

GOVERNANCE OF LOCAL MONARCHY WITHIN A NATIONAL REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT SYSTEM: Special Region of Yogyakarta¹

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Introduction

The existence of a monarchical government unit at the local level within a republican state is not a plural phenomenon, either on a national or a global scale. In that context, the phenomenon of the Special Region of Yogyakarta within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, Yogyakarta Special Region becomes interesting to be observed.

As a kingdom, the existence of Yogyakarta can be traced in retrospect until the 17th century when the Mataram kingdom suffered a setback. In summary, in 1755-the year considered as the birth year of Yogyakarta-Mangkubumi with solemn proclamation by the Dutch Governor became king with the title of Sultan Amangkubwana Senapati Ing Ngalaga Abdul Rachman Sayyidin Panatagama Khalifatullah³. Thus, he became the first king of the kingdom of Ngajogjakarta Hadiningrat or Hamengku Buwono I.

In fact, Yogyakarta is able to survive in the trajectory of the time until today when Yogyakarta, which now consists of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Paku Alaman Duchy, became part of Indonesia. This fact brings about an unusual peculiarity, namely the presence of a local government unit in the form of a monarchy within a republican national state.

Such a condition of Jogjakarta, brings consequences to the regulations governing it. The regulation on Special Region of Yogyakarta is spread in various laws and regulations, among others, Act no. 3 of 1950 on the Establishment of the Special Region of Yogyakarta and Act no. 13 of 2012 on Special Feature of Special Region of Yogyakarta. However, existing regulations do not negate the contradiction between Jakarta and Yogyakarta, even to the point of being the harshest. The conflict is unfortunately capable of confiscating energy, both the

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³ Thomas Stamford Raffles, 2008, *The History of Java* (Terj.), Yogyakarta: Narasi, h. 581.

central government and the people of DI Yogyakarta. This paper intends to explore Yogyakarta's governance within the central-regional framework. The starting point then becomes a foothold to describe the tensions that arise between Jakarta and Yogyakarta in the historical trajectory alongside the institutionalization towards accountable and participatory Yogyakarta governance.

Yogyakarta within Regulations

The relationship between Yogyakarta and the central government can be traced since the events surrounding Yogyakarta's integration with the Republic of Indonesia. The integration can be traced since August 18, 1945 when Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Paku Alam VIII welcomed the independence of Indonesia and congratulated Soekarno and Hatta as President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia via telegram. The action was greeted by Sukarno issued the Charter of Status dated August 19, 1945. The charter establishes Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX on his position as Head of Yogyakarta Sultanate and Sri Paku Alam VIII as Head of the Duchy of Paku Alaman.⁴

Firstly, upon the approval of the Yogyakarta Regional National Committee of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Sri Paku Alam VIII issued the Mandate of September 5, 1945. The mandate was issued by each of them on the same day and with the same content. The contents of the mandate states that the area they lead is a special area of the Republic of Indonesia.

The mandates show at least three things, namely⁵, firstly, both the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Paku Alaman area, both of which are the Special Region of the Republic of Indonesia, so it is not yet a unit of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Second, the Mandate clarifies the position of the two kingdoms in favor of the newly born Republic of Indonesia. Third, both Sultan and Paku Alam respectively as a holder of power on the Sultanate and the Duchy. Both are

4. ⁴ Atmakusumah (Penyunting), 2011, *Tahta untuk Rakyat: Celah-celah Kehidupan Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX*, Jakarta: Gramedia, h. 61-62.

5. Ni'matul Huda, 2013, *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta dalam Perdebatan Konstitusi dan Perundang-undangan di Indonesia*, Bandung: Penerbit Nusa Media, h. 142-143.

directly related to and only responsible to the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

After the issuance of the Mandate of Sri Sultan HB IX and the Mandate of Sri Paku Alam VIII, on September 6, 1945, both Sri Sultan HB IX and Sri Paku Alam VIII received the Charter of Status from the President of the Republic of Indonesia dated 19 August 1945, delivered by two Ministers Country ie Mr. Sartono and Mr. Maramis. Then, on October 30, 1945, issued a mandate by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Sri Paku Alam VIII signed by both. This mandate is a form of unification of determination between the two rulers.

The series of events is no doubt the starting point of a link between Yogyakarta and the Republic of Indonesia. This relationship brings consequences to the regulation of Yogyakarta as a special or special government unit within the laws and regulations of Indonesia, including the constitution.⁶

Arrangements on special areas appear in Act no. 1 of 1945 on the Position of the National Committee of the Region, which in its elucidation of Article 1 states "the Regional National Committee held in Java and Madura (except in the Special Territories of Yogyakarta and Surakarta) in Residency in autonomous cities, regencies and other areas deemed necessary by the Minister of Home Affairs ... ". Therefore de facto, the Special Region of Yogyakarta was actually born since in the field of revolution through the process between September 5, 1945 to May 18, 1946. However, in de jure, the Special Region of Yogyakarta only existed at the time of issuance of Act no. 3 of 1950 set forth on March 3, 1950.⁷

On May 18, 1946, it was published Notice No. 18 of 1946 on the Councils of the People's Legislative Assembly of Yogyakarta (Kasultanan and Paku

⁶ The 1945 Constitution before and after the amendment provides recognition of special areas. In the 1945 Constitution before the amendment, it is contained in article 18 which states, "The Regional Division of Indonesia of the Large and Small Regions in the form of its government shall be stipulated by Act with regard to and remind the basis of deliberations in the system of state government, proposals in special areas ". Whereas in the 1945 Constitution after the amendment, precisely the Second Amendment, it is mentioned in Article 18b paragraph (1) that, "The State acknowledges and respects the special or special regional government units regulated by Act".

⁷ Ni'matul Huda, 2013, *Daerah Istimewa...*, *Op.Cit.*, h.148.

Alaman).⁸ This is the realization of the decision of the plenary meeting of Yogyakarta National Committee on April 24, 1946 and is the arrangement of transition to the circumstances to be regulated by the Yogyakarta Special Government Act which will be issued by the Central Government pursuant to Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution. In 1946 the bureaucracy of the government of Yogyakarta Special Region changed. So that the government bureaucracy of Special Region Of Yogyakarta is regulated as follows: For the whole of Yogyakarta Special Region established the Regional Representative Council of Yogyakarta (Regional Council) domiciled in the capital of Yogyakarta. For the city of Yogyakarta established the House of Representatives of Yogyakarta City (City Council) is located in the capital of Yogyakarta. In each regency the District House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Kabupaten) is established in the regency capital. For Kalurahan as regulated by No. 7 Year 1945, No. 14 Year 1945, and No. 17 Year 1946.⁹

The next development, the government enacted various regulations related to local government.¹⁰ On July 10th 1948 Act No. 22 Year 1948 on the Stipulation of the Main Rules Concerning Self-Governance in Areas Eligible to Arrange and Maintain Their Own Households was born. Since the formation of the Unitary State, the government began to gradually continue the implementation of decentralization. For the region of Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and West Irian Act No. 22 Year 1948 is employed. In the context of DI Yogyakarta article 18 paragraph (5) and paragraph (6) regulate the filling of the position of Head of Special Region, which reads:

(5) *The Head of the Special District shall be appointed by the President of the descendant of the ruling family of the area before the Republic of Indonesia and who still controls its territory, on the terms of skill, honesty and loyalty and by recalling the customs of the area.*

(6) *For the Special Territory may be appointed a Deputy Head of Region by the President keeping in mind the conditions referred to in paragraph (5).*

⁸. Soedarisman Poerwokoesoemo, 1984, *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, h.35.

⁹. Ni'matul Huda, 2013, *Daerah Istimewa...*, *Op.Cit.*, h. 147.

¹⁰.¹⁰ Regulations related to local government scattered from the Law no. 22 of 1948 on the Stipulation of the Main Rules Concerning Self-Governance in Areas Eligible to Arrange and Manage Their Own Domestic Owners up to Law no. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government which is the latest local government-related Law issued before Law no. 13 Year 2012 on Special Privileges of Yogyakarta Special Region was born. See Ni'matul Huda, *Ibid.*, P. 147-164.

The Deputy Head of the Special Region is a member of the Regional Government Council.

On March 3rd, 1950, Act No. 3 of 1950 on the Establishment of the Special Territory of Yogyakarta was established. This Act affirms the name and territory of the Special Territory of Yogyakarta and affirms that the Yogyakarta Special Region is at the same level as the province and establishes the local organs and affairs submitted to the Government of Special Region Of Yogyakarta in accordance with the contents of Articles 23 and 24 of Act no. 22 of 1948 on Regional Government. UU no. 3 Year 1950 was changed and added with Act no. 19 of 1950 which was then changed back to Act no. 9 of 1955.

President enacted Act no. 1 of 1957 on the Principles of Regional Government on 17 January 1957. The General Elucidation of the Act asserts that the head of a special region is not elected by and from members of the Regional House Of Representatives but is appointed by the Central Government from the descendants of the ruling family in the area before Republic of Indonesia and still dominates the region by taking into account the requirements of skills, honesty, loyalty and customs within the area. Therefore, the privilege still lies in the position of the regional head. In a special area may also be appointed a deputy head of the region if the special area was formed as a combination of several former self-government swaprja (Special Region of Yogyakarta) (Article 25).

However, the implementation of regional autonomy according to Act no. 1 Year 1957 began slowed, and finally stopped with Presidential Decision (Presidential Decree) no. 6 of 1959. The Presidential Decree changed the structure and function of local government in accordance with the implementation of Guided Democracy which began with the announcement of Presidential Decree on 5 July 1959. In Article 6 of Presidential Decree no. 6 of 1959 states that: *"The Head of the Special Region shall be appointed from the descendant of the ruling family to administer the government of the area before the Republic of Indonesia and who is still in office in the region, with due observance of the terms of skill, honesty, loyalty to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and customs in the area, and appointed and dismissed by the President. "*

The difference between Presidential Decree no. 6 of 1959 with Act no. 1 of 1957 concerning the head of a special region, will be clearly visible. If in Act no. 1 In

1957 the head / deputy head of a special region level I was appointed by the President of the candidate submitted by the Regional House Of Representatives, then in Presidential Decree no. 6 In 1959, the head / deputy head of a special region be appointed by the President without going through the nomination of the Regional House Of Representatives.

Subsequently, on September 1, 1965 DPR-GR (People's Representative Council of Mutual Assistance) authorized the Presidential Decree no. 6 of 1959 (perfected) into Act no. 18 of 1965 on the Principles of Regional Government. Act no. 18 of 1965 is actually almost entirely forward or move the provisions contained in Presidential Decree no. 6 of 1959 and Presidential Decree no. 5 of 1960 (on DPR-GR). Article 17 Paragraph (1) and Article 21 Paragraph (5) of the Act stipulates that, "The Head of Region and Deputy Head of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, at the time of entry into force of this Act, is the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head of the Special Province of Yogyakarta , which is not tied to the term of office ".

Similarly, when Act no. 5 Year 1974 was born to replace the Act no. 18 of 1965, the provisions regulating the Special Region of Yogyakarta are contained in Article 91b, which reads: "The Head of Region and Deputy Head of Yogyakarta Special Region which is now the Head of Region and Deputy Head of Region pursuant to this Act as the Head of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, which not bound by the terms of term of office, terms and means of appointment to the Regional Head and Deputy Head of the other Region ".

In the next development, Act no. 5 of 1974 replaced by Act no. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government. The arrangement of the Special Territory appears in Article 122 which affirms that: "Privileges for the Special Territory of Aceh and the Special Province of Yogyakarta Province, as defined in Act no. 5 of 1974, shall remain with the proviso that the administration of the Special Province of Aceh and the Special Province of Yogyakarta shall be based on this Act ". In the Explanation section of Article 122 it is stipulated that: "... The recognition of the special features of the Special Region of Yogyakarta is based on its origin and role in the history of the national struggle, while the content of its privilege is the appointment of the Governor by considering candidates from the descendants of the Sultan of Yogyakarta and the Deputy Governor by considering candidates of Pakualam descent Nature qualified in accordance with this Act ".

When Act no. 32 of 2004 replace Act no. 22 of 1999, Article 225 of Act no. 32 of 2004 affirms that regions which have special status and are granted special autonomy other than regulated by Act shall also apply special provisions as regulated in other Acts. The provisions of the Act shall apply to the Provinces of the Special Capital Territory of Jakarta, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province, Papua Province and the Special Province of Yogyakarta as long as they are not specifically regulated in a separate Act.

Still, according to Act no. 32 of 2004, the regulation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta is mentioned in Article 226 paragraph (2), which states that: "Privileges for the Special Province of Yogyakarta as referred to in Act Number 22 Year 1999 are fixed with the stipulation that the implementation of the Province of Yogyakarta in this Act. "The assertion contained in Act no. 22 of 1999 and Act no. 32 of 2004, indicates that the regulation of Yogyakarta Special Region has not changed.

Specificity or privilege of Special Region of Yogyakarta, as recognized by Act no. 22 of 1999 and Act no. 32 Year 2004, lies with the appointment of the Governor by considering the candidate of the Sultan of Yogyakarta descent and the appointment of the Deputy Governor by considering candidates of Paku Alam descent who are eligible in accordance with the Act. This indicates that as long as the candidates of the descendants of Kasultanan and Paku Alaman still have the qualifications of skill in leading, honest, trust, and supported by their people, then the candidate is worth to be considered.

On the latest developments, Act no. 13 of 2012 on Special Feature of Special Region of Yogyakarta. When juxtaposed with Act No. 3 of 1950 jo Act no. 19 of 1950 jo Act no. 9 of 1955 on the Establishment of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, then through Act no. 13 of 2012 is clearly affirmed about the definition of Special Region of Yogyakarta privilege as the privilege of legal status based on the history and the right of origin according to the 1945 Constitution to regulate and regulate special powers. Article 7 paragraph (2) of this Act regulates authority in the context of special affairs of Special Region of Yogyakarta. These authorities include:

1. the procedures for filling the positions, positions, duties and authorities of the Governor and Vice Governor
2. institutional of Special Region of Yogyakarta Local Government

3. culture
4. land
5. spatial

Authority in the context of affairs Special Region Of Yogyakarta specialty is organized by translating it into a Special Region's Regulation (Perdais). While there have been three Perdais, namely Perdais No. 1 of 2013 on Authority in Special Privileges of Special Region of Yogyakarta changed with Perdais No. 1 of 2015 and Perdais no. 3 of 2015 on the Institutional Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

The above description of Yogyakarta-related regulations shows that the ties between the Yogyakarta government and the central government can be seen in the framework of the concept of asymmetric decentralization. Charles D. Tarlton¹¹, the first political scientist to formally discuss the concept of asymmetry in the context of federalism, argued that:

The ideal asymmetrical federal system would be one composed of political units corresponding to differences of interest, character, and makeup that exist within the whole society. The asymmetrical federal system would be one in which, as Livingston says of federal systems generally, the diversities in the larger society find political expression through local governments possessed of varying degrees of autonomy and power. Again, following Livingston, an asymmetrical federal government is one in which political institutions correspond to the real social "federalism" beneath them.

In the model asymmetrical federal system each component unit would have about it a unique feature or set of features which would separate in important ways, its interests from those of any other state or the system considered as a whole. Clear lines of division would be necessary and jealously guarded insofar as these unique interests were concerned. In the asymmetrical system it would be difficult (if not impossible) to discern interests that could be clearly considered mutual or national in scope (short of those pertaining to national existence perse).

Nevertheless, Tarlton's efforts appear not to be able to fill the reality of the existence of Yogyakarta in relation to the Republic of Indonesia as a unitary state. John McGarry's article, which also cites Tarlton, also calls the form of a

^{11.} ¹¹ Charles D. Tarlton, 1965, *Symmetry and Asymmetry as Elements of Federalism: A Theoretical Speculation*, Journal of Politics, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Nov., 1965), h. 861-874.

unitary state as the object of asymmetric decentralization¹². He gave the example that Indonesia has given additional autonomy to Aceh more than other regions.

Similar to McGarry's example of Aceh, Yogyakarta also has additional authorities that can be identified from the various laws and regulations already mentioned, especially the 1945 Constitution article 18b paragraph (1) and Act no. 13 of 2012. In addition to the authority equivalent to other regions according to the Act on local government, Act no. 13 of 2012 provides additional authority in the form of: (a) the procedures for filling the positions, positions, duties and authorities of the Governor and Vice Governor; (b) the regional government of Special Region Of Yogyakarta; (c) culture; (d) land; and (e) spatial planning.

In a narrower context, namely Yogyakarta as a monarchy, Canada's experience in managing relations with the province of Quebec can be cited as an example. McGarry has much touched Quebec as a province that has more powers than any other province.

Nevertheless, the relation of the Yogyakarta monarchy to Indonesia as a republic is still an uncommon view from the point of view of republicanism which tends to have no place for monarchical governance. In today's world order, monarchies are more often found in parliamentary systems.

Tensions between Yogyakarta and Jakarta

At the beginning of this article it has been argued that the various regulations governing the existence of Yogyakarta did not exclude the tension between the central government and Yogyakarta. The tensions that arise are mostly caused because the only legal instrument that became the basis of the formation and became the main reference of the implementation of Special Region Of Yogyakarta privileges is Act no. 3 of 1950, does not clearly regulate the substance of the privilege.

For example, on July 23, 1974 Act no. 5 of 1974 on the Principles of Governance in the Region came into force. The provisions of article 91b mention that:

"The Head of Region and Deputy Head of Yogyakarta Special Region which is now the Head of Region and Deputy Regional Head under this

^{12.} ¹² See John McGarry, 2007, *Asymmetry in Federations, Federacies, and Unitary State*, Journal of Ethnopolitics, Vol. 6 No. 1, March 2007, h. 105-116.

Act as the Head of Special Region of Yogyakarta and Deputy Head of Special Region of Yogyakarta, which is not bound by the terms of term of office, terms and manner of appointment for the Head Regional and Deputy Heads of other Regions. "

The formulation in the provisions of article 91b raises the rejection of the people of Yogyakarta on Act no. 5 of 1974. The article implies that the privilege of Yogyakarta after the death of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Paku Alam VIII will end. This is because there are the words "... which now ...", which means limiting the existence of "privileges" in filling the office and the term of office of regional head and deputy regional head of SPECIAL REGION OF YOGYAKARTA after that. Thus, for the post of governor and subsequent deputy governor shall be bound by the terms of term of office, terms and means of appointment to the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head as other regions.¹³

Then, on October 3, 1988 Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX died, so that the Vice Governor of KGPA VIII became acting Governor through Presidential Decree no. 340 / M / 1988. Ten years later, precisely on 12 September 1998, Paku Alam VIII died. Through Presidential Decree no. 268 / M / 1998 Hamengku Buwono X was confirmed as Governor of Yogyakarta for the period of tenure between 1998 and 2003.

The issuance of Presidential Decree several times indicates that the guidance in Act no. 3 of 1950 for the mechanism of succession of governor and vice governor leadership is inadequate. Central-regional tensions resumed when on 7 April 2007 Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X declared that he was no longer willing to serve as governor after his second term was completed in 2008. This prompted the holding of Pisowanan Ageng (large crowd of people visiting the sultan) on 18 April 2007 to request the explanation of Sultan HB X regarding his statement which is no longer willing to serve as governor for the coming period.

The dragging of interests around the electoral mechanism or the determination reached a high point when President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono delivered a polemical statement. In a Limited Cabinet Meeting at the Presidential Office he said, "There can be no monarchy system that collides with the constitution and the value of democracy," the president said on Nov. 26, 2010.

^{13.} ¹³ Ni'matul Huda, 2013, *Daerah Istimewa...*, *Op.Cit.*, h. 156.

The statement even sparked a referendum discourse in the people of Yogyakarta.

A few years later, Act no. 13 of 2012 on Special Feature of Special Region of Yogyakarta been issued. This Act regulates more clearly the essence of the embodied privileges into the five additional authorities as mentioned above, not just the mechanism of filling the office of the Governor and the Deputy Governor.

However, the issuing of Act no. 13 Year 2012 does not significantly remove the potential tensions that can occur in the future as happened in the past. In the academic texts that have now changed into Act no. 13 of 2012, it is stated that the text is "a point of peace between various disputes, among various aspirations and ideas."¹⁴

Principles of Accountability and Participation in the Framework of the Yogyakarta Monarchy

The Yogyakarta monarchy is not infrequently confronted with the concept of democracy, including by the central government. In the case of the determination of the Governor and the Vice Governor for example, this mechanism is considered undemocratic. Conversely, the electoral mechanism is seen as a better form.

The democratic or absence of a single order can be characterized by the degree of accountability as well as the participation of the organized order. Yogyakarta has begun the process of democratization even before the Republic of Indonesia takes shape as a state.

During the Japanese occupation, Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX removed the patih institution. The Sultan firmly will not appoint a new patih after his patih-Prince Dhanoeredjo VIII-died. The role of patih in the Dutch East Indies is to run the government with a structure consisting of nobility. Thus, the abolition of the patih institution resulted in the nobility losing its place in the process of making a royal decree because the Sultan had taken over the government into his own

¹⁴. Cornelis Lay,et.al.,2008,*KEISTIMEWAAN YOGYAKARTA Naskah Akademi dan Rancangan Undang-undang Keistimewaan Yogyakarta*, Monograph on Politics & Government Vol. 2, No. 1. 2008 (1-122), Yogyakarta: Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan Fisipol UGM dan S2 Politik Lokal dan Otonomi Daerah, h. 4.

hands. In running his government, the Sultan completely deviates from existing traditions. The sultan began to work in kepatihan and receive guests and negotiate with officials and other circles.¹⁵

A bit of the example above shows that the monarchy in Yogyakarta does not prevent the creation of an accountable and participatory arrangement. However, in addition to demanding integrity figures, the institutionalization of democratization that upholds accountability and participation is inevitable. Local government accountability can be seen from the performance of local government by looking at the interaction and synergy between the four entities: government, bureaucracy, civil society and the economic community.¹⁶

First, the government in question is the policy-making body at the provincial level (governor and Regional House Of Representatives). Governments function as regulators, coordinate development, and make budget allocations.

Secondly, bureaucracy is the implementing agency of policy and is also a bridge between the government and the public. In this case, the bureaucracy includes other agencies and agencies at the provincial level. The function of the bureaucracy is to provide public services, increase local financial revenue, and regulate the regional economy.

Third, civil society is an individual or community group that actively participates in the governance process. Civil society functions to perform public policy advocacy functions.

Fourth, the economic community is an individual or community group that runs a profit-oriented business and is involved in the provision of goods and services in support of policy implementation. Economic society serves to participate as economic actors in the tender and implementation of government projects.

Some of the above four elements require the participation of civil society. Therefore, the participatory community becomes the determining factor for accountable local government.

¹⁵. Selo Soemardjan, 2009, *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*, Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, p. 58-59.

¹⁶. Kurniawan Hastuti Dewi dan Nyimas Latifah Letty Aziz (Ed.), 2016, *Gagasan Pemilihan Umum Kepala Daerah Asimetris: Menuju Tata Kelola Pemerintahan Daerah Demokratis, Akuntabel dan Berkelanjutan*, Yogyakarta: Narasi, p. 142-143.

At the level of legal norms, practically DI Yogyakarta rely on Act no. 13 Year 2012 embodied through Perdais. Implementation of the principle of accountability and participation into the regulation undoubtedly a necessity to ensure the fulfillment of these two principles.

In Act no. 13 In 2012 the institutionalization of principles of accountability and participation are harmonized with the governance of the Yogyakarta monarchy can be seen in article 19; Article 21; and article 23. The articles contain a range of mechanisms for recruitment of the Governor and Vice Governor. Recruitment mechanisms involve legislative institutions as community representatives, Kasultanan as governors of the Governor, and Duchy as the bearer of the Vice Governor. All three institutions perform various stages to ultimately establish the Governor and Vice Governor.

Whereas in the rules of implementing Act no. 13 of 2012, while this is only published three Perdais-Perdais. 1 Year 2013 jo Perdais No. 1 of 2015 and Perdais no. 3 Year 2015. First, Perdais No. 1 Year 2013 jo Perdais No. 1 Year 2015 raises article 8 (1, 2); article 9 (1); chapter 10; and article 11 (1) as the institutionalization of accountability and participation principles. The Articles also regulate the process of recruitment of Governor and Vice Governor through the mechanism of determination by involving the institutions of Regional House Of Representatives, Kasultanan, and Duchy. Secondly, the principle of accountability and participation in Perdais no. 3 of 2015 is represented in article 92 paragraph (1) and paragraph (3). The article regulates the establishment of a non-structural institution called Parampara Praja by the local government. This institution has the duty and function to give consideration, suggestion and opinion to Governor. However, the formation of the Parampara Praja was consulted with the Regional House Of Representatives. Thus, indirectly the community continues to take a role in government through the involvement of the Regional House Of Representatives.

Conclusion

In terms of recognition and construction, The Yogyakarta monarchy is getting stronger through the existence of Act no. 3 of 2012. The tensions that arise in central-regional relations as a result of inadequacy of previous regulations, can be answered by issuing new regulations. At least, the push

between the selection mechanism and the determination has met the normative point of departure. Implementing instruments for Act no. 13 of 2012 has also been established through several Perdais. Unconformed Perdais certainly be a gamble whether to present regulations that further strengthen the special authority of DI Yogyakarta as a monarchy or just repeat the past when Indonesia as a republic repeatedly argued with Yogyakarta. Because within a unitary state it is not too difficult for the central government to lift an autonomy, even a special autonomy. History that will prove. [*]

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