
The Identity Construction of Solo's Adolescent regarding '*Narimo Ing Pandum*'

Konstruksi Identitas Remaja di Solo dalam Konsep *Narimo Ing Pandum*

Rini Darmastuti¹, Berta Esti Ari Prasetya², T Arie Setyawan P³

^{1,2,3}Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Jalan Diponegoro 52-60 Salatiga

*Corresponding author, e-mail: rini.darmastuti@uksw.edu

Abstract

Indonesia is well-known for a country rich in diversity of ethnicities, languages, and diversity of local wisdoms. However, those nation's potential began to be threatened by the presence of globalization that impacted on the crisis of socio-cultural and local wisdom, also the spread of consumptive behavior in society, including among adolescents. "Narimo Ing Pandum" (NIP) is one of local wisdoms that can be utilized to minimize the problem. However, it has started to be abandoned, not in exception in Solo and Yogyakarta as the cities of cultural centers of Java. Therefore, this paper attempted to construct the identity of Solonese adolescents in regards to NIP. Qualitative research method was used, with ethnographic approach. It resulted in two major findings: 1) how the adolescent defines characteristic of self with NIP 2) NIP as an active deed of the person. The details of the results are discussed further in the paper.

Keywords: *A teenager; identity construction; narimo ing pandum; Solo*

Abstrak

Indonesia terkenal sebagai negara yang kaya akan keanekaragaman suku, bahasa serta keanekaragaman kearifan lokal. Namun potensi yang dimiliki oleh bangsa ini mulai terancam dengan hadirnya globalisasi yang membawa dampak pada krisis sosial-budaya dan kearifan lokal serta merebaknya perilaku konsumtif di masyarakat, termasuk remaja. Salah satu kearifan lokal yang dapat digunakan untuk meminimalisasi perilaku konsumtif adalah Narimo Ing Pandum (NIP). Namun NIP ini sudah mulai ditinggalkan, tidak terkecuali di Solo dan Yogyakarta sebagai pusat budaya Jawa. Oleh karena itu, tulisan ini berusaha mengkonstruksi identitas remaja Solo dengan berbasiskan pada NIP. Metode penelitian kualitatif digunakan dalam penelitian ini dengan pendekatan Etnografi. Hasil dari penelitian adalah: 1) Bagaimana para remaja mendefinisikan karakteristik diri yang mengamalkan NIP 2) NIP sebagai perbuatan aktif. Detail tentang hasil riset ini didiskusikan lebih lanjut dalam paper ini.

Kata Kunci: *Konstruksi identitas; narimo ing pandum; remaja; Solo*

Introduction

Indonesia is widely known as a culturally rich country, especially in terms of tribes and language. As a country with multicultural demography, Indonesia's diversity includes cultures, local wisdom, to language. Based on Statistics Indonesia, 1.331 tribes were listed and recognized in 2010's population survey, while, as for the number of languages, Indonesian Bureau for Language Development and Supervision of Ministry of Education and Culture, or Language Bureau for short, has mapped out and verified 652 different cultural languages (Azanella 2019). Each culture is unique and distinctive with its different values, norms, systems, and habits as an application of the local wisdom they had.

Indonesian cultural diversity, as well as diversity in local wisdom and language, is the potential to develop the country. However, this potential is threatened by the advent of globalization. Globalization is a worldly process that enables almost all individuals in the world to connect. Globalization is bolstered by the development of information technology, which comes through television access, social media, and digital media. This development blurs the boundary of space and time. Distance in space has not been a boundary for individuals to communicate with other individuals anymore. Communication seems to be contiguous and not to be halted by space. Time has not also been a challenge anymore to communicate with other individuals. Technology appears to eliminate geographical boundaries, as well as space and time. The world seems to be composed of small connected villages. Communication technology has transformed the lives of each individual, especially in how they connect with other individuals and societies.

Admittedly, although the development of communication technology is unavoidable, this development should be supervised, especially after looking at the fact that the development and advancement of technology affect many aspects of life and result in complex consequences. Many of the results are negative, and one of them is the extinction of indigenous knowledge due to changes in the local way of living (Ulluwishewa 1993). Technology and modern education tend to trigger the younger generation to undermine the benefits of indigenous knowledge. The younger generation appears ignoring and neglecting indigenous knowledge as an essential element of themselves. Indonesian culture that is considered merciful has started to evaporate and be replaced with foreign cultures. Take k-pop culture as an example; this culture is loved more by teenagers, compared to Indonesian culture and local wisdom. This kind of condition contributes to marginalize and dilute Indonesian culture while putting forward foreign culture deemed more attractive.

Another example is mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) that has lived in Indonesia for centuries. This tradition seems to be replaced by an individual culture with its individualistic orientation. This tendency was borne out by Dwijendra & Mahardika (Dwijendra, N.K. & Mahardika 2018) that studied the globalization effect on local Indonesian culture. They claimed that globalization weakens people's fondness of national cultures, erodes cultural values, and facilitates cultural acculturation that eventually becomes the mass culture. These consequences concern any conservation of local Indonesian culture and indigenous knowledge movement.

This condition can influence the behavior, action, and attitude of society. Indonesian people are inclined to be communities that easily imitate other cultures, especially cultures that are shown on television, social media, and digital media. It is in accord with Malcolm Waters's study; for him, globalization dim geographical and

cultural boundaries in people's minds since everything seems to be one. Globalization also obscures geographical and cultural boundaries since a distinct edge cannot be found. Consequently, values and doctrines from national culture also obfuscate. Globalization affects the self-identity of society, induces socio-cultural crisis, and promote consumerism with the help of advertisement displayed on television, social media, and digital media.

Consumptive behavior is an ideology that believes that welfare and happiness depend on how much consumption is made, primarily on material products. The core of happiness is the consumption process and material belonging (Stearns 2001). This consumptive behavior often sees in adolescents' lives.

Adolescents' lives are often unstable. In that age, a teenager is easy to be influenced by the environment, mass media, and social media. Teenage life is a transition between childhood and adult life (Papalia, D E., Olds, S. W., & Feldman, 2001). In this phase, adolescents' mindset is usually egocentric (Elkind, in Santrock 2002). This mindset is usually represented by two symptoms: a) feeling that other people pay attention to what they do, b) feeling that they are unique, and wish to be the unique person to show their existence. Typically, they realize the egocentrism or show their identity by following a trend. Mostly, the trend is consumptive behaviors or compulsive buying. As a result, teenagers often do anything to show their uniqueness and identity to their peers by following the trend and consumptive behavior. This consumptive behavior can be tracked from a view that consumption can be a differential system that enables the establishment of differences in status, symbol, and social prestige (Piliang 2003). Human effort to be different is an impetus to show their uniqueness and different identities. This difference makes the subject to be more confident. It is the reason for which consumptive objects are seen as self-expression or externalization of the consumers (Santoso 2006).

Teenagers' consumptive behavior is unavoidable and a necessity. The reason is that many desirable offers are propagated through mass and social media. Therefore, a 'shield' is necessary for fending persuasive information bombardment that can trigger consumptive behavior. According to Douglas Kellner (Kellner 2010), society has the power to reject the influence of media culture by featuring their culture. A culture that is sprawled in local wisdom owned by each society can be used as a shield to fend information bombardment and a filter to sift the information that is gained from mass media and social media. Clifford Geertz (1973: 89 in Martin and Nakayama 2003) defined culture as:

Culture denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.

Geertz put forward that culture is a historical pattern that transfers meanings. That meaning embeds to the symbols used by a community during an interaction. In this vein, culture can be a concept system derived from one generation to another through symbols with its intended meaning. A society that supports a particular culture will use these symbols while they are interacting with other people or in communication in general. The symbols are used to preserve and develop knowledge of life and how they should act in life.

A culture and local wisdom that can be used as a filter to face information

bombardment that contributes to creating consumptive behavior is a local wisdom '*Narimo ing Pandum*.' *Narimo ing Pandum* is a view based on a doctrine called 'ukum pinesthi' or destiny. This concept states that God, as the source of spiritual values of Javanese people, has created and design harmony among all entities on earth. This doctrine also believes that God, as the creator, creates anything perfect and infallible (Mulder 1985). Human only needs to follow what has been destined, as a commandment (order, fate, and destiny) (in Prasetya, Berta Esti Ari & Murti 2016).

Prasetya (Prasetya 2016) argued that *Narimo ing Pandum* is understood in a twofold way. The person should accept any destiny given without ceasing attempting beforehand. However, if it does not work as intended, the person should try to understand that it may be a better plan from God. *Narimo ing Pandum*, therefore, can be employed to raise people's awareness, especially the young generation, of the importance of reducing consumptive behavior. This suggestion follows the research of Prasetya dan Murti (Prasetya, Berta Esti Ari & Murti 2016) that found that parents mostly agreed that *Narimo Ing Pandum* could be used as parenting media to fight consumerism. Mainly, it can be executed in two ways. a) Providing cognitive information by teaching gratefulness, humbleness with what is available, and the significance of being heartfelt with what have been possessed, and b) being an example of gratefulness with what is available, conducting frugal living, and intentionally postponing purchasing products desired by the children.

In some regions, as in Solo and Yogyakarta, *Narimo ing Pandum* is local wisdom that is still taught to Indonesian adolescents or millennials. Solo and Yogyakarta are two cities that are famous as the Javanese cultural center. Discussing local wisdom for millennials in these two cities, therefore, is an interesting topic. On the one hand, millennials are a generation that is recognized out of its individualism, or behavior that focus only on themselves. On the other hand, Javanese people have a view that actively prevents individualistic attitude and behavior. Javanese people have a view that each individual is a part of society. For Javanese, an individual is a part of society and owned by society. With that, the individual also has the society (Darmastuti et al. 2006). What makes this interesting, therefore, is that how does the younger generation, especially adolescents in Solo, as the center of Javanese culture, understand *Narimo ing Pandum*? Against this background, this research tries to construct the self-identity of the Solo's teenagers, through *Narimo ing Pandum* concept.

Method

The present research was conducted in 2019, and its original title was "Board game '*Narimo Ing Pandum*' sebagai Literasi Media untuk Perilaku Konsumtif Remaja di Jawa Tengah dan DIY." The research that was funded by Ristekdikti through a research scheme of applied products used an ethnography approach. Through observation and in-depth interviews, the researchers construed messages obtained from the informants. Observation and interviews were conducted in Solo, Yogya, and Lasem to dig the local wisdom of *Narimo ing Pandum*.

The informants in this research were cultural practitioners, parents, and teenagers from Solo, Yogyakarta, and Lasem. After revealing the local wisdom of *Narimo ing Pandum*, the researcher then constructed the identity of Solo's adolescents based on their understanding of *Narimo ing Pandum*.

Results and Discussion

The Concept of *Narimo ing Pandum*

Javanese people have various cultures with various traditions and values that embed in their local wisdom. One value adopted by Javanese People is *Narimo ing Pandum* (Endraswara 2015). For Javanese, *Narimo ing Pandum* means that each person should accept anything happening to their lives with gratitude. In everyday lives, these values are so infiltrated that they become the uniqueness and characteristic of Javanese people (Martiarini 2012).

Based on the interview with some informants that come from Solo, Yogya, and Lasem, *Narimo ing Pandum* can be understood from different perspectives. Professor Hastanto, a cultural practitioner living in Solo, described that *Narimo ing Pandum* could be understood from a view that each person has already had its portion. Therefore, each person should not be too ambitious to achieve something. In the interview on June 22 2019, Professor Hastanto described it as follows:

Saben tiang pun paringi, didumi rejeki piyambak-piyambak dateng Gusti Allah. Lha nek diparingi kui yo wis. Lha nerimo ing pandum meniko menawi unsur jawi nipun ora ngetowo, ngethowo menika ngayuh sek ora ora menika ngetowo naminipun.

(Everyone has been bestowed and had its portion from God. If they have been given, so that is it. *Narimo ing Pandum* in Javanese means not being ambitious, to achieve something too high. If so, it is not *Narimo ing Pandum*.)

With the same spirit, another informant, Sri Hastjarjo, Ph.D., said that

Narimo ing Pandum is related to sustenance (rezeki) division. Javanese holds that there exists an entity that owns the life and share blessing, the realization based on the prior scenario. Javanese people hold that they have obligations to find their portions and accept that. After that, they should not be envious of and taking another portion that is not their right.

Based on Hastjarjo explanation, there are four emphases in the understanding of *Narimo ing Pandum*. Firstly, *Narimo ing Pandum* is Javanese understanding regarding sustenance. For them, sustenance has been arranged by God according to his scenario. Secondly, Javanese people have an obligation to find and accept their parts. Thirdly, when Javanese people have found and received their parts, they should not be envious and wishing to appropriate other parts. In the same interview, Hastjarjo also said:

As regards *Narimo ing Pandum*, Tembang Asmoro stated that a patient and uncomplaining person would live longer, that is, reducing the stress of oneself to reach something that is not his part.

In Ballis Ball's view, Hastjarjo's understanding of *Narimo ing Pandum* is relatively related to a conception of self-acceptance and psychological conditions. Ballis Ball said that "people make decisions and act in according with their subjective understandings of the situations in which they find themselves" (Littlejohn 2001). Their subjective understanding and faith that God has prepared a 'scenario' of sustenance for anyone and the individuals will find it is essential in this case. The reason is that if the condition meets, that person can be called *Narimo ing Pandum*. With that in mind, individuals will live in proportion to their subjective understanding of the situation in which they can find themselves. When someone has found its portion, they should and

not be envious of others' portions. This self-acceptance is responsible for making these individuals uncomplaining to accept their part. They can not quickly get stressed and live longer.

Eyang Panji, another informant that come from Yogyakarta Palace (Keraton), described *Narimo ing Pandum* as attitude to:

Accept as it is what God has given based on fate and destiny. *Narimo ing Pandum* means accepting whatever it is. *Narimo* means accepting, and *Pandum* means its part. Thus, God has bestowed parts for each, and it is not equal. For example, there are medium and small bottles of Aqua, and whether I got small or medium, that is *Narimo ing Pandum*. It means that I am like that, and that is my portion. However, by holding *Narimo ing Pandum*, I might not be short of something. It is better, compared to not holding *Narimo ing Pandum* but feeling deficient. *Narimo ing Pandum* is always related to the relationship between enjoying and grateful. *Narimo ing Pandum* is what it is, being grateful for it, and enjoy it.

According to Eyang Panji, *Narimo ing Pandum* means accepting the parts that have been decided. When someone accepts his parts, despite small, it does not mean the person is deficient compare to someone else that receives more significant portions. With being grateful, someone can fell happiness and pleasure. *Narimo ing Pandum* conveys pleasure. *Narimo ing Pandum* is also followed with feeling, "aku dudu soposopo, aku dudu opo-opo, lan aku ra iso opo-opo" (I am not anyone, I am not a thing, I am not able to do a thing). This understanding emerges when someone posits the majesty of God and sees that God's message is always accurate and proportional, according to the needs of the person. An accurate understanding of the local wisdom *Narimo ing Pandum* can make individuals see themselves correctly. As stated by Spradley (Spradley 2006), the systemic meaning of a culture can be used to curb the behavior and to understand oneself and other-self, as well the world they live in. An understanding of *Narimo ing Pandum* is strongly associated with the understanding of the almighty God and attitude to give up parts that are not used. It is similar to what KRA Sukamto said, an informant of this research regarding *Narimo ing Pandum*. He said

Tiang gesang menika madosi setunggal engkang menika urip kang tentrem. urip ingkang tentrem menika ingkang ngadahi setunggale pembangkit bilih menungso urip sak temene mung mbutuhke siji gelemo urip nindaake urip tanpo bondo. ingkang sedoyo kala wau namung lami purun nampi nopo mboten ingkag dipun paringaken gusti moho kuoso, mau tidak kira kira apa yang diberikan Tuhan yang maha kuasa.

The meaning of life is a peaceful life. A peaceful life is a life that holds that principally only one principle needed, namely life without relying on wealth. It is based on an understanding of whether someone wants to embrace what has been given by God; do they want to accept what has been by God

Edi Winarno, a cultural practitioner from Lasem, said that *Narimo Ing Pandum* is related to Qadhar and Qadha. Qadhar is the destiny that annually will happen while Qadha is fate in God's book of nature. According to Edi, *Narimo Ing Pandum* also cannot be inseparable from Ikhtiar (effort) and Tawakal (surrendering). Someone should be effortful first to realize and achieve maximum results. However, after working as hard as they can, they should accept by giving everything up to God.

Based on the in-depth interview with some informants, the local wisdom concept of *Narimo ing Pandum* can be seen from various perspectives. Samovar said that "Culture can often produce different ways of knowing and doing (Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel 2012)." Based on views of the informants, *Narimo ing Pandum* means, firstly, acknowledging the almighty God and that he is the one who arranges everything. Secondly, *Narimo ing Pandum* means accepting what God has given with an understanding that God has managed the sustenance of each individual according to his scenario. Thirdly, *Narimo ng Pandum* means being grateful for God's give without envious of other people not taking other parts. Fourthly, *Narimo ing Pandum* is feeling sufficient with what God has given. Finally, *Narimo ing Pandum* is a knowledge of oneself, that is, understanding the capability and limit of oneself.

Narimo Ing Pandum as an active action

However, different from what many think, *Narimo ing Pandum* is not a passive action. According to Hastjarjo, in the in-depth interview on June 22, 2019, this notion, *Narimo Ing Pandum*, was often interpreted falsely. *Narimo ing Pandum* should not be interpreted passively. For example, even if people with *Narimo ing Pandum* receives an unjust situation, they still accept that. It is not a real interpretation. Although there indeed exist the portion for each person, the person should accept that, and not acquire something that is not his portion. To gain his portion, he should work hard. Many researchers from western countries falsely understand *Narimo ing Pandum* as total surrenders. Consequently, Javanese people were deemed not productive, not having strong work-ethics, not progressive, and high-level achievement. It is not surprising because, even for Javanese people, this local wisdom affects their mindset and triggers inner conflict with themselves.

Professor Hastanto strengthened Hastjarjo's view in the interview on June 22, 2019. He observed,

Usaha saget ning nek entuke ra okeh entuke yo muk sak mono kudu Narimo Ing Pandum. Jadi apa yang ditadirkan oleh Tuhan diterima. Jadi nerimo ing pandum meniko mboten lajeng kok pasif wes ora mek tela telo mboten ning saget berusaha menawi usaha nipun kasil tetep panduman nipun ngih katah namung dereng ngertos. kita saget usaha ning mbok menowo gusti iseh maringi usaha. Kados sekolah meniko usaha kok iso tegese gusti maringke, gadah gegayuhan malih kok iso gusti maringke ning nek kok angel banget sajake pandumku gur iso S3 ora iso S4 gusti durung maringke.

Working hard is allowed. However, it does not mean that we are the ones who determine the result. We should accept our portion. So, what God gives to us should be accepted. *Narimo ing Pandum* is not passive and only quiet. We should still be effortful. However, if our attempts fail, that is it. As during studying, when we have a dream, but God only gives us a Ph.D. and not Post-Doctorate, meaning that God has not permitted us to have it.

Narimo ing Pandum is not a passive action and only quiet. Conversely, it is an active action. In *Narimo ing Pandum*, to accept one's part, a person should not only be passive and quiet. He should be active and effortful to get what he wants. During the process of attempting and being active, there should be a submission to almighty God so that the person acknowledges who determines the success. God determines the success of any attempt that is conducted. Being active and effortful, as well as accepting

anything that will be his part, is a symbol of one's acceptance of what has been decided to them. Also, it is a symbol of the majesty and almighty of God. It is similar to Herbert Blume's argument that humans act towards something because that something is meaningful for them (S. W. Littlejohn and Foss 2012). According to Eyang Panji, in the in-depth interview on August 11, 2019,

whatever forms we receive, we should do *Narimo ing Pandum*. *Narimo ing Pandum* means not exceeding God's target. However, we can beg to have more from God. We are allowed to ask. Each person has a different portion, different *pandum*. It is in proportion with what God gives, and in proportion to the receivers' needs. As I told you before, if I got a small bottle of water, that was my part. God gives me that, and I will enjoy it.

The Construction of Teenager Self-Identity Based on *Narimo ing Pandum*

The construction of identity is a unity of self-awareness of observation and evaluation of self-concept (Kertamukti et al. 2019). The construction of the identity of Solo's teenager is self-awareness and concept evaluation of who they are as a unified state with the culture they have. One of the cultures they have is *Narimo in Pandum*. The construction of the identity of Solo's teenager does not come from a vacuum. Many factors influence the process of construction of self-identity; one of them is a social construction that abounds with the social interests of society. Berger, in his thesis, introduced the concept of identity through action and interaction, in which individuals continuously create a reality he has and experience collectively subjectively (Berger, P. L., & Luckmann 1966).

Referring to Berger and Luckman (P. L. Berger and Luckmann 1990), the process of identity construction of teenagers is not only related to the environment in which they live but also the specific cultural and social structure that is constructed with the surrounding environment through people who are significant (significant others) to their lives. These significant others are parents, families, and closely related people in school and friendships. This phenomenon showed that the environment and society in people's lives have significant roles in 'forming' each individual, including the identity of each individual from beginning to end. Berger (P. Berger 1967) said that "Society is a dialectic phenomenon in that it is a human product, and nothing but a human product, that yet continuously acts back upon its producer."

Berger's point implied that significant others highly determine the construction of self-identity of teenagers in Solo based on *Narimo ing Pandum*. How they recognize and understand themselves and live according to the local wisdom of *Narimo Ing Pandum* is determined by the environment they live in. Parents, teachers, and community determine their understanding of *Narimo ing Pandum*. It is similar to what Angrek said, a teenager from Solo that was picked as one of the informants.

For the definition of *Narimo Ing Pandum*, I knew it from my parents. Also, I knew it from the church

Silky, the second informant, also explained that his first encounter with *Narimo Ing Pandum* was from closely related people. In the in-depth interview, Silky said

At that time, I was strolling with my dad and encountered a billboard with *Narimo ing Pandum* in it. The picture was about a kid holding a phone, and another kid seemed to want it. I asked my dad what *Narimo Ing Pandum* means? And my dad

answered with the meaning. I asked again, "but, dad, why the picture looks like that?" And then, my dad explained the meaning of the picture.

Similarly, Angie also realized the meaning of *Narimo Ing Pandum* from his parents. Regarding from where he knew *Narimo Ing Pandum*, Angie narrated,

My parents taught me concerning *Narimo Ing Pandum*. My parents told me that I should not be envious of other people's advantages and should be grateful for what is available. When we want something, but we cannot afford it, we should *Narimo Ing Pandum*; we use what we have.

From the answers of three informants, the parents had a significant role in building the establishment of *Narimo Ing Pandum*. The same point was also conveyed by Yaisha, another informant from a middle school in Solo. In the interview with the researchers, Yaisha described

My parents taught me about *Narimo Ing Pandum*. At that time, my friend had a toy that I wanted. My dad but told me that we did not have money, so I should not beg for it. I was asked to be grateful for what we had owned. Later, if God allows it, I might get one.

On the other hand, Bella was quite different from other informants. She said that she learned the concept of *Narimo ing Pandum* by herself. In the in-depth interview, Bella said,

The surrounding told me the phrase, but I searched for the meaning of *Narimo Ing Pandum* by myself, such as what is *Narimo*. I searched for it and concluded it by myself. Often, my teachers mentioned *Narimo ing Pandum* without revealing the meaning of it, let alone the definition of it. My Javanese language teacher also occasionally discussed *Narimo ing Pandum*

In the interview, Bella explained for which she should learn the phrase by herself and searched for the information autonomously because, in daily life, her parents had never used the Javanese language, but Indonesian. Bella described to the researchers,

My parents rarely used the Javanese language in daily life. They prefer the Indonesian language. This is why they rarely gave suggestions using Javanese. Consequently, I did not really know about *Narimo Ing Pandum*, especially from my immediate family.

The self-identity construction experienced by Bella justifies that, in the process of identity construction, communication is a means to build identity and alter the mechanism. The identity of someone that is interpreted by the owner of the identity or the people around him is constructed when social interaction happen (Blumer in Soeprapto 2002). The use of the Javanese language in daily life bears a significant effect on Javanese culture learning. Bella's parents, which in their daily lives, did not use the Javanese language, also did not teach Javanese culture. It is different from what Angrek, Yaisha, and Angie experienced. In daily communication, their parents always used the Javanese language to communicate with other members of the family. Through the Javanese language, the parents can teach Javanese culture directly, as well as Javanese values.

The identity of someone can be affected by many factors; one of them is culture. Spradley (Spradley 2006) argued that a system of meaning of a culture could be used to

manage behavior, understand the identity of oneself and other people, as well as the world they live in. Culture will affect each individual to understand other people and who they are. The identity of each individual is constructed socially by the culture they live in. According to Murathan Mungan,

Identity is a concept of our age that should be used very carefully. All types of identities, ethnic, national, religious, sexual, or whatever else, can become your prison after a while. The identity that you stand up for can enslave you and close you to the rest of the world (Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel 2012).

Hofstede argued that culture would affect the mindset of people that live in the culture. Meaning in culture will affect the perception, which eventually will affect the behavior of the people regarding their identity and society's view regarding themselves.

Javanese culture held by teenagers from Solo that were also the informants of the research affected their mindset and behaviors, especially concerning *Narimo ing Pandum*. The construction of the self-identity of Solo's teenagers regarding *Narimo ing Pandum* can be seen from their explanation in the interview. According to Angrek:

Narimo Ing Pandum is to accept what we have thoughtfully, whether it is regrettable or not. We should accept it and be grateful for it, by not craving for what we do not have.

From this in-depth interview, Angrek constructed her identity as Solo's teenager in the concept of *Narimo ing Pandum* through an image of someone that should be relieved with her portions, grateful, and not be envious of what is not her. The construction of self-identity as an individual that is grateful also conveyed by Silky. In the in-depth interview with the researchers, Silky described her identities as a teenager that lived in Solo based on the concept of *Narimo ing Pandum*. It is said,

Being grateful for what has been given, and not craving for other's belongings. Aku meri, I craved for something like you. I did not want something that is not mine.

Bella, a middle school teenager from Solo, described her identity in the concept of *Narimo Ing Pandum* by saying,

Narimo Ing Pandum means to accept a reality sincerely and not with a heavy heart. So, people who love to be yielding, its heart will be broadened. This is not for greed. In short, we should accept something with a big heart, and not quickly get irritated with something that is not achieved, as well as not quickly disappointed. We should give more appreciation, be relieved and uncomplaining.

For Bella, the construction of self-identity as a Solo citizen based on *Narimo ing Pandum* is someone who is uncomplaining in accepting reality, not quickly disappointed, and always grateful. However, different from other informants, Angie constructed his self-identity in the concept of *Narimo ing Pandum* as an attempt. According to Angie,

Narimo Ing Pandum means that we should accept first and then attempt to fix it. We should not be jealous of others' advantages. Also, we should be grateful for others' advantages. When we want a new thing, but we have not had it, we should *Narimo Ing Pandum* with what we have.

According to Rindu, the self-identity in the concept of *Narimo Ing Pandum* should be understood from a view of gratitude. In the in-depth interview with the researchers, Rindu said,

Narimo ing Pandum means being grateful for what we have. If we want to have maximum results, we should strive for it. The meaning is different between striving for something and *Narimo ing Pandum*. *Narimo ing Pandum* is used when the result has been acquired when we have something real. Striving for something, on the other hand, is the means/process to acquire the result maximally

Related to the construction of identity which is based on *Narimo ing Pandum*, Yaisha described

Narimo Ing Pandum means being grateful for what is available, having a big heart, and not easily envious. Not easily being envious is also included, as well as not difficult to accept the reality, being responsible, grateful, and sincere.

Adolescents' opinion above constructed their self-identity as Solo's adolescents that lived in the Javanese culture with the Javanese language as the foundation to establish their understanding of Javanese culture. In the concept of *Narimo ing Pandum*, they described their identity as individuals that are grateful for God, accepting what God has given, and not easily envious, disappointed, and craving for others' parts. In addition, this concept also means for them to be sincere and always striving for the best. Referring to Baker's opinion, the identity of Javanese people based on the principle of *Narimo ing Pandum* was the foundation of the character development of adolescents during their growing time. Barker argued that "identity is a cultural construction because the discursive resources that form the material for identity formation are cultural in character" (Barker 2012). For these Solo's teenagers, cultural identity was the psychosocial impetus. It is in accord with what Roosens said (1989) that cultural identity is the power of the psychosocial impetus of each individual to state their ethnic group collectively.

Conclusion

The concept of *Narimo ing Pandum* can be understood from two different perspectives. Firstly, that *Narimo Ing Pandum* is a) acknowledgment of the majesty of God and that he has arranged everything; b) acceptance of what God has given, with the condition that God has managed the sustenance according to his scenario; c) gratefulness for God's bless and not envious of other people, and not taking other people's portion; d) feeling enough of what God has given; and e) realization that it is a knowledge of one own self, capability, and limit. Secondly, *Narimo Ing Pandum* is an active action.

The surrounding environment profoundly influenced the self-construction of adolescents in Solo regarding the concept of *Narimo ing Pandum*. Parents, peers, friends, and neighborhoods were the most contributive parties in building the identity of teenagers in Solo. These five interviewers constructed the identity of Solo's adolescents that lived in Javanese culture, coupled with the Javanese Language, as the foundation to establish their understanding of Javanese language. In the concept of *Narimo ing Pandum*, they described their identities as individuals that gave thanks to God, accepted what God had given, and not easily envious of others' parts, as well as always striving for the best, uncomplaining, and not quickly disappointed with the result.

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