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Gender politics of Sultan Hamengkubuwono x in the succession of Yogyakarta palace

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Abstract: The aristocratic theory is essential in the kingdoms' political system because some countries use monarchical leaderships in the modern era. However, no research has been conducted on the aristocratic theory to examines succession in kingdoms without male descendants. This research aims to review the aristocratic theory in the succession practice in the Yogyakarta Palace. This research employed a qualitative approach. Data was collected using interviews, focus group discussions (FGD), and secondary sources. In-depth interviews were conducted to obtain information about the views and attitudes of the Yogyakarta Palace on gender issues. Furthermore, FGDs were conducted with women activists, academics, political parties, and mass media figures. Secondary data was obtained from the relevant journals and news. The FGD and secondary data were used to confirm the validity and reliability of the data and information. The results showed that there were succession conflicts in kingdoms without male descendants. Consequently, a discrete policy is needed to change traditions that limit female successors. The theoretical implication of this research is that the aristocracy theory cannot be applied to all kingdoms. Policy makers in monarchical systems need to prepare discrete policies to minimize conflict during succession when there are no male descendants.

Subjects: Gender Studies; Political Studies; Gender and the Law



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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

The regulations of the Yogyakarta Palace across generations stipulate that men have the right to be Sultan. Whereas gynecologically, the current Sultan HB X did not have a son, hence he does not have the right to appoint his descendants to the throne. As a father, Sultan HB X expected the children to ascend to the throne. According to the prevailing regulations in the Indonesian political system, the Governor of Yogyakarta Province is not elected through a general election process like other provinces, but through the determination of the Sultan of Yogyakarta palace who is currently in power. This means that the Sultan of the Yogyakarta Palace is also the governor of the province, which only happens in Indonesia. Therefore, this research examines the politics and policies undertaken by Sultan HB X to help his daughters to take the throne of Yogyakarta Palace.

Keywords: Aristocratic regime; gender politics; monarchy; succession; the Yogyakarta palace

1. Introduction

The Yogyakarta Special Region (Yogyakarta) developed a new political momentum in Indonesian democracy after the Privileges Law promulgation. Although it took a long process since the reformation, Yogyakarta attained special authority at the provincial level, including positions that were initially held by the Sultan and the reigning Paku Alam. This authority covers five areas: culture, land, spatial planning, institutions, and political positions such as governors and deputies. The positions of the Yogyakarta Palace and the Pakualaman *Kadipaten* receive special treatment. The political direction is determined by leadership changes on the two institutions and not by regional head elections conducted in 33 other provinces. On the other hand, Yogyakarta needs to comply and implement regulations determined by the national government, such as Gender Mainstreaming, enacted through Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 15 of 2008 and Indonesian Presidential Instruction No 9 of 2000.

The efforts to implement those two regulations became problematic, as the Yogyakarta King and Governor, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X (Sultan HB X), is also tied to the traditional law. It is called the patriarchal *paugeran* (*paugeran*) and was widely known to be enacted in the local government practices.¹ The most notably and yet controversial *paugeran* stated that only male descendants are allowed to take the throne. According to this *paugeran*, Sultan HB X's descendants, all-female, do not have the right to take the throne.²

However, Sultan HB X still had expectations to be replaced by his children though they were all female (Baskoro & Sunaryo, 2010, p. 56). Due to this reason, Sultan HB X implemented various strategies and policies to allow his daughters to inherit the throne. The Sultan Yogyakarta Palace position is historically significant as it changes to today's governor of the Province. Therefore, it is essential to study how Sultan HB X's politics and policies paved the way for his daughters to become Sultans or governors. Additionally, it is essential to study the palace positions which give insights to understand Sultans and governorship (Margontoro, 2009, p. 17); (Dwiyanto, 2009, p. 56); (Hidayat & Martilah, 2008); (Rozaki & Hariyanto, 2010); (Suwarno, 2004); (Wahyukismoyo, 2009); (Arief Aulia Rachman, 2010, pp. 43–44).

Existing studies on Sultan HB X and Yogyakarta Palace have not examined responses to Privilege Law policies, especially regarding the regulation which appoints Sultan as Yogyakarta governor. This privilege, to some extent, contributes to Sultan HB X's interest that his daughter will inherit the throne, even though it means breaking the *paugeran*. Also, existing studies only examined the Palace's internal role without relating it to the provincial leadership represented by the gubernatorial position. Those studies focused mainly on examining the Sultan's role in the internal Palace rather than his position as a Governor of Yogyakarta.

According to Hadisiswaya (2009), every struggle for the throne, especially at the Javanese Palace, was determined by replacing the original prince. According to A. Rachman (2012), the palaces in Java corresponds to Islamic teachings and the local culture. Robson (2013) related the effort to take the throne in the court practices commonly held by the internal royal family, but he did not specifically discuss the Sultan position. Ricklefs (2005) examined the existence and contribution of the Indonesian palaces. This study was closely related to the Sultan of Yogyakarta Palace but did not examine the governorship position. Moedjanto (2012) and Harjono (2011) elaborated on the conflicts in the Palace's succession. Roem (2002) described the gaps in the Sultan HB X life without explicitly elaborating on the positional characteristics. Researches on internal matters of the Palace have not related the Sultans position to the Yogyakarta Provincial Government. Therefore, this study aims to fulfill that void, especially in examining Sultan HB X politics and policies implemented to counter traditions against female successors.

Based on the studies mentioned above, there is still less explored topic on the issue which links the positions of Sultan as the King and the Governor. There will be potential for problems and conflicting rules; in this study's context, Sultan HB X's effort to secure the throne for his female descendants, even it is against the paugeran. Therefore, this study examines the gender politics of Sultan HB X, including securing the throne for his female descendants. This study offers a deeper understanding of the existing literature in the gender mainstreaming field by investigating the politics and policies in the context of the Sultan as both the Yogyakarta king and governor. Hence, this present study aims to address this question: "how is the gender politics and policies of Sultan HB X as the Yogyakarta king and governor, in the effort to secure the throne for his female descendants?"

This present study employed a case study methodology. In-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGD), and secondary data collection was employed to develop the analysis. Key informants were involved, including Sultan HB X, GKR Hemas (wife of Sultan HB X), GKR Pembayun (daughter of Sultan HB X), younger brothers of Sultan HB X, Palace relatives (outside of Sultan HB's main family X), and community leaders. The interviews were conducted to obtain information regarding the views and attitudes of the Yogyakarta Palace towards gender issues. Also, FGDs were conducted with women activists, academics, political party figures, and mass media. Further, secondary data were collected from the relevant studies as a triangulation method; hence the validity of the information could be assured.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1. Explanation of aristocratic regime

According to the literature, the traditional regime has survived to the present day through the guidance of bloodlines and history. Kailitz (2013) divided political regimes into seven categories, including liberal, electoral, communist, one-party, monarchy, military regime, and personalist. One of the essential monarchy features is the justification of the regime based on "she/he has a God-given, natural or at least established historical right to rule because of his or her descent, regardless of the political outcome of his or her rule" (Kailitz, 2013, p. 48). Therefore, there are no serious problems because the next leader is determined by bloodline or hereditary relationships and not leadership skills.

The monarchical regime prioritizes hereditary and historical relations in all leadership positions. The traditional regime is one among fascist, communist, liberal-democratic, theocratic, technocratic and dictatorial, divided based on the type of law, source of authority, government objectives, and public agreement. A regime based on heredity and history is a traditional type since it uses past experiences as a law source and provision for prosperity. Public agreement in the traditional regime was obtained from the contract of the social elite. (Beetham, 2013, p. xv).

The monarchy is not found in the context of post-reform Indonesia due to the institutionalization and fragmentation level. The institutionalization level of the kingdoms was shallow, except for the Yogyakarta Sultanate. They cannot create complex institutions and work effectively as a regime. Furthermore, they are fragmented and are maximum at the provincial level. Therefore, Indonesian kingdoms cannot be juxtaposed with monarchies in Brunei, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Malaysia. The majority of aristocracy in Indonesia are politically influential in regencies/cities, sub-districts, or villages, such as in Maluku (Brauchler, 2011). The combined Kasultanan and Pakualaman in Yogyakarta are the only exceptions where the political impact is at the provincial level. Therefore, the Indonesian kingdoms are more accurately defined as an aristocracy with the same principles as the monarchy in a smaller context. Lieven (1994) describes aristocracy as "a historical, hereditary ruling class," hence the definition of a regime as in monarchy can be borrowed to explain aristocracy in Indonesia.

2.2. Aristocratic regimes in various variations

Following the character in Southeast Asia, the typology of aristocracy in Indonesia can be simplified into two, including agrarian and marine. The aristocracy typology is divided into two main types, including agrarian and water/marine, and manifests into different social, political, and cultural systems that create distinctive characters (Bastin & Benda, 1968; Wolters, 1999). The agrarian type relies primarily on land, while marine depends on shipping and trade. In Indonesia, the agrarian population was relatively more homogeneous than the marine.

According to Wittfogel (1957), water and irrigation systems are important sources of strength for political and social stability in the agrarian aristocracy. The agrarian society in Asia was divided into two based on creating irrigation systems that were useful for food stability with implications for the political system used. Therefore, Wittfogel divided aristocracy into a hydraulic society and civilization. In the hydraulic society, the community independently creates an organization on a small scale to manage water sources for agriculture. Whereas in hydraulic civilization, water management is no longer used only for agriculture. However, it is developed on a broader scale and can prevent disasters, such as floods.

In an agrarian aristocracy, the economic, social, and political resources are based on the union of three elements, including land, water, and labor. The land is a vital economic resource for the agrarian aristocracy closely connected with the political constellation. In the *history of Mataram*, water has been an important concern, and the kingdom always considered rivers in its position. Labor is the unifier of land and water because the two factors of production are useless without it. The importance of labor in building aristocracy was shown in the *Giyanti Agreement*, specifically when the VOC did not give the land for Mangkubumi Prince.

As a means of expanding land, improving irrigation systems, and simultaneously securing labor, the rulers of the agrarian aristocracy were faced with securing legitimacy. For instance, the legitimacy of the Mataram rulers was built on a myth from the farmer *Ki Ageng Giring*, who accidentally drank *Ki Ageng Penggahan's* coconut water (Soemanto, 2003). For this reason, the descendants of the coconut water drinkers would become Mataram kings. This myth is used as an effort to build political legitimacy in the context of traditional-irrational society.

In the Mataram agrarian aristocracy, political leaders were determined by the internal contestation of kingdom family members. Historically these positions have been contested and held by men. Successors to the throne would be the king's brother if the sons were still young but only in rare cases. Harjono (2011) stated that Sultan HB VI was appointed after the elder brother because the family did have a son. This jurisprudence was also used by Sultan HB IX's brothers to inherit the throne.

The patriarchal structure is closely related to the irrigation and land cultivation system. The king received tribute and economic resources and handed them over to the princes and regents or regional rulers. The princes and regents relied on the "bekel" as labor intermediaries and peasant organizations. This *bekel* role was crucial in intermediary roles between the owner and the cultivator through a profit-sharing system. *Bekels* transformed into village heads and were respected due to their previous positions. The apanage system uses a patriarchal structure to replace kings, princes, regents, and *bekel* among men across generations (Suhartono, 1991).

3. Methodology and method

This research used a qualitative case study approach to examine policies and politics against gender succession in Yogyakarta palace. According to Yin (2009, p. 18), this was considered the ideal approach to understanding contemporary phenomena holistically in a real-life context. This research developed a comprehensive understanding of the manifestations of gender values and ideology by Sultan HB X. Due to the study characteristics; this process cannot be explored using survey instruments (Merriam, 1998).

This research used in-depth interviews, FGD, and secondary data collection methods. In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants, including Sultan HB X, GKR Hemas (wife of Sultan HB X), GKR Pembayun (daughter of Sultan HB X), five younger brothers of Sultan HB X, 3 Palace relatives (outside the family Core Sultan HB X), and five community leaders. This interview was conducted to obtain information regarding the views and attitudes of the Yogyakarta Palace on gender.

The FGD was conducted with five women and gender activists, three academics who have competence in the history of the Yogyakarta Palace, six political party figures, and three local mass media. The participants in the FGD and interview were determined through a purposive sampling mix with quota sampling based on the objectives of this research.

Secondary data was obtained from documents and manuscripts in journals and mass media (both printed and internet) related to the gender politics of Sultan HB X. Importantly, all the data were analyzed qualitatively with a focus on the data validity and reliability. Accordingly, it is necessary to confirm the validity of information among informants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The steps taken to obtain data reliability in qualitative methods include a triangulation mechanism (Moleong, 2017). Triangulation involved checking the data validity by utilizing data from the sources and other collection techniques, time, and theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), (Moleong, 2017) and (Salim, 2001). The validity test process was conducted to double-check the findings with other data sources, specifically between secondary data with information obtained from interviews and interviews with FGDs, including supporting theories.

In the data analysis, the first steps were reduction or selection of relevant data. The second step was data categorization based on specific themes, while the third one involved checking the validity and interpretation of the existing data. The steps taken were in line with the opinion that the data analysis process consists of three streams of activity, data reduction, and display, and drawing conclusions or verification (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

4. Findings and discussion

4.1. Overview of the Yogyakarta palace

The Yogyakarta Palace is still standing firmly amidst modernization due to the strong history and values before independence. Initially, the Yogyakarta and Surakarta Palace were combined into a unit called the Mataram Kingdom. Due to the *Giyanti Agreement* in 1756, the Mataram Kingdom was divided into two categories because the Yogyakarta Palace did not want to cooperate in dealing with Dutch colonialism (Baskoro & Sunaryo, 2010, p. 7).

After obtaining part of the Mataram Kingdom territory, Prince Mangkubumi founded the Yogyakarta Palace and confirmed himself as the new king under Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono. Also, the establishment of this Keraton was firmly based on the existence of *paugeran* and *pranatan*.³ The palace was based on being based on Javanese values and culture, Islamic teachings. For instance, Sayyidin Panatagomo Khalifatullah stated that the Sultan is a caliph sent to uphold Islamic values brought by the Prophet Muhammad (Sabdacarakatama, 2009, p. 50). These Islamic values also form the basis for the leadership in the Palace Sultan.

At the beginning of the Indonesian state establishment, the Yogyakarta Palace firmly joined the Indonesian Republic. The Dutch had offered Sultan HB IX to become *Super Wali Nagari* over Java and Madura in the federal state of the Netherlands. However, Sultan HB IX stated that the Mataram kingdom recognized Indonesian sovereignty and declared to join the Republic (Lombard, 1996, p. 128). Consequently, the values and policies of Yogyakarta have been special because there was a well-established leadership system before the republic.

President Soekarno highly appreciated and respected Sultan HB IX and Sri Paku Alam VIII's political decisions by providing a Charter of status. This charter meant that the central government had recognized the Sultanate for existence and sovereignty. Also, Sultan HB IX was recognized and appreciated for leading politically, militarily, socio-culture, and religiously. The charter implied that the Yogyakarta government is entirely entrusted to the Sultan. Furthermore, it was also strengthened by Sultan HB and Sri Paku Alam's dual existence, who served as governor and deputy. The enactment of Law no. 13/2012 on the Privileges Law of Yogyakarta or UUK DIY also contributed to the kingdom's pride.

Nevertheless, the Sultan should still fulfill the requirements stipulated in the *paugeran* and *pranatan*, including being a previous empress's son. This provision is a tremendous challenge to the current problem because Sultan HB X, or the Governor, did not sire a son. Sultan HB X wants a successor from his descendants because later, he will become the Governor (Yudhahadiningrat, 2019). Consequently, the Sultan has implemented several steps and policies to ensure the throne for his female descendants.

4.2. Gender politics of the Yogyakarta palace Sultan

The secondary data from the research by Ratnawati shows that the gender-oriented traits of Sultan HB X can be observed long before he ascended the throne. For instance, the Sultan would tell family members, employees, and servants that when he leads, there will be many changes, including modernity values, into the palace (Ratnawati, 2015, p. 55). This finding is in line with research by Qodir, which stated that after ascending the throne, the empress⁴ was allowed to become a female activist outside the palace. Furthermore, the empress actively participates in the Disabled People International seminar in Singapore, International Elderly Organization, Hong Kong International Conference on Street Children, International Council of Social Welfare, and Tanpopo No Ye Able Art Movement (Qodir, 2016, p. 183).

The activeness of the Sultan HB X empress outside the palace has never been allowed before. In an interview, Sultan HB X stated that "these women are no longer *konco wingking*, *neraka katut*, or *suwarga nunut* because they are strong creatures (Hb X, 2017). This assertion is in line with Handayani and Novianto (2004, p. 127) with stated that women are independent creatures and are more resilient than men (Handayani & Novianto, 2004, p. 127). Furthermore, the Sultan stated that women should break the inherent patriarchal culture ingrained in society (Hb X, 2017). The Sultan's opinion is supported by the data from Qodir's research, which showed that the women from Yogyakarta Palace, especially the empress, need to position "one foot on the inside and the other one on the outside." This means that they need to maintain the tradition of Yogyakarta Palace and, at the same time, conduct something outside the palace to act according to the community's needs. (Qodir, 2016, p. 184).

In an interview with GKR, Hemas, the wife of Sultan HB X, stated that "she always speaks out loudly, voicing women's empowerment to support them and play more roles in society" (Hemas, 2017). This finding is in line with the data from Sustiwi's interview with GKR Hemas, which showed that the efforts made by GKR Hemas to empower women were conducted at all levels of society, ranging from *jamu* sellers, farm workers, and civil servant wives to politicians through the organizations she led. It also includes the Mobilization Team for Family Welfare Empowerment (TP PKK), Dharma Wanita, and the Coordinating Board for Social Welfare Activities (BKKKS). Hemas always promote women's empowerment at every opportunity, even for matters considered to be very trivial (Sustiwi, 2018).

In an FGD conducted with women and gender activists, academics, political party figures, and local mass media, a women's movement activist stated that "Sultan HB X's wife is very concerned about gender issues and taking sides with women in a fight against their discrimination. The concerns emerged after she was becoming an activist for the Women's Voices Empowerment Movement (GPSP), which demanded a 30% allocation of seats for women in parliament. She traveled around Indonesia, inviting women to be aware and politically literate, apart from actively participating as subjects in politics (Masruchah, 2018). According to the Movement's research report (Qodir, 2016, p. 187), Sultan HB X empress's struggle to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women continued when she became Deputy Chair of the Law Drafting Committee (PPUU) of the Regional

Representatives Council (DPD) RI in 2005. Together with the Women's Parliamentary Caucus (KPP), DPD-RI and DPR-RI proposed a Justice and Gender Equality (KKG) Bill (RUU).

In the first three periods of being a DPD member, GKR Hemas was very active and contributive to the Indonesian KPP and women's forum in the regional and national parliament. GKR Hemas significant contributions include voicing the rejection of the Pornography Bill, facilitating civil society movement dialogues. Women's Forum for Indonesia (FPUI) was formed through her efforts and is fighting for the Bill on Elimination of Sexual Violence and making it to the 2016 National Legislation Program priority list. Consequently, the empress received the title of Defender of Women's Rights, Fighter of Equality from the Ngayogyakarta Palace, and Opening of Women's Human Rights in the Yogyakarta Palace Life (Masruchah, 2018; Purba, 2018; (Sustiwi, 2018).

An interview with a relative of the Yogyakarta Palace, Yudhahadiningrat, revealed that the activeness of Sultan HB X's wife is a violation of the *paugeran* and *pranatan*, which has long been accepted as something sacred and cannot be changed by anyone. It is also seen as violating and disrespecting the tradition of the Yogyakarta Palace (Yudhahadiningrat, 2019). This has led to a shift in the culture of the Yogyakarta Palace, from being patriarchal to more caring toward gender equality. Sultan HB X's wife has been part of a progressive female activist, which earned her the nickname of the modern empress. In general, the empress has shifted the perception toward the female who could not only *macak*, *masak*, or *manak* (dress up, cook, give birth). These are the traits that are no longer become the stereotype of Javanese women. Various statements showed the desire to grow into a person who could do things outside the domestic affairs of the palace, not just being a companion.

The empress's activeness emphasizes Sultan HB X's efforts to incorporate gender equality values into the palace. Historically, men controlled the place while women were only assigned tasks related to domestic and household affairs. The interview results showed that there would be changes in the throne after Sultan HB X ascended it. Women started to occupy critical political positions such as activities, representatives, and leaders. There are currently positions in the palace institutions held by women, especially by GKR Pembayun/GKR Mangkubumi as the eldest daughter of Sultan HB X. She, in fact, is being prepared to be a successor. GKR Mangkubumi is currently the leader of *Kawedanan Hageng Punakawan Parasraya Budaya*, an institution that manages the Yogyakarta Palace assets. Previously, this position was held by Sultan HB X's younger brother. GKR Mangkubumi's siblings also occupy positions as *kawedanan* in the palace. For instance, GKR Hayu, who can speak English fluently, was appointed as a *Tepas Tandha Yekti*. It is an institution that manages the palace's technology, documentation, and information flow. (Yudhahadiningrat, 2019).

In the FGD forum, stakeholders from the mass media stated that "Sultan HB X assigned different roles to GKR Mangkubumi in several organizations outside the palace. They include the General Chairperson of the Province Youth Organization, Chair of the Regional Leadership Council of Market Traders Association, President Commissioner of PT *Mataram Mitra*, President of PT *Tembakau*, and Director of PT *Yarsilk Gora Mahottama*. According to Risakotta (2020) this was not common in the previous ruling where daughters could not take up any roles. The Sultan's intentions might be preparing the daughter to inherit the throne. Also, these actions aim to empower women and give them a chance to support men in political positions. The inclusion of gender into the Yogyakarta Palace has led to a shift in values from being patriarchal to being more concerned with equality. This could be the Sultan's policy to prepare his daughter to become the successor.

4.3. Sabda Raja and Dawuh Raja: The culmination point of gender politics in Sultan HB X

After instilling and manifesting the values of gender equality into the Yogyakarta Palace, Sultan HB X continued his efforts by issuing Sultanate's order, known as "*Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja*." The younger brothers of Sultan HB X viewed that *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* are the initial steps of making women become the Sultan of Yogyakarta Palace (Yudhahadiningrat, 2019), an assertion supported by

data from the local mass media (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2015). These two orders are new traditions introduced by Sultan HB X to convey messages related to changes in the internal sphere of the palace.

The Sultanate's order is the kind of symbolic language that Sultan HB X wanted to convey. For instance, *Sabdatama* was issued in 2012 as a response to the process of forming the UUK and Special Regional Regulations (Perdais) on the Procedures for Filling the Positions of Governor and Deputy Governor. On *Sabdatama* 2012, Sultan HB X emphasized his political stance on the slow process of discussing the UUK draft (RUUK) due to several strategic issues. For instance, his term of office as Governor of Yogyakarta, which has been extended since 2008, will end soon (Dardias, 2009). Meanwhile, in *Sabdatama* 2015, the sultan responded to drafting the Perdais. He wanted the word "wife" to be abolished in the requirements of candidates for governor and deputy governor during the Yogyakarta DPRD hearing at the Kasultanan Palace (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2015). This is because all the kings of the Kasultanan and Pakualaman were perceived to be men. However, the sultan had no sons and faced obstacles to making the eldest daughter become the king and later the governor. The most fundamental difference between *Sabdatama* 2012 and 2015 lies in the level of success and the impact of internal and external cohesiveness. Although *Sabdatama* 2012 was successful in accelerating the drafting of the RUUK, which was finally passed the following year, *Sabdatama* 2015 was failed to fulfill Sultan HB X's desire to remove the word "wife."

Sabdaraja and *Dawuhraja* were steps initiated by Sultan HB X to systematically and structurally prepare GKR Pembayun/GKR Mangkubumi to become king. On *Sabdaraja*, the sultan stated that the primary order came from the king, and the successors of the kingdom could be male and female. Two months later, the sultan rested on two sacred weapons that served as male symbols for the kings; they were the *Keris Kiai Kopek* and the *Keris Kiai Joko Piturun*. In the Mataram tradition, *keris* is only used for men, while women use *cundrik* (Harsrinuksmo, 2004). In the Western kingdom, kingship is symbolized by the crown, while the Javanese kingdom symbolizes it by replacing the *keris* with the *Kiai Kopek Keris*, which the sultan uses explicitly.

Further, Sultan HB X removed the title of *khalifatullah* due to its strong association with men. The change in the title allowed GKR Mangkubumi to become sultanah. After the most critical cultural barriers were removed, Sultan HB X announced the crown princess on 5 May 2015. Based on the series of events, these were the first systematic and measured steps to change the tradition of succession, followed by the announcement of a female successor.

5. Conclusion

Sultan HB X changed the succession gender traditions by providing opportunities for his wife and daughters to be activists outside the palace. They were also assigned roles and positions to occupy positions in internal institutions, which male relatives initially occupied. For instance, the eldest was given opportunities to lead organizations outside the palace. The Sultan also issued *Sabdaraja* and *Dawuhraja* to break the succession traditions followed by the removal of traditional symbols associated with males. This was conducted to prepare his daughter to succeed him as Sultan and Governor.

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Notes

1. *Paugeran* or *angger-angger* (regulation) of the palace, which is valid internally to this day. If contextualized in a modern Indonesian state, it is the same as the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

2. Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Pembayun / GKR Mangkubumi (first daughter), GKR Condokiriono (second daughter), and GKR Maduretno (third daughter) studied higher education in Australia, and GKR Hayu (fourth daughter) pursued higher education in Switzerland and GKR Bendora pursued higher education in Scotland.
 3. *Pranatan* are articles in the basic foundation for the founding of the Yogyakarta Palace.
 4. The empress of Sultan HB X named GKR Hemas has a background not from aristocratic circles, but an individual who was raised in Jakarta as part of modern society.
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