17. Playing life in the metropolis: Mobile media and identity in Jakarta[1]

Michiel de Lange

Introduction: urban identity in Jakarta

How do mobile media technologies shape the identities of city dwellers? In Indonesia the mobile phone – or *handphone* – has rapidly gained in popularity (Figure 1). Reasons include the lagging state of fixed telephony in homes; its affordability even for low-income people; and omnipresent branding that induces an acute sense of "must have". Most importantly and central in this chapter, mobile phones offer urban Indonesians rich opportunities for identity construction and expression. In this chapter, I look at how mobile media shape the construction and performance of identities that are specific to life in Indonesia's capital city, Jakarta. Jakarta is both a city-world and a world-city (Augé 2008, xii). As "Indonesia in small", Jakarta reflects the nation's ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. However, Jakarta's urban culture and identity transcend this mosaic. Unlike most other Indonesian cities, in Jakarta the shared symbols, interactions in public, and modes of self-presentation are not based on the rules of one traditional regional culture. Young people in particular base their identities on shared (though contested) ideas about what it means to live a "modern urban life" in the capital city. Mobile media technologies have quickly become part of this dynamic urban culture and have helped to define what it means to be a "modern Indonesian". In this chapter, based on ethnographic research, I examine two defining urban identity practices: *gengsi* (the display of prestige) and *bergaul* (the art of modern socializing), and explore some pervasive tensions that Indonesians feel between the adoption of new technologies and the construction of modern identities.

The discussion of mobile media and Indonesian urban identities revisits the idea of narrative identity that was introduced by philosopher Paul Ricoeur. According to Ricoeur, personal and group identities emerge out of ongoing processes of reflexive self-interpretation (1992). Both the interpretation of what it means to be and to have a "self" and imagining a shared sense of belonging to particular social and cultural groups are mediated. Ricoeur sees the literary narrative as the privileged medium for self-understanding, and for social and cultural identifications (ibid, 114ff.).

Storytelling mediates identity in three "mimetic" steps. People implicitly pre-understand their lives as composed of narrative elements (*mimesis*$_1$); they actively construct plotted stories about their lives and those of others (*mimesis*$_2$); and they reflexively read and understand themselves as narrative characters in these stories that come to prescribe further actions in life (*mimesis*$_3$) (Ricoeur 1984, 52-76; 1988, 248; 1992, 157-9). In this view people relate to themselves, to others, and to their environment via the media that they know and use. Although it is a tremendously powerful model it does have a number of weak aspects (de Lange 2010, 229-42). Two of these are addressed in this chapter. First, the culturally specific media and identity practices described in this chapter suggest that the notion of narrative identity is rooted in Western societies with strong literary traditions and ignores other possible cultural blueprints for identity mediation. The findings from Jakarta prompt us to revisit universalist claims about narrative as the privileged medium for identity construction. Second, various authors have proposed to use the notion of play as a heuristic lens to look at the specifics of identity construction in relation to digital media technologies (this publication; de Lange 2010; de Mul, Frissen, and Raessens 2005; de Mul 2005; Raessens 2006; 2014; Timmermans 2010). The question explored in this chapter then is how mobile media practices shape the identities of Jakarta urbanites, and how this can be understood in terms of playfulness.

Handphone *gengsi*

Gengsi means prestige or status display. It originally connoted family standing and class. Under the regime of President Suharto's New Order (1965-98) and its associated economic boom, the notion has shifted from an interior "innate" property to an image achieved by outward appearances. Appearing prestigious involves the possession and display of material goods that symbolically convey progress and cosmopolitanism. The notion regularly recurs in descriptions of Indonesian consumer society in general (van Leeuwen 1997; Sastramidjaja 2000). And it recurs in analyses of Indonesian technological culture in particular (Barendregt 2008, 164; de Lange 2001, 19, 36, 82). Indonesians rarely use *gengsi* to describe themselves, but frequently ascribe *gengsi* to other people or to indicate the general Indonesian obsession with conveying impressions through status symbols. The moral attitude towards *gengsi* is ambiguous. It is synonymous with consumptive materialistic hedonism and treated with mockery, contempt,

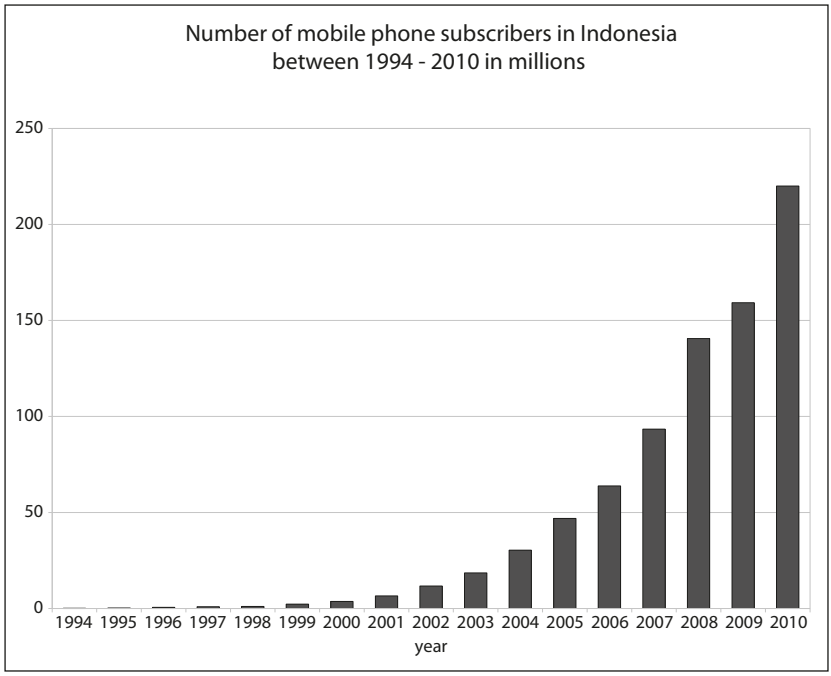

Fig. 1: Number of mobile phone subscribers in Indonesia 1994-2010 in millions (predominantly prepaid). The number of mobile phone subscriptions comprised almost 92% of the population total in 2010. This does not mean that 92% of the population own a mobile device, since many Indonesians actually have more than one subscription.[2]

or concern. It is also the measure of a "modern lifestyle" and seen as a source of pride and self-worth (Sastramidjaja 2000, 51).

Mobile media technologies have become an indispensable part of *gengsi*. Prestige can be conveyed by the mobile phone as a material artifact. The device rubs off its prestigious qualities on the individual bearer. Technology journalist Budi Putra says: "Indonesians like to possess prestigious devices. Technical specifications are not important. The phone is used to express oneself, to make one feel higher. I'd say for 80% of people the mobile phone is about *gengsi* and at most 20% really knows and uses the technology".[3] Two editors of Telset, one of the many printed glossies about the mobile phone, explain: "The mobile phone has become a kind of benchmark of the individual. The mobile phone is an object you carry with you all the time and can put on display at any moment. It is seen as part of someone's social status. Someone who doesn't have a mobile phone is thought of as backward".[4]

After choosing a brand and model, the generic stock item must be customized. The phone is dressed up, often in gendered ways. Girls and young

women like danglers and sleeves. Guys often wear their phones in (fake) leather pockets. A common personalization involves picking a so-called *nomor cantik* (beautiful number). Regular SIM cards sell for 10.000 Rupiah (less than €1). A beautiful number is usually at least 125.000 Rp. Exceptionally beautiful numbers sell for 3 million or more (€250 in 2007). A website devoted to selling *nomor cantik* explains (verbatim):

> Cellphone number is your prestise [...] your number already introduce yourself first, who you are, before you introduce yourself fully. What people think with the owner phone number of 99999999? The owner must be not a common people, he must be an important people.[5]

Beautiful numbers may be chosen because they are easy to remember. They can also carry a specific personal meaning (like one's date of birth) and/or a cultural significance (Barendregt 2006b, 329; de Lange 2001, 65-6; Li 2007). Adi, who is a young marketing sales manager at the biggest and most reliable telecom operator Telkomsel, reveals another way mobile phone numbers express *gengsi*. In Indonesia's low-trust economy post-paid customers are thoroughly checked by telecoms to make sure they are creditworthy. Telkomsel post-paid numbers start with the combination 0811. Having such a number reveals that a person can afford a post-paid number, and that he or she is with what is considered the best and most expensive operator.[6]

The physical context matters also when it comes to handphone-related signifiers of prestige. One day Adi shows me around the new Telkomsel office and customer service area in a tall office building in West Jakarta. He explains that Telkomsel's "high-value customers" come here to get personal assistance. He tells me the customer service area is designed to make customers feel more important. Telkomsel recently moved to this building and redesigned its customer service interior in what Adi calls a "futuristic" style. Indeed, the space has a sterile "cool" quality that is diametrically opposed to Jakarta's chaotic, hot, and dirty streets. Even queuing up can become part of the display of prestige, Adi continues. It is quiet in the new office building because people now have to stop by at Wisma Slipi and cannot be seen by others. When Telkomsel's customer service was still located in nearby Mall Taman Anggrek (one of the biggest and most luxurious shopping malls in Jakarta), the customer desks were always busy. People had to wait in long queues and they could be seen by other people passing by. Many did not have real questions for the service desk, Adi confides, but they just wanted to be appear to belong to Telkomsel's customer base. As Adi and I have a coffee in a small café downstairs near the exit of the

building, he talks about office culture in Jakarta with a generous dose of irony and self-reflection. Adi points out to me that many people walk in and out of the building with a communicator-type handphone clung to their ears and looking busy. He says there are many aspiring young executives who try to act as if they are very important and want to appear like they are successful businessmen. According to Adi, the majority of the people passing by are only pretending. He uses the phrase *hanya main-main*, "just playing". This phrase is frequently used when people talk about how others dress themselves up with their mobile phone.

Personalizing the phone quite literally changes its character from being an undetermined "wild" object to a "domesticated" companion tailored to people's individual preferences. Silverstone and Haddon call this process "appropriation" (1996, 64). In what they call "conversion", personalized phones become symbolically charged objects that "speak" for their owners. These artifacts tell other people who their owners are, and convey the message that they take care of their image. Tamed devices are also tangible everyday reminders to their owners that they are in charge of their own lives. Many Indonesians look at themselves through the eyes of others and are acutely aware that they live in an underdeveloped nation. Reflexivity, or "the turning-back of the experience of the individual upon himself", is often forwarded as a distinguishing feature of modern identity (Mead 1934, 134). Following 32 years of Suharto rule, the reform period has failed to deliver on its promises. Indonesians commonly describe the state of their country as chaotic. They say Indonesia is "still running behind" and "not advanced". Many feel that the country as a whole is hardly a source of self-pride. Showing that one is capable of at least exerting control over one's own life by taming technological artifacts offers the individual a much-coveted sense of pride and prestige. Mobile phone *gengsi* then is not just a sign or symbol of individual progress. It actualizes it. It *is* the progress. Through *gengsi* people distinguish themselves from what they call "backward people" and distance themselves from the deplorable general state of the country. This, however, is only one side of the coin. Technologically defined prestige is not a solely centrifugal force, but it can also be a way to identify with collectives. Elnar, a 23-year-old woman, was quite explicit about the potential of technologies to present a modern face of Indonesia. Elnar likes to chat online and get in touch with other people on international chat channels. Foreigners often ask her whether Indonesia has many slums. She feels that they are under the impression that Indonesia is a poor and backward country. Elnar then tries to explain: "It is modern here too. We also have factories, our own airlines, and the Internet" (de Lange 2001, 78).

Handphone *gaul*

The mobile phone is only in part a symbolic artifact used for aggrandizing individual prestige. It is also a profoundly social communication medium. Knowing how to use the mobile phone to socialize is part of *bergaul*, which can be loosely translated as the *savoir-faire* of modern socializing (Barendregt 2008, 164, 166; de Lange 2001, 30-1; Sastramidjaja 2000, 67-74). *Bergaul* consists of creative play with language. *Bahasa gaul* (*gaul* language) is the trendy language spoken by young people in Jakarta and its use has spread all over Indonesia. It borrows words from languages spoken in the capital, notably *prokem* (Jakartan lower-class vernacular), Chinese, and English. It has no fixed vocabulary. Mastery of *bahasa gaul* entails continuously inventing new words and humorously reusing existing expressions. *Bergaul* is a dynamic collection of "meta-rules" that inform not only what to say, but also how to say it and to whom, how to move around town, what to buy, and so on. One must know how to present oneself and have an opinion. It means knowing what is "now". Moreover, it is showing the knowing through speech and demeanor. It is reflexive social play in continuous flux, an infinite "metaplay" with its own rules (Sutton-Smith 1997, 147-8). If *gengsi* departs from individuality and exclusion, *bergaul* departs from social interactions and inclusiveness. Mild competition in one's self-presentation and the expression of originality should never overshadow connecting with other people and playing together. Someone who is too competitive and uses *bergaul* to increase personal *gengsi* is seen as arrogant. Newcomers to Jakarta, like young students from all over Indonesia, must quickly familiarize themselves with *bergaul* in order to link with peers and not to be considered "backward" or "from the village". *Bergaul* is an essential social skill necessary to move oneself with ease and confidence in any situation, and to be able to relate to others.

There is a lot of *gaul* talk about the handphone. People share information on the best models and providers among each other and talk about their personal relation with the phone. In late night television shows hosted by trendy young women, viewers are invited to call in and chat about such topics as "have you ever broken your handphone?" A popular blogger's "meme" at some point was writing down "ten things about my handphone" and passing these questions on to blogger friends. These were questions about brand and type of mobile phone, whether one has a special number, what kind of wallpaper is used, what the last sent text message is, where one wears the phone, and so on. Besides being a researcher's goldmine the meme shows how the mobile phone is caught up in *bergaul*. One cannot just

carry any phone. One should be able to explain why one has this brand, that specific wallpaper, and a particular ringtone. The self-conscious relation to the device informs the relations with others and oneself.

In addition to being a topical item, the mobile phone as a communication medium is central to *bergaul*. Especially texting offers rich possibilities for linguistic play in socializing and self-expression. This is a text message Dewi (female, 25 years) sent to a male friend:

> Gw g taw,,c iwan jg g taw.lo cb dtg lgs di graha mobicel jl.mampang prapatan gw taw lg dah,,rabu gw lbr.ikut dunkz[7]

In English:

> I don't know. Iwan also doesn't know. Please come directly to Graha Mobicel, Mampang Prapatan road. I do know something else though. I am free on Wednesday, so come along!

This message contains several *bergaul* elements. First, this message is an ad hoc invitation to socialize and join in, without applying too much pressure ("Please come directly to Graha Mobicel").[8] Second, the message is a prelude to a possible physical encounter. Dewi is not very precise about a specific hour and location and keeps all options open ("I am free on Wednesday, come along!"). A few more messages will likely be exchanged to fine-tune the actual time and place for a meeting, if it will take place at all. Third, the message jumps into an ongoing conversation that involves multiple people ("I don't know. Iwan also doesn't know."). Fourth, the message makes creative use of abbreviated SMS language, leaving out vowels and seeking shorter alternatives for common words, and sometimes using words from other languages like English. In English the *c* in "c iwan" is pronounced *si Iwan*. *Si* is a definite article used before names of familiar people.

This example parallels mobile communication practices observed elsewhere. In the context of Norwegian teens, the use of the mobile phone to coordinate future physical meetings in sequences of increasingly precise communicative exchanges has been called "micro-coordination" (Ling and Yttri 2002, 139, 142-6). Mobile communication also involves an expressive dimension of self-presentation and a social dimension of group discussion and agreement, especially among young people. This has been called "hyper-coordination" (ibid., 140, 147-66). The use of abbreviated and foreign language in texting has also been widely described in diverse contexts. If the elements in this example parallel universal patterns, then we can ask

what is particularly urban Indonesian about it. The answer, predictably, is because its language, content, and context are specifically Indonesian. It is an Indonesian expression of individual and group identities. Let's see what that means. The message may be written out as follows in *bahasa gaul*:

> Gue nggak taw, si Iwan juga nggak taw. Lu coba datang langsung di Graha Mobicel, Jl. Mampang Prapatan. Gue taw lagi deh. Rabu gue libur. Ikut donk!

In official *bahasa Indonesia* the message might be rendered as:

> Saya tidak tahu. Si Iwan juga tidak tahu. Kamu mencoba datang langsung ke Graha Mobicel, Jl. Mampang Prapatan. Saya tahu lagi. Hari Rabu saya libur. Ayo ikut!

Two steps of "encoding" occur when composing the message. First, from standard Indonesian into *bahasa gaul*, and then from *bahasa gaul* to an abbreviated SMS language. In texting almost always the national language is used, often interwoven with English words, rather than regional languages. One of the reasons is that Javanese in particular has an intricate way of establishing and expressing social standing. This is not handy when you are trying to cram a message into only 160 characters. Another reason is that *bahasa Indonesia* and international languages are considered more modern (Barendregt 2008, 166). The attempt to write down spoken *bahasa gaul* is in itself a creative play with language. People must make up their own transcriptions, since there is no standard written form. Although *bahasa gaul* is rarely found in "official" institutional publications like newspapers, books, films, and television subtitles, written *bahasa gaul* thrives where young people express themselves in informal media, including Internet blog posts, text messaging, e-mail, and youth magazines that publish letters from readers. These media offer young people play spaces to experiment with alternative identities using *bergaul* as their common distinctive feature. Many young people now own a personal communication device that enables them to bypass parental or institutional surveillance. The use of *bahasa gaul* and an abbreviated SMS language erects further boundaries. This development is of particular concern in Indonesian society characterized by its strong family ties and social hierarchies. Not surprisingly, the new liberties afforded by digital media have caused deep moral concerns, as we shall see below. The receiver on the other side must also be able to "decode" the message. This encoding/decoding is not merely a way to hide the content

of the message from the prying eyes of parents or schoolteachers. It is a meta-communicative message by which both sides "perform" to one another their knowledge and versatility in playing with the rules of *bergaul*. An individual should be knowledgeable and have a personal opinion. Dewi apparently broke this rule when she started with "I don't know". But then she retook herself, saying: "I do know something else though". This negated her earlier statement, and can be interpreted as a reflexive comment on the rules of *bergaul* itself.

Questioning mobile media modernity

Despite the rich opportunities that mobile media offer for identity construction and group affiliation, Indonesians do perceive some downsides. Many feel uncertain about the compatibility of these new technologies with cultural and religious values. These technologies stir up a confusing sense of a society always on the move in which former rules and boundaries are no longer self-evident. Such uncertainties and fears come in many guises. From the use of mobile phones as detonators in Islamic terrorist attacks to alleged occurrences of the supernatural via the phone; from its presumed role in causing the general loss of moral values and cultural traditions to promoting pornography in particular (see Barendregt 2006a; 2008; Barendregt and Pertierra 2008). Discussions are very common about the compatibility of media technologies with a pious life. On the "study Islam" mailing list somebody with the nickname *antoniobandalem* expressed doubt whether Muslims are allowed to use products like mobile phones that are made by non-Muslims (*kafir*):

> As far as I know, we as Muslims are not allowed to use any products or goods made by non-Muslims [*kaum kafir*]??? Because it is said this is *haram* [not permitted by Islam], can you please clarify this?? Islamic teachers in my village often say that one becomes polluted if one uses or consumes goods that are produced by non-Muslims. The dilemma also is that on the one hand the Islamic community [*umat*] wants to commit itself to the Islamic law, however on the other hand we are also still dependent on non-Muslims like America and its allies.[9]

He received several responses on the list from people who told him it was okay to use non-Muslim products. Most of these people invoked religious argumentations. They referred to sections from the Qur'an or religious

fatwas by (self-proclaimed) imams that justify the consumption of such goods. One of the most active people on the list, an IT specialist with the nickname *Chandraleka*, gave a more pragmatic reply:

> Don't be too extreme! As long as the product itself is *halal* it doesn't matter who produces it. This idea would make modern life nearly impossible: you cannot drive a car, cannot use a computer, cannot use light bulbs, and cannot use a mobile phone [...] One of the causes of extremism is ignorance about Islam. That's why it is important to study religion. Muslims are allowed to use products made by non-Muslims, thank God! It makes life much easier![10]

This example is emblematic of debates among (young) Indonesian Muslims about whether one should reject or accept technologies as part of one's religious identity. In this case technologies are understood as consumption items. In other discussions technologies are considered as media through which people relate to others, to the outside world, and ultimately, to oneself. This leads to questions like, "Is it allowed to divorce via SMS?" or, "Does the exchange of 'crazy' e-mails, SMSes, and phone calls count as adultery?"[11] In such discussions it is the dynamic boundaries of the collective playing field, the identity category itself, that are questioned instead of individual adherence to a fixed set of rules. The way *antoniobandalem* formulates his question – interspersed with religious terms – is not, "Am I a good Muslim when I use *kafir* goods?" but, "Is Islam capable of incorporating the use of these novelty products?" A term like *haram* underlines the perceived alien nature of such products as polluting not just the individual Muslim but Islam as a whole. Further, *antoniobandalem* connects his religious identity directly to issues on a global scale. In terms of we versus them, he refers to the worldwide Islamic community and the political dominance of America. He is not just questioning the identity category itself, but the relation between Islam and competing entities. Finally, the above case shows how new media technologies like Internet mailing lists are used to bypass traditional authorities on cultural and religious matters and question the rules. This can swing both ways. It can lead to a broadening or a narrowing of perspectives. *Antoniobandalem*'s Islamic teachers from the village profess one cannot use *kafir* products, but thanks to the answers he gets on the mailing list he now knows one can. It is not inconceivable, however, that these same media allow people to dig themselves in a parochial trench which can act to (re)solidify boundaries.

Concluding: playing with narratives

Narratives act as blueprints for the way people construct and interpret their identities. Indeed for Indonesians the practices of *gengsi* and *bergaul* and the debates about mobile media modernity are, in Clifford Geertz' words, "a story they tell themselves about themselves" (1975, 448). In Ricoeur's view, narrative identity aims to be a declaration of the self. It allows people after careful introspection to state: "Here I am!" and "Here is where I stand!" (1992, 167-8). An important element in Ricoeur's theory is the tension between what goes into the plot of the story (*concordance*) and what is left out (*discordance*). Nonetheless he remains silent on how this selection process occurs. Narrative theory pays no attention to the circumstances under which people make statements about themselves, the specific conditions under which they tell certain stories, and how and why they prefer or are driven to share one story but not another.

I propose to use the notion of play as a lens in order to highlight this reflexivity towards the medium and mediating process in identity construction.[12] The play perspective questions how declarations of the self come into being and shifts attention to situation-specific performances of the self. Playful identity complements narrative identity by highlighting the conditions under which particular stories are told and how identifications come into being. Play highlights the motivations behind people's choices, as well as the fact that people are driven by outside forces regardless of whether these are phrased as rules, law, fate, coincidence, or divine interventions.[13] We engage in free play and at the same time we are being played. Unlike narrative with its focus on emplotment and closure, play thus underlines the fundamental open-endedness of the question "Who am I?" The quest for identity is never finished. It is an "infinite game" (Carse 1986).

In the introduction of this chapter we have seen that identity in Ricoeur's narrative theory emerges from a threefold mimetic process. In a proposed theory of playful identities this threefold mimetics is reworked into $Play_{1\text{-}2\text{-}3}$ (de Lange 2010; de Mul, Frissen, and Raessens 2005). In $Play_1$, life's interactions are pre-understood as playful. In a dialectic between free play and rule-driven game, mobile media at once open up room to experiment with identity in the display of *gengsi* and the social play of *bergaul*, and constrain life with new burdens like forcibly having to choose the right model, to always communicate in creative ways, and to continually question pre-existing identity categories and make an effort to reconcile these with "modern" technologies. In $Play_2$, interactions are explicitly configured in playful ways. Sociologists such as Erving Goffman (1959) have pointed

out that self-presentation in everyday social interactions involves illusory role-playing. In *gengsi*, people playfully express themselves by customizing their phones and engaging in make-believe. In *bergaul* people engage in witty to-and-fro play with language and context, as well as the deliberate coding and decoding of text messages. For *antoniobandalem* the use of Islamic terms like *haram*, *kafir*, and *umat* expresses his group affiliation in the specific context of that Islamic forum. He uses them as verbal props in his presentation of the self. In $Play_3$, people reflexively understand themselves and others as playing beings, and life as play. In the case of people who pretend to be businessmen by ostentatiously flaunting their phones, Adi comes to understand the office as a stage, the phone as a prop, and people as actors in playful performances. In *gengsi* and *bergaul* reflexive identity mediations occur via mobile media. People relate to the artifact, their communication, and to their own play. Mobile phone *gengsi* plays with the pretense involved in everyday role-playing. Mobile phone *bergaul* involves an infinite metaplay with its own rules. Identities emerge not merely in storytelling "after the fact", to borrow another one of Geertz' phrases; identities emerge by playing with narratives. From the theatrical performances of the self in *gengsi* to the social play in *bergaul*, mobile media technologies shape identities in what theater theorist Schechner calls a performative "showing of a doing" (Schechner 2003, 114-5). People come to question the pre-given rules of traditional cultural and religious narratives, and must continuously juggle the parameters. In a "mobile" world that many perceive as rapidly changing, formerly solid foundations of identification are constantly being questioned, experimented with, and transgressed. In the case of the young Muslim who questions the compatibility of mobile media with his religious identity, the quest for selfhood involves constant negotiations of boundaries between sameness and otherness, between I and we, between us and them, between the overarching structuring category and the specific self-determining instance, between local authorities and global online communities. Like an infinite game, life involves ongoing strategic decision-making at each new level.

Notes

1. This chapter is based in part on de Lange (2010 and 2013). Ethnographic fieldwork for this research was conducted in July and August 2007, with kind financial support from the Erasmus University Rotterdam Trust Fund.

2. Source: International Telecom Union statistics: www.itu.int/ITU-D/ICTEYE/Indicators/Indicators.aspx.
3. Source: interview with Budi Putra on August 3, 2007.
4. Source: interview with Telset's managing director Walid Hidayat and editor Nurhamzah on August 10, 2007.
5. Source: website www.perdanacantique.com (now offline).
6. Source: interview with Adi (alias) on August 24, 2007.
7. Source: interview with Dewi (alias) on August 25, 2007. I had asked her to show me "a typical text message".
8. Dewi literally used the words "try to come" (*coba datang*) which is a polite way to phrase an imperative in Indonesian.
9. Source: "study Islam" mailing-list, posted May 18, 2006: www.mail-archive.com/assunnah@yahoogroups.com/msg08382.html.
10. Abbreviated and translated from the "study Islam" mailing list, posted May 20, 2006: www.mail-archive.com/belajar-islam@yahoogroups.com/msg00092.html.
11. Sources: "Question: Divorce via SMS", posted April 24, 2007 www.mail-archive.com/belajar-islam@yahoogroups.com/msg00231.html (Indonesian); and "Question: do e-mail, SMS, telephone contribute to adultery?" posted April 5, 2006 www.mail-archive.com/belajar-islam@yahoogroups.com/msg00071.html (Indonesian).
12. I have worked this out elsewhere in more detail (de Lange 2010).
13. Play captures this fundamental duality between intrinsic motivations and external rules, between agency and structure, as for example in Alexander Galloway's succinct working definition: "[a] game is an activity defined by rules in which players try to reach some sort of goal" (Galloway 2006, 1).

References

Augé, Marc. 2008. *Non-places: Introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity*. London; Verso.

Barendregt, Bart. 2006a. Between m-governance and mobile anarchies: Pornoaksi and the fear of new media in present day Indonesia. *Working paper and discussion during e-seminar EASA media-anthropology list*. www.media-anthropology.net/index.php/View-document-details/Barendregt-Between-m-governance-and-mobile-anarchies.html.

—. 2006b. Mobile modernities in contemporary Indonesia: Stories from the other side of the digital divide. In *Indonesian transitions*, eds. Henk Schulte Nordholt and Ireen Hoogenboom, 327-47. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

—. 2008. Sex, cannibals, and the language of cool: Indonesian tales of the phone and modernity. *The Information Society* 24(3): 160-70.

—, and Raul Pertierra. 2008. Supernatural communication in the Philippines and Indonesia. In *Handbook of mobile communication studies*, ed. James E. Katz, 377-88. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Carse, James P. 1986. *Finite and infinite games: A vision of life as play and possibility*. New York: Free Press.

Galloway, Alexander R. 2006. *Gaming: Essays on algorithmic culture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1975. Deep play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight. In *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*, ed. Clifford Geertz, 412-53. London: Hutchinson.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Lange, Michiel de. 2001. *Dunia digit@L: Internet en moderniteit in Indonesië 2000*. Amsterdam, Master's thesis, University of Amsterdam.

—. 2010. Moving circles: Mobile media and playful identities. PhD dissertation. Rotterdam: Erasmus University.

—. 2013. From *gengsi* to *gaul*: Mobile media and playful identities in Jakarta. In *Contemporary Culture: New directions in arts and humanities research*, eds. Judith Thissen, Kitty Zijlmans, and Robert Zwijnenberg, 101-9. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Leeuwen, Lizzy van. 1997. *Airconditioned lifestyles: De nieuwe rijken in Jakarta*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Li, Li. 2007. Superstition or modernity? On the invented tradition of lucky mobile phone numbers in China. *M/C Journal*, no. 1. www.journal.media-culture.org.au/0703/07-li.php.

Ling, Rich, and Birgitte Yttri. 2002. Hyper-coordination via mobile phones in Norway. In *Perpetual contact: Mobile communication, private talk, public performance*, eds. James Katz and Mark Aakhus, 139-69. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Mead, George. 1934. *Mind, self, and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Mul, Jos de. 2005. The game of life. Narrative and ludic identity formation in computer games. In *Handbook of computer game studies*, eds. Joost Raessens and Jeffrey Goldstein, 251-66. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

—, Valerie Frissen, and Joost Raessens. 2005. *Playful identities. From narrative to ludic self-construction*. Rotterdam. www.playful-identities.nl/HTML/downloads/2005-2010%20nwo-program%20playful%20identities.pdf.

Raessens, Joost. 2006. Playful identities, or the ludification of culture. *Games and Culture* 1(1): 52-7.

—. 2014. The ludification of culture. In: *Rethinking gamification*, eds. Mathias Fuchs, Sonia Fizek, Paolo Ruffino, and Niklas Schrape, 91-114. Lüneburg: Hybrid Publishing Lab.

Ricoeur, Paul. 1992. *Oneself as another*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

—. 1984. *Time and Narrative*. Vol. 1. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

—. 1988. *Time and Narrative*. Vol. 3. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sastramidjaja, Yatun L.M. 2000. *Dromenjagers in Bandung: Twintigers in het moderne Indonesië*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Schechner, Richard. 2003. *Performance theory*, revised and expanded edition. London: Routledge Classics.

Silverstone, Roger, and Leslie Haddon. 1996. Design and the domestication of information and communication technologies: Technical change and everyday life. In *Communication by design: The politics of information and communication technologies*, eds. Robin Mansell and Roger Silverstone, 44-74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sutton-Smith, Brian. 1997. *The ambiguity of play*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Timmermans, Jeroen. 2010. Playing with paradoxes: Identity in the Internet era. PhD dissertation. Rotterdam: Erasmus University.