

From Collective Solidarity to Rational Participation: Transforming the *Royongan Omah* Tradition in Ngasinan Village, Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the transformation of *Royongan Omah*, a communal house-building tradition in Ngasinan Village, amid modernization and socio-economic changes. Traditionally, community participation in this practice was rooted in voluntary collective labor, driven by social solidarity and mutual aid. However, over time, participation has become increasingly selective and economically motivated. Employing a qualitative case study approach, this research collected data through passive participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis, which were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's framework within Max Weber's social action theory. The findings indicate that rationalization and shifting economic perspectives have significantly reshaped community participation in *Royongan Omah*. While participation was previously dominated by traditional, affective, and value-rational actions, it has now transitioned towards value-rational and instrumental-rational actions. Full community engagement—including labor, cognitive involvement, and material contributions—has declined, giving way to a more pragmatic approach that prioritizes skilled, paid labor for complex construction tasks. Despite the growing dominance of instrumental rationality, elements of traditional and affective rationality persist, demonstrating an ongoing negotiation between modern efficiency and cultural heritage. This study contributes to sociological discourse on modernization and cultural adaptation, highlighting how traditional cooperative labor systems evolve in response to socio-economic transformations.

Keywords: *Royongan Omah tradition, social action, rationalization, modernization, community participation*

A. Introduction

The practice of completing tasks collectively remains prevalent in rural areas as an integral part of social life (Afra et al., 2022). The tradition of *gotong royong*, which includes mutual assistance in weddings, funerals, and house construction, continues to be a significant cultural practice in Indonesian villages, particularly in Java (Endraswara, 2015). One village that has preserved this

gotong royong tradition is Ngasinan Village in Purworejo Regency, which upholds a distinctive practice known as *Royongan Omah*. This tradition is derived from the values of *Sambatan*, a long-established system of communal cooperation among Javanese communities, fundamentally rooted in voluntary mutual assistance (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). *Sambatan* itself represents a form of mass cooperation within the community for various activities such as house construction, agricultural harvesting, and village infrastructure development (Herlina et al., 2022).

The *Royongan Omah* tradition in Ngasinan Village involves the collective construction or renovation of houses by adult residents (Candra, Setiawan, & Fajrie, 2020). The villagers perceive this practice as a means of "*nguri-uri kabudayaan Jawa*", meaning the preservation of their ancestral Javanese culture across generations (Cahyani & Marsudi, 2023). In the past, this tradition was conducted entirely voluntarily, from the initial stages of dismantling old houses and gathering timber from the forest to the final stages of erecting the structure and installing the roof. All activities were carried out based on empathy, solidarity, and without formal obligations (Cahyani & Marsudi, 2023).

However, with modernization and shifting economic patterns, the *Royongan Omah* tradition in Ngasinan Village has undergone transformations in terms of community participation. Modernization has not only altered the physical form of houses—from wooden structures to semi-permanent and permanent ones—but has also reshaped how people engage in house construction. While in the past, community involvement covered all construction phases, participation has now become more selective, focusing on critical aspects requiring substantial labor, such as house dismantling and roof installation. This shift indicates a transition from purely collective *gotong royong* to a more selective and economically driven mode of participation. This phenomenon aligns with the findings of Jannah et al. (2023), which suggest that changes in *gotong royong* traditions across different regions are influenced by the rise of secondary social relationships, the principle of reciprocity, and the decline of collective awareness due to economic factors and development policies.

The transformation in the implementation of the *Royongan Omah* tradition in Ngasinan Village cannot be separated from broader changes occurring in social institutions. Soekanto (2011) explains that changes in social institutions inevitably influence people's behavior, values, and attitudes. Social transformations arise due to shifts in the values that individuals and society use as their orientation. This aligns with Weber's (1978) perspective, which asserts that social change occurs due to alterations in the subjective meanings individuals attach to their social actions (Putra & Suryadinata, 2020). These shifts in subjective values prompt individuals to act differently, driven by new goals.

This phenomenon is further supported by Jannah et al. (2023), who argue that changes in values—such as the emergence of verbal and non-verbal social sanctions, the principle of reciprocity, secondary relationships, and declining collective consciousness—significantly influence individuals' decisions to participate in *gotong royong* traditions.

According to Weber (1978), social change can be understood through the concept of social action, which is fundamentally defined as meaningful actions performed by individuals, directed toward others, with specific objectives (Usman, 2012). This concept involves the rationalization of actions, a process in which society shifts from traditional and emotional actions toward more rational and logical behaviors that prioritize efficiency (Putri & Syafruddin, 2020). For instance, the transition from primary to secondary relationships—often driven by urbanization—has significantly impacted the traditional practices of *Sambatan* and *Royongan Omah* within the community.

Previous studies on the *Royongan Omah* tradition and *Sambatan* in general have been conducted by scholars such as Candra et al. (2020), Handoyo & Susilawati (2021), and Pamungkas et al. (2013), who highlighted the persistence and benefits of these traditions. However, specific studies that deeply examine changes in community participation in *Royongan Omah* from the perspective of Weber's social action theory remain scarce. Prior research that employed Weber's theory predominantly explored different subjects, such as literary figures in novels (Widodo & Sudikan, 2021), the spirit of Islamic philanthropy (Erfan, 2021), and other cultural traditions, including *Sinoman* (Aswin et al., 2024), *Ma'balla* (Asmawati et al., 2025), *Grebeg Suro* (Nurrohmah & Harianto, 2023), *Siraman* (Fathiha, 2022), and the *Bantengan* performance art (Afifah & Irawan, 2021).

Thus, this study aims to fill the existing research gap by specifically exploring the transformation of community participation in the *Royongan Omah* tradition in Ngasinan Village as a consequence of modernization, using Max Weber's social action theory. This research seeks to address two key questions: (1) How has community participation in the implementation of the *Royongan Omah* tradition in Ngasinan Village changed? and (2) What factors contribute to these changes from the perspective of Weberian rationalization? Through this study, a clearer understanding of how local traditions adapt in response to modernization will be established while also contributing theoretically to the broader sociological discourse on the transformation of social values in cultural sociology.

B. Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study design. The selection of a qualitative approach aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the

transformation of community participation in the *Royongan Omah* tradition in Ngasinan Village due to modernization and socio-cultural changes. The research site covers six hamlets in Ngasinan Village: Pesanggrahan, Kedondong, Banaran, Jumbleng, Krajan, and Pencar. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, considering their knowledge, experience, or direct involvement in the implementation of the *Royongan Omah* tradition. A total of thirteen informants participated in this study, consisting of hamlet heads (six individuals), village officials (Head of the Welfare Section and Head of the Public Services Section), male and female traditional elders (two individuals), the host of the *Royongan Omah* event, a community leader, and a representative of the youth. The selection of informants with diverse age groups, social statuses, and genders was intended to enrich perspectives on the transformation of community participation.

Data collection was conducted through passive participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. Passive participant observation allowed the researcher to be present at the site of the tradition without actively participating, enabling an objective recording of changes in social action patterns during the *Royongan Omah* process. Semi-structured interviews were employed to explore individuals' subjective interpretations of the reasons behind the transformation of their participation. The interview questions were flexible and adjusted to field conditions and informants to obtain deeper and more authentic insights. Document analysis was carried out to strengthen the research data by examining village archives, historical records, and previous studies relevant to the phenomenon under investigation.

Data analysis was conducted using Miles and Huberman's model, which includes data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. During the data reduction stage, information was classified based on Weber's categories of social action: traditional action, affective action, value-rational action, and instrumental-rational action. The analysis process also involved theoretical interpretation of the empirical data collected, specifically using Weberian rationalization as the primary analytical framework.

To ensure the validity and reliability of the data, this study employed source triangulation and methodological triangulation. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing data obtained from informants with different backgrounds, while methodological triangulation was carried out by validating observational findings through interviews and document analysis. Additionally, the interpretation of findings was revalidated using the member-checking method, where key informants reviewed the analysis results to ensure the researcher's interpretation aligned with the perspectives of the Ngasinan Village community regarding the transformation of participation in the *Royongan Omah* tradition.

C. Result and Discussion

1. Changes in Community Participation in the *Royongan Omah* Tradition

The Early Description of the Royongan Omah Tradition Before Changes

The *Royongan Omah* tradition has long been an integral part of the social life of the Ngasinan Village community. Rooted in the *Sambatan* system—a form of mass community labor mobilization for various social activities such as house construction, agricultural harvesting, and village infrastructure development (Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Herlina et al., 2022)—this tradition embodies both economic and social dimensions, seamlessly embedded in the villagers' daily lives. In the past, *Royongan Omah* was conducted comprehensively and continuously, beginning with the dismantling of old houses, the collection of timber from the forest, the processing of wood into building materials, and ending with the final stages of erecting the structure and installing the roof. All of these activities were carried out collectively, driven by empathy and a sense of collective responsibility as members of the village community (Cahyani & Marsudi, 2023). Community involvement was not limited to physical labor; it also included cognitive and emotional participation, where all individuals within the community felt a shared responsibility for the successful completion of house construction.

Participation in *Royongan Omah* was not only voluntary but also reinforced by social norms that bound the community together. While there were no formal obligations, individuals who did not participate in the communal work faced social pressure in the form of moral sanctions, such as experiencing *garuh* (shame) or a decline in social status within the community. The concept of *handarbeni* (a sense of belonging) played a crucial role in encouraging community involvement, as the successful completion of a house was viewed as a collective interest rather than solely the concern of the homeowner. Traditionally, labor division within *Royongan Omah* was gendered: men were responsible for physical tasks such as cutting wood and installing roofs, while women prepared meals for the workers. However, in certain situations, women also participated in physical labor, particularly when male labor was scarce or when the household lacked sufficient male workforce. This flexible division of labor reflects how *Royongan Omah* operated within a dynamic social system, where roles could be adjusted according to the community's needs. However, over time, patterns of community participation in *Royongan Omah* began to shift. The impacts of modernization, economic development, and government housing programs for rural settlements have altered the ways in which people engage in this tradition. Whereas all construction processes were previously conducted collectively and without financial compensation, a new orientation has emerged, emphasizing practicality and work efficiency.

Changes in the Implementation of the Royongan Omah Tradition

The transformation of the *Royongan Omah* tradition has been significantly influenced by village development policies that have reshaped the socio-economic landscape of the community. One of the key policies that accelerated these changes was the Village Settlement and Housing Program (*Program Pemukiman dan Perumahan Desa*, P3D), implemented as part of the national development agenda during the New Order era (Anita, 2021). This program not only promoted a transition from wooden houses to concrete houses but also introduced a more professional construction system based on specialized labor. Consequently, tasks that were previously completed through community cooperation now required the services of paid construction workers.

These changes have affected the pattern of community participation in *Royongan Omah*. While *gotong royong* previously covered all stages of house construction from start to finish, it is now limited to specific phases where communal labor is still feasible, such as dismantling old houses and installing roofs. Additionally, access to building materials has shifted from a collective system to an individual economic transaction, leading to changes in material contributions.

Previously, community participation in *Royongan Omah* spanned almost all stages of construction, including wood processing and traditional structural design. Today, participation is more selective, with villagers primarily involved in tasks that can still be performed collectively, such as dismantling houses and installing roofs. Most other construction work, such as brick wall installation and floor cementing, is now predominantly handled by professional builders paid by homeowners. This shift indicates a transition from a labor system based on social solidarity to one that prioritizes efficiency and professional expertise.

Beyond technical aspects of construction, changes have also emerged in how the community perceives its involvement in *Royongan Omah*. Whereas participation was once regarded as a moral obligation carried out without expectation of compensation, a more pragmatic reciprocal principle has now developed. The growing sentiment of *gelem dingo gelem* (willing to help only if they expect help in return) reflects a shift in motivation – from full voluntarism to social expectations of reciprocity.

Forms of Community Participation in the Royongan Omah Tradition: Past and Present

Community participation in *Royongan Omah* can be categorized into two main aspects: physical participation and material participation.

- *Physical Participation:* The most noticeable change in physical participation is the decline in the number of people involved in direct construction work. Previously, nearly all adult men in the village contributed to house construction from start to finish. Today, their involvement is more selective, focusing only on tasks that do not require specialized skills. Women's participation has also evolved; in the past, women were fully responsible for preparing food for the workers, sometimes sourcing ingredients from their own gardens. Now, ingredients are more commonly purchased from markets, reducing the need for female labor in meal preparation.
- *Material Participation:* Material contributions have also changed significantly. In the past, villagers often donated timber from their own land as the primary building material for house construction. Trees from personal gardens were frequently given to relatives or neighbors building homes. However, as the economic value of timber has increased and access to free building materials has become more limited, material contributions have shifted toward food supplies or cash donations. This transformation reflects a broader change in how the community perceives its resources—moving from collectively available natural resources to economic commodities with monetary value.

The social relationships that support the implementation of *Royongan Omah* have also undergone a transformation. Previously, village social interactions were predominantly characterized by primary relationships, where interactions were personal and deeply interconnected. However, social changes brought about by modernization, urbanization, and increased population mobility have resulted in secondary relationships, where interactions are more formal and less emotionally bonded. In the context of *Royongan Omah*, this shift has contributed to a decline in community participation, as fewer individuals maintain strong emotional ties to their village communities.

Despite these significant changes, the *Royongan Omah* tradition has persisted in some aspects. Traditional values such as solidarity and communal cooperation remain present, albeit in a more limited and selective form. Some families still uphold *Royongan Omah* on a smaller scale, whether for cultural or economic reasons. In certain cases, families with stronger social ties to the surrounding community continue to receive voluntary labor support without needing to hire professional workers.

Thus, the transformation of community participation in *Royongan Omah* reflects the process of Weberian rationalization, in which social action shifts from being dominated by traditional and affective actions toward more rational actions, both in terms of value-based rationality and instrumental rationality.

This shift illustrates how local traditions adapt to social and economic changes while retaining their essence as a form of community solidarity at the village level.

2. Social Action Analysis in the *Royongan Omah* Tradition *Traditional vs. Modern Actions: Shifts in Motivation and Gotong Royong Patterns*

Changes in the *Royongan Omah* tradition not only reflect shifts in community participation but also indicate transformations in the motivations and orientations of individuals engaging in social actions. From the perspective of Max Weber's social action theory, these changes can be analyzed through four categories of social action: traditional action, affective action, value-rational action, and instrumental-rational action (Weber, 1978). The shift from tradition- and emotion-based actions to more rational actions serves as a key indicator of modernization in the social life of Ngasinan Village.

In the period before these changes, social actions in *Royongan Omah* were predominantly driven by traditional and affective actions. Traditional action was evident in community participation, which was carried out from generation to generation without questioning its rationale or material benefits. Villagers engaged in house construction cooperatively because it was considered a social obligation inherited from previous generations. Voluntary assistance – whether in the form of labor or material support – was deeply embedded in the community's unwritten social norms and was consistently upheld (Herlina et al., 2022). In addition, affective action played a crucial role, particularly in motivating individuals to participate. Empathy and social solidarity drove people to contribute to *Royongan Omah*, fostering a sense of unity and shared responsibility in all aspects of life. The communal spirit that emerged from *gotong royong* was not merely functional but also emotional, where individuals experienced fulfillment and happiness through helping others.

As economic development and social changes progressed, the nature of social actions gradually shifted. Value-rational action emerged as individuals began to participate not solely due to tradition or empathy but also based on moral considerations and existing social norms. One example of value-rational action is the concept of *wes umume*, the belief that individuals should continue participating in *Royongan Omah* simply because it has become a customary practice. In this context, participation was no longer spontaneous but rather a conscious moral decision to adhere to prevailing social norms. However, this shift also made participation more selective, as individuals remained involved but in a more limited capacity.

The most significant transformation in social action in Ngasinan Village was the rise of instrumental-rational action in the execution of *Royongan Omah*. In this form of action, individuals began considering the benefits and efficiency of their involvement in the tradition. Whereas in the past, villagers participated fully without calculating personal gains, today, many prefer to engage only in aspects they perceive as beneficial or, at the very least, not economically or time-consuming. For instance, tasks requiring specialized skills, such as brick wall construction and flooring, are now predominantly handled by paid professional builders. This shift illustrates a rational approach aimed at maximizing results in a more efficient manner.

Furthermore, within the context of action rationalization, the community has also adopted a more pragmatic economic perspective. Previously, timber – the primary building material for houses – was often provided free of charge by relatives or neighbors. However, as timber’s economic value increased, and free access to raw materials became scarce, material contributions shifted toward economic forms such as food provisions or cash donations. The service exchange model within *Royongan Omah* has gradually evolved toward a market logic, where participation is increasingly based on the expectation of receiving reciprocal assistance in the future rather than purely on solidarity and empathy.

The Influence of Rationalization: Tradition Adaptation in the Context of Modernization

The transformation in social actions observed in the *Royongan Omah* tradition reflects the process of rationalization, as described by Weber. Rationalization is the process by which social actions become increasingly oriented toward efficiency, logical calculation, and measurable goals, replacing actions based on tradition and emotions (Weber, 1978; Thiry-Cherques, 2009). In this case, *Royongan Omah*, which was initially rooted in social solidarity and primary relationships, has transformed into a more selective and benefit-oriented system of participation. This shift aligns with broader structural changes driven by modernization, increased population mobility, and government development policies that have altered rural lifestyles.

The impact of rationalization in *Royongan Omah* is also evident in the diminishing role of the community in decision-making regarding house construction. Previously, decisions about building a house and involving the community were made collectively, coordinated by traditional elders and hamlet heads. However, decision-making has become more individualized, with homeowners now determining the extent of community participation based on economic and efficiency considerations. The primary factor influencing whether *Royongan Omah* is conducted fully, partially, or not at all is no longer tradition but financial feasibility.

Despite these changes, this study finds that not all aspects of the tradition have disappeared entirely. The values of *gotong royong* and community solidarity continue to persist, albeit in a more limited form. Some families still choose to hold *Royongan Omah* on a smaller scale as part of an effort to preserve local cultural values. Additionally, the social aspects of the tradition remain significant in strengthening interpersonal relationships within the village, even though their forms have adapted to new socio-economic conditions.

The rationalization of social actions in *Royongan Omah* has brought significant changes to social interaction patterns in Ngasinan Village. However, while there has been a shift from traditional and affective actions to more rational actions, this does not necessarily indicate the complete disappearance of social solidarity. Instead, solidarity has persisted in a more selective form, guided by new social agreements and expectations. One indicator that community togetherness is still upheld is the continuation of *gotong royong* in certain aspects, such as labor-intensive construction tasks or emergency situations. Additionally, the people of Ngasinan Village continue to demonstrate high levels of social participation in various other communal activities, such as road repairs and public facility development. This indicates that although participation in *Royongan Omah* has evolved, the spirit of *gotong royong* as a cultural value remains deeply embedded in their social lives. Therefore, this transformation should not be seen as the decline of tradition but rather as an adaptation process that illustrates how communities adjust to changing times without entirely losing their core values.

D. Conclusion

This study reveals that the *Royongan Omah* tradition in Ngasinan Village has undergone a transformation due to modernization, economic changes, and government development policies. This transformation is evident in the shift in community participation patterns, moving from social actions based on tradition and affectivity toward more rational actions. Before modernization, the community was fully engaged in all stages of house construction as a voluntary form of *gotong royong*, rooted in values of solidarity and empathy. However, over time, this participation pattern has changed, with value-rational and instrumental-rational actions becoming increasingly dominant in the practice of *Royongan Omah*.

Several factors have driven this shift, including the transition from wooden houses to concrete houses, which require specialized labor skills, the increasing economic value of building materials that were once collectively available, and the emergence of reciprocal principles in community involvement. Whereas community participation was previously unconditional and voluntary,

it has now become more selective and guided by pragmatic considerations. Nevertheless, the spirit of solidarity in *Royongan Omah* has not entirely disappeared. *Gotong royong* continues, albeit on a smaller scale and in forms that have adapted to new socio-economic conditions. From the perspective of Max Weber's social action theory, the transformation of *Royongan Omah* reflects the rationalization process, where social actions that were once based on habitual practices and emotional connections have evolved into more efficient actions driven by economic logic. This study highlights that modernization does not necessarily eradicate traditions; rather, it compels them to adapt to the evolving needs of society.

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