

GOVERNING JAVANESE CULTURE UNDER DECENTRALIZATION: FRAGMENTATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

GOVERNANDO A CULTURA JAVANESA SOB A DESCENTRALIZAÇÃO: FRAGMENTAÇÃO E O DESAFIO DA GESTÃO INTEGRADA A NÍVEL PROVINCIAL

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Abstract

This paper aims to explain the fragmentation in the management of Javanese culture as a result of the decentralization policy in Indonesia, and the importance of managing and developing Javanese culture within an integrated decentralization policy. In line with the decentralization policy during the Reform Era, local governments have broad autonomy in developing local culture. In relation to the authority of local governments, provincial governments play a coordinating role. However, local governments tend to lack the same preparedness in developing the diverse variations of Javanese culture. The management of these cultural variations appears to be fragmented. This study uses a qualitative research method, with the research site being the Department of Culture of Central Java Province. Informants include department heads, cultural managers, and academic experts on Javanese culture. The qualitative analysis used emphasizes simultaneous analysis techniques throughout the research process. The results show that along with decentralization, local governments have

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo explicar a fragmentação na gestão da cultura javanesa como resultado da política de descentralização na Indonésia e a importância de gerenciar e desenvolver a cultura javanesa dentro de uma política de descentralização integrada. Em linha com a política de descentralização durante a Era da Reforma, os governos locais têm ampla autonomia no desenvolvimento da cultura local. Em relação à autoridade dos governos locais, os governos provinciais desempenham um papel de coordenação. No entanto, os governos locais tendem a não ter a mesma preparação para desenvolver as diversas variações da cultura javanesa. A gestão dessas variações culturais parece ser fragmentada. Este estudo utiliza um método de pesquisa qualitativa, sendo o local da pesquisa o Departamento de Cultura da Província de Java Central. Os informantes incluem chefes de departamento, gestores culturais e especialistas acadêmicos em cultura javanesa. A análise qualitativa utilizada enfatiza técnicas de análise simultânea ao longo do processo de pesquisa. Os resultados mostram



managed various forms of Javanese culture according to their authority and capabilities. Meanwhile, the Central Java Provincial Government, through the Department of Culture, positions itself according to its coordinating and monitoring function. Ironically, Javanese culture, which is rich and diverse, seems to lack a comprehensive framework for its development, as it largely depends on the readiness of local governments. The fragmentation in the management of Javanese culture is ironic because it is hoped that Javanese culture could be protected under a broader and stronger authority, particularly at the provincial level. Therefore, this study recommends the importance of more integrated management of Javanese culture at the provincial level, especially in Central Java Province.

Keywords: Cultural Policy. Decentralization. Java. Fragmentation. Integrated Management.

que, juntamente com a descentralização, os governos locais têm gerenciado várias formas da cultura javanesa de acordo com sua autoridade e capacidades. Enquanto isso, o Governo Provincial de Java Central, por meio do Departamento de Cultura, posiciona-se de acordo com sua função de coordenação e monitoramento. Ironicamente, a cultura javanesa, que é rica e diversificada, parece carecer de uma estrutura abrangente para seu desenvolvimento, pois depende em grande parte da preparação dos governos locais. A fragmentação na gestão da cultura javanesa é irônica, pois espera-se que a cultura javanesa possa ser protegida sob uma autoridade mais ampla e forte, particularmente em nível provincial. Portanto, este estudo recomenda a importância de uma gestão mais integrada da cultura javanesa em nível provincial, especialmente na província de Java Central.

Palavras-chave: Política Cultural. Descentralização. Java. Fragmentação. Gestão Integrada.

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the Reform Era began in Indonesia, decentralization policies have developed as a way to distribute power. The decentralization policy has undergone several major changes since the fall of President Soeharto's regime, known as the New Order government, in 1998, marking Indonesia's entry into the Reform Era. Since then, the Indonesian government has implemented Law No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Governance, later revised into Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional Governance.

Based on decentralization policies, power and authority are distributed through the hierarchy of the state, along with all the processes and institutional involvement that make decentralization programs possible (Smith, 2012). On the other hand, studies by Samuel and Henk Schulte (2004) show that one of the most crucial issues during the Reform Era is the development of ethnic identity politics and cultural policy initiatives in the context of decentralization. These issues have intensified since Indonesia entered the Reform Era and continue to this day. Schele (2011) also points out that as reform progresses in Indonesia, there is a need to rethink cultural management and the

development of ethnic-cultural diversity. Therefore, studies related to cultural research continue to be relevant and important to explore.

The management of Javanese culture within the context of decentralization policies is crucial, given that the Javanese people represent the largest ethnic group in Indonesia. In addition to being the most populous ethnic group compared to others in Indonesia, Javanese culture has been the most dominant throughout the country's history. In the political context, Javanese culture served as a source of legitimacy during President Soeharto's 32-year rule over Indonesia. Irawanto and Ramsey's (2011) study emphasizes that, over time, the Javanese people have been recognized as the most dominant group, both culturally and politically. Similarly, Tod Jones' (2015) study highlights the significant influence of Javanese culture during the New Order government's rule. Furthermore, Totok Sarsito's (2006) research shows that Javanese culture was a source of legitimacy throughout President Soeharto's reign during the New Order era. Many other studies also support this notion, especially since American scholar Benedict Anderson (1991) conducted his study on the transmission of Javanese culture to build political power during the New Order government.

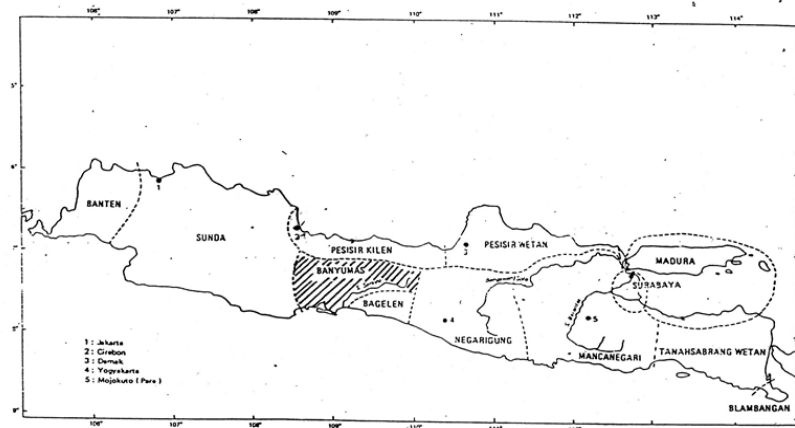
Based on the conclusions of Javanese cultural expert Koentjaraningrat (1984), Javanese culture has several variations, such as the *Negarigung* culture, which encompasses the regions of Yogyakarta and Surakarta; the Banyumas and Bagelen cultures, covering southwest Central Java; the *Pesisir* culture, which extends from Indramayu and Cirebon (on the north coast of West Java) to Gresik (on the north coast of East Java); the *Mancanagari* culture, which includes the Kediri and Madiun regions in East Java; and the *Pinggir Reksa* culture, which includes the Surabaya and Malang regions. The *Negarigung* Javanese culture (Yogyakarta and Surakarta) has been the center of Javanese power since the Islamic Mataram Kingdom became the ruling kingdom in Java in the 16th century. The remnants of this glory are still evident today with the existence of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Surakarta Sunanate.

The description of the regional scope of Javanese culture indicates that, aside from *Negarigung*, there are other variations of Javanese culture, such as Javanese Banyumas, Javanese *Pesisir*, Javanese *Mancanagari*, and Javanese *Pinggir Reksa*, among others. This paper refers to these variations as peripheral Javanese cultures because they are located

far from the center of power (Negarigung). The following is a map of the regional variations of Javanese culture.

Figure 1

Regional Variations of Javanese Culture



Peta 1: Variasi Regional dari kebudayaan Jawa

Source: Koentjaraningrat, 1984

In line with the decentralization policy during the Reform Era, regional governments have broad autonomy in developing local culture. Referring to Law No. 13 of 2014 on Regional Governance, in matters of governance in the field of culture, including cultural management, preservation of traditions, and fostering customary institutions whose actors are local communities within a region, these become the affairs of the regional government. This means that the management of Javanese cultural diversity can be distributed according to the authority of each regional government. The central Javanese culture (Negarigung) as well as peripheral Javanese culture are divided and managed based on the authority of each regional government.

Culture, according to Koentjaraningrat's (1985) understanding, encompasses at least three forms: culture as a complex of ideas, thoughts, values, norms, and regulations; culture as a complex of patterned human behavior in society; and culture as the product of human creativity. Ideally, efforts to preserve culture by provincial or local governments should encompass all three elements. However, public understanding of cultural preservation tends to focus more on culture as the product of human creativity, such as dance, traditional instruments, ritual ceremonies, cultural heritage buildings, and so on.

Meanwhile, values and societal behavior patterns, which form the norms and patterns of life in daily society, receive relatively less attention in terms of cultural policy development.

Regardless of which aspect of culture is the focus, along with decentralization policies, the management of Javanese culture appears to be fragmented between the provincial and local governments. An interesting area for further research is the importance of managing Javanese culture more integratively at the provincial level. The choice of location in Central Java Province is significant, considering that Central Java is the heart of Javanese culture, with Surakarta (representing Javanese *Negarigung*) located in Central Java (see Figure 1).

To address the main issue of fragmentation in Javanese cultural management as a consequence of decentralization policies in Indonesia, and the importance of managing and developing Javanese culture within an integrated decentralization policy, this paper is divided into several sections: research methodology, a discussion of the dynamics of the role of the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office in managing Javanese culture, the importance of managing and developing Javanese culture within an integrated decentralization policy, and a conclusion. The concluding section will emphasize the article's findings and underline the recommendations provided.

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research employs qualitative methods to obtain details of complex phenomena. Qualitative methods are used to construct social realities, cultural meanings, and focus on interactive processes and events (Newman, 2011). The selection of informants used the snowball technique (Harrison, 2007), where research informants were chosen starting from one specific informant and continuing to subsequent informants. Informants included figures from the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office, cultural experts from Yogyakarta State University, cultural managers, and others.

Data were collected using a combination of in-depth interviews for primary data, document studies for secondary data, and observation. Secondary document data, apart from those obtained from the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office, were also gathered from the websites of regional government offices. Referring to Silbergh (2001), the

analysis was conducted by constructing an analytical framework using relevant theoretical structures. The analysis began with data clarification to achieve consistency, followed by theoretical abstraction of field information and facts, allowing for the formulation of fundamental statements. The results of the analysis are fully presented in this article.

2.1 The dynamics of the provincial cultural office's role in managing javanese culture

In the context of decentralization policies, the local government's commitment to managing culture through policy is crucial. The government is the entity that funds cultural management and development. Thus, culture cannot be separated from the state. Silva et al. (2013) show that the role of local governments and local cultures are inseparable. This means the presence of the state plays an important role in preserving culture. The state's presence in treating local cultures also affirms its role as a protector in building the civilization of society. The state positions itself as the guardian of culture amidst the dynamics that occur.

The Central Java Provincial Government, particularly the Education and Cultural Office, in managing and developing Javanese culture, refers to the Central Java Province Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD). The RPJMD currently serving as a reference for program development and activities is the RPJMD for 2018–2023. This means that the activities carried out by the Education and Cultural Office are bound by the 2018–2023 RPJMD and the authority held by the provincial government.

The legal references used by the Education and Cultural Office in fulfilling its duties of managing culture at the provincial level include the Regional Governance Law and Law No. 5 of 2017 on the Advancement of Culture. The Regional Governance Law in question is Law No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Governance, which was later amended into Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional Governance. Therefore, Law No. 5 of 2017 on the Advancement of Culture forms the ecosystem for cultural development efforts carried out by the Central Java Provincial Education and Cultural Office. This indicates that the Central Java Provincial Government has not yet established regional regulations that translate the aforementioned laws (Law No. 5 of 2017). So far, several other related

regulations include: 1) Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2012 on Javanese language, literature, and script; 2) Regional Regulation No. 10 of 2013 on the preservation and protection of cultural heritage; and 3) Governor Regulation (Pergub) No. 32 of 2016 on guidelines for the preservation of customs and social-cultural values.

According to Law No. 5 of 2017 on the Advancement of Culture, provincial governments in implementing cultural preservation programs target districts/cities that have prepared documents called the Regional Cultural Strategic Framework (PPKD). The PPKD is a document that outlines the factual conditions and problems faced by a region in efforts to promote culture, along with proposed solutions. More information on whether a local government has prepared or not prepared a PPKD can be traced at <https://ppkd.kemdikbud.go.id/>. If a district/city government has not prepared a PPKD, the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office does not carry out cultural activities in that region. This was revealed in an interview with ER, head of the Cultural Division of the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office, on September 12, 2023.

Based on this explanation, for a regional government to become the target of cultural preservation activities by the Central Java Provincial Government, it must have a PPKD. If the regional government is not ready to prepare its cultural strategic framework, that region will not be considered a target for cultural preservation activities by the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office. This situation reflects both fragmentation and a dilemma in the implementation of decentralization policies in cultural management and preservation. In this context, it is hoped that, as Foucault suggests (Clegg, 2019), the government does not create a distance between the decisions of formal political institutions and the actors who have autonomy and choices but do not act freely.

So far, not all regional governments have prepared a PPKD. This could be due to ignorance, misunderstanding, or indifference (interview with ER from the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office on September 12, 2023). This situation impacts the fact that not all cultures in each district necessarily become the target of cultural preservation efforts by the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office. The targets of the preservation activities of the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office tend to be concentrated in certain areas such as the cities of Semarang and Surakarta. As is known, Semarang is the capital of Central Java Province, and Surakarta is the center of Javanese culture. According to

the regulations, both of these regional governments are indeed ready and have clear PPKD documents.

In the explanation by ER, Head of the Cultural Affairs Department of Central Java, he stated why Surakarta is one of the targets of the Central Java Provincial Government's Cultural Office activities, in addition to Semarang. This is because, throughout the history of Javanese civilization, Surakarta has been a center of past power, since the establishment of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in the 16th century. To this day, Surakarta remains the center of Javanese culture in Central Java Province, as the *Negarigung* (central) or the main hub of Javanese culture. Surakarta also continues to be the home of ancient Javanese manuscripts and Javanese literary works.

Cultural preservation activities by the Central Java Provincial Government, which extend across regencies/cities, are indeed strategic as a large umbrella to protect and assist the development of Javanese culture at the regional government level throughout the province. However, the provincial government does not have the authority to command the local governments beneath it. The tasks and authority of the provincial government are only in the form of coordination. The staff of the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office recognizes that in cultural development, it is essential to consider the nature of culture, which is not bound by administrative borders. However, in practice, decentralization imposes limits on the authority and administrative boundaries of the provincial government in managing and developing culture.

Furthermore, the management and preservation of culture at the provincial level in Central Java is supported by a relatively small budget compared to funding for other sectors. However, the staff at the Cultural Office generally feel more attached to cultural preservation, so they continue to passionately promote cultural development. They tend to live and breathe culture in their own ways. The limited funding for cultural management is not a significant obstacle in their efforts to advance regional culture. They realize that driving culture is not only about money. There is a deep bond, an essence of *tresno* (love) and willingness to sacrifice. In relation to this, Foucault's view (Jessen and Nicolai, 2019) that governance practices can only be effective by relying on the state need not be a concern here. The staff at the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office also understand that they must not always depend on state bureaucracy and administration.

For this reason, in addition to running cultural development programs as part of their main duties and functions, the Central Java Provincial Cultural Office also has a main program called Rumah Budaya (Cultural House). They understand that culture is a spirit, not just a physical entity. The provincial cultural office has indeed placed culture not only in its physical form but also as a clear spirit and value that encapsulates human life. Spirit is a trait that manifests in interactions among people. However, this has yet to become the primary framework for cultural development in the province.

To support the management and development of culture at the Central Java Provincial level, they have utilized various media platforms. To promote Rumah Budaya, they use websites, social media accounts, blogspots, and WhatsApp groups as part of cultural expression. The Central Java Provincial Cultural Office also collaborates with community groups such as KSBM, Pepadi (Indonesian Puppetry Association), and the Permadani community. This means that cultural preservation is still supported by cooperation with civil society groups. There is a shared role between the government and society to jointly promote cultural preservation. With the establishment of networks, efforts to preserve culture are expected to proceed more effectively and optimally. The perspectives of Lluís Boneta and Emmanuel Ne'grie (2018), as well as Steven Hadley and Eleonora Belfiore (2018), emphasize this point: while the role of the state is crucial in cultural development, a democratic cultural management process and public participation remain essential. Moreover, culture, which includes values, behaviors, dance arts, traditional tools, ritual ceremonies, and cultural heritage buildings, is produced and owned by local communities. Thus, public participation in preserving culture is always important.

2.2 The importance of managing and developing javanese culture within an integrated decentralization policy

Referring to the Ministry of Education and Culture at the national level, cultural management at the Central Java provincial level falls under the authority of the Department of Education and Culture. In carrying out its duties and functions, the Central Java Department of Education and Culture manages two divisions, namely the Education Division and the Cultural Division. The Department of Education and Culture is tasked

with assisting the Governor in carrying out government affairs in education and culture, which are under provincial authority. By integrating the fields of education and culture, the Central Java Provincial Government brings cultural issues closer to educational development.

At the regency/city level, however, cultural management does not necessarily follow the same division of fields as at the provincial level. Robinson's study (2018) views cultural management by local governments as a form of "municipalization of culture," in which the selection of managed fields and the mechanisms used are based on local needs, and responsibility lies with local governments, including financing. Below is a detailed list of cultural management offices across all regencies/cities in Central Java Province.

Table 1

List of Cultural Management Departments in All Regencies/Cities of Central Java Province

No.	Name of Regency/City	Cultural Management
1	Banjarnegara Regency	Department of Culture and Tourism
2	Banyumas Regency	Department of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism
3	Batang Regency	Department of Education and Culture
4	Blora Regency	Department of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism
5	Boyolali Regency	Department of Education and Culture
6	Brebes Regency	Department of Culture and Tourism
7	Cilacap Regency	Department of Education and Culture
8	Demak Regency	Department of Education and Culture
9	Grobogan Regency	Department of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism
10	Jepara Regency	Department of Culture and Tourism
11	Karanganyar Regency	Department of Education and Culture
12	Kebumen Regency	Department of Tourism and Culture
13	Kendal Regency	Department of Education and Culture
14	Klaten Regency	Department of Culture, Youth, Sports, and Tourism
15	Kudus Regency	Department of Culture and Tourism
16	Magelang Regency	Department of Education and Culture
17	Pati Regency	Department of Education and Culture
18	Pekalongan Regency	Department of Education and Culture
19	Pemalang Regency	Department of Education and Culture
20	Purbalingga Regency	Department of Culture, Youth, Sports, and Tourism
21	Purworejo Regency	Department of Education and Culture
22	Rembang Regency	Department of Culture and Tourism
23	Semarang Regency	Department of Culture and Tourism
24	Sragen Regency	Department of Education and Culture
25	Sukoharjo Regency	Department of Education and Culture
26	Tegal Regency	Department of Education and Culture
27	Temanggung Regency	Department of Culture and Tourism
28	Wonogiri Regency	Department of Education and Culture
29	Wonosobo Regency	Department of Tourism and Culture

30	Magelang City	Department of Education and Culture
31	Pekalongan City	Department of Tourism, Culture, Youth, and Sports
32	Salatiga City	Department of Culture and Tourism
33	Semarang City	Department of Culture and Tourism
34	Surakarta City	Department of Culture and Tourism
35	Tegal City	Department of Education and Culture

Source: Compiled from various sources.

The table above shows that the number of agencies combining cultural and tourism issues includes 18 regencies/cities, while those combining cultural and educational functions number 17 regencies/cities. This means that the number of local governments aligning cultural issues with education is balanced with those aligning it with tourism.

According to cultural expert Prof. S from Yogyakarta State University (interview on October 10, 2023), the management of culture should be integrated with education, so that the management of both fields is more appropriately united under the Department of Education and Culture. The educational process is part of the cultural process, encompassing all elements of culture, whether in behavior, values, or physical manifestations. Prof. S emphasized that as a nation that experienced hundreds of years of colonialism, Indonesia requires cultural political reorganization through appropriate educational experiences for all its citizens.

The educational process is a process of cultural development. The relationship between education and culture must be symbiotic and mutually beneficial. These two fields should not operate independently. Education can take place in any cultural context. In this regard, the educational process must involve cultural development. Through cultural education, noble values are fought for. The integration of cultural development with school education is appropriate. Therefore, culture becomes an agreed-upon standard, serving as a guideline with clear boundaries, which is continually transmitted.

Referring to the above views, integrating culture within the education department may be more appropriate than placing cultural development within the tourism department. When managed under the education department, it allows for the culturalization of education. However, if cultural management is placed under the tourism department, it may lead to the commercialization of culture, where everything related to culture becomes commodified. This approach has its advantages if the commercialization of culture through tourism aims to improve the welfare of the wider community. It would

be different if cultural-based tourism development only benefits certain groups. Further research is needed to understand the impact and implications of the different management approaches in each region when culture is aligned with either education or tourism.

The limited scope of authority of the Provincial Government (Central Java) through the Department of Culture in managing Javanese culture, with all its variations, is clearly disadvantageous. The provincial government tends to target local governments as beneficiaries of cultural activities, especially those that already have a regional cultural framework. In contrast, when a local government does not yet have such a framework, the role of the provincial government in providing support becomes crucial.

According to cultural expert Prof. S from Yogyakarta State University, the provincial government should not limit itself to its authority when managing and preserving culture. They are policymakers who should be attentive to the dilemmas arising from limited cultural policy management. Therefore, they should also be able to formulate and propose to higher policymakers that cultural management policies at the provincial level be made more flexible, rather than merely using the lack of broad authority as an excuse to evade responsibility (interview, October 10, 2023).

Discussing culture should not be limited by geography or geopolitics, especially since Javanese culture encompasses all its variations. Therefore, the management and preservation of culture should develop according to local contexts. In this way, entrusting the preservation and management of Javanese culture, with all its variations, to local governments is appropriate. Discussing culture should not be confined by geographic or geopolitical boundaries, especially in the context of Javanese culture with all its variations. However, administrative boundaries and authority limitations should not become obstacles to collaboratively managing and preserving culture.

In this context, the provincial government plays an important role in supporting the management of Javanese culture in each regency, initiating breakthroughs and innovations in cultural preservation. Authority limitations and regional cultural frameworks should not be seen as hindrances. Cultural management should be mutually supportive, as actions in one region may impact others. If a local government can develop its own local culture, this is not a problem. The main issue arises when a region is unable to develop its culture independently and lacks support from the provincial government due to authority constraints. Therefore, the provincial government should not be fixated

on authority and budgetary issues. The necessary approach is to deconstruct cultural policy problems and then reconstruct them.

Perhaps it is important for the provincial government to implement debureaucratization. Cultural management needs to transcend the complexities of authority and bureaucratic mechanisms. What is worrisome is that if no effort is made to reevaluate the boundaries of policy and authority in managing culture, the development of Javanese culture will be hindered and stagnate, particularly in cultural development that is not restricted by geography or geopolitics. This is likely due to the fact that culture continues to evolve and undergo cultural migration.

Referring to Koentjaraningrat's (1984) research, each variation of Javanese culture has intersections (Figure 1). Some cultural elements may differ, while others overlap. For related Javanese cultural variations or those that can be found in the same area, joint development is possible. In this context, regional government authority should be escalated to the provincial level to support the management of such culture. A cultural process does not cease because of geographical or geopolitical boundaries.

It is crucial for Central Java Province to maintain a comprehensive database of Javanese culture, ranging from core Javanese culture to its variations throughout the province. Currently, the database compiled by the Central Java Department of Culture is incomplete regarding the entirety of Javanese culture in Central Java. It can be viewed at <https://kebudayaanjateng.com/>.

According to Koentjaraningrat's (1984) research, the Central Java Provincial Government, through the Department of Culture, should maintain a comprehensive database of peripheral Javanese cultures, such as Banyumas, Bagelen, and Pesisir Kilen cultures. This means that cultural preservation should not only focus on central Javanese culture (Surakarta) but also on the peripheral Javanese cultures. Regarding this, cultural expert Prof. S from Yogyakarta State University stated that the provincial government should weave together every element of Javanese culture with all its variations. It is akin to the importance of a "cultural river," which serves as a channel to connect cultural elements spread across various regions within the same province.

Cultural advancement efforts should be contextualized according to each region's conditions. The state's involvement in managing culture strengthens its role as a nation-builder. Cultural development should be in harmony with social processes. In other

words, the strategic issues chosen for cultural development should not rely solely on technical guidelines from the government. In this way, cultural development becomes more localized and specific to the context of particular community groups or regional elements. Cultural managers must fully understand their local cultural context. In traditional terms, cultural managers must possess a sense of empathy, sociability, and situational awareness.

Based on the analysis above, this article emphasizes the importance of reorganizing the cultural management authority at the provincial level. The goal is for Javanese culture, which cannot be confined by administrative boundaries, to be managed and preserved more comprehensively by the relevant local governments, supported by the provincial government. Additionally, provincial-level cultural management is expected to support the development of peripheral Javanese cultures, which have not yet been fully developed.

3 CONCLUSION

The fragmentation in the management of Javanese culture during the reform era is a consequence of Indonesia's decentralization policy. During the reform period, local governments gained greater autonomy in developing local cultures. As decentralization progressed, local governments managed the diverse variations of Javanese culture according to their authority and capacity. The Central Java Provincial Government, through the Department of Culture, operates according to its designated authority, particularly in terms of coordination and monitoring functions. Ironically, Javanese culture, which is rich and diverse, seems to lack a comprehensive framework for development, as it depends on the readiness of local governments.

It is indeed appropriate for local governments to manage their respective local cultures, as they are closest to and more connected with their own cultural heritage. The issue, however, is that culture cannot be easily confined to administrative boundaries. It is very likely that Javanese cultural variations span several districts, as described in Koentjaraningrat's regional map of Javanese cultural variations. Javanese culture, with all its elements and variations, should be better protected under a broader and stronger jurisdiction, especially at the provincial level. So far, the Central Java Provincial

Government tends to preserve customs and culture in local governments that are ready and supported by clear data, resulting in imbalanced activity targets from the province to local governments.

It is certainly difficult to justify whether managing culture alongside education will yield better results or, conversely, if managing it alongside tourism will produce different and better outcomes. However, if we refer to the previous explanation, since cultural development requires a process of culturalization through education, the fields of education and culture need to be managed under a single department.

In this regard, Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional Government states that secondary education is the responsibility of the provincial government. This paper suggests the importance of elevating cultural elements (specifically Javanese culture) to the provincial level, similar to how secondary education is managed by the provincial government. The specific cultural issues that should be elevated to the provincial level still require further study. The goal is to create a "cultural river" that connects the various Javanese cultural variations and supports the development of these variations, which have been unevenly managed by local governments. Special attention should be given to the support needed from the provincial government for the development of peripheral Javanese cultures.

This paper highlights the importance of reassessing the fragmentation in the management of Javanese culture, particularly in Central Java, and advocates for more debureaucratization efforts so that Javanese cultural development does not get stalled by mere authority limitations. It is hoped that the management of Javanese culture will have a broader framework that integrates local government management, supported by the provincial government. This is especially important for peripheral Javanese cultures, which represent the exotic richness of Javanese culture.

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Authors' Contribution

All authors contributed equally to the development of this article.

Data availability

All datasets relevant to this study's findings are fully available within the article.

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