The Communication Identity of Drug Dealer

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Abstract
This research aims to find out how drug dealers showed their communication identity. This research is a qualitative research which applied a case study as its research method. The data were collected by interviews. Then, the collected data were analysed using data reduction, presentation, and conclusion. The research took place at the detention centre of the Central Java National Narcotics Board. The conclusions of this research using four layers are personal, enacted, relational, and communal on the communication of identity theory by Michael Hecht. It show that participants hide or disclose their identities based on how others respond to them. The stigma of others triggered participants to hide their identities by pretending not to know, diverting the conversation about drugs or being silent, and feeling anxious. There were also identity gaps in: (1) personal and enacted layers, (2) personal and relational layers, and (3) personal and communal layers.

Keywords:
Communication theory of identity, identity, drug dealer, communication identity, case study

Introduction
Drug abuse is an emergency problem in Indonesia. In 2017 drug abusers in Indonesia (aged 10-59 years) reached 3,376,115 people or 1.77% of the total population of Indonesia (Puslidatin BNN RI, 2017). Three approaches are needed in handling narcotics problems, namely: supply reduction, demand reduction, and harm reduction or reducing the adverse effects of drug abuse. (BNN RI, 2018)

Judging from the problem of narcotics supply in Indonesia, narcotics criminals always take advantage of the negligence of law enforcement officers. From year to year many new types of drugs were circulating in order to avoid legal indictment. In 2018, there were 803 nps (new psychoactive substance or new types of narcotics) in the world and 74 of them circulating in Indonesia. A total of 66 nps have been regulated in the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 20 of 2018 dated 3 July 2018 and the other 8 nps have not been reg-
ulated in the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia. During 2018, the National Narcotics Board of the Republic of Indonesia (Badan Narkotika Nasional Republik Indonesia or BNN) and the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Polri) succeeded in uncovering 40,553 cases, which involved 53,251 suspects with confiscation of 41.3 tons of marijuana, 8.2 tons of methamphetamine, and 1.55 million items of ecstasy (Hariyanto, 2019).

The eradication of drug abuse is not only done by the BNN RI at the national level, but also the regional BNN offices is also doing the same movement in eradicating drugs. One of the provinces targeted for illicit trafficking in narcotics is the Central Java National Narcotics Board. Based on the results of a pre-research interview with the Head of Intelligence Office of Central Java National Narcotics Board, the working area is a “market” for the distribution of drugs. Based on geographical location, Central Java Province borders with the provinces in the top ten provinces with the biggest narcotics confiscation in Indonesia. The two provinces are West Java (with the following narcotics confiscation: 65,219.96 grams of methamphetamine; 6,176 items of ecstasy; and 262,276.46 grams of marijuana) and DKI Jakarta (with the following narcotics confiscation: 627,976.09 grams of methamphetamine; 244,795 items of ecstasy; and 3,129,642.96 grams of marijuana) (Puslidatin BNN RI, 2019).

Even though Central Java Province is not included in the top ten regions with narcotics confiscation, Central Java Province is included in the top ten revealed cases of narcotics crime by BNN RI and Polri. Central Java Province was ranked fifth with 2,274 cases successfully revealed in 2018 (Puslidatin BNN RI, 2019). Based on data from the Central Java National Narcotics Board, narcotics crimes in the area of Central Java Province can be explained in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of suspects</th>
<th>Marijuana</th>
<th>Meth</th>
<th>Extasy</th>
<th>Amount of narcotic confiscation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>35 people</td>
<td>10 kg</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.2 tons of methamphetamine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>38 people</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.3 kg</td>
<td>119 item</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data Recapitulation of Narcotics Crime Cases in the Eradication of National Narcotics Board of Central Java

The success of illicit drug trafficking cannot be separated from the role of narcotics crime perpetrators, which are referred to as producers, bookie, dealers, collectors, and users (Puslidatin BNN RI, 2019). Based on the results of a pre-research interview with the Head Intelligence Office of the Central Java National Narcotics Board, Kunarto, S.PdI, those terms are commonly used by law enforcement officials to facilitate the disclosure of the narcotics crime solving. According to him, drug dealers have the task of distributing drugs to the address or the destination. The performance of dealers is usually controlled by law enforcement officials to facilitate the disclosure of the narcotics crime solving. According to him, drug dealers have the task of distributing drugs to the address or the destination.
ers who served their sentence at National Narcotics Board of Central Java.

Previous research on the Communication Theory of Identity (CTI) was presented by Faulkner & Hecht (2010). The research discussed about the identity negotiation of Jews lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender’s (LBTQ) hidden identities. The study used a narrative approach and conducted interviews with 31 participants. CTI showed how the interpenetration of the four layers of identity and critical elements created change and conflict in the lives of its participants which required the negotiation of identity as Jewish LBTQ. Conflicts related to self-perception, experience, perception of others, and the enactment of LBTQ and Jews revolve around alienation. Identity gaps emerge and produce negative results they experience when they look for communities that support one or two elements of their identity.

Pang & Hutchinson (2018) also researched about CTUI with the research subjects were Third Culture Kids (TCK) or children who during their growth period (ages 0-18 years) that were alive outside the culture of their parents’ origin so that they had a third culture (adoption of culture in new homes and origin culture). Those research belongs to interpretive research which using focus group discussions and interviews to collect the data. Researchers used three layers of CTI, namely: personal, relational, communal and identity negotiation. The research findings showed the overlapping and coinciding between identity layer with one another. Some denied their cultural identity completely and some returned to the TCK community. If identity negotiations cannot be resolved, this is referred to as an “identity gap”.

A weakness in previous studies of CTI is each layer of identity, i.e. personal, enacted, relational, and communal, has not explained in detail how the research participants disclosed and hid their identity during their participation in communication. Another difference with previous research is the research participants. Previous research involving participants were relatively easy to find or reach. The lack of research on CTI involving participants as criminals is the author’s consideration to learn about drug dealers.

The novelties of this research lie on the use of drug dealers as the research subjects, case study as the research method, and study on the identities disclosure and hiding in the four CTI identity layers. The existence of an identity gap between the identity of drug dealers as criminal behavior and the stigmatization of the public about the perpetrators of crime becomes the basis of the authors to conduct research on how drug dealers hide or disclose their communication identities? The purpose of this research is to find out how drug dealers hide and disclose their communication identity at the personal, enacted, relational and communal layers.

**Literature Review**

**Identity Theory**

A person can have many identities depending on the situation (Lebedko, 2014). At the individual level, identity helps them to understand roles, expectations related to the different roles and communities around them (Stets & Burke, 2000). According to Hecht (1993), new theories expanded identity outside the individual to consider interaction and complement the view of social identity that lies in the role, where identity is the link.

The concept of identity contains structural characteristics, such as group affiliation, role deviance, and category membership as well as character traits that are shown by individuals or that are pinned by others to the relevant individual (Smith & Lovin in Ritzer, 2012). According to Ritzer (1985), identity was a term used in referring to various meanings that were pinned to someone both by themselves and others. Based on several meanings of identity by previous scientists, it can be concluded that identity is a characteristic of someone who is shown by himself or seen by others through the role he has in social interaction.

Rousseau & Maurits (2005) developed a model of the identity formation process that explicitly related to the individual level (micro level) and community level analysis (macro level). There which many things that can be shared and developed as a solid foundation to unite humans. Humans with diverse identities generally share similarities in culture, history, language, values, ideas, interests, and so on. Sharing identity will reduce the stereotypes of people that allow deduction based on new facts about the other person (Lebedko, 2014). Identity is not only what separates a part from other people, but identity also includes an important form in understanding parts and those that last from time to time (Albert&Whetten, 1985).

In a research conducted by Ozberg (2016), two things that explained about identity sharing collaboration was: there were no identity shown before collaboration and collaboration are formalized (without conflict and agenda). Furthermore, an explanation of one of the identity theories used in this study is the Communication Theory of Identity invented by Michael Hecht.

**Communication Theory of Identity (CTI)**

CTI places interaction centrally in the formation and implementation of identity. Identity is considered to be a communication process consisting of four layers of transactions where messages are exchanged (Hecht et al, 1993). The four layers in CTI are: personal, enacted, relational and communal (Hecht, 1993) with the following explanation:

First, the personal layer. Identity is a characteristic of individual, such as self-cognition, feelings about self, and/or spiritual feelings from
Identity is a characteristic which is known as a self-concept and generates an understanding of how individuals describe themselves generally in certain situations, with the following assumptions: (1) Identity is a hierarchically arranged meaning that is associated with itself as an object in a social situation; (2) Identity is the meaning ascribed to oneself by others in the social world; (3) Identity is a source of hope and motivation. (Hecht et al, 1993).

Second is the enacted layer. The identity that is enforced is defined as the identity expressed or carried out by communication and social behavior. Locus of this layer is communication, what and how someone talks and behaves (Shin & Hecht, 2017). The dialectics of hiding or disclosure is managed through the process of obtaining and/or providing personal information, both using direct and indirect messages in communicating their own identities. For example, a Jew will determine whether the person he is speaking with is Jewish (Hecht, 2000). The characteristics of identity in enacted are: (1) identity appears; (2) identity is enforced in social behavior and symbols; and (3) hierarchical identity arranges social roles (Hecht et al, 1993).

Third is the relational layer in which this identity is conceptualized by one’s role in a relationship. Perceptions of “how others see who I am” will create a relational identity and may differ based on interpersonal relationships (Shin & Hecht, 2017). At this layer, there are three levels, namely (a) people define themselves from other people and form the social behavior that surrounds them, who they are is influenced by the people they are with; (b) people define themselves in terms of relationships, fostering feelings of self-though relationships with other people such as marriage partners, work, and friendship; (c) their self-relationship leads to identity and dyadicism becomes a unity (Hecht et al, 1993).

Fourth, the communal layer is how people perceive an identity. This communal identity is held by a group that binds someone in togetherness (Hecht & Lu, 2014). This layer is conceptualized as a frame or location for identity. Group membership can be the basis for the formation of personal identity, collectivity or the community itself. Sometimes identity is manifested in stereotypes (Cho, 2012).

Identity arises from groups and networks. The layers of identity are not separate from each other, which may be observed two, three, even four identities at one time. For example, there is an explanation of how a partner regulates dialectical tension between his identity as a partner (relational) and the community’s view of relationships (communal). How ethnic identity (personal) is expressed through communication (enacted). One might be able to combine three layers by asking how one uses communication to manage personal identity in strong relationships (Hecht et al, 1993).

Research Methodology

This research is qualitative, which allows researchers to make long or intense contact with participants to investigate the daily lives or extraordinary experiences of individuals, trying to capture the participants’ perceptions with deep attention, empathic understanding, deferral or prejudice of the topics discussed (Miles et al., 2014). One method in a qualitative approach which can address unique cases, such as drug dealers, is case studies. The focus of research lies in current events in the context of real life with researchers’ control of these events having little chance (Yin, 2012). This research is a single case study because it is an event that is so unique and important that researchers do not generalize to other case studies (Yin, 2018).

This research used data sources, such as, interview as the primary data source is. While secondary data sources obtained from books, scientific journals, laws and regulations on narcotics, previous research data, and drug abuse’s data from BNN. This type of research is a descriptive qualitative study which uses data collection techniques of in-depth interviews with participants. The interviews were presenting open-ended questions to enable participants to express answers according to their personal experiences (Bungin, 2017). In this study, researchers involved 3 (three) people who had experience in drugs delivery process from one place to another or commonly referred to as drug dealers.

The population was difficult to find, so we used the snowball sampling as sampling technique. This technique allows researchers to identify someone who has experience in drug trafficking, then request information from these participants to identify other participants who have similar experiences (Christensen et al., 2015). However, in cases involving drug dealers as research participants, the identification of participants was from the Central Java National Narcotics Board officers who had conducted legal proceedings against their detainees. Thus they could choose participants who were drug dealers.

The sample selection technique can be explained as follows. First, researcher identified the participant through National Narcotics Board of Central Java Province officers who had experience in narcotics crime cases. He selected one drug dealer who was undergoing legal proceedings in the National Narcotics Board of Central Java. Second, the researchers added 2 (two) participants to get the desired research results in the same place. This research was conducted at the National Narcotics Board of Central Java Province because this region was ranked fifth in the terms of the number of narcotics crime cases revealed in 2018 and had 20 (twenty) out of 654 drug-prone areas in Indonesia (Puslidatin BNN RI, 2019).
This research was conducted for 2 (two) months, from April to May 2019, with the following stages: first, the researcher collected secondary data sources, namely previous research through international accredited journals, drug abuse data from the National Narcotics Board both national and regional, and book references. Then, the researchers consulted the supervisor and collected primary data through in-depth interviews with the participants.

The data analysis process to draw conclusions had three stages, namely data reduction, data display and conclusion (Sugiyono, 2014). The stages of data analysis in this study are: (1) data reduction, which summarized data obtained from participants’ voice recordings during the interview process to select key points, focusing on important things to look for themes and patterns, (2) data display or presentation of data to facilitate relationship patterns so that they are easily understood, and (3) conclusion: drawing/verification was drawing conclusions or verification.

Result
Communication Identity in Personal Layer

Background in Becoming a Drug Dealer

Participants stated their unfortunate experiences, such as three divorces, being in debt, the death of both parents which forced participants to be responsible for the family finance, and lack of income to meet needs. All were factors which triggered them to become drug dealers. Income as a drug dealer starts from 500 thousand Rupiahs to 20 million Rupiahs.

I have been paid 20 million Rupiahs for a one-time wage of bringing methamphetamine from Batam to Semarang weighing 200 grams. (participant H)

I divided cannabis into small packages weighing 5 (five) kg with a salary of 500 thousand Rupiahs. (participant B)

I was paid 1 (one) million Rupiahs to take and distribute methamphetamine in small packages. (participant A)

Personal Identity of Drug Dealer, Hiden or Disclosed?

Personal identity as a drug dealer is a personal matter and very confidential. Drug dealers actually preferred not to work as a drug dealer, because there would be no burden to hide something and no need to be wary of being arrested. However, due to financial factors, they chose work as drug dealers.

I’d rather not be a drug dealer, but I had a debt, so I did it. (Participant H).

I prefer to be an ordinary person but I became the backbone of my family but I became the backbone of my family but I became the backbone of my family but I became the backbone of my family but I became the backbone of my family because the death of my parents. My salary is not enough (Participant B).

I wanted to independently meet my personal needs. But, working as a freight forwarding conductor did not provide sufficient income. So, I accepted the offer as a dealer. (Participant A).

Drug dealers agreed to hide their identities to others because of shame, fear that their drug business would fail, and fear that they would be ostracized by their surroundings. They have hopes of being accepted in the community and interacting normally. Therefore, they decided to camouflage their identity as a drug dealer with another employment (a builder, furniture courier, and factory worker).

First, I was ashamed if my family knew. I was afraid of being caught up in the legal process (participant H).

If someone talked about the drug business, I was afraid that I would be exposed. Either my close friends or my girlfriend wouldn’t say anything (participant B).

I was afraid that they would stay away from me (participant A).

Personal Feeling Being Drug Dealer

The participant considered himself felt uncomfortable to work as a drug dealer. Some felt that they could not control their emotions, felt great and increased their financial abilities. In other participants it was found that he chose to be quiet and be careful of the surrounding environment. All participants stated that becoming drug dealers had a habit of going out at night and they did not go home. Thus, it caused problems with other family members. For example, failure to established family relations, having been divorced for three times and got a warning because they often spend time outside the home. Direct statement about self-images of drug dealers are:

I was quiet because I hid my status as a drug dealer (Participant H).

I felt myself that I was a bad and naughty person. I often broke the family’s rules because I played with drugs. Before working as a drug dealer, I have been using drugs since 2017. (participant B).

I was quiet. Sometimes, I still obeyed my family, but I often went home late at night (participant A).
Communication Identity in Enacted Layer
To Whom Do Drug Dealers Disclose their Identity?

Drug dealers disclosed their identities to partners in drug networks, for example to their superiors (bookie) and intermediary friends (who introduce them to bookie). In addition, they also disclosed their identities to friend whom he believed was able to keep secrets. They gave a positive response, were able to keep secrets and had the same goals in this drug business. Some statements about identity disclosure:

The only one who know about my illegal drugs trafficking is Rizal, my friend. If my girlfriend found out, she could leak it to my parents. I didn’t talk to anyone if I was a dealer, even though I was with friends who used methamphetamine (participant A).

I told to my only one intermediary friend and bookie (participant H).

I didn’t tell anyone except my friend who wanted to did illegal drugs trafficking together (participant B).

Can We Recognize the Characteristics of Drug Dealers?
The characteristics of drug dealers when carrying out their roles can be recognized through their movement, such as: (1) use a motorbike with a closed helmet; before they placed the drugs, they have prepared it on their hand or foot. Thus, it would be easy to throw it; (2) Throw drugs to a place, attach them to trees or poles, put them in a public place which was easily accessible to the takers, such as at a crossroad or in a corner; (3) They always paid attention to the surrounding such as looking to the right, left, back, in order to make sure that no one saw it. If they saw people they usually moved elsewhere; (4) The time that they chose to deliver drugs was not fixed. It could be in the afternoon, evening, or night. The most important time was when no one could see them; (5) Seen anxiety, get out of cold sweat, more seats tend to choose to sit or be silent when carrying drugs in public places. The following is the statement of participant A:

The common gesture is to throw away something. The drugs can be thrown away or pasted. I'd rather throw in the corner in the corner/crossroad. I would use a helmet to cover my face. If a drug dealer want to throw, he usually put it on his hand or foot. I preferred put it in my hand, so it’s easy to throw. If you wanted to throw, you should take a look first. If there are people around that place, you have to move again. Sometimes you put drugs in the afternoon, evening, and night. The important thing was the quiet place and easy to found. Before I put narcotics, firstly, I moved or surveyed the location (participant A).

Communication Identity in Relational Layer
Family Relationship: Do Family Member Know the Identity of Drug Dealers?

According to participants statement, the family considered them to be quiet individuals, had bad habits, often violated family rules because they often left home for a relatively long time for no apparent reason. Drug dealers who were not married often disobeyed their parents and grandmothers.

Drug dealers concealed identities based on negative family evaluations. When carried out the role as a child or father was disturbed, because there was a hidden identity in carried out his role. In the third level, i.e. the impact of communication from hiding of identity, dealers chose to leave the house to run their business. Thus, the family did not know. As for the lover, the participant switched the conversation when his girlfriend gave advice not to fall into drug crime.

My girlfriend used to remind me not to use drugs, then I tried to change our conversation, for example by asked her to went to somewhere so she could forget about drugs. I had to be careful with my girlfriend, she used to operate my cellphone, I used to be good at hiding everything about drugs, so people arround me could not find out. But if someone else borrowed my cellphone, I would not lend it (Participant B).

Another fact is when drug dealers run their businesses inside the house with intermediary friends, they tended to separate themselves from other family members and used cell phones to communicate if there were others.

I spoke about drugs with friends in a quiet place in my house with the low voice so no one knew. If there were other people, we didn’t discuss drugs or we spoke by Whatsapp Messenger so they didn’t know. We discussed about my boss’s drug business orders. (participant B)

Law Enforcement Officer Relationship: Get to Know the Modes of Illicit Drug Trafficking

According to the participants, the law enforcers perceived drug traffickers’ identities as a person committed a violation of the law. Thus, the participants used certain modes in drug trafficking to avoid the officers know about their activity. Some of the findings included: First, a drug dealers carried 200 grams of methamphetamine from Batam to Semarang by air. Due to the tight security system, drug dealers wanted to sacrifice
the safety of their lives by inserting methamphetamine into a rectum wrapped in plastic in such a way that X-ray could not catch it. Second, drug dealers took orders for marijuana and sent those by courier services of PT. Pos Indonesia. For security reasons, drug dealers took packages directly at the expedition office and did not wait for delivery by the expedition courier. Third, dealers put drugs in places which were easily accessible to the takers, such as at the intersection, on the grass, taped it to trees or electricity poles which are located on a relatively quiet and safe place.

I put the drugs (meth) on the grass when it arrived to destination (Semarang). When I brought it from Batam to Semarang, I took it by the airline, and put it into a plastic bag. Then, I stored it in my rectum. (participant H).

I took marijuana in a package to PT Pos Indonesia directly, because if it was delivered by a courier service it would be dangerous. (participant B).

Fourth, they chose a safe place to discuss drug transactions. If they were in a social situation where many people were present, they chose to communicate via Whatsapp Messenger application to maintain the confidentiality of the message. Meanwhile, for dealers who did not meet face-to-face, there were special languages which were used when they communicated via cell phone.

I called methamphetamine with the same name, i.e. “sabu”. The term for methamphetamine package was, for example, 1 (one) gram is one or “satu”. Then,, ½ (half) gram was referred to “STNK”. “P5” was a half of the “STNK”, and “P3” was the smallest one. We could be conclude that STNK was about 0.5 gram, P5 was about 0.2 gram, and P3 was about 0.1 gram. While, based on price, 1 gram was 1.1 million Rupiahs, STNK was 650 thousand Rupiahs, P5 was 500 thousand Rupiahs, and P3 was 300 thousand Rupiahs (participant A).

We called marijuana, such as cimeng or gelek. We sold marijuana based on its weight. We called one package marijuana as “per-line” which wrapped in one plastic clip. One line was 700 thousand Rupiahs (participant B).

Relationship with the Bookie: Have They Ever Met Face to Face?
Drug dealers gave full confidence to the traffickers to send drugs to the intended address. Their introduction was brief and there was no need for a close relationship. Participants felt fully trusted by drug dealers to carry out their role as drug dealers. The participant said that he felt trusted taking marijuana weighing five kilograms, even though he had only been communicating with drug dealers for three days by telephone.

I just called on Friday, then on Monday I took the drugs. We didn’t know each other but he trusted me only, because of the intermediary who guaranteed me (participant B).

I communicated only for the first time. After that, I did not communicate anymore. I did not know my dealer before, but I followed his direction only (participant H).

Communication between drug dealers and bookie was established through cell phones and not face to face. All participants who are drug dealers had bosses or bookies who were prisoners in Pati Distirct, Semarang City and Batam City. Drug dealers controlled drug sales transactions from one place to another, determined where drugs were taken, who was in charge of delivering them, and guided other dealers in taking drugs that have been put by previous dealers. Drug dealers did not introduce one dealer to another to maintain confidentiality.

Relationship with Intermediary Friends: An Important Role Between Bookies and Drug Dealers
The drug dealers considered the intermediary friends’s evaluation gave positive feedback because they provided a financial problem’s solution. Based on that positive feedback, the drug dealers were more disclose their identity to intermediary friends who had already knew drug dealers’s personality before recommending to the bookie.

First, I told my friend (intermediary) that I had a debt. Then, he said he would introduce me to his friend (bookie) by phone. He said it was easy to send the drugs (participant H).

Because I had to make a living for my family, who were my grandmother and younger siblings, after my parents died. I knew about this business from my friend (intermediary). His name was J. He was released from prison. He used drugs and worked as a dealer, too. He introduced me to the bookie. The bookie’s (bandar) name is BS, who was incarcerated in Kedungpane (participant B).
I knew from my friend T (an intermediary) and he introduced me to Mr. E (bookie/bandar) who was serving his time in prison. He offered me a job to send drugs. Then, I agreed to it. (participant A).

Communication Identity in Communal Layer
The Involvement of Drug dealers in Community Groups
Drug dealers disclosed their identity only to the drug network community, such as drug dealers and intermediary friends. In this community they had similar experiences and goals. Drug dealers also had social life. Some were active and some other were passive. Those, who were passive, did not want to get too involved in the village’s activities, such as attending regular community meetings and joining village youth association. While those who were passive did not want to get too involved in village activities, although all three of them stated that it was actually important to be active in community activities.

I actively participated in village youth activities (participant A).

I was active in the community, taking part in regular social gathering (participant B).

I never had participated, just lazy, did not want to be busy with external affairs. I preferred to be passive (participant H).

Challenges to Face Stigma’s from Society
When drug dealers tried to hide their identities in the wider community or groups, they found it difficult because they felt that they were keeping some big secret. The following statement is their experiences:

I found the difficulty to deal with other people, because I had to adjust my attitude, changed the conversation about drugs, and had to be smart to hide anything about drugs on my cellphone. If it was operated by my girlfriend, it could be caught (participant B).

Yes, hiding identity was difficult thing, because it tried to secure myself (participant A)

I tried to relax even though I didn’t want to be stressed (participant H).

The reaction of the participants if the community discussed the drug problems, was pretended not to know, changed the subject, and/or chose silence even though they really understand about drugs. Some of participants were also joined the conversation of their friends about drugs but they kept their identities secretly. Moreover, when the drug dealers were being together with the drug user’s community, they still kept their identity secretly.

If my friend was talked about methamphetamine, I still joined in the conversation with them. At the time, they talked about how the drug dealer brought drugs from one place to another for got the salary. But, I didn’t say if I was a drug dealer (participant A).

As usual, my friend had discussed about how to bought the drugs, how to used it. I pretended that I didn’t know or pretended to ask about what they said. I preferred silence even though I knew very well about the drugs (participant B).

I pretended not to know, tried to change the subject. They discussed about the drug dealer’s jobdesk was sent the drugs from one place to another, then they would be paid by their bookie or boss. They realized that it was a bad thing. (participant H).

Drug dealers wanted to be well received by the people. Thus, they divulged their bad identities. Their description is as the following:

If I was still a drug dealer, I could not be accepted. But, if they do not know, they would certainly accept me (participant B).

Inshaallah, I could be accepted because I was active in the community and quiet at home (participant A).

I felt received by the society if they did not know me as a drug dealer (participant H).

Even though they had an identity as drug dealers, they still wanted to be judged positively by others and are afraid of being ostracized. Based on this thought, they avoided negative judgments of others by hiding their identity as drugs dealers, except with people involved in drug buying and selling transactions.

I hoped the others judged me positively. I did not like being suspected by anyone. I did not want to be ostracized. (participant B).

Yeah, I was afraid of being judged negatively, so I did not want to tell anyone about my drug dealer’s identity, except they who was involved in illicit drug trafficking. (participant A).

I just want to be an ordinary person. I did not like being suspected (participant H).
Discussion
The background of being a drug dealer is a factor of financial difficulty. Communication Identity at the personal layer is the layer where individuals decide to hide or disclose their identities (Hecht & Faulkner, 2000). The drug dealer decided to hide and disclose their identity based on their feelings from the other’s judgement. When there are feelings of fear and shame, they tend to hide their personal identities. The decision of participants in hiding their identity is set on the motivation and expectations of individuals for their identity (Hecht, 1993). Thus, their personal identities as drug dealers were disguised as other employment status. All participants had hopes to be well-received by their environment.

The personal layer also refers to the individual as a locus or framework of identity that is considered analogous to one’s self-concept, self-image, self-awareness, feelings about self-esteem, and/or spiritual about the feeling of individual existence (Cho, 2012). Participants had a poor self-assessment of themselves, there were those who felt bad since before becoming a drug dealer and there were those who judged themselves bad after becoming a drug dealer. Those, who considered themselves bad before becoming drug dealers, had household problems, i.e. having been divorced for three times and some were already drug users. Drug dealers carried out their role with feelings of discomfort, worry, and anxiety, especially when they were carrying drugs. Although there were participants who felt relaxed and calm when taking drugs. Therefore, it can be concluded that this personal identity is how drug dealers feel and define themselves (Hecht & Lu, 2014).

At the enacted layer, the individual decides to disclose his personal information very much depending on the time, target, and context of the conversation (Hecht & Faulkner 2000). However, in this case of identity imposed by drug dealers, one of the important things in disclosure of identity is “to whom” they speak. Research findings showed that the drug network in drug crime highly upheld confidentiality during the transaction process. In fact, fellow dealers did not necessarily know and greeted each other. Only in illicit drug trafficking’s network they opened their identities, such as drug bookie (the drug dealer’s boss or drug business controller) and the intermediates’ friend (the person who trusted the drug dealer to found a drug dealer). However, there was other possibility of disclosure to trustworthy people outside the drug network.

One interesting thing in this study is the fact about how drug dealers carry out their role in the drug business can be disclosed through nonverbal communication which was expressed and previously unknown to the public. Identity that is being enforced in communication through messages, conceptualizes identity as performance and something that is being expressed (Cho, 2012).

In general, drug dealers look physically the same as other people. They even deceived people by did transactions without face-to-face meeting and putting drugs in public places that were not unexpected before, such as on the ground, trees, poles, and grass. This was done to maintain the confidentiality of the sale and purchase transactions of drugs.

At the relational layer, identity is formed and negotiated through the relationship itself (Pang & Hutchinson, 2018). There are three relational levels as a locus of identity: the first level, looks at how drug dealers shape identity based on how others perceive them (Pang & Hutchinson, 2018). The second level refers to any label, group or categorization assigned to them by others (Smith & Kearney, 2016). Individuals shape their identity by identifying through their memories how they relate to other people (Cho, 2012). The third level is the relationship itself which becomes the identity unit (Cho, 2012). Individuals develop and shape their identity by internalizing how others see it (Jung & Hecht, 2004). At this level, the personal relationship of drug dealers with families, security officers or law enforcement officers and business partners in the drug network were examined.

At the first level, the family’s assessment of the participants was negative, so it influenced the second level, namely the hiding of the identity of the drug dealer to his family. The third level communication had an impact to the participants’ choosing to avoid their family if they would carry out their role as drug dealers. The participant’s relationship with law enforcement officers showed a similar situation with the family. At the first level, the identity of the drug dealer was clearly an unlawful identity and thus got a negative rating. Then, on the second level, participants tried to hide their identities when dealing with law enforcement officers. Then, on the third level, the illicit drug trafficking modes emerged as a result of their communication.

The research findings showed a different relational layer when participants related to drug dealers and intermediary friends. Both drug dealers and intermediary friends gave positive evaluations at the first level. Then at the second level, participants disclosed their identities as drug dealers openly to them. On the third level, participants had a good relationship, mutual trusted and discussed about the drug business with them, besides that drug dealers also became very obedient to their bookie’s orders. The unique fact of this layer was the relationship that exists between drug dealers and bookie did not require a long time, familiar introductions, and does not need to be face to face to entrust a large and high-risk job. However, there was the key’s role of intermediary friends. They gave the recommendation to the bookie about the people who could be the potential drug dealer. Between the potential drug dealer dan the intermediary had known
each other previously. The bookie needed the intermediary helped because all of them were serve time in prison.

Furthermore, the communal layer of drug dealer’s communication identities that exist as part of those who have temporary similarities of experience, ultimately serves as a way to bridge personal and relational identity gaps (Pang & Hutchinson, 2018). Identity is only disclosed to the narcotics network community (dealers and intermediaries) who has a common goal. The communal identity layer is also the community’s perception of the identity held by a group or collective of people and in turn binds them together (Hecht & Lu, 2014). There is a desire to be accepted in the community, making all participants hide their identity as drug dealers to the public to avoid social sanctions, such as ostracism. Communal identity can be manifested in stereotypes when a group of people is associated with certain diseases, such as HIV/AIDS or unhealthy behaviors, such as drug use (Hecht & Lu, 2014). Participants also tried to maintain good relations with the community through active community activities to avoid prejudice and exclusion, but some chose to avoid and be passive. If the relationship is closer, in a more supportive context, identity is openly discussed and negotiated, but if more conflicting leads to discrimination and prejudice (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009).

The participants admitted that their experience of hiding identity as drug dealers were difficult, because they were in a condition that was contrary to the norms and rules of applicable law. If someone is different from other people, they are in difficult condition and being silent is a typical reaction for those who feel strange (Hecht & Faulkner, 2000). Identity arises from groups and networks. The layers of identity are not separate from each other, which may be observed two, three, even four identities at one time. For example, there was an explanation of how a partner regulates dialectical tension between his identity as a partner (relational layer) and the community’s view of relationships (communal layer). In addition, how ethnic identity (personal layer) is expressed through communication (enacted layer). One might be able to combine three layers by asking how one uses communication to manage personal identity in strong relationships (Hecht, 1993).

**Conclusion**

The decision of a drug dealer to hide or disclose his identity depended on who and how the external parties respond. They keep their identity confidential because there were many things that threaten them, namely violation of the law, feared of being ostracized by the community, feared of disappointing those closest to them, and feared of exposing drug crimes so it colud fail drug transactions.

The four layers also show a gap. This identity gap means the difference between different layers of identity that tend to occur in the process of or as a result of communication (Jung & Hecht, 2004). The gap in the personal layer with enacted is shown by the limitations of drug dealers in expressing their identity through messages, because they feel afraid if their identity is known to outsiders. Personal and relational layer gaps are drug dealers’ decisions to hide their identities with family and law enforcement officials. The gap between personal and communal layers, is that drug dealers conceal their identities to be well received if they are in other communities.

The researchers are aware that the limited research on the identity of drug dealers communication allows more future in-depth study, namely the identity gap or overlap at each layer. For example, in the personal layer, identity is not strengthened in the relational layer to create identity gaps. For the future study, the identity gap is more likely to be developed on relational layer. In addition, how the drug dealers negotiate their identity’s skill when communicating with their family, friends, and law enforcement officers also needs to be studied more deeply.

Finally, study of the communication theory of identity is well expanded to other varied identities. In several international journals that are referred to in this study, the communication theory of identity mostly used to study in cultural, racial, ethnic, gender, belief groups’s identities. Research on other identities is needed to enrich the study of the communication theory of identity.

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