Hanim et al. (2026). IAS Journal of Localities, *3*(2), 163-179
https://doi.org/10.62033/iasjol.v3i2.219
ISSN (Online): 3026-2879

RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Ambivalence of Acceptance: *Nrimo*, Governmentality, and the Hidden Transcripts of Workplace Power

Meysella Al Firdha Hanim*, Zakaria Efendi, Rahmat Siregar, Febi Setiyawati, Yasmeen Nafia

Received:
4 January 2026
Accepted:
15 January 2026
Published:
15 January 2026

***Corresponding author**:
Meysella Al Firdha Hanim,
Universitas Gadjah Mada,
Indonesia
E-mail:
meysellaalfirdhahanim@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract: Studies on power relations in the workplace are often dominated by Western perspectives that view phenomena such as quiet quitting or boundary setting solely as economic transactional calculations. This study challenges this view by arguing that in the Indonesian context, particularly Javanese culture, these phenomena are modern manifestations of *nrimo*. Contrary to the common understanding that equates *nrimo* with passive resignation, this study reconceptualizes it through Scott's Hidden Transcript analytical framework, an infrapolitical strategy for negotiating power imbalances without disrupting the social order. This study synthesizes Scott's Infrapolitics (hidden Transcript), Indigenous Psychology, and Foucauldian discourse analysis (discipline, normalization, governmentality) to examine how workers reinterpret global media discourse on labor resistance. Through an interpretive qualitative approach to a corpus of online news, the findings reveal three main mechanisms: (1) Selective Compliance as a form of strategic acceptance, where formal compliance is maintained for the sake of harmony (*rukun*) while energy is withdrawn to protect oneself; (2) Boundary Protection as a technology of the self to maintain inner sanity (*r*) from exploitation that is often wrapped in familial rhetoric; and (3) Exit as Negotiation as a silent protest when the space for voice is suppressed.

Keywords: *Nrimo*; Coping mechanism; Workplace power relations.

Abstrak: *Studi tentang relasi kuasa di tempat kerja sering kali didominasi oleh perspektif Barat yang memandang fenomena seperti quiet quitting atau boundary setting semata-mata sebagai kalkulasi transaksional ekonomi. Penelitian ini menantang pandangan tersebut dengan mengajukan argumen bahwa dalam konteks Indonesia, khususnya budaya Jawa, fenomena-fenomena tersebut merupakan manifestasi modern dari nrimo. Berbeda dengan pemahaman umum yang menyamakan nrimo dengan kepasrahan pasif, studi ini merekonseptualisasikannya melalui kerangka analisis Scott yakni Hidden Trancript. Penelitian ini mensintesis perspektif Infrapolitik Scott (hidden Transcript), Indigenous Psychology, dan analisis wacana Foucauldian (disiplin, normalisasi, governmentality) untuk membedah bagaimana pekerja memaknai ulang diskursus media global tentang resistensi kerja. Melalui pendekatan kualitatif interpretatif terhadap korpus berita daring, temuan mengungkap tiga mekanisme utama: (1) Selective Compliance sebagai bentuk nrimo strategis, di mana kepatuhan formal tetap dijaga demi harmoni (rukun) sementara penarikan energi dilakukan untuk melindungi diri; (2) Boundary Protection sebagai teknologi diri (technology of the self) untuk menjaga kewarasan batin (rasa) dari eksploitasi yang sering kali dibungkus retorika kekeluargaan; dan (3) Exit as Negotiation sebagai protes diam (silent protest) ketika ruang suara (voice) yang ditekan*

Kata kunci: *Nrimo; Mekanisme coping; Relasi kuasa di tempat kerja.*

About Author
Meysella Al Firdha Hanim, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia; Zakaria Efendi, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia; Rahmat Siregar, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia; Febi Setiyawati, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia; Yasmeen Nafia, Department of Psychology, Monash University, Australia.

To cite this article: Meysella Al Firdha Hanim, Zakaria Efendi, Rahmat Siregar, Febi Setiyawati & Yasmeen Nafia. (2026). The Ambivalence of Acceptance: *Nrimo*, Governmentality, and the Hidden Transcripts of Workplace Power. *IAS Journal of Localities*, *3*(2), 163-179. DOI: 10.62033/iasjol.v3i2.219

Copyright © 2025 The Author(s). This is an open access article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) 4.0 international license. (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

1. Introduction

In many Indonesian organizations, working relationships are still shaped by a strong hierarchical structure, so negotiations between superiors and subordinates tend to take place through non-confrontational strategies (McClellan, 2024). In the context of Javanese culture, the value of *nrimo*, or accepting things wholeheartedly and maintaining harmony, often serves as a social language that governs workers' responses to power imbalances, ranging from restraining emotions, limiting involvement, to choosing to remain silent for the sake of relationship stability (Prayekti et al., 2019). However, this practice is not always synonymous with resignation. *Nrimo* can serve as a means of self-protection as well as a way of adapting to work norms that demand obedience (Rahman & Kuswanjono, 2025). In the discourse of culture-based mental health, *nrimo ing pandum* is understood as a calming coping mechanism, related to emotional stability and social harmony, and serves as a framework for understanding well-being in Javanese society (Farmawati & Wiroko, 2022). This phenomenon also shows how cultural values can shape workers' responses to authority in the workplace.

The literature on power relations in organizations shows that power works not only through direct instruction or domination, but also through the normalization and internalization of rules that shape workers as subjects who regulate themselves to conform to institutional standards (Ashforth, 2025; Bandura, 2017). This concept is in line with Foucault's ideas about power knowledge, surveillance, and governmentality, which are useful for understanding how organizations generate compliance through evaluation systems, work discipline, and moral discourse on professionalism (Powell, 2024). However, mainstream organizational studies often fail to take into account the local cultural mechanisms that shape workers' behavior and emotions. The indigenous psychology approach emphasizes that psychological experiences cannot be separated from cultural meaning systems, including relational values, moral emotions, and collective coping strategies (Miller et al., 2020). Studies of Javanese culture show *nrimo* to be a coping mechanism rich in meaning that can explain emotional dynamics, harmony, and resilience in the face of pressure (Safaria, 2026). However, the relationship between nrimo and power within organizations is still rarely positioned as an ambivalent process of negotiation both adaptive and simultaneously reproducing domination (Ortner, 1995).

Based on this gap, this study aims to analyze the role of *nrimo* as a mechanism for negotiating power relations in the workplace by combining Foucault's framework and indigenous psychology. Specifically, this study seeks to identify how *nrimo* functions as an adaptive strategy for regulating emotions, maintaining harmony, and maintain work continuity, examine how *nrimo* can operate as a normalization mechanism that makes power imbalances seem normal and reduces the practice of voice, and explain the conditions under which *nrimo* transforms into a form of covert resistance or power negotiation through selective compliance, emotional boundary protection, and exit strategies. This research will also expand the literature on power relations by presenting a non-Western cultural perspective that emphasizes the role of local meaning systems in shaping worker subjectivity and organizational behavior (Miller et al., 2020).

This article argues that *nrimo* is not merely a passive value, but rather an ambivalent and productive cultural-psychological practice in organizational life. First, *nrimo* can be understood as a technology of the self that enables workers to manage their emotions and maintain harmony in order to survive within hierarchical structures, thereby producing a subtle form of agency. Second, in organizational conditions that emphasize the morality of obedience, *nrimo* can become part of a governmentality that normalizes domination, shifts responsibility for injustice from structures to individuals, and produces subjects who feel it

is natural to restrain themselves (Miller et al., 2020). Third, to a certain extent, *nrimo* can also serve as counter-conduct through selective compliance, emotional energy conservation, or exit strategies as a form of power negotiation without open conflict. By combining Foucault's lens and indigenous psychology, this study shows that power negotiations in the workplace cannot be fully understood without examining how culture shapes workers' emotions, morality, and choices of action.

2. Literature review

2.1. *Nrimo*

The concept of *nrimo* in Javanese culture is generally understood as an attitude of accepting life's circumstances with an open heart, patience, and self-control. However, in recent indigenous psychological studies, *nrimo* is no longer positioned as mere passive resignation, but rather as a contextual and relational psychological strategy (Prayekti et al., 2019). Study by (Maghfira N. Aziza , Meysella A. Hanim , Niki Novitasari, 2024) shows that *nrimo* functions as a culture-based coping mechanism that allows individuals to manage structural pressures, power imbalances, and social uncertainty without having to engage in open conflict. In the context of hierarchical work relationships, *nrimo* is often manifested through the practice of selective compliance, which is partial and measured obedience, where workers consciously choose which rules to obey and which to negotiate quietly. (Ugwu et al., 2020). Furthermore, *nrimo* also acts as a boundary protection mechanism, which is a way for workers to maintain psychological, emotional, and moral boundaries from exploitative demands of authority through silence, strategic avoidance, or minimal involvement (Dimitrov, 2017). In some cases, exit as negotiation practices, such as subtle resignation, voluntary transfer, or withdrawal of participation, become a form of actualization of *nrimo* as a politics of silence, where power negotiations are conducted through absence rather than open resistance (Kirkpatrick, 2019).

Analytically, indigenous psychological literature categorizes *nrimo* as a form of emotion-focused coping that is collective-cultural in nature, differing from individualistic coping in Western psychology, which emphasizes direct expression and personal control (Adolfsson et al., 2025). Qualitative studies based on in-depth interviews and interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) show that *nrimo* has several main aspects, namely emotional regulation, moral rationalization, and management of social relations within hierarchical structures (Maghfira N. Aziza , Meysella A. Hanim , Niki Novitasari, 2024). In the practice of selective compliance, workers do not fully submit to authority, but rather apply strategic compliance as a way to maintain room for negotiation and avoid structural sanctions (Ceccagno, 2024). The aspect of boundary protection emerges through silent practices, restrictions on emotional involvement, and symbolic withdrawal, which serve as psychological protection against excessive work exploitation (Huyghebaert-Zouaghi et al., 2022). Meanwhile, exit as negotiation is understood as an extreme but socially safe form of coping, where the decision to leave the work system becomes a message of resistance that is not articulated verbally, but has a structural impact (Singh & Vashisht, 2021). An evaluation of these findings shows that *nrimo* is not a static strategy, but rather a dynamic and situational one, depending on power positions, social risks, and the value of harmony internalized by workers.

2.2. Coping mechanism

In psychological studies, coping mechanisms are understood as a set of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral strategies used by individuals to manage pressure, tension, and power imbalances in specific social contexts, including the workplace. (Bondarchuk et al., 2024). Recent developments in indigenous psychology emphasize that coping is not

universal, but rather embedded in cultural values, relational norms, and local meaning structures that shape how individuals respond to domination and subordination (Petrus et al., 2019). In the context of collectivist societies such as Java, coping often takes the form of indirect coping, where individuals avoid open confrontation and choose socially safe strategies to maintain harmony while protecting themselves (Luong et al., 2020). Indigenous studies show that strategies such as selective compliance, boundary protection, and exit as negotiation can serve as adaptive coping mechanisms that enable workers to maintain autonomy without violating established hierarchical structures (Goswami et al., 2023; Triatmodjo et al., 2023; Wijayati et al., 2021).

Conceptually, indigenous psychological studies categorize coping mechanisms into a spectrum of direct coping and indirect coping strategies, whereby societies with a collectivist and hierarchical orientation tend to develop forms of coping that are implicit, relational, and symbolic (Flores-Mendoza et al., 2024). An evaluation of Western coping models reveals their limitations in interpreting practices such as silence, procrastination, or partial compliance, which are often misclassified as avoidant coping, when in fact they serve adaptive and strategic functions in the local cultural context (Koç & Kafa, 2019). Empirical indigenous studies use interpretive qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews, work ethnography, and narrative analysis, to capture the subjective meanings of workers in practicing selective compliance and boundary protection as a way of maintaining dignity, psychological boundaries, and autonomy under unequal power structures (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Meanwhile, exit as negotiation is understood not merely as a form of escape, but rather as a reflective strategy that allows individuals to renegotiate their position when other channels of resistance are considered socially or economically risky (Johnston & Fells, 2017). Thus, coping mechanisms need to be understood as dynamic contextual practices, whose meaning, methods, and effectiveness can only be assessed by considering the power relations, cultural norms, and social calculations that surround them.

2.3. Workplace power relations

Workplace power relations are understood as a network of asymmetrical relationships formed through the distribution of authority, control of resources, organizational norms, and symbolic legitimacy that govern the bargaining position between superiors and workers in a particular work context (Munduate & Medina, 2017). Power relations in the workplace are not only present in the form of explicit formal domination, but also operate subtly through everyday practices, cultural expectations, and mechanisms of internalization of values that shape the way workers think, feel, and act (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013). From the perspective of indigenous Asian psychology, power relations are often negotiated through non-confrontational strategies rooted in the values of social harmony, self-control, and avoidance of open conflict, so that obedience is not always synonymous with total submission (Chiang, 2013; Larasati & Fernando, 2023). Study by (Hu et al., 2022) shows that workers can exercise selective compliance, boundary protection, and even exit decisions as forms of socially safe power negotiation without directly challenging hierarchical structures.

Evaluatively, studies of workplace power relations in indigenous psychology show that power relations can be categorized into several main aspects, namely structural power (position, employment contract, and access to resources), relational power (emotional closeness, patronage, and sense of indebtedness), and symbolic power that operates through cultural values such as respect, modesty, and social harmony (Munduate & Medina, 2017). Empirical findings show that selective compliance functions as a tactical strategy to maintain job security while preserving personal autonomy, while boundary protection allows workers to set psychological distance from excessive demands without causing open

conflict (Ceccagno, 2024). Furthermore, exit as negotiation is understood not merely as a failure to adapt, but rather as a final form of rational and dignified resistance when the space for symbolic negotiation is closed (Kirkpatrick, 2019). Thus, power relations in the workplace need to be understood as a dynamic arena in which silent strategies, tactical adjustments, and subtle resistance function as coping mechanisms as well as contextual and culturally meaningful everyday political practices.

3. Method

The unit of analysis in this study is discourse and representations of power negotiation practices in the workplace that appear in online news or media features, particularly those related to three forms of practice: selective compliance, boundary protection, and exit as negotiation. These units of analysis are understood as statements, narratives, and media interpretive frameworks about how workers respond to power imbalances, including popular terms such as quiet quitting, boundary setting, revenge quitting, and other forms of silent protest. By using news texts as the unit of analysis, this study assumes that the media does not merely report on phenomena, but also constructs social meanings about compliance, resistance, and work morality through its choice of language, framing, and emphasis on certain issues. This strategy is in line with the text and discourse analysis approach, which places media data as an arena for the production of meaning and social legitimacy, especially in issues of organization and power relations. The use of media texts as units of analysis is based on the understanding that the media functions as a 'site of meaning production' that provides workers with a repertoire of language to understand their inner experiences. From a discursive perspective, articles about quiet quitting or revenge quitting are not merely journalistic reports, but reflections of the 'regime of truth' that shapes what is considered normal, moral, and reasonable for workers today. This analysis traces how these global terms are localized and reinterpreted through a cultural lens (cultural appropriation of global discourse).

This study uses an interpretive qualitative design with a multi-method qualitative text and discourse analysis approach, combining Foucauldian Discourse thematic analysis and Scott, (1990) Reflexively to understand how *nrimo* as a cultural-psychological mechanism is positioned in power negotiations in the workplace. This combination was chosen because the purpose of the research was not to count the frequency of terms, but to interpret how media texts produce categories such as ideal employees, healthy limits, and resignation as resistance, while revealing the power relations that work through normalization and moral framing. Foucault's framework helps examine how power is shaped by discourse and creates worker subjectivity. Scott's Hidden Transcript (infrapolitics) is used to read subtle cultural action strategies (quiet quitting: Selective Compliance, Boundary Protection, and Exit) as subtle political actions in an unequal power reality. Meanwhile, Indigenous psychology is used to read the cultural meanings and moral emotions that structure practices of acceptance, harmony, and non-confrontational negotiation. This integration is in line with the latest methodological recommendations that emphasize the need for specific methodological sources to systematically combine text and discourse analysis.

The research data sources come from publicly accessible online news articles or features published between 2020 and 2026, focusing on credible media such as business, HR, mainstream, and national media that discuss phenomena related to labor power negotiations, burnout, work boundaries, and resignation practices. This time frame allows the study to capture post-pandemic discourse changes and the strengthening of discussions about work-life balance, work morality, and forms of covert resistance. News texts are

treated as discursive data containing social indicators (case studies, workers' experience narratives, and expert arguments) and reflecting public trends about what is considered normal in the world of work. The use of online news data as a basis for qualitative analysis is also supported by literature that affirms that online news is an important site for understanding modern practices and the formation of organizational narratives in the digital age.

Data collection was conducted through systematic searches using keywords relevant to the unit of analysis, including: *nrimo*, workplace power relations, quiet quitting, boundary setting, workplace boundaries, revenge quitting, exit strategy, and combinations of related keywords. Once articles were found, they were screened based on inclusion criteria that discussed workers' experiences or expert analysis related to work boundaries, compliance, resistance, or resignation, contained narratives that could be coded according to the three findings, came from verifiable media sources, and were available in full to read. The selected articles were then archived, their metadata (title, date, media, link) recorded, and compiled into a text corpus for analysis. This procedure is in line with digital data collection practices that emphasize the importance of documentation, transparency of steps, and data selection from the arena where the practice occurs in the digital media ecology.

Data analysis was conducted in two stages. First, the text corpus was analyzed using Reflexive Thematic Analysis to identify patterns of meaning regarding how workers negotiate power through selective compliance, boundary protection, and exit (Campbell et al., 2021; Terry & Hayfield, 2025). The process follows principles that emphasize reflexive interpretation, coding iteration, and theme formation based on relationships between codes, rather than mere mechanical classification (McClellan, 2024). Second, the thematic results were then explored in greater depth through Foucauldian discourse analysis to examine how media discourse shapes legitimacy, normalization, and the subjectivity of workers, for example, narratives of ideal employees, the morality of loyalty, or the framing of resignation as disloyalty. The final interpretation is conducted by combining Foucault's lens and indigenous psychology so that the meaning of *nrimo* is not reduced to resignation, but rather read as an ambivalent cultural practice that can be both an adaptive coping mechanism and a means of reproducing domination. The findings are then written by consistently linking media discursive evidence, behavioral indicators, and theoretical conceptualization.

4. Result

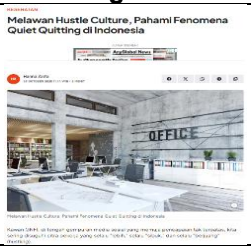
The ambivalence of acceptance (nrimo) in workplace power relations cannot be understood merely as a form of cultural compliance, but rather as a complex and strategic social practice. Within the framework of governmentality, nrimo operates between adaptation to organizational demands and the subtle reproduction of domination. Workers do not simply resist or comply outright; instead, they develop concealed modes of negotiation to preserve autonomy and dignity. This dynamic is manifested in three key patterns: selective compliance, boundary protection, and exit as negotiation. Together, these findings reveal how hidden transcripts function in everyday workplace relations and will be elaborated in the following sections.

4.1. Selective compliance

Table 1 presents an overview of selective compliance as an adaptive strategy used by workers to navigate contemporary workplace pressures without direct confrontation. The table compiles various interpretations of quiet quitting from media and organizational discourse, highlighting how workers remain formally compliant while selectively limiting effort, engagement, and availability. Through this lens, selective compliance is framed not as disengagement, but as a culturally and psychologically informed strategy for maintaining

balance, autonomy, and emotional sustainability within asymmetrical power relations at work.

Table 1. Adaptive strategies that enable workers to engage in selective compliance

Coding	Figure	Description	Source
Quiet quitting as "minimum compliance"		Quiet quitting is positioned as a response to hustle culture and the productivity trap, where workers remain formally compliant but limit their energy to maintain mental stability.	https://shorturl.at/qmP5n
Selective compliance as a boundary setting		HubSpot says many workers see quiet quitting as a way of setting healthy boundaries (rather than laziness). This reflects the struggle to define the ideal employee and a new understanding of enough as a moral balance (meaning system & moral self).	https://shorturl.at/v4DTg
Silent Protest		HRD Connect describes quiet quitting as a silent protest resulting from burnout. It demonstrates non-confrontational resistance and relational logic that avoids conflict.	https://shorturl.at/d2d4L
Lack of control: Appearance quiet quitting		Newsweek reported on a study that found a lack of control triggers quiet quitting. This demonstrates the asymmetry of power (power produces subjectivity) and coping strategies to maintain emotional balance.	https://shorturl.at/v4DTg
Working to rule as a response to overtime expectations		MA News defines quiet quitting as working "just enough" to meet minimum targets and not putting in extra energy as a form of resistance to hustle. This describes a tactic of using system standards as well as a form of "selective acceptance" of formal tasks while rejecting covert exploitation (boundary coping).	https://shorturl.at/dBhZs

The data in the table shows that the phenomenon of quiet quitting is understood through various interrelated conceptual frameworks, but with different emphases. First, quiet quitting is positioned as a form of minimum compliance with formal work demands, where workers continue to carry out their duties but consciously limit their energy and emotional involvement in order to maintain their mental health. Second, this phenomenon is also understood as selective compliance, which is an effort to set healthy work boundaries and reject excessive expectations without having to leave the organization. Third, quiet quitting is described as a silent protest, a form of silent protest that arises from work fatigue and is carried out in a non-confrontational manner. In addition, the data shows that low

individual control over work contributes to the emergence of quiet quitting as an emotion management strategy. Finally, the concept of working to rule positions quiet quitting as a form of resistance against overtime culture and covert exploitation by adhering to work rules literally without additional effort beyond formal obligations.

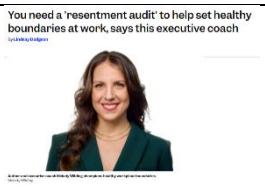
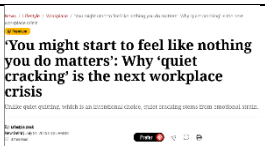
Based on the data in the table, four main patterns can be identified. First, quiet quitting consistently emerges as a non-confrontational resistance strategy, whereby workers reject excessive pressure without openly fighting back. Second, there is a strong tendency for quiet quitting to function as a boundary setting mechanism, namely an individual's attempt to redefine the boundaries of work that are considered fair and healthy. Third, the data shows that this phenomenon is closely related to power imbalances, especially the feeling of lack of control over organizational demands, which encourages workers to adopt selective compliance-based coping strategies. Fourth, quiet quitting is not merely interpreted as a decline in work ethic, but rather as a reconstruction of the meaning of work, where it becomes a new moral value in negotiating life and work balance. Overall, these patterns show that quiet quitting operates as a cultural practice that resembles strategic acceptance of formal work structures, while actively protecting oneself from symbolic and emotional exploitation.

4.2. Boundary protection

Table 2 presents *boundary protection* as a crucial adaptive practice through which workers manage the increasing encroachment of work into personal life. Drawing from organizational and media sources, the table illustrates how boundaries function as psychological safeguards, enabling individuals to regulate emotional energy, prevent burnout, and sustain social relationships. Rather than merely a personal preference, boundary setting is shown as a culturally shaped strategy of self-regulation and moral agency, reflecting workers' ongoing negotiation between demanding work systems and the need for long-term wellbeing.

Table 2. Boundary Protection

Coding	Figure	Description	Source
Work Encroachment		The HBR Podcast emphasizes that work always takes up space in life, so boundaries are necessary even in structured jobs. This demonstrates governmentality (the responsibility for wellbeing is shifted to the individual) and the practice of self-regulation as value-based coping.	https://shorturl.at/xlinz
Boundaries as psychological protection		HBR explains boundaries as limits imposed through actions or communication. This is in line with the "technology of the self" (shaping oneself to survive within the system) and moral agency in relational culture (taking care of oneself as well as one's family or relationships).	https://tinyurl.com/4av4rpjd

Resentment audit: boundary breach indicator		Business Insider reviews "resentment audits" to detect areas where workers are over-accommodating workloads; this leads to burnout and requires boundary protection.	https://tinyurl.com/3e2h7ene
Quiet cracking consequences of failing to maintain boundaries		The Indian Express discusses "quiet cracking": workers appear fine but are actually emotionally broken due to unrealistic work expectations and toxic culture.	https://tinyurl.com/2vhhknc7
Boundary setting as an aspect of wellbeing in demanding work conditions		Another BI article emphasizes that in a brutal job market, workers need to "control the controllables" and set boundaries so that work does not consume their lives.	https://tinyurl.com/mr2z3zue

The data in the table illustrates various perspectives on the importance of boundary setting in dealing with the intrusion of work into workers' personal lives. The HBR Podcast emphasizes that work tends to continue to invade individuals' lives, even in structured jobs, making boundaries a basic necessity for maintaining a functional life. This perspective places the responsibility for well-being on individuals through self-regulation practices. Furthermore, HBR explains boundaries as limits formed through conscious actions and communication, which serve to protect individuals' psychological well-being and social relationships. Business Insider introduces the concept of resentment audit as a reflective tool to identify areas of work that have crossed boundaries and triggered emotional exhaustion. Meanwhile, Indian Express highlights the phenomenon of quiet cracking, a condition where workers appear stable on the surface but experience emotional breakdown due to unrealistic work expectations and toxic work culture. Another Business Insider article emphasizes that in a tough job market, the ability to control controllable aspects through setting boundaries is an important part of a strategy to maintain well-being.

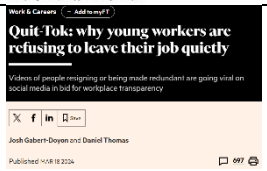
From this data, several consistent patterns emerge. First, boundary setting is positioned as a strategy for individualizing well-being, whereby responsibility for maintaining mental health is shifted from the organization to the worker through self-regulation practices. Second, work boundaries function as a psychological protection mechanism, not only to preserve personal energy but also to protect social and family relationships from the impact of excessive work demands. Third, the data shows that failure to set boundaries has serious emotional consequences, reflected in the emergence of resentment, burnout, and even the phenomenon of quiet cracking as a form of hidden collapse. Fourth, there is a tendency for boundary setting to become a survival skill in an increasingly competitive and exploitative job market, where workers are required to manage their limitations amid unrealistic expectations. Overall, boundary setting is no longer just a personal skill, but a cultural practice that reflects the negotiation between the demands of the work system and individual efforts to maintain sustainability and psychological well-being.

4.3. Exit as negotiation

Table 3 conceptualizes *exit* not merely as turnover, but as a form of negotiation through which workers assert agency in response to unfavorable working conditions. The table brings together media and labor-market analyses that frame resigning as a strategic, moral, and sometimes public act aimed at challenging injustice, burnout, and organizational

neglect. By positioning exit and exit intention as calculated responses rather than impulsive decisions, this figure highlights how leaving work operates as a bargaining mechanism within contemporary power relations and shifting norms of employment loyalty.

Table 3. Exit as negotiation

Coding	Figure	Description	Source
Resign as a "firm statement"		DetikEdu reviews the Gen Z trend of "revenge quitting," which involves resigning with a strong message because they feel unappreciated or burned out.	https://tinyurl.com/4y9324ek
Quit-Tok: exit as accountability and transparency		The Financial Times discusses the Quit-Tok phenomenon: resignations/layoffs made public to put pressure on organizations and encourage transparency.	https://tinyurl.com/4f2w385h
Exit as a response to injustice (global revenge quitting)		The Guardian describes revenge quitting as a response to micromanagement, discrimination, underpayment, and toxic culture.	https://tinyurl.com/4r62zrhh
High exit intention: 52% of Indonesian workers are looking for a new job		GoodStats presents data: 52% of Indonesian workers are actively seeking new jobs, indicating exit intention as a form of collective bargaining power.	https://tinyurl.com/ye28ta2u
Not so Great Resignation SEA: many want to move, many hold back while preparing their next step		Robert Walters e-guide (SEA) shows that workers often delay resigning until there is a career move; exit as a negotiation strategy, not impulsive.	https://tinyurl.com/287ab4kr

The data in the table illustrates the phenomenon of resigning or leaving a job as an active response by workers to working conditions that are considered unfair, exhausting, or disrespectful to workers' dignity. DetikEdu reviews the trend of revenge quitting among Gen Z, where resigning is positioned as a firm statement against burnout and dehumanizing work experiences. The Financial Times expands on this phenomenon through Quit-Tok, which is the practice of publicizing the process of resigning or being laid off on social media as a form of accountability and moral pressure on organizations. The Guardian highlights that revenge quitting is happening globally and is triggered by micromanagement, discrimination, low wages, and toxic work cultures. GoodStats data shows that 52% of Indonesian workers are actively seeking new jobs, reflecting the high intent to leave as a collective response to

labor market conditions. Meanwhile, a Robert Walters report in Southeast Asia indicates that despite high turnover intentions, many workers are holding back and preparing their career moves first, resulting in planned exits.

Based on this data, at least four main patterns emerge. First, resigning is positioned as a tool for expressing power and agency, not merely an individual decision, but rather a moral statement against unfair treatment in the workplace. Second, there is a growing trend of publicizing resignations through social media, which transforms resigning into a mechanism for symbolic pressure and organizational transparency. Third, the data shows that exits are not always impulsive; particularly in Southeast Asia, resignations are often a rational negotiation strategy, where workers hold back while preparing for a safer career transition. Fourth, high exit intentions indicate that the desire to leave functions as collective bargaining power, although it is not always realized directly. Overall, resignations and exit intentions represent a transformation in the meaning of work loyalty from long-term obedience to conditional, reflective, and welfare- and justice-oriented employment relationships.

5. Discussion

This study produced three main findings regarding the role of *nrimo* in negotiating power relations within organizations. First, *nrimo* functions as an adaptive strategy that allows workers to engage in selective compliance while appearing obedient, but setting limits on work demands that are considered excessive, especially when control over work decisions is low. Second, *nrimo* also operates as a boundary protection mechanism, maintaining emotional distance and limiting psychological energy so that it is not depleted by organizational expectations. This practice is related to emotion regulation and the maintenance of relational harmony. Third, the findings show that when the space for voice is considered risky or ineffective, workers use exit as negotiation, moving teams or leaving the organization as a relatively safe form of power negotiation without voice. Overall, these findings reveal the ambivalence of *nrimo*: it can enable subtle agency while also normalizing unequal power structures.

In the context of Javanese culture, this finding can be interpreted through a value orientation that emphasizes *rukun* (social harmony), *rasa* (affective sensitivity), and *nrimo ing pandum* (reflective acceptance) as the foundation of relational well-being (Pohan et al., 2025; Susanto et al., 2025). This cultural framework explains why many workers choose non-confrontational strategies when dealing with organizational power. Maintaining relationships is often more important than openly asserting rights, especially when hierarchy and seniority are still strong (Pruetipibultham, 2012; Rajiani & Kot, 2020). However, this contextualization also reveals tensions when *nrimo* continues to be practiced in work environments that demand unlimited loyalty, it can transform from a coping mechanism into a social norm that perpetuates inequality and hidden psychological burdens. Thus, *nrimo* cannot be understood as cultural fatalism, but rather as a living and responsive social practice to structural pressures that shape workers' space as a subtle mechanism of resistance to existing dispositions (Scott, 1990, 2013).

This finding enriches Foucault's reading of power as a productive practice that shapes subjects through discipline, normalization, and governmentality. Selective compliance can be understood as a form of counter-conduct resistance that works within the logic of power, rather than opposing it head-on (Gisladottir & Reid, 2024; TSUJIMOTO, 2023). Findings on quiet quitting show strong parallels with the concept of *nrimo*, but with different motivations. While in the West quiet quitting is often driven by transactional calculations (wage-effort bargain), in the Javanese context, this practice is a form of

Strategic *Nrimo*. Workers engage in selective compliance not because they are lazy, but as an effort to maintain harmony (*Rukun*). They avoid open confrontation (verbally refusing tasks), which is considered rude, and choose to 'remain silent' or work minimally as a subtle way of setting boundaries (Scott, 1990). This is a form of Foucauldian counter-conduct: an invisible resistance that operates in the cracks of power without overturning the hierarchy itself. Boundary protection reflects the technology of the self, namely the way workers manage their emotions and themselves in order to remain functional in a system that demands obedience (Du et al., 2019; Guerra Muñoz et al., 2024; Park et al., 2020). Where these findings reveal the ambivalent side of *nrimo*. Organizations often use the value of *nrimo* as a tool of governmentality (Li, 2007). Management may use family rhetoric or 'sincerity' to frame excessive workloads as a moral test, so that workers feel guilty if they refuse to work overtime. Here, acceptance becomes a mechanism of internal discipline (technology of the self): workers discipline themselves to suppress negative emotions (*ngempet*) in order to maintain an image as 'good people' or 'professionals', which ironically benefits the exploitative structure of the company. However, at the same time, this practice can be a sign of the internalization of work norms that shift the burden of adjustment from the structure to the individual.

Meanwhile, exit as negotiation shows that power operates not only at the level of direct control, but also at the level of regulating possible actions (McClellan, 2024; Özyurt, 2023). When the space for discussion is limited, leaving becomes the most rational strategy (Kambe, 2025a, 2025b). From the perspective of indigenous psychology, *nrimo* displays meaning-based agency with emotional regulation, moral emotions, and relational orientation that affirms that power negotiation is a cultural process (Ortner, 1995) at the same time psychological, where the exit strategy or quiet quitting in this context can be read as the culmination of a violation of *Rasa*. In indigenous Javanese psychology, *nrimo* has its limits; when *Rasa* (intuition/feelings) has been too deeply wounded by injustice that damages dignity, then harmony is no longer worth maintaining. Exit becomes the final negotiation: a silent protest that withdraws workers from power relations when their voices are no longer heard. This confirms that Javanese workers are not absolutely passive subjects, but rather subjects who continue to make moral calculations between staying for the sake of harmony or leaving for the sake of sanity.

These results are consistent with contemporary organizational literature, which highlights that organizational research often overlooks power as a central dimension, even though power influences adaptation processes, organizational politics, and the formation of everyday work behaviors (Levinthal & Pham, 2024; Tamirat & Ayenew, 2025; Fernando et al., 2025). Study by (Carter et al., 2024) emphasizes the absence of power reading in mainstream management, so that findings about *nrimo* help fill the void by presenting a power mechanism that works through moral values and emotions, not just authoritative actions. These findings are also consistent with organizational political studies that show that dominant coalitions shape the direction of change and continuity of the organization, so that workers often negotiate positions through adaptive strategies that do not always appear as resistance (Lee et al., 2025). However, this study offers a unique contribution by placing this strategy within the Javanese meaning system of nrimo, understood not only as personal coping, but also as a practice of power negotiation intertwined with social harmony and relational norms.

Scientifically, this study has three main implications. First, it expands the study of power relations by showing that power is not always negotiated through open conflict, but through subtle, culturally based everyday practices such as selective compliance, emotional restraint, and exit decisions (Scott, 1990; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Second, the

integration of Foucault and indigenous psychology reinforces the argument that the formation of workers' subjectivity is not only the result of organizational mechanisms (evaluation, supervision), but also the result of local systems of meaning that shape morality, emotions, and ways of interpreting injustice. This is in line with calls to strengthen non-Western epistemologies in cross-cultural psychology so that research is more representative and does not impose biased universalities (Bazana, 2024; Mabaso et al., 2024). Third, the concept of *nrimo* as an ambivalent mechanism helps explain the paradox, namely that strategies that maintain relational well-being can simultaneously result in the normalization of domination and the risk of hidden silent suffering.

Based on these findings, the recommendations of this study are divided into individual, organizational, and policy levels. At the individual level, organizations need to provide culturally sensitive emotional literacy and assertive communication training so that employees do not just passively accept things, but have healthy negotiation strategies without sacrificing relational harmony. At the organizational level, it is important to establish safe voice mechanisms, such as anonymous complaint channels, third-party mediation, and leadership evaluations to reduce covert domination and prevent exit as the only means of negotiation. At the policy level, HR needs to reassess the discourse of loyalty and resilience so that it does not become a moral device that justifies unfair workloads. Actionable plans include conducting a work culture audit (to detect oppressive moral framing), establishing indicators of power relationship health in internal surveys, and strengthening work practices that support balance and psychological safety. These efforts align with the global agenda to build psychological and organizational practices that are more responsive to cultural context and justice.

6. Conclusion

This study shows that *nrimo* is not merely an attitude of accepting circumstances, but rather a mechanism of power negotiation that works subtly in organizational life. The findings, which only became clear after the data was analyzed, show that workers use nrimo to implement three interrelated strategies, namely selective compliance (formal obedience but limiting excessive demands), boundary protection (maintaining emotional distance so that psychological energy is not drained), and exit as negotiation (quitting or transferring as a silent protest when the space for discussion is not safe). The important lesson is that *nrimo* shows that power negotiations in the workplace are not always marked by open rejection, but often take place through micro-actions that maintain harmony, reduce risk, and preserve self-respect. Thus, *nrimo* is a living cultural practice that can enable subtle agency while shaping the way workers survive under unequal structures.

Theoretically, this study makes a significant contribution by showing how organizational power, as understood within Foucault's framework, operates through normalization and self-regulation, but that workers' responses can only be fully explained when viewed through the lens of indigenous psychology. The integration of these two approaches broadens the study of power relations, which has tended to focus on the Western context, by placing local meaning systems as key components in the formation of worker subjectivity. Empirically, this study offers a new understanding that cultural practices such as *nrimo* have an ambivalent nature, which is both a coping strategy to maintain emotional balance and a channel that allows domination to continue unnoticed. Practically, these findings help organizations understand that phenomena such as obedient but distant behavior, emotional restraint, and silent resignation are not merely individual issues, but signs of power dynamics that close off space for healthy negotiation.

This study has a major methodological limitation because it relies entirely on secondary data in the form of news articles and online media discourse, without involving in-depth interviews or direct observation of workers. Consequently, the resulting analysis is an interpretation of media representations (second-order constructs) rather than a verified portrait of phenomenological experiences (lived experience), so that the validity of psychological motives is highly dependent on media editorial framing, which may simplify the inner reality of workers. In addition, the limitations of this data source mean that the power dynamics from a managerial perspective are not fully explored and it is not yet possible to predict the long-term impact of the practice of *nrimo*, whether it leads to resilience or persistent mental exhaustion (burnout). Further studies need to examine variations in the public, private, and startup sectors, across generations, and compare cultural groups to see whether *nrimo* as a power negotiation is a common pattern or specific to certain contexts. Further research can also combine organizational ethnographic approaches or multi-level studies to map the relationship between culture, managerial practices, and forms of micro-resistance in the long term.

Author Contribution Statement

Contributions of the authors in this article: Meysella Al Firdha Hanim contributed as concepts and drafters of the article; Zakaria Efendi contributed as data analysers and interpreters; Rahmat Siregar and Febi Setiyawati contributed in collecting data and critically revising the article; Yasmeen Nafia as the drafter of the manuscript. All authors agree to take responsibility for all aspects of this work.

Disclosure of Interests

We have no conflict of interest to declare.

Funding

No funding received.

Reference

Adolfsson, J. S., Normann, S., Nakkerud, E., & Palacios Haugestad, C. A. (2025). Indigenizing Psychology. International Perspectives in Psychology. https://doi.org/10.1027/2157-3891/a000121

Ashforth, B. E. (2025). Normalization: How Organizations Socialize Newcomers to Make the Extraordinary Seem Ordinary. Human Resource Management, 64(4), 995–1015. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.22291

Bandura, A. (2017). Mechanisms of moral disengagement. In Insurgent Terrorism (pp. 85–115). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351155564-4

Bazana, S. (2024). Exploring worker subjectivity: shaping industrial and organizational psychology in post-apartheid South Africa. South African Journal of Psychology, 54(4), 567–580. https://doi.org/10.1177/00812463241288544

Bondarchuk, O., Balakhtar, V., Pinchuk, N., Pustovalov, I., & Pavlenok, K. (2024). Coping with stressfull situations using coping strategies and their impact on mental health. In Multidisciplinary Reviews. https://doi.org/10.31893/multirev.2024spe034

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative Research in Psychology. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Campbell, K., Orr, E., Durepos, P., Nguyen, L., Li, L., Whitmore, C., Gehrke, P., Graham, L., & Jack, S. (2021). Reflexive Thematic Analysis for Applied Qualitative Health Research. The Qualitative Report. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2021.5010

Carter, C., Badham, R., Whittle, A., & Clegg, S. (2024). Reconstituting the centrality of power in management and organization studies. European Management Review, 21(2), 263–276. https://doi.org/10.1111/emre.12663

Ceccagno, A. (2024). Selective law enforcement at the intersection of ethnicity and

entrepreneurship. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 50(8), 2078–2096. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2022.2112660

Chiang, S. Y. (2013). “The word isn’t there!”: a Foucauldian approach to power negotiation in an instructional interaction across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Critical Discourse Studies. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2013.795490

Dimitrov, R. (2017). Strategic silence: Public relations and indirect communication. In Strategic Silence: Public Relations and Indirect Communication. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315657851

Du, J., Xu, J., Liu, F., Huang, B., & Li, Z. (2019). Factors Influence Kindergarten Teachers’ Emotion Management in Information Technology: A Multilevel Analysis. The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher, 28(6), 519–530. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-019-00452-6

Farmawati, C., & Wiroko, E. P. (2022). Javanese Indigenous Healing for Physical and Mental Health. JOUSIP: Journal of Sufism and Psychotherapy, 2(1), 17–32. https://doi.org/10.28918/jousip.v2i1.5658

Fernando, H., Larasati, Y. G., Abdullah, I., Listyani, R. H., Martiara, R., & Effendi, G. N. (2025). Cultural Barriers to Preventing Corrupt Practices in Indonesia. The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Civic and Political Studies, 20(2), 135–159. https://doi.org/10.18848/2327-0071/CGP/v20i02/135-159

Flores-Mendoza, J. B., Méndez, M. G., Doddoli, A. B., & Díaz-Loving, R. (2024). Development and Psychometric Properties of Coping Scales towards Adherence to Pharmacological Treatment, Hearthealthy Eating and Cardiovascular Physical Exercise. Psychology in Russia: State of the Art. https://doi.org/10.11621/pir.2024.0307

Gisladottir, T., & Reid, P. A. (2024). Compliance. In Encyclopedia of Sport Management (pp. 186–188). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781035317189.ch108

Goswami, K., Smolka, K., Ahmed, A., & Ucbasaran, D. (2023). COPING WITH INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA. Academy of Management Annual Meeting Proceedings. https://doi.org/10.5465/AMPROC.2023.200bp

Guerra Muñoz, M. E., Romero Ramirez, R. T., & Zuluaga Guerrra, F. D. (2024). Emotional Intelligence, Job Satisfaction, and Work Engagement at a Public University. In Technological Innovations for Business, Education and Sustainability (pp. 223–234). Emerald Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-83753-106-620241015

Hu, X., Jimmieson, N. L., & White, K. M. (2022). Understanding compliance with safe work practices: The role of ‘can-do’ and ‘reason-to’ factors. Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology. https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12382

Huyghebaert-Zouaghi, T., Berjot, S., & Gillet, N. (2022). Benefits of psychological detachment from work in a digital era: How do job stressors and personal strategies interplay with individual vulnerabilities? Scandinavian Journal of Psychology. https://doi.org/10.1111/sjop.12810

Johnston, S., & Fells, R. (2017). Reflection-in-action as a collective process: findings from a study in teaching students of negotiation. Reflective Practice. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623943.2016.1251410

Kambe, S. (2025a). The prevalence of take-it-or-leave-it offers. Games and Economic Behavior, 151, 42–58. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geb.2025.02.010

Kambe, S. (2025b). The weaker player’s option to exit as a source of bargaining power in bilateral bargaining with fixed costs. Economics Letters, 247, 112090. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2024.112090

Kirkpatrick, J. (2019). Resistant exit. Contemporary Political Theory. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-018-0252-1

Koç, V., & Kafa, G. (2019). Cross-Cultural Research on Psychotherapy: The Need for a Change. In Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022118806577

Kuczynski, L., & Knafo, A. (2013). Innovation and continuity in socialization, internalization, and acculturation. In Handbook of Moral Development, Second Edition. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203581957

Larasati, Y. G., & Fernando, H. (2023). Objektifikasi Tubuh Dalam Iklan Rekrutmen Kerja di Instagram: Questioning Women Empowerment. Masyarakat Madani: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Pengembangan Masyarakat, 8(2), 85–106. https://ejournal.uin-suska.ac.id/index.php/jmm/article/view/23159

Lee, J., Luo, X. R., & (Jay) Kim, J. (2025). Defending the throne: The influence of performance feedback on <scp>CEO</scp> succession in family-controlled firms. Strategic Management Journal, 46(10), 2331–2431. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.3723

Levinthal, D. A., & Pham, D. N. (2024). Bringing Politics Back In: The Role of Power and Coalitions in Organizational Adaptation. Organization Science, 35(5), 1704–1720. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2022.16995

Li, M. T. (2007). Ideas Governmentality. Anthropologica, 49(2), 275–281.

Luong, G., Arredondo, C. M., & Charles, S. T. (2020). Cultural differences in coping with interpersonal tensions lead to divergent shorter- and longer-term affective consequences. Cognition and Emotion. https://doi.org/10.1080/02699931.2020.1752153

Mabaso, C., Lesabe, F., & Govender, C. (2024). Harmonious, Africanised, and Modern Employment Relations model in strategic Employment Relations. SA Journal of Human Resource Management, 22. https://doi.org/10.4102/sajhrm.v22i0.2230

Maghfira N. Aziza , Meysella A. Hanim , Niki Novitasari, dan K. S. H. (2024). Mengurai Nrimo : Strategi Coping Budaya Jawa Dalam Menghadapi Stres Dan Ketidakpastian. 8(2).

McClellan, A. (2024). Dynamic Outside Options and Optimal Negotiation Strategies. American Economic Review, 114(10), 3284–3313. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20230015

Miller, J. G., Englebrecht, J., Wang, Z., & Tsudaka, G. (2020). Toward greater cultural sensitivity in developmental psychology. Applied Developmental Science, 0(0), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2020.1789348

Munduate, L., & Medina, F. J. (2017). How does power affect those who have it and those who don't? Power inside organizations. In An Introduction to Work and Organizational Psychology: An International Perspective. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119168058.ch10

Ortner, S. B. (1995). Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal. Comparative Studies in Society and History, 37(1), 173–193. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500019587

Özyurt, S. (2023). Take-it-or-leave-it offers in negotiations: Behavioral types and endogenous deadlines. Journal of Economic Psychology, 95, 102588. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2022.102588

Park, Y., Liu, Y., & Headrick, L. (2020). When work is wanted after hours: Testing weekly stress of information communication technology demands using boundary theory. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 41(6), 518–534. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2461

Petrus, J., Wibowo, M. E., Loekmono, J. T. L., & Mulawarman, M. (2019). Tobelo people cultural values as a foundation for indigenous counseling construction. Journal of Advanced Research in Dynamical and Control Systems.

Pohan, R. A., Ramli, M., Atmoko, A., Akbar, S., & Hanurawan, F. (2025). Unveiling gratitude in Javanese Muslim hajatan traditions: Cultural wisdom and social cohesion in the midst of modernization. Social Sciences & Humanities Open, 11, 101321. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.101321

Powell, J. L. (2024). Foucault, Governmentality and Social Work Policy. In Bridging the Divide: Exploring Social Theory and Social Policy (pp. 35–49). Springer Nature Switzerland. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-82423-4_4

Prayekti, Tjahjono, H. K., Prajogo, W., Muafi, & Palupi, M. (2019). Moderating effect of narimo ing pandum on correlation between distributive and procedural injustice toward affective commitment. Proceedings of the 33rd International Business Information Management Association Conference, IBIMA 2019: Education Excellence and Innovation Management through Vision 2020.

Pruetipibultham, O. (Jued). (2012). Developing human resource development interventions to aid expatriates' cultural adaptation: insights to the Javanese culture. Human

Resource Development International, 15(1), 109–117. https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2011.604958

Rahman, M. S. A., & Kuswanjono, A. (2025). Filsafat Penerimaan Dalam Kesehatan Mental: Nrimo ing Pandum sebagai Mekanisme Coping di Era Modern. Jurnal Filsafat Indonesia, 8(2), 247–256. https://doi.org/10.23887/jfi.v8i2.87305

Rajiani, I., & Kot, S. (2020). Javanese Indonesia: Human Resource Management Issues in a Uniquely Collectivist Culture. Cultural Management: Science and Education, 4(2), 9–21. https://doi.org/10.30819/cmse.4-2.01

Safaria, T. (2026). From rasa to rukun: Toward a geopsychiatric perspective on Javanese well-being. Geopsychiatry, 3, 100038. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geopsy.2025.100038

Scott, J. C. (1990). Domination and the Arts of Resistance Hidden Transcripts. Yale University.

Scott, J. C. (2013). Decoding Subaltern Politics: Ideology, disguise, and resistance in agrarian politics. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203095041

Singh, L. B., & Vashisht, A. (2021). From verbal abuse to intention to leave: Role of engagement and emotional exhaustion. World Review of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development. https://doi.org/10.1504/WREMSD.2021.114423

Susanto, T., Anggara, R., Wahyudin, U., & Supama Wijaya, A. (2025). The role of elders in upholding ‘ Guyub rukun ’ in Nglinggi Village, Central Java, Indonesia: building a peaceful village. Journal of Religion, Spirituality & Aging, 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/15528030.2025.2513222

Tamirat, S., & Ayenew, Z. (2025). Power, politics and job satisfaction among employees in Wolaita Sodo Polytechnic College, South Ethiopia. Human Resources Management and Services, 7(1), 3585. https://doi.org/10.18282/hrms3585

Terry, G., & Hayfield, N. (2025). Reflexive thematic analysis and men’s embodiment following injury or illness: A worked example. Anatomical Sciences Education. https://doi.org/10.1002/ase.70058

Triatmodjo, S., Burhan, M. A., Prasetya, H. B., Budiarti, E., & Fernando, H. (2023). Cultural hybridization in the veneration of a Javanese local hero as a kongco at Lasem’s Gie Yong Bio Chinese temple during Indonesia’s reformation Era. Cogent Arts & Humanities, 10(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2254045

Tsujimoto, M. (2023). Indirect resistance. Research in Social Psychology, 39(2), 107 – 140. https://doi.org/10.14966/jssp.2212

Ugwu, F. O., Idike, A. N., Ibiam, O. E., Akwara, F. A., & Okorie, C. O. (2020). Transformational leadership and management safety practices: Their role in the relationship between work pressure and compliance with safety work behaviour in a health-care sector industry. Journal of Psychology in Africa. https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2020.1716551

Vinthagen, S., & Johansson, A. (2013). “Everyday Resistance”: Exploration of a Concept and its Theories. Resistance Studies Magazine, 1, 1–46.

Wijayati, M., Abdullah, I., White, S., Rosadi, A., Yamin, A., & Larasati, Y. G. (2021). Justice brokers: Women’s experiences with injustice and dependence in the divorce process. Cogent Social Sciences, 7(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2021.1966208