

## Implementation of the “Throne for the People” Principle in the Management of Sultan Ground and Pakualaman Ground in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Spatial Planning and Welfare Perspective



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**ABSTRACT:** This article discusses the application of the concept of "throne for the people" in the management of Sultan Ground and Pakualaman Ground in Yogyakarta with a spatial planning and welfare perspective. The high level of urbanization in the city of Yogyakarta has made this area a city with a high population density. However, this condition is not balanced with the availability of adequate housing, so that areas that should not be used as settlements, such as riverbanks, are now inhabited by the community. To formulate a solution to overcome the problem of densely populated settlements, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX initiated a concept of "Throne for the People" which prioritizes the interests of the people. This study uses a qualitative approach through literature studies to collect and analyze relevant data. Data sources include laws, books, government documents, and academic articles related to the fulfillment of housing needs. The results of the study indicate that the government can withdraw permits in riverbank areas and relocate people living on riverbanks to vertical housing based on flats built on SG/PAG land through collaboration between the government and the institutions of the Sultanate and Duchy. This scheme not only addresses the problem of slums, but also combines the preservation of tradition, modernization, and sustainability of spatial planning. With a participatory approach that involves the community in the decision-making process, this policy is expected to provide fair access to urban space, break the cycle of structural inequality, and create equitable social welfare.

**KEYWORDS:** throne for the people, land management, spatial planning

### I. INTRODUCTION

In the early 20th century, land ownership in the Yogyakarta Sultanate was regulated based on a concept stating that all lands in Yogyakarta were owned by the Sultan. The people only had the right to use (anggadhu) hereditarily, without the right to sell the land to a third party. If the right to use was transferred or misused, the land must be returned (dikunduraken) to the Sultan.<sup>1</sup> This land control is based on the theory of king's property (vortemdomein) and king's property rights (vorteneigendoorsrecht), which are the basis for the legitimacy of the Sultan's control over the lands in his territory. This forms the understanding that the Sultan has full authority over the land, creating a mindset of the people who view the king as the center of everything, both in economics, politics, and social.<sup>2</sup> The concept of "manunggaling kawulo gusti" (unity between king and people/servant and master) further strengthens this feudal relationship. This concept reflects that the king is seen as God's representative in the world, so that the king has the responsibility to protect the people, while the people have the obligation to serve the king. Although it denotes a hierarchy between the king and the people, this concept also describes the close and inseparable interdependent relationship between the two.<sup>3</sup> The absolute nature of the king's power was strengthened through the legal system of the Sultanate, as stated in Article 1 of the Royal Gazette (Rijksblad) of 1918 No. 16, which reads:

<sup>1</sup> Nur Aini Setiawati, "Land Regulations in the Yogyakarta Sultanate Rijksblad In the Second Decade of the 20 Century," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 31, no. 1 (31 Maret 2021): 83, <https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v31i1.27500>.

<sup>2</sup> Shenita Dwiyanany dan Lita Tyesta Addy Listiya Wardhani, "Sistem Pertanahan Keraton Yogyakarta sebagai Daerah Otonomi Khusus," *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (29 Mei 2019): 226–36, <https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i2.226-236>.

<sup>3</sup> Agus Wahyudi, *Bersatu: Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti* (Sleman: Diva Press, 2014).

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*"Sakabehing bumi kang ora ana yektinekadebe ingliyan mawa authority egendom dadi bumi kangugane keraton ingsung Ngajogjakarta."*<sup>4</sup> This means, "All land for which there is no proof of ownership by another person, with the power of egendom, becomes land belonging to the Yogyakarta Palace."

This regulation is basically the same as the regulation in the Royal Gazette (Rijksblad) Pakualaman Year 1918 No. 18, which provides the basis for land rights for residents in the Yogyakarta Kraton and Pakualaman Duchy areas. This period marks the beginning of Yogyakarta law on land rights. According to Djoko Suryo in his paper on land history in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the Vorstendomein principle regulates land ownership, control, and use during the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate (King as landowner).<sup>5</sup> In the arrangement of extensive land control, the Sultan of Yogyakarta divided the responsibility for land management among the Sultan's relatives (sentana dalem) and officials (priyayi) appointed directly by the Sultan. They were known as abdi ndalem, individuals who served the Sultan with various responsibilities, including managing the land entrusted to them.<sup>6</sup>

The land given to the servants was referred to as “obedience” land or “lungguh” land. Through this system, the servants were given the authority to collect taxes from the land they managed, which then became a source of income for them. This system reflects a layered feudal social structure, where land became an instrument of power as well as an economic resource that supported the social hierarchy in the Yogyakarta Sultanate region.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the abdi ndalem are responsible for managing the land owned by the Sultanate and Pura Pakualaman. The Kismo Committee, which consists of a number of abdi ndalem who are members of a special unit, is responsible for managing the land owned by the Sultanate and Pura Pakualaman. This organization has a fairly orderly structure down to the village level, and it has full authority to manage and utilize the land of the Sultanate and Pura Paku Alaman for various purposes that are beneficial to the people of Yogyakarta and for their own good. This land is used for public purposes, such as being used or occupied as houses, school buildings, offices, agricultural land, greening, places of worship, and cemeteries.<sup>8</sup> During the Dutch East Indies, the land ownership system in the Yogyakarta Sultanate underwent changes through a political contract between the Sultan and the colonial government. Land that was previously fully controlled by the Sultan and his servants began to be gradually transferred to the Dutch East Indies Government. Land directly controlled by the Sultan was called Maosan Dalem, while land for the needs of the Sultan's family was known as Kejawen or Apanage. The Sultan had full rights to utilize, revoke, or give land to other parties. However, this feudal control provided space for foreign capital to develop. The lands were leased to the colonial government, companies such as NISM and SS, and foreign individuals with rights such as eigendom or opstal.<sup>9</sup> This change created dualism, the Sultan still held symbolic authority, but his influence in the agrarian sector was slowly eroded by colonial economic power.<sup>10</sup>

In the early 20th century, the land ownership pattern in Yogyakarta reflected the view that the Sultan was the sole ruler of all land in the Sultanate area. This was based on the concept of the Sultan as God's representative on earth, so that all land was under his control. The Sultan authorized the lands to palace bureaucrats to supervise and manage them. This ownership pattern resulted in the people only having the right to use without ownership of the land.<sup>11</sup> In 1925, the Hadiningrat Sultanate reorganized the agrarian system. Complex rules were simplified by granting hereditary usage rights to the people. This right can be passed on to their descendants. In addition, land used by the people for residence or agriculture is given ownership status (andarbe) to sub-districts in the Sultanate area. This arrangement aims to provide legal clarity for the people regarding the land they use.<sup>12</sup> Yogyakarta, as one of the cities with high population density, faces serious challenges related to settlements, especially in

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<sup>4</sup> Rijksblad Van Kasultanan No. 16 1918. Lihat juga dalam Nur Aini Setiawati, *Dari Tanah Sultan Menuju Tanah Rakyat: Pola Pemilika, Penguasaan dan Sengketa Tanah di Kota Yogyakarta setelah Reorganisasi 1917*, ed. oleh Muhammad Nazir Salim (Yogyakarta: STPN Press, 2019), 66.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Dr. Djoko Suryo. Makalah yang Disampaikan pada FGD Pendokumentasian Sejarah Pertanahan di DIY yang diselenggarakan oleh Dinas Pertanahan dan Tata Ruang DIY. Tanggal 30 Agustus 2016

<sup>6</sup> Rangga Hasim, “Politik Hukum Pengaturan Sultan Ground dalam Undang-Undang No. 13 tahun 2013 tentang Keistimewaan Yogyakarta dan Hukum Tanah Nasional,” *Arena Hukum* 9, no. 2 (1 Agustus 2016): 207–24, <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.arenahukum.2016.00902.4>.

<sup>7</sup> Tyas Dian Anggraeni, “Interaction of Local Law and National Law in Matter of Land in Yogyakarta”, *Jurnal Rechtsvinding*, Vol. 1 No. 1 (2012): 53-73.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Tatik Kartikasari, Binsar Simanulung, *Sistem Pemerintahan di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* (Jakarta: CV. Putra Sejati Raya, 1997), hlm. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Setiawati, *Dari Tanah Sultan Menuju Tanah Rakyat: Pola Pemilika, Penguasaan dan Sengketa Tanah di Kota Yogyakarta setelah Reorganisasi 1917*.

<sup>11</sup> David Efendi, *The decline of bourgeoisie : runtuhnya kelompok dagang pribumi, Kotagede XVII-XX* (Yogyakarta : Research Center for Politics and Government UGM, 2009), hlm. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Setiawati, *Dari Tanah Sultan Menuju Tanah Rakyat: Pola Pemilika, Penguasaan dan Sengketa Tanah di Kota Yogyakarta setelah Reorganisasi 1917*.

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riverbank areas. This area is filled with buildings that continue to grow, reflecting the complex living conditions of the community. Excessive population density, uncertainty in land ownership, and poor access to infrastructure are characteristic of the socio-economic dynamics in the area. This requires special attention in spatial planning and city management efforts.<sup>13</sup>

According to data from the Central Statistics Agency of Yogyakarta City, the population density in this city has increased by 0.68%. In 2021, the population was recorded at 376,324 people, while in 2022 the number increased to 378,913 people. This increase reflects the trend of population growth that continues to occur in the area.<sup>14</sup> Population growth is not only influenced by birth rates, but also by various other factors. One of them is rapid development in big cities, which drives economic growth. This makes these cities an attraction for Indonesian people to migrate, including to the city of Yogyakarta. The rapid urbanization process can have negative impacts if not managed properly, such as increasing poverty rates and the development of slums. Therefore, it is important to immediately control urbanization so that these problems do not become more widespread.<sup>15</sup> The creation of slums in a city is often caused by the arrival of migrants who do not have a permanent place to live, so they form communities on land that is not wanted by others. This phenomenon is further exacerbated by rapid urbanization.<sup>16</sup>

According to estimates by the United Nations (UN), in the next 30 years, there will be an additional 2 billion people living in informal settlements. Much of this increase is driven by the ever-growing flow of urbanization, which affects the quality of life and increases the challenges related to adequate housing in large cities.<sup>17</sup> Rivers play a vital role in cities by providing water, preventing flooding, and supporting plant and animal life. Plants around rivers help lower temperatures and increase humidity. However, the value of rivers is often overlooked by communities and policymakers, who focus more on development.<sup>18</sup> A real example of the impact of urbanization can be seen on the banks of the rivers of Yogyakarta City, where buildings are increasingly mushrooming along the river. According to the Serayu Opak Yogyakarta River Basin Center (BBWS), many buildings violate the Regulation of the Minister of Public Works and Public Housing Number 28 of 2015 concerning River Boundary Lines. Article 15 stipulates that buildings on river banks must be in status quo and gradually returned to maintain the function of river banks.<sup>19</sup> Although there are regulations related to river boundaries, the government has difficulty in evicting the area because the community has lived there for a long time. Based on the 1945 Constitution, the government is obliged to provide decent housing for its citizens. Therefore, this study will discuss the role of the government in dealing with population density and humane resolution strategies, while still paying attention to applicable regulations and returning to the concept of "The Throne for the People."

Researchers use two theories in analyzing the research results, namely the Structuration Theory and the Right to the City Theory. In the book entitled "The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration", Anthony Giddens explains the Structuration Theory.<sup>20</sup> This book discusses the relationship between social structure and individual agency and how both influence each other in the formation and change of society. Meanwhile, in the book "The Right to the City", Henri Lefebvre explains the concept of the Right to the City.<sup>21</sup> Lefebvre highlighted the importance of urban space as a common property, which must be managed for the benefit of the entire community, not just for the benefit of capitalists. Both theories are relevant to the research being conducted. This research seeks to understand social anxiety about the rapid growth of slums without being balanced by decent housing by providing several views on solutions to the local government to deal with this. Both theories are relevant to research that aims to understand social anxiety due to the rapid growth of slums that are not balanced by the provision of decent housing. This research also provides recommendations for solutions to the local government to deal with this problem comprehensively.

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<sup>13</sup> John Friesen et al., "Slums, space, and state of health—a link between settlement morphology and health data," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17, no. 6 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17062022>.

<sup>14</sup> Mainil Asni, *Kota Yogyakarta dalam Angka Yogyakarta Municipality in Figures 2023* (Yogyakarta: BPS Kota Yogyakarta, 2023).

<sup>15</sup> Uji Sukma Medianti, "Yogyakarta Termiskin di Jawa tapi Penduduknya Bahagia," *tempo.com*, 2023.

<sup>16</sup> Manuela Callari, "Revitalising squatter settlements and their environments," *Cosmos Magazine*, 2024.

<sup>17</sup> United Nations, "The Sustainable Development Goals Report," *The Sustainable development Goals Report 2023: Special Edition* (New York: United Nations Statistics Division Development Data and Outreach Branch, 2023).

<sup>18</sup> Magnus Franklin, "Lessons from cities that plan for their rivers," *The Conversation*, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Magnus Franklin, "Lessons from cities that plan for their rivers," *The Conversation*, 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Anthony Giddens, *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration: Elements of the theory of structuration* (London: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Brendan FD Barrett, Ralph Horne, and John Fien, "The Right to the City," in *Ethical Cities* (Routledge, 2020), 24–40, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003039044-2>.

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## II. RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a library research using a statute approach and a case approach. The legal basis that is the focus of this research is Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Special Autonomy of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The case raised is the phenomenon of settlements in the Kali Code area, Yogyakarta. The analysis technique applied uses an interactive model, which allows for in-depth and systematic data analysis. The researcher adopted two main theories to analyze the research results, namely Structuration Theory and the Theory of Rights to the City.

## III. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

### Implementation of the Special Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in the Management of Sultan Ground (SG) and Pakualaman Ground (PAG) for Spatial Planning and Housing Fulfillment in Yogyakarta

Through the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Special Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta is given special authority to regulate various aspects, including the position of governor, the duties and authorities of the regional government, and land issues. Article 7 underlines the implementation of power based on local wisdom and pro-people. In the context of land, Articles 32 and 33 state that the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Pakualaman Duchy have land ownership rights as legal entities. The Special Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in terms of land is closely related to the history of the Mataram Kingdom, which was the forerunner of Yogyakarta. As a form of royal government, land management in Yogyakarta initially used the Apanege system, a land management system regulated by the king as the absolute owner and assisted by his assistants or bureaucrats. Therefore, the Sultanate and Pakualaman Duchy have absolute rights to the lands in the Special Region of Yogyakarta which were later referred to as the Sultan Ground (SG) and Pakualaman Ground (PAG).<sup>22</sup>

Sultan Ground (SG)/Pakualaman Ground (PAG) land is part of the special status of Yogyakarta, while Sultan Ground and Pakualaman Ground are divided into 2 (two) types, namely keprabon land and non-keprabon land. Keprabon land is land that cannot be inherited by anyone, such as Kepatihan, Grand Mosque, and others. While Non-Keprabon Land is land whose rights can be borne by the community, such as public facilities, residences, and places of business. Ownership and management (Regulation) of SG/PAG land is real evidence of the existence of special status in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), which is not only about the Governor, but there are also detailed regulations related to land in Yogyakarta. This situation is actually an advantage for the DIY Provincial Government in its authority to organize space and buildings in its territory, because many residential zones and other public zones turn out to have land owned by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman. With this ownership, it should be easy for the DIY Provincial Government to create spatial planning policies that are friendly to its people.<sup>23</sup>

The policy related to SG/PAG land that allows land use through the kekancing system reflects the duality of structure. The structure provides opportunities for people to utilize land, but also limits the optimal use of space. People living on riverbanks, despite violating spatial planning rules, reproduce the structure through their actions. This shows how the roles of structure and agency influence each other, creating challenges in spatial management. The buttoned system on SG/PAG land shows a recursive process in which old norms and rules continue to be reproduced despite social change. To break this cycle, a collaborative solution is needed between the government, the Sultanate, and the community. The provision of flats on SG/PAG land is a solution that allows for structural change without ignoring the needs of the community. This is in line with the idea of “The Throne for the People” which places the welfare of the people as the main priority. Furthermore, “the throne for the people” is stated in the philosophical concept of “manunggaling kawula gusti”. In short, the existence of the Kraton is due to the existence of the people. While the people need the support of the Kraton to avoid exploitation that stems from injustice and depression. That the Kraton, as long as this concept is still used as a basis for its thinking, will not hesitate to show its support for the people, as was once done during the revolution.<sup>24</sup>

To overcome these challenges, a collaborative solution is needed between the Yogyakarta City Government and the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate. This collaboration allows for adjustments to the urban structure that still maintain historical values, local wisdom, and applicable legal norms. One of the proposed solutions is the relocation of riverbank communities to vertical housing, such as flats, on SG/PAG land. The Yogyakarta City Government is responsible for providing infrastructure and

<sup>22</sup> Dwinata Nugroho dan Anis Mashdurohatun, “The Governance Of Sultan Ground Land Position And Pakualaman Ground In The Framework Of National Law And The Special Law Of Yogyakarta Special Region In Achieving Justice,” *International Journal of Business, Economics and Law* 31, no. 2 (2021): 101-108.

<sup>23</sup> Epri Wahyudi, “Sultan Ground dan Pakualaman Ground dalam Kajian Hukum Islam dan Hukum Positif,” *Az-Zarqa’: Jurnal Hukum Bisnis Islam* 8, no. 1 (7 September 2024): 1–40, <https://doi.org/10.14421/b0cx1g44>.

<sup>24</sup> Ryadi Goenawan, Darto Harnoko, *Sejarah Sosial Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta: Mobilitas Sosial DIY Periode Awal Duapuluhan* (Jakarta: CV. Manggala Bhakti, 1993). Lihat juga Atmakusuma, *Tahta untuk Rakyat* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1982), hlm. 301.

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managing flats, while the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate provides land use permits through a collective *kekancing* mechanism.<sup>25</sup> This collaborative model aims to address the issue of decent and safe housing, while preserving the culture and history of Yogyakarta, and meeting the social and economic needs of the community. Thus, changes in urban structure can be implemented sustainably, while still prioritizing the balance between modernization and preservation of local heritage.

This solution is in line with the idea of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, “Throne for the People,” which places the welfare of the people as the main priority. In its implementation, the government needs to ensure a humane process, such as providing temporary housing for residents affected by relocation, while building decent and affordable vertical housing. This approach not only solves the problem of slums but also breaks the recursiveness of structures that are not relevant to modern needs. Thus, SG/PAG land governance can be an innovative model that combines preserving tradition and adapting to the times.<sup>26</sup> This approach serves to break the chain of unsustainability in fragmented settlement planning that is less responsive to developments. In addition, by involving the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate in the management of SG/PAG land through a collective *kekancing* mechanism, this model also offers a way to maintain historical values and local wisdom in the context of modernization. Therefore, SG/PAG land governance is not only an instrument to overcome settlement problems, but can also be an example of resource management that combines the preservation of tradition and adaptation to future needs, making it an innovative model in sustainable urban planning.

### Management of Palace Land and Arrangement of Slum Areas on the Riverbanks of Yogyakarta City

DIY Province is one of the provinces facing spatial planning and urban buildings like other regions. The high urbanization in Yogyakarta City is unavoidable because this city is the main destination for people to visit or do business, which triggers the rapid development in various areas.<sup>27</sup> The development activities are certainly inseparable from the availability of land for the location of the development. The lands of the Sultanate (Sultan Ground) and Pakualaman Ground cannot be separated from the target of fulfilling the needs for development, including for the education sector, tourism sector, agriculture sector, and for residential areas.<sup>28</sup> One of the management of the palace land is to use it as a residence for the people of Yogyakarta with the status of Magersari. The community may utilize the land with full awareness that the land belongs to the palace. The palace land which is the land of the Yogyakarta Sultanate is currently not owned by individuals and has not been certified, only in the form of a certificate issued by the palace or known by the community as a letter of ownership. Meanwhile, to be able to obtain permission to rent or utilize palace land (*magersari*), you must first request permission from the *panitikismo* as the palace land institution.<sup>29</sup>

Yogyakarta City is one of the cities where all the land is claimed as belonging to the king, even though the land on the riverbanks may not be suitable for use as a place to live, but in reality buildings are mushrooming on the banks of the river in Yogyakarta. The Code River, which divides Yogyakarta City, is about 41 kilometers long with a River Basin Area (DAS) of 4,006 hectares. This river crosses three regions: Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta City, and Bantul Regency. Along the riverbanks, many settlements have been built which, although legally illegal, most have received a permit from the palace. These settlements are generally inhabited by lower-class people, such as vagrants, scavengers, and immigrants from outside Yogyakarta who do not have a place to live, so they are known as slums.<sup>30</sup>

Communities who have occupied the Code River banks for decades are facing difficulties in carrying out order.<sup>31</sup> Their behavior, such as littering and building uninhabitable buildings, has a negative impact on river conservation. Piles of garbage pollute the environment, while buildings that do not meet standards cause dirty, unhealthy and erosion-prone conditions, endangering the comfort, beauty and health of the community. The difference in behavior between Indonesian people and developed countries, who care more about the environment, makes this problem very urgent to be resolved immediately with

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<sup>25</sup> Darto Harnoko, Indra Fibiona, *Kagunan Sekar Padma: Konstinitas dan Perkembangan Kesenian Tradisional di Yogyakarta Awal Abad XX* (Yogyakarta: Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya DIY, 2021), hlm. 40.

<sup>26</sup> Ricklefs, dkk, *Yogyakarta di Bawah Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792: Sejarah Pembagian Jawa* (Yogyakarta : Mata Bangsa, 2002), hlm. 67

<sup>27</sup> Sri Rum Giyarsih, “Urban Sprawl of the City of Yogyakarta, Special Reference to the Stage of Spatial Transformation (Case Study at Maguwaharjo Village, Sleman District),” *Indonesian Journal of Geography* 42, no. 1 (2010): 48–55, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/ijg.1576>.

<sup>28</sup> Ahmad Nashih Luthfi, “Typology of Land Conflicts in Special Region of Yogyakarta,” *BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria dan Pertanahan* 9, no. 1 (5 Agustus 2024): 98–125, <https://doi.org/10.31292/bhumi.v9i1.788>.

<sup>29</sup> Vani Wirawan, “Kajian Tertib Administrasi Pertanahan Tanah Kasultanan dan Tanah Kadipaten Setelah Berlakunya Perdasi Yogyakarta,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Penegakan Hukum* 6, no. 2 (3 Desember 2019): 161, <https://doi.org/10.31289/jiph.v6i2.2989>.

<sup>30</sup> Puspasari Setyaningrum, “Kali Code, Sungai Legendaris di Tengah Kota Yogyakarta yang Citranya Diubah oleh Romo Mangun,” *KOMPAS*, 2022.

<sup>31</sup> Bhekti Suryani, “Warga Bantaran Sungai Code Menolak Digusur oleh BBWSSO,” *Harian Jogja*, 2022, <https://jogjapolitan.harianjogja.com/read/2022/09/06/510/1111047/warga-bantaran-sungai-code-menolak-digusur-oleh-bbwssso>.

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solutions that benefit all parties.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the management of the Code Riverbank area cannot only rely on technical or administrative approaches. A more holistic policy is needed, which integrates ecosystem restoration, community empowerment, and improving the quality of accommodation. This includes providing access to environmental information and education based on local values, developing environmentally friendly infrastructure, and providing incentives for communities who actively participate in conservation programs. In addition, it is important to involve the community in planning and decision-making related to spatial planning, so that they feel ownership and responsibility for the changes that occur. With an inclusive and participatory approach, the management of the Code Riverbank area can be a model for community coastal area management that not only maintains ecological balance, but also improves social and economic welfare.

The Yogyakarta City Government continues to strive to organize and regulate riverbank areas to improve environmental quality. In accordance with Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2021 concerning the Yogyakarta City Spatial Planning Plan, river boundaries include the space on the left and right of the riverbed which functions as a buffer between the river ecosystem and land. The presence of buildings along the river boundaries can disrupt the function of the river. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out rapid handling that still pays attention to the rights of local residents.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, fast and appropriate handling is needed to overcome these negative impacts. However, this handling must still pay attention to the rights of the surrounding community, by prioritizing a fair and inclusive approach, and ensuring that the solutions implemented do not harm the social welfare of the affected community. In 2024, the Yogyakarta City Government will try to organize slum areas along the river borders. The concept used is to rearrange the land plots which were previously spread out irregularly, by moving buildings close to the river. This step resulted in the demolition of old buildings and the construction of new ones at a predetermined distance from the river border, so that the area could be neat, comfortable and livable.<sup>34</sup> Although the arrangement carried out by the government aims to improve the slum area, it still disrupts the function of the river which should be free from buildings. On the other hand, eviction of the area is not easy, considering the people who have lived there for a long time. Therefore, in this paper, the researcher offers ideas for the government to organize the area, maintain the function of the river, and at the same time, ensure that the community continues to get decent housing, in accordance with the state's obligation to provide decent housing for its citizens can be fulfilled.

As explained previously, obtaining land use permits in the city of Yogyakarta, including in riverbank areas, still uses certificates issued by the palace, such as a letter of ownership or a letter of encumbrance. The presence of buildings, both illegal and licensed, on riverbanks, basically disrupts the function of the river itself. Therefore, the areas along the river should be cleared of any buildings and designated as green open areas to maintain the sustainability of the river ecosystem function. Urban problems that often occur in almost all regions of Indonesia, including the Special Region of Yogyakarta, are the disorganization of residential buildings and limited public spaces.<sup>35</sup> This chaotic condition has an impact on an unhealthy, unsafe, and slum environment. Many areas, including in DIY, still have slum areas, especially those located on riverbanks, which are clearly not suitable as safe residential areas. The existence of this chaotic housing is part of the city's development and must be the focus of the government to be immediately organized.

As mandated by the constitution, everyone has the right to live in prosperity, live in a healthy environment, and receive health services. Therefore, the government, both at the provincial and district/city levels, has an obligation to ensure that housing is well-arranged and healthy, so that it is comfortable to live in. The DIY Provincial Government, with its Special status, should be able to overcome this problem more easily. This only requires good communication with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman, as well as the legitimacy of both institutions.<sup>36</sup> The DIY Provincial Government, which includes 4 districts and 1 city, only needs to formulate regulations and policies that are in line with the SG/PAG land arrangements by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman. These regulations must be communicated well so as not to cause legal problems that can harm the state or related parties, including the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman. In this context, the DIY Provincial Government, with its Special status, should have a greater capacity to address the issue. Resolving this issue requires effective communication between the government and the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman, with the support of legitimacy from both institutions, to ensure success in implementing policies that prioritize the welfare of the people.

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<sup>32</sup> Sarinah Basri, Dkk *Teori Kesehatan Lingkungan* (Aceh: Yayasan Penerbit Muhammad Zaini, 2021), hlm. 216.

<sup>33</sup> Muhammad Noor, dkk, *Collaborative Governance: Suatu Tinjauan Teoritis dan Praktik* (Yogyakarta: Bildung, 2022), hlm. 129.

<sup>34</sup> Rizky Adri Kurniadhani, “Pemerintah Kota Yogyakarta Lakukan Penataan Tiga Kawasan Kumuh di Bantaran Sungai,” *joglojateng.com*, 2024.

<sup>35</sup> Gilang Jiwana Adikara, “Framing of local media in the management issues of Sultan Ground and Pakualaman Ground in Yogyakarta,” *Journal of Social Studies (JSS)* 18, no. 1 (17 Mei 2022): 81–100, <https://doi.org/10.21831/jss.v18i1.48945>.

<sup>36</sup> Raditia Wahyu Supriyanto, dkk, *Perlindungan sosial di Indonesia: Tantangan dan Arah Kedepan* (Jakarta: Direktorat Perlindungan dan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat, Kementerian Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional/Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2015), hlm. 79.

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### Strategy and Cooperation of the Yogyakarta City Government and the Palace in Arranging Slum Housing for Low-Income Communities

Yogyakarta City has a limited area with a high density reaching a population density of 12,854 people per km<sup>2</sup>. In addition to the high population density, the backlog in Yogyakarta City is also high with a housing shortage ratio reaching 87,908 houses.<sup>37</sup> With such statistical data, it is only natural that the Yogyakarta City Government (Pemkot Yogyakarta) thinks progressively by collaborating with many parties such as the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman. It is only right that the Yogyakarta City Government can start creating progressive solutions that are in accordance with laws and regulations as well as the spirit of SG/PAG land management that prioritizes the welfare of the people. One solution that is worth trying by the Yogyakarta City Government is the arrangement of dense and slum areas whose land belongs to the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman. As previously stated, the special status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta is an advantage for stakeholders (the DIY Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government) in implementing their regulations and policies. Collaboration between the DIY Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman can produce progressive and pro-people policies, so that the spirit of SG/PAG land management that prioritizes people's welfare can be achieved quickly and precisely. The limited land for housing and other public facilities must be overcome with progressive and collaborative ideas. The Yogyakarta City Government only needs to be observant in seeing national programs that encourage the fulfillment of housing needs by directing people's housing patterns to vertical housing patterns. The community must begin to be invited to get to know vertical housing patterns so that narrow, dense, slum and unhealthy housing can be eliminated, so that the mandate of the constitution is not just a beautiful writing in law books.

Vertical housing, known in the legal context in Indonesia as flats (*rusun*), is one progressive way to overcome slum and unhealthy housing. It is indeed not easy to change the housing pattern that was previously level with the land and had direct access to the outside land into a multi-storeyed housing that must pass through stairs and the front porch of other people's houses. This difficult condition must be overcome with wise programs and decisions from the Yogyakarta City Government so that the gap between the backlog and population density does not widen. Collaboration between the Yogyakarta City Government and the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman must lead to collaboration that prioritizes the welfare of the people. If in fact the lands owned by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman have been inhabited and controlled by the community for years or even decades, then the Yogyakarta City Government must begin to persuasively approach the community so that they are willing to be arranged and regulated towards a vertical housing pattern (*rusun*). Along with these arrangements and regulations, the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman also need to take a legal approach regarding the concept of flats on SG/PAG land.

The Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman should start adapting to the concept of vertical housing on SG/PAG land with adaptive regulations on the Apartment Law, so that the collaboration concept can be implemented with patterns that do not violate the provisions in the internal regulations of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman or national law (in this case represented by the Yogyakarta City Government). The basic thing that must be done by the Yogyakarta City Government (with permission/collaboration with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman) is to initiate the withdrawal of housing on small plots of land whose rights are from SG/PAG and then combined or made into one land plot with one land plot and provide temporary housing assistance to the affected settlers, with the note that the affected settlers are residents who have an identity in the Yogyakarta City area (covered by the Yogyakarta City Budget).

After the merger of SG/PAG land in one *kekancing*, there are two patterns that can be adapted by the Yogyakarta City Government in collaboration with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman. First, flats are built on the land (the budget can be obtained from the APBD or Grants from the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing) with a standard area that follows the number of affected family members. For these flats, the affected settlers can be given the right to re-occupy in the form of a Building Ownership Certificate for a Single Flat Building (SKBGSRS) which is regulated in detail in the Regulation of the Minister of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) Number 17 of 2021 concerning the Form and Procedures for Issuing SKBSRS. This pattern can at least minimize friction between the affected settlers and the Yogyakarta City Government and the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman, because the affected settlers are not evicted but only have a change in the pattern of control over their homes. Before the existence of flats, affected residents controlled with rights in the form of a land title, now the ownership has changed to SKBGSRS which can be controlled for up to 60 (sixty) years. The land remains the property of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman because in reality SKBGSRS only provides space rights for those who control it. Meanwhile, the Yogyakarta City Government can organize and manage its slum areas to be healthy and good, and the welfare of affected residents remains protected with a guarantee of control in the form of SKBGSRS with immediate consequences according to PUPR Ministerial Regulation Number 17 of 2021. The Ngayogyakarta

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<sup>37</sup> Admin, “Kota Yogyakarta Dalam Angka 2017,” Dinas Komunikasi Informatika dan Persandian, 2018, <https://dinkominfoosan.jogjakota.go.id>.

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Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman only need to provide a land title to their SG/PAG to the Yogyakarta City Government so that they do not need to deal with many people (settlers/residents). Other matters related to control and occupancy only need to be adjusted to the existing regulations by the Yogyakarta City Government.

Second, on the SG/PAG land that has been merged with the collaboration between the Yogyakarta City Government and the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman, flats were built (the budget can be obtained from the APBD or the PUPR Ministry Grant). This second pattern is a transformative and progressive pattern for the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman, namely by forming a new legal institution in land management in the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman. The SG/PAG land that has been merged and flats built on it by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman needs to be made a kind of SKBGSRS by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate or Puro Pakualaman so that the initial pattern which was initially control in the form of ownership over the SG/PAG land is changed to ownership over the flat spaces. Later, the affected residents' rights will be replaced with rights over the flats such as SKBGSRS according to PUPR Ministerial Regulation Number 17 of 2021. The Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman only need to adapt to the concepts in the Statutory Regulations on Flats such as land management, management of common areas and common objects, and environmental contributions. Rights over the flats are the domain managed by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman, while the Yogyakarta City Government only needs to provide an umbrella with its management regulations and thus the slum areas become healthy and good. However, in this pattern, the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman must deal with many people as affected residents who have the right to rights over the flats.

The construction of flats can be carried out on land owned by the Sultanate and Pakualaman Duchy. As stated in Article 47 letter (c) of the DIY Governor Regulation Number 33 of 2017 concerning Procedures for Management and Utilization of Sultanate Land and Duchy Land, that the use of the land can only be permitted for "public welfare". That the development is solely for the public interest, as also stated in the Governor Regulation Number 24 of 2024 Article 1 paragraph (12) concerning the Utilization of Village Land, that the public interest is the interest of the nation, state and society which must be realized by the government and used as much as possible for the prosperity of the people. Therefore, in this case, various agencies must put aside their respective sectoral egos, the government must work together to realize public welfare and public interests.

Both patterns actually have advantages and disadvantages that must be faced by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman. These advantages and disadvantages will later be the dynamics of social change that must be faced by the collaboration team based on the Law on Flats and internal regulations in the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Puro Pakualaman. In addition, economic activity can also be accelerated by involving the DIY Provincial Government through the DIY local bank through ownership credit by means of fiduciary as regulated in the Law on Flats to PUPR Ministerial Regulation Number 17 of 2021. The patterns described are part of the embodiment of the constitutional mandate that it is the right of every person to live in physical and spiritual prosperity, to have a place to live, and to have a good and healthy living environment and to have the right to obtain health services. All of these ideas are part of the concept of “Throne for the People” by Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, that power is trusted when power grows from the people’s love for their leader because he is always present in their life problems. This concept focuses on public policy. As long as the public policy is intended from, by and for the people. In the book entitled “Throne for the People: The Gap in the Life of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX”, the concept of “Throne for the People” is used as a basis in the leadership process, a basis for how decisions are taken and initiated, how policies for its citizens (the people) must be realized properly. The affirmation of the determination of “Throne for the People” is a great commitment of the Yogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate Palace. This commitment always defends the interests of the people, strives to be with the people, and sides only with the interests of the people.

### **Structural Inequality and Urban Spatial Transformation: A Critique of the Exclusion of Marginalized Communities on Riverbanks**

Riverbanks, as part of the city space, have become a place of residence for lower-class people who utilize the land through a system of *kekancing*. Although providing limited access to city space, this condition reflects a real inequality in the distribution of livable space. This inequality occurs because lower-class people are often forced to live in unsuitable and risky areas, such as riverbanks, while other groups of people enjoy better access to healthy and safe city spaces. This shows the existence of structural discrimination in the management of city space. Within the framework of the Right to the City Theory proposed by Henri Lefebvre, every individual, regardless of economic status, has a collective right to urban space to fulfill the needs of a decent life. This theory emphasizes the importance of fair and inclusive urban planning, where urban space is managed for the benefit of all levels of society, not just certain groups. In the context of Yogyakarta, riverbank communities as marginalized groups also have the right to healthy, habitable space that supports their welfare. The government needs to ensure that efforts to reorganize urban space do not ignore their rights as citizens. The government's efforts to provide vertical housing, such as flats, are concrete steps to restore the collective rights of the community to urban space. This solution offers a more humane and just alternative to forced

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evictions. By moving people to vertical housing, the government not only addresses the problem of slums but also ensures community access to decent infrastructure. Vertical housing also supports the optimization of the use of limited urban space, thus providing benefits to the community while meeting the needs of sustainable spatial planning. Uncontrolled urbanization in Yogyakarta has given rise to the phenomenon of irregular urban space, one of which is slums on riverbanks. This irregularity occurs because urban space is produced without careful planning, driven more by the urgent needs of people looking for a place to live. Riverbanks, although not legally designated as settlements, have become an emergency solution for lower-class people who are unable to access decent housing. This condition highlights the failure of spatial planning to respond effectively to the pressures of urbanization.

In Theory of the Right to the City, Henri Lefebvre criticized capitalism which often ignores the needs of the common people in the process of producing urban space. Lefebvre argued that urban space tends to be produced to meet the economic interests of certain groups, such as developers or capital owners, thus ignoring marginalized communities. In the context of Yogyakarta, this inequality is reflected in how riverbanks, which should be conservation zones, have turned into settlements for those who do not have access to decent urban space. The production of urban space that is solely based on capitalism needs to be balanced with policies that support social justice. The spatial governance of the city of Yogyakarta must ensure that urban space is produced for the benefit of the wider community, not just for certain groups. This can be done through inclusive spatial planning policies, such as the provision of decent and affordable vertical housing for marginalized communities. By moving riverbank communities to vertical housing, the government can restore the function of the river ecosystem while meeting the need for safe and healthy housing. This approach not only improves the spatial planning of the city but also provides justice for all citizens, as mandated by the principle of “The Throne for the People.”

The success of relocation to vertical housing requires active community participation. The persuasive approach taken by the government aims to increase public awareness of the importance of orderly spatial planning. In the Theory of the Right to the City, Lefebvre emphasized that communities must be involved in the decision-making process that affects their living space. By involving the community, spatial planning policies can be more acceptable and in accordance with their needs.

### IV. CONCLUSIONS

The management of Sultan Ground (SG) and Pakualaman Ground (PAG) in the Special Region of Yogyakarta reflects the challenges in sustainable urban spatial governance. The Special Region of Yogyakarta provides special authority to organize space, including through a mechanism of entitlement that allows the community to utilize land, but also creates limitations in optimizing space. This problem is exacerbated by the pressure of urbanization that has given rise to slums on riverbanks, which not only violate spatial planning but also have a negative impact on ecosystem function. In this context, an inclusive spatial planning policy that is oriented towards social justice is needed, as mandated by the concept of “The Throne for the People.”

The proposed solution includes relocating riverbank communities to vertical housing based on flats built on SG/PAG land through collaboration between the government and the institutions of the Sultanate and Duchy. This model not only addresses the problem of slums, but also combines the preservation of tradition, modernization, and sustainability of spatial planning. With a participatory approach that involves the community in the decision-making process, this policy is expected to provide fair access to urban space, break the cycle of structural inequality, and create equitable social welfare.

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