

The last royal address of Mangkunagara VII: Politics of civility in the center of the classic princedom



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Abstract This study scrutinized a text titled Royal Address of the Mangkunegara VII (ruler of the Mangkunegaran Princedom 1916-1944) to find remarks regarding civility politics. This ethical discourse reflects a culturally based radical democratic behavior. This article gives a historical-political framework may invigorate the theory that poststructuralist agencies were driven to promote ethnic nationalism through radical democracy. The radical democracy is distinguished by its emphasis on freedom, community ties, and a sense of equality. In the form of a unified Javanese nation that maintains nobility equally, the most profound structure of the Royal Addresses—namely, the fatalistic transcendence of agency and the immanence of society—is reconciled through ethnic characteristics. The discourse on traditional values manifesto presents the politics of civility as a way to bring society together on numerous fronts. The processes in the methodological scheme were as follows: 1) inferential analysis of documents to get assertions of traditional cultural values; 2) interpretation of those statements based on the notion of radical democracy; and 3) provision of a political-historical intertextual framework to reinforce the discourse's speculation. The structural discoveries in radical democracy-framed civility politics are organized into two political strands and one reconciliation. The First, the quasiright wing: nobility (paragraphs 2 and 11), loyalty (3), unity in community (3, 6, and 15), living in peace (10), collaboration (12), dedication (13), and exemplary (14). The second, quasi left-wing: equality (3); freedom in honesty and candor (paragraphs 8 and 9). The third, the reconciliation of populism and fatalism in the Javanese nationalism discourse.

Keywords: civility, radical democracy, poststructuralist agency, ethnic nationalism

1. Introduction

Indonesia is currently in a political year with the general election to elect senators and presidents, February 14, 2024. This event, as usual, has attracted the attention of social and political pundits and researchers. Instead of being a democratic party, things that are in the spotlight include the spread of hate speech and other disrespectful behavior with the aim of polarizing (Santoro et al., 2023). Several Indonesian and global newspapers reported on the phenomenon of incivility and were concerned about this situation. This is exacerbated by the low civility of Indonesian society, as shown by the Digital Civility Index (Putra et al., 2023) (Gloria, 2022).

The same thing also happens in other parts of the world. Reuters highlight that most American societies are less civilized than they were a decade ago. The Reuters poll results partly blamed social media (29%), and most others blamed public officials (<https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/civility-is-decline-aba-civics-poll-finds-2023-04-27/>, seen 5 November 2023). In fact, there are several similar concerns, but there is something interesting about the poll results. Social media and public officials are ontologically and substantively different entities. Social media objectively represents immanent reality as the reality of the interaction of various subjects. On the other hand, elites or public officials represent agencies or masters who, on the one hand, are the center of ontological entity movement, as well as the makers of change. Another rather extreme example of the connection between speech topics and politeness/impoliteness was shown by Nancy Pelosi tearing up Trump's speech. Trump's political opponents praised him, but his supporters stated that the act was evil and disrespectful (Bardon et al., 2023).

The relationship between democratic practices and incivility has attracted the attention of scholars, as shown by several articles (van Elsas & Fiselier, 2023); (Olaf van der Veen, 2023), which highlight the role of political elites, who tend to polarize or divide. Meanwhile, the link between democratic practice—symbolized by general elections—and the objective structure of



interaction and the role of agencies (elites) in mitigating divisions in society has not yet been discovered. Therefore, this research attempts to fill this gap, especially by exploring the theory of elite objectification in a region very far from the center of the modern world. Our agency is not a governmental official but rather a representative of a longstanding traditional way of life that endures to the present day. According to old Eastern beliefs, an individual is selected to govern society, similar to a godly force, as if they were intended to be among them. The character of our story is Adipati Mangkunagara VII, the sovereign of the Duchy of Mangkunegaran, a petite castle located in Surakarta, Indonesia. This object holds significance both as a royal address and as a customary tool in political conduct at a historic governmental site. Palaces in Java are commonly associated with aristocracy and feudalism. This essay highlights the notion that the stigma remains somewhat incomprehensible.

The research questions asked the following: 1) How is the politics of civility embodied through the words of Dalem Mangkunegara VII (a poststructural agency), and what is the historical context, was expected to guide the exploration and description of the facts surrounding the practice of radical democracy in Java? This reflection work was prompted by the current state of civility, which is in decline, particularly during this electoral year, the year preceding the general election. The same predicament, probably even more terrible, exists in the context of political upheaval caused by colonialism's dominance. This article contains results on cultural values practiced in volatile settings requiring political views. This practical portrayal of democracy at the core of classical governance is not designed to teach ducks to swim; rather, it is intended to illustrate a different environment than what people do in industrial North nations. Third-country histories and linkages to democratic practices may be valuable to Western cultures. Radical democracy is only a Western concept whose substance accidentally mirrors that of Eastern civilization.

2. Contribution

This research generally aimed to find ideas on how an agency plays a role in overcoming constraints. In this case, the obstacle explored was the colonial situation, whereas the contemporary anachronistic situation was the situation of national division due to political activities. The final part of this article emphasizes that the agency was sowing the seeds of nationalism, unity on a country scale with an open state ideology. This finding is different from that of Kaul (Kaul & Kannangara, 2023), who suggested the formation of local political identity at the village scale, and Cheang & Choy (2023), who reported that Singapore is a developed country but tends to be a closed shop.

If it is called an awareness movement, then the target readers of this article are elites (political and public figures) and academics in the political, social and cultural fields, with the hope that the research findings have the potential to become known to the wider community. This article is expected to contribute: 1) practically as a critique of the political behavior of contemporary Eastern society; 2) pragmatically confirming the choice of a graceful political ideology; and 3) methodologically, it is a reminder of the idea of the politicization of civility in the past, which might inspire the contemporary political situation.

3. Materials and methods

To answer these research problems, this article featured key data in the form of the Sabda Pangandikadalem Sampeyandalem Mangkoenagaran-Ko Mangkungara VII, also known as the Mangkunegara VII Royal Address. The Mangkunegaran Palace Library owns the text The Address. Document research, such as the strategy presented by Hani Morgan (Morgan, 2022), aims to gain an overview of potentially disparate community groupings. This text was used as a unit of observation to elicit statements indicating radical democratic discourse practices. The material was organized paragraph by paragraph, beginning with the first and ending with the final (paragraph 15). These claims served as the foundation for the claim that radical democratic behaviors emerged following the discovery of freedom, equality, and community relations. The establishment of the origins of the Javanese nationalist movement (ethnic nationalism) as a rhetoric advanced by Sri Mangkunagara VII strengthened this assertion. Ethnic nationalism is a national tie that is inherited rather than chosen (Hoffman & Graham, 2013). All of the declarations that follow will serve as the foundation for identifying the form and purpose of a poststructuralist agency that proposes a new politics known as politics of civility.

The requirement to establish the historical backdrop of the sociopolitical instability scenario that underpins these discursive activities is a crucial methodological consideration. As a result, this intertextual research was conducted as a literature review. This intertextual analysis aims to provide further support for the claim that radical democratic practices were prevalent in Java during the mid-20th century, when it was the seat of the classical Javanese government. Additionally, it seeks to uncover information that sheds light on the influence of Adipati Mangkunagara VII and his ability to shape political attitudes in Java during that period.

Thematic material is required to support the discursive conclusion that Mangkunagara VII played a crucial role in the revolt against foreign dominance. Sabda Dalem on March 9, 1944 (originally written as March 9, 2604, Japanese year) was the primary source. The Royal Address was regarded as an original remark that had been recorded so that the public was aware of it. Because this is a cultural studies project, the author was not constrained by methodological rigidity.

The following are some terminological and theoretical interpretations. Sabda Pangandikadalem, often known as Sabda Dalem, is derived from the terms sabda and dalem. In Javanese, sabda means "pronunciation or speech" (Poerwadarminta,

1939), and *dalem* denotes "... a term for people who have royal blood; *raja*," which is commonly taken as a charismatic leader such as a king (James W, Elston D, 20 C.E.). This term has been included in the Indonesian language, denoting 'word' (for God, prophet, king, etc.)' (<https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/sabda>, seen November 5, 2023). Because it is related to the level of God or prophet, the word *sabda* in Indonesia means sacred discourse. This idea corresponds to the meaning of the *sabda dalem* (royal address). The words or pronouncements of a traditional community leader or ruler are as sacred as the words of God or a prophet because a monarch is thought to be God's representative on earth because he has received insights such as a prophet (Anderson in Holt, 2007). This approach highlights the presence of transcendental aspects in a traditional leader's position.

The Royal Address, a customary tool, has historically served to convey significant matters. It goes beyond mere commands, functioning as a discourse that demands the attention of the people, particularly family and palace officials. This is considered significant since both families and palace staff have active social lives, which means that whatever knowledge they acquire within the palace will eventually be disseminated to the public. Consequently, this crucial element is synonymous with communication directed toward the broader society. Thus, the immanence component is considered, particularly when examining the Royal Address, which acknowledges the presence of many societal factors that exhibit disparities.

The transcendental and immanence components are considered the deepest structure that is paradoxical, as they have become the structural approach's guiding foundation. Furthermore, this study tries to elicit a reconciliatory assertion from this structure, namely, that the political discourse of civility—politeness; act of politeness (Ostler, 1987)—will be the focal point of middle-ground activity. The middle way is often a typical poststructural approach in which the subject who supports change in the form of political action connected to participatory public space is at the center of attention, and the key phrase is discourse ethics. The poststructuralist approach seeks to recreate the structure to demonstrate another rationality. In this study, the poststructural approach was offered as a hermeneutic instrument for eliciting meaning as well as a thinking style for providing an ontological identity (Rae, 2020).

Discourse ethics are argumentative procedural principles that aid in the formation of a noncoercive 'rational consensus' on moral standards (Martin, 2009). The practice of radical democracy is the arena in which this intermediate path emerges. Radical democracy is a state or position in which people grasp and realize the notion and realization of equality, freedom, and democratic society, as well as how radical democratic culture is produced through a network structure (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007). Obviously, this piece does not share the same concerns about democracy failing to become a viable option (Santoro et al., 2023; Howarth & Roussos, 2023).

In terms of its qualities, radical democracy is frequently associated with the speech or rhetoric of an autonomous society. In this sense, the growth of radical democratic behaviors, although in the form of rhetoric, might be considered a consequence. Furthermore, discursive claims as radical democratic practices evolve via influential individuals. This topic emerges in Poster's theory (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007) because of the requirement for a leader (master) as a regulator where discourse production happens. Given the subject's level of leadership, Prince Mangkunegara VII, as the head of the extended Mangkunegaran family, deserves to be referred to as a master. There has been a dual connection to this point: 1) As a cause factor, the volatile circumstances spark civility politics as a form of radical democratic movement; 2) as an impact element, the practice of radical democracy sparks inquiry about ethnic nationalist speech. According to Matteo Bonotti and Steven Zech, civility is modular, distinguishing right and wrong in terms of good and bad (moral) (Bardon et al., 2023; Bonotti & Zech, 2021).

Examining the concept of civility as a way of thought, it becomes evident that it represents a political approach aimed at fostering harmony among democratic and/or republican forces, given that civility is seen as well-behaved conduct. Civility encompasses two perspectives simultaneously: the fundamental essence of democracy (exemplified by good manners in society) and the republican viewpoint (where civility is regarded as a conservative legacy, equivalent to virtue).

4. Results

4.1. Civility in Mangkunegara VII's Royal Address

(Royal Address Mangkunegara VII is a pocket book with dimensions of 10.2 cm × 16.2 cm produced by Percetakan Persatoean (See Figure 1). The publishing year of this book is listed as '04. The accurate date, as indicated on the cover, is March 9, 1944, when Mangkunegara VII's speech in *Sabda Dalem* was delivered. This book has the primary text of Mangkunegara VII's speech regarding the founding of the Duchy of Mangkunegaran (Mangkunegaran-Ko) as a Unity of Service (*Hokokai*). It does not include any further material. Mangkunegara governed the Mangkunegaran duchy for a period of 28 years, from 1916–1944 (Florida, 2018). He passed away on July 19, 1944. *Sabda Dalem* (Royal Address) was delivered on 9 March 1944, which was four months prior to his death.

This book is 10 pages long and has 15 paragraphs of content. The declarations pertaining to civility that are encompassed within the text are displayed in Table 1.

Therefore, 9 discursive statements exist, each of which may be construed as civility discourse: 1) nobility (paragraphs 2 and 11); 2) loyalty (paragraph 3); 3) equality (paragraph 3); 4) unity in community (paragraphs 3, 6, and 15); 5) freedom in honesty and straightforwardness (paragraphs 8 and 9); 6) peacefulness of life; 7) cooperation (paragraph 12); 8) dedication (paragraph 13); and 9) exemplary conduct (paragraph 14).

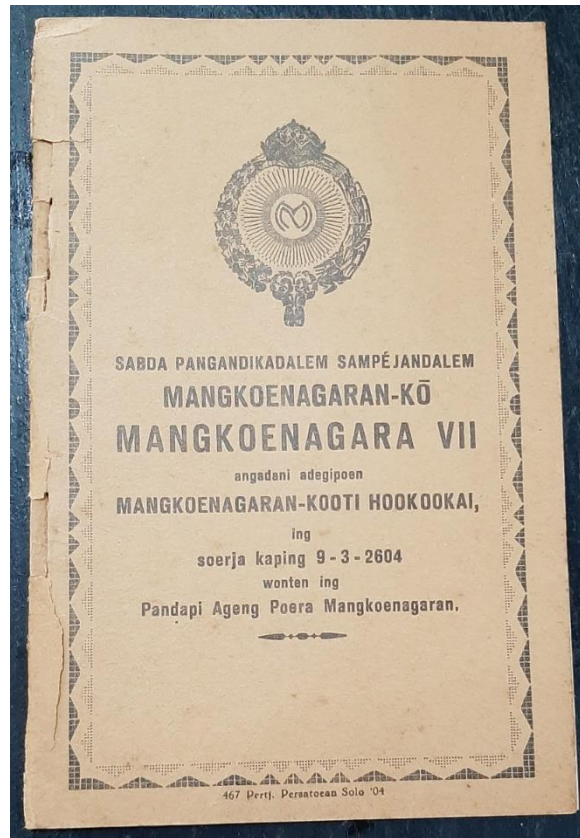


Figure 1 Cover of the Mangkunegara VII Royal Address.

Table 1 Statement of Values in the Royal Address of Mangkunegara VII.

Paragraph Number	Statement(s)	Indication of Civility
1	<p>Praja Mangkunagaran mboten tuwuh saking derenging karsa, ingkang mijil saking angkara-murka dhateng kawibawan utawi kawiryen, ananging tuwuhipun mijil saking adrenging karsa anggenipun sumedya males kukum, jalaran ingkang Rama tanpa dosa kapatrapan nampeni pidana paukuman ingkang sakalangkung awrat.</p> <p>The Mangkunegaran Princedom's pursuit of liberation did not stem from a thirst for power or avarice, but rather from a profound need for vengeance due to the horrific punishment inflicted upon his father unjustly, without any wrongdoing (See Figure 2).</p>	<p>Reflective discourse (transcendence) that the liberty of the Mangkunegaran Princedom (Mangkunegaran-Ko) was based on the desire for revenge.</p> <p>Remark: Mangkunagara I's father (founder of the Mangkunegaran Princedom) was punished severely without any sin (Remmelink, 2002). Justice is a part of nobility.</p>
2	<p>The establishment of the Mangkunegaran Princedom was the result of a struggle for justice. Advocating for justice is an integral aspect of a virtuous disposition. Thus, it may be claimed that nobility (bebuden luhur) was the reason behind Mangkunegaran's birth. Nobility should be seen as a basic (naluri) value by everybody (page 2).</p>	<p>Justice is a part of nobility.</p>
3	<p>During the conflict (ing palagan), Mangkunagara I received assistance from his extremely devoted followers (susetya) in creating Mangkunegaran. These devoted companions bolstered the Mangkunegaran Princedom, which increased in size. The idea of reciprocal loyalty underpins the egalitarian mindset that regards Mangkunegaran as a home for a large family (satunggal brayat) in both pleasure and grief (pages 2 and 3). Aside from loyalty, another virtue is nunggil laras (unity of feeling).</p> <p>Mangkunagara VII also reminded Mangkunagara I's dynamic and progress-yearning nature (kagungan watak dinamis sarta sarta remen dhateng kemajengan, page 3). As a result, the family tone that should be formed is not the same as it was 200 years ago during the conflict. The familial tone that should be fostered is especially in spiritual things (babagan rohani). Spiritual matters (babag ruchani) and unity of feeling (nunggil laras) are owned not only by members of kinship (mboten kenging mligi ngengeti dhateng kadang</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the Mangkunegaran independence fight, mutual loyalty and equality were established as fundamental ideals. • Community unity: the Mangkunegaran extended family should be developed not just through genetics (transcendence) but also through shared thoughts and spirit.

4	<p>kadeyan ingkang kabekta saking nunggil turunan) but also by relatives who share the same thoughts (nunggil pamanggih) and spirit (nunggil semangat). In a large family, the presence of a family authority (pengajeng brayat) is an ideal destiny. In spiritual matters, it is the chief of the family's noble duty to reconcile numerous differences. (page 4).</p>	<p>Destiny instills in leaders the spiritual duty to reconcile a multitude of distinctions.</p>
5	<p>The Mangkunegaran family is overjoyed to have clear-cut leaders or guidance. Because of the will of destiny, and not anyone's will, a leader exists (page 5).</p>	<p>Fatalism: Destiny has ensured the existence of leaders and life principles among the (Javanese) people.</p>
6	<p>By "guidance," one does not refer to a despot or monarch whose rule is dictated by his own needs. A leader and his people are inseparable. The leader embodies the visage, while the people represent the body (pramoda wadananipun, kawula ingkang mangka sariranipun). This creates a state of unity between the leader and the people (nunggil raos) (page 5).</p>	<p>Community ties: unity between family leaders and the people (family members).</p>
7	<p>A smart leader never takes major decisions based only on his own desires. Before making a decision, a leader must consult the state machinery, as well as the people, in order to win their hearts (supados saged mendhet manahipun para kawula) (page 6).</p>	<p>Populism: A leader cannot conceivably make decisions only for the sake of pleasing the people. People are free, but leaders are not.</p>
8	<p>A leader's vital task is to convey desires to government officials openly yet honestly and directly (mboten kanthi dipun sasabi), articulating what the people want. The government executive then effectively implements the will of the people (page 6).</p>	<p>The head of the Mangkunegaran family is tasked for presenting ambitions to the government in a free, honest, and transparent manner.</p>
9	<p>You are all subject to the Mangkunegaran family, a nobility-based family. Freedom must be built on the same ideas and will as nobility. Never think Praja Mangkunegaran is a market, a place to purchase and sell (as freely as possible). On the other hand, everyone under the Mangkunegaran Princedom should feel like they are part of a big family (page 7)</p>	<p>Responsible freedom: freedom must be based on nobility.</p>
10	<p>The Javanese people have a character that is prepared to sacrifice for the good of the community and live in harmony. That is the character I requested to be built (page 7).</p>	<p>Peaceful living.</p>
11	<p>We admire the lofty aspirations of the Japanese people, who sought to liberate Asian peoples from the clutches of Western Europeans (angluwari bangsa-bangsa Asia saking cengkeremaning panguwaos Eropa-Kilen). These efforts have been made although we are not yet in a dominant position in the conflict (page 7). As a result, it is our responsibility to assist the Japanese army in carrying out this noble purpose as soon as possible (page 8).</p>	<p>Helping the Japan Army, driven by noble intentions.</p>
12	<p>I am merely a spokesperson for the Prince of Mangkunagara (Mangkunagaran-Ko). To carry out this noble purpose, we shall strive together to fulfill the commitment to reinforce the Japanese army (page 8)</p>	<p>Cooperation with any party for noble intentions.</p>
13	<p>The method entails each member of the family providing services (ngatingalaken bektinipun) for their family, the family unit, or the government at various levels, such as the hamlet, subdistrict (Son), or kawedanan (Gun), and so on, all the way up to the Kooti inhabitants serving their own Kooti. In this way, a unity of will and commitment will construct the Earth of Java, the Javanese nation's motherland. We will contribute to the unification of Javanese country in celebration of the Japanese Army's triumph, as well as a statement of thanks to the Japanese Army for paving the path to the development of our nation, which has its own identity, with Japan at the core (pages 8 and 9).</p>	<p>Showing dedication in each unit for the realization of the Earth of Java.</p>
14	<p>My two children have volunteered to join the Volunteer Soldier Unit. That relieved me. I just ask to be reminded of the contents of 2 verses of the song Sinom in Wulang Wirawiyata written by Great-Great-Grandfather Mangkunagara IV:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">iki ta wasitaningwang marang kang dadi prajurit aja kêmbe ing wardaya rèhne wus sira lakoni balik dipun nastiti marang ing kawajibamu owêlên sariranta rêksanên luhurmu sami yèn kuciwa gawe punggêl drajatira </p> <p style="text-align: center;">awit sira wus prasêtya </p>	<p>Exemplary, as stated by the customs in the book Wulang Wirawiyata: Mangkunagara VII's two children have joined the Voluntary Soldiers unit. this is my message to every soldier do not be discouraged because it has become your choice otherwise, be careful toward your obligations control yourself keep the mandate of your ancestors do not be disappointed</p> <p style="text-align: right;">because you have sworn an oath</p>

	<p>nalika jinunjung linggih saguh nut anggêring praja myang pakoning narapati sinêksèn dèn èstrèni mring para wira sawêgung upama sira cidra nyirnakên ajining dhiri tèmah nistha wèh wirang ing yayah rena (page 9 and 10).</p>	<p>when appointed as a soldier willing to obey state regulations and orders from superiors witnessed and attended all soldiers if you deny it lose your dignity humiliate and shame your parents</p>
<p>15</p>	<p>Closing: my message is to work hard, to be attentive, to be faithful in service, and to constantly remember your commitments to Praja Mangkunegaran and Java, our ancestral country. Never allow our behaviors to diverge from lofty aspirations. That is the provision for success in this final battle (page 10).</p>	<p>Assertions of Javanese nationalism: superiority, virtuousness, love of the homeland as a bond of unity.</p>

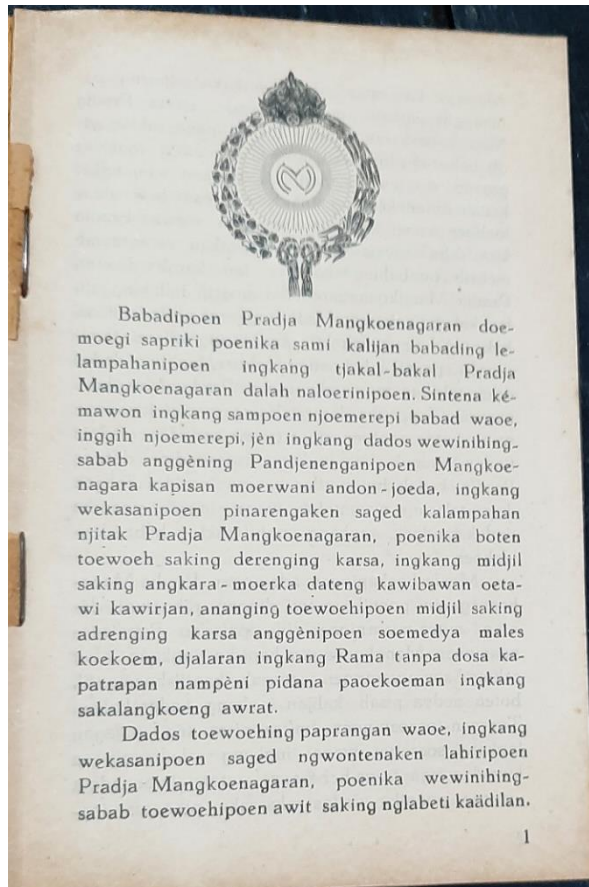


Figure 2 Text on the first page.

There are 3 classifications applicable to these nine indications. First, quasiright-wing politics, which emphasize ideals such as nobility, loyalty, unity in the community, peaceful living, cooperation, dedication, and exemplary, is needed. Furthermore, an adherent of quasileft-wing politics, which sincerely advocates for equality and freedom in honesty, is needed. In its entirety, radical democratic discourse (freedom, equality, and community), as envisioned by Dahlberg, exists, albeit with a pervasive right-wing political flavor. The third is an amalgamation of immanence (left wing) and the politics of transcendence (right wing). Then, if viewed through the lens of poststructuralist politics, structural paradoxes—fatalism (fifth paragraph) and populism (seventh paragraph)—are reconciled (fourth paragraph). While populism is often regarded negatively in the West because of its potential to undermine democratic systems, it is regarded as a common occurrence, particularly in Indonesian society (Madung & Mai, 2022).

5. Discussion

The full title of the pocket book is *Sabda Pangandikadalem Sampeyandalem Mangkunagaran-Ko Mangkunagara VII Angadani Adegipun Mangkunagaran-Koti Hokokai, ing Surya Kaping 9 March 2604 Wonten ing Pandapi Ageng Mangkunegaran*. The letter writing has been modified to conform to the current writing standards. Mangkunagaran-Ko and Koti Hokokai include Japanese vocabulary. The body text also includes Japanese terms, including "son" and "gun". The presence

of Japanese soldiers in the Dutch East Indies colony is shown by the utilization of the Japanese language. On March 8, 1942, Dutch authority in Indonesia ended, and Japan took its place. The Dutch forces, including two Mangkunegaran armies, were unable to halt the Japanese invasion. The Mangkunegaran was also taken over by the Japanese. The Japanese army tried a variety of tactics to gain the support of local authorities in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Surakarta was also granted special status with the title Surakarta Koti, and its rulers were given titles such as Mangkunegaran-Ko, Surakarta-Ko, Yogyakarta-Ko, or Pakualaman-Ko. This particular post, known as Koti or Kochi, was intended to encourage cooperation with Japan. Japan's ultimate objective was to win the Greater East Asia War. The name hokokai referred to these places' devotional worship, which was centered in phases beginning with Kucho (village), Soncho (subdistrict), Guncho (*kawedanan*), and Kencho (district) (Ibrahim, 2004).

With respect to this, it can be inferred that the discourse demonstrating allegiance to Japan is unmistakably political, as is the discourse advocating cooperation as a means of conveying a message of civility (Hapsari, 2018). It appears that the only thing that desires to be enforced is authority, which results in fatalism; our agency, in fact, has lost power in an effort to preserve it. Indeed, neither reason nor power are necessary for the authority to recommend an action—in this instance, the discourse of demonstrating dharma bakti (hokokai)—in reality (Enroth, 2023). While not all Western scholars ascribe fatalism as a political practice, this phenomenon does not serve as such. As illustrated (in Finkelde & Klein, 2021), Ernst Kantorowicz posits that conventional leaders amalgamate the corporeal and virtuous essence of their political-theological mandate with the inherent mortal essence of their commonkind. If this authorization is acknowledged as a poststructuralist agency, it is Western academics who acknowledge that Mangkunegara VII represents a synthesis between transcendent and immanent systems, "... welke synthese hij in zijn harmonische verschijning als het ware symbolisch belichaamt." Cannegieter describes Mangkunegara VII as the perpetrator of two philosophies at the same time: conservative (since he inherited the blood of the Javanese kingdom's monarch) and conflicting ideologies. A lengthy and tough fight (*moeilijken en langdurigen strijd*) to attain personality independence (*een conducted by strijd om de vrijheid van de persoonlijkheid*) and liberation from one's surroundings (*emancipatie uit zijn omgeving*) (Cannegieter, 1937).

This article adopts an analytical approach that shifts the focus from the essence of colonialism and Japan's strategy to control Java to the palace-style resistance event, specifically from the standpoint of political practice. The correlation between diplomatic expressions in Mangkunegara VII's Royal Address and political tendencies was initially somewhat perplexing. Surakarta is renowned for its two palaces, which are called Kasunanan (kingdom) and Mangkunegaran (princedom). Although more traditional than the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, the closest palace, Kasunanan has a tendency toward romance, whereas the Sultanate is more traditional. However, the liberal appearance of the Mangkunegaran Princedom is not evident in Sabda Dalem; rather, it is reflected in the incorporation of European culture through the accumulation of possessions and daily routines. The assertion concerning the presence of democratic principles in the Royal Address is founded upon the supposition presented in paragraph 13. In contrast, the radical notion depends on two indicators: 1) At the time the Royal Address was delivered, the Mangkunegaran Princedom was not a hegemonic power structure but rather a heteronomic subject; consequently, resistance movements arose within the community on the basis of the principles of freedom and equality; and 2) despite being a traditional customic instrument, the discourse in the Royal Address constituted a resistance movement. This final indication is contextualized through a discussion of Javanese nationalism during the early 20th century, a period of sociopolitical unrest in Java. The Javanese nationalist movement may be seen as a strategic resistance approach that emphasizes collaboration and upholds esteemed cultural principles. Rather than being confrontational, it aims to inspire and engage others (Heath et al., 2021).

Culturally, the discourse of reconciliation involving behaviors such as right-wing and left-wing politics is a common aspect of poststructural agency. Cultural intelligence is the guiding principle that shapes the agency's operations. Cultural intelligence refers to an individual's cognitive, motivational, and behavioral attitudes toward intercultural adaptation. Cognitively, an agent has information about what is happening around him, motivationally, he is inspired to act, and behaviorally, he responds to these two characteristics (Earley & Ang, 2003). This research focuses on three key features that elucidate the agency's reaction to the tumultuous circumstances that arose at the beginning of the 20th century, when the agency, led by Mangkunegara VII, was compelled to demonstrate its function.

5.1. The Royal Address as an Epilogue to Civility Political Discourse

This study examined written materials, whenever available, to investigate the background of civil political speech as a kind of soft power politics aimed at fostering more cooperative opposition, in line with the principles of right-wing politics. Hypothetically, the Royal Address is interesting since it may be considered the final statement (epilogue) and requires a contextual explanation of what has been done while Mangkunagoro VII was on the throne. The term "epilogue" is used since the speech was given four months before the demise of our agency.

The substance of the Royal Address, as expressed in linguistic utterances (Kim, 2020), contrasts with the cultural-historical circumstances at the moment that he assumed power. The subject or notion being compared is Javanese nationalist rhetoric. The goal is to develop an intertextual comprehension of the indicators that our hero was a key inventor of nationalism,

defining national struggles against foreign dominance in his "own way." It is believed that this contrast would help us understand that he was not at all a pro-colonial government (Dutch or Japanese), but rather, as stated above, he was pushing a revolution in the traditional Javanese version. It is termed the Javanese custom since the Royal Address and Prince Mangkunegara himself are part of the traditional Javanese institution. The primary premise is that the Mangkunegaran Princedom is a continuation of the 1576 Islamic Mataram Kingdom (Florida, 2018). Similarly, Sabda Dalem is a tool of customary governance, and the Royal Address is an official declaration typical of the Mangkunegaran Princedom in reaction to current events outside the palace (Tirtodiningrat, 70 years old, interview March 2022). The Royal Address has been interpreted as the rise of civility in political debate.

The aristocratic qualities mentioned in the Royal Address are rhetorical as a persuade to help Japan win the final battle to liberate Asia from colonialism. The convincing method is to demonstrate his devotion (*ngetingalaken bektinipun*) to his family in phases, beginning with the nuclear family and moving on to the hamlet family, village family, district family, etc., etc., which is representative of the democratic nature. This devotion should be based on a resolve to achieve the oneness of the Earth of Java, the Javanese nation's motherland (paragraph 13). This service is traditionally built in the spirit of warriors, as described in Mangkunegara IV's *Serat Wira Wiyata* (paragraph 14). The historical context will be described here to provide an overview and meaning of the path of poststructuralist agency so that its democratic spirit may be felt better.

5.2. Discourse of Nationalism in Turbulence

In the Royal Address, there is a declaration concerning Japan's attempts to free Asian peoples from the hold of Western Europe (Sabda Dalem, 11th paragraph). As the twentieth century began, the climate of the Dutch East Indies revealed the most authentic face of colonialism. This is due to the Netherlands' significant domination, particularly in the government, economic, and legal sectors. Colonial dominance in the Dutch East Indies was most frequently felt in Java because Dutch colonial authority in the early twentieth century was primarily oriented at Java. The Dutch Parliament, or the Staten General, has been in charge of monitoring from the mid-nineteenth century. In actuality, the Minister of Colonial Affairs was especially charged with overseeing colonial land. Members of the Minister of Colonial Affairs' cabinet carried out the overall colonial policies of the Kingdom of the Netherlands' government, which was situated in The Hague. Thus, colonial policy was merely a global strategy (Van Niel, 2009). Boomgaard compared global activity to historical economic activity by using *Cypraea moneta* shells as an example of ancient money that originated in the Maldives near India and expanded to other places in Asia and Europe. Moreover, Oostindie has seen globalization through increasing mobility dynamics, including movement from Europe to Africa and Asia, followed by migration from Africa and Asia to America (Boomgaard, 2008; Oostindie, 2008). According to their perspective, globalization is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that cannot be easily defined or confined to a specific timeframe. Furthermore, it is not a linear process with a distinct starting and ending point. Globalizations include economic integration, cross-border policy transfer, knowledge transmission, cultural stability, reproduction, relationships, and discourses of power. These encompass worldwide processes, conceptions, revolutions, and the establishment of global markets that operate independently from social and political influence. The idea has been defined with different parameters over time, encompassing notions of progress, development, stability, integration, and collaboration, as well as regression, colonialism, and instability. Although it presents difficulties, this phrase is associated with several undisclosed motives. An individual's political philosophy, geographic location, social rank, cultural background, and ethnic and religious affinities shape their interpretation of globalization.

This situation has directly given rise to national movement organizations or political parties opposed to foreign dominance. The movements' orientations varied greatly; some were active in the field of culture (Budi Utomo), others in the formation of the Indian state (Indische Partij and Insulinde), others in the formation of the Indonesian national state (Indonesian Party and the Indonesian National Party), and still others in the advancement of Islamic society (Syarekat Islam). Except for Syarekat Islam, which suffered from factions influenced by the communist movement, and Budi Utomo, which finally faded, most of the national parties did not last long. Many national movement leaders, including Douwes Dekker, Cipto Mangunkusumo, Sukarno, Hatta, and Syahrir, were later arrested, imprisoned, and exiled. This failure was driven by colonial policies that severely hampered any political activity.

The implementation of several colonial programs in Java throughout the early 20th century, spanning various domains, faced inevitable opposition from advocates of indigenous culture. Owing to the implementation of several measures that challenged the established social hierarchy, the Javanese aristocracy was prompted to participate in this war. The Javanese Nationalism Committee was a prestigious faction comprising aristocrats who resisted the expansion of colonial control. The committee derives its power from the robust endorsement of Mangkunegara VII. To understand the pivotal significance of the Javanese Nationalism movement, it is imperative to provide an account of the historical background of Mangkunegara VII. This will enable us to elucidate the motivations behind this nobleman's participation in the Javanese Nationalism movement.

Mangkunegara VII, the 7th son of Mangkunegara V, was born in 1885 with the first name R.M. Suparto. He did not grow up with his father since he was adopted by his uncle, Pangeran Handyaningrat, with his father's approval. Little Suparto was adored by his adoptive parents, and even his uncle's personality (careful, hardworking, and skilled at time management) was

handed down to him. Not only did he like wayang shows (all-night concerts), but he also kept birds as youngsters, particularly parrots and turtle doves. Suparto attended a European school (Europeesche Lagere School) when he was seven years old. Unfortunately, when he was 11, his adopted father died, and he went to the monarchy to live with his uncle, Duke Mangkunegara VI. Suparto's connection with his uncle was strained; he was even denied the opportunity to complete his education at HBS Semarang (Cannegieter, 1937). The uncle refused since he believed that Suparto's schooling was adequate. Suparto's connection with his uncle appears to have cooled as a result of this incident. He no longer wanted to reside at the palace with his uncle since the prohibition. He then moved to a room next to the palace, namely, in Dalem Prangwadanan (N.N. 2).

Suparto left the palace at the age of 18 without regard from the palace to meet with the Regent of Demak and beg for a job. Accepted as a clerk, his career gradually advanced until he was appointed Regency Mantri. Adipati Mangkunagara VI bestowed his first royal title (Raden Mas Harya Suryosuparto) on him while he was still working and living in Demak. The strained connection with his uncle, Prince Mangkunagara VI, persisted, and he fell into a deep despair (N.N.:2). Van Wijk elaborates on this melancholy (Wijk, 1914).

After four years in Demak, he, now known as Suryosuparto, returned to Surakarta and was hired as a translator by Resident van Wijk. Suryosuparto's friendship with Van Wijk was strengthened by his new profession, whereas Suparto's relationship with the Mangkunegaran Palace was strained. Van Wijk was impressed by Suryosuparto's potential since he was very competent at his job as a translator. Suryosuparto was able to complete his study at Leiden after receiving help and suggestions from Van Wijk. During his education, he also participated in military duties for the Netherlands during World War I in 1914. Suryosuparto was promoted to lieutenant with Queen Wilhelmina's approval for this post. Suryosuparto, with this status, was close to Queen Wilhelmina because of his duty as the queen's bodyguard. Suryosuparto returned to Surakarta in 1915 and began working as an Adjunct Controleur at the Office for Agrarische Zaken. Suryosuparto was appointed to fill his uncle's post with the title Prince Adipati Ario Prangwedana on 3 March 1916, little than a year after his return from the Netherlands, when Mangkunegara VI resigned on 11 January 1916 (N.N.:3).

After settling into the palace (Mangkunegaran Princedom), Mangkunegara VII learned members of the Javanese Nationalist movement and Budi Utomo, including Sutatmo Suryokusumo, Satiman Wirjosanjoyo, and Rajiman Wedyadiningrat. He even contributed monetarily and wrote articles for the *Wederopbouw* movement journal. His thoughts and participation in Budi Utomo were noteworthy; hence, he was chosen as the chairperson. The Javanese Nationalist Movement was accomplished through the Javanese Cultural Congress, which was held seven times between 1918 and 1937. The Whites also backed the Congress, which drew a response from a similar movement in Semarang.

Branches of an association that researched colonial concerns (*vereeniging voor studie van colonialaal-maatschappelijke vraagstukken*) were created in Surakarta and Semarang in the middle of 1916, practically at the same time. Because the two branches were in communication, many members of the Solo branch were able to attend Semarang branch meetings, and some of them came as speakers; the converse also occurred when members of the Semarang branch travel to Surakarta. Previously, spiritual engagement between intellectuals and Dutch politicians was unusual. A number of Javanese intellectuals, including Prince Prangwadono (Mangkunegara VII), Prince Hadiwijoyo, Prince Kusumoyudo, Raden Mas Joyonagoro, Raden Mas Ario Wuryaningrat, and Dr. Rajiman, are frequent and worth mentioning visitors at the Semarang Branch. Conversations with Javanese intellectuals, Dutch people, and officials and intellectuals from Semarang visited Surakarta more frequently. As a consequence, they had a greater understanding of Javanese culture. Burgermeester (Semarang) Ir. D. De Jongh, Mr. Chr. P. Van Wijngaarden, Mr. Dr. A.M. Joekes, Ir. Th. Kaarsten, J.E. Stokvis, and Ir. M.G. Van Heel are all glad because of this intellectual and cultural flow.

The emergence of supporting institutions such as the Sobokarti Arts Association accompanied the intellectual movement and expanded the engagement of Dutch citizens. A weekly journal named *De Taak* (Tasks) was also established as a consequence of collaboration between Javanese intellectuals and the Dutch. The editorial for the first issue of this journal, published in July 1917, expressed tolerance for the Javanese-Dutch collaboration, saying, "We in the Indies want to show that we are good Western/Dutch people." We are certain that the Dutch duty that they brought from the West involves more than just economic exploitation." In August 1917, *De Taak* published an essay titled *De Javaansche Taal bij het Inlandsch Onderwijs*. This essay was designed for young Javanese people who, while interested in Western science, should not lose sight of their identity as Javanese, particularly in language.

Concerns about this cultural crisis sparked a serious debate in Semarang between Prince Adipati Ario Prabu Prangwadono (Mangkunegara VII), Raden Sastrowijoyo, and Koperberg about holding a congress where Javanese intellectuals could discuss their reactions to Javanese culture. The congress's founder (Mangkunegara VII) requested the involvement of figures (Dr. Rajiman and Raden Mas Ario Wurjaningrat) and Dutch persons interested in Javanese culture to serve as preadviseurs (Koperberg in Soeroto, 1939).

The inaugural Javanese Cultural Congress took place in Surakarta in 1918, followed by the second congress in 1919. Both conferences were also convened in Surakarta. Prior to the convening of the second congress, significant development occurred with the establishment of the Java Institute, a cultural organization dedicated to the preservation and advancement

of Javanese cultural values. This institution engages in meetings and disseminates publications (Djawa magazine, Dutch language magazine) (Soeroto, 1939).

Furthermore, the extent of the Javanese Nationalism movement, which spread to Sundanese (West Java), Madura, and Bali, may be detailed. The participation of personalities from Surakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Denpasar during the wedding ceremony of Prangwedana (Mangkunegara VII) with Gusti Kangjeng Ratu Timur in 1920 demonstrated the spread of Javanese nationalism. On this particular day, the Mangkunegaran Palace appeared to be packed with Movement sympathizers. Nationalism in Java. The cultural union of political emotions. The entrance of Gusti Bagus Djelantik (Regent of Karangasem, Bali) was also met with enthusiastic support, which may be described as a fantastic event. The high number of Dutch people who were distinguished in science and art and who were present at the wedding was stunning (Soeroto, 1939). Queen Wilhelmina was intimately acquainted with Mangkunegara VII, the leader of Javanese Nationalism. As a high-ranking officer in extraordinary service, Mangkunegara VII was the only monarch to have commanded a legion equipped with modern armaments and military training (Cannegieter, 1937).

The Javanese Nationalist Movement subsequently gained greater acceptance among other ethnic groups and underwent modifications that prioritized tolerance. A philosophy study organization known as Wijsgerig Studie Kring was established in 1931. The whites gradually realized that Mangkunegara VII had been influenced to be more tolerant by Budi Utomo. This viewpoint is published in the magazine *Morks-Magazijn*. Mangkunegara VII was able to freely associate with Javanese intellectuals, who sought to bring about societal reform within the milieu of Budi Utomo (Cannegieter, 1937).

Mangkunegara VII advocated for self-actualization and rejected chauvinism, as reported in the Javanese daily *Darma Kanda*, which reflected his open mind. He holds the conviction that the preservation and enhancement of culture ought to be the objective of every endeavor aimed at bettering the country and the world. Regarding the mayor of Heren, H.J.H. During that period, Nauta remarked that monarch Mangkunegaran, whom he referred to as Mangkunegara VII the monarch, was in fact quite progressive. Although he has assimilated numerous positive aspects of Western culture, he retains certain Javanese attributes. While acknowledging the existence of numerous shortcomings in contemporary society, he maintains that the cosmic consciousness he assimilated from Eastern tradition forces us to devise a better global structure (Cannegieter, 1937).

Bavinck stated that the Philosophical Study Group was established in January 1931. Importantly, this study provides crucial evidence that despite the tumultuous and modern world, with its numerous conflicts and tensions, there remains a possibility for human beings to interact with one another and with nations (Soeroto, 1939). Finally, the government's opinion of Mangkunegara VII was expressed in 1934 by the Resident of Surakarta, M.J.J. Teur, who stated, "I am very impressed with the Prince, the many scientific bodies and arts foundations that have been established and managed, here I only mention the Java Instituut and the Wijsgerig Studiekkring." Almost never did Sri Paduka (Mangkunegara VII) miss a meeting in either of these endeavors: "The meeting he held. As a prince in many ways, this is indeed extraordinary. I am sure that in his heart, he is very happy that the Queen of the Netherlands today is pleased to give him an award." Governor Teur's statement is significant because it may provide an explanation for how MN VII can contribute to the rise of Javanese nationalism. Particularly for white people, his ability to transmute Javanese nationalism into a form that was neither overtly confrontational nor threatening gave the impression that he had been quite astute (Teur, 1934).

Finally, this debate attempts to define the expertise of an agency. In the case of a royal address, the power to express or not convey something to the public is based on an understanding of changing circumstances. Prince Mangkunegara VII is seen for two reasons to show his dissatisfaction with colonialism: 1) his natural nature as the carrier of a leader's destiny and 2) the competence of a leader who believes that he possesses the knowledge and experience of the movement. Although conflicts are prevalent, this authority is used as a cultural-political reaction with the goal of improving the situation through the drafting of an action agreement with members of the Mangkunegaran Princedom family (Putra et al., 2023; Dellsén & Baghrarian, 2021). Finally, Richard J. Hughes (1909--1992), governor of New Jersey (1962--1970), became an example for America in eliminating political problems while demonstrating civility in a typical democratic manner, although he lacked an adequate educational background and was not wealthy (Wefing, 2009).

Finally, the following poetic composition authored by Noto Suroto, secretary of Mangkunegara VII, expounds upon the profound significance that Budi Utomo holds for the Javanese people.

//...

*Daar klinkt opeens het bevrijdings woord voor de hopeloos verdwaasden/
Zegent dien clank, o mijn broeders, zegent dien als de/
stem van onze moeder/
Verheugt u inde vreugde van ontwaakte kinderharten/
Want de liefde voor "moeder Java", dat is de schoone clank van het woord "Boedi Oetomo"/
Zoo eert and met groote eere de Boedi Oetomo/
Zij heeft onze oogen geopend voor wat ons lief is en ons nabij/
Zij heeft de tooverboeien verbroken en onze handen vrij gemaakt/
....//*

(Suddenly the word liberation is heard for those who are confused/
 Bless that voice, my brothers, bless it as
 our mother's voice/
 Rejoice in the joy of awakened children's hearts/
 Because of love for the "Javanese mother", that is how beautiful the words "Boedi Oetomo" sound/
 Such is the respect for Budi Oetomo, who is full of glory/
 He has opened our eyes to what is dear and close to us/
 He has broken the magic chains and freed our hands) (Cannegieter, 1937).

6. Conclusions

Notably, in the context of the emergence of civil political discourse, acts of resistance have been incited by turbulent situations in a region remote from the epicenters of contemporary democracy. This resistance originated from the left and was not always anarchist. When confronted with oppressive pressure, the Javanese value system of harmonious living provides its own method of insurrection. A poststructuralist master of agency has emerged in response to the urgent structure; this does not preclude the urgent structure from serving as an exemplary framework for resistance while maintaining the boundaries of cooperation and courtesy. Since history has been accompanied by politeness politics, Japanese colonialists have failed in two areas: colonial control and war victory.

It is critical to remember that exemplary politics helps democracy by "preventing people from talking." Democracy means deliberative government, but it is only successful if one can keep people from talking (Clement Attlee). The key problem of this essay concerning Javanese nationalism is not the notion of revolution itself—a struggle against colonialism—but rather how the idea of imagined traditional values is communicated through traditional instruments and grows when given the correct setting. The historical credence of this context is reinforced by the election of Mangkunagara VII to the leadership role of Budi Utomo, a nationwide resistance movement against colonialism.

Ethical considerations

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Conflict of Interest

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