



MENTAL HEALTH DYNAMICS IN THE CONTEXT OF COLLECTIVIST CULTURE: A STUDY OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN INDONESIA

Ruri Virdiyanti

Poltiteknik Kesehatan Pontianak, Indonesia

Email: myruree@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The dynamics of mental health are significantly shaped by cultural factors, and collectivist cultures offer a unique lens for understanding mental well-being. This study explores mental health within the context of collectivist culture in Indonesia, focusing specifically on indigenous communities. Indonesia, with its vast array of indigenous cultures, presents a unique environment to examine how traditional practices, communal values, and social cohesion affect mental health outcomes. This paper explores how the interplay of cultural norms, community relationships, and traditional coping mechanisms influences individual and collective mental health. Utilizing a qualitative approach, the study employs interviews, focus groups, and ethnographic observation in indigenous communities across Java, Bali, and Sumatra. The results suggest that the collectivist orientation, which emphasizes social harmony, interdependence, and familial ties, has both positive and negative effects on mental health. On the one hand, community support and collective responsibility foster resilience and reduce the stigma associated with mental health issues. On the other hand, the pressure to conform to societal norms and uphold collective values can lead to feelings of isolation, stress, and suppression of individual mental health needs. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of mental health in collectivist societies and provide valuable insights into culturally sensitive mental health interventions. The paper concludes with implications for mental health policy and practices in indigenous communities and the broader Southeast Asian region.

Keywords: mental health, collectivist culture, indigenous communities, social cohesion.

INTRODUCTION

Mental health is a crucial aspect of overall well-being, influencing how individuals think, feel, and act. Good mental health enables a person to cope with the normal stresses of life, engage in fulfilling relationships, and make decisions that are beneficial to their lives. Although the importance of mental health is increasingly recognized globally, in many countries, including Indonesia, mental health issues remain stigmatized and often neglected. In certain cultures, especially in collectivist societies, mental health is understood and approached differently compared to individualistic cultures, which prioritize personal freedom and individual achievement.

In collectivist cultures, mental health is often viewed as a collective concern rather

than an individual issue. Family and community play a central role in supporting the mental well-being of individuals. However, the societal pressure to conform to collective norms and expectations can also negatively impact mental health, particularly for individuals who feel unable to meet these social demands. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of mental health in collectivist societies is crucial for developing effective mental health systems that respect cultural values while promoting well-being.

Indonesia, with its vast cultural and ethnic diversity, provides a rich context for studying the dynamics of mental health within a collectivist society. The country is home to more than 300 ethnic groups, each with its own set of values, norms, and traditions. In many indigenous communities in Indonesia, collectivist values such as



strong family ties, community solidarity, and shared responsibility are deeply ingrained in everyday life. Communities such as the Minangkabau, Batak, Toraja, and Dayak emphasize close family relationships and mutual cooperation as the foundation of their social structures. These communities offer a unique opportunity to explore how collectivist cultural values shape the experience and management of mental health issues.

The relationship between culture and mental health has long been a topic of interest in the fields of anthropology, psychology, and sociology. In recent years, scholars have increasingly acknowledged the importance of understanding mental health through the lens of culture, particularly in non-Western societies where cultural values can differ greatly from those in Western countries. According to Hofstede (1980), cultural values can be broadly divided into individualism and collectivism. In individualistic societies, personal achievement and self-expression are highly valued, whereas in collectivist cultures, the focus is on the well-being of the group, and individual desires are often subordinated to group goals.

Indonesia's indigenous communities predominantly operate within a collectivist cultural framework. Social harmony, family cohesion, and communal living are central to the way people interact with one another and address life's challenges, including mental health. For example, the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra practice *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), which emphasizes the importance of working together to achieve common goals and to support one another in times of need. Similarly, the Batak people of North Sumatra maintain strong family structures and view

the family as the primary unit of care, particularly when dealing with personal issues such as mental health.

In these communities, mental health is often not seen as a personal issue but as a communal one. Mental health problems may be viewed as disruptions to the harmony of the family or community, which can lead to significant stigma surrounding mental illness. This cultural perception of mental illness can discourage individuals from seeking professional help and instead encourage them to turn to their families or traditional healers for support. The reliance on family and community for emotional and psychological support is a hallmark of collectivist societies, and in many indigenous communities in Indonesia, this support system remains the primary means of addressing mental health concerns.

Traditional healing practices have long been integral to Indonesian culture, providing a means of addressing health issues, including mental health concerns. These practices, which include spiritual rituals, herbal remedies, and guidance from *dukun* (traditional healers), play a vital role in providing emotional and spiritual support for individuals experiencing mental health challenges. In many indigenous communities, traditional healers are trusted figures who mediate between the physical and spiritual realms, offering relief for a variety of ailments, including mental health issues. For many, these practices not only offer physical remedies but also help restore a sense of balance and harmony within the individual and the community.

However, as modern mental health services have developed, there is a growing awareness of the limitations of traditional healing methods. While traditional healing remains an essential part of mental health



care in many indigenous communities, it is increasingly recognized that it may not be sufficient to address more severe or complex mental health conditions. This has led to the emergence of a need for integrated mental health care systems that combine traditional and modern approaches to offer a more comprehensive solution for individuals in need.

While Indonesia has made significant strides in recognizing the importance of mental health, access to mental health services remains limited, particularly in rural and remote areas where many indigenous communities live. One of the biggest barriers to accessing mental health care is stigma. In collectivist cultures, mental illness is often viewed as a personal failure or a moral flaw, which can damage the family's honor and reputation. This stigma can lead to individuals being excluded or marginalized, preventing them from seeking the help they need. Consequently, many individuals with mental health issues in Indonesia continue to rely on family support or traditional healing practices rather than seeking professional medical care.

In many indigenous communities, mental health problems are often not recognized as medical issues, but rather as spiritual or moral failures. The fear of social judgment and the desire to avoid bringing shame to the family often discourage individuals from discussing mental health openly or seeking professional help. Instead, individuals may look to their families or traditional healers for assistance, as these figures are seen as more acceptable and culturally appropriate sources of support. This cultural tendency to view mental illness as a communal issue rather than an individual one highlights the complex interplay between

mental health and cultural norms in collectivist societies.

The stigma surrounding mental illness is further compounded by the belief that seeking professional psychiatric help is a sign of weakness or failure. Many people in rural areas view modern psychiatric care as incompatible with traditional beliefs and practices. As a result, they may resist seeking professional help even when it is necessary. The traditional belief systems in these communities often provide a framework for understanding mental health that is not aligned with modern psychiatric models, creating a disconnect between the two.

This study aims to explore how mental health is experienced and understood within Indonesia's indigenous communities, focusing on the role of collectivist cultural values in shaping mental health experiences and responses. Specifically, it examines how these communities address mental health, the role of family and community in mental health care, and the integration of traditional healing practices with modern mental health services. The goal is to provide a deeper understanding of mental health in collectivist societies and to explore how culturally sensitive mental health care can be developed to address the unique needs of these communities.

This research will focus on three key aspects: the role of social support and community cohesion in mental health, the impact of cultural norms and stigma on mental health care, and the potential for integrating traditional and modern approaches to mental health care. By exploring these themes, this study seeks to contribute to the growing body of knowledge on mental health in collectivist societies and offer insights into how mental health care can



be improved in Indonesia's indigenous communities.

The significance of this research lies in its potential to inform the development of culturally appropriate mental health programs that respect indigenous values while addressing the growing mental health needs of these communities. It also highlights the importance of understanding the cultural context in which mental health issues arise, which is essential for developing effective mental health policies and interventions. By bridging the gap between traditional and modern mental health care, this study aims to contribute to the creation of a more inclusive and effective mental health care system in Indonesia and in similar collectivist societies worldwide.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural Dimensions and Mental Health

One of the seminal works in understanding cultural differences in mental health is Geert Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory. Hofstede (1980) proposed that societies can be understood along various dimensions, one of which is the individualism vs. collectivism axis. In collectivist cultures, social ties are seen as the foundation of mental well-being, and behaviors are often evaluated based on their impact on the group. In contrast, individualist societies place a greater emphasis on personal autonomy and self-expression, which can shape how mental health is perceived and treated. In collectivist societies, mental health is often viewed not as an individual concern but as something that can affect the entire community.

Research by Kim and Park (2017) suggests that the collectivist orientation in Asian cultures, including Indonesia, encourages interdependence, cooperation,

and maintaining social harmony. Mental health is often framed in the context of the group's well-being, and emotional distress is viewed as a disruption to social order. As a result, individuals may be less likely to express their emotions openly or seek professional help for mental health concerns. Instead, mental health problems may be dealt with through family and community support or traditional healing practices.

Cheng et al. (2013) further emphasize that collectivism has a dual role in shaping mental health outcomes. On the one hand, the strong social support networks inherent in collectivist societies provide a protective factor against mental health issues. The sense of belonging, shared responsibility, and mutual support within families and communities can buffer the impacts of stress, anxiety, and depression. On the other hand, collectivist values can also act as a double-edged sword, with individuals feeling a heavy sense of obligation to conform to social norms, which can create emotional distress. The pressure to conform to family expectations, fulfill societal roles, and maintain social harmony can be overwhelming, particularly when personal needs conflict with these collective goals.

Mental Health in Collectivist Societies

In collectivist cultures, mental health is often regarded as a collective issue rather than an individual one. The literature on mental health in collectivist societies reveals that communal values, such as family obligations, social responsibility, and group cohesion, can shape the way mental health is understood, diagnosed, and treated. Studies have found that people in collectivist societies are less likely to seek formal psychiatric care due to stigma, cultural barriers, and the preference for family-based



or traditional healing methods (Siu et al., 2011).

For example, a study by Oei and Kua (2016) found that in Chinese and other Southeast Asian collectivist communities, mental health is often perceived as a private matter, with individuals reluctant to disclose their problems due to fear of social judgment. This reluctance to acknowledge mental health issues publicly is compounded by the cultural value of maintaining a harmonious and cohesive family unit. In these societies, mental health problems may be seen as a sign of familial failure or social weakness, which leads to avoidance of medical intervention.

Similarly, in Indonesia, mental health has traditionally been viewed through a collectivist lens, where the family plays a central role in maintaining emotional and psychological well-being. In many indigenous communities, mental health issues are often addressed by elders, spiritual healers, or local leaders rather than mental health professionals (Siregar, 2019). These traditional approaches emphasize community-based support systems, rituals, and spiritual healing practices, which are seen as more culturally appropriate and accessible than Western psychiatric models.

The Role of Traditional Healing Practices

Indigenous Indonesian communities have long relied on traditional healing methods to address various health concerns, including mental health. These practices are deeply rooted in the local culture and are often viewed as complementary to modern medical approaches. According to Sukma (2015), traditional healing practices in Indonesia vary across ethnic groups but generally involve spiritual rituals, herbal remedies, and community support. The role

of the *dukun* (shaman) or *balian* (spiritual healer) is particularly important in many indigenous communities, where these figures are seen as intermediaries between the spiritual and physical realms. They perform rituals that involve prayers, offerings, and other cultural practices to restore balance and mental well-being.

Traditional healing in Indonesia is not only a means of addressing mental health concerns but also a reflection of the cultural and social values that shape how illness is understood. The concept of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) is central to many indigenous communities, and this sense of collective responsibility extends to mental health. Family members and community members are expected to support individuals experiencing mental health challenges, reinforcing the idea that mental health is not an isolated issue but a collective concern. In many cases, traditional healing practices can offer emotional support, spiritual relief, and a sense of belonging, which are important aspects of mental well-being.

However, there are limitations to the effectiveness of traditional healing practices, especially in dealing with more severe mental health disorders. Studies indicate that traditional healers may not be equipped to handle complex psychiatric conditions such as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, or major depression (Suroso & Wibowo, 2014). While these healers provide crucial emotional support, they often lack the knowledge and resources needed to provide medical interventions. As a result, individuals who rely solely on traditional healing methods may delay seeking professional psychiatric care, leading to worse outcomes in the long term.



Stigma and Mental Health

Stigma is another critical factor that shapes mental health in collectivist societies. In many collectivist cultures, including Indonesia, mental health issues are often viewed as a source of shame or weakness. The cultural emphasis on social harmony and family honor means that individuals may fear being ostracized or judged if they openly discuss their mental health struggles. This stigma can prevent individuals from seeking help and can lead to feelings of isolation, anxiety, and depression.

Siregar (2019) points out that mental health stigma is particularly pronounced in rural and indigenous communities, where traditional values are more deeply ingrained. In these contexts, mental illness may be interpreted as a spiritual failing, a punishment from the ancestors, or a sign of weakness. As a result, individuals experiencing mental health issues may feel pressured to conceal their struggles or rely on informal, family-based coping mechanisms. The fear of social rejection can create significant barriers to accessing formal mental health services and can exacerbate the mental health challenges individuals face.

Integration of Traditional and Modern Mental Health Care

The integration of traditional and modern mental health care systems is a topic of increasing interest in the field of global mental health. Many experts argue that blending traditional healing practices with modern psychiatric care could offer a more holistic and culturally sensitive approach to mental health care. In Indonesia, where indigenous communities are often located in remote areas with limited access to modern healthcare facilities, traditional healing remains an important component of the

mental health care landscape. However, there is growing recognition that traditional healing practices alone may not be sufficient for addressing serious mental health conditions.

Researchers like Nugroho (2018) advocate for the integration of traditional healing methods with modern mental health interventions, emphasizing the need for cultural sensitivity in mental health care. By acknowledging the value of traditional practices while incorporating evidence-based medical approaches, it is possible to create mental health programs that are more accessible, effective, and culturally appropriate for indigenous communities. Such integration requires collaboration between traditional healers, mental health professionals, and community leaders to develop care models that respect local traditions while addressing the full spectrum of mental health needs.

The literature on mental health in collectivist societies highlights the complex relationship between culture, community, and mental health care. In Indonesia's indigenous communities, mental health is deeply intertwined with cultural values that prioritize group cohesion, family responsibility, and traditional healing practices. While these cultural factors can provide valuable support and protection, they can also create challenges for individuals who struggle with mental health issues, particularly when these issues conflict with social expectations. Traditional healing methods continue to play a central role in addressing mental health concerns, but there is a growing recognition of the need to integrate modern psychiatric care to better address more complex conditions.

The literature suggests that culturally sensitive approaches to mental health care are



essential for improving outcomes in collectivist societies like Indonesia. Future research should continue to explore the intersection of culture, mental health, and traditional healing, with a focus on developing integrative models that respect indigenous knowledge while promoting access to modern mental health care. By understanding the cultural dynamics of mental health in collectivist societies, policymakers and healthcare providers can develop more effective and inclusive mental health programs that meet the unique needs of these communities.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research design to investigate mental health dynamics within Indonesia's indigenous communities, focusing on how collectivist cultural values influence mental health experiences and interventions. The research was conducted in three provinces—West Sumatra, Bali, and Central Java—representing distinct indigenous cultures with strong collectivist values. Participants were selected from three main groups: community leaders, mental health practitioners, and community members. These participants were chosen to provide a well-rounded perspective on the topic.

Data collection was done through a combination of methods. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants to explore their views on mental health, the role of family and community, and the use of traditional healing practices. Focus group discussions were held in each region to facilitate group dialogue around community attitudes toward mental health, stigma, and the role of social support. Ethnographic fieldwork was carried out over six months to

observe community life, social dynamics, and informal practices related to mental health.

The data were analyzed using thematic analysis to identify key themes such as community support, traditional healing practices, stigma, and the impact of collectivist cultural norms on mental health. Ethical considerations were carefully followed, ensuring informed consent and confidentiality for all participants. While the study provides valuable insights into mental health in collectivist societies, its focus on specific regions and sample size may limit the broader applicability of the findings.

This methodology provides an in-depth exploration of mental health in collectivist cultures, offering a nuanced understanding of the relationship between traditional and modern mental health practices in Indonesia's indigenous communities.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Community Support as a Protective Factor

One of the most consistent findings across all regions was the significant role of community support in maintaining mental health. The participants universally emphasized the importance of family and community ties in managing emotional distress and mental health issues. In the Minangkabau community of West Sumatra, for instance, participants described *gotong royong* (mutual aid) as a crucial element in managing personal challenges. This practice encourages collective responsibility, where family members and neighbors come together to provide both emotional and material support to those facing difficulties.



Similar sentiments were expressed by participants in Bali and Central Java. In these areas, extended families play a central role in emotional support, and community leaders are often involved in helping individuals work through mental health problems. In these collectivist cultures, the focus is not solely on the individual but on the well-being of the group. Community support provides a buffer against the isolation that often accompanies mental health issues in individualistic societies. The sense of belonging and mutual care was reported to reduce feelings of alienation and provide a source of resilience against stress and anxiety.

However, while community support was often seen as a protective factor, it was not without its complexities. In some cases, the heavy reliance on family and social networks meant that individuals may feel pressured to conform to community expectations, which could negatively affect their mental health. For example, some participants in Central Java shared that they felt overwhelmed by their family's expectations of success, which led to stress and feelings of inadequacy when they couldn't meet those expectations.

Pressure to Conform to Social Norms

The study also revealed that the pressure to conform to societal expectations in collectivist cultures can create significant stress and emotional strain. Participants across all three regions expressed that mental health problems, such as anxiety and depression, are often triggered or exacerbated by the societal pressure to maintain social harmony and fulfill prescribed roles within the family and community.

In Bali, for example, the pressure to adhere to traditional roles—such as fulfilling

religious obligations, maintaining family honor, and contributing to community events—was described as a source of emotional stress. One participant explained that the desire to maintain social harmony sometimes leads individuals to suppress their emotions, which can result in psychological distress. This internal conflict between personal needs and social obligations is particularly challenging for those experiencing mental health issues, as they may feel unable to seek help or express their struggles due to fear of social stigma.

Similarly, in West Sumatra and Central Java, participants reported that societal norms about family responsibility and social behavior can make it difficult for individuals to address mental health issues openly. The fear of being judged by family or community members often leads individuals to suffer in silence, which exacerbates their emotional struggles.

Traditional Healing Practices and Mental Health

Traditional healing practices remain central to mental health care in Indonesia's indigenous communities. Many participants emphasized the role of traditional healers, such as *dukun* or *balian*, in providing spiritual and emotional support. These healers are trusted figures within the community who offer guidance through rituals, prayers, and herbal remedies. In the Minangkabau community, for instance, participants described the healing process as a spiritual journey, where the healer's role is not just to address the illness but to restore spiritual and emotional balance.

In Bali and Central Java, traditional healing practices, such as offerings, prayers, and consultations with spiritual leaders, are commonly used to address mental health



concerns. These practices provide comfort, a sense of connection to the divine, and a way to cope with emotional distress. For many individuals, these practices are seen as a vital part of their cultural identity and an important source of healing. They allow individuals to address mental health issues within a familiar and culturally accepted framework.

However, while traditional healing practices offer emotional and spiritual support, participants acknowledged their limitations in addressing more severe or clinical mental health conditions. For example, in cases of depression or psychosis, traditional healing alone was not deemed sufficient. Several participants shared that although spiritual healing might provide temporary relief, it often fails to address the underlying psychological causes of mental health issues, such as trauma or genetic predisposition. This highlights the need for a more integrated approach to mental health care.

Stigma Surrounding Mental Health

Stigma was found to be one of the most significant barriers to seeking professional mental health care in collectivist communities. Across all regions, participants indicated that mental illness is often viewed as a source of shame or weakness. In these societies, the importance of social harmony and family reputation means that individuals with mental health issues are frequently marginalized or misunderstood.

In Bali, for example, one participant shared that mental health issues are often seen as a failure to maintain control over one's emotions, which can be viewed as a moral failing. Similarly, in Central Java, participants expressed that mental health issues, particularly those related to

depression or anxiety, are sometimes attributed to spiritual imbalances or punishment from ancestors, which can further stigmatize individuals seeking help.

This stigma can lead to a reluctance to seek formal mental health care, and instead, individuals may turn to family or traditional healers for help. The fear of social judgment and exclusion can prevent individuals from accessing necessary psychiatric care, leading to delays in treatment and worsened mental health outcomes. The stigma surrounding mental health is particularly pronounced in rural and remote areas, where traditional values are more entrenched.

Integration of Traditional and Modern Approaches

The study found that there is an increasing recognition of the need for an integrated approach to mental health care in Indonesia's indigenous communities. While traditional healing practices remain deeply valued, there is growing acknowledgment of the importance of modern psychiatric care in addressing more severe mental health conditions. Participants expressed that combining traditional healing with modern therapy could provide a more comprehensive and culturally sensitive approach to mental health care.

In West Sumatra, for example, some participants mentioned that they have started to seek help from both traditional healers and mental health professionals, especially for issues like depression or anxiety. Similarly, in Bali and Central Java, there were reports of community-based mental health initiatives that incorporate both traditional practices and Western mental health services. These integrated approaches aim to respect local



traditions while also providing access to modern medical care.

The integration of traditional and modern approaches faces challenges, however. There is still some resistance from both traditional healers and mental health professionals to fully collaborate, often due to differences in beliefs about the causes of mental illness and the methods of treatment. Nevertheless, the potential for an integrated approach to mental health care is promising, as it would allow for a more holistic and culturally sensitive treatment model.

The findings of this study highlight the complex relationship between collectivist cultural values and mental health in indigenous communities in Indonesia. Community support plays a critical role in managing mental health issues, but the pressure to conform to social norms can also exacerbate emotional distress. Traditional healing practices continue to be an essential part of mental health care, but their limitations in treating severe mental health conditions underscore the need for an integrated approach that combines both traditional and modern methods. Finally, the stigma surrounding mental health remains a significant barrier to seeking care, emphasizing the need for cultural sensitivity in mental health interventions.

The findings provide valuable insights for developing culturally appropriate mental health interventions that respect indigenous traditions while addressing the evolving mental health needs of these communities. There is a need for more collaborative efforts between traditional healers, mental health professionals, and policymakers to create inclusive mental health programs that can effectively support individuals in collectivist societies.

CONCLUSION

This study provides valuable insights into the dynamics of mental health within collectivist cultures, focusing on indigenous communities in Indonesia. The research highlights the complex relationship between cultural values, social structures, and mental well-being. The findings underscore the significant role that community support plays in promoting mental health, while also revealing the challenges posed by societal pressure to conform to cultural norms.

In Indonesia's indigenous communities, mental health is often viewed through the lens of social harmony and collective well-being. The sense of responsibility towards family and the community provides individuals with emotional support and a sense of belonging, which are crucial protective factors against mental health issues. However, the pressure to maintain these communal ties and fulfill societal expectations can create emotional distress, particularly for individuals who feel unable to meet these collective standards.

Traditional healing practices, which are deeply rooted in the cultural fabric of these communities, continue to play a key role in addressing mental health concerns. These practices offer emotional and spiritual support, fostering a connection to community and culture. Yet, while traditional healing is vital, it has limitations in addressing more severe psychological conditions, underscoring the need for a more integrated approach that combines both traditional and modern psychiatric care.

Stigma remains one of the most significant barriers to seeking formal mental health care in collectivist societies. The fear of social judgment and the shame associated with mental illness prevent many individuals from accessing professional help, leading to



untreated or poorly managed mental health conditions. This reinforces the need for mental health programs that are culturally sensitive and capable of reducing stigma.

This study also emphasizes the potential for integrating traditional and modern mental health care practices to create a more holistic and effective treatment approach. While challenges remain in bridging the gap between these two systems, the integration of indigenous healing methods with evidence-based psychiatric care could offer a more comprehensive solution to mental health care in collectivist societies.

Ultimately, this research highlights the importance of culturally sensitive mental health interventions that consider the unique values, norms, and practices of indigenous communities. By respecting and incorporating these cultural elements, mental health programs can become more accessible, effective, and sustainable. It is crucial for policymakers, health professionals, and community leaders to collaborate in developing mental health care systems that not only provide medical support but also honor the social and cultural dynamics of these communities. In doing so, we can create a more inclusive and responsive mental health care framework that addresses the diverse needs of collectivist societies like those in Indonesia.

REFERENCES

- Ariani, D. M., & Hadi, S. (2016). Mental Health in Indonesia: A Review of Cultural and Social Dimensions. *Indonesian Journal of Psychology*.
- Aro, I., & Li, L. (2017). Cultural Perspectives on Mental Health: A Comparison between East and West. *Asian Journal of Social Science*.
- Chan, K. L. (2013). The Impact of Collectivism on Coping and Mental Health in East Asian Families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 27(3), 394–404.
- Cheng, H., Kim, B. S. K., & Park, I. (2013). Collectivism and Mental Health: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(7), 1014–1032.
- Chiao, C., & Blascovich, J. (2013). Cultural Influences on the Perception and Treatment of Mental Health. *Psychological Science*, 24(6), 1132–1139.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Sage Publications.
- Holmes, J., & Carr, J. (2017). Cultural Constructs and Mental Health: Reinterpreting Western Psychological Theories in the Asian Context. *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*, 23(1), 46–53.
- Kim, U., & Park, H. (2017). Cultural Perspectives on Mental Health in East Asia. *Psychology and Health*, 32(7), 779–788.
- Kirmayer, L. J., & Minas, H. (2019). Cultural Models of Mental Health and Treatment in Indigenous Communities. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 54(1), 1–9.
- Kuo, W. H., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2015). Collectivism, Family Ties, and Mental Health in Indigenous Populations: A Review of Literature.



- International Review of Psychiatry, 27(5), 538–547.
- Lu, L., & Yang, L. (2012). Collectivism and Mental Health in Asian Societies: Exploring the Psychological and Social Dimensions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 42(1), 42–52.
- Marsella, A. J. (2005). Cultural Influences on Mental Health: The Role of Cultural Values and Family Structures. In J. L. Gergen (Ed.), *Handbook of Cultural Psychology*. Cambridge University Press.
- McLeod, J., & Nandy, S. (2011). Mental Health and Cultural Values: A Critical Review of Psychological Models. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 50(3), 264–275.
- Nugroho, M. (2018). Indigenous Health and Healing Practices in Indonesia. *Southeast Asian Journal of Ethnomedicine*.
- Oei, T. P. S., & Kua, E. H. (2016). Mental Health and Cultural Perspectives: A Southeast Asian View. *Singapore Journal of Psychiatry*, 57(4), 42–50.
- Park, H., & Kim, B. S. K. (2013). Cultural Context and Mental Health in Collectivist Societies: The Role of Social Support Systems. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 59(3), 257–265.
- Purnomo, D., & Wahyuni, S. (2019). Indigenous Healing Practices and Mental Health: Insights from Indonesia's Rural Communities. *Southeast Asian Journal of Psychology*.
- Ratanakul, P. (2017). The Impact of Collectivism on Mental Health in Southeast Asia. *Asian Journal of Psychology and Counseling*, 6(2), 99–115.
- Santosa, S. A. (2018). Social Harmony and Mental Health: Understanding the Collectivist Approach to Well-Being in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Psychology*, 28(4), 210–219.
- Siregar, M. (2019). Stigma and Mental Health: Perspectives from Indonesian Communities. *Asian Journal of Mental Health*.
- Siu, G. K., Lee, T. K., & Wong, D. F. (2011). Mental Health in Collectivist Cultures: The Impact of Family and Social Norms on Well-Being. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 57(4), 345–352.
- Stewart, D. W., & Wiggins, B. E. (2016). Mental Health Stigma in the Indonesian Context: A Study of Rural Communities. *Asia Pacific Journal of Psychiatry*, 31(2), 109–115.
- Sukma, R. (2015). Indigenous Communities in Indonesia: A Socio-Cultural Analysis. *Journal of Indonesian Social Studies*, 15(2), 103–115.
- Suroso, S., & Wibowo, A. (2014). Traditional Healing Practices and Mental Health in Indonesia. *Journal of Cultural Psychology*, 12(3), 142–149.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and Collectivism: New Directions in Social Psychology*. Westview Press.
- Wei, M., & Liao, K. Y. H. (2011). The Role of Social Support and Collectivism in Mental Health in Asian Immigrant Communities. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(1), 71–77.
- Wibowo, A., & Fauzi, I. (2017). The Intersection of Traditional Healing and Modern Psychiatry in Indonesia.



- Journal of Mental Health Policy and Economics, 20(3), 180–188.
- Yeo, G. B., & Kim, J. W. (2016). Indigenous Healing and Mental Health: Challenges and Opportunities in Southeast Asia. *Asian Journal of Social Work and Policy*, 9(1), 11–21.
- Zhang, J. X., & Liu, X. P. (2014). Mental Health in East Asia: The Influence of Collectivism and Family on Psychological Well-Being. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 70(6), 525–532.
- Zhou, J., & Wu, L. (2015). Indigenous and Western Approaches to Mental Health Care in Asia: A Comparative Study. *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 16(2), 142–150.

