

Conference Paper

Online Mass Media As Arena of Sultanah Discourse

Wempi Gunarto

Graduate Student of Cultural Studies and Media of Gadjah Mada University

Abstract

In the year 2015 King of the Kraton Yogyakarta in succession issued *Sabda Raja*, *Dawuh Raja*, and *Sabdajejering Raja* which caused a polemic in Yogyakarta society. Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X changed his name to Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawono ka 10 following the accompanying title, has appointed GKR Pembayun, his eldest daughter to be the crown princess with the title of GKR Mangkubumi which is identified as the title of the future male king. The effort of Sultan HB ka 10 wants to smooth his daughter's step become Sultanah later determined to be the rules applicable in the internal of Kraton Yogyakarta. The group that supports and reject the Sultana discourse also appear in the internal of Kraton Yogyakarta. Both groups are equally using mass media in the network (daring or online) to gain support. Through The Theoretical of Social Practise of Pierre Bourdieu, the author shows how the daring mass media has become an arena to strengthen the sultanah discourse in Kraton Yogyakarta, and the arena has been won by the Disciplinary Supporters of the Sultanah Discourse

Keywords: Mass Media, Sultanah Discourse, Contestation, Arenas

Corresponding Author:
 Wempi Gunarto
 wempi.gunarto@gmail.com

Received: 14 July 2019
 Accepted: 29 July 2016
 Published: 4 August 2019

Publishing services provided by
 Knowledge E

© Wempi Gunarto. This article is distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License](#), which permits unrestricted use and redistribution provided that the original author and source are credited.

Selection and Peer-review under the responsibility of the IGSSCI Conference Committee.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Besides interacting directly, humans also use the media to communicate with each other. Along with the development of information technology, the communication carried out also developed into a mass message delivery process, so information became wider. The mass media is also an option to build mass communication.

Mass media has an important role because it is one of the means for the development of culture, not only culture in terms of art and symbols but also in terms of the development of procedures, modes, lifestyles, and norms (Mc Quail, 1987: 1). The mass media actively shapes social reality by taking the framing of an event to be reported. The media not only has the role of choosing news events and sources but also defines news events and sources according to the mass media.

In the view of media critical theory (McLuhan, 1964), (Gramsci, 1985), (Chomsky & Herman, 1988), (Hall, et al, 1980) mass media is social construction actors. Media in the

OPEN ACCESS

context of critical theory is always related to ideology and hegemony. This is related to the way in which a discourse reality or text is interpreted and interpreted by a particular perspective. The mass media as the messenger of a message must have great strength, and the message conveyed in the mass media can be constructed according to the interests of the media owner group. This can be seen from how the mass media play a role as a critic of all government policies which often try to pressure weak parties. On the other hand, the media is used by the authorities to strengthen the grip of its power.

At present the Yogyakarta Palace which is led by Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawono ka 10 (hereinafter written by Sultan HB ka 10) is presenting Sultanah (Queen) as the royal leader. The emergence of the sultanah discourse makes the Yogyakarta Palace internally divided into two groups, namely the group that supports the sultanah discourse and the group that rejects the sultanah discourse.

The two groups still continue to garner support through their respective media, in this case, the online media (in the network or online). The media they use are www.paugeran.com which is used by the counter-discourse sultanah group, and www.kratonjogja.id which is used by the pro-discourse sultanah group. Both media are owned and operated by the Yogyakarta court's internal circle.

This paper answers the question of how sultanah discourse is produced and reproduced in online media owned by the court. The author argues that online mass media was used to encourage change in the succession system in the Yogyakarta Kingdom, namely allowing the court leader to be a woman (Sultanah). The comparative discourse of government with the patriarchal system is produced and reproduced slowly, subtly into the public consciousness through the text (what has communicated) and the context (how it appears and what it means).

1.2. Methodology

This paper is a qualitative research using a textual analysis approach. The textual analysis method is used to find the hidden meaning (latent meaning) contained in mass media texts (Ida, 2014: 59). This research is resulted from the results of in-depth interviews with both Website Managers and critical analysis of news texts produced by www.paugeran.com and www.kratonjogja.id during the 2017 period by taking into the background of the establishment of the two online mass media.

The unit of analysis used in this research is based on Pierre Bourdieu's Social Practice theory. Bourdieu's perspective elaborated in several main concepts namely habitus,

capital, arena (field), and symbolic power become relevant in studying individual or social community groups.

2. Result and Discussion

The result of this study shows that if the appearance of the sultanah discourse did not appear suddenly. The sultanah discourse which was later recorded in the mass media actually began to appear before the year of 2012. The indication is the Sultan never wanted to express clearly who would be his successor. In fact, if you follow the regulations that apply throughout the founding of the Kraton Yogyakarta, the system of leadership changes in the palace adheres to the male line (patriarchal). So it can be ascertained that the Sultan's younger brother reigned, namely KGPH Hadiwinoto will become the next sultan. The attitude of the Sultan can be interpreted as silenced voices (Clair in Morissan, 2013) which means a rejection of the succession system in the palace.

While still using the name Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, on March 10, 2012 the Sultan issued *Sabdatama* (called *Sabdatama I*). After *Sabdatama I*, the people of Yogyakarta began to wonder whether Sultan HB X had determined who his successor would be? This question arose because of the emergence of the *Sabdatama*, one of which was related to the difficulty of ratifying the Special Draft Law (RUUK) of DIY where one of the points was related to filling the position of Governor and Deputy Governor of DIY. According to UUK DIY, the king also serves as governor through a determination mechanism. The same thing applies to Paku Alam, who will become the deputy governor of DIY.

The sultanah discourse began to be seen clearly after Sultan HB X issued *Sabdatama II* on March 6, 2015, where one of the points was an indication in that direction. It became clearer with the issuance of the *Sabda Raja* on April 30, 2015. The *Sabda Raja* changed the name and title of Sultan in Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace from Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X to Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawono Ka 10. Five days later, the Sultan again issued *Dawuh Raja* on May 5, 2015. Subsequently on May 5, 2015 the Sultan also issued *Dawuh Raja* who appointed his eldest daughter, GKR Pembayun, to become the crown princess with the title GKR Mangkubumi, a title usually used by the successor to the king and during this must be a man.

The legitimacy of the sultanah discourse is getting stronger in the court environment with the *Sabdajejering Raja* on December 31, 2015. *Sabdajejering Raja* contains orders from Sultan HB ka 10 so that the entire internal palace of Yogyakarta obeys the rules

conveyed by the Sultan and the consequences for those who reject it. Through the rules issued by Sultan HB Ka 10, it can be seen that power is working through normalization and regulation. Thus the internal audience of the palace is being led to follow the Sultan HB ka 10 regime which is spread through discourses formed by power. From the point of view of Bourdieu's structural theory, the emergence of the title Sultan HB ka 10 in place of Sultan HB X, and the appointment of GKR Mangkubumi as the princess of the crown as a power strategy towards the legitimacy of the sultanah discourse.

Dardias's research (2016) shows that although the Sultan has issued a rule, the effectiveness of the HB ka 10 regimes is getting weaker. Among them were the three younger brothers of the Sultan, namely KPH Hadiwinoto, GBPH Prabukusumo, and GBPH Yudhaningrat who refused the sultanah discourse nor received sanctions. All three even hold the same position in the palace's internal bureaucracy. In addition, the support of the people of Yogyakarta, especially from religious circles, also openly rejects the sultanah discourse.

It can be said that the contestation of the sultanah discourse that occurs at this time is a battle between the modern-progressive groups (supporters of the sultanah discourse) and the traditional-conservative groups (the rejectors of the sultanah discourse). Research conducted by Alimin (2016) shows that there are three groups that emerged after the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja*; namely groups that are pro, contra, and neutral. The group that supports the sultanah discourse assesses the sultanah discourse as a change that follows the times, and the community supports as long as it is able to create a prosperous, prosperous society. While the reason given by the group who rejected the sultanah discourse was because it was against *Paugeran Yogyakarta Palace* which was founded based on the Islamic Religion. If the palace is led by women, it will eliminate the privilege of Jogja, one of which is the existence of the Yogyakarta Palace, which has been led by a male king. The results of research conducted by Alimin (2016) also shows that those who reject (contradict) the sultanah discourse are all men. The other group, which is neutral in assessing the issue of succession on the palace is an internal matter of the palace so that people do not need to interfere as long as it makes society prosperous and for the good of Yogyakarta in the future.

Research by Widhyharto & Adiputra, in Azca (2014), Widhyharto & Sutopo (2014) shows that changes for the changes that occur in the global community and Indonesia can certainly involve young people as the main actors. The sultanah discourse is a renewal effort in the palace, and the easiest way is through young people.

The theory of social practice developed by Bourdieu (1990) the emergence of sultanah discourse can be seen by young people as agents will form a new structure,

namely the people who become supporters of the sultanah discourse. Likewise, on the contrary, the presence of the sultanah discourse also affects agents, namely the hope of change, progress in Yogyakarta. Therefore the use of internet-based new media has become the arena of winning the Sultanah discourse through the support of the wider community, especially young people.

The sultanah discourse cannot be separated from the habitus of the Sultan and his family, especially his wife and daughters who all hold strategic positions. The wife of Sultan HB ka 10, GKR Hemas had been a member of the People's Consultative Assembly for the 1997-1999 period from a class envoy, then became a member of the DPD for three periods (her last position as Chairman of the Republic of Indonesia Regional Representative Council). Whereas currently the sultan's daughter, GKR Mangkubumi served as Chairperson of the DIY Chamber of Commerce respectively; GKR Condrokirono served as Chairperson of DIY Youth Organization; GKR Maduretno served as Commissioner at PT Buana Alam Tirta, and also as The Manager of the Gembira Loka Zoo in Yogyakarta; GKR Hayu served as the offender of Tepas Tandha Yekti, a division in the Kraton in charge of IT and documentation affairs. The Tandha Yekti Tepas Division also manages the Kratonjogja.id website. while GKR Bendoro is currently Director of Operations at Spa Nurkadhatyan, a spa business owned by five royal princesses. All five Sultan's daughters have all felt Western education that is more open to gender issues and even gender blind.

In the concept of habitus, Bourdieu managed to mediate the dualism of individuals/communities, actors/ structures. Thus agency and structure relations are not two poles that stand separately, but dialectical relations that are not linear (Fashri, 2014: 3). Habitus can be assumed as a forming mechanism for social practices that operate within the actor. Bourdieu (1984:468) states that habitus is the mental structures through which they apprehend the social world, are essentially the product of an internalization of the structure of the social world.

Habitus is a historical product that is formed after humans are born and interact with people in certain spaces and times. Habitus is not natural or natural but is the result of learning through care and socializing in society. The learning process is very smooth, unconscious and appears as a natural thing (Takwin, 2009: 41).

In this case, habitus can mean a person's habits, something that is closely related to self-appearance or refers to a parental arrangement related to the typical condition of the body. Epistemologically, the term habitus is used to show aspects of equipment for certain substances such as desire, action, and thinking (Fashri, 2007).

Bourdieu's habitus concept actually wants to create a coherence in relation to the conception of society and actors in a social action so that in praxis it requires a disposition that functions to determine the direction of social orientation, ideals, tastes, ways of thinking, ethos, and so on. In praxis, disposition creates uniformity of habitus which ultimately becomes the basis for continuous structuring (structuring), characterized by the emergence of agents of social interaction as actors of strategy (Beilharz, 2002). It is these agents who are strategized by habitus who fight for power, honor, symbolic capital in various fields of thought and action.

2.1. Result 1: Online mass media as Arena

In the current era, where the development of information technology has become so strong, the role of the mass media as information disseminators has more power to be reckoned with. Various studies, including Enggarratri (2017); Yulisda & Rejeki (2014) shows that information conveyed by the media regarding an organization influences the public's view of the organization on the image of the organization.

Therefore, in the midst of a society that increasingly relies on information, the image of a corporate image, especially the Yogyakarta Palace, also needs to be displayed as a traditional institution that also began to improve in the modern era (BG interview, Tepas Tandha Yekti Coordinator, 2 February 2018). The depiction of a positive image of the palace certainly needs to be displayed in the mass media, including the mass media that is owned by the court itself. It aims to encourage the trust and support of the community.

Mass media has long been the main means to convey ideas and ideas. In fact, it can be said at this time that people live in media culture or the media community. The media also becomes a space to show capital. Bourdieu partitioned capital into four sorts, to be specific economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. The division of capital is to clarify that fundamentally in all social orders there are continuously those who control and are controlled. Domination depends on the situation, resources (capital), and the strategy of the perpetrator. In the context of the Kraton Yogyakarta, the dominant patriarchal discourse for hundreds of years is to be changed by presenting the sultanah discourse, through the accumulation of capital owned by the sultan and main family.

If paugeran.com views the sultanah discourse as a deviation that must be fixed, then Kratonjogja.id wants to show that there is nothing wrong with women's leadership. Therefore, if paugeran.com in many of its content criticizes the change of the name and title of Sultan HB X to be Sultan HB ka 10 and the emergence of a sultanah discourse that

is considered to be contrary to Islam as the basis for the establishment of the Yogyakarta Palace. Conversely, with financial capital, social capital, social capital, and typical capital had, the sultan as the ruler within the court can effectively hose suppositions that are inverse to him. One of them with a name change statement because it is based on God's revelation. Concerns that the noble tradition in the palace will disappear after the issuance of the Sabda Raja and Dawuh Raja are irrelevant, because through imaging in the mass media what is seen is the image of women behind the perpetuation of values in the palace. This is in accordance with the title of GKR Mangkubumi, namely as a preserver.

Furthermore, how the contestation of Kratonjogja.id and Paugeran.com will be explained in the following sections. The author will describe it in two levels, namely the micro level (text) and macro (context).

2.2. Micro level

2.2.1. Capital accumulation in www.kratonjogja.id

The Kratonjogja.id website was officially launched on Tuesday, March 7, 2017 in the Bangsal Srimanganti, Yogyakarta Palace. However, in the rubric of events on the website kratonjogja.id mentioned on December 23, 2016 the website was launched. In its release, it was explained several reasons to show the face of the palace in its entirety into cyberspace. First, it starts from the many demands of the public to get accurate information regarding the history, events and cultural wealth in the Yogyakarta Palace. Second, the official website of Kraton Jogja is basically a research project and a long-term inventory. The Tandha Yekti Detachment Team, chaired by the fourth child of Sultan HB ka 10, GKR Hayu was behind the compilation of the website which was claimed to be the official site of the Yogyakarta Palace.

In terms of economic capital, domain selection (.id) and the domain name of this site indicate that users/owners of this site have a higher social class than sites that do not use domains (.id), such as (.com,.co,.net, etc.) Use of domain (.id) to confirm that the owner is an organization that lives in Indonesia. At the bottom of the website, the Indosat Ooredoo logo appears, which is one of the providers that support the internet network used by Kratonjogja.id. the inclusion of the Indosat Ooredoo logo is also to show the economic capital of this website.

Social capital is shown by the news content and photos of whoever the Sultan's Palace is represented by the Sultan's daughters in touch. In the channel, the event

uploaded on this site in addition to displaying the figure of Sultan HB ka 10 which is the central figure behind the sultanah discourse, also displays individuals from various upper classes, including foreign ministers, ambassadors, etc.

Cultural capital is indicated by what is shown on the website that GKR Hemas and the sultan's daughters still uphold the tradition even though some slant assumptions are pinned on them, like modernists who forget the traditions that are hundreds of years old. In the news that was published in *Kratonjogja.id*, it contained more news about the traditional activities of GKR Hemas, GKR Mangkubumi, and his sisters in the palace. Like the tradition of making *apem*.

Symbolic capital is shown by the use of the title Sultan HB ka 10 and GKR Mangkubumi in the media of *Kratonjogja.id*, what activities are attended, carried out, clothes are worn etc. which are intended as images of the prospective Sultan. The use of the name GKR Mangkubumi is clearly a representation that the sultanah discourse has been run internally in the palace, and will only become official when confirmed (*jumeneng*).

2.2.2. Capital accumulation in www.paugeran.com

In the profile of *paugeran.com*, it is stated that this website was established in response to the issuance of the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja* in 2015. This site is managed by a team of Islamic Mataram Fighters (PMI) DIY, namely community organizations which are supporters of *rayi dalem* (younger brothers of the Sultan). The two activists behind this site are GBPH Prabukusumo and GBPH Yudaningsrat.

Different from *Kratonjogja.id* which was prepared carefully, *Paugeran.com* was established as a response to the website owned by the Sultanate. As revealed by UT, as The General Coordinator of PMI DIY:

Yes, this website is indeed to counter Pembayun support websites. But I don't know what the name is (interview 2 February 2018)

The economic capital displayed in *paugeran.com* is certainly less competitive than *Kratonjogja.id*. as a reference, for making the website with a domain (.com) with an active period of one year the tariff is Rp. 139,300, - while for the domain (.id) the tariff is Rp. 555,700,-. Domain (.com) stands for commercial (commercial, business). Initially, dot com domain names were intended for commercial names or business institutions, such as company names, product names, to brand names. However (.com) can currently be used for various purposes by being registered without special requirements. It is interesting to note that in the April-May 2018 period this website was inactive because

the owner was careless, especially if there was a pending delete period because the domain name could be deleted and captured by another party who wanted to use it. In addition to July 8, 2018, some images on the website's home page do not appear, thus reducing the convenience of website visitors. This also reduces the credibility of the paugeran.com website.

Social capital is shown by anyone who is a supporter of this group. In the news contained in paugeran.com the group that became supporters was only a handful, namely the religion, and the kraton relatives. Although paugeran.com has a comment column menu that contains suggestions from the general public that may show support for them, in fact, the number of comments that are entered is still small.

Cultural capital is shown how paugeran.com has become a publication medium for a noble culture that wants to survive. Therefore the news is mostly about the opinions of academics, cultural observers, and religious leaders who are concerned about the future of the Yogyakarta Palace due to *The Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja*. With an educational background and intellectual qualifications seem to indicate that they are a pessimistic group if the Yogyakarta Palace will be able to survive the changing times.

In terms of social capital, paugeran.com can be seen still struggling with the environment of the people in the palace itself. This means that it does not show a wider distribution of social capital.

In terms of symbolic capital, until the end of 2017, both paugeran.com and kraton-jogja.id showed equal strength. The indications of attempts to stabilize the sultanah discourse are always faced with supporters of *rayi dalem*, seen from the emergence of banners whose content rejects the *Sabda Raja* and *Dawuh Raja*.

2.3. Macro level

At the macro level, the analysis is carried out to see wider the relationship between Kratonjogja.id and the present context of the community. The presence of internet information technology has brought convenience to human communication.

In terms of media objects, despite the presence of Kratonjogja.id to reach a wider community, the interaction of the community (reader) with the palace remains closed, one-way. Readers can only read content without being able to comment. Even if you want to give advice, there is no explanation in this website where and how the procedure is. The absence of this comment column according to the author to maintain the image of Kratonjogja.id as the official website of the Kraton Yogyakarta so as not to contain inappropriate things. But Kratonjogja.id also has social media accounts in the form of

Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram that can be used by the public to deliver messages related to what content they want to display on the Kratonjogja.id website, although it is not certain that the request will be fulfilled.

Unlike the case with paugeran.com which has a comment menu. The paugeran.com website also has audiovisual content which is mostly the result of national mass media coverage. Besides it paugeran.com also has a link to interact with the community through social media accounts in the form of *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Instagram*, *Pinterest*, and *G Plus*. Although in terms of appearance and features that are more complete, the content on the paugeran.com website or social media related to this website has not been updated for a long time.

In a capitalist society, Habermas views the need for criticism and crisis as related. Thus criticism becomes practical (Hardiman, 2006: 160). The sultanah discourse was raised as a critique of patriarchy in the Yogyakarta Palace. The presence of internet information technology has brought convenience to human communication. Thomas L. Friedman in his book *The World is Flat* (2005) illustrates this development through a metaphor that the earth becomes flat, because the advancement of communication and transformation technology allows anyone, and everywhere to relate to each other and compete with each other in various ways easily so that it seems - the earth is like being on a flat plate (Ibrahim and Akhmad, 2014: 91). The internet seemed to degrade the class of Aristocrats, where in the past the lower class people had to use the rules if they would meet the king and his family, even in the use of polite language (*unggah-ungguh*). On the other hand, this equality opens the opportunity to introduce more about the richness of the customs, traditions, arts, and culture that are internal to the palace.

Recognizing the need for media publications, encouraging sultanah support groups and groups that reject sultanah to establish online media. Online media was chosen on the grounds of being cheaper, broad coverage, and on target (interview with MT from www.paugeran.com on 2 February 2018, and an interview with BG from www.kratonjogja.id on 23 February 2018).

The emergence of the sultanah discourse in the Kraton of Yogyakarta made the two groups within the palace split. The first group of supporters of the old Paugeran consisting of rayi dalem (younger brothers of Sultan HB ka 10 with relatives and community groups who refused sultanah), and the second group of new supporters of [paugeran](http://paugeran.com), those who supported the sultanah became leaders in the Kraton Yogyakarta. This second group consists of Sri Sultan HB ka 10 extended family together with sultanah supporters community groups. Both groups showed their views about the

sultanah discourse through their respective media, namely the mass media online www.paugeran.com owned by the old paugeran supporters, and www.kratonjogja.id owned by the new supporters of Paugeran (supporters of the Sultanah discourse).

The use of online media by the internal circles of the Yogyakarta Palace and its supporters can explain the opinion of Marshal McLuhan "Medium is the Message". What is vital is the "medium", not the "message" since the "message" of any medium or innovation may be a alter in scale or stage or design utilized in human life (McLuhan, 1964: 8). In McLuhan's view, it is the media that extend the human ability to meet needs, overcome obstacles, facilitate life. The media can also change the old environment and create a new environment, and can even change the sense of human perception. For McLuhan, technology is a human extension. Thus, technological advances lead to the development (proliferation) of new environments to support human life (Ibrahim and Akhmad, 2014: 96).

If in ancient times the battle was carried out physically, with the presence of cyberspace (cyberspace) now the battle was carried out in the internet cyberspace. Online media is a place where fighting groups support and reject the sultanah discourse. In cyberspace, all the power possessed by both groups is shown. To understand how domination forms a social structure, Pierre Bourdieu explains about habitus, capital, and arena (Haryatmoko, 2010: 14-19).

Bourdieu defined the concept of habitus as a sociological and philosophical examination of human behavior. In this sense, habitus is social values that are internalized by people and made through a prepare of socializing values that final a long time, so that it settles into a way of considering and designs of behavior that settle inside the human being. A person's habitus is so solid that it influences his physical body. Habitus that has been so immovably inserted and settles into physical behavior is called Hexis (Wattimena, 2012). While capital is capital that permits us to urge openings in life (Wattimena, 2012). While the arena is a special place to interact with habitus and capital. Thus, the concept of habitus, capital, and arena are closely related. To be able to succeed in one arena in life, people need to have the right habitus and capital for the arena. If he does not have the right habitus and capital for one arena, then he will likely fail in the arena he has chosen.

The concept of "arena" in Bourdieu's view occupies a function in the social theory explanation system. The term "arena" connects the concept of habitus and capital (capital). Habitus is closely related to a particular social position in an arena of struggle, a place where the struggles of the forces within which there is a struggle for resources and also the opportunity to access something close to the hierarchy of power. In

paugeran.com the *rayi dalem* appeared cultural capital, social capital, economic capital, counting through the talk that the sultanah damaged the paugeran which had been held by the Yogyakarta Kraton, hence causing chaos. This argument is a reflection of the Javanese belief system that life is a harmonious relationship between *the gedhe universe* (cosmic order) and *the small* (human) universe. Unity of both is the ultimate goal of the human journey (Ali, 1986: 9). This belief influences the concept of change according to the Javanese. In general, Javanese do not like changes and initiatives. Because a change, by itself means having to leave a suitable place and return to an unknown area (Suseno, 1983: 93) (Ali, 1986: 11).

In Kratonjogja.id, Sultan HB Ka 10 with *Putri Dalem* argued that the palace was only an artifact, an inanimate object while the people in the palace were living things. Therefore, people in the court environment must keep up with the times. With this modernist thought, the Sultan considered that the old paugeran who did not allow women as leaders (sultanah) in the Kraton of Yogyakarta had to be changed. Although both showed the capital they owned, including the support of the Sultan, the sultanah discourse support group did not have a large cultural capital. This can be seen until now the rejection of the sultanah discourse is still very large, especially from people in the environment around the palace which are thick with their Islamic traditions. If the sultanah discourse is forced to fear, it will cause a new conflict because the Kraton of Yogyakarta is considered not to hold on to Islamic values. This opinion is then tried to be dealt with in the news in Kratonjogja.id which shows that until now the court's internal control remains strong. maintain custom, tradition with Islamic nuances.

Talking about champ can't be separated from the capital. Referring to Bourdieu as quoted by Fauzi Fashri (2007), there are four types of capital that are controlled by individuals or groups will place them as winners of the competition. The four capitals are: first, economic capital which includes the means of production, material, and money that can be passed between generations. Second, cultural capital which includes diplomas, the knowledge that has been obtained, cultural codes, ways of speaking, writing skills, courtesy, how to get along, etc. all of which play a role in the determination and reproduction of social positions. Third, social capital that shows the ownership of the perpetrator's social network (individual or group) in relation to other parties who have power. Fourth, symbolic capital is capital that cannot be separated from symbolic power in the form of prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy that accumulate and form symbolic capital. Ownership of symbolic capital is the main center because with symbolic power will be achieved. However, the effectiveness of symbolic capital work is highly dependent on mastering strategies such as biological, economic and

symbolic investment strategies (Haryatmoko, 2003). The purpose of these strategies is to maintain capital on the one hand and some want to change the distribution of capital in relation to the hierarchy of power on the other.

2.4. Result 2: Symbolic power as purpose

Bourdieu believes that in an advanced society the principle of domination has shifted from coercion to birth or the use of physical violence into forms of symbolic manipulation (Swartz, 1997: 82). Symbolic power depends on two things, first as with performative discourse, symbolic power is based on the ownership of symbolic capital (symbolic capital). The greater a person or group has symbolic capital, the greater the chance of winning. Second, it depends on symbolic effectiveness where symbolic investment strategies work (Bourdieu, 1990: 137-138).

After GKR Pembayun decided to become a crown princess with the title GKR Mangkubumi, the slanted assumption towards him and the sultan appeared. However, with the symbolic capital that has been owned slowly, this assumption is changed mainly through imaging in the media of Kratonjogja.id. With the duality of the name Sri Sultan HB ka 10 for the internal affairs of the Kraton Yogyakarta and the name, Sri Sultan HB X for external affairs (governor) made the sultan's position remain strong. The strong position of the bus sultan can easily influence decisions in various institutions/organizations to place the GKR in a variety of strategic positions. Among them, as the chairman of the DIY Chamber of Commerce and the head of the DIY Scout Regional Quarter, which enabled the GKR Mangkubumi as the representation of the Sultanate's discourse to gain support no longer in the palace, but also outside the palace.

The news about the presence of GKR Mangkubumi in some traditional activities in the palace which was constructed as a guardian of the special spirit of Yogyakarta shows that the position of GKR Mangkubumi as a representation of sultanah discourse can be accepted by courtiers, and if symbolic power is expanded, it is not impossible that sultanah discourse will be accepted by people. This means that through the discourse of self-image that is built, the GKR Mangkubumi shows itself as a sign of authority that must be believed and obeyed.

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that symbolic power has a close relationship with symbolic capital in the form of prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy. Symbolic power increasingly finds the realm of a struggle if there is a mobilization of capital resources in a social organization. The Social organization which then results

in the domination of symbolic power is very dependent on the situation, resources, and individual or group strategies (Haryatmoko, 2003). The use of individual or group strategies through the mastery of symbolic capital and the work effectiveness of symbolic investment strategies in the field can ultimately work effectively to create symbolic power.

3. Conclusion

From the results of the research described above, the writer argues that the Sultanate discourse developed by *Kratonjogja.id* is an attempt to self-image to answer the accusation that the establishment of the GKR Mangkubumi as the successor to the throne is merely a matter of preserving culture.

Paugeran.com can actually be a public sphere to voice public expectations. But unfortunately, the problems that occur in the internal management of the website make *paugeran.com* websites fail to take advantage of these opportunities.

The writer sees that even though the sultanah discourse can slowly be accepted by the internal court and the people outside the palace will still face groups that reject the sultanah discourse. Until now the group in the name of the Islamic Mataram Fighters (PMI) DIY which is an actor from the *paugeran.com* website still continues to fight, even though the arena they take is not in online media but in the social world. Of course, what is expected is not until there is physical violence committed by the group that dominates the group that is dominated because basically, the two groups are still brothers who both instruct the Yogyakarta Palace and the community is heading for a better direction.

References

- [1] Alimin, L.O. 2016. *Analisis Persepsi Masyarakat Kota Yogyakarta terhadap Sabda Raja Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono ke X dalam Konflik Internal Keraton*. Skripsi. Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1355/9789814519397-014>.
- [2] Azca, M.N., D.S Widhyharto., & O.R Sutopo (ed). 2014. *Buku Panduan Studi Kepemudaan, Teori Metodologi, dan Isu-isu Kontemporer*. PMPSYouSure-Kemempora RI, Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.20885/almawarid.vol12.iss1.art4>.
- [3] Azca, M.N., A.S Margono., L. Wildan (ed). 2011. *Pemuda Pasca ORBA. Potret Kontemporer Pemuda Indonesia*, YouSure-Kemempora RI, Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21009/jrskt.032.07>.

- [4] Bourdieu, P. 1990. *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge, Polity Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/144078339102700224>.
- [5] Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford-Calif, Stanford University Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x00104288>.
- [6] Burton, G. 2008. *Yang Tersembunyi Di Balik Media: pengantar Kepada kajian Media*. Jalasutra. Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24853/nalars.15.2.109-120>.
- [7] Dardias, B. 2016. *Menyiapkan Sultan Perempuan: Legitimasi Langit dan Efektivitas Rezim Sultan Hamengku Buwono X*. Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 42 (1), Juni 2016. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1355/9789814519397-014>.
- [8] Eriyanto. 2009. *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. LkiS. Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.20885/komunikasi.vol5.iss2.art6>.
- [9] Fashri, F. 2014. *Pierre Bourdieu: Menyingkap Kuasa Simbol*. Jalasutra. Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/4txzu>.
- [10] Hardiman, B.F. 2009. *Menuju Masyarakat Komunikatif: Ilmu, Masyarakat & Postmodernisme menurut Jurgen Habermas*. Kanisius. Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/ysu7m>.
- [11] Hall, S. 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practises*, London: Sage. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-13213-2_94.
- [12] Hall, S., D. Hobson., A. Lowe., & P. Willis., (ed). 2014. *Budaya, Media, Bahasa: Teks Utama Perancang Cultural Studies 1972-1979*. Jalasutra. Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31503/madah.v7i1.447>.
- [13] Haryatmoko, 2001. *Dominasi Penuh Muslihat*. PT. Gramedia, Jakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/s0022463400002022>. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24252/aqidahta.v2i2.3438>.
- [14] Haryatmoko, 2016. *Membongkar Rezim Kepastian: Pemikiran Kritis Post-Strukturalis*. Kanisius. Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24252/aqidahta.v2i2.3438>.
- [15] Ibrahim, I.S., & B.A Akhmad. 2014. *Komunikasi & Komodifikasi: Mengkaji Media dan Budaya dalam Dinamika Globalisasi*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia. Jakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7454/ai.v0i60.3354>.
- [16] Nasrullah, R. 2013. *Cybermedia*. Idea Press. Yogyakarta. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v5i2.172>.
- [17] Ritzer, G. 1996. *Modern Sociological Theory*. The McGraw-Hill Companies INC. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/202176>.
- [18] Takwin, B. 2009. *Proyek Intelektual Pierre Bourdieu: Melacak Asal-usul Masyarakat, Melampaui Oposisi Biner dalam Ilmu Sosial*. Dalam: Harker, Richard, dkk. (ed). *(Habitus X Modal) + Ranah = Praktik: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif kepada*

- Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14421/living-hadis.2016.0102-05>.
- [19] Widhyharto, D.S. 2014. *Kebangkitan Kaum Muda dan Media Baru*. Jurnal Studi Pemuda Vol. 3, No.2, September 2014. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.37964>.
- [20] *Biodata HB ka 10*. kratonjogja.id; last accessed 5 July 2018. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5220/0005500001630169>.
- [21] *Rakyat Yogyakarta Mendirikan Paguyuban Penegak Paugeran Adat*. paugeran.com, 8 September 2017; last accessed 5 July 2018. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21831/jnp.v5i2.18762>.
- [22] *Putusan MK, Perempuan Berpeluang jadi Gubernur Yogyakarta*. www.cnnindonesia.com, 31 August 2017; last accessed 30 November 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.25041/fiatjustisia.v10no4.859>.
- [23] *Putusan MK tidak bertentangan dengan Paugeran Keraton*. www.teropongsenayan.com, 1 September 2017; last accessed 30 November 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.30984/ajip.v3i2.724>.
- [24] *Peluang Gubernur Perempuan Yogyakarta Belum Final*. www.cnnindonesia.com, 3 September 2017; last accessed 14 December 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22146/jps.v4i2.28579>.
- [25] *Berpikir Kritis Bersama Pierre Bourdieu*. AA Watimena Article at Rumah Filsafat Blog, last accessed 30 November 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/zwehp>.