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From Normative to Reflective Collectivism: Discourses on Rewang Across Generations in Javanese Society

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Abstract. *This study stems from the limitations of previous studies, which have focused more on the tradition of rewang from the perspectives of gender, urbanization, or symbolic representation, but have not explicitly linked it to the framework of cultural psychology. This article offers a cross-generational discourse analysis to understand how rewang is interpreted by the Baby Boomer and Generation Z generations in Javanese society. We argue that the subject positions produced through the discourse of rewang show a shift from normative collectivism—characterized by unquestioned obligations, rigid social norms, and moral demands—towards reflective collectivism, where participation is negotiated through personal agency, flexibility, and digital mediation. Based on qualitative data from three Baby Boomer women, 20 Generation Z participants, and digital content analysis (YouTube and TikTok), this study identifies four main discourses that support the construction of rewang: social connectedness and identity, gender norms, moral obligations, and harmony. These findings show that rewang continues to function as an arena for collective identity formation, but with a discourse logic that is increasingly diverse and adaptive to cross-generational value changes.*

Keywords: *Discourse analysis; Collectivism; Baby Boomers; Generation Z; Java.*

INTRODUCTION

The rewang tradition is a form of social practice typical of the Javanese people that emphasizes the importance of togetherness, cooperation, and solidarity in community life, which is manifested in the Javanese people in the form of rewang or nyinom in neighbors' celebrations (Wewenkang, 2016). At the level of praxis, rewang is not only in the form of joint work activities ahead of weddings, circumcision, or other traditional ceremonies. It also contains a broader cultural meaning: it reflects a sense of social attachment, tolerance, and togetherness across families and communities. More than just a physical contribution, rewang can be read as an arena of social identity construction where individuals feel recognized as part of a group. The perspective of social psychology shows that this kind of collective bonding is closely related to psychological well-being. Strong social identification has been shown to improve mental well-being and lower the risk of depression and anxiety (Haslam, 2022), as a sense of community can serve as a buffer against negative emotional stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Thus, the rewang tradition not only plays a role in maintaining cultural sustainability but also makes a real contribution to the welfare of individuals in their communities.

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However, in contemporary Javanese society, the values contained in the *rewang* tradition face severe pressure due to modernization, urbanization, and the strengthening of individualistic values, especially in the younger generation. Daku & Setyawan, (2025) reinforce this assumption that communal values are now facing the influence of globalization. Nonetheless, *rewang* remains a valued practice for strengthening social ties and preserving traditions in an ever-evolving context.

This shift raises a critical question: what is lost when collective traditions such as *rewang* are eroded by more individualistic patterns of relation? Several previous studies have observed this phenomenon. For example, Putri et al., (2023) highlight how modernization drives a shift in meaning and participation in the *rewang* tradition. Humaedi et al., (2025) found that the younger generation prioritized efficiency and independence over collective attachment. Meanwhile, Khoirunnisak & Mintarsih, (2024) shows that Generation Z interprets *rewang* symbolically through social media representation rather than direct involvement. This condition causes cultural and psychosocial excesses: weakening of collective participation, erosion of the value of cooperation, and inhibition of cross-generational knowledge transfer. In other words, this shift in values reflects cultural dynamics. It shows the transformation of collectivism from a normative to a reflective form, which challenges the sustainability of social solidarity mechanisms while opening up new spaces for individual agency in contemporary Javanese society.

Previous research has underlined the various dimensions of *rewang*. Budiono, (2018) emphasized the importance of women's role in maintaining the sustainability of tradition through their active involvement. Sekarini et al., (2023) identifies a shift in the meaning of cooperation in urban society, which is now more often replaced by catering services or professionals. Winarsih, (2023) emphasized that despite the emotional bond, the intensity of the young generation's involvement remains lower than that of the previous generation. Khoirunnisak, (2024) added that the younger generation celebrates *rewang* more in a symbolic form in the digital space than in a real practice.

Meanwhile, Sihombing & Perangin-Angin (2023) underlined the importance of cross-generational communication to bridge differences in cultural values in a pluralistic Indonesian society. These findings are important, but most studies still look at *rewang* from a gender, urbanization, or symbolic representation perspective. Studies that explicitly link the *rewang* tradition to the framework of cultural psychology, especially cross-generational collectivism, are still minimal. This situation is where the research gap that we want to fill lies: how to understand the transformation of collective values in *rewang* when read from a cross-generational perspective, especially between Baby Boomers and Generation Z.

Differences in value orientation between generations have been widely confirmed in the literature. The Baby Boomer generation (1946–1964) generally views *rewang* as a social obligation and a form of respect for cultural values, while Generation Z (born after 1995) often considers *rewang* as a burden or activity that can be replaced by professional services (Putri et al., 2023). It shows that generational differences form different constructions of meaning over collective identities. However, cross-generational research related to *rewang* has stopped chiefly at the description of the phenomenon, not utilizing an adequate theoretical framework to explain how these differences work on a psychological and cultural level, especially the perception between the Baby Boomer Generation and Generation Z.

This condition is where the relevance of Cultural Psychology needs to be emphasized. Conceptually, Cultural Psychology can be understood as studying how culture shapes individual behaviors, attitudes, and identities and how individuals reproduce culture daily. One of the main approaches in Cultural Psychology is collectivism. Singelis et al., (1995) explains collectivism as a value orientation that places groups as the reference center of individual identity. Collectivism

has six dimensions: self-constructive, normative behavior, ingroup loyalty, prioritizing group goals, harmony and conflict avoidance, and obligation and duty. This dimension is not only an abstract concept, but can be used as an analytical tool to understand how social practices such as *rewang* are lived, interpreted, or abandoned. For example, Baby Boomers still see the obligation to be present in the *rewang* as a form of obligation and duty. However, Generation Z views it as an individual choice that can be negotiated. These debates show how the theory of Triandish collectivism can be used as a conceptual framework for examining cross-generational dynamics.

At least three reasons drive the importance of connecting the *rewang* tradition with Triandis collectivism. First, the relevance of this framework for more in-depth analysis at the psychological and behavioral level, not just the cultural one. Second, it provides a systematic foothold to test whether the shift in the meaning of *rewang* aligns with the transformation of collective values towards individualism. Third, this theory expands cross-generational discussions from mere social phenomena to conceptual analyses that can contribute to developing cultural psychology theories in the Indonesian context. Thus, this study reports that different generations interpret *rewang* and highlights how these differences work in collectivism.

The urgency of this research does not only lie in the issue of cultural preservation. Given that every value system (collectivism and individualism) has advantages and disadvantages, what is at stake is not just the "loss of tradition" but the loss of the social functions that support the psychological well-being of individuals. If collectivism weakens, there is a risk of declining social solidarity, weakening of emotional support networks, and increasing isolation of individuals. On the other hand, if individualism is too dominant, the younger generation may gain greater autonomy, but at a high price: reduced social attachment, which has been the strength of Javanese society. Differences in perspective between generations, if not bridged, also have the potential to widen social distance and weaken cross-generational value transfer. This issue is why cross-generational research on *rewang* is urgent academically and socially.

Based on this description, this study aims to explore how the Baby Boomer Generation and Generation Z interpret the *rewang* tradition in Javanese society by using the six dimensions of Triandist collectivism as an analysis tool, and reveal how these differences in meaning shape the discourse contestation between normative obligations and reflective flexibility in cultural practices. This research does not depart from the assumption of absolute differences between generations, but from the open question: how is the meaning of the *Rewang* tradition constructed, maintained, or transformed by two generations in the context of changing cultural values? Thus, this research offers novelty in two ways: (1) linking the phenomenon of *rewang* with a more operational framework of cultural psychology, and (2) providing a cross-generational analysis that can explain the dynamics of collectivism in contemporary Javanese society.

METHOD

This qualitative study is based on a critical paradigm using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) to examine how the *rewang* tradition is interpreted across generations (Willig, 2013). This paradigm places social reality as a discursive construct shaped through language, practice, and power relations (Foucault, 2012). With this framework, *rewang* is understood not just as a cultural practice, but as a subject production arena in which Baby Boomers and Generation Z are negotiated as social actors with different positions within the collective structure.

To enrich the analysis, the FDA combines Singelis et al., (1995) collectivism framework, which offers six main dimensions: self-constructive, normative behavior, ingroup loyalty, prioritizing

group goals, harmony and conflict avoidance, and obligation and duty. This dimension is used as an analytical lens to identify how the discourse about *rewang* is maintained, contested, or transformed across generations. Thus, this study not only reveals the discursive dynamics of *rewang* but also shows how the value of collectivism is reconfigured in contemporary Javanese society.

The data collection technique consists of focus group discussions (FGD), open questionnaires, and digital content analysis. The diversity of these techniques is not just variation, but rather a conceptual foothold to obtain a richer picture: FGDs to capture the collective experiences of older generations, open-ended questionnaires to record the diversity of opinions of younger generations, and digital data to track cultural representations circulating in online public spaces.

The research participants consisted of two groups of generations that were selected purposively. The first group comprises three women from the Baby Boomer Generation (born 1946–1964) with first-hand experience in *rewang* activities in their environment. The second group is 20 individuals from Generation Z (born after 1995), with diverse exposure backgrounds: 12 have been directly involved in *rewang* activities, while the other eight only know *rewang* through digital representation and social environments. This difference does cause a mismatch of criteria, because the experience of Baby Boomers tends to be factual, while the experience of some Generation Z is more representational. However, this inequality is part of the research findings: it shows that *rewang* is lived directly and mediated by digital media in contemporary society. Thus, these differences in criteria are seen as a reflection of social reality, not as a methodological bias.

To clarify the basis for selecting participants, the researcher established three indicators: (1) the level of involvement (directly or indirectly in *rewang* activities), (2) the level of knowledge about the *rewang* tradition (through experience or digital media), and (3) readiness to express views openly. This indicator ensures that participants have a connection to the Javanese cultural context and a reflective capacity to convey their experiences and perceptions.

Data collection is carried out through three channels. First, the FGD involved three participants of the Baby Boomer Generation based on the recommendations of the chairman of the Neighborhood Circle (RT) and the chairman of the Family Empowerment and Welfare (PKK) at the local level. The FGD was held face-to-face at the local community hall for about 60 minutes. The researcher acts as a moderator, accompanied by a note-taker who also ensures that the flow of the discussion is maintained. The FGD guide is prepared based on six aspects of Triandis collectivism (1995; 2018), with questions that lead to: personal experiences when engaging in *rewang* (self-constructal), perceived social norms (normative behavior), group loyalty (ingroup loyalty), prioritizing group goals, how to avoid conflict (harmony and conflict avoidance), and obligations and duties. The discussion was recorded with the participants' permission, then transcribed verbatim for analysis.

Second, an open-ended questionnaire was used for Generation Z. Before filling out, participants watched a short film titled *Rewang* (directed by Fildzah Rahmatina, 2022) as a contextual stimulus. This film was chosen because it narratively visualizes the practice of *rewang*, thus helping participants—especially those who have never been directly involved—to reflect on their views more concretely. The questions in the questionnaire are open-ended and designed to explore participants' personal attitudes, experiences, and interpretations of the relevance of the *rewang* tradition in modern life.

Third, digital content analysis is carried out on the representation of *rewang* in online public spaces. The data sources include one documentary titled *Budaya Rewang – Rumaysho TV* on YouTube (7,494 viewers, 32 comments), as well as five TikTok content tagged #*rewang*, #*tradisirewang*, #*jawa*, and #*budayajawa*. Each TikTok video was selected through a hashtag-based

search and then analyzed along with the 10–30 comments that appeared on each video. This digital data is not treated as triangulation in the classical sense (testing the validity of data through cross-methods or sources), but rather as additional data to enrich the understanding of how the rewang tradition is represented and negotiated in the digital space. This way, research can capture cross-generational dynamics in real practice and symbolic representations on social media.

The analysis was carried out using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) as explained by Willig (2013). This approach views data as a collection of statements and a discursive practice that shapes the subject's position. The initial analysis stage was done by re-reading interview transcripts, questionnaire answers, and social media comments to gain contextual understanding. After that, the researcher traces the language patterns, provides code (Miles, 2014), and uncovers different discourses about rewang, from those emphasizing loyalty and collective obligation to opening up space for individual flexibility and agency. The data presented is not intended as an objective universal representation, but rather as an illustration that confirms how Baby Boomers and Generation Z are constructed differently within a discursive framework. The validity of this research rests on the resonance of the findings with the social reality of Javanese society and its contribution to the development of cultural psychology studies, especially related to the dynamics of collectivism across generations.

The credibility of this study uses a thick description strategy—providing a rich description of the participants' social and cultural contexts—so that the reader can assess the transferability of the findings to other contexts. Validity is maintained by comparing data from different sources (FGDs, questionnaires, and digital content), not in a rigid triangulation framework, but in expanding the spectrum of experiences and perceptions captured. The authenticity of the data is guaranteed through recording, verbatim transcription, and transparent analysis. In addition, this study confirms that data obtained from Generation Z participants who were only digitally exposed to rewang were not treated on the same level as the factual experiences of Baby Boomers, but were analyzed as a spectrum of different experiences that are equally important for understanding cultural dynamics in contemporary society.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first group explored through interviews was the Baby Boomer generation, which consisted of three women directly involved in rewang in their environment, making these activities an integral part of their social identity (Table 1).

Table 1.
Profile of Informant Focus Group Discussion

Participants	Age	Brief Profile
Leni	58 years	Leni is a housewife who has been actively participating in the rewang tradition in her neighborhood for 30 years. Leni has one husband and 3 children. Leni's daily routine is to take her children to school and become a village cadre. As an RT (RT Mother) administrator who is quite respected, Leni not only plays the role of a rewang implementer, but also as an extension worker for the younger generation.
Sumi	60 years	Sumi works as a civil servant in the city of Surabaya. She is the wife of 1 husband and 2 children, educated at the junior and senior high school levels. Despite working, Sumi has flexible hours, so there is no reason for her not to do rewang.
Rini	62 years	Rini is a single parent with 1 adult son (27 years old). Rini considers rewang a cultural and spiritual obligation to maintain relationships with others.

Note: Participant's name has been changed to a pseudonym

This study finds four main discourse themes from across generations and sources. First, rewang as an arena of connectivity and social identity affirms its role in strengthening collective solidarity and transmitting values across generations. Second, social norms and role-sharing: from regulation to negotiation, which shows a shift from take-for-granted compliance to a reflective interpretation of gender rules and social roles. Third, moral obligation versus flexibility reveals the transformation of collective obligation into a space for individual negotiation. Fourth, harmony and conflict avoidance: solidarity in negotiations shows different generational strategies in maintaining social cohesion. The results of this analysis can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2.
Theme Analysis Results

Theme	Category	Code from cross-source
Rewang as an Arena of Connectedness and Social Identity	Collective identity	Social obligations (BB), part of life (BB), family identity (BB), community recognition (GZ), village solidarity (DG), hereditary habits (BB)
	Solidarity and togetherness	Helping each other neighbors (BB), peace of mind (BB), sense of satisfaction of contribution (GZ), celebration togetherness (DG), cooperation (BB), moral support (BB), neighborhood harmony (BB), emotional togetherness (GZ)
	Value transmission and inheritance	Invite grandchildren to participate (BB), parental teachings (BB), participation encouragement (BB), generational adjustment (BB), inheritance of traditions (DG), sarcasm of youth organizations (BB), adaptation of the younger generation (GZ)
Social Norms and Role Sharing: From Regulation to Negotiation	Social rules and sanctions	Fear of absence (BB), fear of being felt (BB), natural consequences (BB), unwritten rules (BB), reflective awareness (GZ), social sanctions (DG), community pressure (BB)
	Gender-based roles	Father of physical work (BB), kitchen cook mother (BB), age-appropriate role (BB), automatic role (BB), negotiation role (GZ), group work (GZ), small help child (BB), seasoning coordination mother (BB)
	Social regulation	Reciprocal assistance (BB), symbolic solidarity (BB), customary obligations (BB), group loyalty (BB), social compliance (BB)
Moral Obligation versus Flexibility	Normative obligations	Shame (BB), village customs (BB), moral obligation (BB), compulsory solidarity (BB), social responsibility (GZ), fear of losing legitimacy (BB)
	Flexibility of participation	Present despite fatigue (GZ), personal decision (GZ), voluntary attendance (GZ), social-personal balance (GZ), personal agency (GZ), individual choice (GZ), autonomy of the younger generation (GZ)
	Discourse of obligation	Normalization of obligations (BB), flexibility of rewang (GZ), adaptation of tradition (DG), balance of choice (GZ)
Harmony and Conflict Avoidance	Community harmony	Harmony (BB), avoid conflict (BB), mutual tolerance (BB), community harmony (GZ), importance of harmony (BB), group solidarity (BB)

Theme	Category	Code from cross-source
	Conflict avoidance strategy	Be silent when in trouble (BB), avoid tension (BB), compromise individually (GZ), minimalist strategy (GZ), choose silence (GZ), prevent commotion (BB), be restrained (BB)
	Covert conflict	Backtalk (BB), awkwardness (BB), social awkwardness (BB), job injustice (GZ), role differences (DG)

Note: BB codes (Baby Boomer), GZ (Generation Z through questionnaires), and DG (Digital data, analysis of comments on YouTube and TikTok).

Rewang as an Arena of Connectedness and Social Identity

The first theme from the data was how rewang was constructed as a means of social connectedness and collective identity. Rewang has long been seen as a means to build and strengthen social solidarity within the community. For the Baby Boomer Generation, rewang is more than just a tradition; It is a social obligation, inseparable from the community's identity, and is inherited from generation to generation. Leni, a respondent from the Baby Boomer Generation, emphatically stated:

"You know, people from the past, if someone has a wish, they have to be rewang, it is like part of our lives. Especially since we live in a village, we have to socialize anyway, you do not mind participating in gatherings."

"Rewang is our shared responsibility if we live in a community or village. Indeed, technology and many outsiders have been paid for rewang, but it feels different between rewang who is paid and rewang who is present voluntarily."

This statement indicates habits and articulates an interdependent dimension of the self-construct (Triandis, 1995) in which personal identity fuses into a collective identity. Rewang is positioned as a mechanism that produces a collective subject: an individual who feels his existence is legitimate only to the extent that the community recognizes it. As Cohen (1985) emphasizes, social networks serve as a buffer against psychological distress; participation in rewang reinforces this function. This social capital strengthens individual relationships and collective solidarity (Rindang, 2025).

From a cross-generational perspective, rewang also functions as a means of transmitting cultural values and identity. Pro-social values are transmitted vertically, obliquely, and horizontally through socialization, enculturation, and acculturation (Lestari, 2017). Children and adolescents who are involved learn through observation and direct practice, so that a sense of ownership and emotional bond grows (Rochayanti, 2012) Thus, rewang builds solidarity and becomes a mechanism for inheriting collective identity that allows cultural values and social ties to remain alive amid modernization (Farida & Setiawan, 2025). However, a different narrative emerges in Generation Z. Respondent D, for example, stated:

"I feel happy to be able to contribute... There is a sense of satisfaction because I feel valued and considered part of the community."

"Because I feel that rewang activities are an important social concern. In addition, I do not want

to be seen as indifferent by my neighbors and family. I try to balance personal and social responsibilities." – AA, Gen Z.

This quote suggests that Generation Z still wants social recognition, but their participation is no longer constructed as a normative obligation but rather as a choice that affirms personal agency. This response indicates a shift from the interdependent self model to the autonomous-related self (Kagitcibasi, 2017), a form of identity that balances social needs with individual autonomy. This shift also aligns with the findings of Saat et al., (2025) that the younger generation tends to reinterpret collective participation through the lens of self-expression rather than moral obligation. Thus, we see a contestation of identity discourse: Baby Boomers interpret *rewang* as a collective obligation, while Generation Z interprets it as a space of negotiable recognition. This difference reflects a transformation of collectivist values that is not entirely lost, but operates in a new logic.

Social Norms and Role Sharing: From Regulation to Negotiation

The second theme is related to social norms that manifest in the division of gender-based roles. Men are often involved in physical work, such as transporting goods, while women are often employed in the kitchen. For Baby Boomers, this rule is considered a taken-for-granted that upholds community harmony. As Sumi (Baby Boomer) expressed:

"We are not looking at religion here; the most important thing is to get along and work together."

This statement affirms the dimension of normative behavior (Triandis et al., 1995), where individual behavior is directed according to social expectations. The division of traditional roles in *rewang* strengthens symbolic solidarity between members (Rindang et al., 2025) and social regulation instruments. However, Generation Z shows a shift towards negotiated norms. Respondent RP explained:

*"There is an unwritten rule that men must help transport and women go to the kitchen. I have seen neighbors who rarely participate in the *rewang*, so other residents greet them less."*

This quote confirms that social sanctions are still in effect, but the younger generation places them in the frame of reflective consciousness, not blind obedience. They are aware of the social consequences of absence, but also begin to negotiate roles based on personal comfort, meaning that the younger generation reinterprets the obligation of *rewang* more pragmatically (Afifah, 2022). Thus, the discourse of social norms in *rewang* is no longer hegemonic, but undergoes resignation: it remains binding and becomes an arena for meaning-bargaining.

Moral Obligation versus Flexibility: Distorted Discourse of Duty

The dimension of obligation and duty seems very strong in Baby Boomers. For them, being absent from the *rewang* is the same as a moral violation. As Suma emphasized:

"If you do not come, you will be thought not to understand the customs... If you do not help me, you should be ashamed."

This discourse constructs subjects who are obedient out of shame and fear of losing social legitimacy. In other words, moral obligations in *rewang* become a mechanism of normalization

(Foucault, 2012) that subjects individuals to collective logic.

In contrast, Generation Z articulates obligations with nuances of flexibility. AS (Gen Z) admits:

"At that time, I was fatigued after a work trip out of town... Ultimately, I still came even though the body did not feel fully supportive."

It is also supported by the statement of NE (Gen Z), which conveys:

"Because I feel that rewang activities are an important social concern. In addition, I do not want to be seen as indifferent by my neighbors and family. I try to strike a balance between personal and social responsibility."

This sentence shows that, despite the encouragement of obligation, decisions are still within the framework of personal choice. The discourse of obligation still exists, but it is reconfigured in the logic of a balance between social interests and individual needs. This difference confirms a discursive transformation: from community-imposed obligations to obligations negotiated through individual agency. This pattern was also found in the research of Munawaroh and Setyawan (2024) related to the negotiation of the meaning of *Andhap Asor* between generations of contemporary Javanese society. Here, Generation Z represents what Kagitcibasi, (2017) calls an *autonomous-related orientation*—a form of collectivism that gives more space to personal interests.

Harmony and Conflict Avoidance: Solidarity in Negotiation

Both Baby Boomers and Generation Z place *harmony* as the principal value. However, the ways to achieve harmony are different. Baby Boomers emphasize this through full adherence to community norms, while Generation Z prioritizes more individualized *conflict avoidance* strategies. Respondents AA (Gen Z) said:

"I have seen an unfair division of labour, I want to convey, but I think it is better to be silent than to make the atmosphere uncomfortable."

This attitude shows how Generation Z avoids confrontation to maintain group cohesion (Hasanuddin, 2025), but in a more pragmatic way: choosing silence instead of internalizing norms. This phenomenon shows a shift in the dimension of *harmony and conflict avoidance* (Triandis, 1995). If Baby Boomers are subservient for the sake of harmony, Generation Z opts for a minimalist strategy—avoiding conflict without submitting completely. In Foucault, (2012) framework, this can be read as a form of small agency in the middle of the norm structure: the individual is not frontally opposed but not entirely constructed by the collective norm.

The cross-generational *rewang* discourse shows the transformation of collectivism in contemporary Javanese society. *Baby Boomers* are reproduced as collective subjects who obey moral norms and obligations. At the same time, Generation Z emerges as autonomous subjects who still recognize the value of togetherness but negotiate it according to personal needs. By utilizing the Triandis framework (1995; 2018), we can understand that this shift is not merely a decline in the value of collectivism but a transformation of its form: from normative collectivism to reflective collectivism. Generation Z still recognizes the importance of togetherness, but they do so through the language of choice, flexibility, and pragmatic harmony.

The psychosocial consequences are obvious: when collective bonds weaken, the risk of

social isolation increases (Cohen & Wills, 1985b). However, the advantage of the flexible model is the emergence of autonomy spaces that allow individuals to maintain psychological balance. As Winarsih, (2023) and Khoirunnisak, (2024) emphasize, the younger generation's adaptation of the *rewang* tradition is the key to cultural sustainability in the modern context.

From the perspective of cultural psychology, *rewang* is the arena of *subjectivation* (Foucault, 1972) : it constantly reproduces the individual as a collective subject, but the configuration of the discourse that makes up the subject is now differentiating across generations. The critical question remains how communities can renegotiate these values to maintain social solidarity while making room for the agency of the individual generations of the younger generation.

CONCLUSION

This article examines four interrelated discourses in constructing *rewang* in contemporary Javanese society: social connectedness and identity, gender norms, moral obligations, and harmony. These four discourses are negotiated differently across generations: for the Baby Boomer Generation, *rewang* is attached to a collective moral framework that unites identity with community obligations, while for Generation Z, it is rearticulated through a language of choice, flexibility, and more pragmatic harmony.

We argue that this generational contrast cannot be reduced simply to a diminution of collectivism. Instead, it transforms from normative collectivism, characterized by unquestioned obligations and rigid gender expectations, to reflective collectivism, in which participation is mediated by individual agency, negotiation, and digital representation. In other words, *rewang* shifts from a discourse of hegemonic obligations to a discourse of negotiated togetherness—remaining related to community identity, but increasingly responsive to modern lifestyles and contemporary socio-cultural pressures.

The implications of this analysis on the sustainability of Javanese culture are at least three things. First, cultural continuity can no longer be assumed as an automatic transmission between generations; they demanded that the reframing of traditions, such as *rewang*, become a more flexible and inclusive practice to suit the identity and agency of the younger generation. Second, the study of collectivism in Indonesia needs to repoliticize the analysis of everyday practices by showing how patriarchal structures, normative sanctions, and digital mediation shape who participates, how, and with what limits. This approach shifts the study of *rewang* from folkloric descriptions to critical engagement with power, identity, and agency issues. Third, efforts to maintain community solidarity should consider reflective collectivism as a resource because the younger generation does not reject togetherness, but seeks to live it in a way that aligns with personal aspirations, gender equality, and digital culture.

This research contributes to a broader debate on sustainability and cultural transformation in contemporary Indonesia by offering a cross-generational discourse analysis. *Rewang* remains an arena of subjectivation that reproduces the individual as a collective subject; However, the discourse's logic underpinning subjectivity is now increasingly diverse. Understanding this shift is important to preserve cultural practices and sustain communities' psychosocial well-being amid modernization.

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