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Infrastructures for ethnicity

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Abstract

Social categories need to be continually replicated to endure. What drives replication are commentaries about others' social practices. In contemporary nation-states mass education, bureaucratic processes, and mass media create large participation frameworks that facilitate replication. I term these participation frameworks "infrastructures for ethnicity". Replication produces imperfect copies that contain some of the old features of a category, thus rendering it recognizable, and something new which attracts attention and commentaries. This paper examines two types of infrastructure, television and the internet, that have helped facilitate replication of emblems of ethnicity in Indonesia. My data is drawn from a soap opera, internet commentaries about this soap, and news stories about clothing and culture. In looking at this data, I will be especially concerned with how old elements that point to 'ethnicity' are combined with new elements and how this new combination invites commentaries.

Keywords: infrastructure; ethnicity; semiotics; enregisterment; stereotype; change

Introduction

Infrastructures are typically understood as roads, railways, shipping and airline routes, telecommunications and so on, all of which help to keep people "connected". Ethnicity is commonly understood as a social category inhabited by people who live in a certain territory and have particular cultural, linguistic, and/or religious practices. While the exact make-up of this formula is setting-specific, the replication of this category has often increased in scale in settings that were formerly European colonies. Often the semiotic make-up of ethnicity has been reconfigured following European models that linked territory to language, person, and nation.[1] Part of the aim of this paper is to show how infrastructures help to circulate and connect semiotic forms that make up ethnic stereotypes in Indonesia. My empirical focus will be data from face-to-face conversations, a television soap opera, a number of internet commentaries about this soap, and a news story about an emerging regulation about dress codes within the civil service.

In the following section I extend and relate the ideas of "connection" and "ethnicity". I start by exploring how some infrastructures, especially schooling, the mass media, and the internet, facilitate the circulation of ethnic stereotypes. I acknowledge the important role of infrastructure for circulating ethnic stereotypes by coining the term "infrastructures for ethnicity". I follow this introduction to theory with a historical account of infrastructures for ethnicity in Indonesia, before focusing on one particular ethnic stereotype, that of Sundanese-ness in Indonesia.

Infrastructures for ethnicity

Social categories, such as ethnicity and race, often emerge from early colonial encounters.[2] As colonial regimes establish themselves, these categories become re-used as a means for

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monitoring, policing, administering, and governing a population.[3] After independence from a colonial regime, these categories continue to be re-used.[4] But, they often become associated with different characteristics and meanings – that is, they are semiotically reconfigured – although the new configuration typically maintains some of the original associations. Reconfiguration occurs at different levels or scales, helping to create large variations in how terms such as ethnicity are understood and re-used. In this section I examine how linguistic anthropologists have theorized this process, paying particular attention to the concept of "enregisterment".

Enregisterment is a historical process whereby particular semiotic features and social practices accrue value for a particular population to form a semiotic constellation referred to as a "semiotic register".[5] The links between the signs that make up a register are such that the use of one form, say an accent, is enough to invoke contexts and those that inhabit them. For example, when we hear someone speaking a particular type of English accent we can often categorize the person as coming from Australia, the UK, the USA, and so on. Enregisterment occurs at different scales. The values that accrue to social practices and semiotic form at these different scales can range from negative to positive. At the small end of this scaler continuum, enregisterment can occur through two individuals engaged in communication. We can refer to this as a "one-to-one participation framework".[6] The meanings of semiotic forms used by the participants involved in this framework emerge through negotiation,[7] often via evaluative commentaries about the appropriateness or normativeness of particular semiotic forms and practices.[8]

Extract 1 below provides an example of negotiations of the meaning of a word and its social value among a small group of people. It is taken from one of my earlier research projects which examined conversations between Indonesians living and working in Japan.[9] This interaction occurs as a group of five people watch an episode of Indonesian soap opera, *Noné* ("Missy"), that was broadcast on the commercial semi-educational television station, TPI, in 1995. The story revolves around a young woman who has inherited a house in Bandung (the capital city of West Java) and decides to rent one of its rooms to help pay for the upkeep of the expansive house and gardens. As this group of Indonesians watch the soap, they notice its title, *Cipoa* "Con Artist", which is a word unfamiliar to all present.

Extract 1: Negotiating the referential and indexical meanings of a word

Desi
1   cipoa itu apa ya   What is [the meaning of] Cipoa?
Gun
2   itu bukan bahasa sunda bukan   That isn't Sundanese is it?
Desi
3   ya apa sih, cipoa itu   Yeah so what does this [potentially
                                                   Sundanese] term Cipoa mean?
Slamet
4   nggak tahu   [I] don't know.
Desi
5   pak gun   Mr. Gun?
Gun
6   nggak tahu artinya cipoa, cipoa   [I] don't know the meaning of cipoa, cipoa.

Of interest is how participants focus on the word *cipoa* and how they start to work out or negotiate what this word means. In a sense, they are negotiating the "referential" meaning of the term.[10] Note that through the exchange they also negotiate another type of meaning, namely what is referred to as "indexical" meaning.[11] In this case the indexical meaning relates to its potential Sundanese-ness. Over the course of the whole viewing session, which lasts around thirty minutes, the five participants settle on the referential meaning "to tell white lies", while the word also accrues the indexical meanings of "archaic" and "Sundanese". Both the referential and indexical meanings of the word cipoa will be ephemeral unless the word cipoa is again discussed by this group, discussed with others from outside the group, or if the word is codified in some way (e.g. via a dictionary).

Dictionaries and other forms of codification are different to face-to-face communication because they can involve potentially larger audiences and sometimes don't involve the type of co-present negotiation of meaning we see in Extract 1. They are essentially one-to-many participation frameworks that produce "partial" copies or imitations of referential and indexical meaning.[12] These copies are "partial" because the process of repeating semiotic forms and practices helps to change the meaning of these forms and practices. Sometimes change is deliberate, as in the case of advertisements that attempt to keep a product recognizable to a particular audience by keeping old forms of representation while also adding some new features which make the product potentially desirable to a new audience.[13]

One-to-many participation frameworks can also include school lessons (the teacher being the "one" and the pupils the "many"), television broadcasts, web blogs, and so on. Drawing on Blommaert's insights about how churches can function to bring strangers together, I refer to all of these types of frameworks as "infrastructure for ethnicity".[14] Typically, infrastructures for ethnicity do not work in isolation, but rather are connected to other infrastructures for ethnicity. All of these infrastructures facilitate the imitation of semiotic forms and practices from other social domains, while also facilitating their evaluation.[15] The outcome of these processes of enregisterment are semiotic registers and stereotypical personas that inhabit these registers.

The relationship between the semiotic forms making up these registers are such that the use of one form or practice associated with the register can invoke the other semiotic forms and practices associated with the register. The classic example of this is a speaker's accent that can invoke territory, demeanor, dress, housing styles, and so on. In a sense, all of these things contribute toward the construction of a stereotype that inhabits a register and which can be invoked by the use of signs from this register.[16] In the following section I will look at the case of how the stereotype of ethnicity has been enregistered in Indonesia via one-to-many participation frameworks. I will pay particular attention to the infrastructures of television and the internet.

Enregistering ethnicity in Indonesia

In the then Dutch East Indies, the efforts of missionaries, colonial administrators, school teachers, medical personnel, local elite, and scholars helped to enregister ethnolinguistic stereotypes such as Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese, and so on.[17] As elsewhere in the world, these practices helped to naturalize the idea of nation as linked to territory and language, as in the familiar semiotic formula of one people, one language, one territory, one nation. These ideas co-occurred with prescriptivist and moral ideologies that language was pure and not contaminated with unauthorised fragments. The upshot of this was that the literary Malay circulated by the colonial publisher, *balai pustaka*, became an emerging standard and the

language of an indigenous elite in the urban centres of the Dutch East Indies,[18] while particular varieties of local languages became part of emerging ethnolinguistic identities, which were often located in the rural areas and regions.

During the late colonial period a whole host of new infrastructures were introduced. These included: transportation infrastructures, such as trams, railways, and petroleum burning vehicles; communication infrastructure, such as radio and print media; and infrastructures of surveillance or governmentality, such as census and schooling.[19] These infrastructures, along with the social activities and organizations that came with them, or emerged with their help, also helped reproduce ideologies about ethnolinguistic identity.[20] Ideas about ethnolinguistic identity were largely reproduced under the Japanese occupation during World War 2, and after Japan's surrender when a group of elite Indonesians declared independence in August 1945.[21]

Following a five year war with the Dutch who tried to re-colonize Indonesia,[22] Indonesia had a number of periods of nation building. The first, between 1945-1966, can be brutally characterized as one of ideological struggles over communism and Indonesian style democracy, and a period of sustained political dialogue and military action over the territorial make-up of Indonesia.[23] It was within the domains of political, bureaucratic, and military dialogue that ethnic stereotypes and Indonesian-ness primarily circulated. These stereotypes continued to have territory, linguistic form, and group as basic components of their semiotic make-up. During this time there was only moderate investment in other infrastructures that could imitate ethnic stereotypes and contribute to changes in their semiotic make-up. Of particular importance was the limited investment in schooling and language planning activities, and a decline in the circulation of print media.[24]

It wasn't until regime change in 1966 that ethnic stereotypes were imitated on a massive scale, helping to create common knowledge about them, while also changing their semiotic configuration. This was done in multiple social domains and often simultaneously. These infrastructures included: a massification of education together with curriculum about ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations; a reinvigorated government-sponsored internal migration scheme that regularized contact between locals and outsiders in the Indonesian peripheries; heavy investment in transportation infrastructure that also increased local-outsider contact; the commodification of ethnicity via tourism and the media; strong efforts to centralize the bureaucracy, and equally strong efforts in the area of language planning and standardization.[25]

Another increasingly important infrastructure was television, radio, and print media (Kitley, 2000). The launch of the Palapa satellite and the setting up of branches of the government television broadcaster, TVRI, through the archipelago was extremely important for the enregisterment of ethnic stereotypes by the mid-1990s. Of particular interest here is the deregulation of Indonesian television from 1990 onwards which enabled four new commercial television stations to compete with the government broadcaster.[26] Problems of gaining and maintaining market share facilitated a move toward local content programming, which included the use of fragments of local languages and other emblems of ethnic identity, as in the now famous *si Doel Anak Sekolah,* "Doel an educated lad".[27] Local content programming was so successful that producers imitated this format and have continued to do so to date.[28] The upshot of these types of televised representations of ethnic stereotypes was not only the reproduction of the emblems associated with them, but also an increase in the number of emblems associated with these stereotypes.[29] In the following section we will look at a number of infrastructures for ethnicity which imitate (i.e. copy, change, and recirculate) emblems that make up ethnic stereotypes.

Mass media as infrastructures for ethnicity

Extract 2 is taken from Episode 1 of the soap *Jiran*, which was produced by Sorayaintercine films and broadcast on Indosiar in 2009. Sundanese is in bold, Indonesian is in plain font, and italics indicate ambiguous forms that can be classified as either Sundanese or Indonesian. This particular interaction occurs at the very start of this episode and is set in a market place surrounded by greenery and mountains, all of which point to a rural setting. Jiran, the main character, is working in a market where she carries the shopping of wholesalers and customers.

Extract 2: Representing and imitating stereotypes of Sundanese-ness

Male client 1		
1	**atos** *rapih* **neng**	[You're] **already** *done* **Younger Sister**?
Jiran		
2	*Iya*	*Yes*.
Male client 1		
3	**tah ieu nya**	**Here is** [your pay].
Jiran		
4	**nuhun**	**Thanks**.
Jiran		
5	**akang**, mau dibawakan, barangnya	**Older brother**, can I carry your goods for you?
Male client 2		
6	oh **tiasa atuh neng tiasa**, eh **antosan**	Oh **of course** [you] **can Younger Sister**, yes
7	**nya**, **yeuh** bayaran **anu ayeuna neng**,	[you] **can**. Eh, **wait a moment OK**, **Here is**
8	*dua* **rebu**, **tah ku akang ditambihan**	**the payment for now Younger Sister**, two
9	**deui sarebu**	**thousand** (rupiah). **Here, Older Brother will give you one more thousand**.
Jiran		
10	**nuhun kang**	**Thanks Older Brother**.
Male client 2		
11	**neng**, **tong hilaf enjing ka dieu deui**	**Younger sister**, **don't forget to come back**
12	**nya**, **sok atuh** angkut *barang barang***na**,	**here tomorrow OK**. **Please** take *the goods*,
13	hati **nya neng nya**	be careful **OK Younger Sister OK**.

Source: Jiran, Sorayaintercinefilms, broadcast on Indosiar

In addition to using fragments of Sundanese – an already enregistered and recognizeable emblem of Sundanese ethnic identity[30] – the subtitling of the talk represented in Extract 2 signals that the talk is not Indonesian. As the story continues, other characters are introduced, including Jiran's money-hungry husband who has a drinking and gambling problem, and his friend, who has just returned from working in Malaysia. In their interactions and interactions with other locals, they also use Sundanese. However, increasingly this usage is just fragments stereotypically associated with Sundanese. As the story continues, we find out that Jiran's husband is paid to have Jiran marry a wealthy young Malaysian Sultan on a contract basis. The language being used is only explicitly named in the last few minutes of this episode when a servant of the Sultan explains to two of his other wives that Jiran addressed them with the term *Teteh* because it is a term of address used in Indonesia, and specifically Sundanese for "older sister".

While this is the only explicit metalinguistic commentary – i.e., commentary about language – that names the language as Sundanese, stereotypes of Sundanese-ness are also imitated (copied, changed, and recirculated). This is done via representations of a whole community who speak a subtitled language in the market, and the presence of a number of small vans and trucks that all have a highly visible "D" preceding a series of numbers on their vehicle's number plate. This prefix is the one used for Bandung and surrounds, which is located in West Java. For those who recognize them, these emblems signal the territory component of the ethnic stereotype of Sundanese-ness.

In the following two extracts we will see how some Indonesians recognize some emblems of Sundanese-ness in their internet posts about Jiran. The posts not only provide referential information, but the evaluations that are made also help to change the semiotic configuration of the stereotype, both for those who engage in these evaluations and those who may read such evaluations. Extract 3 is taken from a section of the internet entertainment forum *Lautan Indonesia* (Indonesian Seas). This forum had a total of ten pages containing roughly ten brief posts per page about *Jiran*. Extract 3 is from a commentary made on August 11th and is drawn from page six.

Extract 3: The beginnings of semiotic reconfiguration: celebrity fan evaluations

Pattzzi

1	seru episode pertama..jiran logatnya	The first episode was exciting. Jiran has a very
2	sunda abis . . . tikam meski perannya	Sundanese accent. As usual, Titi Kamal's role is
3	mewek n teraniaya tapi bisa beda dari	a sobbing and tortured one, but it can be
4	muslimah	differentiated from her other role as Muslimah [in the soap titled Muslimah].

Meme koe

5	^gua sempat nonton sbntar . . . scene	I had a chance to watch for a while. The
6	merit tokoh yg diperankan Titi &	marriage scene where the people played by Titi
7	Didi disaksikan cowo yg suaminya	and Didi were witnessed by the husband of the
8	tokoh yg diprenkan Titi trus scene	actress played by Titi. And the scene [when]
9	Didi ketuk pintu kamar titi minta	Didi knocked on Titi's door and asked if [she]
10	siap2 ke mau plg ke kampungnya	was ready to go home to his home (in Malaysia,
11	(Malaysia ya??).	right??)
12	Iya oatzz . . . logatnya titi sunda bgt	Iya (misspelled Pattzzi?). Titi's accent is very
13	btw, nama peran titi di sini apa??	Sundanese.
14	hehehe . . . good luck buat sinetron	By the way, what is the name of the character
15	Jiran. [original text]	played by Titi? Hehehe. Good luck for the soap Jiran.

Patzzi

16	titik kamal berperan sebagai jiran	Titik Kamal plays Jiran.

Tokeberas

17	1 lage sinetron setting Malaysia yang	Another strange soap set in Malaysia.
18	aneh.	

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19	ceritanya aneh….masa suami jual	The story is strange. Do you believe that a
20	istri sendiri…??	husband would sell his own wife?

Source: www.lautanindonesia.com/forum/index.php?topic=43128.50. Accessed 31/01/12.

In this extract we see that Pattzzi evaluates an actor's Sundanese accent ion lines 1-2 (the underlined text) and that her evaluation is agreed upon or ratified by Meme Koe in line 12 through what is nearly a precise copy of Pattzzi's evaluation (*abis* "very" is changed to *bgt* "very"). The negotiated referential meaning is "Titi Kamal has a good Sundanese accent". Through this exchange the referential meaning also recirculates other "indexical meanings", which in this case include: "there are categories of people we can refer to as Sundanese"; and "some also have bad Sundanese accents". Other emblems of Sundanese-ness are left implicit. For example, there is no mention of territory, material artifacts, or practices that can be associated with the stereotype of Sundanese-ness that circulate elsewhere or in the past.[31]

If we follow the posts on this forum for a little longer, we see an example of the semiotic reconfiguration that occurs as people repeat and evaluate these television representations. In lines 16-20 Pattzi and Meme Koe are joined by two others, who also discuss the soap opera. Note that their contributions do not contest earlier contributions about Titik Kamal's good Sundanese accent, but they do provide some clues as to why she might be crying in this soap. We can say that the referential and indexical meanings of "Titi Kamal has a good Sundanese accent" not only remains, but is potentially shared by two new contributors; that is, the social domain of these meanings expands. Importantly, we also see the beginning of a semiotic reconfiguration of stereotypes of Sundanese-ness. For example, among this group of people the name Titik Kamal has been linked to Sundanese-ness, crying, strangeness, and the practice of wife selling.

In another commentary (Extract 4 below), it is the Sundanese-ness of the soap as a whole, rather than the language practices of a particular actor, that appears to be evaluated. This commentary titled *Sinetron Jiran Hina Orang Sunda* (The soap *Jiran* denigrates Sundanese) was posted on a magazine-like blog spot *jurnalbogor* (Bogor Journal) on September 4, 2009, by Jayadi (electronic identity) and apparently authored by Kosasih Kadra (line 26). For this person and for anyone reading and agreeing with the referential content, the configuration of Sundanese-ness represented in Extract 2 is contested and reconfigured. In this case, Sundanese are represented as moral characters who do not engage in wife-selling, drunkenness, and gambling.

Extract 4: Contesting stereotypical configurations of Sundanese-ness

1 Saya sangat prihatin ketika mengamati	I was very concerned when I was looking
2 tayangan sinetron JIRAN di Indosiar,	at the soap *Jiran* on Indosiar where the
3 dimana pemain utamanya adalah Jiran dan	main actors, Jiran and Pendi, are
4 Pendi yang di simbolkan sebagai orang	represented as Sundanese who are very
5 Sunda yang digambarkan sangat bodoh,	backward, idiotic and almost without any
6 dungu dan nyaris tanpa moral. Mem-blow	morals. To exaggerate characters is fine in
7 up karakter seperti itu sah-sah saja sebagai	the entertainment arena.
8 arena hiburan.	But what is very unfortunate are the efforts
9 Tapi yang sangat disayangkan adalah	to denigrate and discredit Sundanese,
10 adanya upaya penistaan dan pendiskreditan	which is very obvious.
11 terhada etnis Pasundan yang begitu	To be frank, as a Sundanese myself I feel
12 menonjol. Terusterang saya sebagai orang	uncomfortable and consider this matter as
13 Sunda merasa tidak nyaman dan	an insult. And indeed we hope that the
14 menganggap hal tersebut sebagai	producer doesn't only focus on
15 pelecehan. Dan tentu saja kita berharap	entertainment and profit, but also a
16 hendaknya para produser tidak hanya	consideration of the Sundanese sensitivities
17 berorientasi hiburan dan rating atau prof it	and culture in a fair and proportional way.

18	semata, tetapi juga pertimbangkan	Please consider our feeling as Sundanese

18   semata, tetapi juga pertimbangkan
19   perasaan, kultur dan budaya Sunda secara
20   adil dan proporsial. Pertimbangkanlah
21   perasaan kami warga Pasundan atau etnis
22   manapun yang dijadikan obyek cerita.
23   Lebîh arif lagi apabila tayangan tersebut
24   dihentikan dan direvisi. [original text]
25   Kosasih Kadra

Please consider our feeling as Sundanese
or in fact any other ethnicity that becomes
the focus of a story. It would be even better
if you stop this soap and revise it.
Kosasih Kadra

Note that in Extract 4, there is no explicit mention of language or territory, but rather it is the stereotype of Sundanese that is evaluated. This commentary is from someone who self-identifies as a Sundanese (line 13) and then as a member of a community of Sundanese (lines 21 and 22). The commentary focuses upon a number of related issues. The first relates to the negative representation of Sundanese intelligence and morality (lines 4–6). Second, the author sees these representations as a direct attempt to denigrate those of Sundanese ethnicity (lines 10–12). In negatively evaluating these practices as emblems of ethnicity the author is also reconfiguring the original representation by implicitly noting that Sundanese are intelligent and moral and do not engage in the practices found in the soap *Jiran*.

If we look at other forms of representation that are imitated via similar infrastructures for ethnicity, we find imitation and reconfiguration commonplace. In the next example, taken from the online version of a local newspaper (*Tribun JABAR*), we see that the emblem of territory is linked to stereotypes of Sundanese-ness and (re)linked with material emblems of Sundanese-ness. In this example, it is a headscarf referred to as *iket*, which is linked with Sundanese-ness. There were two stories on this topic posted on the 6th and 7th of November 2013. The first story mentioned an initiative to try and get public servants to wear the headscarf as a sign of Sundanese-ness, with the meeting being chaired using Sundanese language.[32] My analytical focus will primarily be the second story, which is partly reproduced in Extract 5 below.

Figure 1: Reconfiguring stereotypes by association with material artefacts

Extract 5: Local Bandung public servants wear a head scarf

1	Sejumlah kepala dinas di lingkungan	A number of section heads in the
2	Pemerintah Kota Bandung memakai ikat	Bandung city government office wore
3	kepala khas Sunda (iket) saat menghadiri	head scarfs emblematic of Sundanese-
4	Rapat Sinkronisani Rencana Kebijakan	ness when they attended a general
5	Umum Anggaran (RKUA) 2014 di ruang	budget synchronization meeting
6	tengah Balai Kota Bandung…..	(RKUA) [for] 2014 in the middle room
		of the council building in Bandung…

Source: Tribun JABAR accessed on 24/09/15

In the second story (Extract 5 above), which is much shorter, there are four photos accompanied by an abridged version of the story from the 6th of November. In this story, place, material artefacts and Sundanese-ness are associated with each other. In lines 2 and 6 we have place via the mention of the place, Bandung, material artefacts (*ikat/iket* "headscarf") in lines 2 and 3, and "Sundanese-ness" (*khas Sunda*) in line 3. Note here that some of the old configurations of Sundanese-ness are implicit (e.g. language), while a new element, the headscarf, becomes the fronted emblem of ethnicity. This is done through explicit mention of the material artefact and through the pictures that accompany the story (see Figure 1).

Conclusion: something old and something new

While we can say that ethnicity is often seen as an unproblematic category for those doing policy related work, a case in point being its continued used by the Indonesian bureau of statistics,[33] this category has been problematized by scholars for quite some time.[34] Most recently, in its identity guise we are reminded that ethnicity, like many other identity categories, is something that is situation-specific as well as something that is constructed from semiotic fragments from the past.[35] In this paper I have looked at some of the infrastructures – especially television and online media – that help recirculate the category of ethnicity in Indonesia while showing how recirculation typically has old elements – making the semiotic configuration recognizable – and new semiotic forms that help attract attention to the new configuration.

Using linguistic anthropological understandings of these processes,[36] I focused on how infrastructures facilitated the circulation and indexical linking of semiotic fragments creating stereotypes, in this case stereotypes of Sundanese-ness. Part of my argument is that the infrastructures that contributed to the creation and circulation of these stereotypes are in essence "infrastructures for ethnicity". I noted that stereotypical configurations often contained elements that point to territory, linguistic form or person, but rarely all three. In line with Urban's [37] argument about change and circulation more generally, it seems that the reconfiguration process requires a type of replication that does not produce precise copies, but rather ones that have only some semiotic forms from past stereotypical configurations; that is, they are imitations.[38]

Infrastructures for ethnicity enable varying degrees of common knowledge about emblems of ethnic identity that in other domains of social life can be imitated to organize social life. In this sense, emblems of ethnicity often do much more social work than do the categories themselves. For example, at the nation-state scale, the circulation of emblems of ethnicity in one-to-many participation frameworks has enabled discourses and representations about unity in diversity.[39] In urban Indonesian neighborhoods, knowledge of emblems of

Javanese-ness, in this case fragments of Javanese, can be used by outsiders to become insiders.[40] Similarly, Indonesian politicians can imitate emblems of ethnicity to try and get ethnic votes, even if the politicians themselves are not actually an 'authentic' local.[41] The territorial fragmentation that we have seen in Indonesia is another example of how emblems of ethnicity, including language, territory, dress and so on, have been used to organize social life at the larger district scale.[42]

Notes

1. Hobsbaum, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780.*
2. Errington, "Colonial Linguistics."
3. Anderson, *Imagined Communities;* Foucault, *The History of Sexuality;* Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire.*
4. Gal, "Sociolinguistic Regimes and the Management of 'Diversity'"; Heller, et al., *Sustaining the Nation;* Hobsbaum, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780.*
5. Agha, *Language and Social Relations.*
6. Ibid.
7. Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language.*
8. Agha, *Language and Social Relations.*
9. Goebel, "Talking about Mediated Representations"; Goebel, *Language and Superdiversity.*
10. Silverstein, "Shifters, Linguistics Categories, and Cultural Description."
11. Ibid.
12. Agha, *Language and Social Relations;* Lempert, "Imitation"; Urban, *Metaculture.*
13. Stroud and Mpendukana, "Towards a Material Ethnography of Linguistic Landscape."
14. Blommaert, *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes.*
15. Bauman and Briggs, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life"; Silverstein and Urban, *Natural Histories of Discourse.*
16. Agha, *Language and Social Relations.*
17. E.g. Errington, "Colonial Linguistics"; Moriyama, *Sundanese Print Culture and Modernity in Nineteenth-century West Java.*
18. Errington, "Indonesian('s) Development: On the State of a Language of State"; Errington, "Indonesian('s) Authority."
19. See Cohen, *The Komedie Stamboel;* Dick, *The Emergence of a National Economy;* Mrázek, *Engineers of Happy Land*; Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire.*
20. Goebel, *Language and Superdiversity.*
21. E.g. Elson, *The Idea of Indonesia*; and the papers in Reid, et al., *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia.*
22. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution*; Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia.*
23. E.g. Elson, *The Idea of Indonesia*; Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*; Legge, *Central Authority and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia.*
24. E.g. Bjork, *Indonesian Education*; Dardjowidjojo, "Strategies for a Successful National Language Policy"; Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300.*
25. For a summary of some of the extensive literature on this era see Goebel, *Language and Superdiversity.*

26. Kitley, *Television, Nation, and Culture in Indonesia*; Sen and Hill, *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia.*
27. Goebel, "Enregistering, Authorizing and Denaturalizing Identity in Indonesia"; Loven, *Watching Si Doel;* Rachmah, "Watching Indonesian *sinetron*"; Sen and Hill, *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia.*
28. Loven, *Watching Si Doel*; Rachmah, "Watching Indonesian *sinetron.*"
29. Goebel, "The Construction of Semiotically Dense Stereotypes"; Goebel, *Language and Superdiversity*.
30. Goebel, "Enregistering, Authorizing and Denaturalizing Identity in Indonesia"; Goebel, *Language and Superdiversity.*
31. Goebel, *Language and Superdiversity.*
32. TSM, "Iket kepala dipakai sebagian PNS Pemkot."
33. Badan Pusat Statistik, *Kewarganegaraan, suku bangsa, agama dan bahasa sehari-hari penduduk Indonesia.*
34. E.g. Antaki and Widdicombe, "Identity as an Achievement and as a Tool"; Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries;* Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity.*
35. Bucholtz and Hall, "Theorizing Identity in Language and Sexuality Research"; Goebel, *Language, Migration and Identity*; Wortham, *Learning Identity*.
36. E.g. Agha, *Language and Social Relations*; Silverstein, "Shifters, Linguistics Categories, and Cultural Description"; Urban, *Metaculture.*
37. Urban, *Metaculture.*
38. Lempert, "Imitation."
39. Goebel, [2013b title here; not specified in biblio & 2013b article on La Trobe website isn't in biblio]; Goebel, *Language and Superdiversity.*
40. Goebel, *Language, Migration and Identity.*
41. Aspinall, "Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia"; Harr, "Recentering the Margins?"
42. E.g. the papers in Davidson and Henley, *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics.*

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