Negotiating identity through language: The meaning of Javanese speech levels among teenagers in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Astri Wulandari[1*], Deddy Mulyana[2], Purwanti Hadisiwi[3], Edwin Rizal[4]

[1,2,3,4]*Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran Bandung, Indonesia.*

Corresponding author: Astri Wulandari (*Email: astri22002@mail.unpad.ac.id*)

Abstract

This study explores how teenagers in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, construct and interpret the meanings of Javanese speech levels—"Ngoko", "Madya", and "krama"—as markers of cultural identity. The research uses an ethnographic communication approach that employs participant observation and in-depth interviews with teenagers, parents, educators, and cultural institutions to examine language inheritance and usage patterns. Findings reveal that while teenagers acknowledge Javanese as part of their identity, they predominantly use the informal "Ngoko" level, often avoiding "krama" due to its complexity and fear of misapplication. The study underscores that Javanese speech levels are not static but are continuously constructed through social interactions, with meanings shaped by interpersonal relationships, cultural expectations, and modernization. Despite formal education reinforcing the importance of Javanese, teenagers struggle to integrate higher speech levels into daily conversations, reflecting broader shifts in social norms. The preference for "Ngoko" highlights changing perceptions of politeness and hierarchy, potentially impacting the future use of Javanese. To sustain Javanese linguistic heritage, stakeholders must create interactive environments encouraging the natural practice of speech levels, particularly "krama" and "Madya", through family, education, and digital media. Schools should implement engaging learning strategies, while cultural institutions can promote Javanese speech through technology and modern communication platforms. Without proactive interventions, the decline of Javanese speech levels may continue, influencing the preservation of Javanese cultural identity.

Keywords: Cultural identity, Intracultural communication, Javanese, Speech levels, Teenagers.

Competing Interests: The authors declare that they have no competing interests.
Authors' Contributions: All authors contributed equally to the conception and design of the study. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.
Transparency: The authors confirm that the manuscript is an honest, accurate, and transparent account of the study; that no vital features of the study have been omitted; and that any discrepancies from the study as planned have been explained. This study followed all ethical practices during writing.
Institutional Review Board Statement: The Ethical Committee Research and Publication Ethics Commission Universitas Padjadjaran Bandung, Indonesia, approved this study on 9 August 2024 (Ref. No. 916/UN6.KEP/EC/2024).

1. Introduction

Indonesia, a diverse nation with over 1,300 ethnic groups, is home to 652 languages, each contributing to the formation of ethnic and cultural identities. Javanese, spoken by over 75 million people, is the most widely spoken regional language in the country [1]. However, Javanese culture has spread across Indonesia, largely due to the Javanization policy implemented during Soeharto's 32-year rule [2]. Yogyakarta, a key center of Javanese culture, has distinct characteristics compared to other Javanese-speaking regions. Preliminary research observations indicate that Yogyakarta's multicultural environment has impacted the use of the Javanese language. The younger generation predominantly speaks Indonesian in daily interactions, while Javanese is mainly used within families, often in its informal "ngoko" form. Budiawan, et al. [3] revealed an interaction between language and Javanese cultural beliefs, as 92% of the recorded words are still actively used today in rituals and cultural traditions [3].

The Javanese community of Yogyakarta, just like the Javanese community in Central Java and other regions, has a spectrum of collectivist cultural values, which places a high value on group identity and individuals who are part of the group members by being interdependent with other individuals [4, 5]. In the Javanese language, there are levels or language structures used according to the level of the interlocutor. As a cultural identity, the Javanese language is also a social identity. As Pamungkas and Chiril [5] state, the Javanese language is divided into three speech levels, namely "ngoko", "madya", and "krama", which can indicate a person's social class. The "ngoko" speech level reflects the distance between two people talking, for example, between close friends or the teacher's speech to students. The "madya" or intermediate level of speech shows a polite attitude even though it is moderate, for example, when talking to people who are usually older. Meanwhile, the level of speech "krama" shows the whole meaning of politeness and a feeling of reluctance [6]. The level of speech "krama" as the highest level is used, for example, when children speak to parents or teachers [7-9].

In the identity communication framework, the Javanese language, with its level of speech in self-ingroup communication, is included in high-context communication, which is when some information is in a physical context or internalized in a person [10-13]. In contrast, every little information will be encoded, explicit, and transmitted as part of the message. Most users of this context communicate effectively because the listener knows how to interpret the message indirectly in a particular context. Javanese speakers will see how individuals see themselves about others with the correct and appropriate level of Javanese speech [14, 15]. In the identity communication framework, the Javanese language, with its level of speech in self-ingroup communication, is used when some information is in a physical context or internalized in Wiranti, et al. [8] and Wulandari, et al. [16]. In contrast, every little information is encoded, explicit, and transmitted as part of the message. Most users of this context communicate effectively because the listener knows how to interpret the message indirectly in a particular context. Javanese speakers will see how individuals see themselves in relation to others with the correct and appropriate level of Javanese speech [17, 18].

Language variation in Javanese speech society, which can be referred to as tutur, consists of three kinds, namely "ngoko", "madya", and "krama" languages, whose usage is adjusted to the social status, gender, and education of speech partners [19]. However, Javanese culture, including Javanese speech levels, is decreasing compared to Western culture or K-Pop culture from Korea, and it is feared that this cultural heritage will be lost [20]. Javanese speech level is used as a lingua franca in Javanese society, which interprets it as a courtesy, especially in Central Java, East Java, and Yogyakarta. It is a differentiator in interacting with people of the same age, older, or higher social status. This research tries to see how the young generation in Yogyakarta interprets Javanese speech levels in the context of modern society as it is now and whether the application of Javanese language in society by teenagers in Yogyakarta is interpreted as a Javanese cultural identity.

2. Background: Javanese Level Speech

The development of speech levels in the Javanese language originated from the Mataram Dynasty, which came from the peasant class. Because of its struggle, this dynasty changed its status from the ruled class to the ruling class. By the time of the Pajang Sultanate, the Mataram dynasty had succeeded in transforming itself to the level of a duchy or regency ruler, on par with other regency rulers such as Jipang, Madiun, Surabaya, and Madura, along with many other regencies subordinate to the Sultan of Pajang [21]. The development of the "ngoko-krama" level was one way to strengthen the Mataram dynasty's position as a dynasty in Java. Thus, the "ngoko-krama" level was deliberately developed and became complicated as a political tool because the Mataram dynasty realized that it came from the peasantry, and to support its new social position, the social distance between the Mataram dynasty and other social groups needed to be created [22]. One of the tools to create this social distance was developing the "ngoko-krama" level; the "krama" level is the upper level, and the "ngoko" level is the lower level. In the pre-Mataram era, namely in the XIV, XV, and XVI centuries, the Old Javanese and Middle Javanese languages did not recognize the levels of "ngoko" and "krama". The "ngoko-krama" level was formed after 1600, along with the Mataram kingdom, and was used in daily conversation [23].

The "ngoko-krama" level of speech in Javanese society has four functions, namely (a) as a norm of the community association, (b) as manners, (c) to express respect and familiarity, (d) and as a regulator of social distance [24, 25]. Regarding the development of power, which also involves consolidating position, the fourth function is important social distance. With the division of speech levels in Javanese, internalization and socialization have become important factors in the inheritance of the Javanese language. The inheritance is especially relevant for children and adolescents who, amid the onslaught of information technology, communication, and the influence of globalization, are beginning to lose the ability to use Javanese properly and correctly [26]. Home, friendship, and school environments influence the use of Javanese as one of the cultural identities in Harwati and Sathian [14]. The existence of levels or structures in Javanese speech makes it interesting to observe and research how the young generation receives knowledge and education about the language and how they interpret it as a personal and communal identity.

Geertz [27] states that the entire etiquette system in Javanese culture is best summarized and symbolized through how Javanese people use their language. In the Javanese language, it is almost impossible to convey something without reflecting the social relationship between the speaker and the listener, especially regarding position and familiarity [27]. Various factors, such as wealth, descent, education, occupation, age, kinship, and nationality, determine this position. However, what is important is the choice of language form and style of speech, which in every situation is primarily influenced by the relative position and level of familiarity between the speaker and the listener [28]. In this study, the author tries to find and understand intra-cultural communication related to the meaning of the Javanese language as a process of constructing the cultural identity and beliefs of teenagers in Yogyakarta as part of Javanese culture and society.

3. Literature Review

3.1. Communication Theory of Identity

Communication Theory of Identity (CTI) explains how an individual develops a sense of identity by articulating different identity formation processes, including personal self-perception, social interaction in relationships, and collective self-awareness in communities. CTI suggests that there are four layers of identity, namely: (1) personal identity, (2) enacted identity, (3) relational identity, and (4) communal identity [29, 30]. CTI was developed from various theoretical frameworks and previous research. Drawing from social identity theory, Hecht and Phillips examined the meaning of various ethnic labels between African Americans and Mexican Americans and how these are expressed in communication. Social identity theory predicts that our identities emerge in social and meaningful interactions and influence how we communicate [31].

Inter-ethnic communication is identity, and identity is communication. In other words, the more straightforward view of one causing or even influencing the other does not fully capture the natural nuances of this relationship [32]. When we talk to others, 'we' somehow display our identity. This view is consistent with the perspective that emerges from the dramatism view of staged identity. The core of this theory focuses on how identities are formed, managed, and expressed through communication. The theoretical extension of CTI has established the identity gap, which is the inconsistency between an individual's personal, enacted, relational, communal, and material identitiesPaxman [33] and Kuiper [34].

Shin and Hecht [35] explain the four layers of identity: Personal identity refers to a person's sense of self, which defines 'who am I?'. The layers of personal identity can be understood when we think of self-concept, self-image, or self-esteem [35]. Many personal characteristics, including age, gender, and ethnicity, constitute personal identity. CTI argues that it is essential to remember when communicating that multiple personal identities can play a role in any conversation. For example, when two people from different cultural backgrounds are involved, we can observe the identity of nationality, gender, and roles played. Each personal identity has its own set of implications for us. So, it is equally important not to see a person through a single lens. The application of this layer in the research is to explore teenagers in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, viewing Javanese as part of their personal identity.

3.2. Meaning and Symbolic Interactionism Theory

Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical perspective derived from the writings of Mead [36] that plays a vital role in developing theories and studies in interpersonal communication. More significantly, symbolic interactionism rejects referential explanations of language and meaning [37]. According to this perspective, the meaning of a word is not an object but a response that is generated. Understanding meaning is understanding how we should act or behave and how to draw the object into one's future behavior but not accurately reflecting a pre-existing reality. For Mead [36] creating meaning is not an individual endeavor and requires a joint venture in interpreting the meaning [37]. This understanding of meaning as behavior leads to the future of placing the question of meaning directly within the realm of shared social interactions [38].

Mead believed that individual minds, self-concepts, and the broader communities we live in are created through communication in symbolic interaction. Self and mind are social and cognitive processes nested in the ongoing social world. The self is a social object that resides within the field of experience [36, 39]. Symbolic interactionists describe thinking as an inner conversation. Mead referred to this inner dialog as thought. A thought is a reflective pause. It is a two-second delay when we mentally rehearse our next move, testing alternatives and anticipating others' reactions. Mead says we do not need encouragement to look before we leap. We naturally talk to ourselves to sort out the meaning of a difficult situation. However, first, we need language. Before we can think, we must be able to interact symbolically [36, 40].

Three core tenets of symbolic interactionism relate to meaning, language, and thought. Blumer's first premise is that people act towards people or things based on the meanings they give to those people or things. Facts do not speak for themselves, but individual interpretations are paramount, so when someone defines a situation as accurate, the consequences are realGriffin, et al. [37]; Blumer [41] and Leap [42] . Blumer [41] second premise is the continuation of a person's social interactions with others, which then refers to the formation of meaning. Meanings are not attached to objects, and meanings are negotiated through language, which refers to "symbolic interactionism," where humans can interpret things [41, 43]. The following premise related to meaning is the thought process, where individuals' interpretations of symbols are modified by their thought processes. The individual acts toward an event based on the meaning the event holds for him/her, arising out of past and present social processes [41, 44].

In the context of this research, this theory will place meaning, language, and interaction as the core of human social relations. The focus of this theory in this study will also direct teenage speakers in Kotabaru Yogyakarta to use Javanese speech levels in their conversations, how the meanings of these uses are negotiated, and how social interactions influence their thought processes in their environment. The construction of meaning by Kotabaru teenagers towards Javanese speech

levels, such as "ngoko", "krama", and "madya", is not naturally attached to these language forms. Instead, these meanings are formed through social interactions and experiences. The researcher explores how adolescent speakers define and understand the importance of using Javanese speech levels to build social relationships, as well as how the prevailing cultural norms influence their actions in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta.

4. Materials and Methods

4.1. Participants

The authors used a communication ethnography approach, and this study used qualitative research methods to obtain data and descriptions of the Javanese language as a cultural identity of adolescents in Yogyakarta. According to Hymes [45] communication ethnography provides a system for collecting and organizing data through observation strategies and field notes configured in a number of theoretically coherent dimensions of the communicative situation and events to be studied. Communication ethnography studies are part of ethnography [45-47]. At the same time, Sville-Troike said that ethnography is a field of study that prioritizes the description and analysis of culture and the field of linguistic studies, such as the description and analysis of language codes [48]. Ethnography of communication has two focuses, namely particularism and generalization, which, on the other hand, both focus on describing and understanding communicative behavior in specific cultural settings but are also directed at formulating concepts and theories that build global metatheories of human communication [48, 49].

The informants who became participants in this study were people who were directly involved and understood and could provide information about the use and meaning of the Javanese language. Key informants in this study are adolescents, and the initial criteria for research informants are males and females who live in Kotabaru Village, Gondokusuman District, and are natives of Yogyakarta who use the Javanese language daily. Kotabaru Village was chosen as a research site because of the initial observations made by the researcher, which gave the researcher a basic picture of the reality of the Javanese language in formal and non-formal settings. In determining the informant, the researcher used the snowball sampling technique because the researcher felt that the sample taken knew the most about the problem to be studied by the researcher. According to Creswell [50]. Snowball sampling aims to identify interesting cases from people who know people who are rich in information for a particular case [50].

The researcher made observations by tracing several areas in Kotabaru to see the situation of Kotabaru and the interactions among teenagers in the Kotabaru area. In-depth data on the level of Javanese speech as a cultural identity among teenagers in Yogyakarta was obtained by researchers using data collection techniques of participatory observation and in-depth interviews. The researchers conducted participatory observation in the speech community of teenagers in Kobararu Village, Kotabaru Sub-district, Gondokusuman District, Yogyakarta. Researchers observed the adolescent speech community within a period of 1 year or from August 2023 to August 2024.

In this study, the researchers also used data collection techniques, including in-depth interviews, to strengthen the findings of participant observation results involving teenagers in Kotabaru village and stakeholders, such as the Yogyakarta Special Region Cultural Office (Kundha Kabudayan), Javanese language teachers at junior and senior high school levels in Yogyakarta, and informants' parents. A summary of the informants is provided in Table 1.

Tabel 1.
List of Research Participants.

No	Name Intitials	Gender	Age	Status
1	Windarti	Female	48 years old	Junior high school Javanese language teacher
2	Drajat	Male	36 years old	High school Javanese language teacher
3	Amrih	Male	45 years old	Head of the Language and Literature Section of the Culture Office (Kundha Kabudayan) of Yogyakarta Special Region
4	Hermawan	Male	43 years old	Father of informant Shohan
5	Udin	Male	17 years old	Kotabaru teenager, high school student
6	Dina	Female	17 years old	Kotabaru teenager, high school student
7	Fajar	Male	18 years old	Kotabaru teenager, high school student
8	Bunga	Female	16 years old	Kotabaru teenager, Child Ambassador of Yogyakarta Province 2023, Junior high school student
9	Argya	Male	16 years old	Kotabaru teenager, Little puppeteer, Junior high school student
10	Shohan	Male	16 years old	Kotabaru teenager, Junior High School Students
11	Bagus	Male	16 years old	Kotabaru teenager, Junior High School Students
12	Timothy	Male	16 years old	Kotabaru teenager, Junior High School Students
13	Aulia	Female	15 years old	Kotabaru teenager, Junior High School Students

Source: Researcher's processed results (2024).

4.2. Design and Analysis

Ethnographic communication research is comprehensive or holistic research. As stated by Creswell [50] ethnography focuses on culture-sharing groups, which sometimes consist of small and large groups involving many people interacting over time. As a process, ethnography involves extended group observation, most often through participant observation, where the researcher will be immersed in people's daily lives and observe and interview participants of a group [48, 51, 52]. Ethnographers also study the meaning of behavior, language, and interactions among members of culturally shared groups

[50, 53]. In ethnographic communication research, the researcher can be an "insider" and also an "outsider" simultaneously. Every culture has many speech events, or what Spradley [54] calls speech events, namely the ongoing linguistic interaction in one or more forms of speech involving speakers and interlocutors in specific contexts, times, places, and situations [54-56].

Several techniques can be used to facilitate research using this participant method in communication ethnography research: (1) eavesdropping, which is the technique of overhearing conversations or eavesdropping to understand people's emotions through their tone of voice, understanding the 'acoustics' of space, people who feel unknown around, and people who consider researchers innocent and harmless Karagoz [57] and Hage [58] (2) tracking, which is following a person or guide according to their daily routine and observing their activities and others who interact with them to bring out individual aesthetic preferences and incorporated knowledge Bareither, et al. [59] (3) ethnographic interviewing, which is a specific type of speech event where all speech events have cultural rules or alternating beginnings and ends, asking questions, and stopping[54, 60, 61].

After collecting data, the researcher then conducts a description by presenting the research results and describing the research object in detail [46]. Several delivery styles are commonly used, including explaining the day in the life chronologically or sequentially of a person or community group and building a complete story with the storyline and the characters who live in it. Then, the researcher analyzes by explaining the patterns or regularities of the observed behavior, which is also included in this stage. Other forms of this stage are comparing the object under study with different objects, evaluating the object with general values that apply, and establishing a relationship between the object of research and the larger environment. The final stage of data analysis is interpretation, where researchers, as ethnographers, draw conclusions from the research that has been done [62, 63]. At this stage, the ethnographer uses the first person in his explanation to emphasize that what he puts forward is purely the result of his interpretation.

5. Results and Discussion
5.1. The Meaning of Javanese Speech Level among Teeenagers in Yogyakarta
The inheritance of Javanese speech levels among adolescent speakers in Kotabaru is categorized into three main inheritance patterns that develop in line with the community order system in Yogyakarta: family, community, and institutional inheritance. Javanese speech level is a formal rule used in social interaction to reflect age boundaries and closeness between individuals. In addition, this level of speech also functions as a form of respect for older people or those with an honorable position in society. In observations conducted using observation and eavesdropping techniques, researchers noted the existence of adolescent speakers in Kotabaru who still use Javanese speech levels according to the context, situation, or event that occurs. This habit is driven by inheritance from family, community, and institutions.

As stated by one informant who is the father of a teenager who can use the following level of speech "krama"*: "His mother and I did not even expect Shohan to have the ability to use krama in daily communication, but thank God Shohan is even learning by himself" (Interview with informant Hermawan, February 2024).*

From some of the patterns that researchers found when conducting participant observation and in-depth interviews with adolescent speech communities in Kotabaru, the role of the family in the process of language acquisition is a process of an individual developing the ability and understanding in the management of Javanese speech levels or acquisition in children and family members begins when a person is born, by upholding cultural norms as a result of cultural heritage passed on from previous generations. However, some adolescent speakers are less accustomed to using the appropriate level of speech according to the context and communication event. Instead, they try to represent manners and unggah-ungguh through gestures and use Indonesian to avoid mistakes, especially in speech levels.

The Javanese language has a speech level system that distinguishes varieties of communication between individuals, such as formal varieties, informal varieties, and beautiful varieties. Javanese language not only functions as a means of communication between fellow speakers or in kinship relationships in certain areas but also contains values of local wisdom, manners, courtesy, and traditions and culture of the Javanese community. These values are reflected in the social interaction of Javanese people who always prioritize "unggah-ungguh" because the use of the Javanese language cannot be separated from its speech level system. Teenage speakers in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, use the "ngoko" speech level more often. For them, the relationship of closeness and kinship is one of the determining factors in choosing the level of speech used when communicating.

For example, speakers like Reindra, Bunga, and Aulia often use the "ngoko" level of speech even to nuclear family members who are much older. Reindra, for example, freely uses the "ngoko" level of speech to his grandmother, who has lived with him and his parents since childhood. In addition, some adolescent speakers think that applying Javanese speech levels in accordance with "make" or specific rules is a complicated and challenging system to implement. As stated by Reindra.

"If you go to certain teachers, you have to use "krama". Because there are teachers who are not from Jogja, especially if it is with a Javanese language teacher, the "krama" must be correct" (Interview with informant Reindra, January 2024).

Javanese speech levels reflect different relationships based on social levels, such as economic power, political power, kinship, age differences, and other social factors. This social structure often causes teenage speakers to fear using the "krama" level of speech because mistakes in its use can be considered impolite or uncivilized. In addition, intermediate speech level is rarely used or appears in conversations with adolescent speakers in Kotabaru. It is different for speakers Udin, Dina, Fajar, and Shohan, who have communicative ability and competence in using Javanese speech levels. They

include adolescent speakers who view the Javanese speech level as a rule or system that applies in society, which is not only to be known but also to be applied correctly and interpreted as an inherent part of Javanese speakers' identity.

Meanwhile, Aulia is a teenage speaker born and lives in Kali Code, Kotabaru. Aulia and the teenage speech community in Kali Code tend to confirm their Javanese language competence first to outsiders. Teenage speakers in Kali Code often use "ngoko" level of speech both to insiders and outsiders in their environment. The researcher observed the comfort and the process of forming a kinship system between Kali Code teenage speakers and outsiders. The pattern that emerges in the process of inheritance and internalization of Javanese speech level causes teenage speakers in Kotabaru to interpret the speech level in different ways. Teenage speakers who are accustomed to using Javanese speech levels interpret Javanese as the first language to communicate, as well as part of their cultural identity as Javanese.

Karno, et al. [64] also expressed this, saying, *"Javanese lessons are quite difficult, but not really difficult either. If learning the language is not difficult, the most difficult thing is the Javanese script." (Interview with informant Aulia, June 2024).*

Teenage speakers accustomed to the Javanese speech level may fear or hesitate to apply various speech levels. They interpret the Javanese speech level as a means of communication and a form of their cultural identity. Teenage speakers who do not habitually use Javanese speech levels in family inheritance tend to make Indonesian the first language in daily communication. The same thing also happens to adolescent speakers who have a habituation of Javanese speech levels, where they are more comfortable using "ngoko" speech levels when talking to interlocutors who have equal positions or close kinship relationships.

According to informant Argya, *"I am afraid of being wrong if I have to speak "krama", so instead of using ngoko, it is safer to use Indonesian; it can be more standardized too"* (Interview with informant Aulia, January 2024). According to informant Argya.

"I am afraid of being wrong if I have to speak "krama", so instead of using "ngoko", it is safer to use Indonesian; it can be more standardized too" (Interview with informant Aulia, January 2024).

Similarly, informants Udin, Fajar, Bagus, and Timothy said that when talking to older people such as teachers, they fear being wrong if they use the "krama" level of speech, so they prefer to avoid it. The fear of making mistakes when using the "krama" level of speech often arises in the minds of adolescent speakers in Kotabaru. Although they understand Javanese as part of their cultural identity and realize the importance of using the appropriate level of speech according to the situation and event, reality shows that they are burdened to use a level of speech other than "ngoko", especially in the school environment or when communicating with teachers. However, the fear of making mistakes when using the "krama" level of speech often arises in the minds of adolescent speakers in Kotabaru. Although they understand Javanese as part of their cultural identity and realize the importance of using the appropriate level of speech according to the situation and event, the reality shows that they are burdened to use a level of speech other than "ngoko", especially in the school environment or when communicating with teachers.

5.2. The Meaning of Javanese Speech Level as Cultural Identity

According to Mead [36] meaning emerges as a result of interaction between humans, both verbally and nonverbally. Through their actions and responses, individuals give meaning to words or actions, making it possible to understand an event in a certain way. Based on this concept of symbolic interactionism, Javanese speech levels are born and develop from interrelated conversations between individuals. Teenage speakers in this situation and event tend to use the appropriate level of speech when communicating with individuals categorized as insiders. Meanwhile, teenage speakers will first conduct identity observation for individuals classified as outsiders to understand whether the individual can speak Javanese. After that, communication will continue using Javanese by adjusting the level of speech.

Using and interpreting Javanese speech levels as cultural identity can be analyzed using the communication theory of identity that defines four frames of identity: (1) personal frame that involves how individuals conceptualize themselves and feel about themselves, (2) enacted frame that represents the behaviors teenagers engage in or the decisions teenagers make that layer teenager identity, (3) relational frame that involves defining self in terms of roles (teenagers to parents) and social interactions, and (4) communal frame that represents social norms and society's ascription of a collective identity (teenagers as member of teenager support group), which explains how individuals build and create a sense of Hecht and Choi [29];Weaver, et al. [32] and Shin and Hecht [35].

Personal Identity is the first layer in defining the concept, self-image, and all aspects of our identity as part of the social environment. Teenage speakers in Kotabaru can recognize their self-identity as individuals from a Javanese cultural background, especially from Yogyakarta. This awareness is formed through the role of the family in shaping self-identity and the surrounding environment, which becomes a place for them to express the roles played by individuals. Personal identity in identity communication will function as a 'face of self,' which is how others see and know us [32]. When individuals do not explain themselves directly to others, their identity can still be communicated through sure signs and gestures that others can interpret. In this case, teenage speakers in Kotabaru describe their personal identity with Yogyakarta Javanese cultural attributes, such as manners, "unggah-ungguh," "andhap asor" (humble), politeness, and Yogyakarta "medhok" geographical dialect, which they bring in every communication interaction that occurs.

At the family inheritance level, self-identity is formed and developed through the role of all family members. Teenagers' personal identity cannot be separated from family habituation and efforts to emphasize 'who we are' in social life. Cultural values shape social norms through habituation instilled by individuals with substantial roles in the family. In this case, speakers such as Argya, Gaby, Udin, Fajar, and Dina fall into the category of family inheritance patterns supported by strong family personal identity structures. They consider cultural values a 'face of self' that must continue to

be passed on to form the family's self-identity. The order of the inheritance and internalization system in the family can help individuals understand their personal identity clearly and without bias. Identity bias occurs when cultural values and norms do not bind individuals due to a lack of habituation in family inheritance, so they are easily influenced by exposure to popular culture or cultural values far from local cultural norms. As a result, the individual can quickly adapt to other cultures to the point of losing the cultural identity he or she was born with. However, in this context, adolescent speakers in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, still uphold their social environment's cultural values and norms.

Enacted Identity is the second layer of identity communication. In this layer, individuals use communication to convey 'who they are, "how they behave in social life,' and what kind of self-image they want to display. This layer of Identity is formed through a communication process that produces enacted social meanings. The Javanese language and its speech levels function as a regional language, inheriting cultural values and representing the values of individual quality of life as an enforced identity. Javanese speech levels emphasize politeness, humility, and respect for the interlocutor and reflect kinship, socio-economic status, and age.

Teenage speakers in Kotabaru who are accustomed to using Javanese speech levels in social life consider that communicating in Javanese is a way of portraying their Identity as Javanese. The philosophy of "Wong Jowo ojo ilang Jowone" (Javanese people do not lose their Javanese) is a message upheld and communicated, especially in the internal realm of the family, which is the central pillar in enforcing Javanese cultural norms. For example, families instill values such as prioritizing "unggah-ungguh" or manners, which are realized through simple habits such as saying greetings, saying goodbye when leaving the house, continuing to use Javanese even though the level of speech used is not always perfect, or showing respect for elders by using phrases or words in daily conversations. Examples of such roles are seen in Argya-speaking families, which actively strengthen cultural Identity through identity communication by enforcing strong cultural norms. Thus, the role of the family directly contributes significantly to shaping the first two layers of identity communication.

Relational Identity refers to how an individual perceives their identity and the identities enacted by others based on relational or interpersonal relationships. Relational identity frames responses from other individuals, which are then projected into a specific relationship between individuals. Each individual's role in the relational relationship determines the aspects that emerge in the established kinship relationship system. The role also becomes a point of evaluation for the individual when he or she has played a role in their identity or enacted identity. Speakers such as Shohan, Argya, and Bunga play their roles as teenagers who excel in Javanese culture, academics, and arts. They form relational identities through their enacted roles, such as being good children for their parents and promising students at school.

However, contradictions can occur in this identity layer because the perceptions formed by a person in a particular communication situation or event can vary. Research shows that these relational identities can be abstract for adolescent speakers in Kotabaru. For example, Javanese speech levels are often difficult to apply and use daily. However, at the formal education level, this speech level is not difficult for them to learn and practice at school. The difficulty is caused by the inconsistency in the habituation of using Javanese speech levels in the family environment. The family can tolerate this reality as long as other Javanese cultural identities are maintained. For example, Shohan's parents never force their children to use the "krama" level of speech at home, nor do Argya and Reindra's parents. Nevertheless, they still form a relational identity as teenagers of Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, who uphold Javanese cultural values and norms. Shohan, for example, shows his achievements in "sesorah" (public speaking) competency; Reindra has an interest in Javanese dance, while Argya, who likes the art of puppetry, even plans to join a Javanese dance art studio with Reindra. In this way, they maintain a relational connection that strengthens their cultural identity in a broader social context.

Communal Identity is formed through the role of a group of individuals or communities that are collectively agreed upon by the social and cultural environment [65, 66]. Thus, communal identity talks about who we are based on the Identity built together and present in society. The adolescent speech community in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, represents their communal Identity as Yogyakarta students who understand the Javanese language and its level of speech as part of Javanese cultural Identity. This knowledge and mastery is considered a must-have. However, in their daily social life, they use the "ngoko" level of speech to create a familiar and flexible atmosphere in personal relationships. Code switching between Indonesian and "ngoko" phrases, as well as the use of "unggah-ungguh", such as the words "nggih" (yes), "maturnuwun" (thank you), "nuwun sewu" (excuse me), and "kulo nuwun" (excuse) in certain communicative situations, have become enough to symbolize the Identity of the Javanese community of Yogyakarta socially.

This communal Identity is also formed through the role of schools as cultural institutions. Schools play an essential role in inheriting Javanese speech levels as compulsory local content while maintaining cultural norms and values. One of the implementations is the obligation of students to wear Ngayogyakarta Javanese traditional clothes every Thursday Pon, as stipulated in the Circular Letter of the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region Number 400.5.9.1/40, dated January 8, 2024. The policy aims to support efforts to internalize cultural values, commemorate the anniversary of the Yogyakarta Special Region, and foster a sense of community unity based on respect for the noble values of the nation's culture and struggle. In addition, this policy is also intended to encourage a positive life and work ethic in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, as well as commemorate the founding of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and Pakualaman Duchy, which have been designated as the nation's cultural heritage. The change in the mandatory Javanese dress code from Thursday Pahing to Thursday Pon is also intended to strengthen the sense of unity of the people of Yogyakarta.

The data analysis of the research findings shows that identity is constructed in four frames: personal, enacted, relational, and communal, as depicted in Figure 1. Personal identity is shaped by family and environment, which influence how adolescents perceive themselves as Javanese speakers. Enacted identity is demonstrated through communication choices, where Javanese speech levels are used to convey respect and social hierarchy. Relational identity emerges in

interactions with family, teachers, and peers, although inconsistencies arise due to different language habits. Communal identity is reinforced through community norms, education, and cultural traditions, yet adolescents prefer the informal "ngoko" level, limiting the use of the "krama" level.
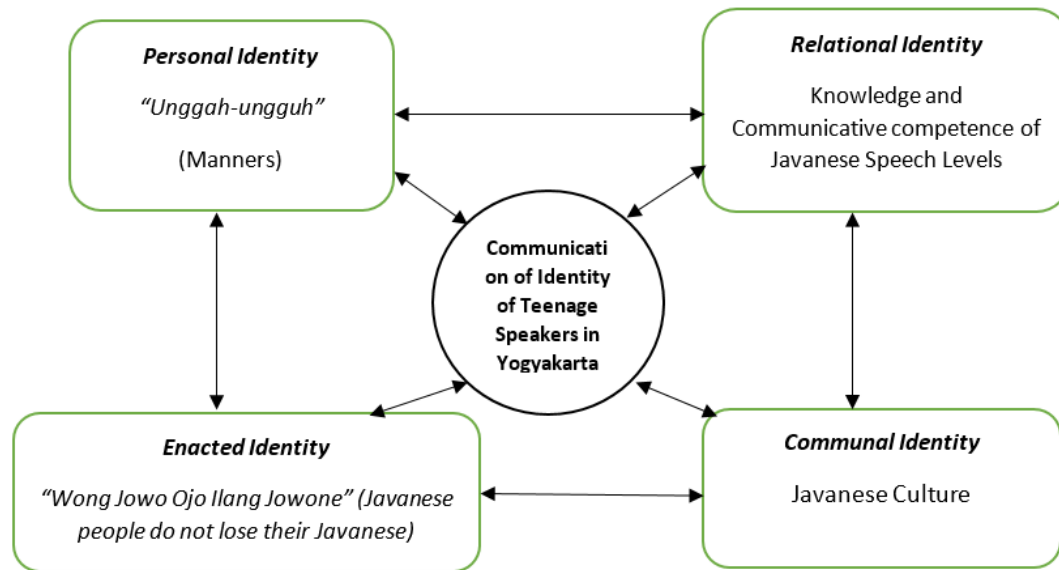

Figure 1.
Communication of Identity Model among Teenagers in Yogyakarta.
Source: Researcher Processed Results (2024).

Language is a form of oral communication that functions as a tool to understand the relationship between words and as an indicator of the layers of individual self-identity within and outside the group [67, 68]. As a form of verbal communication, the Javanese language reflects the social position system by dividing speech levels in the communication process. Teenage speakers in Kotabaru build their cultural identity as part of the Javanese community of Yogyakarta with the ability to speak Javanese. They also negotiate its use, especially by choosing the "ngoko" level of speech in certain communicative situations and events. In this case, code-switching occurs, where passive "krama" speakers often use Indonesian as a medium of communication to avoid mistakes in using "krama" towards older interlocutors who do not have a kinship relationship. Cultural identity is not formed naturally but through a negotiation process of identity communication that starts from individual awareness of being part of a particular culture [69, 70]. Like identity communication, which has layers of identity, the cultural identity of teenagers in Kotabaru also reflects the awareness that Javanese is an integral part of their cultural identity. In other words, adolescent speakers understand that in certain situations, Javanese functions as the primary language (L1) they use with the level of speech according to the context. As a cultural identity, the Javanese language among Kotabaru teenagers undergoes construction and negotiation through strong relational relationships within their identity group.

6. Conclusion

The study highlights the evolving role of Javanese speech levels among teenagers in Yogyakarta, emphasizing the interplay between language, cultural identity, and modern societal influences. While teenagers acknowledge Javanese as an essential part of their heritage, their daily communication primarily relies on the informal "ngoko" level, with limited use of "krama" due to its complexity and fear of misapplication. Although formal education reinforces the importance of Javanese, many students still struggle to integrate higher speech levels into their everyday conversations, leading to a potential decline in traditional language practices. This study demonstrates how Javanese speech levels are a key cultural identity marker among Yogyakarta teenagers. The findings reveal that personal identity is shaped by early language exposure within the family, while enacted identity is reflected in the teenagers' selective use of Javanese speech levels in different social settings. Relational identity emerges in their interactions, where language choice depends on familiarity and perceived social hierarchy.

However, communal identity—the shared cultural identity within the Javanese-speaking community—faces challenges as younger generations shift toward using Indonesian or simplified Javanese. The fear of misusing "krama" and the influence of modernization contribute to this shift, highlighting the need for strategic interventions to maintain the integrity of Javanese as both a language and a cultural symbol. The study also underscores that the meanings associated with Javanese speech levels are not inherent but are continuously constructed through social interactions. Teenagers interpret and negotiate Javanese speech levels based on their experiences, relationships, and cultural expectations. While "ngoko" is perceived as a medium of intimacy and informality, "krama" carries a sense of respect and hierarchy, but its practical use is diminishing due to evolving social norms. The reluctance to use "krama" reflects a shifting interpretation of politeness and identity among the younger generation.

6.1. Implications

The findings emphasize that while formal education plays a role in preserving Javanese, everyday interactions primarily rely on "ngoko", with "krama" being increasingly avoided due to its complexity. This shift has implications for cultural sustainability, as the reduced use of "krama" may weaken traditional hierarchical structures and the broader cultural framework of Javanese society. Policymakers, educators, and families must proactively ensure that Javanese speech levels remain relevant. Schools should incorporate innovative teaching methods that make learning Javanese more engaging, while cultural institutions should promote the language through interactive programs. Additionally, leveraging digital platforms to encourage the practice of Javanese speech levels among teenagers can help bridge the gap between traditional language use and contemporary communication trends.

6.2. Limitations

Despite offering valuable insights into the evolving use of Javanese speech levels, this study has several limitations. The research primarily focuses on teenagers in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, which may not fully represent the diverse experiences of Javanese-speaking teenagers across different regions. Additionally, the study relies on qualitative data from interviews and observations, which, while rich in detail, may not capture broader statistical trends regarding language shift. Another limitation is the potential influence of social desirability bias, as participants may have provided responses that align with cultural expectations rather than their actual language use. Future research could incorporate quantitative surveys to validate and expand upon these findings.

6.3. Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should explore the impact of digital media and globalization on Javanese speech levels among teenagers. Investigating how social media platforms, online interactions, and modern entertainment influence language use could provide deeper insights into the factors accelerating the shift away from "krama". Comparative studies across different Javanese-speaking regions could also help determine whether the trends observed in Yogyakarta apply more broadly. Additionally, research on effective pedagogical strategies for revitalizing "krama" usage in educational and social settings would be valuable. Longitudinal studies tracking the evolution of Javanese speech levels over time could further assess whether current interventions effectively preserve the language and cultural identity among future generations.

References

[1]   S. Suharyo and N. Nurhayati, "Selection and maintenance of Javanese language among coastal women in Rembang," *LITERA,* vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 397-413, 2020. https://doi.org/10.21831/ltr.v19i3.28699

[2]   R. Elmhirst, "A Javanese diaspora? Gender and identity politics in Indonesia's transmigration resettlement program," in *Women's Studies International Forum*, 2000, vol. 23, no. 4: Elsevier, pp. 487-500.

[3]   R. Y. S. Budiawan, R. F. Mualafina, and L. Nugraheni, "Vocabulary data in central javanese folk myths," *Data in Brief,* p. 111389, 2025. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dib.2025.111389

[4]   I. D. P. Wijana and N. K. Ma'shumah, "Metaphorical representation of human body parts in Javanese," *Jordan Journal of Modern Languages & Literatures,* vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 775-798, 2024. https://doi.org/10.47012/jjmll.16.3.12

[5]   E. W. Pamungkas and P. Chiril, "Ngalawan Ujaran Sengit: hate speech detection in indonesian code-mixed social media data," *Language Resources and Evaluation,* pp. 1-28, 2025. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10579-025-09810-x

[6]   L. Nurjaleka, S. Nurhayati, and R. Supriatnaningsih, "Japanese and Javanese perceptions of the concept of politeness in their languages: Cross-cultural analysis," *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research,* vol. 51, no. 5, pp. 478-493, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2021.2006753

[7]   S. Poedjasoedarma, T. Kundjana, G. Soepomo, and A. Suharso, *Javanese language speaking levels*. Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1979.

[8]   D. A. Wiranti, A. Afrianingsih, and D. A. Mawarti, "Krama javanese language as the main foundation for early childhood moral development," *ThufuLA: Jurnal Inovasi Pendidikan Guru Raudhatul Athfal,* vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 1-15, 2019. https://doi.org/10.21043/thufula.v6i1.4040

[9]   M. N. Azila and I. Febriani, "The Use of Javanese language levels in the krempyeng pon-kliwon market community in Ngilo-ilo Village, Ponorogo Regency (Sociolinguistic Study)," *Metahumaniora,* vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 172-185, 2021. https://doi.org/10.24198/metahumaniora.v11i2.34998

[10]   S. Hall, "Encoding/decoding," in culture, media, language," Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79, 2003.

[11]   W. B. Gudykunst and B. Moddy, *Handbook of international and intercultural communication, second* (California). SAGE Publications, 2002.

[12]   Ibrahim, "Cultural context in intercultural communication case of students at iain pontianak, Indonesia," *J. Komun. Malaysian J. Commun,* vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 227–246, 2019. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2019-3502-14

[13]   O. Vahina, "The role of national style as the most important factor," *Eur. Polit. Law Discourse,* vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 61–66, 2021. https://doi.org/10.46340/eppd.2021.8.4.6

[14]   L. N. Harwati and M. R. Sathian, "Mitigating pedagogical challenges through culture-based approach: Javanese language learning in rural Yogyakarta, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics,* vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 262-272, 2024. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v14i2.74894

[15]   S. Insani, N. H. and S. Triyono, "Effect of multimodal literacy on reading ability of Indonesian Javanese learners," *Issues Lang. Stud,* vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 17–33, 2024. https://doi.org/10.33736/ils.6472.2024

[16]   D. Wulandari, R. Santosa, and W. R. Abdullah, "Unveiling the constructed identity of santris: A stylistic exploration," *Journal of Ecohumanism,* vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 174-191, 2024. https://doi.org/10.62754/joe.v3i3.3435

[17]   S. Sudarwati, E. and N. S. Rahayu, "On directive acts among Arek - dialect Javanese speakers : A politeness aspect," *Linguae; Eur. Sci. Lang. J.,* pp. 200–215, 2024. https://doi.org/10.18355/XL.2024.17.01.14

[18] D. Atmawati *et al.*, "Indirect speech acts in Javanese," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies,* vol. 14, no. 12, pp. 3804-3813, 2024. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1412.14

[19] O. M. Hidayani and S. Macaryus, "Use of Javanese in the Yogyakarta palace environment: A sociolinguistic study," *Caraka: Jurnal Ilmu Kebahasaan, Kesastraan, dan Pembelajarannya,* vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 34-42, 2019. https://doi.org/10.30738/.v6i1.6589

[20] P. Arfianingrum, "Implementation of Javanese unggah-ungguh according to the context of javanese cultural speech level," *Jurnal Prakarsa Paedagogia,* vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 137-141, 2020.

[21] R. Widyaningsih, "Ngapak language and the mentality of the banyumas people: A review from the perspective of hans-georg gadamer's philosophy of language," *Jurnal Ultima Humaniora,* vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 186-200, 2014.

[22] G. Moedjanto, "The Javanese concept of power: Its application by the Mataram kings," *(No Title),* 1987.

[23] P. B. Isodarus, "The use of Javanese language levels as a representation of power relations," *Sintesis,* vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 1-29, 2020. https://doi.org/10.24071/sin.v14i1/

[24] J. Sukoyo, E. Kurniati, and E. S. Utami, "Joyful learning model for javanese speech levels course," *Theory & Practice in Language Studies,* vol. 14, no. 6, 2024. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1406.19

[25] E. Suwignyo, D. Rukmini, R. Hartono, and H. Pratama, "Interlanguage impoliteness in criticism by the English learners from Javanese background over social status and distance," *Journal of Education and Learning (EduLearn),* vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 1341-1349, 2024. https://doi.org/10.11591/edulearn.v18i4.21068

[26] W. Sundari, "Preserving Javanese culture by junior highschool students in northern semarang district as Javanese language environment to promote local tourism industry," presented at the In E3S Web of Conferences, 2019, vol. 125, no. 201 9, pp. 1–6, https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/201912509019, 2019.

[27] C. Geertz, *Javanese religion; Abangan, Santri, Priyayi in Javanese culture*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014.

[28] Sukarno, "Politeness strategies, linguistic markers and social contexts in delivering requests in Javanese," *Indones. J. Appl. Linguist,* vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 659–667, 2018. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v7i3.9816

[29] M. L. Hecht and H. Choi, "The communication theory of identity as a framework for health message design," *Health Communication Message Design: Theory and Practice,* pp. 137-152, 2012.

[30] C. O. Stewart, "STEM identities: A communication theory of identity approach," *Journal of Language and Social Psychology,* vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 148-170, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X211030674

[31] M. L. Hecht and K. E. Phillips, "Communication theory of identity; understanding the multilayered nature of identity," in engaging theories in interpersonal communication multiple perspectives," 3rd ed.: Routledge, 2021, pp. 1–23.

[32] M. S. Weaver, P. Hinds, J. K. Kellas, and M. L. Hecht, "Identifying as a good parent: Considering the communication theory of identity for parents of children receiving palliative care," *Journal of Palliative Medicine,* vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 305-309, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1089/jpm.2020.0131

[33] C. G. Paxman, ""I love tater tot casserole, I just make it vegan": Applying the communication theory of identity to examine vegans' identity management techniques," *Communication Studies,* vol. 72, no. 4, pp. 752-768, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2021.1953554

[34] K. Kuiper, "Bridging the gaps: Advancing the communication theory of identity," *Communication Studies,* vol. 74, no. 4, pp. 302-321, 2023. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2023.2201463

[35] Y. Shin and M. L. Hecht, "Communication theory of identity," *The International Encyclopedia of Intercultural Communication,* pp. 1-9, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783665.ieicc0008

[36] M. G. H. Mead, *Self and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972.

[37] G. Griffin, E. Ledbetter, and Andrew and Sparks, *A first look at communication theory*, 11th ed. New York: Mc Grew Hills Education, 2022.

[38] J. Low, "Symbolic interactionism in canada: Shared meaning and the perpetuation of ideas," *Symbolic Interaction,* vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 468-481, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1002/symb.405

[39] N. K. Denzin, "Symbolic interactionism," the international encyclopedia of communication theory and philosophy," JohnWiley & Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118766804.wbiect143, 2016, pp. 1–12.

[40] S. K. Fletcher, "Religion and life meaning: Differentiating between religious beliefs and religious community in constructing life meaning," *Journal of Aging Studies,* vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 171-185, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2004.01.005

[41] H. Blumer, *Symbolic interactionism; perspective and method*, 1st ed. California: University of California Press, 1986.

[42] B. Leap, "Redefining the refuge: Symbolic interactionism and the emergent meanings of environmentally variable spaces," *Symbolic Interaction,* vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 521-538, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1002/symb.182

[43] A. Dennis and P. J. Martin, "Symbolic interactionism and the concept of power," *The British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 191-213, 2005. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2005.00055.x

[44] B. L. Fife, "The role of constructed meaning in adaptation to the onset of life-threatening illness," *Social Science & Medicine,* vol. 61, no. 10, pp. 2132-2143, 2005. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.04.026

[45] D. Hymes, *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality; critical perspective on literacy and education*. Bristol: Taylor and Francis Ltd, 1974.

[46] Z. Kalou and E. Sadler-Smith, "Using ethnography of communication in organizational research," *Organizational Research Methods,* vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 629-655, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428115590662

[47] P. Farrokh, "The effectiveness of Hymes' ethnography of communication model in teaching English learners reading comprehension," *Learning and Teaching in Higher Education: Gulf Perspectives,* vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 58-66, 2019. https://doi.org/10.18538/lthe.v16.n1.315

[48] M. Sville-Troike, *The ethnography of communication: An introduction*. New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

[49] S. Rojas-Drummond, O. Torreblanca, H. Pedraza, M. Vélez, and K. Guzmán, "'Dialogic scaffolding': Enhancing learning and understanding in collaborative contexts," *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction,* vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 11-21, 2013. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lcsi.2012.12.003

[50] J. W. Creswell, "Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed method aproaches," *SAGE Publ,* 2016. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208956

[51] P. Saukko, *Doing research in cultural studies; an introduction to classical and new methodological approaches*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2003.

[52]   C. Nugroho, I. K. Nurhayati, K. Nasionalita, and R. M. U. Malau, "Weaving and cultural identity of Batak Toba women," *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* vol. 56, no. 6, pp. 1165-1177, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909620958032

[53]   A. Ahmadi, "Teachers as ethnographers: Narrative study of inquiry of Indonesian teachers assigned to teach in remote areas," *European Journal of Educational Research,* vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 115-126, 2021. https://doi.org/10.12973/eu-jer.10.1.115

[54]   J. P. Spradley, *The ethnographic interview*. Florida: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1979.

[55]   N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lyncoln, *The sage handbook of qualitative research*. California: Sage Publication, 2009.

[56]   R. Madden, "Talking to people: Negotiations, conversations and interviews," in talking to people: negotiations, conversations and interviews (second ed), 55 city road." London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2017, pp. 57–74.

[57]   O. Karagoz, "Doing ethnography blind," *Anthropology in Action,* vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 35-40, 2023. https://doi.org/10.3167/aia.2023.300205

[58]   G. Hage, "Eavesdropping on Bourdieu's philosophers," *Thesis Eleven,* vol. 114, no. 1, pp. 76-93, 2013. https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513612463036

[59]   C. Bareither, S. Ullrich, and K. Geis, "Ethnographic eye-tracking interviews: Analyzing visual perception processes and viewing practices," in *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 2024, vol. 25, no. 2, doi: https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-25.2.4165.

[60]   B. L. Berg, *Qualitative research methods for social sciences*. Pearson Education, 2001.

[61]   L. R. Kimber and E. Dairon, ""Ethnographic Interviews," in international organizations and research methods, L. R. Kimber, F. Badache, and L. Maertens," University of Michigan Press, 2023, pp. 48–55.

[62]   E. A. N. V. Munz, ""ethnographic interview," in the sage encyclopedia of communication research methods," SAGE Publications, 2017, pp. 455–457.

[63]   A. De Fina, "The ethnographic interview," in The Routledge handbook of linguistic ethnography: Routledge, 2019, pp. 154-167.

[64]   A. Karno, A. Aulia, M. Panorama, and M. R. Aldiansya, "The Effect of Audit Tenure and Audit Rotation on Audit Quality in Companies Listed on the Stock Exchange," *Sinomika Journal: Publikasi Ilmiah Bidang Ekonomi Dan Akuntansi,* vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 15-36, 2022.

[65]   N. Laiprakobsup and T. Laiprakobsup, "Urbanization, impermeable boundary and losing communal identity: A case study of the local waterfront community in Bangkok suburbs," *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences,* vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 729–738-729–738, 2023.

[66]   C. Shayju, "Regional and communal identity in response to politics, Islamism, and Hindutva in North Malabar," *Human Geographies,* vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 79-97, 2019. https://doi.org/10.5719/hgeo.2019.131.5

[67]   Z. Kloch, "Language and social change. Public communication, nation, and identity," *Psychology of Language and Communication,* vol. 16, no. 3, p. 253, 2012. https://doi.org/10.2478/v10057-012-0017-5

[68]   L. A. Morcom, "Self-esteem and cultural identity in Aboriginal language immersion kindergarteners," *Journal of Language, Identity & Education,* vol. 16, no. 6, pp. 365-380, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2017.1366271

[69]   M. Basri, "K-drama and Indonesian film hybridity in shaping youth identity: A postcolonial study," *International Journal of Innovative Research and Scientific Studies,* vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 939-947, 2025. https://doi.org/10.53894/ijirss.v8i1.4470

[70]   A. Rodríguez-Cáceres and J. Behrman, "Demarcation and difference: Language and indigenous self-identity in Latin America," *Socius,* vol. 10, p. 23780231241298319, 2024.