

DIALEKTICS OF BICULTURAL IDENTITY IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY APPROACH

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Abstract:

This study aims to understand and analyze how bicultural individuals identify as Betawi people in building meaning about their identity in intercultural communication situations. This study uses a qualitative approach that implements a type of understanding. The study subjects were bicultural individuals in Jakarta who identified themselves as Betawi. This study concludes that, first, the meaning of identity to be a Betawi Person is implemented by bicultural individuals by internalizing Betawi cultural values in their daily lives. Local wisdom, "openness and equality", "living beneficially for others," and avoiding primordialism are values widely applied by bicultural individuals in all situations. Second, in intercultural communication, Betawi becomes the primary identity used by informants. Meanwhile, occupational identity becomes the primary identity in intracultural meetings (in groups). Third, this study also found differences in the ethos of figures caused by differences in age and types of daily activities carried out by the study subjects. This study recommends further research to explore the experiences of other subgroups, such as the Betawi millennial generation.

Keywords: Bicultural Identity, Intercultural Communication, Phenomenology, Betawi.

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, people have more opportunities to interact with people of different cultures due to international migration, globalization, frequent travel, and the Internet. As a result of this cross-cultural exposure, there has been a significant increase in bicultural individuals, that is, people who inherit different cultural identities from both parents and have internalized at least two cultures. Interethnic marriages in different parts of the world have led to more families with children from diverse cultural backgrounds. In communication situations, they are often confused about their identity when dealing with intercultural communication and being asked about their ethnic identity.

Globalization creates a sense of self-identity and a desire to form an identity based on cultural choices over ethnic heritage. In the United States for example, people not only have the desire and ability to cross cultures but there is also an evolution in the country when cultural choices shape a person's identity compared to their skin color or ethnic heritage. An increasing number of Americans are becoming at ease with abandoning the identity they were born with and adopting a new one that makes them feel more comfortable.

In connection with this study, children from interethnic marriages who inherit the identities of both parents are bicultural individuals who will identify themselves in a particular ethnicity as they need clarity on who they are. In this connection, Bicultural individuals manage some of their cultural identities in different ways; some people find it easy to integrate some of their cultural identities and feel proud of their multicultural status, whereas others struggle between the two

cultural groups associated with them, and decide to identify themselves on one or two or switch between them.

One interesting phenomenon in bicultural individuals (children of non-Betawi interethnic marriages and mixed marriages between Betawi ethnicities and immigrant ethnicities) in Jakarta is that they do not identify with one of the inherited identities by both parents. Nor do they integrate multiple such identities into one (bicultural identity). They identify themselves outside the ethnic identity of their parents. In this case, they identify themselves as Betawi people. Betawi, a local ethnic group in Jakarta, is experiencing anxiety due to its cultural population, which is increasingly disappearing (Chaer, 2015). They are now trying to rise from the slump they have long experienced. The study of bicultural individuals has received much attention from Western scientists, along with the increasing trend of bicultural individuals in America and some countries in different parts of the world. As far as researchers' searches go, the study of bicultural individuals is generally still dominated by psychology, which focuses on the intraindividual aspect. It is still rare to find research on bicultural individuals in the context of communication, in particular intercultural communication.

In communication, research on bicultural individuals is still rarely found. Some of these studies, for example, conducted research by examining the diversity/ differences found in bicultural individuals using a focus on the Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) model. Other studies highlighted biculturalism's social phenomenon and its impact on individual adjustment. One of the studies related to bicultural individuals is a study that explores the communicative experiences of biracial women in everyday life. The study found that biracial women identify more as multiracial individuals and reject monoracial identities while developing unique identities. Unlike previous studies that, on average, focused on aspects of social psychology, this study pays attention to the intercultural communication experience of bicultural individuals. This study uses interpretive and phenomenological methods to explore the intercultural communication experiences of bicultural individuals who identify as Betawi People in Jakarta.

Methodologically, research on bicultural individuals is generally still viewed from aspects of social psychology that emphasize an ethical approach that emphasizes an outsider's view (objectivist/positivist) and is dominated by only two dimensions of the value culture of individualism-collectivism. At the same time, research about bicultural individuals with emic approaches and other cultural contexts is still rarely found. This research is expected to fill the gaps in existing research. Memahami experiences intercultural communication in bicultural individuals with a Phenomenological approach, allowing researchers not only to see from the perspective of the participants; but also to offer a kind of way to understand the framework that each individual has developed, over time, to form their responses to events and experiences in their lives.

In communication situations, they are often faced with intercultural communication that requires them to identify themselves in a particular cultural group as a need for self-identification. This study aims to understand and analyze how the bicultural individual who identifies as a Betawi person in building meaning about his identity in intercultural communication situations. In addition, this article will also analyze various factors that influence bicultural individuals in Jakarta to identify themselves as Betawi people as well. Based on the explanation above, this study aims to provide empirical evidence about the dialectic of bicultural identity in intercultural communication approach to phenomenological studies.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach that implements a type of understanding. As Schwandt says, research uses an interpretive paradigm with a phenomenological approach focusing on the processes that create, negotiate, maintain, and modify intersubjective meanings in a specific context of human action. Subjects are chosen purposively based on their activity and willingness to consciously explore and articulate their experiences. The study subjects were bicultural individuals in Jakarta who identified themselves as Betawi. The subjects of this study consisted of three bicultural individuals who identified themselves as Betawi people. They consist of two children of mixed marriages (Betawi-Sundanese) and two bicultural individuals who are genealogically not descendants of Betawi (Javanese and Bugis-Padang tribes).

The object of this study is the conscious experience of the human being, that is, a state that provides the point of view of the first person. In this study, the conscious experience is the intercultural communication experience of bicultural individuals in Jakarta who identify as Betawi. Researchers choose informants who directly experience situations or events related to the research topic. It is done to obtain profiles of prospective informants to obtain established informant criteria. In this case, some of the criteria set are:

- 1) Informants are children from the results of interethnic marriages in Jakarta or those who live in Jakarta and are not genealogically descendants of Betawi but identify themselves as Betawi people;
- 2) the prospective informants in this study were people who declared themselves to be Betawi People;
- 3) Prospective informants are people who are active in Betawi-an activities. In order to fulfill the informant criteria set, the researcher utilized snowballing techniques to locate informants and conducted preliminary interviews with several individuals who were identified through this process.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

First Person's Experience. A man who works as a journalist and also a Betawi media activist. The first character spent his childhood in Kramat Sentiong. This area was once a settlement of the Betawi people, which is indeed thick with Betawian traditions. As a child who grew up in the residential area of the Betawi people, the informant was accustomed to Betawi traditions in his environment, such as circumcision, shaving, akikah, and ondel-ondel. His interaction with Betawi traditions is increasingly frequent because his grandmother works as a Betawi bridal makeup artist. Being raised in a moderately religious family made him develop into a Betawi person. The family is the main agent of socializing Betawi cultural values. In the view of informants, Betawi cannot be separated from Islam. Islam became the identity of the Betawi people. In addition to the family, the Islamic environment is very influential in confirming the informant's identity as a Betawi Person.

Self-awareness as a Betawi Person. Self-awareness as a Betawi person gets his moment when the informant is abroad. In an unfamiliar cultural environment, without realizing it, Betawi's accent came out of his mouth when he met the Betawi people: *"When I went out of the country too, I went to Malaysia, without me realizing 'Where do you want to go?' people said 'want to go there.' My accent is still a bit Betawi, even though I lived abroad in Malaysia and could not shake it off. Yes, when we meet overseas Betawi people, we return to using our mother tongue and may be more comfortable with the language. Yes, just like the Padang people, when they meet their tribe, they feel that there is a big family.."*

The informant expressed the sense of self as a Betawi person by trying to withdraw as an individual who also had Sundanese blood from his mother. The issue of language, place of birth, and also the environment in which the informant was raised is the reason why the informant feels more like a Betawi person: *"I feel like a Betawi person because I was born in the Betawi environment and*

live with the traditions of the Betawi people as well, including the language, not to the Sundanese. That is why I do not speak Sundanese. The colloquial language I use is Jakarta-Betawi."

The statement shows how the informant did not feel attached to the Sundanese identity inherited from his mother but rather his desire to be part of the Betawi People. The statement implies how the informant was eager to show that between the two identities inherited by both his parents, his subjective experience of being in the midst of a community environment thick with his Betawi traditions led to a greater attachment felt to Betawi. The informant also sought to assert his Betawianness by saying: *"Perhaps it is because I live in the Jakarta area and adhere to Betawi traditions, but I consider myself Betawi. I continue to socialize with Betawi people, and by chance, I also used to practice the same faith as the Betawi Nausea-Mualim in the past. So, in a way, I am influenced by the religious aspect of the culture, which is deeply rooted in tradition. I even studied in Kwitang, where I truly felt like a Betawi."*

The informant's affirmation shows his identity as a Betawi Person is also conveyed with his narrative about the religious side to strengthen his identity as a Betawi Person. Informants know that the Betawi people are known for their religious observance. The principle of being able to recite is one of the characteristics that must exist in the Betawi people. Informants also internalize Islamic religious values as a life guide for most Betawi people as a lifeline in socializing. As a person who bears a Betawi identity, the informant feels very eager to contribute to Betawi. According to the informant, the existence of inferior stereotypes and negative stigmas about Betawi is the result of media creations packaged in the form of soap operas. Many Betawi people are successful but drowned because the media did not touch them. On this basis, the informant created his media to inform about Betawi to a broad audience. Orangbetawi.com is a media informant to deal with the drowning Betawi, and not only talks about Betawi Lenong but also reveals many areas that are pockets of the Betawi community, such as the Kemang and Lenteng Agung areas. In 2016 the informant, with some of his friends, gave Betawi a channel whose information content was packaged as videos about Betawi. His biggest motivation is to want to inform Betawi.

It Feels to Be a Betawi Person. The informant expressed their closeness to Betawi by saying that it feels like coming home to themselves. Being in the middle of the Betawi community is a home for informants. The sense of brotherhood and openness of the Betawi people makes the informant comfortable being in the midst of the Betawi people. According to the informant, it is like restoring his lost identity and his family ties that died torches: *"What is interesting is that the Betawi community has helped me reclaim our family identity. When my parents or siblings pass away, it feels like a torch has been extinguished - nothing is left. We used to have family gatherings, but it felt like our bonds were severed when our loved ones passed away. However, thanks to the Betawi community, we feel like we have a new family, even if we are not blood-related. The community is restoring the function of the family."*

Family ties that come to life when in the Betawi community do not make the informant primordial. For informants, Islamic teachings teach the principle of equality between people. That way, primordial tribal ties are not justified. The foundation of these values also makes the informant more adaptable when interacting with non-Betawi people. Regardless of whether they are among people of different ethnicities or in multicultural situations, the informant does not feel any different, and everything flows naturally. They claim to be more flexible in intercultural contact situations. According to the informant, the lack of awkwardness and sense of the difference between "us" and "them" occurs because they emphasize the commonalities when interacting with people from different cultures. In many situations, it is the outgroups who adjust to the informant.

For the informants, being a Betawi person is not merely a verbal confession but a need to connect oneself to Betawi community groups. The informant got acquainted with Rachmat Sadeli, the founder of Betawi Magazine and Pustaka Betawi, and began participating in Betawi communities such as the Betawi Kita Community and the Betawi Reading Community. The

informant believes that being Betawi is not just about wearing the traditional red Pangsi shirt. However, focusing on what can be done for the Betawi community is more important than just emphasizing one's Betawiness. The informants do not verbally highlight their Betawi characteristics in their everyday life. They share photos of their Betawi activities on social media and feel it is enough for people to know who they are. *"... On my Facebook status or elsewhere, I never use Betawi language. I only post photos of my activities to show my Betawi identity. When my friend saw my photos, they immediately recognized me as a Betawi figure. Interestingly, I do not have to express my Betawi identity verbally, as it is apparent through the activities and photos I share."*

Being recognized as a member of the Betawi community comes with difficulties. The informant has his way of showing his Betawi identity through his clothes, such as black pangsi shirts, green peci, and cingkrang pants. These nonverbal codes are used by the informant in specific situations. Appearing differently in a contemporary way is the informant's way of showing his Betawi characteristics. Sometimes, when the informants upload photos of Betawi activities, they receive insinuations from people outside Betawi, such as *"Wow, Betawi people are here"*. However, these insinuations motivate informants to do more for Betawi: *"When people sneer at me, I usually do not reply to their sneers. Instead, I might explain that being Betawi does not necessarily mean what they think it means. Responding to a sneer with another sneer will not be helpful, and it will only make things worse"*. In situations of intercultural interaction, informants claim to be more flexible in interacting with people outside Betawi, *"flows by itself"*. The informant expressed to state that there is no anxiety or vulnerability in intercultural situations. Growing and growing up in multicultural situations makes it more flexible in a variety of situations.

The Experience of the Second Person. The second character is a man born in Jakarta to a father born in East Java and a mother born in Central Java. The second informant works as a journalist for an online media and is also a member of several Betawi communities. The second informant has only begun to be actively involved in various activities over the past five years. Born to Javanese parents, it does not mean that informants are familiar with Javanese cultural traditions. Living in a multicultural social environment and having a weak attachment to Javanese culture due to the absence of cultural socialization from both parents caused the informant to be more comfortable referring to himself as a Jakartan in daily associations: *"By lineage, I am Javanese because my father and mother are Javanese, but I do not personally identify as Javanese. I was born and raised in Jakarta, within a multicultural environment, and my parents did not instill Javanese traditions in me. As a result, I still consider myself a Jakartan."* The informant's statement aims to confirm that they do not feel attached to their parent's identities. The affirmation *"I am a Jakartan"* expresses the need for the informant to identify as part of a broader group. *"Not feeling as a Javanese"* is the informant's way of emphasizing their desire to break away from the identity inherited from both parents. There is a bond between the informant and Jakarta as their homeland. That is why *"Jakartans"* became the informant's initial identification in a multicultural situation.

From "Jakarta people" to "Betawi people". The informant's introduction to Betawi began with his friendship with Davi, Betawi Kemayoran's son, who was active and very concerned about the sustainability of his culture. His involvement in various Betawi organizations began when Davi invited him to be actively involved in the plan to save the historical sites of Kemayoran Airport. Additionally, the informant's interaction with the Betawi people was continued by making the Kenduri Kampung Kemayoran event with the Betawi Kemayoran residents. The informant's adventure in exploring the Betawian world continued when the informant, who had a journalist background, was invited to join the Betawi Journalists Forum (FJB) by a fellow journalist. At this FJB, informants became acquainted with journalists of Betawi blood and other Betawi figures. After being actively involved in the FJB, informants were invited to enter the Betawi Awakening

Movement Association, commonly abbreviated as Gerbang Betawi, an association of Betawi people consisting of professionals in their fields. For the informant, his experience of joining several Betawi communities made him rethink the Betawi stigmas attached to his mind. *"Betawi is what it is - open. If you do not like it, that is okay. From my experience, Betawi people are tolerant. I say this because I have been involved in various Betawi communities, and the older members have accepted me despite my multicultural background. Only after I became part of these communities did I realize that people in Jakarta generally respect each other and do not discriminate based on race. However, in a Betawi community, I sometimes hear comments like "What have you done for Betawi?" - there is nothing racial about it."* Betawi, in the view of informants, is an open ethnicity. Anyone can join the Betawi community regardless of race and ethnicity. Being in the middle of the Betawi community, informants feel well-received by Betawi people, causing a sense of comfort when in their midst. Due to the reasons of negative stigmas about Betawi that had been recorded in his mind began to disappear along with his interactions with Betawi people. In fact, without being awkward, the informant also emphasized that he now felt more like a Betawi person.

The informant realized that he was indeed not of Betawi blood in lineage. However, the informant felt that there was a strong bond between himself and Betawi that he did not realize. His subjective experience of joining Betawi communities loosened his objective ties as a person who had a Javanese identity inherited by both his parents: *"Yes, unconsciously, my identity - may be the genes are still there - with Betawi still there. I do not know whether it is the influence of Jakarta or Betawi. What is clear is that lately, I feel more like a Betawi person. After I got involved in various Betawi communities, my sense of being Betawi has become stronger"*.

The openness and strong tolerance of Betawi people made him feel more like part of Betawi. In fact, until 2011, informants still identified themselves as Jakartans. Only after joining Betawi communities did informants feel the openness of Betawi people towards him, and want to embrace themselves, which was indeed hereditary, not Betawi. This experience made him feel part of Betawi: *"Yes, it is right in the Betawi community. When many seniors invited me to join, that was when I felt like I was a part of them. They value us so much as multiculturalism. Yes. Their openness, their acceptance of me, their tolerance. That is what makes me feel part of them."*

The informant's self-confidence to identify as a Betawi person became stronger because his seniors heavily involved him in the Betawi community to build Betawi. For him, being in Betawi communities is an opportunity to do more for Betawi. The Original Betawi People do not necessarily obtain the opportunities that are under it are also obtained. The open and unpracticed nature of the Betawi People became the informant's reason for transferring his identity from "Jakartan" to "Betawi People." The Betawi people's open attitude to accepting everyone from the circle made him even more convinced to be part of the Betawi group. The weak cultural ties with Javanese traditions and languages were also one of the reasons for the informant to withdraw from the ethnic identity passed down by both parents: *"Currently, I identify myself as Betawi because I have neither lived in Java nor feel a strong connection to Javanese culture. As I was born in Jakarta, I position myself as Betawi. When it comes to Javanese culture, I am not familiar with it and cannot relate to it"*.

For the informant, his Islam is an essential wedge between himself and Betawi. Therefore, Islamic religious values become guidelines for informants interacting with Betawi people and people outside Betawi. The informant's awareness of being part of the Betawi People (ingroup) can be seen in the use of the words "we" and "denote culture" which confirms that he is connected and is part of the Betawi group. The informant's collectivist orientation is also shown in the emphasis of *"we do something for Betawi"*. The informant's affirmation also shows how religion, culture and behavior are implicitly bound. The informant is aware of identifying as a Betawi person because he believes that there is a similarity of views between himself and Betawi people. He believes that the

whole point of religion is to provide instructions on how to help others, a principle he also follows in his daily behavior. This principle of life is then combined with his hopes for the betterment of Betawi people.

Becoming a Betawi Person: An Experience of Intercultural Contact. As a journalist, informants have become accustomed to multicultural situations. Intercultural contact and a multicultural network of friends are part of the informant's daily life. In addition, he is also often assigned to cover various regions so that he is used to meeting many people and being in different cultural environments. Informants do not perceive awkwardness and emotional vulnerability in culturally different intercultural contact situations. He said this is because he grew up in a pluralistic society and became accustomed to a diverse or multicultural socio-cultural living environment. The neighborhood where he was born is a hodgepodge of various tribes, races, and religions. He also became accustomed to hanging out and playing with children from his neighbors, who were Batak tribes, Betawi Tribes, and Javanese Tribes. Because he is accustomed to this kind of mosaic socio-cultural environment, for him, differences in ethnicity, race, and religion are common and not a problem: "If I am flexible, it is only with Betawi or non-Betawi people who are important for us to connect with. We always maintain our manners when interacting with anyone. This is where the difference lies. As both a Betawi and a Muslim, Betawi is synonymous with Islam, and I always prioritize our manners when meeting people from any background or tribe. The important thing is to show people that we are doing something for Betawi, and that is the direction we are headed towards."

The informant prefers to show his identity through clothing in intercultural contact situations. Informants know that clothing is a protector and carries a message of self-identity. For informants, wearing a shirt with a Betawi identity symbol is enough to convey a message to people outside Betawi that he is a Betawi person: "*If I am present in any place, I use my Betawi identities such as wearing Peci Betawi, Baju Betawi Channel, Betawi Distro, even in Mentawai or Pontianak, that is what I bring. I also prefer to wear T-shirts with Betawi symbols so that people can recognize me as a Betawi without needing words*". The statement indicates the informant's awareness that people will have a mental picture of him through his appearance. Non-verbal affirmations are considered a meaningful way to show self-identity in human interaction. The informant wants to tell others something about his identity through clothing. Clothing became a sign of identification of informants in certain groups. Betawi Channel T-shirts, Betawi Distro T-shirts, and other Betawi attributes used by informants when reporting in various regions confirm the informant's membership in Betawi. Apart from being a form of identity affirmation, using Betawi attributes is also a means of informants tosyil'arkan Betawi. For him, Betawi must be known everywhere, even worldwide. Informants feel proud to be part of Betawi because, according to him, Betawi is a tribe that is very open and teaches multiculturalism: "*I think it is another level of my education, where I believe that my education needs to be spread. So if you think about it, I live and eat here and do not want just to be friends with Betawi people. That makes me proud to be a part of Betawi because Betawi is very open, and they embrace multiculturalism*".

Bearing a Betawi identity is not without its problems. Sometimes informants also receive scorn from colleagues in their work environment. Unlike the Betawi people who accept it openly and even "*embrace*" others to jointly advance Betawi, informants sometimes face opposition outside the Betawi group (outgroup). Regarding their choice to become Betawi people, they sometimes refer to informants as "*Fake Betawi*" or innuendo with the phrase, "*Ah, you are already Javanese. Just stick to being Javanese.*" The informant realized that there was no Betawi blood in him by descent. "*Pure Javanese*" is a phrase that informants put forward if they look at their ethnic identity objectively. The informant identifies strongly as a "*Betawi Person*" despite having a bicultural identity, reflecting the subjective nature of cultural self-identification. Self-assertion as a Betawi Person is strengthened by

the image that others give to informants. There was a feeling of excitement and appreciation when many people around him asked him for information about Betawi, the most important thing for the informant was *"what we have done for Betawi"*.

The Experience of the Third Person. The informant was a man of Sundanese descent. The informant's daily activities are as a Consultant & Interior Design, and Social Worker. The third informant came into contact with Betawi when his parents, who worked as journalists and founders of The Indonesian Times newspaper, moved from Bandung to Condet in 1970. Condet was once the area of the Betawi enclave known for its religious and devout community. The various Betawi traditions in this region are closely related to its Islamic values.

"Already in Indonesia" the informant said to affirm his disobedience to his parents' Sundanese traditions and customs. The informant acknowledged that his parents had long abandoned Sundanese traditions due to his busy work as a journalist. In everyday life, no traditions or values of the Sundanese culture are taught to him. The informant is indeed a pure Sundanese from Bandung, West Java. Even so, the informant grew up in the Betawi community in Condet, East Jakarta. So it is not surprising that informants are fluent in Betawi even with a thick Betawi dialect. Genealogically, the informant is indeed A Sundanese. However, culturally he has been Betawikan: *"By coincidence, I live in Sunda, and we do not really embrace traditions there, so we just accept that we are Betawi. Also, our religion is strong, so when I was little and had to pay for Islamic teachings with an ustad (teacher), we really wanted to do it whether we could afford it or not. Eventually, being Betawi became our true identity."*

Identity is evident through *"markers"* in language, clothing, behavior, and the choice of space, the influence of which depends on their recognition of other social maxims. The word *"we"* discussed by the informant above became a form of the informant's affirmation to show himself to be part of the Betawi People. Betawi's distinctive accent is a marker of the strong cultural ties of informants to Betawi. For informants, his social environment plays a vital role in shaping his identity as a Betawi Person. The Condet region, which is famous for its religious traditions, and the informant's childhood memories are loaded with traditions and values of the Betawi people's lives, are so profound that practically without rejection, the informant admits that he has become a Betawi Person. *"If the term is used in Condet, it is already considered part of Betawi culture, so we have truly become Betawi. Moreover, our religious beliefs were strong, and when I was a child, I would attend recitations led by Ustad (teacher), whom we would pay. It continued, and eventually, the Betawi accent became ingrained in me. Whenever I went on vacation to Bandung, the locals would recognize me as a Betawi person. This illustrates how informants internalized Betawi culture from their surroundings"*. The statement above indicates that the process of internalizing Betawi culture in the informants is acquired from their environment, particularly the social environment.

Unconsciously, the informant has been influenced by various habits in their environment and public figures, such as Ustad and others, which have become part of their personality. The informant also wants to emphasize that becoming a Betawi person initially occurred without them realizing it. Their interactions with Betawi people in the Condet environment have also affected their daily language use. The informant's Betawi accent is so distinct that it is a marker of their identity regardless of location: *"When speaking with my parents, sometimes I use Sundanese, sometimes Betawi language. However, if it is my children, I use the Betawi language. I cannot get rid of the Betawi accent. It is even more distinct than that of a native Betawi speaker."*

"Betawi cannot throw away my accent." This statement is a form of affirmation that he wants to be associated with Betawi. Betawi dialects and accents have become part of his identity. Betawi's accent is an informant's way of showing others the cultural values he chooses. Betawi's accent, which is thick in the informant's verbal communication, symbolizes the informant's subjective experience

in his interactions with the Betawi Condet for almost 40 years. Living within the framework of two different cultures is relatively easy for informants. He is used to using two languages in his daily life. In the family environment (with his parents and his extended family in Bandung), informants are used to using Sundanese. Even so, the informant uses Betawi's language daily with his wife and children. Cultural differences are not obstacles for informants to get along with their parents' extended family in Bandung. Because according to him, there is a stronger bond than just Sundanese and Betawi, namely Islam.

As an individual who identifies as a Betawi Person, Islamic values become the life principles of informants that must be firmly held. *"Life benefits others"* is one of the principles held by informants. For the informants, being a helpful person is one of the characteristics that a Muslim should possess. Every Muslim is commanded to benefit others. By giving benefits to others, the benefits will return for good ourselves. Since informants believe that living in this world is only temporary, their relationship with others must be able to synergize and support one another. They believe that helping others is a crucial part of this goal. The informants have tried to implement this philosophy by establishing the Sky House, a place of learning for underprivileged children in their area. This initiative was inspired by their former teacher, who always acted with sincerity and never expected anything in return.

From Sundanese to Betawi People. *"Ah, you are Betawi person"*, thus the nickname his relatives gave him every time he gathered with his extended family in Bandung. The nickname of a Betawi person has indeed been attached to the informant since he was in junior high school (SMP). This nickname continued until the informant was in high school, even when in New Zealand all the informant's friends from Indonesia saw him as a Person Betawi because of his Betawi accent. Until finally continuing until the college informant, his college friends also called him *"Mail Betawi Condet"*. The informant's awareness as a Betawi began when he returned home from his studies in New Zealand. Informants were selected to attend a student exchange program in New Zealand during high school for one year. After returning from there, the informant experienced confusion in Indonesian, but uniquely the informant could still speak Betawi fluently.

"Well, even in high school, I have something unique about it. When I was an exchange student in Newzeland a year, the funny thing was coming home from Newzeland Indonesia. I was messy. I could not talk about Indonesian. Yes, it must be different and neatly arranged, but Betawi language can even be gone." The informant realized that he was indeed not the Original Betawi by lineage. However, for him, Betawi Land is a place where he learns life. For him, to become a Betawi person does not mean that he must be of Betawi descent or not. The most important thing is his love for Betawi and his desire to continue developing Betawi culture. Study religion and cultural values as a guideline for behavior.

There are difficulties in identifying as a Betawi person. Occasionally, others will politicize the stigma of having parents who are not Betawi for their purposes. This has led to the emergence of the *"Real Betawi"* versus *"Non-Betawi"* issue, which some individuals use to advance their interests in organizing: *"Here, my friends do have a stigma that I am a child of non-Betawi parents, and it is still attached to those who consider themselves to be truly Betawi with their fathers from here. For instance, when I joined an organization, I happened to become the leader of one of them. There was someone who wanted to become the leader, and if I did not accept it, they would not have wanted it. Even though it was a Betawi organization, I led one of its branches. The founder also caused problems. To me, my father, you are the leader to become the leader. However, this issue is now covered in the media, so this organization is seen as the original Betawi organization"*.

The stigma of being *"Not Betawi"* continues today, giving rise to a new concept of who is referred to as Betawi People. The real Betawi is the second generation of parents born in Jakarta. If his first generation (parents) was not born in Jakarta, he is not a Native Betawi Person. The informant

responded to this casually. For him, the most important thing is what he can do for Betawi so that his life can bring benefits to others, especially for Betawi. The stigma is just a tiny pebble that is not an obstacle for him to plant good for Betawi. Because, in his opinion, more Betawi people accepted it well without looking at the origin of their descendants. "*The Sundanese Who Became Betawi*" is a fitting narrative to represent the informant's identity today. Although of pure Sundanese blood, the sense of self as a Betawi person is more robust in the informant. For informants, Betawi's accent is one of his unique characteristics, so in his association with ingroups and outgroups, informants do not need to affirm their Betawiness verbally.

Betawi became the informant's choice to tie himself to a larger cultural group – Betawi as an "*Identity Domain*" in Intercultural Meetings. The meaning of identity is observed through the daily life of informants who put forward the values of openness and egalitarianism in behavior. This finding is in line with Masland & Lease's (2013) research, which shows that The stronger the identification of community members with the values embraced by their community, the stronger their tendency to display behaviors that are considered following the norms upheld by other people in the community (Masland & Lease, 2013).

In this study, informants highly valued their ethnic identities above and beyond other domains of identity. Work identity is one of the other essential domains of identity that stands out in their daily lives in intercultural encounters. Informants also value personal identities that indicate the uniqueness of their attributes. Throughout the interview, it became clear that the domain of the informant's ethnic identity was considered prominent in the intercultural encounter. The identity of the work is more highlighted in meetings with their ingroups. The informant first evaluates and defines the interaction situation to decide which identity domain should be evoked in the interaction. The ethnic identity, which in this case is the Betawi People, is usually considered prominent by informants if they know that communication activities occur in intercultural situations. Job identity is usually considered prominent when they are in the middle of the Betawi community. Some informants said that they tended not to need to highlight Betawi's identity to both his ingroup and outgroup. However, the complexity of everyday encounters is determined even if, in intercultural situations, meaning-important ethnic identity can be challenged and modified. For example, some informants show ethnic identity only in a work environment. Trusting the workplace to be a culturally diverse environment, informants sought to accentuate ethnic identity and personal identity.

In this study, they considered themselves as Betawi people are the most common way to display their cultural identity. When asked why they chose Betawi as their ethnic and cultural identity, the informants had mixed answers. The religion, language, and attitude of the Betawi People, who are open and embrace multicultural, are the reasons expressed by the informant to identify as Betawi People. The informants emphasized an adaptive and open attitude in meetings with people of different cultures. Some informants claim to emphasize adaptive attitudes more and do not want to bring about self-distinction with people from different cultures. This study found several factors that contribute to their adaptive attitudes. First, the informants revealed that they had become accustomed to living in a multicultural environment that made them accustomed to facing differences. Second, an open attitude toward Betawi people makes them adaptive despite cultural differences. Interestingly, these findings show no evidence of favoritism in the group, although they claim to be close to Betawi. They claim they did not want to be primordial and more desire to open up in intercultural friendships to increase their multicultural understanding.

Flexibility, Adaptive, and Identity Consistency: Three Ethos of Bicultural Communication. The study found three ethos of communication that arises in the dialectic process of bicultural identity. The three ethos are Flexibility, Adaptation to Different, and Consistency. In this study, most

informants considered themselves "flexible" and "adaptive" in any intercultural situation. Some informants revealed that being accustomed to a multicultural environment, having an open attitude and an understanding of differences contribute to their flexibility and adaptability. The study also found that although informants considered themselves flexible and adaptive in various intercultural situations, all informants showed "consistency of identity" in various situations. The phrase "where the earth is stepped on, there is the sky in the face," and the meaning of identity as a Betawi person who is firmly attached to the informants is alleged to have contributed to the consistency of the informant's identity. As illustrated in the previous description, informants tend to have strong ties to Betawi's ethnic and cultural identity. It is reflected through their daily attitudes and behaviors following Islamic norms and values to represent Betawi identity. In addition to ethnic and occupational identities, informants also develop group-based identities based on common interests and shared experiences. In short, informants value social and personal identity, emphasizing social identity more, especially in intercultural encounters. The social identity that the informant considers prominent consists of ethnic identity and occupational identity. Ethnic identity is considered the most prominent in intercultural relations.

In intercultural communication, informants are aware of the differences in backgrounds possessed by each person, and informants can adjust the style of communication carried out according to the background of the interlocutor. In interacting with the outgroup, the informant creates a new category according to the person he is facing. Informants are also open to a variety of new information, both obtained from other parties and independent information searches. Being open to new information means that the informant does not stick to previous experiences but is also open to any information that can enrich his perspective. When interacting with someone from a different culture, we must have a perspective beyond what we had before. In the interaction between the informant and the outgroup, the informant does things that indicate the existence of an open attitude toward other perspectives. Through this, the informant sees the existence of other perspectives beyond the perspective of himself or his group.

Mutual respect, respect and treating fellow human beings according to their dignity and dignity is the basis of the ethical attitude that informants bring in every interaction. Respecting others means treating the other person equally, not looking at him as a weak party or subordinate to us. To maintain the dignity of others is to be aware of the differences between the informant and others, both as individuals and as members of the group. Informant acknowledged that the behavior of mutual respect, respect for differences and equality are Islamic religious values highly upheld by the Betawi people. Religious and open are Betawi values that greatly influence informants in interacting.

Betawi's local wisdom in the form of an open and egalitarian attitude internalized in the figures in this study influences the formation of a bicultural communication ethos. It is evident in the following informant statement: *"Becoming Betawi is a matter of acceptance. If you do not like it, you are free not to accept it. In my experience, the Betawi culture is characterized by its openness and tolerance towards diversity. It is due to my involvement in various Betawi communities, where the elders are welcoming and inclusive towards people from different cultures and ethnicities. In fact, during my time in Betawi, I have never encountered any instances of racism but rather heard statements such as "What have you done for Betawi?" that reflect the community's focus on collective contribution: "In Betawi, there are friendships, mutual respect, mutual support, and embracing the multicultural, just like that. Their multicultural and egalitarian attitude makes me comfortable being Betawi."* (Informant 3)

The manifestation of Betawi's open and egalitarian local wisdom is brought to life through the ethos of Flexibility, Adaptation to Difference, and Consistency as reflected in the description of the dialectic identity process, born from the long process of internalizing Betawi local wisdom values

and the multiculturalism attitude of Betawi people in Jakarta. It becomes a manifestation of bicultural individuals behave in everyday life. As Ife (2002) said, local wisdom manifests a society's personality from values that guide life. It means that people's identity is reflected in an orientation that shows their outlook on life and their value system. The ethos of flexibility arises as an individual response when in a new cultural situation or encountering a stranger of a different culture. The flexible attitude was born not only because the figures in this study are part of the product of diverse situations but also manifestations of Betawi local wisdom, such as an open attitude as one of the guidelines for the behavior of Betawi People. Being open to all differences makes them flexible in a variety of situations.

The ethos of Adaptation to Different emerged as an attempt to put forward the values of "equality and equality" in intercultural situations. The value of equality and equality, as Betawi's local wisdom, always encourages them to expand their worldview by understanding the culture of others and behaving in various ways that follow the culture of others as well. The principle of "being good at adjusting" became a guideline held by the figures in this study. In intercultural situations, they shift their mindset to the cultural mindset of others, giving rise to the ability to act correctly outside of one's own culture. In the account of Lubis's experience (2008: 16), an open attitude strongly influences the culture of the city of Jakarta. Living in a heterogeneous big city environment like Jakarta forces one to be open and think more rationally about different values and cultures. In a multicultural Jakarta environment, people are used to hanging out with people from various socio-cultural backgrounds. Consistency is found in most informants as an illustration that informants are already embedded with Betawi.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to understand and analyze how bicultural individuals identify as Betawi people in building meaning about their identity in intercultural communication situations. This study concludes that, first, the meaning of identity to be a Betawi Person is implemented by bicultural individuals by internalizing Betawi cultural values in their daily lives. Local wisdom, "openness and equality", "living beneficially for others," and avoiding primordialism are values that are widely applied by bicultural individuals in all situations. Second, in intercultural communication, Betawi becomes the primary identity used by informants. Meanwhile, occupational identity becomes the primary identity in intracultural (ingroup) meetings. Third, this study also found differences in the ethos of figures caused by differences in age and types of daily activities carried out by the study subjects. This study recommends further research to explore the experiences of other subgroups, such as the Betawi millennial generation. It can provide further insight into the overall experience of Betawi identity negotiations. In addition, Betawi millennials may have cross-cultural adjustment paths and different identity negotiation patterns.

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