

## Gen X-Gen Z: communication and education in the Pancasila values campaign

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**Abstract** This research analysed the hybrid forms of communication between Generation X and Generation Z in campaigns promoting adherence to Pancasila values within student organisations, as well as their implications for the process of re-actualising national ideology in the digital era. This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach and was conducted in Tuban Regency, East Java. Data were obtained through semi-structured interviews with six faculty advisers (Generation X) and six student organisation leaders (Generation Z), as well as through participant observation and digital documentation of face-to-face forums and organisational social media. Data analysis was carried out inductively and thematically using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña model. The findings indicate that intergenerational communication occurs through a hybrid communication pattern that combines offline reflective forums with online collaborative activities. Generation X serves as the guardian of the legitimacy of Pancasila values and their moral depth, while Generation Z functions as the translator of these values into digital expressions and social action. Despite perceptual tensions regarding the ways in which ideological values are conveyed, the interaction between the two groups resulted in a convergence of meaning that enriched the process of value internalisation. The digital campaign themed Pancasila and Environmental Sustainability showed an increase in student participation of up to 64% and a digital engagement rate of 8.7%, indicating the success of an adaptive and collaborative communication model. Theoretically, this research expands the application of intergenerational communication theory in the context of ideological education. Socially, the hybrid communication model has proven capable of strengthening the national identity of the younger generation by presenting Pancasila as a dynamic, reflective, and relevant life narrative in the digital age.

**Keywords:** communication education; Gen X communications; Gen Z communications; Intergenerational Communication

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the early 2000s, particularly following the rise of social media, developments in information technology have revolutionised the way people communicate. Digital transformation has not only reshaped patterns of social and economic interaction, but has also influenced how societies understand, interpret, and internalise national values, including those embodied in Pancasila. As Indonesia's foundational national ideology, Pancasila comprises five core principles—belief in the divine, just and civilised humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by deliberation, and social justice—which function as ideological and ethical guidelines for civic life and national identity in Indonesia (Harianja & Sinaga, 2025). In the context of Indonesian higher education, student organisations constitute a strategic arena for the internalisation of Pancasila values, as they provide spaces in which students practise leadership, democratic participation, social responsibility, and the spirit of cooperation. However, shifts in communication patterns driven by digital transformation have introduced new challenges for ideological education (Sevignani, 2022). Generational differences in communication styles present a significant obstacle: Generation X, who typically serve as faculty advisers or organisational seniors, tend to favour formal, hierarchical, and face-to-face communication, whereas Generation Z students are more expressive, highly engaged with social media, and prefer fast-paced, visually oriented interactions (Döring et al., 2024; Gao, 2023).

Generation X, born between 1965 and 1980, is characterised by a strong work ethic, discipline, and a focus on personal responsibility. Members of this generation grew up in the pre-digital era, when face-to-face communication, organisational hierarchies, and empirical experience were dominant values (Lyons & Schweitzer, 2017). Generation X has often been described as digital immigrants because they adapted to new technologies as these emerged (Calvo-Porral & Pesqueira-Sanchez, 2020). In academic and organisational contexts, they tend to emphasise formality, discipline, and the transmission of values through lectures or direct mentoring (Tan & Chin, 2023). They view the values of Pancasila as moral guidelines that must be maintained both normatively and structurally.

Conversely, Generation Z, born between 1997 and 2012, is the first generation to have grown up entirely within a digital environment. Generation Z is digitally literate and highly dependent on media for obtaining information (Venus et al., 2025). Its members are accustomed to rapid communication, multitasking, and sharing information through online platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and WhatsApp (Francis & Hoefel, 2018; Turner, 2015). Compared with Millennials and Generation X, Generation Z is described as more active in the digital world and as possessing key characteristics such as creativity, flexibility, and a preference for visual expression (Seyfi et al., 2025). In relation to national values, they tend to understand Pancasila not merely as doctrine, but as a set of values that must be brought to life through social action and digital media. Cross-cultural research indicates that Generation Z adopts a more collaborative, horizontal, and network-based communication style than previous generations (Laor & Galily, 2022; Sihombing et al., 2022).

These differences in characteristics and orientations often lead to gaps in cross-generational communication within student organisations. Generation X emphasises the substance and order of messages. Members of this generation tend to value difference and stability, and are often considered more socially aware (van Deventer & Saraiva, 2025). By contrast, Generation Z prefers open communication and tends to expect active participation as well as visual appeal in the communication of values (Anoop Gurunathan & Lakshmi, 2024). Cross-country studies confirm that these differences in media perception can create a semantic gap if they are not bridged through an adaptive approach (Boulianne, 2020; Hinck & Carr, 2024). In the context of campaigns promoting adherence to Pancasila values, this gap has the potential to reduce the appeal of ideological messages, even when their content remains relevant.

To address this issue, a clear communication model is needed that integrates both conventional and digital approaches into a single system—often described as hybrid communication. This is defined here as the intentional blending of offline deliberative interaction and online mobilisation to facilitate sustained engagement across contexts (Nikolopoulou, 2022). Ongoing digital transformation has affected each generation differently, depending on their early access to communication technologies and their age at the time different platforms were introduced (Gao, 2023). Hybrid communication enables synergy between the noble values upheld by Generation X and the creativity and media innovation possessed by Generation Z by

combining structured face-to-face reflection with digitally mediated interaction that draws upon visual, asynchronous, and real-time channels. Although recent studies show that the integration of face-to-face and online communication can enhance the effectiveness of value education and digital literacy (Hauge & Rowsell, 2020; Lee, 2022). Existing research rarely examines hybrid communication as a mechanism for intergenerational value co-creation and mutual meaning-making between older advisers and contemporary students. In practice, hybrid communication works intergenerationally by allowing the experiential knowledge of senior members to be deliberated in live settings, while Generation Z's digital fluency shapes ongoing online discourse and resource mobilisation. In this context, hybrid communication is not only a pedagogical medium, but also an ideological strategy for sustaining the relevance of Pancasila values amidst digital transformation. It also points to new pathways for understanding collaborative learning across generational boundaries in higher education (Nikolopoulou, 2022; Oshima et al., 2025).

Theoretically, this research draws upon Intergenerational Communication Theory (Harwood, 2007), which explains that interactions between different age groups are influenced by perceptions and stereotypes concerning one another's social identities. It is also informed by the Communication Convergence Model developed by Rogers and Kincaid (1981), which emphasises the importance of two-way dialogue in achieving shared meaning (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981). This approach is particularly relevant for explaining how two generations with different communication styles can arrive at mutual understanding within an ideological context. Contemporary studies confirm that the success of intergenerational communication is significantly influenced by the ability of both parties to adapt to new media and to the ethics of digital communication (Cortés-Ramos et al., 2021; Han, 2025).

Although existing studies on youth communication in digital environments have largely concentrated on online political participation and digital activism, they have paid limited attention to intergenerational interaction and the transmission of ideological values. For instance, research on youth political engagement demonstrates how Generation Z uses social media platforms to participate in political discourse and digital movements, particularly within the Indonesian context (Gao, 2023; Laor & Galily, 2022). While these studies successfully explain patterns of online participation and mobilisation, they do not address how national values such as Pancasila are cultivated through everyday interactions between students and their supervising lecturers. Similarly, broader studies on digital civic engagement focus on individual agency and networked participation, yet overlook the dialogical processes through which ideological meanings are negotiated across generations (Cortés-Ramos et al., 2021; Sainz & Hanna, 2023). Consequently, a clear research gap remains regarding hybrid communication patterns as an intergenerational mechanism for ideological value co-creation within university settings.

This research is distinctive in that it integrates intergenerational communication theory with the study of Pancasila values and examines their application within student organisations in Tuban Regency, East Java—a region known for its rich traditional cultural characteristics and evolving social realities in the digital era. Tuban society has historically combined local wisdom, religious heritage, and community identity, as reflected in enduring traditions such as Kabumi local wisdom, which continues to shape interpersonal values such as mutual cooperation and tolerance in everyday life (Widiyanto & Lutfiana, 2021). This complex socio-cultural context raises important questions: (1) how do traditional cultural norms and digital communication environments interact in shaping value internalisation among students? and (2) how do cross-generational communication practices influence campaigns promoting adherence to Pancasila within student organisations? Therefore, this study aims to (1) analyse hybrid communication patterns between Generation X and Generation Z in campaigns promoting adherence to Pancasila values within student organisations, (2) identify cross-generational communication barriers, and (3) formulate an effective communication model to strengthen the internalisation of these values among students.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach to provide an in-depth description and understanding of communication patterns between Generation X and Generation Z in campaigns promoting adherence to Pancasila values within student organisations in Tuban Regency. A qualitative approach was chosen because it enables researchers to explore the meanings, perceptions, and social experiences of participants in a real-world context, rather than

merely measuring statistical relationships between variables. According to Creswell and Poth, qualitative research focuses on understanding phenomena through the in-depth interpretation of social reality (Creswell & Poth, 2016). This approach is particularly appropriate because cross-generational communication is contextual and laden with symbolic meaning. Denzin and Lincoln (2018) likewise emphasise that communication is not merely a process of conveying messages, but also a negotiation of meaning within a complex social context. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

The research was conducted in Tuban Regency, East Java, a locality that constitutes a strategic and analytically significant case for examining the intergenerational communication of ideological values within higher education. Tuban represents a context in which deeply rooted traditional cultural norms—including strong communal bonds, religious orientation, and collective social practices—continue to shape everyday social life, while processes of digitalisation in higher education are rapidly transforming modes of learning, organisational interaction, and student engagement.

Local higher education institutions, such as universities and polytechnic colleges, increasingly rely on digital learning platforms, online organisational coordination, and social media-based student activities. These developments coexist with a social environment that remains strongly influenced by face-to-face interaction, moral authority derived from seniority, and value transmission through communal and religious networks. This juxtaposition creates a hybrid educational environment in which traditional and digital modes of communication intersect, interact, and occasionally compete.

Tuban is particularly important for this research because it exemplifies the experience of non-metropolitan regions in Indonesia, where digital transformation does not replace existing cultural frameworks, but instead becomes embedded within them. Unlike major urban centres, where digital culture often dominates educational practices, Tuban allows for closer observation of how ideological values—such as those associated with Pancasila—are negotiated, translated, and internalised across generations in contexts marked by cultural continuity. This makes the region especially suitable for analysing hybrid communication processes between Generation X, who tend to embody inherited ideological narratives, and Generation Z, who actively reinterpret these values through digital and participatory practices.

The selection of Tuban was therefore purposive, grounded in the assumption that social settings characterised by the coexistence of cultural persistence and institutional change provide particularly rich analytical insights into communicative and ideological processes (Yin, 2018). As a case that reflects broader structural conditions faced by many semi-peripheral regions in Indonesia, Tuban enables the findings of this study to extend beyond local relevance. Instead, the case contributes to wider theoretical discussions on hybrid communication, intergenerational value transmission, and the internalisation of national ideology within contemporary higher education contexts (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The research data were obtained from two main groups of informants selected through purposive sampling, namely individuals considered to possess the most relevant experience and knowledge for understanding intergenerational communication phenomena within student organisations (Palinkas et al., 2015). The first group consisted of Generation X participants, comprising six supervising lecturers and alumni of student organisations aged between 45 and 57 years. Informants in this group were selected based on the following inclusion criteria: (1) a minimum of five years' experience in mentoring or supervising student organisations, and (2) direct involvement in designing, guiding, or evaluating activities related to students' ideological and value development. This group represents actors who grew up in an era of predominantly conventional communication and who play a key role in maintaining ideological direction and institutional values (See Table 1).

The second group consisted of Generation Z participants, comprising six active student organisation administrators aged 19 to 23 years. The inclusion criteria for this group were: (1) holding a strategic leadership position (e.g., chairperson, secretary, or division coordinator), (2) active involvement in managing organisational social media or digital campaigns, and (3) participation in programmes or initiatives promoting Pancasila values. As the primary actors in producing and disseminating ideological messages through digital platforms, this group reflects contemporary communication practices among students. The composition of informants across both groups was relatively balanced, including gender distribution, in order to capture potential variations in communication styles relevant to intergenerational interaction (Guest et al., 2012).

**Table 1.** Informant profiles

Number	Initial	Generation	Informant role	Age	Gender
1	GX1	X	Faculty Advisor	52	Male
2	GX2	X	Faculty Advisor	49	Female
3	GX3	X	Senior Member	57	Male
4	GX4	X	Senior Member	45	Female
5	GX5	X	Faculty Advisor	50	Male
6	GX6	X	Senior Member	54	Female
7	GZ1	Z	Student Organisation Chairperson	22	Male
8	GZ2	Z	Student Organisation Secretary	21	Female
9	GZ3	Z	Media and Information Coordinator	20	Male
10	GZ4	Z	Program Coordinator	23	Female
11	GZ5	Z	Social Media Administrator	19	Female
12	GZ6	Z	Executive Board Member	22	Male

Source: Author (2025)

The data collection process was carried out using three main techniques: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and digital documentation. The interviews were conducted both face-to-face and online via Zoom and Google Meet, with an average duration of 45 to 60 minutes. The interview questions focused on how both generations understand Pancasila values, the communication styles they employ, and the collaborative strategies they apply in cross-generational campaigns. In addition to the interviews, the researcher also conducted direct observation of student organisation activities over a period of three months, including national discussions and the publication of content on social media. This observation provided a realistic picture of how interactions between mentors and students took place in both physical and digital spaces. Digital documentation, in the form of posts on Instagram, TikTok, and organisational WhatsApp groups, was collected to examine how messages about Pancasila were constructed through the visual and narrative language distinctive to Generation Z. These techniques were combined through methodological triangulation to enhance the validity and depth of data interpretation (Flick, 2022).

Data analysis was conducted using an inductive thematic approach, following the interactive model proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), which consists of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles et al., 2014). During the data reduction phase, interview transcripts, observation notes, and digital documents were systematically examined through open coding to identify initial units of meaning related to intergenerational communication and value transmission. These codes were then refined through axial coding, in which relationships among the codes were explored and grouped into broader analytical categories. Based on this process, overarching themes—such as hybrid communication patterns, cross-generational perceptual differences, and collaborative strategies in digital campaigns—were developed and organised during the data display stage. To enhance analytical rigour, theme development was reviewed iteratively through peer debriefing and member checking with selected informants to ensure interpretive credibility. In addition to the qualitative analysis, simple descriptive statistics were employed to support pattern recognition, without shifting the study's qualitative orientation. The entire analytical process was supported by NVivo 12 Plus, which facilitated systematic coding, theme visualisation, and the exploration of relationships among themes (Mortelmans, 2025).

To ensure data validity and trustworthiness, the researcher employed four complementary strategies: source triangulation, member checking, peer debriefing, and an audit trail. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing data obtained from interviews, observations, and digital documents to identify convergent and divergent patterns. Member checking was carried out in two stages. First, selected informants were asked to verify the accuracy of their interview transcripts. Second, they were invited to review preliminary thematic interpretations to confirm whether the identified themes accurately reflected their experiences and perspectives. Peer debriefing involved regular discussions with academic colleagues and research supervisors possessing expertise in qualitative methods and communication studies, thereby enabling critical reflection on coding decisions and theme development. In addition, an audit trail was maintained through the systematic documentation of analytical decisions, coding revisions, and methodological reflections throughout the research process. Collectively, these

procedures were designed to ensure that the findings credibly represented the social realities as understood by the participants (Nowell et al., 2017).

The entire research process was conducted with due consideration for the principles of social research ethics. Prior to the interviews, the researcher obtained voluntary informed consent from all participants. The identities of the informants were anonymised to maintain confidentiality, and the data were used solely for academic purposes. The principles of respect, beneficence, and justice formed the basis of the ethical conduct of the research (Orb et al., 2001). Thus, this research method was designed to generate a rich and authentic understanding of how hybrid communication between Generation X and Generation Z contributes to strengthening campaigns promoting adherence to Pancasila values within student organisations. Through the combination of a descriptive qualitative approach, the unique social context of Tuban, and rigorous validation strategies, this research is expected to make an empirical contribution to the development of intergenerational communication studies and national ideology education in the digital era.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The findings of this study show that communication between Generation X and Generation Z within student organisations in Tuban Regency does not operate in a linear or one-directional manner. Instead, it unfolds through dynamic and negotiated interactions that integrate inherited ideological traditions with contemporary digital communication practices. These interactions are reflected in organisational activities such as ideological campaigns, national discussion forums, and the production of digital content on social media carrying Pancasila-related narratives. To present these findings systematically, the discussion is structured around four interrelated themes: hybrid communication patterns that merge face-to-face deliberation with online mobilisation; intergenerational convergence, in which shared meanings of Pancasila values are collaboratively constructed; communicative tensions arising from differences in authority, media preferences, and interpretive frameworks across generations; and the reactualisation of Pancasila values, whereby national ideology is reinterpreted and reformulated to remain relevant within a digital organisational context. Collectively, these themes illustrate how intergenerational communication functions as an adaptive process that sustains ideological continuity while accommodating social and technological change.

Generation X, who serve as supervising lecturers or organisational seniors, exhibit a communication style characterised by structure, hierarchy, and normativity. For them, the transmission of Pancasila values must occur through formal approaches such as lectures, cadre training, and offline discussions that emphasise moral reflection. In an interview, one supervising lecturer stated, "We want students to understand Pancasila as a moral foundation, not merely as a slogan. These values must be maintained through systematic and disciplined training.". This communication pattern reflects the characteristics of the pre-digital generation, which continues to interpret values and obligations as hierarchical and as something that must be transmitted directly (Lyons & Schweitzer, 2017).

Meanwhile, Generation Z demonstrates a more horizontal and collaborative communication style. Members of this generation tend to avoid monological patterns and prefer two-way communication involving creative participation. For them, ideological messages must be presented in an attractive manner to compete within the flow of digital information. One student organiser stated, "If we upload videos about mutual cooperation or social justice in Reels format, our friends can comment directly and take part in the challenge. As a result, the values of Pancasila feel more alive.". This suggests that, for Generation Z, the internalisation of values is not merely a process of listening and accepting, but also one of participatory and representational action in the digital sphere. This finding is consistent with studies showing that Generation Z communication is characterised by visual orientation, collaborative preferences, and a desire to create social engagement through media (Laor & Galily, 2022).

### **Hybrid communication patterns and value convergence**

Based on field observations and digital documentation, it was found that the most effective form of communication between Generation X and Generation Z was hybrid communication, namely a combination of face-to-face forums and collaborative digital activities. In face-to-face forums, Generation X played a role in instilling the core values of Pancasila through reflective discussions

and case studies. They emphasised that leadership within student organisations should be grounded in the spirit of deliberation and cooperation, rather than merely in competition or individual achievement. For example, during the Tuban Student National Dialogue 2024 event, the organisation's adviser opened the forum with a reflection on the fourth principle of Pancasila and the practice of deliberation in organisational decision-making. Observation showed that the atmosphere of the discussion was formal, with students taking notes and occasionally asking questions; however, the interaction tended to be top-down, with the lecturer still controlling the direction of the discussion.

In-depth interviews with students reinforced these findings. One student organiser explained, "We transformed the messages from the mentors into visual content because our peers are more easily drawn to images and videos. From there, the discussion actually developed in the comments section.". This approach not only broadens the reach of the message but also transforms ideological communication into a participatory process. This finding confirms that Generation Z students function as co-creators of value, rather than merely as recipients of messages. They play an active role in translating the values of Pancasila into the context of digital culture, in line with the concept of intergenerational co-creation, in which social meaning is collaboratively constructed through cross-generational participation (Hinck & Carr, 2024).

The collaboration between offline forums and digital activities resulted in a process of communication convergence, namely the creation of shared meaning through cross-media dialogue (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981). In this context, Generation X acts as a source of moral legitimacy, preserving the authenticity of Pancasila values, while Generation Z serves as a bridge by conveying those values to digital audiences in language and styles that are relevant to them. Observational data showed that, after two reflective forum activities had been held, the level of student participation in the digital campaign doubled, rising from an average of 11 collaborative uploads to 23 uploads within two weeks of the activities. This indicates that integrating direct communication with digital activities has a multiplier effect on students' ideological participation. Qualitative analysis of social media comments also showed that other students who had not previously been directly involved in the organisation began to participate in the Pancasila values campaign by rewriting moral messages in their personal captions or resharing organisational posts. This demonstrates an effect of meaning diffusion, whereby ideological messages do not remain confined to the organisation's internal interactions but spread throughout the campus digital network. This phenomenon may be understood as a form of cross-generational communication resonance, which occurs when intergenerational communication not only creates mutual understanding but also generates social resonance that extends to wider audiences (Gao, 2023).

This combination of roles shows that the success of ideological communication is not determined by the uniformity of communication style, but rather by the ability of two generations to complement one another in constructing the meaning of values. Generation X preserves the depth of substance and the moral framework of Pancasila, while Generation Z contributes contemporary relevance and appeal through media innovation. This collaborative process is not merely a form of adaptation, but a mechanism of ideological regeneration, through which the nation's core values are renewed in new forms of social expression without losing their original meaning.

Thus, the hybrid communication occurring within student organisations in Tuban demonstrates two important functions: as an ideological bridge between generations and as a model for the practice of digital character education. This synergy between the two generations proves that Pancasila is not merely transmitted dogmatically, but revitalised through dialogical, creative, and contextual communication, thereby ensuring that the nation's core values remain relevant amidst the currents of modernisation and information technology.

### **Value tensions and digital adaptation**

Despite this synergy, the study also identified value-based and perceptual tensions between the generations, which characterise the communication dynamics within student organisations. These tensions arise from differing interpretations of the function and ideological role of digital media. Generation X, shaped by a pre-digital communication culture, tends to believe that social media is not entirely suitable for conveying ideological messages because of its rapid, casual,

and potentially distorting nature. In the interviews, five out of six supervising lecturers expressed concern that digital campaigns could diminish the meaning of Pancasila values if they were presented too lightly. One lecturer (GX1) stated, "If everything is spread through social media, there is a concern that the message of Pancasila will become like entertainment.". This concern stems from Generation X's perspective that values must be protected from the erosion of meaning. For them, Pancasila is not merely a system of ideas, but a national moral symbol that requires respect, order, and a carefully directed mode of delivery.

However, field observations and interviews with six student administrators show that Generation Z views social media not as a threat, but as a new participatory space in which Pancasila values can be practised in everyday life. They believe that social media provides an opportunity to extend the reach of messages to younger and more diverse audiences. One student stated, "We did not change the meaning, only the way it was conveyed. Pancasila must be able to speak in the language of today."

This phenomenon reveals a clear difference in value-framing orientation between the two generations, understood here as the way social actors interpret, articulate, and transmit the meaning of values in communication. Generation X tends to frame values as a symbolic legacy requiring stability of meaning and moral continuity, whereas Generation Z approaches values as dynamic constructs that must be continually adapted to contemporary contexts. Observations of a national discussion forum at Tuban State Polytechnic illustrate this distinction: facilitators predominantly employed normative expressions such as 'practising values' and 'ideological obedience', while students more frequently used contemporary and informal terms such as 'values', 'mindset', or 'Pancasila vibes'. This shift in terminology reflects a process of symbolic transformation that does not necessarily indicate a degradation of ideological substance, but rather a reinterpretation of meaning intended to maintain relevance within a digitally mediated communicative environment.

This value tension reflects intergenerational identity negotiation, namely the process through which different generations negotiate identity according to their differing orientations towards time and change (Hinck & Carr, 2024). Generation X represents stability and continuity in collective identity, while Generation Z embodies symbolic dynamism and innovation. Both interact within a field of communication that is not always harmonious but remains ideologically productive. This tension gives rise to a dual reflective process: on the one hand, it serves as a reminder to preserve the authenticity of Pancasila values; on the other, it encourages the renewal of communication methods so that these values do not lose their relevance amidst social transformation.

Furthermore, field data indicate that this tension in fact contributes to communicative creativity within student organisations. Within two months of the first mentoring forum, there was an increase in collaborative initiatives between mentors and students, such as the Pancasila Chat on Campus Podcast, which featured lecturers and students as co-presenters. Of the eight episodes uploaded, the first five averaged 1,200 views, with positive comments predominating and highlighting a more "humanistic and contemporary" style of delivery. In other words, the value tension initially regarded as an obstacle proved instead to be a catalyst for innovation in ideological communication.

Qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts also shows that some supervising lecturers began to revise their perceptions of social media after witnessing the students' enthusiasm. One lecturer admitted, "Initially, I was sceptical, but it turned out that they were able to convey the message of Pancasila without diminishing its essence. In fact, even more people became involved.". This shift in attitude marks the emergence of intergenerational ideological dialogue, in which the authority of values is no longer singular, but instead the outcome of joint negotiation. Thus, communication about Pancasila in the digital era is no longer merely a process of transferring values from seniors to juniors but has become an interactive space in which both generations renegotiate the meaning of nationhood in language that is mutually intelligible.

Conceptually, this dynamic reinforces Harwood's (2007) view that intergenerational communication is an arena for negotiating social identity, which plays a crucial role in maintaining the continuity of collective values (Harwood, 2007). The tension that emerges is not a form of ideological dissonance, but rather a reflection of a shift in the value paradigm from a static to a participatory form. In the context of Pancasila, this process can be understood as an effort to re-actualise the nation's ideology through reflective and adaptive communication

practices that combine depth of substance with the appeal of form. In other words, Generation X and Generation Z are not debating the meaning of Pancasila; rather, they are jointly expanding the ways in which the nation speaks about itself.

### **Re-actualising Pancasila values through digital collaboration**

Field findings show that the hybrid communication process between Generation X and Generation Z is not only a means of transferring information but also gives rise to the reactualisation of Pancasila values in the form of new social practices. This process is evident when Gen Z students don't just repeat the ideological teachings presented by their mentors but rather reinterpret Pancasila values thru digital expression and community-based social activities. In this context, values such as social justice, humanity, and deliberation are translated into concrete actions relevant to contemporary issues.

One concrete example observed in this study is a digital campaign titled 'Pancasila and Environmental Sustainability', initiated by the Association of Chemical Engineering Students at Tuban State Polytechnic in March 2024. The campaign explicitly connects the second principle of Pancasila (Just and Civilised Humanity) and the fifth principle (Social Justice for All Indonesian People) with environmental stewardship practices, particularly through initiatives aimed at reducing plastic waste on campus. Digital documentation shows that the organisation's official Instagram account published 18 posts under the theme of eco-Pancasila, consisting of short educational videos on recycling, photo documentation of campus clean-up activities, and digital posters featuring the hashtags #PancasilaHijau and #SampahKitaTanggungJawabKita. The engagement metrics indicate that each post received an average of 1,300 video views (Instagram Reels views) and approximately 200 interactions (likes, comments, and shares), reflecting a relatively high engagement rate compared to routine administrative campus content. As one student organiser (GZ3) explained, "We chose environmental issues because caring for nature is a concrete way to translate Pancasila values into everyday actions that students can relate to.". This statement illustrates how ideological principles are deliberately reframed into actionable and contextually relevant practices through digital media.

An interview with the head of the event committee revealed that the campaign was not merely an ecological action, but a new form of awareness in interpreting the values of Pancasila. He stated, "We learned about social justice from the lecturers, and then we thought, if we're talking about justice in the present day, one way is through environmental justice. We want to show that the values of Pancasila can live in simple things, like sorting trash.". This statement describes the existence of a transformational internalisation process, which is a shift from normative learning patterns that emphasise memorisation and obedience to reflective and applicative learning patterns that are orientated toward social action. This phenomenon aligns with Hauge's (2020) idea that young people actively engaged in the digital space tend to construct a new form of citizenship literacy that is participatory, not merely reproductive (Hauge & Rowsell, 2020).

Additionally, observation documentation indicates that the offline activities accompanying the digital campaign involved cross-generational participation. In the 'Green Pancasila Forum' activity, the supervising lecturer (Generation X) provided an introduction to the values of mutual cooperation and social responsibility, while Generation Z students presented visual data from their digital survey on environmentally friendly behaviour on campus. This collaboration showcases a shift in communication patterns from vertical to horizontal. In this space, practices occur that can be categorised as intergenerational learning, which is a two-way learning process where each generation enriches the knowledge and perspectives of the other. From the results of interviews and observations, four out of six organization advisors admitted that this kind of joint activity helps them understand the students' 'digital language'. One of the lecturers said, "I just realised that the 30-second videos they made could have a greater impact than a one-hour lecture.". The message spread quickly, but it remained meaningful. Meanwhile, students see face-to-face forums with lecturers as an opportunity to delve deeper into the moral roots of the values they are promoting. A student stated, "We learned that the value of mutual cooperation isn't just about working together, but also about respecting the process and collective decisions.". These two quotes show that intergenerational interaction results in an exchange of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), where Generation X provides moral and historical legitimacy, while Generation Z offers creativity and media access.

Thematic analysis of interview transcripts also shows that this kind of reflective activity strengthens students' understanding of the fourth principle of Pancasila: 'Democracy guided by wisdom and deliberation/representation'. The discussion forum, which initially served as a means of guidance, transformed into an arena for equal ideological deliberation. The mentor is no longer positioned as the sole source of truth, but rather as a discussion partner who provides historical context to the values being discussed. The students then reinterpreted those values into digital campaign strategies. This model aligns with the concept of dialogical education, where the process of value education is not instructive, but dialogical and transformative (Freire, 1970).

Conceptually, this process indicates that hybrid communication has opened space for the reactualisation of Pancasila values as an adaptive social ethic in the digital era. Generation Z does not view Pancasila as a static doctrine, but rather as a source of inspiration for contextual action. On the other hand, Generation X didn't lose their role as goalkeepers of meaning but transformed into facilitators of value. Thus, they both built a new form of communication that is participatory, equal, and reflection based. This strengthens argument that participatory digital communication can be a vehicle for forming a new digital civic identity that remains rooted in local values but operates within a global ecosystem (Lee, 2022).

Thus, the reactualisation of Pancasila values in the Tuban student organization demonstrates that the nation's ideology has not lost its vitality in the digital era. Conversely, thru the synergy of two generations, these values are revitalised: from concepts that are taught to principles that are practiced, from ideological discourse to social action, and from formal narratives to creative and reflective everyday communication culture.

### **Theoretical and social implications**

Theoretically, the results of this study expand the scope of Intergenerational Communication Theory (Harwood, 2007) by applying it to the context of ideological education and the cultivation of Pancasila values within Indonesian higher education. This theory has generally been used to understand communication relationships within families or workplaces, but this research demonstrates that its principles are also relevant to the process of value education in student organisations. The interaction between Generation X and Generation Z in Tuban Regency shows that cross-generational communication is no longer a one-way instructive process in which the older generation acts as the teacher and the younger generation as the passive recipient; rather, it has shifted into a collaborative process of value convergence.

Empirical evidence supports this finding. In a Pancasila coaching forum observed in March 2024, the supervising lecturer (Generation X) and students (Generation Z) engaged in an open discussion on the issue of social justice in the digital age. Based on observation records, 67% of the discussion time consisted of a two-way exchange of ideas rather than facilitator monologue. Students provided real-world examples, such as the digital divide in rural areas, while the lecturer responded with a normative perspective grounded in the fifth principle of Pancasila. Both parties then concluded that Pancasila values could serve as a moral reference for guiding inclusive digital campus policies. This situation shows that common meaning, or shared understanding, can be built through a process of negotiating meaning, rather than merely through the repetition of teachings. This aligns with the concept of communication convergence, according to which social meaning is not simply transferred, but co-constructed by communication actors (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981).

The hybrid communication patterns that emerged in Tuban show that the successful internalisation of Pancasila values is highly dependent on the ability of both generations to construct shared meaning amidst their symbolic differences. For Generation X, the values of Pancasila are understood as a sacred historical heritage that must be preserved in its entirety. For Generation Z, by contrast, these values are viewed as moral guidelines that can be 'revived' through social action and digital media. Interview data show that five out of six student respondents mentioned the word relevance when explaining why they were active in the digital Pancasila campaign. One student stated, "We know Pancasila is important, but we also need to know how to make it feel relevant to our friends."

This phenomenon illustrates the occurrence of value transposition, namely the shift in the form of value manifestation from the normative realm to the more contextual realm of social practice. For example, the value of cooperation, which was previously expressed through

physical activities such as community service, is now adapted by students into a digital fundraising campaign for local flood victims using the campus social media platform. Documentation shows that the campaign successfully attracted participation from 312 students across various departments in just three days, demonstrating how the values of solidarity and social care can be sustained within a digital context.

Theoretical analysis of this phenomenon indicates that hybrid communication has created new ideological spaces in which Pancasila is no longer positioned solely as a state dogma, but as a dialogical value that can be negotiated across generations and media. This marks a shift from a model of ideological transmission to one of ideological co-construction, a process in which ideological values are exchanged, reinterpreted, and reimagined according to the social context of society (Hall, 1980). Through this process, Pancasila functions not only as a system of beliefs, but also as a reflective mechanism that helps younger generations understand global challenges through a national moral framework.

Socially, this communication model offers new hope for strengthening national identity among students. In the context of Tuban, student organisations that were previously more engaged in ceremonial activities have now been transformed into platforms for value-based social movements. Field data show that, after three months of implementing the hybrid communication programme, student participation in national-themed activities increased from 28% to 64%. Students who had previously been passive began to engage as content creators, discussion moderators, or volunteers in social activities. This increase indicates that, when national ideology is articulated in digital language and brought to life through cross-generational collaboration, Pancasila is no longer perceived as a rigid normative text, but as a living narrative that is flexible, communicative, and adaptable to modern social realities.

This finding strengthens Boulianne's (2020) argument that digital participation directed towards social goals has a dual effect: it strengthens collective identity while also building social trust. In this case, digital activities themed around Pancasila function not only as a medium for communicating ideology, but also as a means of forming a moral community among students. Digital engagement data show a pattern of value resonance, in which uploads themed around nationalism and solidarity receive the highest levels of interaction compared with other content, indicating that Pancasila values possess emotional vitality when communicated within the everyday context of students' lives.

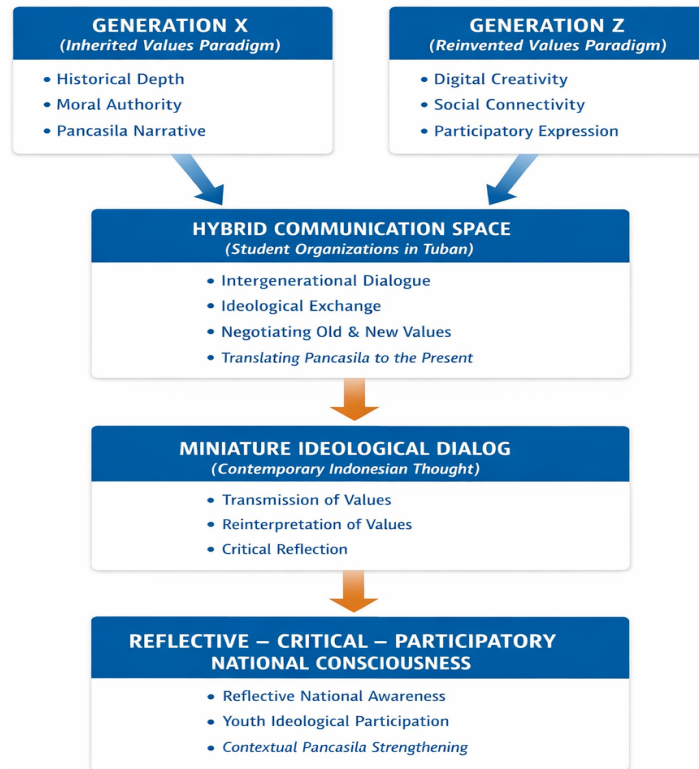
Thus, hybrid communication between Generation X and Generation Z within student organisations in Tuban not only serves to bridge the generational gap but also unites two paradigms of thinking about national ideology: inherited values and reinvented values. Generation X contributes historical depth and moral authority, while Generation Z offers creativity and social connectivity. When these two forces come together, they form a miniature dialogue of contemporary Indonesian ideological thought: a social space in which the nation's moral heritage meets the innovative spirit of the digital generation to build a reflective, critical, and participatory national consciousness.

The flowchart in Figure 1 illustrates the process of hybrid communication between Generation X and Generation Z within student organisations in Tuban as a dynamic space for the negotiation and reconstruction of national ideology. At the initial stage, Generation X is positioned as the bearer of an inherited values paradigm. This generation contributes historical depth, moral authority, and established narratives of Pancasila derived from lived experience, institutional engagement, and formal ideological education. Their role is primarily associated with the transmission of national values and the preservation of moral continuity.

By contrast, Generation Z represents a reinvented values paradigm. This generation brings digital creativity, strong social connectivity, and participatory forms of expression shaped by online culture and networked communication. Rather than merely receiving ideological values, Generation Z actively reinterprets and reformulates them in ways that are relevant to contemporary social realities.

Both paradigms converge within the hybrid communication space, represented by student organisations in Tuban. This space functions as a social arena for intergenerational dialogue, ideological exchange, and the negotiation of established and emerging values. Here, Pancasila is not treated as a fixed doctrine, but as a living set of principles that are continually translated into present-day contexts through discussion, collaboration, and shared practices.

The interaction within this hybrid space produces what the flowchart terms a miniature ideological dialogue of contemporary Indonesian thought. At this stage, inherited values from Generation X and reinvented values from Generation Z coexist and interact. This dialogue involves both the transmission and reinterpretation of values, encouraging critical reflection rather than passive acceptance of ideology.



**Figure 1.** Hybrid communication between generations in Tuban  
Source: Author (2025)

The outcome of this process is the formation of a reflective, critical, and participatory national consciousness. This consciousness is characterised by reflective awareness of national identity, active ideological participation among young people, and the contextual strengthening of Pancasila in everyday social and digital life. Through hybrid communication, national ideology is not only preserved but also revitalised in a manner that resonates with the digital generation while maintaining its moral foundations.

In this way, student organisations become not only a platform for student activity, but also an ideological laboratory in which two generations of Indonesians negotiate and renew their understanding of Pancasila. This phenomenon signifies the emergence of a new form of digital nationalism, namely a nationalism that does not reject technological progress, but instead uses it as a means of strengthening national identity and public civility in the global era.

## CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that hybrid communication between Generation X and Generation Z within student organisations in Tuban Regency has generated a new pattern of internalising and re-actualising Pancasila values. Communication no longer operates as a one-way, formal process typical of traditional mentoring models, but has evolved into a dialogical and collaborative interaction that integrates face-to-face deliberation with digital engagement. The empirical findings show that reflective forums guided by Generation X mentors play a crucial role in preserving the depth and normative meaning of ideology, while digital initiatives managed by Generation Z expand the reach and contemporary relevance of Pancasila among students. A concrete illustration of this process can be seen in the digital campaign entitled Pancasila and Environmental Sustainability, in which offline ideological discussions were translated into online

content promoting the reduction of plastic waste on campus, thereby effectively linking moral principles with everyday social action.

The findings further confirm that differences in generational character and value-framing orientation are not barriers, but rather sources of communicative productivity. Tensions between Generation X's emphasis on moral caution and symbolic authority, and Generation Z's expressive and creative communication styles, have fostered more participatory and reflexive forms of ideological education. Through hybrid communication, both generations construct a shared understanding of Pancasila values—an understanding that emerges from negotiation, dialogue, and lived experience rather than from the unilateral transmission of doctrine.

Theoretically, this study extends Intergenerational Communication Theory (Harwood, 2007) by demonstrating that cross-generational interaction can function as a mechanism for ideological renewal, rather than merely for value preservation. Communication becomes an arena for the convergence of meaning, enabling national ideology to remain responsive to shifting social, technological, and cultural contexts. This finding also reinforces Communication Convergence Theory (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981), which emphasises shared meaning as a foundation for social cohesion across generational boundaries.

From a social perspective, the results indicate that Pancasila continues to possess strong vitality among younger generations when articulated through relevant media and everyday practices. When ideological values are embedded in digital campaigns, social initiatives, and intergenerational dialogue, Pancasila functions as a living narrative—a dynamic, contextual, and continually reinterpreted framework rather than a static historical legacy. The hybrid communication model observed in Tuban illustrates how national values can be transmitted, reinterpreted, and enacted without losing their moral substance.

Nevertheless, this study has several limitations. It focuses on a single regional context, involves a limited number of informants, and primarily examines communication practices on specific digital platforms within student organisations. Future research could expand this inquiry by comparing multiple regions, including a broader range of organisational actors, or examining other digital platforms and institutional settings to explore further the scalability and adaptability of hybrid communication models in Pancasila education.

In conclusion, hybrid communication between Generation X and Generation Z in student organisations not only bridges generational gaps but also integrates inherited and reinvented value paradigms into a more inclusive, creative, and reflective ecosystem of ideological education. More broadly, this model offers a strategic framework for strengthening Pancasila education in the digital era—one that emphasises media adaptability, dialogical openness, and sustained intergenerational collaboration to ensure the continuity of Indonesia's national values.

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