Hidden Communication Identity of Drug Abusers Among Early Adolescent

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Abstract: This study aims to examine the hidden identity of early adolescent drug users using Communication Theory of Identity. This research is qualitative which case study as research method. The interview were conducted with three drug abusers in one of junior high school in Kendal District. The results showed that communication identity at the personal layer, drug abusers have a negative self-image by family and school friends and a positive self-image by fellow abusers. At the enacted layer the identity enforced through communication through a number of special terms among drug abusers. Relational layer showed more intimate and comfortable relationship with fellow drug abusers than with other parties, although other facts showed there were no difference in the relationship between both of them. Communal layer showed the strong influence of drug abusers group on the decision to abuse drugs, there were different sensations when abusing drugs in groups, and had the desire to stay away from the group in order to stop abusing even it was difficult. In conclusion, drug abusers as communication identities, possible to concealed and disclosed with negative and positive consequence based on the experience of communicating individuals with others.

Keywords: identity, CTI, communication theory of identity, drug abusers, early adolescent

Introduction

Adolescence is a period where children experience the behavioral changes marked by increased independence, peer relations, and doing things that are risky. In particular, getting to know sexual relations, alcohol use, and other illicit drugs starting at the age of adolescence with a range between 11-14 years is a greater age than dangerous alcohol use and alcohol dependence (Tapert et al, 2001; Zeigler et al, 2005). Middle school years must be identified as the first period of risk associated with the use of these drugs.

One of the particular concern problems of adolescents in Indonesia is drug abuse behaviors. The findings of the National Narcotics Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BNN, Badan Narkotika Nasional) and Indonesia University Health Research Center (Puslitkes UI) in 2017 showed the number of drug abusers in Indonesia in 10-59 years age group was 3,376,115 people. Or 1.77% of the total Indonesia population’s. As many as 24% of them are students with a total of 810,267 people. The highest prevalence is in the groups of elementary school and junior high school graduates. This should be a concern, where drug targets in the basic educated group (Puslidatin BNN, 2017).

Drug problems are naturally called extraordinary crimes because the effects of drug crimes cause interference with multiple aspects. “The influence of drugs has damaged the character of humans,
physically damaged and damaged public health. In the long term, it has great potential to disrupt the competitiveness and progress of the nation (Praditya, 2005).” Joko Widodo appealed to all Indonesian people to fight all forms of drug abuse (Widodo, 2016).

In this study, the authors do not limit to substances classified as narcotics, but use the term drug which consists of various types of drugs, substances, or liquor. This is based on research findings of the BNN and Puslitikes UI that show the trend of drug abuse among students also uses legal and illegal drugs. Last year research in 2017, the types of drugs used by students were meth, marijuana, xanax, ecstasy, trihexphenidyl, gorilla tobacco, and tramadol (Praditya, 2015).

Drug abuse and illicit trafficking have established villages as entry points and had become a strategic area for drug trafficking routes (Direktorat Advokasi, 2018). Drug abuse concerns do not only occur in big cities. At present, students who are adolescent at the district or rural level, have tried to use even classified as regular users of drugs. Kendal District, which is the location of this study, showed a fairly high rate of drug abuse among students. In 2017 through urine test screening by BNN Kendal District, questionnaires were distributed to 464 male and female students in 10 junior and senior high schools in Kendal District. Data showed that 295 of the 464 students or 63.8% had abused drugs, liquor and narcotics. The results of this student’s admission showed several types of drugs or substances that were abused namely: branded liquor, such as, red wine, vodka; traditional liquor e.g, tuak, congyang, and bagor; drugs such as, eksimer, triheksphenidyl, komix, antimo, and some call white pills without brands or “whites”.

Illicit drug trafficking in Kendal District is dominated by drugs. Affordable prices make it easy for students to get these medicines. Based on information from the Head Office of BNN Kendal District, AKBP. Sharlin Tjahaja Frimer Arie, SH, M.Si that the drug dealers who was caught admitted selling the drugs would sell them retail to the abuser. Students could get these drugs directly to the dealer or through friends who had already bought from the dealers.

According to her, most of the pills were distributed to students in Kendal District. The number of drug abuse among students in Kendal can also be seen 34 of 54 people or 62.9% students who underwent rehabilitation in 2016. While in 2017, 9 (nine) of 12 or 75% people participated in rehabilitation were students. Drug abused, such as, triheksphenidyl, dektromertorphan, excimer, komix, antimo in one of the state junior high schools in Kendal District was shocking the field of education. Because of 90% of 44 students who often skip school claimed to had abused the drugs (Isawahyudi, 2016). These students had been suspected by the school of irregularities in school behavior shown by poor learning achievement, being late or not attending school, and violating other school rules.

Previous research on adolescent drug abuse among schools in Belo Horizonte, Brazil took 891 samples of adolescents aged 15-19 years. The results showed 15.2% of adolescents abused drugs with the number 7.9% inhalation, 7.4% for cannabis, 2.5% hypnotics, cocaine 2%, hallucinogens 1.6%, amphetamines 1.5% and opioids 0.1%. The highest type of inhalant was used because it was easily obtained and made at home with cheap substances which sold in small drug stores without strict legal regulations in Brazil. Students who abused drugs run the risk of compromising health and social relationships, especially school attendance. The influence of drug abuse was associated with social relations depending on its position in social networks, whether it was a central position (popular), a marginal position (isolated or has few friends), or a liaison position (bridging peer groups). Research also showed other factors that influence adolescent dangerous behavior were
individual and personality factors, the influence of friends, parents who abused drugs, family conflicts, school academic failure, commitment to an education, and expulsion from school. Factors that could reduce the risk of drug abuse include religious activities and sports or cultural-based friendships from school friendships. While that increases the likelihood of drug abuse was gender heterogeneity in groups (Jorge et al., 2018).

Other research showed the relationship between identity status, stress, and drug use and comments on the potential mediating effects of psychological resources. Participants consisted of 179 people aged between 18-25 years in Adelaide, Australia. The main findings showed that stress of life events and perceived stress were associated consistently with substance abuse as an individual diffuse. There was a relationship between poor identity status and the possible risk of drug abuse. Young people who were included in diffused identities who did not have a commitment to commit, looking for ways to fight the provisions inherent in the development of normal identity and progress through the status of that identity by abusing substances. Someone with a diffused ideological identity (covering religious, political, philosophical views of life) was consistently associated with the risk of substance abuse. Whereas a diffused interpersonal identity (embracing friendship, dating, recreation, and sex roles) was less strongly associated with substance abuse. Although poorly formed identities had a positive relationship with substance abuse, even well-formed identities could be at risk because there is a feeling of stress and stress in life. Thus, even people with achieved identity status can be at risk of abusing substances (Rose & Bond, 2008).

Subsequent research on the relationship of identity style and drug dependence vulnerability to 205 medical students at Zahedan University, Iran. This quantitative, cross-sectional study uses the Identity Style Inventory (ISI) theory approach which consists of four structures including: 1) information style, namely people who consciously and intentionally seek information acquisition, 2) normative style was a normative oriented person because they adopted the needs and important values of others, 3) diffuse-avoidant style was people who delayed, slowed down, and tried not to face issues and identity conflicts as long as possible, 4) commitment style was a person who committed to getting information and avoiding, or talked to other people. The results showed that female students were more directed towards normative style than male students because they paid attention to the expectations, values, and recommendations of others. The negative relationship was shown in the normative and commitment style towards the coolness of drug addiction. In contrast, diffuse-avoidant style showed a positive relationship with drug addiction vulnerability. Whereas informative style had no relationship with the vulnerability of drug addiction (Mohebi et al., 2018).

Based on several research findings regarding the identity of drug abusers, there is a research gap in this study. Some of them, the research location was in rural areas, a type of descriptive qualitative data to obtain in-depth facts that are examined using the Communication Identity Theory from Michael Hecht. Research subjects were drug abusers among early adolescents. According to Unicef, vulnerable early adolescents are 10-14 years who might become victims or participate in bullying and they felt confused about their personal identities (Unicef, 2011).

According to Communication Theory of Identity, identity had four layers namely, personal, enacted, relational, and communal layers. Personal layer described as individuals communicate intrapersonal with themselves related to self-image, self-concept or self-view. Enacted layer was something that is shared with others or self-expression through behavior and messages (Goffman, 1963). A layer of relational identity consists of three components including: individual perceptions
of how others see it, individuals define themselves based on the people around them, and the relationship itself could develop identity themselves. Whereas the communal layer forms identity through group membership rather than individual or social interactions (Crossby, 2012).

An identity attached to a person can be concealed or hidden. This phenomenon is closely related to the status of self-identity in society, namely stigmatized identity or identity that is stigmatized. People with socially negative attributes were discredited because they did not comply with the norms implemented by society (Goffman, 1963). In the case of drug abusers, they had violated the law in force in Indonesia. This would affect how individuals communicate their identities (Crossby, 2012). Concealment and disclosure of identity becomes the choice of individuals who had stigmatized identity, explained that concealment of identity could cause psychological effects such as stress, while disclosure of identity could relieve stress, but can also increase shame (Chaudoir & Quinn, 2010; Cottle, 1994).

Based on the previous research, this study will examine the hidden communication identities of early adolescent drug users through four layers of communication identity.

Methods

This is a qualitative research that makes it possible to uncover and understand something behind phenomena that are completely unknown or little known, such as the phenomenon of drug dependence (Strauss & Corbin, 2015). This research is an intrinsic case study where the research is bound to the time and place of a unique case (Creswell, 1998). Case studies are a type of qualitative description that explains the description of the experience of drug abusers so that readers understand about the phenomenon (Patton, 2009). This research population is people who have experience abusing drugs. The sample of this study is the early adolescents who have experience as drug abusers in one of the State Junior High Schools in Kendal District as many as three people, consisting of two women with the initials L and E, and one man with the initials A.

Data collection techniques in case studies were multiple source information, including in-depth interviews, documentation, and observation (Creswell, 1998). Primary data sources in this study were obtained from in-depth interviews and observations. While secondary data sources through articles in scientific journals, electronic media reporting about drug abuse, and data on drug abuse from BNN. Data analysis techniques in the first is the authors collected raw case data about drug abuse among early adolescents. Second, compiling case records, namely editing information, removing useless or redundant ones. Third, it presented a descriptive case that was able to read and be understood about the overall experience of drug abusers among early adolescents (Patton, 2009).

Result

Facts about drug abuse among early adolescents

Drug abusers got drugs from playmates outside of school, some of them had known before each other. Drug dealers induced, coerced, and gave free the drugs to drug abusers in the beginning of using the drugs by mixing it in drinks or directly given. So that, drug abusers could not refuse it.

Participants L and A claimed that since the last two months they had tried to stop abusing drugs because they have stepped on grade IX. They claimed they preferred to share their problems with people who made them comfortable, would listen well, believe in what they said, be trusted, and not
judge themselves badly. Participants L and A preferred to tell mother and younger sibling, while E chooses to shared stories with fellow drug abusers.

Identity of Drug Abuse Communication Among Early Adolescents

The fact findings of this study used the four layers of communication identity, namely the personal layer, the enacted layer, the relational layer, and the communal layer (Hecht, 1993).

Personal Layer

This communication identity in the personal layer showed how drug abusers in the early adolescence evaluate their self-concept, motivation and expectations as drug abusers through self-assessment. One’s personal layer defined self-image, self-concept, spiritual feelings in general or certain situations (Hecht, 1993).

Self-concept of drug abusers among early adolescents

Lazy person. Since becoming drug abusers, they considered themselves as lazy person, for example, lazy to did school homework, lazy to learned, lazy to carried out parental commands, and lazy to did 5 (five) times prayer for moslems.

Have lots of free time. All participants explained that they had a lot of free time so he filled up his free time by playing with friends who first abused drugs and introduced drugs to them.

Academic achievement was decreasing. Since becoming drug abusers, their academic achievement has decreased because of concentrating difficulty. They could not understanding the lessons perfectly and there was no desire to understand during teaching and learning activities.

Be more opened with fellow abusers. Both participants admitted that they felt more open with their fellow drug abusers, he could share life’s problems with them. Both of them admitted that there was a difference communicating between school friends and fellow drug abusers. They more closed and limiting conversations or private secrets to school friends and family. This was due to negative responses to them such as, bullying and prejudice against them. Participant L was still disclosed her identity with his mother because she was like a friend who was ready to listened her problems. However, another fact from participant A, there was no difference in communication between fellow abusers and other friends.

Feelings of scared, shamed, and regret. Although the three of them have tried to used the drugs and being drugs addiction, they claimed that there was a feeling of scared and shamed because of their identity as drug abusers. As students, they scared with Counselling Teacher who gave penalties for students who did not obey the rules. They were afraid of being expelled from school, so, they did not use drugs in the school environment. In addition, they also felt afraid of being isolated by the environment and afraid because dealing with the law. They also shamed because they considered being a drug abuser was not good. They considered that abusing the drugs was something which is self-destructive and it was not useful.

Motivation and hope as drug abusers

The research findings showed some desires to be drug abusers among early adolescents, as follows:
Life load decreases. Both participants stated that by abusing the drugs their problems were reduced. Participant E stated that he could continue to be happy or laugh happily after taking a drug pill. Even after using the drugs, they suffered health and mental damage.

Want to try the drug. “Try to use” is a group of drug abusers who use drugs less than 5 (five) times in the last year from the time of the survey (Puslidatin BNN, 2017). They claimed that firstly they could not refuse their friends to abuse drugs. That was because they were in the environment of drug abusers. After trying to use, they switched to “regular use”, which using the drugs at least 4 (four) times a month and a maximum every day for several times. A few moments later, they were to be “routine users” who abuse drugs 5 (five) to 49 times in the last year from the time of the survey (Puslidatin BNN, 2017).

The motivations to abused the drugs, as follows:

Bullying or ridicule. Two participants who abuse drugs being bullied at school by school friends. The impact of the bulliying made them depressed. They cried and asked to got out from school. While, participant A had no experience of being ridiculed by a schoolmate.

Friends influence. All participants claimed that they abused drugs because of offering or invitation from a friend. The drugs offered to them intended for forgot the life problems. In other hand, using the drugs was referred as friendship solidarity. The participants admitted that it was difficult to refused but tended to accept the offering of drug abuse at the first time they were persuaded.

Family problems. Two of the three participants said that they disappointed with their family problems. Participant L had the experience of getting his father’s rude behaviour such as, she had been thrown by a plate until to be treated at the Hospital. However, after family condition to be better, she tried to stayed away from drug addiction. While participant E had divorced parents experience. Her father had involved cheating relationship with another woman until domestic violence occured. While her mother decided to remarrying with a man who did not love and care to the children. So, participant E decided to lived with grandma who had limitation to supervise her grandchild friendship.

Decision to concealed and disclosed personal identity

Feeling afraid if their identity is recognized by others. The decision of all participants to concealed their identity as drug abusers to others because they felt ashamed of their identities known to others and afraid of disappointed their family, afraid of the threat of legal process, embarrassed if ridiculed by friends, and afraid of being ostracized by the community. They realized that their identity was considered negatively by others.

An attempt to concealed identity as a drug abuser. Some efforts to concealed their identity by drug abusers, such as they tried not to violate school rules, diverted the drugs conversation, to be quiet, pretended not to understand about drugs, and stayed away from the environment. This concealment made person decided to integrate into the norms and expectations of society, so that they experience a “double life” (Omurov, 2017).

Feeling uncomfortable being a drug abuser. Even though drug abusers have had experience as abusers who continued to be regularly user, it turned out they claime to be uncomfortable having an identity as a drug abuser. They stated that their life would be more introvert with family because there was something to be concealed. Another finding, participant A said that after abusing drugs he
was very lazy because it gave the effect of more sleep, so many activities were disrupted after abusing the drugs.

**Someone who knew their identity as drug abusers.** One participant stated that her identity was known by his family and several school friends because she saw to others the difference in behavior. Even it didn’t voluntarily tell, the others know from her different attitudes, for example, after abused the drugs she was often felt unconscious, hallucinating like angry herself, and talked unclear like delirious. The family also had found a packet of used drugs that were misused.

**Enacted Layer**

Research findings on the layers of identity that enforced in communication among drug abusers and others, as follows:

- **Enacted identity in communication between drug abusers friends and others.** Both participants stated that they were more comfortable communicating with their fellow drug users. They admitted that there were differences in communicating with others who did not involve as drug abusers and did not know their personal identities. If they communicated with the fellow drug abusers, they could easily talk about life problems, joke around, and be open with them. While with others they closed themselves and keep their distance because they did not want their personal identities to be known to others. One participant also assumed that other people did not give a positive response when she told her family’s problems, instead she received a negative response. Another fact turns out there was no difference in communication between fellow drug abusers and other people.

- **Got to knew the hidden terms among drug abusers.** Communication of drug abusers with fellow drug abusers used a number of terms that were unknown to most people outside of the community. From the three participants, we got several terms in abusing the drugs, as follows:
  - White and yellow pills that were often abused among students were called *putihan* or whites, *pil putih* or white pills, *pil kuning* or yellow pills, *pil sapi* or cow pills, *pil Y* (because the pill had the “Y’s” logo) and non-verbal symbols which symbolize pill by bringing the thumbs together with the index finger.
  - Drinking alcohol was called in Javanese as *ngombe* or drink, *congyang* or CY was one of traditional alcohol from Indonesia.
  - *Komix* as a kind of cough medicine was called in Javanese as *ngiwuk*. It was abused by students by drank it in several amounts and violated the correct usage insturcutions.
  - Pill package was called in Javanese as *sak emplek* which it contained approximately 5 (five) items.
  - Effect after abused the drugs in Javanese as *wis penak* or already comfort, *nglincur* or being delirious, and *wis edan* or being crazy.
  - When they want to bought the pill’s drugs, the term in Javanese language as *ayo urunan* or let’s collected the fees.
  - When they want to abused the drugs using the term in Javanese as *ayo nganggo* or let us abused, *ayo ngobat* or let us used drug.
• **Election of places to abused drugs, so the others did not know.** Drug abused which was an illegal activity, it made the abusers thought to abused it without anyone knowing. Ironically, they did it in public places that people pass. Some places in Kendal District which become drug abuse practices were Gajah Mada Kendal Park, Weleri City Park, Kendal Stadium, Kaliwungu Brimob Field, Kaliwungu Jabal, Kaliwungu District Hall, Kendal Alun-Alun sidewalk, Burjo stall (green bean porridge), stalls in around Singorojo 1 Public Middle School. Even though it was a public place, it was classified as being careless from security officers’ supervision. The way they fooled visitors such as hide the drugs when people passed and swallowed them immediately when no one saw it. If it was seen, she immediately threw it away. To avoid being noticed by parking attendants in Gajah Mada Park, one of the abusers parked their vehicle through the back door. They abused drugs either day, evening or night.

• **Effects after drug abuse as an enforced identity.** As a common people, the following research findings could provide benefits to indicated a child who abused drugs. After drug abused there were several effects, such as, decreased the conscousness of the abuser. It showed by laughed, talked to himself unclearly, got angry for no apparent reasons both to others or themselves, slept for long periods of time (usually a full day, woke up only to eat and drank), dizziness, faster heart palpitations, blurred eyes, and spitted excessively. The shown effect was different for each person even though they consumed the same of drugs. They also stated that they often hallucinated after drug abused and what they did was not realized, they friends told to them later.

**Relational Layer**

At this layer, the relation itself becomes the locus of identity. This layer is consist of 3 (three) components: first, individu shape and modify their identity according to the views of others; second, individu shape their identity by remembering their relationship with the others; third, the relationship becomes a unit of identity (Cho, 2012).

**Relationship of drug abusers with family and school friends.**

In the first component, drug abusers got poor evaluations from family and school friends. They were considered to be naughty, lazy to learned, often did not go to school, ignorant, and got bullying from their friends for woman participants until cried and want to go out of school. Based on this assessment, drug abusers shaped their attitudes and feelings in the family with stayed away, passive, more silent, felt excluded, so they concealed their identity as drug abusers. In other hand, participant L was still close to her mother because she never blamed herself, if there was a problem, she was still willing to listened to her story. Participant L was not reluctant if her mother knew her identity, because her mother often reminds her not to abuse drugs again. At the third level, it showed a less harmonious family relationship, but for participant L, family relations were still good because they still accepted herself despite she had a bad behavior. Relationships with schoolmates were acknowledged by participants E and A were not familiar and felt marginalized. As for participant L, she was still close because she tried to be a friend who did not behave badly in school, for example, she did not invite her school friends to abused the drugs.
Relations with fellow drug abusers.

Drug abusers said that their fellow drug abusers’ evaluation of themselves were positive, they were rated as good personalities. This evaluation was different enough from other people outside the drug abuse community. So that they formed closely friendship with fellow drug abusers, likely told their story of life, more open relationship, and did not feel marginalized. However, behind this familiarity, sometimes participants L and A felt scared. Participant L had experience about a bad friend who would sell her as a Commercial Sex Worker, so she avoided that guy. Meanwhile, A, claimed to have experience being forced to participate in due to bought the drugs. If she did not disagree or reject, her friend would be angry. Although they had a less good experience, in the third component, relationships with fellow drug abusers still good. Drug abusers shared their identities openly and as a unit. They disclosed somethings secret to fellow drug abusers, which was not disclosed to others.

Communal Layer

At this communal layer, individual identity was developed in a communal frame that was more formed in group membership than personal or social interaction (Crossby, 2012).

Drug abusers as members of the drug abuser group.

All drug abusers among adolescents acknowledged their position in the group as followers. They were usually invited to abuse drugs together. The availability of drugs had been provided by their friends. Drugs were purchased for a fee or given away for free. All participants had a group of fellow drug abusers with an average number of three members. They were the youngest members on average in their group. They stated that other members were more mature such as, high school student, school dropouts, and already working.

The sensation of abused the drugs in groups.

Abused the drugs together in a group gave more sensation. Some reasons why they were more comfortable abusing together include the effects after abuse could be feel together. For example, mugged, fought with enemies, laughed together, or even slept. In addition they felt the solidarity of fellow members, because they could share roles when experiencing effects after abused the drugs. The division of roles was done before abused the drugs, some of them were allowed to drank a lot and someone else were only allowed to drank a little or did not drink. The purpose of it was to accompany friends who were unconscious due to drinking a lot of drugs. If they abused the drugs alone, they felt confused because there were no friends and could not share their feelings or effects after abuse.

Desire to left the community of drug abusers.

Engagement in drug abuser group members had different levels. They admitted that they had tried to left the drug abuser group because they realized that the group had bad habits and violated the rules. When they tried to avoided the group, group members tried to reinvite or persuade to come back again. They admitted that they had failed because they could not refuse the invitation because they also still had the desired to abuse drugs. For participants L and A, they had ever
successful to out of group. At the time of the interview, both of them claimed that since IX grade or around July 2019 they did not abused the drugs by avoid drug abuser groups. In group membership, there was something that made its members maintain togetherness in the group (Sellnow-Richmond 2015). For participant E, she admitted that she always failed to left the group and still had the desire to be together. Because only the group of drug abusers that can make she comfortable and could share her life’s problems, such as broken home problem’s.

Discussion

At the personal layer, individuals define themselves either in general situations or certain situations (Hecht, 1993). Drug abusers see their self-concept as a negative person when communicating with a general situation, namely family and school friends. They say that they are lazy, have a lot of wasted free time, decreased academic achievement, feelings of shame, fear and regret. Whereas in certain situations with fellow drug abusers, they have a good self-image. The existence of identity is a source of some hope and motivation (Hecht, 1993). Hope as drug abusers is recognized by them in order to reduce the burden of life and want to try that eventually addicted. While the motivation is due to ridicule from friends, influenced by friends who first abuse drugs, and the presence of family problems. But participant A had no experience of being ridiculed by friends and family problems. He just want to try to use drugs.

In these general and certain situations, drug abusers make the decision to conceal and disclose their identities according to the situation they are facing. In general situations, they are afraid that if other people find out their identity then they decide to conceal it. Stigmatized identity as drug abusers considering negative consequences by hiding them is better (Strenger& Roulet, 2017). Concealment of identity is closely related to stress (Meidlinger& Hope, 2014). Drug abusers feel uncomfortable with hidden identities and prefer to live with the common identities. Whereas in certain situations with friends who abuse drugs, they are more open and disclose their personal identity voluntary. This disclosure is a form of individual evaluation of positive feedback from the interlocutor then an identity disclosure decision arises (Flett, 2014).

At the enacted layer, identity emerges through communication and behaviour (Franken, 2014). Communication becomes the locus of identity, which is enforced through interpersonal communication with others, arising from communicative events through social interaction. For example, a grandchild will be gentle and obedient to his grandparents and laugh more and talk with his peers (Sellnow-Richmond, 2015; Kam&Hecht, 2009). It also happens to drug abusers who impose their identities on fellow drug abusers more closely, joking laughter, and sharing life problems, while with others they are stay away and shut down.

Enacted layer is also seen as enforcing communication through messages and something being expressed (Cho, 2012). When they establish communication with fellow abusers there is a term that used and unknown to other people outside the community, even they use non-verbal communication when referring to drugs that is meeting the thumb and little finger. Whereas when enforcing identity through communication with other people based on experience at the time of drug abuse in public places is hiding drugs when there are visitors, immediately drink it when no one is, throw it away if found out, choose a parking space for vehicles that are not visible parking attendants. There are several places prone to drug abuse in Kendal District which turned out to be a favorite place for drug abusers despite being classified as public facilities.
In the relational layer, there are three components, namely: (1) individual perceptions of how others see it, (2) individual definitions are in accordance with the judgment of people around so that identity, behavior, and feelings are influenced and shaped through their interactions with other people, (3) relationships as developers of their identities (Crossby, 2012). The second and third levels have in common that identity is built through social labels and units in relationships with other people (Pang & Hutchinson, 2018). The first component will affect the second and third components in the context of establishing relations with outsiders. Relationships with family and school friends become unfamiliar and keep their distance, because drug abusers consider themselves not positively valued by them. Participants who feel in good relations with her mother because her mother treats and values herself as well, despite having abused drugs. While relationships with fellow drug abusers become closer because they are considered in positive. But, not all abusers feel different relationships between their fellow drug abusers and others, participant A feel the same relationship because he abuse drugs only at the level of trying to use it.

Communal layer place identities in groups or communities that define shared identity (Hecht, 1993). Like other groups, drug abuser groups also have norms or rules in groups that require their members to comply with these rules. Drug abusers are given free, persuaded, and forced so that they cannot refuse. Their position in the group as a follower so that they tend to follow the group’s rules that require their members to abuse drugs. When they still in using drugs regularly, abusers claim that abusing drugs together is more comfortable than alone, because they can share their feelings and build solidarity when group members experience the effects immediately after abusing drugs. This is not obtained when they abuse themselves. For abusers that try to use it does not matter if he has to use it himself because the effects that occur after abuse are just sleepy and want to sleep long.

Research on Jews and White race shows that there is a sense of comfort and support in groups, instead feeling like “someone else” when outside the group (Hecht & Faulkner, 2000). Sometimes identity is manifested in stereotypes by the community if it is associated with unhealthy behaviors such as drug abuse (Cho, 2012; Hecht & Lu, 2014). Stigmatized attributes often fall within the framework of communal identity because stigma is often associated with group membership (Crossby, 2012). From this stigma, drug abusers find it difficult to leave the group. Because if they are in others community they have an identity that is not in line with the expectations and norms of the community. Drug abusers realize that they initially failed when trying to stay away from groups of drug abusers because they were always invited to join abusing again accompanied by the desire to abuse drugs. However, with real intentions they could finally stop abusing drugs during the last two months when the interview was conducted. The existence of regret that joining the group can bring them must follow the rules of the group to be accepted into the group. Drug abusers who have successfully left the drug abuser group have the ability to socialize with outsiders. So, fellow drug abuser are not only one friend for them. However, drug abusers who have no desire to leave the drug abuser group claim that there is no more comfortable place than being with a drug abuser group.

Conclusion

Communication identities in personal, enacted, relational and communal layers which are stigmatized and hidden identities have disclosed and concealed based on the communication
experience of drug abusers to those around them. If the response is positive they tend to disclose their identity, on the contrary if the response or assessment is negative they will conceal it. Disclosure and concealment of identity has positive and negative consequences. Disclosure of identity as drug abusers gives comfort and does not have a burden because they have to play a double role, but they have a fear of being ostracized or caught by law enforcement officers. While the consequences of concealing identity are felt to be inconvenient about something covered up, but they feel safe and not ashamed.

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**Conflict of Interest**

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare

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