

## LOCAL POWER AND MUHAMMADIYAH IN KOTAGEDE

**Priyambudi Sulistiyanto**

*Flinders Asia Centre, Flinders University Adelaide, Australia*

### INTRODUCTION

There has been a few studies on Kotagede with given focus on local architecture, cultural tourism, local politics and identity and the post-2006 earthquake inquiry but none of them has a calibre of that of Nakamura's (Cahyanto, Yoshitake and Deguchi, no year; Khaerunnisa, Shibata, and Sawaki, no year; Marlina, no year; Sulistiyanto, 2006). In a piece published in 2006, I traced the genealogy of scholarship on Kotagede which are mainly covered the political history, social and religious aspects of this small town and that Nakamura's *Crescent Arises Over the Banyan Tree* (1983) was, of course, a pioneering ethnographic study which until today is the only masterpiece work and is much cited by others writing on this subject. Overall, it is must be acknowledged that not much been written on this subject with a great depth since Nakamura did field work in early 1970s and this left a big gap on the scholarship on Kotagede. This gap of knowledge is seriously needed to be filled because the findings of Nakamura's study were basically based from the political and social changes occurred in Kotagede over past four decades.

The questions are posed here what changes have happened in Kotagede? How had the nature of political affiliations and the social and religious activism of local people in Kotagede continued and changed over past decades? What kind of changes in local economic configurations in Kotagede especially with the declining of silver industry? Has the dominance of Muhammadiyah in Kotagede still there especially looking at its relationship with other social and religious organisations?

In the first part of this article I will describe briefly the changes happened in Kotagede over past few years as I see it from my frequent visits to and talking to local people. The second part I will explore the emergence of local power in Yogyakarta in the post-Suharto era. There has been considerable continuity and change in Yogyakarta, which affected Kotagede both directly and indirectly especially since decentralisation was adopted in 2001. Politically, local people were presented with many political parties to vote for in both national and local elections, but only two of them, the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDIP) dominated local political landscape in Kotagede only up to 2009 and 2014. In the third part, I will examine the changes of local economy as local people had been through many crises caused by domestic and external factors such as the 1998 economic meltdown and the 2008 worldwide

economic crisis. New economic configurations or actors emerging in Kotagede will be examined closely. In the fourth section I will examine the way in which local people also adapted to changes in their surroundings where contestations between local, national and global social, religious and cultural actors were intense and deepened. Finally, in this paper I suggest that the abilities of local people and their leaders to survive the rapid political, economic, social and cultural changes of past years could encourage them to work communally to shape the future of Kotagede.

### **1. The “Everyday Politics” approach**

There has been much written about decentralisation and the rise of local power in decentralised Indonesia which is focussed mainly on institutional, electoral, elites-based approaches (Aspinall and Fealy, 2003; Erb and Sulistiyanto, 2009; Aspinall and Mietzner, 2011). These approaches have its strengths and weaknesses but most of them take similar views on decentralisation, which are a result of institutional changes, electoral activities and the role of local elites. I wish to move away from these approaches because in the context of studying local politics in Indonesia, little has been research about the role and contribution of ordinary people through their daily life which have impacted upon the dynamics of political, economic and social arena at the local level. Ordinary people are referred to just anyone from shopkeepers, peasants, street dwellers, buskers, taxi drivers, small traders, workers, students, to teachers. This sort of approach is also known as “everyday politics” is inspired by the early works of Scott (1990) on peasant movements in Malaysia, of Kerkvliet (2005) on the Vietnamese farmers and of Walker (2010) on rural farmers in Northern Thailand. This approach argues that politics is much bigger than just formal and institutional bodies such as executive, parliament, and elections, but it also covers how ordinary people do or not do things in everyday life activities. Politics is also including, for instance, how ordinary people formed a coalition to do things collectively without government help or handouts. Their own initiatives in making things going at local level can be categorised as political acts. Also can be about the situation in which ordinary people obey or disobey against government policies. In a broader sense, politics covers a range of activities such as casual conversations in markets, talk shows, gossiping among citizens, complaining or sending letter to editors, and also street protests. Against this backdrop, the views of ordinary people are as valid as those who run government institutions or parliament. Therefore, the participation of ordinary people in political processes goes beyond just giving votes in general elections which happen in cycles of five years but also in monitoring the jobs of leaders or elected politicians after their voted in parliament. Informal activities, which mutually benefit each other in local community can also have political implications.

## 2. Today's Kotagede

These days there are many ways to go to Kotagede from different directions. The most common roads coming to this place are from the north and the west sides of Kotagede which are basically direction from Yogyakarta. There are big signs of welcoming visitors who entered from Kemasan street and Mondorokan street which are basically the main gates to enter Kotagede. Along these two main streets we can see many big, middle and small silver shops selling their items, for instance, Tom's Silver, HS Silver, and Ansor's Silver. They also many other shops selling different types of items such as mobile phones and cards, foods, clothes, books and handicrafts. They are also new small banks and ATM machines established along these streets. Similar phenomenon can also be found in Karanglo street which is a busy street connecting Kotagede with ring road in the eastern side. With all of changes happened over past years especially in economic front, Kotagede has been experienced a significant transformation at local scale.

The economic hub of Kotagede has no change nonetheless which is in Pasar Kotagede, in an intersection between Mondorokan street, Kemasan street, Karanglo street and Dalem street. This site has been the centre of economic activities for decades and is remained the case until today. It is a vibrant place where sellers, producers and customers meet and do their transactions on daily basis. In this place that local people also talk and discuss issues matter for them such as rise and fall of commodities prices as well as about personal, family and community matters. Not far from this market, there are the Cemetery of Mataram kings and Kotagede Mosque which are attracting many local visitors as well as tourists. These are two important sites in Kotagede because they are also a part of local historic identity that also matter a lot for local people. It can be said that Kotagede has both modern and traditional elements living together side by side.

In another level, Kotagede is now a part of Yogyakarta because there is no more a gap in between two cities. Local people move around easily for work as well as for leisure. The capital mobility is also very high with outsiders have been coming and purchasing properties or business sites in Kotagede. Tourists and visitors are constantly coming all the time especially during the holiday seasons, making Kotagede as one of the important tourist destinations in Yogyakarta. Kotagede has been integrated deeply into the capitalist world and therefore is sensitive with the fluctuation of national and global economies. New middle and small scales of business enterprises have established in Kotagede, bringing with them new money and ideas to this town. The local people welcomed them as long as they adjust and blended with the local people.

Kotagede has also been shaped by the constant changes in Indonesia's local and national politics especially since the fall of Soeharto in 1998 and subsequently with decentralisation was adopted in 2001. Muhammadiyah is still there and is

growing locally together with the existence of Javanese traditions which are both of them remain coexisted and embedded in social activities in Kotagede. However, there are more social organisations established in Kotagede and the interaction between them are yet to be examined because they are strong perceptions deep rooted in Kotagede that Muhammadiyah and Kotagede are inseparable in a sense that both are a part of local identity.

### 3. Emergence Local Power in Yogyakarta

In order to examine the contemporary developments of Kotagede it is necessary and also important to understand the views from local people who lived there and their surroundings. This is led to the examination of the emergence of local power in Yogyakarta in which Kotagede is a part of it. What I mean by local power is a source of political, economic and cultural bases at the local level that influenced the way local people think and view about politics in their everyday life. Through the use of everyday politics approach I mentioned earlier, I wish to make some observations about the emergence of local power in Yogyakarta. These observations are based from the notes and reflections I made through my conversations with ordinary and this hopefully would add to the missing information about contemporary developments in Yogyakarta. Most of the studies about Yogyakarta were done in the post-independent period and during the Suharto's New Order era and not much been written about the contemporary developments in Yogyakarta (Sumarjan, 1962; Surjohudojo, 1977; Guinness, 1986; Sullivan 1980; Sullivan, 1994). Accordingly, there are at least five important local power bases emerging in Yogyakarta which are known locally as the "Five Ks" (*Keraton, Kauman, Karangajen, Kotagede* and *Kaliurang*). Let me explain here. First, *Keraton* is the Palace as the oldest and important political and cultural institutions in Yogyakarta which it has many supporters and loyalists across party lines and professional backgrounds coming from both city and village levels. Kraton also owns lands, buildings, factories and business enterprises in Yogyakarta and other places in Indonesia and these economic assets are managed by the Kraton people or by jointly with other business partners. In this respect of course, the Kraton can be separated from the role of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X who is currently also Governor of the Special Province of Yogyakarta whom his political standing in the eyes of local people has increased as a result of Jakarta's willingness to agree with the local pressure of making the election of Governor through an election in local parliament rather than a direct election of the people.

Second, *Kauman* is a small and populated area not far from Keraton which is traditionally a place where many Islamic religious leaders who work in Keraton lived with their families. There is a big mosque of Masjid Agung which is located in the Keraton square where many people prayed, meet and mingled daily. There are many small business enterprises established along various little streets in the area and many of them make money from tourists who coming to visit Kraton and other historic

sites nearby. Politically, Kauman has been and is now the strong base of the supporters of the Development Unity Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP) and of the Ka'bah Youth Movement (Gerakan Pemuda Ka'bah, GPK). Third, Karangajen is referred to a vibrant suburb in Southern part of Yogyakarta where they are many hotels, backpacker accommodations, restaurants and cafes and other small business enterprises are established mainly along two prime streets, Prawirotaman and Tirtodipuran. The remnants from the glorious batik industry in the past still can be traced in the area. Politically, Karangajen is the strong base of the supporters of the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan, PDIP). Fourth, Kotagede is located about ten kilometres in Southeast side of Yogyakarta and it is known as a silver town where silver industry was and has been a part of important sources local revenues. These days silver is not the only source of money but new business enterprises have established rapidly, diversifying sources of money coming to this town. Politically, Kotagede is the strong base of the supporters of the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) and also the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan, PDIP). Fifth, Kaliurang is referred to a long road stretched along the Northern part of Yogyakarta where Gadjah Mada University and other small universities and colleges are located. It is an important source of intellectual power because many students, lecturers and professors teaching at universities often involved and participated in local and national political debates. It is a symbol of new and emerging local power in Yogyakarta as they are different kind of business and entertainment activities established along this road which are attracted many people to come and to live in the surrounding areas of the road. It is a very cosmopolitan place where local and foreign residents lived and mingled with each other. Politically, it is very fluid and they are mixed supporters of the PDIP, Golkar, PPP, PAN and the Justice and Prosperous Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS).

Having explained the emergence of local power in Yogyakarta, it can be said that Kotagede is a part of important sources of local power in Yogyakarta. Kotagede was the old capital city and therefore there is a strong historical link between Kotagede and Keraton. Culturally, both Kotagede and Keraton shared very rich heritages and also economically, both Kotagede and Keraton are connected closely with both places are popular tourist destinations and therefore they earned similar revenues from tourism industry. The closed connection between Kotagede and Kraton is described nicely by a long time resident of Kotagede:

The relationship between Kraton and Kotagede has always been very cordial and closed because of the past. Panembahan Senopati, the first King of Mataram Kingdom, built up Kotagede as the first capital city before finally moved to the current place in Yogyakarta. This historical link has become an importance reference to local people in Kotagede and a sense that the loyalty of local people towards

Kraton has always been very strong. In return, Kraton has seen Kotagede as a symbol of glorious past which it helps Keraton to trace back her sense of ancestry (HA, 15/11/2012).

The point is that the emergence of local power in Yogyakarta is also a part of the Kotagede story.

#### **4. Political Affiliations and Social and Religious Activism**

In my conversations to local people in Kotagede I have received impressions that there has been considerable change in the way they felt about and responded to democracy and decentralisation they experienced since the fall of Suharto in 1998. There is no more a single political party gained a total votes in past or recent general elections. As mentioned in my article (Sulistiyanto, 2006: 261-262), the trends of declining of PAN in Kotagede in both the 1999, 2004 general elections opened up more political spaces for other political parties such as PDIP, Democrat Party (Partai Demokrat, PD), PKS and Golkar in the 2009 general election. Furthermore, the trend continued in to show in the 2014 general election when PAN and PDIP had to share their votes with other political parties including Gerindra which led by Prabowo Subianto, one of the contenders for the 2014 Presidential election. This can be interpreted as a sign that the political affiliations of local people have changed since decentralisation was adopted in 2001 as they were given more choices to which they can voted to political parties who can represented the aspirations of local people in Kotagede.

More can be said here that when it comes to political loyalty, local people in Kotagede has become more pragmatic in a sense that by allowing them to vote different political parties in general elections, like in business decisions, they also put their eggs in different plates so that they can benefited later in terms of providing them with some kinds of political protections to which local business activities can flourish. This is particular true in the context of the unending series of crises from the economic crisis in 1997 and 1998, the terrorist booms (in Bali and Jakarta), the 2006 earthquakes as well as that of the global economic crisis in 2008 in which local business activities suffered badly with the decline of international demands for silver products from Kotagede. This all causing a degree of angst and uncertainty among local business actors as they saw external forces beyond their control had serious impacts on local economy.

However, at the local level there has been growing activities among social and religious activism as like in political arena, more spaces for them to enter were there in the post-Suharto era. These organisations involved in a range of social and religious activities using their own resources and supported by their own members. Some of these activities are Javanese poetry readings (*mocopatan*), Javanese soap opera (*ludruk*), shadow puppet performance (*wayang kulit*), gamelan musical performance, arts and dance performances, and also Qur'anic recital gathering

(*pengajian*). These activities are symbolised as a strong spirit of belongings which embodied in the hearts and minds of the people of Kotagede and this kind of attributes have become a source of strengths for them to face today's uncertainty and instability.

In the context of local resilient, it is worth to mention that the younger generations have become interested in the idea of preservation of cultural heritage of Kotagede as a way to protect old buildings and unique landscapes which were ruined after the 2006 earthquakes. This kind of grassroots efforts were really crucial and yet important because it gives a lot of meaning for local people especially as they saw both local and national government had been lacking in supportive this kind of initiatives. Although it is too early to judge the success of this endeavour but from the perspective of ordinary people, organising and mobilising local people for the benefit of the community can be regarded as an expression of everyday politics.

### **5. Rise of New Business Actors**

I have mentioned earlier that with the uncertainty faced by silver industry we have witnessed the rise of new local economic activities in Kotagede. Among them are many new business shops selling mobile phones, electronic items, mini markets and restaurants. In my observations over past years, I have discovered two examples of new business actors, which are different with those of old ones and these are Chocolate Monggo and Omah Dhuwur restaurant.

The first one is Chocolate Monggo as a story of a successful local business enterprise. It was set up in 2005 by two local persons with a Belgium chocolate maker and the factory is located in Kotagede ([chocolatemonggo.com](http://chocolatemonggo.com)). The original idea behind this success story was that the founders realised and discovered a huge potential market for chocolate products with local ingredients available in Indonesia. With the growing of middle class who searched for new tastes and life styles, Chocolate Monggo was able to fill in the domestic market very well. Within a short period of time, Chocolate Monggo has outlets in many cities across Indonesia and now is one of the best local chocolate products in the country.

From the views of ordinary people in Kotagede, the prices of Chocolate Monggo products are too expensive and unaffordable for many of them. For instance, the price of a small chocolate block is around 25,000 rupiah and the big one is around 75,000 rupiah and with this amount of money, they can buy enough basic commodities to feed a family for at least a few days. In this sense, the local cannot afford to taste this high quality of chocolate products and therefore they missed the tastes, however, in a different level, this business helped the economy especially with many local people are employed. Also now the Chocolate Monggo factory is also became one of important tourist sites in Kotagede, consequently bringing more visitors to this town.

The second is Omah Dhuwur restaurant as also a story of a successful international dining business enterprise. It was set up in early 2000s and was established in old and historical building site, which belongs to the rich and artistic community (*wong kalang*) in the past ([omahdhuwur.com](http://omahdhuwur.com)). It is owned by the owners of HS Silver, one of the big silver family-owned businesses in Kotagede, with foreign partners advising menu for this restaurant. The main clientele of this restaurant is mainly for rich people or middle class who can afford to eat in boutique restaurant with international pricing. Interesting, this restaurant serves an eclectic international and national/local menu. A list of items of international menu available in this restaurant such as Australian tenderloin, barbeque beef sirloin, spaghetti, chicken Gordon blue and tiramisu. While, for domestic menu, this restaurant offers traditional local flavours such as ayam goreng sere, bothok ayam jagung, gurameh grontol and omah dhuwur palm banana.

As like the case of Cholocolate Monggo, the prices of menu in Omah Dhuwur restaurant are too expensive for local people. For instance, the price of Australia tenderloin steak is around 80,000 rupiah and for barbeque beef steak is around 100,000 rupiah and with this sort of prices, they can buy enough basic commodities to feed a family for at least a week. In this sense, the local cannot afford to eat in this restaurant, however, in a different level, this business site opened up for local jobs. Omah Dhuwur has been known nationally and internationally as a new international culinary site in Yogyakarta.

By presenting both examples of new business enterprises in Kotagede, I wish to show that the local people had the capacities and the willingness to establish their business enterprises with outsiders/foreigners. This is not like in the past where the locals dominated and owned business enterprises, which also relied from local and domestic capitals. It is too early to know whether these two examples are a sign of future business directions in Kotagede but these successful stories can be seen as an evidence that the interactions between local and global has been a part of the contemporary business story in Kotagede. Perhaps by bringing business partners from outside, new ideas for expanding business activities done by local people can be expanded in the future.

This also a part of a story of national and international capital mobility that moving around into and outside Yogyakarta or Kotagede which has been possible in the era of decentralisation. The story goes like this. Yogyakarta is a big city and has many populations coming from various parts of Indonesia and also abroad. They are many universities where students study and live for at least between five and ten years here. They bring money with them for daily purposes such as education, boarding, entertaining and eating. With more economic activities grew rapidly in the Yogyakarta area over past decades, more investing their money into properties, building malls, education services and entertainment facilities. Within this story of course the rising of middle class and of affluent society also need different tastes and



somewhere along the way the establishment of Chocolate Monggo and Omah Dhuwur restaurant fit in very well with this very recent phenomenon mentioned above.

### **6. Muhammadiyah as a Dominant Player?**

The question about the dominance of Muhammadiyah in Kotagede is something that deserves serious discussion here. I have mentioned earlier that Muhammadiyah is still around as one of important local organisations in Kotagede and it has a wide range of social, education and religious activities for the local people. In this respect I agree with the points made by Nakamura (1983: 183) a while ago that Muhammadiyah embedded locally together with the existence of Javanese traditions which are both of them remain coexisted in Kotagede. In think this is remained the case. The question is has Muhammadiyah still a dominant player in Kotagede?

To answer this question I talked to local people about their views about Muhammadiyah. The different views I gathered that what local people think about the relevance of Muhammadiyah is widespread ranging from a pessimistic, sceptic and optimist. The pessimist view suggested that Muhammadiyah has not done enough to adapt with the political, economic and social changes happened in Kotagede. The expectation is that Muhammadiyah should be active to participate in improving the well-being of local people through providing small-scale capital for local business enterprises who suffered considerably after the 2006 earthquakes. Many small business people lost their properties and therefore their entire business activities, making them suffered double compared to other people.

The other area which according to this camp is being neglected is dealing with cultural preservation in Kotagede. Accordingly, they argue that Muhammadiyah has been lacking in getting involved with local community to address the cultural preservation efforts initiated by local people. More can be done by Muhammadiyah through mobilising resources and experts from outside or abroad to work together with local people. So far the outsider supports coming from international funding/relief agencies or government programs which are limited in terms of continuity and of funding. In this respect it would have been different if Muhammadiyah got involved earlier with local community because they can create a better synergy and forge a sense of an ownership of this work locally.

Meanwhile, the optimist saw Muhammadiyah has already done significantly in providing education, health, religious facilities at local level over past decades, but of course, they also acknowledge that the expectations of local people changed over different periods as well. Accordingly, this camp argue that it is the right time that Muhammadiyah moving beyond their traditional arena of social engagement into different arena such as environment and local governance issues in Kotagede. In the environmental issue, lots can be done in terms of involving Muhammadiyah, for example, mobilising local people to clean up the debris left after the 2006

earthquakes and to improve the water quality of two rivers passing through Kotagede which had been polluted from industrial and household wastes. On local governance issue, this camp suggested that Muhammadiyah should have got involved more strongly in the public local campaigns of combating corruptions practices in. By involving in this sort of public campaigns, Muhammadiyah could become a relevant religious and social organisation at local level because it would give a weight to the efforts of cleaning up corruption practices in both government and private institutions.

### **7. Stories of Two Ordinary People**

Behind the big local picture of Kotagede, I would to present briefly the two life stories from Kotagede as a way of understanding how ordinary people can make a different at local level. The first person is Tejo (not real name) who is his thirties. He was a son of silversmith and learned his skills directly from his father. In his young age he did like other kids in Kotagede, he went to local school from primary and secondary levels and then helped his father making silver handy crafts for big shops in Kotagede. Because of lack financial support, he did not go to university and because of that he decided to seriously follow the path of his father, which became a silversmith.

When Indonesia experienced the 1997 and 1998 economic crisis, Kotagede suffered enormously causing the closures of many silver shops because the declining of order for silver items from both national and international market. As a result, the economic income of his father and himself affected directly. Living under economic uncertainty forced him to find alternatives and he saw it in local tourism industry. He talked to a few friends he knew who worked in restaurants in Prawirotaman area, a place where backpacker tourists stayed while visiting Yogyakarta. Eventually he got a job as a tourist guide because he speaks good English, taking visitors to Kotagede and other tourist places in the area.

Later on he realised that with his skills as a silversmith, he could do more than just as a tourist guide. He then proposed to a well-known restaurant in Prawirotaman with an idea of organising a short class for tourists who interested to make their own things made from silver. Within a short period of time, his small business enterprise gained success with many tourists coming to Kotagede to experience hand-on lesson on making rings, earrings, and other souvenirs. His business has also increase the people-to-people tourism activities because foreign tourists can meet with ordinary people in Kotagede.

The second person is Setyo (not real name) who is his forties. He was a son of a rich business person, owning various shops and small business enterprises. In his young age he also went to local school from primary and secondary levels and then helped his father selling basic commodity in their shops. Unlike Tejon, he went a prestigious private Islamic university and because of that he had the opportunities to

learn more knowledge and to meet other people in Yogyakarta. After he obtained a law degree from this private university, he became a lawyer and set up a law firm in Yogyakarta. He took many legal cases, which made him known widely in Yogyakarta.

Becoming a lawyer was not the only aspiration he had in his life. He has always been interested in organising cultural events in Kotagede. He believed that Kotagede has a lot of things to offer to both local people as well as tourists and cultural events are among them. Therefore, he talked to local artists who had the knowledge about cultural resources that can be mobilised and to preserve for the improvement of local community. Through various initiatives, he managed to get a wider support from local artists to organise annual arts and cultural festivals and events bringing both local and national artists performing in Kotagede. These kind of cultural and arts events strengthened the local identity of Kotagede which revolve around Javanese culture and locally blended-Islamic flavours. In sum, what both stories tell us is about the abilities of local people to survive the rapid political, economic, social and cultural changes happened in Kotagede and to adapt to these changes accordingly making initiatives benefited to local community.

### **8. Kotagede in Comparative Perspective**

In writing this article I came across with making comparison with similar local scales of studies done by other scholars. They are a number of works can be discussed here, for instance, on Surakarta's post war period done by Larson (1979) which examines the tensions and rivalries among local political actors in Surakarta involving those who lived in palaces. In Kotagede, we have not seen this kind of local conflicts in the scale of that in Surakarta. Another one is a historical and political study of Colonial Jakarta done by Abeyasekere (1987), which examines the battles between colonial administrators and local community in controlling and managing Batavia. In Kotagede, we have not seen yet the tussles between local administrators and local community over managing resources and business opportunities at local level. Another study about Surabaya done by Dick (2000) is also deserved mention because it analyses the rise and fall of economic fortunes of Surabaya in past hundred years. In Kotagede, we also have not yet accumulated proper and enough information about the local economic history spanning during the Suharto's New Order era until the present time. Another interesting study is done by Siegel (1986) on the interactions between language and political hierarchy in Solo. In Kotagede, we also have not yet understood this sort of interactions especially with various dimensions involving Javanese language, Islamic expressions and western/cosmopolitan culture in the formation of local identity. The last study, which is closed to this subject is perhaps the one is done by Brenner (1998) which examines the role of women in running local business enterprises in Laweyan, Solo. In Kotagede, we also have not yet known about the role of women in not just silver industry but also in other business activities.

By comparing Kotagede with the previous studies done in other localities, we can have some more ideas to engage in further discussions about different areas where the direction for research can be mapped out in the future. It is in this spirit that my article here is a preliminary kind of academic inquiry aiming at encouraging myself and others to pursue this path with the main goal to add and enrich the findings from Nakamura's work in the past.

### 9. Concluding Remarks

This article has explored the emergence of local power in Yogyakarta and Kotagede in the post-Suharto era. It has argued that there has been considerable continuity and change in Yogyakarta which affected Kotagede both directly and indirectly especially since decentralisation was adopted in 2001. It has been suggested that the findings of Nakamura need to be re-examined. Politically, local people were presented with many political parties to vote for in both national and local elections, moving away from the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDIP) to other political parties such as PD, Golkar, PKS and lately Gerindra. This article also has examined the changes of local economy as local people had been through many crises caused by domestic and external factors such as the 1998 economic meltdown and the 2008 worldwide economic crisis. New economic configurations or actors emerging in Kotagede with two examples are shown such as Chocolate Monggo and Omah Dhuwur restaurant. This article has also examined the way in which local people also adapted to changes in their surroundings where contestations between local, national and global social, religious and cultural actors were intense and deepened. Finally, this article has suggested that the abilities of local people and their leaders to survive the rapid political, economic, social and cultural changes of past years could encourage them to work communally to shape the future of Kotagede.

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