of Yogyakarta. Following the enactment of this law, the D.I. Yogyakarta government promptly established the Grand Design Team tasked with forming the Special Regional Regulation based on cultural values as the identity of D.I. Yogyakarta's special status. This led to the creation of the Special Regional Regulation (Perdais), with a team focused on academic studies and drafting. However, the focus of D.I. Yogyakarta regarding this Perdais remains predominantly on the appointment of the Governor and Deputy Governor and the governance structure, leaving issues of land and spatial planning still relatively unattended.

a) Perdais on the Appointment of Governor and Deputy Governor

The Special Regional Regulation (Perdais) concerning the appointment of the Governor and Deputy Governor is comprised of ten (X) chapters and thirty-six (36) articles, all of which are explained in greater detail compared to the articles in Law Number 13 of 2012 on the Special Status of D.I. Yogyakarta. This Perdais not only includes cultural and traditional aspects but also philosophical considerations in its formulation, making it relevant. The drafting and decision-making process of the Perdais on the Appointment of Governor and Deputy Governor was agreed upon by the Yogyakarta Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) and the

18 Thontowi, “Pengaruh Undang-Undang Keistimewaan Jogyakarta Terhadap Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.”
19 Ibid.
Government of D.I. Yogyakarta  

Chapter I of this Perdais deals with the general provisions for the appointment of the Governor and Deputy Governor, including the nomination process and the criteria for suitable candidates. Besides the nomination process, this Perdais also covers the stipulations for the appointment and the inauguration of the Governor and Deputy Governor, which is conducted by the DPRD of D.I. Yogyakarta. Chapter II outlines the roles assigned to the Governor and Deputy Governor. Chapter III addresses the venues used for the appointment of the Governor and Deputy Governor. It states that the inauguration of the Governor and Deputy Governor can be conducted by the President or the Ministry of Home Affairs during a plenary session of the DPRD of D.I. Yogyakarta. Chapter IV concerns the position, duties, and authority of the Governor, while Chapter V addresses the same for the Deputy Governor. Chapter VI elaborates on the obligations and prohibitions for the Governor and Deputy Governor. If there is any inconsistency in their performance according to this Perdais, Chapter VII outlines the procedures for removing the Governor under constitutional and customary law. Chapter VIII details the process for the removal of the Deputy Governor under the same conditions. Chapter IX discusses the transition of power if the Governor and Deputy Governor must be removed, and Chapter X serves as the closing chapter of this Perdais.

From a culturalist perspective, the creation of this Perdais not only aims to implement the Special Law of D.I. Yogyakarta but also to practically apply the preservation of the Yogyakarta Sultanate’s culture and to honor existing traditions. D.I. Yogyakarta exemplifies respect for local traditions through the establishment of executive power.

b) Perdais on Culture

The special autonomy of D.I. Yogyakarta, as enshrined in the law, places a significant emphasis on cultural aspects. Culture is a vital part of the social structure in Yogyakarta, including its relationship with regional governance. Chapter I of this Perdais outlines general provisions, detailing the terms used in their culture and the

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21 Thontowi, “Pengaruh Undang-Undang Keistimewaan Jogyakarta Terhadap Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.”
regulations applicable as special regulations of the Special Region. This is followed by Chapter II, which discusses the authority related to cultural affairs. Chapter III addresses the various types of culture in D.I. Yogyakarta, distinguishing between tangible culture, such as historical relics and temples, and intangible culture, such as customs, arts, and ancestral traditions. Chapter IV concerns the resources used in managing culture. Chapters V and VI focus on cultural preservation, while Chapter VII discusses culture as a determinant of the region's 'special' status. Chapter VIII addresses cultural funding, and Chapters IX and X cover the management of Human Resources (HR) and those responsible for cultural administration. Chapter XI also discusses the funding for cultural management, and Chapter XII serves as the closing chapter of this Perdais.

All the chapters and articles in this Perdais on culture are dedicated to regulating and making efforts to manage and preserve the culture in D.I. Yogyakarta. Fundamentally, all Perdais are designed to manage culture as an icon of Yogyakarta's special status, as reflected in the Perdais on the Appointment of the Governor and Deputy Governor.

c) Perdais on Institutional Matters

The Perdais on institutional matters is designed to regulate both the institutional councils and the executive branch of regional government. Although regulations regarding institutions for the council and executive power have been in place since the enactment of Law Number 13 of 1950, adjustments were necessary to align with Law Number 13 of 2012, resulting in the establishment of a new institutional body to manage their culture. Parampa Praja is a non-structural body that serves as an advisory board to the Governor.

Furthermore, the Perdais addressing land and spatial planning has faced several conflicts that have been topics of discussion from the beginning. Even the Grand Design Team, tasked with formulating this Perdais, has not yet been able to definitively draft the Perdais on land and spatial planning. There is a dualism between local government decisions and customary law, with lands being managed by the National Land Agency (BPN) according to Law Number 5 of 1960 on Basic Agrarian Principles. Moreover, BPN lacks specific data regarding the area and boundaries of
d. Impact on the Economic and Social Sectors

Various political policies have been encapsulated in five Perdais that continue to evolve. However, the regional autonomy specifically impacts not only public policy and politics but also the broader economic and socio-cultural fields. As stated in Article 42 of Law Number 13 of 2012, this aligns with the Perdais on Culture in Chapters IV and XI, which address funding sources and budgeting. In this context, some funding sources in D.I. Yogyakarta include Local Own-Source Revenue (PAD), General Allocation Funds (DAU), and Special Allocation Funds (DAK) 23. Broadly, the state allocates the National Budget (APBN) to each region for management 24. Within this framework, the APBN also allocates Special Autonomy Funds to D.I. Yogyakarta, which include portions of Regional Funds and Village Funds 25.

Generally, the Special Allocation Funds (DAK), referred to as the Special Autonomy Funds, serve several functions. In D.I. Yogyakarta, the largest portion of the Special Autonomy Funds is intended for the development and preservation of culture. According to the Daku Application for the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the Special Autonomy Funds received from the APBN from 2020-2024 are designated for several purposes 26.

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<td>Spatial Planning</td>
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Table 4: Allocation of Special Autonomy Funds in D.I. Yogyakarta for 2020-2024

Referencing the data above, it can be observed that the Special Autonomy Funds

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allocated through the APBN to D.I. Yogyakarta have consistently increased each year. The largest allocation has been directed towards cultural funding, which saw significant growth from 2020 to 2024. In addition to cultural aspects, funding for institutional and defense areas also increased during this period. However, based on the data, spatial planning funds decreased from 2020-2023. Conceptually, the Perdais on Spatial Planning in D.I. Yogyakarta has not been effectively managed, resulting in insufficient emphasis on APBN funds for this aspect.

In line with this, the Special Autonomy Funds aim to maintain the special status of Yogyakarta, specifically in managing its culture as a symbol of its uniqueness. According to the results of the socialization of the Special Autonomy Fund Management by BKK in D.I. Yogyakarta in 2023, these funds will be allocated for infrastructure development such as roads, bridges, irrigation systems, drainage systems, and other public facilities needed by the community. This aims to promote economic development and the welfare of the people in D.I. Yogyakarta. Besides supporting cultural preservation as an asset of Indonesia's national heritage, the Special Autonomy Funds also impact the economic sector in D.I. Yogyakarta. Apart from being utilized in the economic and cultural sectors, D.I. Yogyakarta also manages the Special Autonomy Funds to enhance tourism potential, thereby helping to increase regional income and local community revenue. As a part of Indonesia's cultural wealth, this attracts non-native people to enjoy the diverse cultural forms, significantly boosting tourism revenue. Moreover, the Special Autonomy Funds are used to develop human resources (HR), such as improving healthcare and education facilities. As reported by the Provincial Central Statistics Agency of D.I. Yogyakarta, the economic, health, and education sectors experienced substantial growth by the end of 2023.

The dynamics of D.I. Yogyakarta, as a region with special autonomy in cultural affairs, align with the cultural perspective theory in local politics. The culture and customs of the Yogyakarta people are among Indonesia's cultural riches that must be preserved. Therefore, special autonomy is necessary for their management. The various dynamics in D.I. Yogyakarta due to special autonomy have shown that culture significantly impacts the community's life, including politics, economy, health, education, and social aspects.


E. CONCLUSION

The conclusion highlights that the dynamics of the 'Special Region of Yogyakarta' through the culturalist perspective illustrate that culture exerts a comprehensive influence on politics. In D.I. Yogyakarta, there has been a long historical journey to preserve its culture, culminating in the enactment of Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Special Region of Yogyakarta, which grants special autonomy to the region to manage itself. This special autonomy is largely aimed at managing and preserving culture. The formation of the Perdais in response to the special autonomy resulted in new dynamics within the concept of 'Special Region of Yogyakarta.'

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