

Research Article

**NAVIGATING CULTURAL AUTONOMY:
A Critical Analysis of Governance in East Java Provincial Regulation Number 6 of
2024 concerning the Advancement of Regional Culture**

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Abstract

This study critically analyzes how East Java Provincial Regulation (Perda) No. 6 of 2024 structures cultural governance, evaluating its potential for participatory, inclusive, and sustainable cultural advancement. Employing a qualitative Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) of the Regional Regulation and related documents, analysis involved Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. Results show the Regional Regulation adopts national cultural frameworks and normatively acknowledges community participation, with the provincial government central. However, crucial operational details for actor roles, coordination, and substantive public participation remain significantly undefined. Identified risks include superficial participation, limited inclusivity due to unclear prioritization, uncertain program sustainability, and transparency/accountability deficits. The study concludes that while the Regional Regulation offers a legal basis, its efficacy in fostering genuinely effective cultural governance depends on rectifying these ambiguities via clear, accountable derivative regulations and sustained critical engagement to realize its transformative potential for East Java's diverse cultural landscape.

Keywords: Cultural Governance; East Java; Regional Regulation; Critical Policy Analysis; Cultural Policy

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INTRODUCTION

The promulgation of Law No. 5 of 2017 concerning the Advancement of Culture heralded a paradigm shift in Indonesian cultural politics, establishing a national legal framework for the systematic protection, development, utilization, and fostering of national culture. Its principal objectives are to bolster national cultural resilience and amplify Indonesia's cultural contributions within global civilization, aligning with constitutional mandates. Critically, this law explicitly acknowledges cultural diversity as a national treasure and identity, mandating the state's role in its advancement by guaranteeing societal freedom to preserve and cultivate cultural values (Pratama et al., 2019).

As Pratama et al. (2019) underscores, this legislative move signifies a formal commitment, yet its practical efficacy hinges on subsequent implementation strategies that truly empower diverse cultural expressions rather than merely homogenizing them under a national umbrella. A pivotal consequence of this national law is the formalization of a decentralized framework for cultural management. Greater authority has been devolved to regional governments (provincial and district/city levels) to formulate and execute cultural advancement policies attuned to their unique local contexts and potentials. This decentralization is particularly salient given Indonesia's profound cultural and linguistic diversity, ideologically unified by the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Mariyono et al., 2025). The expectation, as Mariyono et al. (2025) suggest, is that decentralization will render cultural policies more responsive to the needs of indigenous peoples and local cultural communities, though this also introduces complexities in ensuring equitable resource distribution and capacity across diverse regions.

Responding to this national mandate, the Provincial Government of East Java enacted Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 6 of 2024 concerning the Advancement of Regional Culture on September 20, 2024. This Regional Regulation serves as the formal legal bedrock for cultural advancement efforts at the provincial level, superseding or updating prior regulations potentially misaligned with the new national framework. East Java occupies a strategic position within Indonesia's cultural landscape, possessing, as acknowledged in the preamble of Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024, "extraordinary cultural diversity, widely spread throughout its territory, and an inseparable part of the nation's wealth and identity." This diversity encompasses a wide array of cultural expressions, from languages and performing arts to customs, rituals, traditional knowledge, and historical sites. Managing such rich cultural heterogeneity necessitates an effective, participatory, and sustainable governance system.

Cultural governance, as defined by Mariyono et al. (2025), "refers to the systems,

structures, and processes that regulate how decisions are made and implemented in the cultural sector," a concept transcending a singular state role by acknowledging the interplay of various actors. Foundational principles of good cultural governance, often linked with participatory democracy and sustainable development, include active stakeholder participation, inclusivity, cultural ecosystem sustainability, transparency, and accountability (Chatikobo & Green, 2022; Jørgensen & and Sørensen, 2012). While various models exist, from state-centric to market-driven, "networked governance involving active collaboration between public, private, and civil society sectors is often considered more adaptive and effective" in the face of globalization and increasing cultural complexity (Mariyono et al., 2025; Sneha & Kavitha, 2024). Previous international studies on decentralization, such as Rohdewohld (2022) analysis of decentralization reforms in the Asia-Pacific, highlight persistent challenges including limited local managerial and technical capacity, coordination deficits between governmental tiers, inadequate funding, and the risk of "elite capture," which can skew policy benefits. These international perspectives underscore the complexities inherent in translating national cultural objectives into effective regional action, a challenge directly relevant to the East Java Regional Regulation.

While Law No. 5 of 2017 provides a comprehensive national strategy encompassing protection, development, utilization, and fostering of Cultural Advancement Objects (OPK), alongside strategic planning documents and a unified cultural data system, its emphasis on decentralization presents both opportunities and challenges. The delegation of political, fiscal, and administrative authorities aims to enhance public participation and local responsiveness. However, it concurrently faces "challenges of specific authority division, inter-level coordination mechanisms, as well as potential risks such as limited regional technical and managerial capacity, budget issues, weak accountability, and local elite domination (Haque, 2010; Tjahjanulin, 2011). Consequently, analyzing derivative regional regulations like East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024 necessitates scrutiny beyond mere formal alignment with superior norms. It is crucial to consider "how these norms are negotiated, translated, and implemented within the dynamic context of local political constellations, bureaucratic capacity, resource availability, and specific cultural norms and practices in East Jawa" (Muhlisin et al., 2025; Savirani & and Wardhani, 2022; Suaedi et al., 2023).

The literature on decentralization, as highlighted by Rohdewohld (2022), consistently points to an inherent "trade-off between granting greater regional autonomy (which can enhance responsiveness to local needs) and achieving national objectives (which demand policy coherence and minimum standards)." The East Java Regional Regulation exists at this nexus. Furthermore, there is a normative claim that this Regional Regulation is designed with the principle of "placing actors as subjects" in cultural advancement efforts, suggesting a commitment to active stakeholder involvement congruent with Law No. 5 of 2017 (Pratama et al., 2019). However, such claims warrant critical examination. The novelty of this research lies in its position as one of the initial in-depth, critical academic analyses of this newly enacted Regional Regulation,

employing a Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) approach and a cultural governance lens. This combination is infrequently applied to regional cultural policies in Indonesia. Furthermore, this study seeks to address the limited empirical and critical research on the regional implementation of Law No. 5 of 2017, specifically by focusing on the "policy on paper" as a fundamental analytical step before full-scale implementation.

This research primarily addresses the question: How does East Java Provincial Regulation No. 6 of 2024 concerning the Advancement of Regional Culture structure cultural governance at the provincial level, encompassing actor roles, coordination mechanisms, and advancement strategies? Implicitly, leveraging CPA, it will also interrogate how key concepts such as 'regional culture,' 'advancement,' 'cultural actor,' and 'participation' are defined and whose interests these definitions might serve.

The research adopts a Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) framework to address this question. Unlike traditional, positivistic policy analyses focused on technical efficiency, CPA posits that policies are not neutral but are "products of power contestations, ideologies, and social discourses" (Zhong & Park, 2023). CPA, therefore, aims to deconstruct underlying policy assumptions, identify beneficiaries and disadvantaged parties, and evaluate impacts on social justice and power relations (Zhong & Park, 2023). Utilizing analytical strategies including Context Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as per Hyatt (2013), Actor and Network Analysis, Rhetoric-Practice Gap Analysis, and Differential Impact Analysis, CPA is particularly pertinent for analyzing cultural policies, which are inherently laden with values, identities, and representations. This approach allows the research to transcend the formal objectives of the Regional Regulation, questioning, for instance, how "choices of language and framing within the Regional Regulation reflect or conceal specific ideologies" (Hyatt, 2013), and whether definitions like 'cultural actor' are inclusive or exclusive.

The overarching aim of this research is to analyze the structure, mechanisms, and substance of cultural governance embedded within East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024. It seeks to critically evaluate the Regional Regulation's potential to facilitate participatory, inclusive, and sustainable cultural advancement, while also identifying prospective implementation challenges and opportunities. Given the Regional Regulation's recent enactment in September 2024, this study provides a timely and critical initial assessment before its full implementation. The anticipated benefits are multifaceted: for governmental bodies in East Java, the analysis can offer critical insights for designing derivative regulations and more effective, participatory implementation strategies. For cultural practitioners, indigenous communities, civil society organizations, and academics, this research can foster a deeper understanding of the new legal framework, serving as a basis for advocacy and monitoring its implementation. Academically, this study is expected to enrich the literature on cultural policy and governance in Indonesia, particularly within the context of decentralization and the application of critical methodologies.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach grounded in a Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) framework to meticulously explore the intricate issues of cultural governance, the embedded meanings within policy texts, and their socio-political contexts. The CPA framework is specifically adopted to facilitate an analysis that is concurrently descriptive, evaluative, and critically engaged with the "assumptions, power dynamics, and impacts of policy" (Zhong & Park, 2023). The research design is primarily a document analysis, centering on the text of East Java Provincial Regulation (Perda) No. 6 of 2024 concerning the Advancement of Regional Culture, as the pivotal policy artifact.

The research design is primarily a document analysis, centering on the full official text of East Java Provincial Regulation No. 6 of 2024 concerning the Advancement of Regional Culture, promulgated on September 20, 2024, as the pivotal policy artifact. This replaces the initial analysis which was conducted based on partially available information prior to obtaining the complete document. Secondary data sources are comprehensive, encompassing Law No. 5 of 2017; reputable international peer-reviewed journal articles pertaining to the implementation of Law No. 5 of 2017 and broader cultural issues; and supporting data from credible media reports and news articles that provide context on the drafting process and initial substance of East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024. The principal data collection technique is an intensive document study of the Regional Regulation, Law No. 5 of 2017, and other pertinent documents. This is complemented by a systematic literature review aimed at synthesizing established theories, key concepts, and findings from prior research.

Data analysis techniques integrate qualitative methods as guided by the CPA framework. This includes Content Analysis to identify the regulatory structure and salient themes within the Regional Regulation. Subsequently, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied to scrutinize "how language within the Regional Regulation constructs social reality, power relations, and ideology," with particular attention to the representation of 'cultural actors,' 'participation,' 'regional culture,' and 'advancement' (Hyatt, 2013). Furthermore, a Comparative Analysis is conducted between the East Java Regional Regulation (based on the accessible data), the national Law No. 5 of 2017, and idealized principles of cultural governance. Core elements of CPA, such as contextualization and deconstruction, are systematically employed for a "critical evaluation of potential rhetoric-practice gaps and the differential impacts of the policy on various societal groups" (Zhong & Park, 2023), ensuring a robust and nuanced interpretation of the regulation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents an analysis of East Java Provincial Regulation (Perda) No. 6 of 2024 concerning the Advancement of Regional Culture, predicated on information accessible as of May 2025 and benchmarked against its parent legislation, Law No. 5 of 2017. The analysis delves into the substantive aspects of the Regional Regulation and offers a critical evaluation of its governance framework using a Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) approach.

Substantive Analysis of East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024

The foundational considerations underpinning East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024 explicitly recognize East Javanese culture as a crucial element of national wealth and identity, vital for advancing National Culture. There is a pronounced awareness of East Java's extensive cultural diversity, necessitating robust efforts in protection, development, utilization, and fostering, alongside an urgent need to establish a clear legal basis for cultural policy implementation at the provincial level. While specific objectives of this Regional Regulation were not detailed in the accessed sources, they are logically assumed to align with Law No. 5 of 2017, aiming to "strengthen cultural resilience, enhance East Java's cultural contributions nationally and internationally, and optimize Objects of Cultural Advancement (OPK) to support regional and national development goals" (Pratama et al., 2019). This alignment, as shown narratively in **Table 1** comparison, emphasizes East Java's specific cultural richness as the primary justification.

Regarding the Objects of Cultural Advancement (OPK), the Regional Regulation is to adopt all ten national categories stipulated in Law No. 5 of 2017, ranging from oral traditions and manuscripts to traditional sports (Saputra, 2024; Yunita et al., 2023). This comprehensive scope theoretically offers broad recognition of diverse cultural expressions in East Java. However, this extensiveness inherently presents a dilemma between the "breadth of recognition and the depth of intervention." The absence of definitive prioritization mechanisms or substantial resource allocation strategies, as highlighted by Rohdewohld (2022) in similar decentralization contexts, risks rendering cultural advancement efforts dispersive and less impactful for individual OPKs. Thus, a fundamental challenge for the Regional Regulation or its subsequent derivative regulations will be to delineate how the East Java Provincial Government intends to prioritize its 4P strategies (Protection, Development, Utilization, and Fostering) across numerous OPKs amidst factual resource limitations (Seila et al., 2025). This echoes the initial analysis **Table 1** that comprehensive OPK adoption necessitates careful provincial-level prioritization.

Regarding the Objects of Cultural Advancement (OPK), East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024 explicitly adopts the ten national categories stipulated in Law No. 5 of 2017, as detailed in Article 5 of the Regional Regulation. These include oral traditions, manuscripts, customs, rites, traditional knowledge, traditional technology, art, language, folk games, and traditional sports. This comprehensive adoption ensures a broad framework for recognizing diverse cultural expressions in East Java. While the Regional Regulation itself does not detail a specific methodology for prioritizing among these ten OPKs, Chapter IV concerning the Pokok Pikiran Kebudayaan Daerah (PPKD) or Regional Cultural Core Thoughts (Articles 13-16) outlines a crucial mechanism. The PPKD is to be formulated based on inputs from District/City PPKDs and involves a drafting team comprising various stakeholders, including experts and cultural practitioners (Article 14 paragraph 1, Article 15 paragraph 2). This document will contain "analysis and recommendations for the implementation of Cultural Advancement"

(Article 13 paragraph 3f), thereby serving as the primary instrument through which strategic priorities are likely to be identified and developed. Consequently, the challenge of effective cultural advancement shifts from a lack of a prioritization framework to the effective, participatory, and technically sound formulation and implementation of this PPKD amidst factual resource limitations (Rohdewohld, 2022; Seila et al., 2025).

Table 1

Comparison of Key Arrangements between Law Number 5 of 2017 and East Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2024

Regulatory Aspects	Regulation in Law Number 5 of 2017	Regulation in East Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2024	Analysis
Basis for Consideration and Objectives	Advancing national culture amidst world civilization, guaranteeing community freedom, increasing cultural resilience & cultural contribution.	East Java culture is part of the national wealth and identity. Its cultural diversity needs to be protected, developed, utilized, and fostered. This requires a legal basis and certainty.	Aligns with the spirit of the Law, but with an emphasis on the specific wealth and diversity context of East Java as the main justification.
Objects of Cultural Advancement (OPK)	10 OPK: Oral tradition, manuscripts, customs, rites, traditional knowledge, traditional technology, art, language, folk games, traditional sports.	Likely adopts the 10 national OPK, given that the Regional Regulation is derived from the Law. There is no explicit indication of a unique East Java OPK being formally added in the Regional Regulation yet.	Adoption of national OPK ensures a comprehensive framework but raises prioritization challenges at the provincial level (Insight 5).
Governance Actors & Roles	Central Government, Provincial Government, Regency/City Government, Community (including active roles in 4P).	East Java Provincial Government (central role in regulation), Regency/City Governments (implementation), Community/Cultural Actors (referred to as "subjects", active roles in 4P). Detailed regulation of the Regional Cultural Council is not yet clear.	The structure likely follows the Law, but effectiveness depends on the clarity of role division, coordination mechanisms, and the realization of the "actors as subjects" principle.
Advancement Strategy (4P)	Protection (Inventory, Security, Maintenance, Preservation, Publication); Development (Ecosystem, Improvement, Dissemination); Utilization (Ideology, Polesbudhankam, National	Likely adopts the 4P framework from the Law. The Regional Regulation aims to provide a legal basis for various policy efforts, strategies, and 4P programs in East Java.	Adoption of the 4P framework shows formal alignment. The challenge lies in translating these strategies into concrete programs suitable for the East Java context

	Goals); Cultivation (HR, Institutions, Norms).		and supported by adequate resources.
Funding	APBN, APBD, other legitimate sources.	It likely relies on Provincial APBD, Regency/City APBD, and other sources. The details of the allocation mechanism are not yet known.	Clarity of funding sources and allocation mechanisms is crucial for the sustainability of cultural advancement programs.
Community Participation	Encouraged in all aspects of Cultural Advancement.	Mentioned normatively (actors as subjects). Concrete forms of participation (consultation, proposals, implementation involvement) are not yet detailed in the available sources.	Potential gap between the rhetoric of the involvement and the actual mechanisms provided by the Regional Regulation. Requires in-depth analysis of the full text.
Data Collection	Integrated Cultural Data Collection System at the national level (Zulkifli & Azhari, 2018)	Possibility of setting up a similar data collection system at the provincial level to support the implementation of the Regional Regulation. Details of the system and accessibility are not yet known.	Good data collection systems are essential for evidence-based planning, but their implementation requires technical capacity and commitment.

Source: Law Number 5 Year 2017 and East Java Regional Regulation Number 6 Year 2024 processed by researchers, 2025

In terms of governance mechanisms, East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024 positions the Provincial Government as the central actor with extensive duties and authorities (Articles 6, 7). These include guaranteeing freedom of expression, implementing cultural advancement, managing the Regional Cultural Database, providing cultural facilities and infrastructure, organizing cultural activities, ensuring funding sources, and notably, "forming mechanisms for community involvement" (Article 6i) and "encouraging the active role and initiative of Every Person, Cultural Institutions, and all elements of society" (Article 6j). District/City governments are involved through the requirement that the Provincial PPKD be based on their respective PPKDs (Article 14 paragraph 1), and the Provincial Government has the authority to monitor and evaluate cultural advancement at the district/city level (Article 7 paragraph 1c). A significant development confirmed by the full text is the mandated establishment of a Dewan Kebudayaan atau Dewan Kesenian Daerah (Regional Cultural Council or Arts Council - DKD) by the Governor (Article 21 paragraph 1). This DKD is defined as a partner to the Provincial Government, tasked with providing recommendations and/or considerations in the formulation and implementation of cultural advancement policies and programs (Article 1 paragraph 15, Article 21 paragraphs 2, 3), and is also an element in the PPKD drafting team (Pasal 15 paragraph 2b). The term "Setiap Orang" (Every Person/Entity),

defined broadly in Article 1 ayat 21, is granted rights such as expressing culture and accessing cultural data (Article 17) and is assigned obligations to support cultural advancement (Article 18). Thus, the normative claim of "placing actors as subjects" (Rick, 2024) finds stronger textual support, although the detailed operationalization of broader public participatory mechanisms beyond the DKD and PPKD formulation will largely depend on subsequent Governor's Regulations.

The Regional Regulation is intended to adopt the four main cultural advancement strategies from Law No. 5 of 2017: Protection, Development, Utilization, and Fostering. For instance, Protection would entail inventorying OPK via an integrated data system, safeguarding against degradation, preserving values, rescuing through revitalization, and publicizing (Pratama et al., 2019; Zulkifli & Azhari, 2018). Development would focus on revitalizing cultural ecosystems and fostering innovation. Utilization aims to optimize OPK contributions to sectors like Pancasila ideology reinforcement and creative economy. Fostering targets human resource capacity and institutional strengthening. The essential challenge lies in translating these strategic mandates into measurable, context-specific programs backed by adequate resources (Pratama et al., 2019).

Funding for cultural advancement, as stipulated in East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024, is sourced from the Regional Budget (APBD) and/or "other legitimate and non-binding sources under statutory provisions" (Article 24). The Regional Regulation aims to provide "legal certainty for the financing of Cultural Advancement" (Article 4k), and tasks the Provincial Government with "providing funding sources for Cultural Advancement" (Article 6h) and grants it the authority to "formulate and establish funding mechanisms in Cultural Advancement" (Article 7 ayat 1e). However, the Regional Regulation itself does not specify detailed allocation mechanisms, priority criteria for budgeting, or distribution schemes between provincial and district/city levels, nor accountability measures for fund usage beyond general governmental procedures. These crucial specifics are likely to be elaborated in the subsequent Governor's Regulation or through annual budgetary policies, making their clarity and sustainability critical determinants for the scale and impact of cultural programs.

Funding is anticipated from provincial and district/city APBD (Regional Budgets) and other legitimate sources. However, specifics on budgeting mechanisms, priority allocation, distribution schemes, and accountability remain unidentified. Clarity and sustainability in funding are critical determinants for the scale and impact of cultural programs.

To support implementation, East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024 mandates the establishment of a "Pangkalan Data Kebudayaan Daerah" (Regional Cultural Database) by the Provincial Government (Article 20 paragraph 1). This database is intended to support the national Integrated Cultural Data System in the execution of Cultural Advancement (Article 20 paragraph 1). It will contain, at a minimum, data concerning Objects of Cultural Advancement, Cultural Human Resources, Cultural Institutions, Cultural Norms, Cultural Facilities and Infrastructure, and other culture-related data (Article 20 paragraph 2). The Regional Regulation requires this database to

be updated and validated at least once a year with the involvement of expert teams competent in cultural fields (Article 20 paragraphs 3, 4). Significantly, it is stipulated that this Regional Cultural Database "can be easily accessed by the public" (Article 20 paragraph 6), which is crucial for transparency and evidence-based policymaking. Further provisions regarding the establishment of this database are to be regulated in a Governor's Regulation (Article 20 paragraph 7), highlighting the need for investment in technology and human resources for its development and maintenance (Zulkifli & Azhari, 2018).

Public participation is strongly emphasized throughout East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024. The principle of "participatory" (*partisipatif*) is listed as one of the bases for cultural advancement (Article 2e), with its official explanation highlighting the involvement of "the active role of Every Person both directly and indirectly". The Provincial Government is explicitly tasked with "forming mechanisms for community involvement" (Article 6i) and "encouraging the active role and initiative of Every Person, Cultural Institutions, and all elements of society" (Article 6j). A concrete institutional form of participation is the mandated establishment of the Regional Cultural Council (DKD) (Article 21), which includes elements from society and serves as a partner providing recommendations to the Governor (Article 1 paragraph 15, Article 15 paragraph 2, Article 21). Furthermore, "Setiap Orang" (Every Person/Entity) is granted rights to express culture, manage their ethnic identity's values, appreciate Indonesian culture, and access cultural data and information (Article 17), and bears obligations to support cultural advancement efforts (Article 18). While these provisions provide a robust normative and institutional foundation for participation, significantly more so than initially assumed (Rick, 2024), the detailed operational mechanisms for broader, day-to-day public engagement beyond the DKD or the formulation of the PPKD are not exhaustively detailed in the Regional Regulation itself. The effectiveness of wider participation will thus largely depend on how these mechanisms are designed and implemented through the forthcoming Governor's Regulation, ensuring they are definitive, inclusive, and genuinely influential.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): Constructing 'Cultural Advancement' and 'Cultural Actor'

A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024 reveals how key concepts are constructed, potentially shaping the implementation and impact of cultural policies. The Regional Regulation preamble ("*Menimbang*" huruf a) frames "kebudayaan Jawa Timur" (East Javanese culture) as "a part of the nation's wealth and identity, crucial for advancing National Culture" and as a "driving force in national development based on Pancasila". This framing, while positive in asserting cultural significance, warrants scrutiny. Does "wealth" lean towards economic exploitation (e.g., for tourism, as suggested by Hyatt (2013)), or is it primarily valued intrinsically for its contribution to identity and national development? The Regional Regulation defines "Kebudayaan" (Culture) itself in Article 1 paragraph 6 as "everything related to the creation, taste, intention, and works of the East Javanese society as a

reflection of values, views of life, and community identity, obtained from processes of inheritance, habituation, and learning". This definition is broad, encompassing both tangible and intangible aspects, but its emphasis on "East Javanese society" might require further examination regarding the representation of diverse sub-cultures within East Java mentioned in the Regional Regulation "Penjelasan Umum" (General Elucidation).

"Pemajuan Kebudayaan" (Cultural Advancement) is defined in Article 1 paragraph 5 as "efforts to enhance the resilience and contribution of East Javanese culture amidst world civilization through the protection, development, utilization, and fostering of culture". This definition is action-oriented and aligns with national law, but the emphasis on "resilience" and "contribution to world civilization" could prioritize certain cultural forms over others deemed less "resilient" or "contributive" on a global scale. The term 'cultural actor' is not explicitly defined, but "Setiap Orang" (Every Person/Entity) is defined in Article 1 paragraph 21 as "individuals, groups of people, communities, incorporated business entities, and/or unincorporated business entities." This broad definition is then used in Articles 17 and 18 outlining rights and obligations related to culture. While seemingly inclusive, the CPA approach (Zhong & Park, 2023; Hyatt, 2013) necessitates an ongoing critical assessment of whether implementation practices ensure that all these varied "Setiap Orang"—including independent artists, indigenous communities, grassroots cultural groups, and informal creative workers (Cerisola & Panzera, 2022; Marx, 2019, 2020)—are equally recognized and empowered, or if established institutions and more formal entities become the *de facto* primary beneficiaries and participants. The discourse of 'participation,' linked to the "asas partisipatif" (Article 2e) and its elucidation which states it involves "the active role of Every Person whether directly or indirectly", needs deeper analysis in practice: Is it constructed as an empowering right, a civic duty, a voluntary contribution, or an instrument to legitimize state-led initiatives? The answer to this, as reflected in the forthcoming Governor's Regulation, will profoundly shape participatory mechanisms.

The implicit or explicit definition of 'cultural actor' within the Regional Regulation is paramount, as it dictates who is deemed legitimate to participate and benefit. Analysis is needed to determine if this definition is sufficiently broad to encompass independent artists, indigenous communities, grassroots cultural groups, and informal creative workers, beyond established institutions (Cerisola & Panzera, 2022; Marx, 2019, 2020). CPA, as outlined by Zhong & Park (2023) and Hyatt (2013), cautions against potential exclusions based on gender, age, ethnicity, geographic location, or type of cultural practice. The discourse of 'participation' itself requires deconstruction: Is it framed as a citizen's right, a moral obligation, a voluntary contribution, or merely an instrument for legitimizing government policy? The construction of this concept directly influences the design and implementation of participatory mechanisms.

Synchronization, Potential Frictions, and Implementation Context

Effective implementation of East Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2024 necessitates robust synchronization and coordination. The Regional Regulation itself lays

a normative foundation for this through the "asas keterpaduan" (principle of integration/cohesion) (Article 2i), which its elucidation explains as Cultural Advancement being "implemented in a connected and coordinated manner across sectors, across regions, and stakeholders". Furthermore, Chapter VI on "Kerja Sama Daerah" (Regional Cooperation) (Article 19) explicitly allows the Provincial Government to cooperate with other regional governments, cultural institutions, educational institutions, foreign entities, community organizations, and relevant business entities. This cooperation can cover a wide range of activities, including education, training, scholarships, research, and cultural diplomacy. However, while these provisions establish a legal basis for collaboration and the Provincial Government is tasked with monitoring and evaluating cultural advancement at the District/City level (Article 7 paragraph 1c), the Regional Regulation does not explicitly detail specific day-to-day operational coordination mechanisms or mandatory inter-OPD (Regional Government Apparatus Organizations) forums. The lack of such explicit mechanisms for routine vertical and horizontal coordination, often highlighted as a challenge in decentralized systems (Rohdewohld, 2022), could lead to program overlaps, resource competition, or policy conflicts if not meticulously addressed in practice or through the forthcoming Governor's Regulation.

Cultural advancement policy also requires coherence with other sectors, including education, tourism, creative economy, and spatial planning (Engstrom & Mahmoud, 2024; Lee, 2015; Lehman et al., 2017). The Regional Regulation must therefore anticipate and, through its implementation, actively foster this cross-sectoral coordination. Moreover, potential friction may arise between the Provincial Government's strategic directives, even if informed by the PPKD, and organic, bottom-up initiatives from local cultural communities. The Regional Regulation, through its emphasis on participation (Article 2e, Article 6i, Article 21), provides openings, but creating genuinely dialogic spaces for negotiation between top-down and bottom-up approaches will be crucial. Ultimately, the entire implementation context is now heavily contingent upon the substance, quality, and participatory nature of the comprehensive Governor's Regulation mandated by Article 26, which must be issued within six months of the Regional Regulations and will consolidate the detailed execution of its various provisions.

Table 2

Critical Analysis Matrix of Governance in East Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2024

Ideal Governance Principles	Regulations in East Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2024	Critical Analysis (Potential/Strength)	Critical Analysis (Limitations/Weaknesses/Risks)
Participation	- Participatory Principle (Article 2e) & Elucidation	- Strong normative recognition of participation.	- Risk of tokenistic participation if broader public engagement mechanisms beyond DKD/PPKD are not clearly defined, inclusive, and

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The provincial government's task is to form a mechanism for community involvement (Article 6i) - Formation of the Regional Cultural Council (DKD) (Article 21) - Involvement of DKD & experts/cultural figures in the PPKD Drafting Team (Article 15) - Rights & Obligations of Every Person (Articles 17, 18) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mandated the establishment of DKD as a formal participatory body. - Structured involvement of stakeholders in PPKD formulation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> influential in the Governor's Regulation. - Potential for elite capture within DKD or PPKD formulation if processes are not transparent and representative.
Inclusivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principles of Diversity, Locality, Equality (Article 2b, c, j) & Elucidations - Scope of 10 National OPK (Article 5) - Objectives of protecting diversity & regional identity (Article 4b, c) - Definition of "Every Person" (Article 1 paragraph 21) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formal recognition of broad cultural diversity through OPK adoption. - Normative commitment to local characteristics and equality. - Broad definition of who can be a cultural actor ("Setiap Orang"). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Risk of marginalizing certain sub-cultures or non-mainstream OPKs if PPKD formulation and subsequent resource allocation do not ensure transparent prioritization and affirmative mechanisms. - Challenge of ensuring equitable benefits and representation for all defined "Setiap Orang," particularly informal or less organized groups.
Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Principle of Sustainability (Article 2g) & Elucidation - The existence of a formal legal basis (the Regional Regulation itself) - The purpose of providing legal certainty for financing (Article 4k) - The provincial government's task is to provide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provides a legal basis for long-term programs and budget allocation. - Explicit aim for legal certainty in funding. - The principle of sustainability includes the regeneration of cultural human resources. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Heavily dependent on consistent and adequate APBD commitment, which can be politically volatile. - Lack of specific mechanisms in the Regional Regulation for diverse and innovative funding beyond APBD. - Requires a long-term vision that fosters adaptation and innovation, not just static preservation; details depend on the Governor's Regulation and PPKD implementation.

	funding sources (Article 6h) - Funding sources from the APBD & other sources (Article 24)		
Transparency	- Everyone has the right to access cultural data & information (Article 17e) - Regional Cultural Databases can be easily accessed by the public (Article 20 paragraph 6)	- Mandated public access to the Regional Cultural Database is a positive step. - General right to cultural information established.	- Regional Regulation itself lacks explicit mechanisms for transparency in planning, budgeting processes (beyond general APBD transparency rules), and program evaluation beyond data access. - Effectiveness relies on the actual ease of access and comprehensiveness of the cultural database.
Accountability	- Administrative sanctions for violators of obligations (Article 25) - Obligation of the Provincial Government to prepare and implement gubernatorial regulations within 6 months (Article 26 paragraph 2) - Monitoring & Evaluation of PPKD (Article 16)	- Administrative sanctions for non- compliance by "Setiap Orang" regarding their obligations. - Timeline for follow-up on Governor's Regulation. - Provision for PPKD.	- Regional Regulation lacks explicit mechanisms for performance accountability of the Provincial Government (implementing agencies) to the public or DPRD, specifically for cultural advancement programs. - Effectiveness of PPKD depends on its actual implementation and public reporting.
Cross-Sector & Inter- Governmental Coordination	- Principle of Integration (Article 2i) & Elucidation - Authority of the Provincial Government to monitor & evaluate Districts/Cities (Article 7 paragraph 1c) - Regional Cooperation (Article 19)	- Principle of integration explicitly stated. - Legal basis for cooperation with various entities, including other government levels.	- Risk of overlap/conflict if operational vertical & horizontal coordination mechanisms (e.g., regular inter-OPD forums, clear protocols with districts/cities) are not strongly established in the Governor's Regulation or practice. - Requires proactive efforts to ensure synergy with other key sectors (education, tourism, etc.), not just formal agreements.

Source: Critical Analysis of Governance in East Java Regional Regulation Number 6
Year 2024 processed by researchers, 2025

The success of the Regional Regulation is heavily contingent upon the institutional readiness of implementing bodies, particularly the Provincial Culture and Tourism Office and its district/city counterparts. As Rohdewohld (2022) emphasizes,

human resource capacity—encompassing technical, managerial, and cultural competencies—alongside adequate budgetary provisions and supporting infrastructure, are crucial determinant. The capacity and independence of any established Regional Cultural Council will also be pivotal. East Java's local political dynamics, including executive-legislative relations and the influence of various interest groups, can significantly shape resource allocation priorities and the direction of policy implementation (Bagijo et al., 2024). Given this complexity, the active role of civil society, academia, media, and cultural communities in monitoring, providing critical input, and advocating for a participatory and accountable implementation of the Regional Regulation will be indispensable for achieving its objectives optimally.

The theoretical implications of this research contribute to the understanding of regional cultural policy formulation and its potential governance challenges within Indonesia's decentralized context, particularly through the application of CPA. Practically, this analysis offers critical insights for the East Java Provincial Government and relevant stakeholders in refining derivative regulations, guiding the Regional Regulation's implementation strategy, and informing evidence-based advocacy to ensure that the advancement of culture is genuinely inclusive, participatory, and sustainable.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on a comprehensive Critical Policy Analysis of the complete text of East Java Provincial Regulation No. 6 of 2024, this study concludes that the regulation successfully establishes a robust legal and strategic framework for advancing regional culture. It formally adopts national cultural advancement paradigms, mandates the formation of a Regional Cultural Council (DKD), and underscores the centrality of the Regional Cultural Core Thoughts (PPKD) in guiding strategic priorities, with the Provincial Government assigned a pivotal regulatory role and community participation normatively enshrined through various articles. However, the analysis reveals that the practical realization of genuinely participatory, inclusive, and sustainable cultural governance is now profoundly contingent upon the substance, transparency in formulation, and meticulous detail of a single, comprehensive Governor's Regulation, which Pasal 26 of the Regional Regulation mandates to consolidate the execution of its diverse provisions. Crucial operational specifics—including detailed mechanisms for broader public engagement beyond the DKD and PPKD processes, explicit inter-agency and inter-governmental coordination protocols, criteria for funding allocation, and the technical execution of the 4P (Protection, Development, Utilization, Fostering) strategies—are largely deferred to this forthcoming gubernatorial decree. Therefore, while the Regional Regulation provides a significant and more detailed foundation than initially assessable, its ultimate transformative potential for East Java's rich cultural tapestry hinges critically on the quality, accountability, and participatory development and implementation of this subsequent, all-encompassing Governor's Regulation.

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