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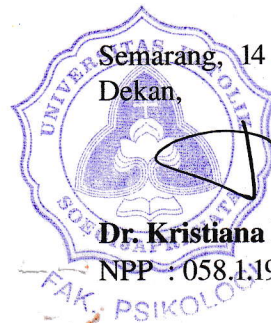
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PSIKODIMENSIA adalah sebuah kajian ilmiah yang memuat hasil-hasil penelitian, hasil pemikiran dan diseminasi yang bertujuan meningkatkan penelitian, ulasan, dan aplikasi di bidang psikologi. Sebagai forum, media komunikasi, dan pengembangan ilmiah, redaksi menerima sumbangan artikel yang bermuara pada peningkatan dan pengembangan psikologi. Terbit pertama kali pada bulan September 2000.

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"RE-THINKING INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM FROM INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE:
AN EVALUATION OF THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS"

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian di bidang Psikologi lintas budaya seringkali menghadapi permasalahan validitas pada pengukuran tentang sikap dan nilai (*attitudinal and values surveys*), karena kelompok yang diukur memiliki latar belakang sosial-budaya yang berbeda-beda sehingga anggota masing-masing kelompok tersebut menghidupi sikap dan nilai yang berbeda atas berbagai praktek kehidupan yang ada. Tulisan ini memiliki tujuan untuk mengidentifikasi permasalahan yang biasanya muncul pada pengukuran terhadap sikap dan nilai, serta mencoba mencari jembatan berupa teori-teori yang mendasar tentang budaya dengan harapan sikap dan nilai dapat dianalisis dengan lebih seimbang dan peka terhadap konteks budaya (*cultural-context*) dimana pengukuran tersebut dilakukan. Dalam tulisan ini secara khusus penulis menyumbangkan gagasan-gagasan dalam pengukuran sikap dan nilai terutama pada pengukuran tentang individualisme dan kolektivisme yang telah banyak diteliti ulang oleh para peneliti setelah dikemukakan pertama kali oleh Hofstede dalam konteks pemahaman sikap dan nilai masyarakat Indonesia. Tulisan ini hendak menegaskan bahwa berbagai pengukuran dan analisis terhadap hasil pengukuran sikap dan nilai dalam konteks pengukuran psikologi, khususnya pada pengukuran individualisme dan kolektivisme, dengan penggunaan skala tradisional seperti skala Likert, harus memperhatikan kondisi sosial budaya aktual masyarakat setempat, sehingga kondisi psikologis yang berkaitan erat di dalam praktek sosial budaya masyarakat tersebut akan terukur dengan lebih tepat.

Kata kunci: Attitudinal and values surveys, individualism collectivism

It has long been assumed that psychological processes influence culture and culture influences psychological processes. The relations between psychology and culture are multifaceted and dynamics, and therefore, inquiry into cultural psychology probably will take many distinct forms. Over almost the last two decades, a number of pioneering studies in cross-cultural psychology, notably here the ones by Hofstede (1991), by Triandis (1995) and a very recent meta-analyses study by Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier (2002) made tremendously significant contributions to the study of cultural values. These studies used the best method available, i.e. attitude and value surveys, at the time they were conducted (Kitayama, 2002). In psychological research on cultural differences the distinction between individualism and collectivism has received the lion's share of attention as a fundamental dimension of cultural variation.

However, researchers in the field of cross-cultural psychology are often challenged by validity problem of attitudinal and values surveys which is puzzled by the fact that different socio-cultural groups may assign different pragmatic meanings to abstract traits and values used in many value and attitude surveys

(Peng, Nisbett & Wang, 1997; Kitayama, 2002), by critics as ill-defined and "a catchall" to represent all forms of cultural differences (Brewer & Chen, 2007) and therefore, often times empirical-based studies cannot come up with a firm conclusion as it might be (Oyserman et.al, 2002). More generally, it will be important to develop a deeper understanding of the complex connections between cross-cultural differences and psychological universals (Lehman, Chiu & Schaller, 2004). It is also hard to say whether cultural differences attributed to any traits, such as invidualism and collectivism (called as IND-COL hereafter), are generalizable across populations or regions or whether differences found are limited only for the countries studied.

For a long time, however, the field of psychology as a whole has known that measurement of psychological constructs is prone to many biases. All the problems identified, notably here the attitude and personality measurement (Kitayama, 2002), are relevant when an attempt is made to measure *cultural variations* in values with attitudinal questionnaires. It appears that the field of culture and cross-cultural psychology has not yet come up with a much better and clearer understanding of the theoretical basis for the empirical research designed to measure cultural values. It is thus urgently necessary to determine a larger multidisciplinary effort to integrate culture and psychology. By doing so will better inform all researchers of future directions for research on the more contextually-related cultural and psychological processes involved with it. It is reasonable and perhaps desirable to begin a study with the more realistic and balanced assumption that will help attitude and value surveys were cross-culturally reliable and valid.

On addressing those issues, this present article will be presented by providing discussion of some lingering concerns as follows: first, it will discuss the theoretical ground to posit the cultural core. Second section of this article will discuss meaning of IND-COL in Indonesian context or discuss re-definition of IND-COL in Indonesian context. In this second section, there will also be a discussion of the interaction between culture, psychology and religion. And third section of this article will discuss critical points of the measurement of psychological processes and culture as the conclusion of this paper.

CULTURE AND PSYCHOLOGY

Definition of Culture.

Culture, in general, has been viewed as including everything that is human made (e.g., Herskovits, 1955); a shared of collective programming of the mind (Hofstede, 1991); a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of a society (Scupin, 2000); and a system of shared symbols and meanings (e.g., Sewell, 2005), to name several possible samples of culture conceptualizations.

While there are many definitions of culture, I find the following definition useful to guide my analysis about culture:

Culture, conceived as a system of competence shared in its broad design and deeper principles, and varying between individuals in its specificities, is then not all of what an individual knows and thinks and feels about his (or her) world. It is his (or her) theory of the code being followed, the game being played, in the society into which he (or she) was born….. But note that the actor's (or actress') "theory" of his (or her) culture, like his (or her) theory of his (or her) language may be in large measure unconscious. Actors (or actresses) follow rules of which they are not consciously aware, and assume a world to be "out there" that they have in fact created with culturally shaped and shaded patterns of mind. We can recognize that not every individual shares precisely the same theory of the cultural code, that not every individual knows all the sectors of the culture…… no one native actor (or actress) knows all the culture, and each has a variant version of the code. Culture in this view is ordered not simply as a collection of symbols fitted together by the analyst but a system of knowledge, shaped and constrained by the way the human brain acquires, organizes and processes information and creates "internal models of reality". (Keesing, 1974, p.89).

Every definition of culture mentioned above suggests that it represents a coalescence of discrete behavioral norms and cognitions shared by individuals within some definable population that are distinct from those shared within other population. Nevertheless, we generally are not highly aware of the rules of the game being played, but we behave as though there was general agreement of the rules.

Many researchers of culture have long assumed that culture is tacit and implicit. Culture is tacit and implicit largely because it is embodied in what Durkheim (Lukes, 1982) called as the "*social facts*" – human-made artifacts and associated on the actual social settings, or what Kitayama (2002) said as "on-line responses", that make up the society in general and daily behavioral environments. These facts include daily routines, practices, interpersonal rituals and discourses, styles of conversation, and social institutions. As Wirth observed that ,"The most important thing …that we can know about a person is what he (or she) takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those things that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled" (quoted from Kim & Berry, 1993, p. xxiv).

At the same time, however, they are widely shared in any given society or culture, and hence, they are often brought to the back of conscious awareness of the people who routinely engage in them. As a consequence, individuals rarely think explicitly about them. It is illustrated uniquely by Gudykunst (2006) that if we met a stranger from Mars and the Martian asked us to explain the rules of our culture, we probably would not able to describe many of the rules because we are not highly aware of them (p.42). No individual knows all aspects of a culture, and each person has a unique view of a culture. Members of a culture do *not* all share

exactly the same view of their culture. However, the theories that shared among members of a culture are overlap sufficiently so that they can coordinate their behavior in everyday life.

Culture and Subcultures.

The term culture usually is reserved to refer to the systems of knowledge used by relatively large numbers of people. Culture is also a historical accumulation of symbolic knowledge that is shared by a society. This symbolic knowledge is transmitted through learning, and it can change rapidly from parents to children and from one generation to the next. Culture exists before the birth of an individual into the society, and it will generally continue (in some form) beyond the death of any particular individual.

However, culture, to some extent, varies from person to person, from subgroups to subgroup, from region to region, from age group to age group, and from gender to gender. The boundaries between cultures usually coincide with national boundaries between countries. Subcultures are groups within a culture whose members share many of the values of the culture, but also some values that differ from the larger culture. In this case we can talk about ethnic subcultures, religious-based subcultures, social subcultures, student subcultures, and so forth.

To illustrate, I argue that it applies unbelievably unique in Indonesia context. Comprising of 17,508 islands, Indonesia is well known as the world's largest archipelagic state. With a total population of 222 million people in 2006, Indonesia is also the world's fourth most populous country and the most populous Muslim-majority nation, although officially it is not an Islamic state. People who live on the main island and the most populous island, Java Island, are 130 million, making it the world's most populous island. Across its many islands, Indonesia consists of more than 500 distinct ethnics and linguistics and several religious groups which means that at least there are 500 subcultures within the nations of Indonesian cultures.

Among those distinct and diverse ethnics in Indonesia, the Javanese are the largest and most politically dominant ethnic group. Java is by far the most populous island in Indonesia, with approximately 62% of the country's population, a home to the Javanese which constitute half the country's population and form by far the largest single ethnic group in Southeast Asia (Mulder, 1996). Java is also the most populous island in the world with 130 million inhabitants at 1026 people per km^2 making it as one of the most densely-populated parts of the world. If it were a country, it would be the second-most densely-populated country of the world after Bangladesh, if very small city states are excluded.

Approximately 45% of the population of Indonesia is ethnically Javanese who live in almost all part of Indonesia, though most of them live in Java Island. Even ethnic-people in Aceh (or Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam) called Javanese people as "insider-colonialist" to express the spreading effects of Javanese people in almost all part of Indonesia, including in Aceh. Challenged by its diverse

geographical and demographical of Javanese people made the nature of culture as Keesing (1974), Kitayama (2002) and Gudykunst (2006) argued that *not* all individuals in a culture knows all aspect on his (her) culture receives its critical point while many foreigners came to Java to study the culture, Javanese people themselves were losing their identity and couldn't even read and write in their own language. Nowadays, the identity of Javanese culture was crumbling, as it also suffered from a "modernizing society" (Mulder, 1196, p.13) that appears to have cut loose from its time-honored moral moorings in the interests of accelerating the progression into the beckoning future. Those reveal a real, complex challenge for researcher in the field of cultural psychology on identifying and understanding Javanese culture.

Defining Culture Core: In between of Core Values and System Properties

Measurement of psychological constructs is prone to many biases when an attempt is made to measure "*cultural variations*" in values with attitudinal questionnaires. In this particular domain of research, however, the concern with validity can become even more serious because there are some difficulties that apply only to cross-cultural comparisons. The difficulty stems from that fact that many factors that differentially influence different cultures (e.g. ecology, language, history, customs, lay theories and common sense) are much less variable for people in any single cultural group (Kitayama, 2002).

Other difficulty results from the fact that different socio-cultural groups may assign different pragmatic meanings to abstract traits and values used in many value and attitude surveys (Peng, Nisbett & Wang, 1997). For example of one trait " people having one's own opinion" may qualify as feature or trait of independence in culture in which people typically refrain from expressing any personal opinions on many social issues, but the same feature may fall short of anything that resembles independence in cultures in which people are typically quite opinionated.

On addressing those problems, a researcher must consider two kinds of standpoint to get a better, balanced understanding on defining any cultural core. It will lead to a sensible, fair comprehension how to critically analysis the interaction and meaning of culture to psychological processes, and vice versa, of psychological processes to culture. One of two standpoint is one the so-called the "*entity view*", which describes culture as a static entity. Oyserman et.al (2002) assumed that this entity is composed of set of values and norms, such as individualistic or independence (in particular, more independent and unique) and collectivistic or interdependence (in particular, more obliged to groups and more oriented toward group harmony). Another term coined by Scupin (2000) as non-material culture which refers to the intangible products of human society, such as values, beliefs and norms. Oyserman et.al. (2002) also argued that this entity is a causal antecedent of all behaviors relevant to this cultural core. The core elements

are the set of values, beliefs or norms, which in particular differentiate IND-COL such as self-concept, well-being, attribution style, and relationality.

That standpoint remains arguable since behaviors are not cultural by themselves. They are external to culture – that is, they are merely influence by it. To illustrate, I will discuss research findings from Kitayama and Markus (1999) which stated that when Japanese and Americans are different in certain psychological characteristic, say, self-esteem, the difference is not caused by culture. The self-esteem difference between the two cultural groups would best be understood in terms of public practices and meanings that implicate the self in the respective groups. In the United States, individuals are often encouraged to be positive and optimistic because self-esteem is considered as the prima facie evidence of health and well-being. In contrast, in Japan the practice of *hansei*, the practice of routinely reflecting on one's own shortcomings and problems is highly encouraged because recognition of such shortcomings and problems is seen as the first step toward self-improvement. In that sense, the conclusion based on the static entity on explaining behavior and causal influence is often misleading and, to some extent, even insensible.

Another point of view to define culture core is called as the "*system view*", which describes culture as dynamic system or what Scupin (2000) called as material culture which consists of the physical products of human society. The one that insists culture as a dynamic system that is composed of many loosely organized, often causally connected elements – meanings, practices, and associated mental processes and responses (D'Andrade, 2001). It is important to realize that culture is not just "in the head", rather culture is "out there" in the form of external realities and collective patterns of behavior (Keesing, 1974).

Cultural meanings are typically externalized in a pattern of historically accumulated public artifacts and associated mental functions and behaviors. These artifacts and collective behavioral patterns include verbal and nonverbal symbols (e.g. language and media), tools (e.g. computer and internet) and social institutions and structures (e.g. merit pay system in organization). Because a cultural meaning system is expressed in , and therefore carried and transmitted by, the collective patterns of behaviors and actual social settings (or on-line responses), it is often tacit for any individual.

According to the "*system view*", personal values are not cultural values writ small. Nor are cultural values personal convictions writ large. Individualistic cultural values such as liberty, happiness and autonomy are not significant in an individualistic culture such as the United States because they are endorsed by all members of the culture. In this view, the notions of independence or interdependence (or IND and COL) basically also refer to properties of the dynamic systems, composed of many loosely organized, often causally connected elements – meanings, practices, and associated mental processes and responses, in which the pertinent variables are functionally interconnected. With keep that in mind, the latter discussion of this article will try to recover a more balanced understanding of IND-COL, both from 'static entity' and 'dynamic system' point

of view on evaluating the meaning of IND-COL in Indonesian context in particular.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM IN INDONESIAN CONTEXT

Among the most heavily-researched cultural paradigms in psychology are those that have focused on two overlapping conceptual distinctions: the distinction between independent and interdependent self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and the distinction between individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1989). Therefore, to begin discussion of individualism and collectivism in Indonesian context, I will briefly overview the definition of IND-COL and its definable implications (for further review see Triandis, 1989; Peng et.al, 1997; Heine, Lehman, Peng & Greenhotlz, 2002; Suh, 2002; and Oyserman et.al, 2002).

Theory of Individualism.

The core element of individualism is the assumption that individuals are independent of one another. From this core, a number of plausible consequences or implications of individualism can be discerned. Hofstede (1980) defined individualism as a focus on rights above duties, a concern for oneself and immediate family, an emphasis on personal autonomy and self-fulfillment, and the basing of one's identity on one's personal accomplishments. Plausible consequences of individualism in psychology – self-concept, well-being, attribution style, and relationality – are easily discerned.

First, with regard to self-concept, individualism implies that (a) creating and maintaining a positive sense of self is a basic human endeavor; (b) feeling good about oneself, personal success, and having many unique or distinctive personal attitudes and opinions are valued; and (c) abstract traits (as opposed to social, situational descriptors) are central to self-definition. Second, with regard to well-being, individualism implies that open emotional expression and attainment of one's personal goals are important sources of well-being and life satisfaction. Third, with regard to attribution style, individualism implies that judgment, reasoning and causal inference are generally oriented toward the person rather than the situation or social context because the de-contextualized self is assumed to be a stable, causal nexus. Last, with regard to relationality, individualism implies a somewhat ambivalent stance. On one hand, individuals need relationships and group membership to attain self-relevant goals, but on the other hand relationships are costly to maintain. Therefore, most individualists tend to maintain impermanent and non-intensive relationships.

Theory of Collectivism.

The core element of collectivism is the assumption that groups bind and mutually obligate individuals. From this core, theorists discern a number of plausible consequences or implications of collectivism. Collectivistic societies are

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communal societies characterized by diffuse and mutual obligations and expectations based on ascribed-statuses. In these societies, social units with common fate, common goals, and common values are centralized; the personal is simply a component of the social, making the in-group as the key unit of analysis. This description focuses on collectivism as a social way of being, oriented toward in-groups and away from out-groups. In this way, collectivist may refer to a broader range of values, attitudes, and behaviors than individualist.

Plausible consequences of collectivism for psychology – self-concept, well-being, attribution style, and relationality – are also easily discerned. First, with regard to the self-concept, collectivism implies that (a) group membership is a central aspect of identity and (b) valued personal traits reflect the goals of collectivism, such as sacrifice for the common good and maintaining harmonious relationships with close others. Second, with regard to well-being and personal expression, collectivism implies that (a) life satisfaction derives from successfully carrying out social roles and obligations and avoiding failures in these domains and (b) restraint in emotional expression, rather than open and direct expression of personal feelings, is likely to be valued as a means of ensuring in-group harmony.

Third, with regard to attribution-style, collectivism implies that (a) social context, situational constraints, and social roles figure prominently in person perception and causal reasoning and (b) meaning is contextualized and memory is likely to contain richly embedded detail. Last, with regard to relationality, collectivism implies that (a) important group memberships are ascribed and fixed, viewed as "facts of life" to which people must accommodate, (b) boundaries between in-groups and out-groups are stable, relatively impermeable and important and (c) in-group exchanges are based on equality or even generosity principles.

The Meaning of Individualistic and Collectivistic Orientation (INDCOL) in Indonesian Context.

"When a psychologist looks at a non-Western culture through Western glasses, he may fail to notice important aspects of the non-Western culture since the schemata for recognizing them are not provided by his science"
(Azuma, 1984, p.40)

I'm wittingly quote Azuma's point to note that general psychology seems to be committed errors of omission when it comes to bring about discussion of cross-cultural and cultural-related psychological processes, in particular culturally-related values across Asian nations. Some researchers might insist that there are general patterns of behavior that are consistent in individualistic cultures, and there are general patterns of behavior that are consistent in collectivistic cultures. However, individualism and collectivism are manifested in unique ways in each culture.

It is substantial to interpret the findings of any cross-cultural research, in particular those which use attitudinal and values surveys, to not narrowly attribute

it to personal situation or make a 'psychologizing' personal processes, rather fundamentally interpret the finding as part of social and collective functions or context of any given societies. The notions of individualism (or independence) and collectivism (or interdependence) refers to properties of the static entity aswell as the dynamic system in which the pertinent variables are functionally interconnected.

To begin discussing the issue of cultural-related values of Javanese, there will be a brief overview of two basic, major used principles of Javanese values. The two basic, major used principles among Javanese are Principle of *Kerukunan* or Principle of Harmony and Principle of *Hormat* or Principle of Respect (see Suseno, 1996; Mulder, 1996 and Sulastri, 2006, for further review). Those two basic, major used principles will serve as the basis on evaluating the meaning of INDCOL among Javanese people.

The two basic, major used principles of Javanese values are as follows:

Prinsip Kerukunan (Principle of Harmony)

Principles of harmony implies that all members of society must maintain harmonious relationships with close others. There is a strong tendency, or even obligation, to restrict open and direct expression of personal feeling (e.g. feeling and expression of anger, expression of disagreement) to maintain the harmonious relationship among the member. This harmony situation embraces a close and tight connectedness not only among member of immediate family but also among their own extended family. They can ask for support from their immediate and extended family for all events in their lives from psychological support to even asking for financial support for any events in their live.

For Javanese people, the confrontation with outside world is not a source of happiness. People would refer to their social dependence in achieving their goals and, in their opinion, only fools tried to go it alone. To be alone, to fight one's own battles and to establish one's independence apart from one's fellows, was never seen as desirable, and certainly was no way to peaceful existence. One feels at peace "because we mutually entertain good relationships".

Moreover, a sense of obligation should be at the heart of life, and is not merely a matter concerning inferior in their relations with superiors. Parents also have their obligations vis-à-vis their children, whom they have to rear and protect, to teach and worry about. That is their task: they must prepare their offspring for life, see to it that they grow up human and respectable, conscious of others and the precariousness of existence. In preparing their children for life, they will arm their charges with good example and right teaching, while parents express their anxiety and concern (*prihatin*) about this endeavor in austerities, minor forms as asceticism, *slametan* rituals and self-sacrifice such as doing fasting for their children's sake. This sense of obligation to others is a salient and crucial element in Javanese existence; it is its moral touchstone, and the cement of social relationship.

The practice of Principle of *Kerukunan* or Harmony Principle among Javanese was discerned when on May 2006 there was an earthquake disaster happened in Jogjakarta (Java Island) and cities nearby. A lot of survivors suffered from trauma and diagnosed suffered from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) from mild to severe prevalence. One determinant which played an important role to the positive prevalence of resilience, or fully recovered from the trauma (see Sulastri, 2007, for more review), stemmed from principle of *kerukunan* or harmony principle.

Psychological process which played instrumental role from the basis of principle of *kerukunan* (harmony principle) and influenced positively to the psychological condition of the earthquake survivors' is social support. As mentioned above that principle of *kerukunan* or harmony principle implies that all members of society must maintain harmonious relationships with close others and all members can ask for support from their immediate and extended family for all events in their lives.

One discern example of the salience of principle (or value) of *kerukunan* (principle of harmony) among Javanese people above is meant to support researcher to see the point that on interpreting the high tendency of collectivism among Javanese people in accordance with the plausible consequences of INDCOL, self-concept, well-being, attribution style, and relationality, one should consider the contextualization of those plausible consequences. Self-concept, well-being, attribution style and relationality of Javanese people can best be analyzed in terms of socio-cultural principles, practices and meanings among those people.

Prinsip Hormat (Principle of Respect).

Principle of respect implies that all members of society should obey and comply with social hierarchy that exists in their society. There are several types of hierarchy in Javanese people and some of them persist until now. Among them are Sultan/Raja (King) – people, parents – children, *priyayi* (monarch ancestry) – lay people and many other types of hierarchy which represents higher position and lower position.

The basic culture of Javanese people with regard to Principle of *Hormat* (Respect Principle) underlies on its moral directions in parents, respected elders (*sepuh, wong tuwa*) and religious leaders (*kiai, guru*). The moral content of relationships among people is on the self-repressive feeling (*sungkan*) especially in facing superiors. Hierarchical social order also showed by the use of High Javanese language (*kromo*) and Low Javanese language (*ngoko*). Those who are in lower position, such as children, should give respect to their parents by using the high Javanese language (*kromo*) to express their respect.

The practice of Principle of Hormat or Respect Principle among Javanese was again received its meaning among people who survived from the earthquake disaster. Another determinant which played an important role to the positive prevalence of resilience, or fully recovered from the trauma (see Sulastri, 2007,

for more review), with regard to the principle of *hormat* or respect principle is what psychologists called as "psychological de-briefing" which was uniquely held by initiatives of leader or some elders (*sesepuh*) who survived from the disaster. This is actually a kind of method to de-sensitize a client who suffered from any traumatic events and to help them re-gaining their power cognitively over their traumatic events and finally to make them feel easier about the trauma. Once the client succeeded on de-sensitizing the level of their trauma, other psychological therapies and treatments will be followed.

The earthquake in Jogjakarta and cities nearby was happened at 05.57 a.m. on May 27th 2006, and the immediate, autonomous "psychological de-briefing" was held on the evening of the day when the earthquake happened. They called their own "psychological de-briefing" as *rembug desa* (villagers' gathering). All survivors were invited by their elder (*sesepuh desa*) to gather round on certain place and the elder asked all survivors to talk, express their thought and feeling about the event and find the meaning of the event in terms of the relation to God's will in their life. He also asked all survivors to find the funny thing when the earthquake happened. In such situation of a post-event of a disaster like what happened in Jogjakarta at that time, it was almost unbelievably that such an activity was successfully held and all survivors solemnly followed the instruction of their elder people. It was really happened in one village on a remote area of Jogjakarta. That was how their high tendency of collectivism supported them to nourish their positive self-concept, well-being, attribution style and relationality.

Intertwined Dynamic of Culture, Psychology and Religion in Indonesian Context.

In the introduction of his book, Scupin (2000, p.1) noted that in the late 1966 there was an essay in *Time* magazine which reported that many social scientists were predicting that religion was going to disappear with the development of more scientific and secular attitudes within society. Some of these theorists predicted that science would displace religion, and scientific explanations would provide alternative views as to the origins of the universe, humans and the purpose and meaning of life. Other social scientists were predicting that if religion did not disappear, it was becoming a very personal and "private" affair for individuals.

However, those predictions were wrong. As we approach the beginning of the twenty-first century, religion appears to play an even more significant and public role in societies throughout the world. It appears that in all probability, religion in the twenty-first century will continue to resonate deeply with the basic existential problems faced by humankind. As the future change and the rapid development of scientific and technological advances persist and confront humanity with vexing economic, political, social and moral problems, many people will undoubtedly rely on religious faith and various spiritual traditions for assurance and hope.

Religion, like culture itself, consists of systematic patterns of beliefs, values and behavior, acquired by man as a member of his society. These patterns are systematic because their manifestations are regular in occurrence and expression: they are shared by members of a group. Religion is acquired by man as a member of his society, in part through conscious instruction, in part through imitation of others. When we characterized religion as "cultural", we saw it as an ordered system of meanings, values and beliefs by which individuals define their world. These individuals themselves form a society, an aggregate of persons who act and interact on the basis of a given cultural way of life. (Malefijt, 1968, p.6-7)

Religion of Javanese People. In the days before the Hindus, who began to come to Java Island around 400 A.D or before, it seems likely that the sort of "animism" common still to many of the pagan tribes of Malaysia comprised the whole of religious tradition; but this tradition has proved, over the course of centuries, remarkably able to absorb into one syncretized whole elements from both Hinduism and Islam, which followed it in the fifteenth century. Thus today the village religious system commonly consists of a balanced integration of animistic, Hinduistic, and Islamic elements, a basic Javanese syncretism which is the island's true folk tradition, the basic substratum of its civilization.

In general, Kejawen refers to the culture of the Javanese heart land that centers on the courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Often, it is especially understood as Javanism, such as the mysticism and religious practices associated with the philosophy of life, or Javanese knowledge (*ngelmu*), that normally also has esoteric qualities. It is essential Javanesess, composed of elements that are held to originate from the Hindu-Buddhist period of the island's history, in combination of older animistic thought. Although it is not a religion by itself, it belongs to an "enchanted" way of life that does not distinguish between the sacred and the profane.

One of the mystical scene of Kejawen was certainly flourishing at the end of the 1960s, Javanese people being attracted with its orientation toward the past and its dominant ideology of well-ordered relationships, it seemed to shield Javanese people, or Jogja society in particular, from the processes of change going in Jakarta and the nation in general. The same period saw the remarkable development of organized "*kebatinan*", a mystical streams which attempt to cleanse the practice of mundane motivations and an inward-directed exercises concentrating attention to elusive inner resources with which it wants to come to grips, training the secretive hidden being (*batin*) and intuition (*rasa*) to be attuned to the divine inspiration that will function as a guide through life. This "pure exercise" of *kebatinan* is also associated with the attempt on finding satisfaction in mystical reasoning to explain the functioning of the cosmos, while extolling the virtue and the wisdom of calmly and gratefully accepting (*nrima; semeleh*) life as it comes, in the consciousness that it all has a meaning, that the experience of life itself is the fulfillment of some higher will.

In that particular "inner strength" exercise was again very much discerned in the context of a true, traumatic event in Javanese people lives when an

earthquake disaster happened on May, 2006. The inner-practice of finding the explanation of functioning the cosmos, the fulfillment of some higher will to what happened in their lives was miraculously helped them to enter the state of calmness, gratefully accepting life in the full consciousness that what was happened must be for a reason and finally helped them to re-gain their resilience from their trauma. In the psychological de-briefing of the post-event, they often said in High Javanese language: "*Pejah gesang kawula ndherek Gusti*" (Live or die, I will follow solemnly what God wants from me); or: "*Kawula pasrah, nrima mawon, Gusti kagungan kersa*" (I'm gratefully accept of anything God wants from me. He has His reason giving us this – earthquake—event). Through that event and the way they gave meaning to that event lied a unique, meaningful intertwined of culture, psychology and religion. Kejawen as part of culture and part of religion of Javanese people has its full, deep meanings to the psychological condition of people dealing with their crucial existence as human.

CONCLUSION

Critical Points of IND-COL Measurement and Analysis Anchor for Future Research.

Although the recent innovations in the cross-cultural questionnaire method are promising, the point still remains that response to attitudinal scales or surveys, especially the ones in the traditional way or most commonly used format (Likert-type format), are often cross-culturally invalid. They usually fail to capture systematic cross-cultural variations. It is important to realize that this is the case even when the scales at issue are perfectly reliable and valid in assessing "individual differences within each culture". This happens because the within-cultural variation usually draws on individual differences, which is a source of variance that is entirely separate from the source of variance relevant for between-cultural variation (e.g. various social facts constituted by many factors including ecology, language, history, customs, lay theories, and common sense).

The practice of attitudinal and values scales or surveys in the most commonly used traditional format may necessary and perhaps sufficient to justify the use of the scale in a single culture study. However, it is not sufficient in cross-cultural comparisons. No strong inferences seem justified from cross-cultural differences and similarities that are found with attitudinal scales. Therefore, in order to be more cross-culturally valid, research on cross-cultural comparisons should be corroborated by more valid data in actual social setting or on-line responses and the analysis of the result should be comply to culturally-contextual meaning of functions and systems which rooted in a particular cultural context.

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