

# The Role of Praja Mangkunegara's Political Values in Shaping the New Order Regime

Diana Fawzia

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Nasional

Director of the Centre for Political Studies and Community Development  
Jl. Sawo Manila No. 61, Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan, DKI Jakarta, Indonesia  
E-mail: diana.fawzia@civitas.unas.ac.id

---

## Abstract

The Javanese culture, particularly the values of Mangkunegaran, played a significant role in shaping policy and political stability during the New Order era. This influence is evident through the involvement of the Suharto family, who had ties to Mangkunegaran, and the application of military values and Mangkunegaran political symbols in his government. However, despite frequent discussions on the influence of Javanese culture, few studies have specifically explored the contribution of Mangkunegaran values to political and military policies during the New Order period. This research employs a qualitative-explanatory method to delve deeper into the relationship between political elites and the development of political values within the framework of governance. The findings reveal similarities between Mangkunegaran's economic strategies and Suharto's development policies, as well as the use of political symbols and military principles that reinforced his regime's legitimacy. These findings enrich the understanding of how traditional values can influence modern political policies and provide insights into the importance of cultural values in creating political stability.

**Keywords:** military; new order regime; political values; political symbols; Praja Mangkunegaran.

Javanese culture has long been one of the significant cultural foundations in Indonesia's social and political life. This cultural influence became particularly evident during the New Order era, when General Suharto was in power. As an individual deeply rooted in Javanese traditions, Suharto was influenced by Javanese cultural values, especially those upheld by the priyayi class, the traditional elite group in Javanese society. One of the main influences on Suharto's government was the Mangkunegaran culture, an important entity in the history of

Javanese kingdoms. The Mangkunegaran family was known for its strong military traditions and played a significant role in the political and social dynamics of Java.

### Specific Background

Mangkunegaran culture, as one of the four fragments of the Mataram Islamic Sultanate, has a long history imbued with political, military, and social values. Mangkunegaran, located in Surakarta, was historically recognized as a duchy—one level below a kingdom—but nevertheless held substantial influence in Java.

The political values held by Mangkunegaran are inseparable from the broader values of Javanese culture, making it difficult to distinguish between specifically Mangkunegaran values and those of Javanese culture as a whole (Astuti, 1986). However, some values originating from Mangkunegaran, particularly those related to political and military structures, gradually became part of the broader values influencing political thought in Indonesia, including during the New Order era.

Suharto, as the leader of the New Order, had familial ties to Mangkunegaran through his wife, Tien Suharto, who was a descendant of Mangkunegara III. The influence of Mangkunegaran values on Suharto's government was evident not only from his family background but also from the shared principles in political decision-making. Both Suharto and Mangkunegaran operated within the framework of *priyayi* values, which emphasized the importance of political symbols, the use of kinship networks, and the application of strict military principles.

#### Knowledge Gap

Although the influence of Javanese culture on New Order politics is frequently discussed, there is a gap in the literature concerning the specific ways in which Mangkunegaran values— as one of the traditional forces in Java— contributed to shaping Suharto's political and military policies. While much research has focused on the general influence of Javanese values, few have specifically analyzed the role of Mangkunegaran values in shaping political policies and economic stability during Suharto's era. Therefore, this research aims to bridge this gap by exploring in-depth how Mangkunegaran's political and military values influenced the concepts of economic stability and political symbols under the New Order government.

#### Research Objective

This study aims to highlight the importance of the political values upheld by the ruling elite, particularly the values inherited from Mangkunegaran, in shaping political policies

and government stability during the New Order era. The research seeks to answer three main questions: (1) Why did the New Order regime require a set of political values rooted in Javanese culture? (2) How did Mangkunegaran political values influence Suharto's political values during the New Order? (3) What other factors, besides Mangkunegaran values, contributed to Suharto's political legacy?

#### Purpose

The primary purpose of this research is to explain how a cultural legacy can shape enduring political values within a government and to identify the mutual dynamics between Mangkunegaran and the New Order administration. By focusing on the use of political symbols and the adoption of military principles, this study also seeks to uncover how Suharto's political legitimacy was influenced by Mangkunegaran values, thus creating a mutually beneficial relationship between the two entities. Ultimately, this research is expected to provide a more comprehensive contribution to our understanding of the relationship between traditional Javanese culture and the formation of modern political policies in Indonesia.

#### Research Design

This research employed a qualitative-explanatory research method, which aims to explore and explain phenomena through deep engagement with data gathered from various sources. The explanatory approach was chosen to investigate the relationship between political elites and the development of political values within the governmental framework. The design is grounded in existing theories on qualitative research, with an emphasis on understanding how political values are formed and institutionalized. Marshall & Rossman (1989) note that qualitative-explanatory research seeks to explain the interplay of norms, behavior, and phenomena that contribute to the research subject. This method is appropriate for exploring the subjective perspectives of political elites and the ways in which these perspectives influence governmental policies and leadership.

## Materials

The materials used in this study included primary and secondary data. Primary data consisted of original information collected directly from participants and relevant sources, while secondary data derived from previously published works such as books, articles, and reports that were pertinent to the study's focus. The primary data were gathered through interviews with key political elites, observation of their behavior in political settings, and a review of written materials provided by them. This direct engagement allowed for a deeper understanding of their views on political values. Secondary data included academic journals, government reports, past research studies, and media reports. The use of both types of data ensured a comprehensive understanding of the research topic, enabling triangulation of findings to enhance credibility.

### Instruments

In this study, several instruments were employed to collect qualitative data, each designed to gather comprehensive information from different sources. First, a semi-structured interview guide was developed to facilitate in-depth interviews with key political elites. This guide included open-ended questions aimed at exploring their perceptions of political values and governance, allowing for flexible and detailed responses. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed to ensure accuracy in the analysis.

Additionally, an observational framework was employed to document the behaviors and interactions of political elites during public and political events. This checklist helped researchers capture how political values were demonstrated in practice, providing real-time insights into their actions and interactions within their respective political environments.

Lastly, a document analysis framework was created to systematically review and analyze written materials such as policy documents, speeches, and media statements. This template

enabled the researchers to extract and examine relevant data from these secondary sources, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of how political values are articulated and institutionalized through various forms of communication.

## Procedures

The data collection process for this research was conducted in several systematic stages to ensure the comprehensiveness and accuracy of the findings. First, the sampling and participant recruitment stage utilized purposive sampling to identify and recruit key political elites who had significant knowledge about the formation of political values. The selection process began with formal invitations, and participation in the study was entirely voluntary.

In the data collection stage, primary data were gathered through face-to-face interviews, each lasting between 60 to 90 minutes. These interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants, and detailed field notes were taken during the observations to capture important behavioral cues. In addition to the primary data, secondary data were collected through a thorough review of academic literature, media reports, and policy documents relevant to the research focus.

The data analysis stage involved thematic analysis, where the interview transcripts, observation notes, and collected documents were manually coded. Themes were identified that directly related to the research questions, and relationships between these themes were explored to provide a deeper understanding of how political values are developed and institutionalized by political elites.

To ensure the validity and reliability of the findings, a triangulation method was employed. This involved cross-referencing the primary data from interviews with observations and secondary sources like document analysis. Furthermore, member checking was used, where preliminary findings were shared with the participants to

confirm the accuracy of the interpretations, thereby enhancing the credibility of the research outcomes.

## Result and Discussion

Political values of Praja Mangkunegaran and New Order Regime

The establishment of Praja Mangkunegaran and its political values were inseparable with the history of Mataram kingdom, during the era of Sri Sunan Amangkurat I. Contrary to its predecessors, Sultan Agung, Amangkurat I pledged allegiance to the Dutch Colony in return of a partial of Mataram Kingdom, authority over Pelabuhan pantai utara, monopoly of rice and produces, and other local revenues (Yayasan Mangadeg 1989). Its successors, Amangkurat II and then Amangkurat III, chose the other path, by not siding with the Dutch Colony and rallied with others who fought the Dutch. As result, the Dutch appointed Prince Puger as the king of Mataram with the title of Paku Buwono I. This appointment came with a condition, which was to release the land of Priangan, Cirebon, and East Madura to the Dutch, and more monopoly's rights.

In the era of Sunan Amangkurat IV or known as Sunan Prabu Amangkurat Jawi (1719-1727), pangeran Adipati Aria Mangkunagoro (the eldest son of mistress R. Ay Kusumonarso) was arranged to be the successor. However, the Dutch did not acknowledge such appointment, and instead appointed Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Mangkunagoro (the son of Kanjeng Ratu Ageng, the tenth oldest son) as the future king, which would carry the title of Paku Buwono II (Babad Serat Panembangan 1970:20). It is presumed that lineage was the basis for the Dutch to determine successors, yet it might also be political considering that Pangeran Adipati Aryo Mangkunagoro was then exiled to Ceylon or Srilangka from Kraton Kartasura (Soegiartanto 1976:17).

Prince Adipati Aryo Mangkunagoro from its marriage with Raden Ajeng Wulan, the daughter

of Prince Balitar was survived by three sons: Raden Mas Said, Raden Mas Ambiyono, and Raden Mas Sabar. After reaching adulthood, the eldest son, Raden Mas Said was appointed as Mantri Gandek (first ring of royal servants) by Pakubuwono II with the title of Raden Mas Ngabei Suryokusumo. He obtained an apanage in an area called Ngawen. Located in Gunung Kidul that were dry, rocky and not ideal for farming (see Legiun Mangkunegaran, 1978). Felt treated unfairly, Raden Mas Sai left kraton Kartasura and supported rebellion against the Dutch Colony.

In the beginning, he joined Sunan Kuning (the son of Tumenggung Tepasana who was murdered by Paku Buwono II) and joined his uncle, Pangeran Mangkubumi (1749), who could not accept to see Mataram kingdom being surrendered to the Dutch Colony by the Paku Buwono III (who was also his nephew). In the year of 1755, Pangeran Mangkubumi ended his rebellion against the Dutch Colony and Paku Buwono II. This event was marked by the Giyanti agreement. The essence of this agreement was to divide Mataram into 2 (two) parts. Sunan Paku Buwono III obtained an area which were then called Kasunanan Surakarta, and Prince Mangkubumi who was then titled Hamengku Bowono I obtained the other part that was called Kasultanan Yogyakarta.

Raden Mas Said continued his battle on his own, and known as Prince Sambernyawa (life-reaping prince). During the difficult, Raden Mas Said was always accompanied by his forty loyal men who pledged allegiance with their slogan "Tiji Tibe" that means mati siji mati kabeh (one die, the rest must also die), or can also means mukti siji mukti kabeh (one joyous, the remaining will be joyous too). This slogan created a strong bond between Gusti (leader) with kawulo (common). They merged into one word, one action, and worked harmoniously as if one big family with a slogan "Nebu sauyun" (which means a handful of lemongrass and sugar cane that grows out of one pot hole to illustrate

camaraderie between the leader and common people).

The loyal followers had pledged themselves as Punggawa Baku. Their descendants will remain as a part of the Mangkunagara family, was the essence of the pledge of Raden Mas Said. This pledge was followed by the descendants. In the agreement, Sri Mangkunagoro I stated that (Mulat Sirara, Resa Pustaka 1978):

“Bumi Mangkunagaran iki pada melu handarbeni lan pada dipangan ing anak putu mburi, yen turukuora mikir nganti dadi rusaking turune punggawa ora bakal pangestorni. Meaning, the earth of Mangkunagaran is also owned by us, and shall be used for the prosperity of our descendants, if my descendants ignore this, it will be an act that we condemn.”

This pledge was then closed with “prasetya” or the followers’ pledge which was as follows:

“Manawi tidak turunipun punggawa niyat ngendih ingkang jumeneng, utawi boten rumeksa praja bade manggih papa lan cures. Meaning, whomever of the descendants aim to harm the royals and do not attend its leader, then misery and extinction will come upon them.”

Prasetya or the joint pledge was a historical moment for the Mangkunagaran. This pledge was often the bind that combines the leader and the led. This principle was often known as “manunggaling kawula lan gusti” (the merging of common with the bersatunya rakyat dengan raja). The background of this pledge, or the rational, was mainly due to Prince Sambernyawa’s realization that he could not fight alone. Praja Mangkunagaran would never exist without its Punggawa Baku, and vice versa. This bond remained until now. Intra-matrimony was condoned. The kinship that was established in the early onset of the battle, became the characteristics of Mangkunagaran and continued by the next Mangkunagoro-Mangkunagoro. These histories were inseparable parts from the history of Praja Mangkunagaran.

Although holding the status of Kadipaten, Mangkunegaran managed to obtain acknowledgement similarly with Kasunanan and

Kasultanan which were one level higher in terms of an administrative entity (kingdom). The use of “praja” was commonly used to replace Kadipaten. Kadipaten was an area that was led by Adipati, whilst Praja was commonly accepted as the reign of a certain area. The Mangkunegaran values were ideal conception for the foundation of the kadipaten Mangkunegaran regime. Praja Mangkunegaran held ideal values that were used as the guidelines for adipati Mangkunegaran I up to Mangkunegaran VII in managing the state.

The existence of these values along times did not subside, and was actually strengthened and expanded during the New Order regime, through political symbolization, economy, kinship practice and military. For instance, the legacy that was built by Mangkunegaran I (Raden Mas Said) of *tebu sauyun*, which means, uniting the core in all aspects. This idea emerged during the era of Mangkunegara I battling the Dutch Colony. From all of the Mangkunegaran Javanese values, there are three values that were most relevant with new order regime, which is the economy development, military and political symbolization. The development trilogy was a concept of political value during Soeharto era that was used as basis for policy making. The development trilogy comprised of: 1) dissemination of development and its results to uphold social justice for every Indonesian; 2) high economic growth; and 3) healthy and dynamic national stability. This Soeharto trilogy is interconnected, where the key lies in political stability with the premise that economic dissemination will not be attained without economic growth; whilst economic growth will not be feasible without a political stability. With such developmental jargon, every ounce of the nation energy was fixated towards modernizing Indonesia through physical development.

Soeharto also adopted slogans and wisdom (*piwulang-piweling*) of Mangkunegaran in his government, such as; *Tebu Sauyun* (uniting in one bind as a united sugar cane roots) and *Tiji Tibeh* (one dies, the rest dies as well). Yet the

most iconic wisdom is Tri Dharma; Mulat Sarira Hangrasa Wani (know yourself) Rumangsa Melu Handarbeni (consider what Praja owns, it is also yours), dan Wajib Melu Hangrungkebi (the obligation to defend the nation) (Fawzia 1996). The philosophy of the Tri Dharma was values that deemed sufficient to justify and legitimate the military doctrine (ABRI Tri Ubaya Cakti dan Sapta Marga) (Astuti 1986). In addition, Mangkunegaran values were also used as the vehicles for national integrity.

#### Innovation and Economic Development

The era when Praja Mangkunegaran was led by Mangkunegara IV (1853-1881), was the era when economic development became the major focus, and was used to also repair issues in the aspects of social-economy that worsened during the era of Mangkunegara III. Mangkunegara IV was known as the economic founding father of Praja Mangkunegaran. Mangkunegoro IV was famous not only as a wise leader, but also as economic expert, his initiatives and creations. He developed many commercial businesses that functions as the revenue source for Praja Mangkunegaran. Factories built during his era comprised of; sugar factory in Tasikmadu, Colomadu, and Gembongan, sisal factory in Mentotulakan, kernel factory in Polokarto, brick and roof factory in Kemiri. He also expanded the business to agriculture, other than coffee, such as spices, paddy, sugar cane, kina and also advocated planting coffee plant. He also built houses to be rent, a concept that was unheard of during the era. These businesses able to make Mangkunegaran sustain during economic recession in the era of Mangkunegoro V and VI. The economic foundation was strong that up to the time of VII governed, the Mangkunegaran remained as the wealthiest Swapraja terkaya in Java.

During the era of Mangkunegara VI (1916), with the government of Dutch Colony, he established "Fonds van Eigendomen van het Mangkoenagoroscche Rijk" or Mangkunegaran trustfund (Metz 1979). This institution was chaired by Mangkunegara himself, along with

other tasks under his command, which were: prepared budgeting plans together with the governor (Residen). The whole proceeds were entered into the expense budget, and if unused, returned to the Mangkunegaran trust fund. The fund was used to build irrigations, hospitals, and vocational schools. The benefit was directly experienced by the factory workers and other commoners. Due to his diligence and grit, and the atmosphere of collaboration between the prajas and the commoners, many social and economic hurdles were able to be resolved. The collected funds were not utilized for personal use, yet they were used for development of the Praja. Loans were able to paid, whilst state cash continued to increase. State budget were mostly used for disease prevention, flood mitigation, prisoners' wellbeing and Praja's development (biography of Mangkunegoro VI, Rekso Pustaka & AK Pringgogidgo 1950: 340-342). There were similarities between the concept of economic development during the two Mangkunegaran era, with the one upheld by Soeharto during the New Order.

Soeharto divided his economic development plan into five stages (Five-Year Development Plan - Pelita), starting with 1969-1974, which focus on agriculture and industry that supports agricultural industry. The objective during this period was: 1) food supply, 2) infrastructure development, 3) public housing, 4) labor market expansion, 5) spiritual well being. Followed by Pelita II tahun 1974-1979, which focus on: 1) affordable food and cloth 2) steady supply of housing materials, to support public needs 3) utility repairment and development; 4) increasing equity of wellbeing and 5) expand labor market opportunity.

Pelita III was kickstarted in 1979-1984, and focused on building agricultural sector into food sovereignty, where produces were developed into goods. Pelita III was directed to achieve the development trilogy: 1) dissemination of development and its results to uphold social justice for every Indonesian; 2) high economic growth; and 3) healthy and dynamic national

stability. Eight economic corridors were segmented to achieve this, and comprised of: 1) ensure fulfillment of basic needs, such as cloth, food, and housing; 2) equal opportunity for education and health services; 3) equal revenue-sharing; 4) equal opportunity for work; 5) equal opportunity in doing business; 6) equal participation, mainly for youth and women; 7) decrease development disparity across Indonesia; and 8) equal opportunity for justice.

In Pelita IV (1989-1994), the focus shifted to political-ideology, education, social and community development. The main focus during this period was: 1) political aspect: socializing P4 Pedomani, Penghayatan, dan Pengalaman Pancasila (the value of Pancasila to guide, to be internalized and to be experienced); 2) education aspect: increase access to education and improving education quality; 3) family planning: controlling population growth. Pelita V started in 1994-1999, and the focus of the development work was on improving agricultural sector to strengthen food sustainability and increase agricultural produces and industry, particularly for industry for exports, industry for agricultural goods, and industry of heavy machinery. The aim was to establish balanced economic structure between industry and agricultural sector. The implementation of Pelita V (fifth development plan) only commenced up to four years. Tense political situation forced Soeharto to resign from his position as president in Mei 1998, without giving the chance for Pelita 5 to prove if it was successful in realizing its promise of generating an interconnection between agricultural, industry and human development as part of an economic development plan.

The similarity between the Mangkunegarans with Soeharto was that they all had a well-thought economic development plan. The plans were systematic, measurable and divided into stages. They also utilized social institution (foundation) as a mean to gather funds. Foundations established by Soeharto were namely Supersemar Foundation, Dana Sejahtera Mandiri Foundation, Seroja Foundation, Dharma

Bhakti Sosial Foundation, and Amal Bhakti Muslim Pancasila Foundation

Political Stability and Frontlining Military Symbols

To achieve political stability, the regime's control over political activities were dominant. Political parties that previously allowed to emerge during Soekarno era were banned and castrated into a forced fusion. There were only two political parties allowed as opposant. The New Order regime also limit the freedom to associate. This limitation was marked by establishing a quota of political parties and voters since 1997, where there were only three political parties allowed to participate, which are the Unity Indonesian Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan - PPP) to accommodate all Islamic parties, Indonesian Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - PDI) to accommodate all nationalist and christiany-based party, and Party of Functional Groups (Golongan Karya - Golkar) as the "government party". Freedom to associate was limited by only community-based organization and professions by the regime that were allowed. Golkar, as history dictated, were joined by many elites from Mangkunagaran kinship organization.

Golkar was utilized as the vehicle to channel Mangkunegaran's political aspiration for several reasons: first, the traumatical experience of Mangkunagaran's priyayi during the Surakarta revolution during 1942-1945. The priyayis in Surakarta lived under oppression and fear, and constantly must hidden their royalty status due to situations that was created by political parties, mainly the Indonesia's Communist Party that were openly against Swapraja and feudalisme (Soeyanto 1982). Second, New Order regime through Golkar was aimed to realize every pending aspiration that were fought by the Mangkunagaran since the Old Order regime. This opportunity was deemed feasible since many of the Mangkunagaran elites that become member, and even elites of the party.

The New Order government also implemented coerced fusion upon non

governmental organization and profession. Only one organization and profession per each area that were recognized by the government, namely journalist profession (PWI), labor (FBSI then changed to SPSP), businessmen (KADIN), civil servants (KORPRI), religious leaders (MUI), farmer (HKTI), seamen (HNSI), teachers (PGRI), and so forth (Fawzia et al. 2018). In return, the regime could concentrate its focus in pushing for economic growth by supporting strategic sectors, from oil and natural resources, land and air travel, telecommunication, agriculture, manufacturing industry expansion and construction sector, in the aim to modernize the urbans in Indonesia.

Military tradition and the ascribed social status for the military tradition was also given by Soeharto in the New Order regime. During this time, military held a very strategic positions in every aspect, as they could serve all positions from becoming the presidents up to village heads, as well as more opportunity in doing business. This practice originated from Mangkunegaran history, where all adults in the Mangkunegaran kin were obligated to undergo compulsory military service. The requirement for this was employed for those who wished to become Praja's servant. This military tradition was very predominant, and it was signified by the social stratification that were built by the Mangkunegaran where only people with military position that could place the top place in the pyramid.

Military was the first parameter of someone able to have a caries as a Praja servant. This tradition was started since Mangkunegara I. During Mangkunagoro II, Praja even had its own army; "Legioen van Mangkoe Nagoro" or Mangkunagaran Legiun (Sarwanta W, 1978: 8-9), including female corps (estri).

Society's classification for Mangkunegaran's priyayi also using terms with hints of military tone, which were Satriyaning Praja and Prawiraning Praja. Satriyaning Praja was for the sentono-dalem, the closest kin of the Mangkunegoro, who in accordance to

Mangkunegaran tradition, will join the Mangkunegaran Legion. They commonly became leaders, and guaranteed to receive high ranks in the legion. Prawiraning Praja was for those who were the extended relatives and will received lower ranks. Whilst, Naraning Praja and Karyaning Praja were for priyayi who were not part of the military such as civil servants and bueracrats. Naraning Praja was rather similar with the high-ranking staff, and Karyaning praia was the lower ranks (Arsip di Rekse Pustaka, dan SP No. I/Krb/III/70). Interesting to note that all supporting elements of the regime were similar with the supporting elements of the New Order regime. The military groups, which were satriyaningpraja and prawiraningpraja, the bueracrats and high-ranked officials which was naraningpraja, and the lower-ranked civil servant which was Karyaning Praja. Semantically, Karyaning Praja was similar with Golongan Karya as they both were both meant "groups of people with certain function in the society" or "productive members of the society"

The influce of militaristic values were not only apparent in the elits' stratification, but also manifested in the arts by Mangkunegara IV, which in javanese language were called serat. Serat Tripama namely, told the story about a servant's role modelship, whilst Serat Wira Wiyata, were filled with wise words for the soldier in undertaking their tasks and associate the work with nationalism. Serat Nayakawara encompassed wise words for the punggawa, mantra, bupati and all the nayakapraja (Praja's civil servant, which were similar to today's version of civil servant) to uphold their obligation to serve the people and the praia. These wisdoms were included in the Serat Tripama and Wedhatama which entailed the basic values and knighthood norms.

The presence of norms and military roles in the government, had always been the characteristics of the New Order regime as well. Political stability that were built by Soehartos regime had gained full support from the military, as well as the political parties and bueracracy.



During the time, there were a known acronyms, which were ABG, that stood for ABRI (military), Birokrasi (bueracracy) dan Golkar (the government's political party). Through the concept of dual function (Dwifungsi<sup>2</sup>), ABRI were officially part of the social political power that not only eligible to become parliemantary members, but also executive positions, such as the ministers, echelon-1 in the ministry, governer, regent and mayor.

It was not a surpsie that during the local government election by the local parliament during the New Order regime was arguably a formality since only a handful of people were eligible to take the positions of governors or mayors. The introduction and instutionalization of Golkar as the government party was successful and became a campaigning machine on its own in every election during the New Order. Golkar itself was established during the Led Democracy era, as a joint secretariat by the military army, to form a nonparty power, that was anti communist, and to balance the onderbouw organizations that were formed by the communist party - PKI. Although Golkar was established in this era with the title of Joint Secretary of Golkar, yet Soekarno relatively was not able to utilize it. It was only during Soeharto's time that Golkar had fully functioned as a political machine to maintain his power through a series of conditioned elections during the New Order regime (Fawzia dkk 2018).

In addition to military tradition, Soeharto also employed military values in Serat Tripama and Serat Wira Wiyata as the curriculum in the school for army Sekolah Komando Angkatan Darat (SESKOAD), navi Angkatan Laut (SESKOAL), and airforce Angkatan Udara (SESKOAU), and police academy, as well as the military force (SESKO ABRI (Sekolah Komando Gabungan ABRI) and during the national ceremonies.

#### The Role of Women in Public Domain

During Mangkunagoro I's era, there were numerous political, economic and cultural events. One of the noted events was the

establishment of Mangkunagaran corps as previously mentioned, which later became Mangkunagaran Legion. The corps was the only military corps that employed western (dutch) method, from its attributes to the curriculum and military practices. Within the legion, the female corps resided (estri). One of the distinctions between female soldiers of Mangkunegaran and other female soldiers were that they were not royal guard, yet rather a combat corps that were trained to battle in the battlefield, able to ride horses and armed with arrows and guns (Hilmiyah & Thoyibi 1989: 5; Ann Kumar 1990). To finance the corps, Mangkunagaran took village subsidy in the amount of 4000 Ringgit from the Dutch Colony (Ann Kumar 1990). To subsidy was not only for defense, yet also to maintain the power struggle amongst kingdoms in Java or the vorstenlanden that were formed by Dutch(Ann Kumar 1990; V.J.H. Houben 1989).

The presence of the female soldiers was confirmed by a writing archive of a female soldier in her diary during the 18th century. The soldiers during peace time were also undertook maintaining work, such as taking care of horses, buffaloes, the farms, making irrigantion channels, writing diaries, making uniforms, and other chores that were not related to military. Female soldiers of Mangkunegaran also were trainedin using weapons, cleaning weaponry and also became (musicians of gamelan, a traditional instrumen), and also able to cook well.

"...Petor dragunder tut-wuntat, lon-lonan lampahing margi, sarawuhe dalemira, sagung kang prajurut estri, ginanjar arta sami, panganan ulam lan sekul, sami nginum-adhahar, senjata ingkang ngresiki, kang gojogi sagung ingkang para demang (Babad Tuter Sinom: 151b-34/287)."

(free translation: depict the riots when the soldiers cleaned weaponry, played gamelan music yet still manage to undertake cookings in the kitchen)

Interesting parts of the female solder is their role in Javanesse traditional political system.

This role could be seen amongst others through the presence of “lady scribe” or women who writes diary, Diaries referred hereto is the collection of writings about the life in the palace, the spiritual and religious practice of Mangkunagoro I, the domestics of Mangkunagoro I, the governmental affairs that encompass political, economy and social cultural strategies and policies of the Mangkunagaran, and the life in Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta (Hilmiah & Thoyibi 1989) and (Ann Kumar 1990). The latter data was easily obtained considering the position and structural status of the Mangkunegaran upon Kasunanan during this time. The “lady scribe” was a team comprised of trusted female soldiers of Mangkunagoro I, who understood the historical background of Mangkunegara I, thus able to interpreted his thoughts and idea, undertook many of his plans and context behind policies made by the king. Therefore, “lady scribe” could be confirmed were people who had deep entrenched political involvement.

The role of the state in permitting women in the public domain during Soeharti time was mainly due to international pressure. Indonesia could not release themselves from international pressure that every nation must allow and support women movement. Particularly since Indonesia was dependent to international aid and must abided to requirements to receive financial aid from United States of America (Janti 2018). This recognition continued to the establishment of the ministry of Woman's affairs in the 1978. A new ministry that must implement the results of the international convention. Indonesia also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) through the Law No. 7 Year 1984. CEDAW was an international agreement about women's right and elimination of any discrimination towards women. Indonesia's participation in international forums showcased increased recognition on women's role in Indonesia. In 1980 a conference was held in Copenhagen, to monitor and evaluate all nations

progress in integrating women's well being as development's agenda. The results, despite the attempted efforts, had not yet reveal significant result. The next five year, in the third conference in Nairobi, an agreement was made to use gender as the analytical tool to assess disparity between men and women in all aspects of life. This agreement was entailed in the The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (Hoessein, dkk 2020).

Through a critical perspective, the role of women in public domain during New Order regime was arguably an effort to curtail women's role. It was another form of domestication of women's role or merely an extension of domestic role into the public domain to fit with the regime's needs. The role of women was not more than supporting husbands in their carrier. To institutionalize this, mandatory organizations for the wives of civil servants and military officials, in which their structure follows military bureaucracy and their values colored by undemocratic feudalism. The presence of these organizations in the public domain were not necessarily a manifestation of equality for women and men in the public domain of politics, economics, social and cultural.

The Indonesian Female Corps (Korps Wanita Indonesia -Kowani), was a female organization that gather all female organizations, including professional organization, social, religious as well as functional organizations. Kowani was established in 1928 pre independence as a federation of organizations for intellectual females (Suryakusuma 2011). Before the era of Soeharto, Kowani was an independent organization, however such independence was removed during Soeharto era. Kowani as an organization must operated using five basic principles stated in the Panca Dharma Wanita, which are: 1) women as the loyal company of the husbands, 2) women as the new generation maker, 3) women as educator of children, 4) women as the household managers, and 5) women as a useful member of the community. One of the Kowani leader and member of

DPR/MPR from Golkar, was appointed as the first Minister for Women Affairs.

In addition to Kowani, there were other organizations that supported women's role in public domain, which were Empowerment of Family's Welfare (Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga or PKK). PKK was an organization that implemented women-focus programs in urban and rural. PKK had ten primary programs, which are: 1) socializing P4 Pedoman, Penghayatan, dan Pengalaman Pancasila (the value of Pancasila to guide, to be internalize and to be experienced); 2) Collaboration (Gotong Royong), 3) Education and Skills (Pendidikan dan Keterampilan), 4) development of the cooperatives micro small and medium enterprises and trade agency, 5) food and nutrition (Pangan dan Gizi), 6) Cloth (Sandang), 7) housing and domestic affairs (Perumahan dan Tata Laksana Rumah Tangga), 8) basic health (Kesehatan Dasar), 9) environment (Lingkungan), 10) Domestic planning (Perencanaan Rumah Tangga). Women's role in Kowani and PKK as well as other organizations were empowered with the main purpose to support national development agenda. The effort to support women's role in the development during New Order regime, was not only reflected in the presence of these organizations, but also part of the Five-Year Term Development Plan (Repelita). In Repelita IV (1984-1989) it was stated that women have equal rights, obligation and opportunity with men. Yet the New Order Regime also sent strong message that the modernization process would require a particular role for women as the core of family and the guardian of good norms and values in the society (Dewi & Kasuma 2014).

There were significant difference in regard to objective and the way Praja and New Order's regime supports women's role in public domain. During the Mangkunegaran era, women was given direct role independently, and not linked to their role as partners of their husband. Whilst during the New Order regime, women's role were limited to "supporting their husbands", as

reflected in the civil servants' wives organization (Suryakusuma 2011).

## Conclusion

The findings of this research indicate that the political values originating from the Mangkunegaran principality played a crucial role in shaping the policies and legitimizing the power of the New Order regime. The study specifically identifies significant similarities between the economic strategies, the use of political symbols, and the application of military principles upheld by Mangkunegaran and those implemented by Suharto. The adoption of these cultural values contributed to strengthening the political legitimacy of the New Order regime, particularly through economic stability and the integration of the military into governance. These adopted values not only created political stability but also fostered a mutualistic relationship between Javanese traditions and modern governance. Thus, this research expands the understanding of how traditional cultural legacies can influence the dynamics of contemporary politics in Indonesia.

Theoretically, the findings of this research enrich the discourse on the relationship between cultural and political values, particularly in the context of political elites and power legitimacy. These findings also make a significant contribution to understanding how local cultures, such as Mangkunegaran values, can be integrated into the policies of a modern state. Practically, the results of this research offer insights that can be utilized by policymakers and political observers to understand how traditional values can serve as tools for political stabilization in broader contexts. However, this study has limitations, especially regarding the scope of focus on a single era and political entity. For future research, it is recommended to further explore how similar values have been adopted by other regimes in Indonesia or other countries, to enrich the study of the influence of culture on political policy.

## WORKS CITED

- Astuti, PR (1986). HKMN Suryasumirat Sebagai Sarana Rekrutmen Elite Politik Indonesia Masa Rezim Orde Baru, Skripsi FISIP-UI, Tidak diterbitkan.
- Bangun, B. H. (2020). Hak Perempuan dan Kesetaraan Gender dalam Perspektif Filsafat Hukum. *Pandecta Research Law Journal*, 15(1), 74-82. <https://doi.org/10.15294/pandecta.v15i1.23895>
- Cohen, Abner (ed) (1981). *The Politics of Elite Culture, Explorations In The Dramaturgy of Power In A Modern African Society*. University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California University of California Press, Ltd. London England.
- Dewi, V. K., & Kasuma, G. (2014). Perempuan Masa Orde Baru (Studi Kebijakan PKK dan KB Tahun 1968-1983). *Verleden: Jurnal Kesenjangan*, 4(2).
- Fawzia, Diana (1997). *Kelompok Elit Tradisional Jawa, Proses-Proses Politik Himpuan Kerabat Mangkunegaran Suryasumirat Dalam Perspektif Sejarah*. Tesis Pascasarjana Program Studi Antropologi Universitas Indonesia. Tidak diterbitkan
- Fawzia, Diana, Firman Noor, Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, Irine Hiraswari Gayatri, Nurliah Nurdin, Saafroedin Bahar, Sarah Nuraini Siregar, Syamsuddin Haris, Wasisto Raharjo Jati (2018). *Sistem Presidensial Masa Presiden Soeharto (1966-1998)*, dalam Nuraini, S (ed). *Sistem Presidensial Indonesia dari Soekarno ke Jokowi*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Greertz, Clifford (1983). *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Hilmiah, Ray dan Thoyibi (1989). Peranan Wanita Jawa Abad XVIII dalam Visi KGPAA Mangkunegara I, dalam Pangeran Sambernyawa Sejarah Perjuangan, Latar Belakang dan Perjalanan Kehidupan Keagamaan. Solo: Universitas Muhammadiyah.
- Hoesein, A. A., Zaitunah Subhan, Miranti Abidin, Enny Rosyidah, Nurni Akma, Chadijah Djumali, Maria A. Sardjono, Lilly Danes, Nyoman Widi Wisnawa, Suhadi Sendjaja, Hertomo Heroe, Rita M. Rasyid, Bahriyah Ma'muri (2000). *Materi Pokok Penyadaran Jender*. Jakarta: Kantor Menteri Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan.
- Ismawan, Indra (2007). *Harta dan Yayasan Soeharto, Kontroversi tentang kekayaan dan dugaan Korupsi Soeharto*. Yogyakarta : Media Pressindo
- Kodiran (1980). *Kebudayaan Jawa, Dalam Koentjaraningrat (ed). Manusia dan Kebudayaan Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Kumar, Ann (1990). *Masyarakat Istana Jawa dan Politik dalam Akhir Abad XVIII*, Catatan Prajurit Wanita Mangkunegaran. Solo: Rekso Pustaka.
- Larson, George Donald (1979). *Prelude to Revolution: Palaces and Politics in Surakarta, 1912-1942*, Northern Illinois University, Dekalb. Amerika Serikat.
- Mc Dougall, John (1981). *Elite Friendship ties and The Political Organization Function: The Case Of Indonesia*, dalam *Anthropologica XXXIII*.
- Metz, TH. M. 1939. *Mangkoe-Nagaran Analyse van een Javaansch Vorstendom*. Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditman NV.
- Mosca, Gaetano (1939). *The Ruling Class*. New York: McGraw Hill Book.
- Moertono, Soemarsaid (1968). *State and Statecraft in Old Java; A Studi of Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century*. New York: Cornell University.
- Nur Janti (2018). Menteri Peranan Wanita Pertama. *Historia*, 7 Juni. [Accssed 8 November 2022]. <https://historia.id/politik/articles/menteri-peranan-wanita-pertama-Pdj18/page/1>
- Pelto PJ & Pelto GH (1978). *Anthropological Research The Structure of Inquires*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Robbins, PM (1991). *How to Plan and Implement a Peer Coaching Program*, Paperback.
- Sairi, Syafri (1982). *Javanese Trah Kin-Based Social Organization*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Sarwanta, RM (1978). *Legiun Mangkunegaran*, Solo, Rekso Pustoko Mangkunegaran
- Suparlan, P (1986a). *Keluargaan dan Kekerabatan*, dalam *Manusia Indonesia, Individu, Keluarga dan Masyarakat* oleh: Drs. A.W. Widjaya. Jakarta: Akademika Pressindo.
- Suparlan, P (1986b). *Demokrasi dalam masyarakat Pedesaan Jawa. Terhimpun dalam Demokrasi dan Proses Politik*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Supriatna, Nana (1998). *IPS Terpadu Sejarah*. Bandung: PT. Grafindo Media Pratama.

- Suryakusuma, Julia (2011). *State Ibuisme*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu.
- Wardani, W.K. (2014). Pelita (Pembangunan Lima Tahun). *Warta Sejarah*, 13 November. [Accssed 21 November 2022]. <http://wartasejarah.blogspot.com/2014/11/pelita-pembangunan-lima-tahun.html>
- Wilner, Ann Ruth (1970). *The Neo-Traditional Accomodation to Political Independence the Case of Indonesia*, dalam Lucian W Pye (ed), *Cases in Comparative Politics Asia*, Boston.
- Wolf, Erich (1969). *Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies* dalam Michael Banton (ed.) *The Social Anthropolgy of Complex Societies*. London: Tavistock Publications.