

## The Filling Up of Yogyakarta Governor Position in Social Harmony Perspective

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper aims to provide an overview in filling up the position of Governor of Yogyakarta, Distinctive Region, Indonesia, that considering social harmony perspective. Discussion conducts using social harmony perspectives, because the Sultan as the King was suspected to devise making her daughter the Queen who will be automatically the Governor succeeding him. This paper based on sociology legal research, this study approached the legal issues in accordance with the fact in social life, to provide an overview existing condition rules and public perceptions in filling position of Governor of Yogyakarta, especially about gender (female) position. Dataas are collected by interviewed and distributed questionnaires to various groups. Considering the result of research, that the Sultan's way generated a sufficiently deep polemics in the Palace environment, government and society, so that this even kept away from the customary values of Javanese custom and Islam religion emphasizing on social harmony.

**Keywords:** Social Harmony, Governor, Filling Up

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Yogyakarta is one province in Indonesia with status of Special/ Distinctive Region, in addition to Nangroe Aceh Darusalam among the 34 provinces of total. The recognition of Distinctive Region (*Daerah Istimewa*) is included in Article 18B clause (1) of the 1945 Constitution (Republic of Indonesian's Constitution) and Law Number 13 of 2012 about the peculiarity of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (thereafter called UUK DIY). The peculiarity of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta existing so far lies on its executive the local leaders of which are Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono constituting the King of Kasultanan Yogyakarta (Mataram) Kingdom as the governor and Paduka Sri Pakualam constituting the *adipati* (regent) of Yogyakarta as the deputy of Governor of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY).

Interestingly, the Governor and Deputy Governor succession process cannot be done through election like the one in modern democratic practice, democracy prevails in societies because too much is at stake in turning against it (Przeworski, A, 2005), for some time, the word democracy has been circulating as a debased currency in the political marketplace (Schmitter, P. C., & Karl, T. L, 1991). The process of succeeding and filling up the Governor and Deputy Governor Positions is carried out by the assignment based on internal process in Mataram Kingdom/Kaasultanan Yogyakarta and Kadipaten Pakualaman, respectively. It means that whoever becomes the Governor and the Deputy Governor of DIY, modern democracy is considered as unsuitable, there are too many noises, the "noise" (measurement error) in the resulting measure (Treier, S., & Jackman, S, 2008). Such the assignment is carried out by Local DIY Province Legislative through a plenary session. Such the provision is governed in DIY's Distinctive Region Regulation (thereafter called Perdais DIY) Number 1 of 2013. More interestingly, the members of Local DIY Province Legislative Council are selected through electoral process by DIY's people directly and democratically.

The problem is that internal process in the Kingdom results in polemics within society. On Thursday, April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015, Sultan Yogyakarta issued *Sabda Raja* (the King's Utterance) in Siti Hinggil, Yogyakarta Palace, followed with the issuance of *Dawuh Raja* (the King's Command) on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2015 (Ridwan Anshori, 2015). Before it, the King of Keraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X issued *sabdatama* in Bangsal Kencana (Kencana Hall), on Friday (March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2015) (Wijaya Kusuma, 2015). Actually, *Sabda Raja*, *Dawuh Raja* and *Sabdatama* is the Sultan's right as the ruler of Kasultanan Yogyakarta's custom to develop a binding regulation (*paugeran*). *Sabdatama* is the King's announcement to his people, meaning that it binds beyond the palace environment, while *Sabda Raja* is the King's announcement to internal Palace environment. Meanwhile, *Dawuh Raja* is the command that should be arranged really.

*Sabdatama* contains eight commands in Javanese language, one of which is that the one entitled to determine who will be next King of Yogyakarta is the Sultan himself as the incumbent King. It is mentioned in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> commands in Sabdatama :

3. Marang sopo wae kang kaparingan kalenggahan, manut karo Raja sing maringi kalenggahan. (Whoever has been assigned a position should follow the command of the King who has assigned him/her).

5. Sing disebut tedak turun kraton, sopo wae lanang utowo wedok, durung mesti diparengake ngleksanaake dhawuh kalenggahan. Kang kadhawuhake wis tinitik. Dadi yen ono kang omong babagan kalenggahan Nata Nagari Mataram, sopo wae, luwih-luwih pengageng pangembating projo ora diparengake, *lire* kleru utowo luput. (Whoever is the descent of Court, either male or female, is not certainly given the kingdom's authority. The one authorized has been assigned. So, it is not allowed to discuss or to talk about the Mataram's throne, moreover for the court officials, it worryingly will result in mistake). This sabdatama is followed with Sabdaraja concerning the change of Sultan Degree into Sampean Dalem Ingkang Sinuhun Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawono Ingkang Jumeneng Kasepuluh Surya Ning Mataram Senopati ing Ngalaga Langgenging Bawono langgeng ing Tata Panatagama. The Sultan who has no son then issued dawuh raja assigning GKR Pambayun to be GKR Mangkubumi, meaning that the King's eldest daughter is assigned to be Putri Mahkota, the candidate of the next King (Queen) in Kasultanan Yogyakarta.

The problem then emerged because the next King (Queen) is the King's daughter and she will be automatically assigned as the Governor of DIY after Sultan Hamengkubuwono X has passed away. Many people question feministic gender (West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H, 1987) as something in contradiction with custom. The assignment of GKR Pambayun as the putri mahkota (crown princess) and the issuance of Sabda Raja by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X generate polemics not only in the internal court, but also extending to the Yogyakarta people. It is because, in addition to be considered as breaking the customary order (Postema, G. J, Custom, 2012) of the Court, that Sabda and Dawuh Raja also open the opportunity for the female governor to appear that will break the Yogyakarta Special Status Law (thereafter called) UUK DIY. The Law Number 13 of 2012 about Yogyakarta Special Status governs the position of Yogyakarta Governor in sufficiently detail, including in its relation to Keraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat. The Chapter VI of the law mentions the Fulfillment of Governor and Deputy Governor position, in which there is some rule related to Sabda Raja. That is, the change of Sultan Hamengku Buwono's name. In addition, there is also some rule implicitly mentioning that the Governor of Yogyakarta should be male. This rule is contained in the Article 18 of UUK DIY reading as follows:

**Article 18 letter m :**

**(1) The candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor should be Indonesians qualifying the following requirements :**

m. submitting curriculum vitae containing, among others, education history, job, sibling, wife, and children; and In the history of Yogyakarta Kingdom's leadership and the Sultan Hamengkubuwono X's measure of assigning his daughter to be the Crown Princes has historical slag obviously. From the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono reigns the ones assigned to be King are all males. However, the history has changed today with the mentioning of GKR Pambayun to be GKR Mangkubumi in which the Sultan's daughter will be the Queen or the Crown Princess potentially succeeding Sultan.

**The Sultan's measure is considered as in contradiction with the Article 3 clause (1) letter m of Perdas Yogyakarta :**

"The candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor should be Indonesian qualifying the following requirements: (m) submitting curriculum vitae containing, among others, education history, job, sibling, wife, and children"

The word "wife" both in UUK DIY and in Perdas presupposes that the Governor of DIY should be a man with wife. Nevertheless, Sultan Hamengku Buwono X keeps holding tightly on what he has said and commanded, by assigning his daughter to be the crown princess. Even Sultan said that UUK DIY is discriminative (Detiknews, 2015).

**A. Yogyakarta People's Opinion about Filling Up The King/Sultan and Governor**

*Dawuh Raja* containing the assignment of GKR Pambayun to be GKR Mangkubumi results in controversy. Particularly, this controversy concerns the possibility for GKR Pambayun to be the crown princess and to reign as the next King (succeeding Sultan Hamengku Buwono X) and automatically the Governor of DIY. Some people decline it based on the historical fact, tradition and custom in Kasultanan Yogyakarta in which there has never been a woman becoming the King (Queen).

**Even the custom considers it as unreasonable. In addition the legal fact states that:**

UUK DIY and Perdas do not allow a woman to be the King implicitly. Meanwhile, some others agree with *Dawuh Raja* based on an argument that *Dawuh Raja* is the Sultan's absolute authority. In addition it is intended to answer the modern challenge. How do Yogyakarta people capture this dispute? Here is the result of investigation obtained from the result of direct interview with the Yogyakarta people.

**1. Yogyakarta People’s Opinion about the King/Sultan of Yogyakarta Occupying by a Woman**

In this research, the people are categorized into 6 groups:

- a. Group 1: religion leaders
- b. Group 2: *abdi dalem*, *sentana dalem* and *rayi dalem* existing in the Court environment.
- c. Group 3: college students and youths
- d. Group 4: academicians
- e. Group 5: people with maximum education of elementary education (Junior High School)
- f. Group 6: government employees (*kelurahan*, sub district, regency/municipal, and province).

Each of groups is represented by 25 respondents so that there are totally 150 respondents. The respondents were asked about their opinion about *Dawuh Raja*, particularly concerning whether or not the position of Yogyakarta King can be occupied by a Woman, as described in the table below.

Society Category	Agree		Disagree		Unknowing/No comment		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Group 1	10	40	15	60	-	0	25	100
Group 2	16	64	5	20	4	16	25	100
Group 3	11	44	12	48	2	8	25	100
Group 4	13	52	12	48	-	0	25	100
Group 5	4	16	20	80	1	4	25	100
Group 6	14	56	6	24	5	20	25	100
Mean	62	45.33	70	46.67	12	8	150	100

From the table above, it can be found that there is a difference of opinions among the people concerning the Yogyakarta King position occupying by a woman, in which 46.67% disagree, 45.33% agree and 8% unknowing. It means that at the level of society, there is no majority agreement or disagreement to *dawuh raja*. Meanwhile, the result of research based on the structured interview with some members of society shows that those with high education and not related to the government and Kasultanan Yogyakarta tend to question the *dawuh raja*. Whether the Sultan only tests the water or seriously raises his oldest daughter to be his potential successor. Meanwhile, those having relationship with kasultanan (*abdi dalem*) or the employees of DIY government tend to submit this affair to Sultan DIY and government. They reluctantly discuss this relatively sensitive issue. Meanwhile, those with elementary education and lower, asked about the woman being the King, generally disagree, regardless *dawuh raja*.

**2. Yogyakarta People’s Opinion about the Governor of Yogyakarta Occupying by a Woman**

With the same respondents, the author asked their opinion about the Governor of DIY position occupying by a woman. Those opinions can be described as follows.

Society Category	Agree		Disagree		Unknowing/No comment		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Group 1	14	56	11	44	-	0	25	100
Group 2	9	32	9	40	7	28	25	100
Group 3	14	56	10	40	1	4	25	100
Group 4	14	56	11	44	-	0	25	100
Group 5	8	20	16	64	1	4	25	100
Group 6	15	60	8	32	2	8	25	100
Mean	74	49.33	64	43.33	11	7.33	150	100

Considering the table above, there is in fact a slightly different perception between Governor and King, in which despite no dominance, nearly a half of respondents agree with the Governor position occupying by a woman. About 49.33% of respondents do not consider the gender as a problem in the term of DIY’s leader. But 43.33% consider it as the problem, while the rest of 7.33% abstain. Meanwhile, the result of research based on the structured interview with a number of people interviewed shows that the people with high education and not related to government or Kasultanan Yogyakarta do not consider gender as a problem in the term of Yogyakarta Governor succession, but they argue that the existence of Yogyakarta as the cultural city that should uphold customary values should keep connected, so that some others refuse the woman being the Governor of Yogyakarta because they consider it is in contradiction with the custom. The contradictory argument appear among the religion leaders; some of them refuse the female governor because the Governor of Yogya is the King and considered as the auliya (khalifatullah (leader), because some provisions of religion confirms that the leader should be male, so that for them the Governor of DIY should remain to be male. Meanwhile, some other religion leaders interpret such the provision more moderately by not considering it as the problem.

## **B. Social Harmony Perspective**

Discuss about social harmony ini DIY, we should enclose Islam as a part of historical record. Islam is a religion sent down by Allah through Prophet Muhammad, the basic tenets of which is included in Al-Qur'an (Azman Ta'a, Syuhada Zainal Abidin, Mohd Syazwan Abdullah, A., & Bashah B Mat Ali, and M. A, 2013), constituting the Holy Book sent down from Allah to guide human beings to His Way (Bukhari Lubis, Muhammad, 2006), some of which is explained by Hadith of Rasulullah (Basri bin Ibrahim al-Hasani al-Azhari, & Wan Mohd Yusuf bin Wan Chik, 2011), so that Al-Qur'an and Hadith become the main propositions of Islam religion. Yogyakarta is Islamic Mataram Kingdom in Java. This kingdom was consecrated as the next generation and the safeguard of Islam tenets (Ali, K., & Leaman, O, 2008). In its development, the history of Kasultanan Yogyakarta was always related closely to the Islam development in Java Island. Its existence was always adjacent closely to Javanese culture, the place where Kasultanan Yogyakarta exists. Sultan Hamengku Buwono (HB) X (the 10<sup>th</sup> Sultan Hamengku Buwono) has ever issued *Dhawuh Dhalem* Number: 1/DD/HBX/Ehe-1932 as well, on 8 November 1999, mentioning that the vision of Kasultanan Yogyakarta is to preserve and to develop cultural tenets based on Al-Quran and Hadith (Islam Religion's Holy Books).

Ibnu Khaldun suggested that history is a science based on the reality and aiming to make the human beings actually aware of the changes in the surrounding nature and society to accomplish their life (Haikal, Husain, 1983). Farisi suggests that history questions not only the past, but also what the benefit of it is to the future, in the attempt of implanting historical awareness, in the more global recent circumstance (Imam Farisi, Muhammad, 2013). History is closely related to Culture. Koentjaraningrat explains that culture is human's idea, action and work in the attempt of living within society by learning, belonging to the human self (Koentjaraningrat, 1990). Edgar explains that culture is a human daily life process at general scale, starting from acting to thinking way (Edgar, Andrew dan Peter Sedgwick (ed), 1999). Barker explains that culture is an experience in daily life, various texts, practices, and meanings of everyone in undertaking their life (Barker, Chris, 2005). Culture is a system and an idea all at once. As a system, culture is the one connecting human community to their ecological environment (Binford, L, 1968). Meanwhile, as an idea, culture is a structured science symbolized as a series of behavior.

In the context of Yogyakarta, the convergence of Islam as the religion and Java as the culture is interesting to be a measurement instrument in determining who the successor of Sultan HB X will be, by emphasizing on man or woman. Islam considers man and woman equal except in the naturally (*fitriah*) inherent characters (e.g. pregnancy, lactation, menstruation, and etc). The capacity of being the *khalifah* on the earth (fil al'ard) is confirmed in QS. Al-An'am 165 and QS Al-Baqarah 30. In those verses, the word "*khalifah*" does not refer to one certain sex (gender), meaning that both woman and man have the same function as the khalifah, that will be responsible for his/her leadership on the earth. The equal position of woman and man in the term of humanity degree has been explained in QS Annisa 32 and 34. Those verses show that in their status, human beings are equal before God. Thus, in living within family, husband leads his wife as explained in Annisa 34, while the wife's right to her husband is explained in Al Baqarah 228, reading: "And they (women) have similar rights to those of (men) in kindness (in a just manner, according to what is reasonable (*ma'ruf*) (Baharudin, A., Hardono, S., Abdullah, A., Malik, N.Z, 2012).

Javanese culture is patriarchic in nature; patriarchic society is the one tending to consider the man is superior to the woman. *This family system make a misinterpretation of Confucianism promoted hierarchal relationship between men and women* (Yons, S.H, 2013). In many discourses about women emancipation, there is always a debate between culture and gender equality action. As if culture is the main factor to blame for the position of women inferior to that of men. Whereas, the perception constructed by culture is always dynamic, despite the basic essence distinguishing one area from another, one state from another. When it is contradicted, there is a difference of perception on gender between Javanese culture and American culture today. But making this contradiction is not appropriate, because the course of culture based on the basic essence entirely ends up with the realization of harmony. In addition to America, even the patriarchic Javanese culture is different from Minang culture in Sumatra, but still in Indonesia, with matriarchic disposition which is women are imagined as a powerful agents ho have often exercised leadership in society (Adeney-Risakotta, B, 2016).

Misperception in the discourse contradicting these results from the gender observer's tendency to make the course of American/western cultural history as the parameter, while ignoring the course of local culture (local wisdom). Once again, the debate on culture should be directed to the achievement of the cultural historical course itself, trying to arrive at the same point, harmony, despite different ways. Similarly, in Islam tenets, the emphasis is given on the harmonious relationship between men and women. Therefore, in Islam sharia, there is *Maqashid Shariah*; the shariah objective and Islam tenet applied is the achievement of justice leading to social harmony. In the context of gender, naturally men are superior to women, so are the women. This superiority is not intended to be competed, but to be put adjacently like the yin-yang figure relation a Chinese cosmic ideal, they not intended to indicate any human relation of gender but the harmony of human nature whose will make

social harmony (Yons, S.H, 2013). Although Islam history and culture are not always the same between one place and another, but its journey can be seen from the track record of harmony created.

The very familiar Javanese philosophy in social relation and in maintaining harmony is Hamemayu Hayuning Bawono. It means “Beautifying this nature’s beauty” or “making this nature prettier”. Javanese people tend to avoid the opened conflict and want to maintain harmony, so that opened conflict rarely occurs at intra-group level. Javanese people call the concept of realizing harmony with the environment memayu hayuning bawono. Hamemayu Hayuning Bawono, according to Endraswara (Endraswara, 2003), is the character and behavior always attempting to realize the world’s safety, wellbeing and happiness. In this concept, human motivation in acting should be based not only on individual interest but also on many people’s interest. Harmony is the objective of life concept, so that it is not allowed to have spite, envy, and to act on one’s volition in the social relation pattern.

Both Islam and Javanese culture view leadership not in status aspect but in the socially-constructed role, and not in God’s unchangeable destiny. It means that the social role of leader basically does not take gender into account, but basically it considers the realization of harmony. Speaking in Indonesian context, actually the female King is not taboo. Some kingdoms, in Java in particularly and Indonesia in general, had ever been led by a female King:

- 1) Kalingga Kingdom in 670-730 AD having ever been led by Ratu Maharani Shima (Queen Maharani Shima). This kingdom was located in Jepara area, Central Java. Queen Shima was well-known for the leading one who always upheld the law.
- 2) Medang Kingdom, in East Java, in 947 AD having ever been led by Queen Sri Isyana Tunggalawijaya or Mpu Sindok Princess.
- 3) Lodoyong Kingdom, now located in Tulung Agung, East Java, in 1032 AD having ever been led by Queen Dyah Tulodong. She was known as the sturdy leader because she could defeat Airlangga from Kahuripan Kingdom.
- 4) Majapahit Kingdom in 1328-1351 AD having ever been led by Ratu Tribhuwana Wijayatunggadewi as the third “king” of Majapahit Kingdom. Tribhuwana reigned accompanied by her husband, Kertawardhana. He was then succeeded by his son, Hayam Wuruk, later known as the most successful King because Majapahit can dominate entire archipelago. In addition, in 1427-1447 AD, Majapahit was also led by a female King, Prabu Stri Suhita, the sixth King of Majapahit Kingdom.
- 5) Aceh Darussalam Kingdom, the Islamic Kingdom, the kings/Sultans of which were female respectively: Sultanah Safiatuddin reigning the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom during 1641-1675 AD, followed by Sultanah Naqiatuddin reigning it for 3 years during 1675-1688 AD, succeeded by Sultanah Inayat Zakiatuddin Syah reigning during 1678-1688 AD, and Queen Kamalat Zainatuddin Syah reigning during 1688-1699 AD.
- 6) There are also Sriwijaya, Perak and Samudra Pasai Kingdoms.

Viewed from its history, however, Kasultanan Yogyakarta has typicality. Yogyakarta as the Special Status Region has a long history about a high culture journey. The society life’s adjacency to custom symbolized with the form of Kasultanan Yogyakarta Palace is one reason of why Yogyakarta is given special status (Daerah Istimewa). Another reason is Yogyakarta’s considerable contribution to the history of the indigenous people’s resistance against the colonial (Dutch). In the context of leadership custom and culture course, since the establishment of Kasultanan Yogyakarta led by Sultan Hamengku Buwono I until today by Sultan HB X, there has never been a female leader (Sultan).

The prevalence of male Sultan as if has been the historical and cultural course that has been the customary rule (pakem adat). Instead, the point not constituting the pakem adat is the assignment of Sultan’s eldest child (daughter) to be the successor of Sultan. Based on the history of inauguration, Sultan HB X was the new tradition in the succession of Yogyakarta monarch because he was not the consort of king’s son. The history also records that Sultan HB IX is not the eldest son of the Sultan HB VIII. Sultan HB IX, named Bendoro Raden Mas (BRM) Dorodjatun, was inaugurated to be the crown princes before his eldest brother, KGPH Hangabehi, with the conferral of kriss Kiai Joko Piturun (Tri Agung Kristanto, 2015). In addition, not all Sultans of Yogyakarta succeeded their fathers. Sultan HB VI reigning during 1855-1877 became the King succeeding his brother, Sultan HB V (1823-1855) who has not left son yet. Considering this historical course, the one assigned to be the successor of Sultan HB X should be his eldest brother rather than his eldest daughter.

History means many things to many people. But finding an answer to the question 'What is history?' is a task few feel equipped to answer nowadays (Jenkins, K, 1991). History is a collection of events that can result in harmony and disharmony; the well-established history leads to harmony while the change is the symbol of discomfort potentially resulting in harmony. Harmony contains positive politeness meant to meet the hearer's 'positive face needs' (Nawal F. Abbas, 2013). Harmony is a social comfort; Social Harmony is defined as a process of valuing, expressing, and promoting love, trust, admiration, peace, harmony, respect, generosity and equity upon other people in any particular society regardless of their national origin, weight, marital status,

ethnicity, colour, gender, race, age and occupation etc (Sharma, Manisha, 2015). Sultan Yogyakarta's test the water by assigning his eldest daughter to be the crown princes has shown the historical agitation. As we follow the plot, before issuing Dawuh Raja, Sultan Yogyakarta has issued Sabda Raja beginning with the release of Sabda Tama, the position of which is lower than Sabda Raja. Sabda Tama is released to cease the polemic about the successor of Sultan HB X occurring because Sultan has no son. After having commanded the termination of polemics through Sabda Tama, Sultan then released Sabda Raja, one important point of which is the removal of Khalifatullah (Islamic Leader) degree. His previous degree is Ngarsa Dalem Sampeyan Dalem Inggang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwono Senapati Ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrakhman Sayidin Panatagama Khalifatullah, connoting a series of words referring to a masculine man. There seems to be a direction for Kasultanan Yogyakarta to accept a female King. And then Dawuh Raja was actually released about the assignment of Sultan's eldest daughter to be GKR Mangkubumi (crown princes). Perhaps, Sultan HBX has forgotten that he has released *Dhawuh Dhalem* Number: 1/DD/HBX/Ehe-1932 on November 8, 1999 stating that the Court's vision is to preserve and to develop cultural tenet based on Al-Quran and Hadith (Islam religion's Holy Books). In the context of Islam leadership, the debate about female leader is endless. It is like fishing in the muddy water; it will of course result in polemic.

To rule out the polemic, Sultan should maintain harmony by not compelling his descent to be the successor of Sultan. Moreover, there is a contradiction between Dawuh Raja and dawuh Dhalem. In Javanese philosophy, the principle "sabda brahmana raja tan kena wola-wali, pindha we kresna tumetes dalancang seta" should prevail, meaning a leader's and a king's say should be held on tightly and not in contradiction. It is because the King is "pandoming bebrayan" (guideline and role model for the society).

### C. Concluding Remarks

The status of Yogyakarta as DIY (Special Region of Yogyakarta) is characterized with the Governor succeeding process without general election just like that in other Indonesian provinces. The process of filling up the Governor position is conducted through assignment mechanism. It is based on UUK DIY and Perdas. The assignment process is based on the internal procession in Kasultanan Yogyakarta Palace. The problem arises when Sultan HB X devised to make his daughter his successor. It is characterized with the issuance of *Sabda Tama*, *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* designating his eldest daughter to be Crown Princess. When Sultan HB X actually wants to make his daughter the next Sultan, it is in contradiction with UUK DIY and Perdas implicitly mentioning that the Governor of DIY should be male. In addition, the Sultan's measure has resulted in a prolonged polemics in Palace environment, Government and Society, so that this measure even keeps away from both Javanese culture and Islam religion values emphasizing on social harmony. So we suggest :

1. Sultan HB X should listen to more and see the positive law order, cultural custom and Islam religion in making any decisions in order to prevent the polemic from occurring.
2. The objective of living within state and society is the realization of harmony; for that reason, state governance by anyone should be directed to the achievement of harmony rather than ego demonstration.
3. Any debate about gender and leadership should end up with the realization of harmony rather than ideological war or contrasting western culture and local wisdom.

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