

Linguistic Landscapes and Cultural Inclusivity: Examining Identity Negotiation in Arab Diasporic Tourism Spaces in Puncak, Indonesia

ENCEP RUSTANDI*

Linguistics Department,
University of Education, Indonesia
encep.rustandi04@upi.edu

YANTY WIRZA

Linguistics Department,
University of Education, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Language utilization in public spaces serves as a central mechanism in establishing inclusive or exclusive environments, modulating accessibility to information regarding goods and services. This study examines how linguistic landscapes act as sites for multilingual identity negotiation and representation within the Arab diasporic tourism enclave of Puncak, Bogor, Indonesia, and how these landscapes shape perceptions of cultural inclusivity. Employing a qualitative Linguistic Landscape (LL) approach grounded in Stuart Hall's (1996) identity theory, this research analyzes data collected through field observations, photographic documentation of signage, and semi-structured interviews. The findings reveal that the predominance of Arabic constituting approximately 73% of observed signage constructs a distinct spatial identity that imposes linguistic and cultural exclusion on surrounding local communities while simultaneously enhancing the area's appeal to Middle Eastern tourists. By mapping the dominance of Arabic in this specific context, this study contributes to sociolinguistic landscape literature by demonstrating how commercial signage functions as a tool for both diasporic identity affirmation and local marginalization. Consequently, the study extends Hall's (1996) concerns regarding the necessity of a linguistically inclusive public sphere, underscoring the importance of multilingual environments that foster equal and equitable communicative participation and comprehension.

Keywords: identity; inclusivity; linguistic landscape; multilingualism; tourism

INTRODUCTION

Global studies involving diasporic communities demonstrate their strong presence in host societies through significant social, economic, and cultural contributions (Asscher & Shiff, 2020; Moise, 2023). A critical yet under-researched phenomenon within this context is the configuration of the linguistic landscape the interplay between signage, language choice, and meaning-making processes particularly within Middle Eastern diasporic communities (Kallen, 2023; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The movement of Middle Eastern populations to non-Arab countries is driven by both voluntary migration and forced displacement, with estimates suggesting that 13 million Arabs are dispersed globally, including 6.5 million in France, 3.12 million in Malaysia, and 118,000 in Indonesia. Regardless of their reasons for migration, these groups strive to maintain their cultural identity (A. H. Al-Athwary, 2017).

In Puncak, Indonesia, the substantial presence of this diaspora has driven a marked increase in tourist arrivals, transforming the region into a distinct "Arab village" destination (Apriliyanti & Randelli, 2020). This influx has bolstered the local tourism economy, particularly for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) such as inns and restaurants, as Arab tourists tend to stay longer and

spend more than other visitor demographics (Abodeeb et al., 2015). Generally, destinations offering superior attractions, accessibility, and amenities attract more tourists and foster higher revisit intentions (Dumitraşcu et al., 2023; Reitsamer & Brunner-Sperdin, 2017). However, this economic success has altered Puncak's narrative and, to a certain extent, its ideological appeal. On the one hand, it has converted Puncak into a site of profound linguistic and socio-spatial tension. On the other hand, this rapid expansion in tourist arrivals challenges the region's conventional image, shifting it from a traditional tourist destination to a space marked by visual linguistic dominance that may ultimately marginalize native dialects and local languages.

This study bridges a critical gap by analyzing sociolinguistic dynamics within a multilingual community where Arabic operates as a dominant language in commercial tourism despite holding no official status. Synthesizing diaspora concepts with Stuart Hall's (1990, 1997) theory of representation, this research provides a novel framework for understanding how diasporic communities shape spatial identity through visual dominance a process that simultaneously creates symbolic boundaries for local populations. To address these dynamics, this study aims to: (1) examine how language use in Puncak's linguistic landscape reflects inclusivity by facilitating intercultural communication among diverse groups, and (2) analyze how the linguistic and cultural practices of diasporic communities reinforce exclusivity, potentially limiting access and generating symbolic boundaries between host societies, the diaspora, and tourists.

A critical gap exists in understanding how the visual dominance of Arabic signage shapes spatial exclusivity and disrupts cultural harmony, despite the economic benefits tourists bring to the region. First, the proliferation of Arabic script in Puncak creates a disconnect between the tourist experience and the daily lives of the local community. The general lack of Arabic proficiency among local residents generates operational difficulties in service provision, which may foster perceptions of exclusivity and social alienation (Riandi & Nupus, 2022). Consequently, the central research problem lies in the ongoing tension between the economic commodification of language for tourism and the socio-spatial marginalization of the local population. Specifically, this study investigates how the use of Arabic in Puncak, Bogor, functions either to support an inclusive public space or to construct significant communication barriers and symbolic boundaries for host communities.

Second, while linguistic diversity can foster cultural awareness (Atmawati et al., 2024), the proliferation of Arabic script raises critical concerns regarding the preservation of Puncak, Bogor's local heritage particularly the Sundanese language, which serves as the primary language of the majority population (Khan, 2020; Väisänen et al., 2022). To safeguard cultural integrity and environmental aesthetics, the linguistic landscape warrants careful management to ensure that spatial transformations do not undermine local heritage (Maitland & Smith, 2009). This growing perception of exclusivity necessitates stronger collaborative governance between public authorities and private stakeholders. Indeed, institutional efforts to balance sociopolitical, economic, and local cultural priorities are reflected in national policy notably Law No. 24/2009, which mandates the primary placement of Bahasa Indonesia on public signage, while local regional languages appear predominantly within governmental, local identity, and social-movement contexts (Yannuar et al., 2025).

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study integrates four key theoretical perspectives to examine how linguistic landscapes function as sites for identity negotiation and representation within commercial tourism enclaves. First, perspectives on linguistic inclusivity highlight the necessity of accessible information for intercultural communication. Second, Linguistic Landscape (LL) scholarship provides analytical tools to examine how public signage reflects authority, spatial identity, and cultural negotiation. Third, diaspora studies elucidate the mechanisms through which migrant groups sustain transnational ties. Finally, identity and representation theory (Clifford, 1994; Hall, 2014) conceptualizes identity as fluid, hybrid, and symbolically constructed. Despite growing scholarship intersecting LL, tourism, and diaspora, a critical gap remains regarding the functional dynamics of non-official foreign languages in commercial contexts where they possess no formal legal status. This review synthesizes current literature to articulate this unresolved tension.

LINGUISTIC INCLUSIVITY AND REPRESENTATION IN TOURISM

Linguistic inclusivity is predicated on equitable access to information, which directly mediates perceptions of spatial inclusion or exclusion (Pennycook, 2010). However, scholarly literature reveals an unresolved tension between the commercialization of linguistic landscapes (LL) for tourism and the socio-spatial marginalization of host communities. While Cenoz and Gorter (2006) demonstrate that LL serves as a vital marketing instrument to attract specific target demographics, subsequent studies suggest that such commodification risks fostering exclusionary practices when inclusive design is neglected (Duizenberg, 2020; Puzyreva et al., 2022). Furthermore, existing scholarship on Arabic LL has predominantly focused on contexts where Arabic holds official, minority, or heritage status (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2015; Shohamy & Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012). A significant gap remains in critically analyzing Arabic as a dominant foreign language within purely commercial enclaves where it functions neither as a L1 nor L2, yet exerts substantial symbolic power over the local environment. In multicultural destinations such as Puncak, Bogor, examining this dynamic is critical to ensuring linguistic accessibility for heterogeneous stakeholders, including international tourists and local residents (Shohamy & Gorter, 2008).

Research on Linguistic Landscape (LL) has undergone a paradigm shift, moving from purely descriptive frequency analysis to a critical examination of power, identity, and cultural negotiation in public spaces (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008). Recent studies emphasize that the LL functions not merely as a communicative tool, but as an ideological representation of specific linguistic hegemonies (Kallen, 2023). Within tourism contexts, the LL is deployed as a instrument of economic commodification to target specific visitor demographics (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). However, recent scholarship highlights an ongoing tension between this commercialization and the socio-spatial marginalization of host communities (Duizenberg, 2020; Puzyreva et al., 2022). Existing sociolinguistic studies on Arabic in public spaces predominantly focus on its standing as an official or recognized minority language within specific national borders (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2015; Shohamy & Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012).

NEGOTIATION OF DIASPORIC IDENTITY AND LL

Migration is conceptualized not merely as physical displacement, but as a global process of mobility that fundamentally transforms cultural and linguistic practices (Castles et al., 2005). Rather than remaining passive recipients of displacement, diasporic communities act as active agents in reshaping host sociocultural landscapes (Cohen, 2008). In framing this process, Hall (1990, 2014) conceptualizes identity as fluid, hybrid, and continuously contested, while Clifford (1994) prioritizes "routes" over "roots," emphasizing cultural transformation through mobility. However, a critical synthesis reveals that while these theoretical frameworks establish diaspora as a mode of identity, they under-theorize the symbolic boundaries created when diasporic communities project their language into the host society's public sphere. Scholarship focusing on Puncak, Bogor, has predominantly highlighted the economic benefits of tourism (Abodeeb et al., 2015), often overlooking how the resulting linguistic hegemony constructs symbolic barriers for the local Sundanese community. Recent sociolinguistic research has thus shifted from purely descriptive analyses (Ding et al., 2020) toward examining how linguistic landscapes negotiate identity serving both as markers of localized heritage (Ou, 2023) and as expressions of solidarity with non-local elements through foreign language deployment (Cioce et al., 2023).

IDENTITY, POWER, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Representation through language and symbols is central to how identities are displayed, contested, and recognized (Hall, 1997). In Puncak, the historical Arab diasporic presence intersects with contemporary Middle Eastern tourism, transforming the linguistic landscape into a site of active negotiation. An unresolved tension in current scholarship concerns how to balance the affirmation of diasporic identity with the preservation of local cultural integrity. While language serves as a fundamental vehicle for diasporic identity expression (A. H. Al-Athwary, 2017), the unmanaged proliferation of Arabic signage introduces significant challenges for social cohesion. Integrating identity and power, Hall's (1996) theory of representation is pivotal here, conceptualizing identity not as a static essence, but as a fluid, representational process undergoing continuous negotiation. In Puncak, commercial signage functions as the primary visual medium through which this spatial identity is negotiated. Whereas purely economic models might only evaluate tourism revenue gains linked to this linguistic shift, they fail to account for the broader sociolinguistic impacts. Applying Hall's framework demonstrates that the visual dominance of Arabic does not merely reflect commercial demand; rather, it constitutes a hegemonic spatial practice that constructs an exclusive territorial identity, potentially marginalizing the local Sundanese language and community. Consequently, this integrative framework illustrates how the linguistic landscape fosters inclusion for Middle Eastern visitors while simultaneously producing symbolic exclusion for the local host population.

This study addresses this gap by analyzing whether the linguistic landscape of Puncak, Bogor, fosters an inclusive public space or constructs symbolic boundaries that exclude the local population, thereby conceptualizing language as a symbolic resource for power and spatial negotiation rather than a mere communicative tool. By applying Hall's representation framework, this research demonstrates that the visual dominance of Arabic does not simply reflect commercial necessity; rather, it constitutes a hegemonic spatial practice that constructs a distinct territorial identity, potentially marginalizing the local Sundanese language and host community. Consequently, this integrative framework reveals that while the landscape enhances inclusivity for Middle Eastern tourists, it simultaneously reinforces symbolic exclusion for the local population.

METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a qualitative case study design to facilitate an in-depth exploration of the perspectives, experiences, and contextual factors shaping the linguistic landscape of Puncak, Bogor. The analytical framework synthesizes Hall's (1990, 1997) theories of identity and representation with established paradigms in linguistic landscape studies (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008). This integrative approach enables a critical examination of how languages and semiotic symbols function not merely as instruments of communication, but as key resources for identity negotiation, visual visibility, and spatial power dynamics. Consequently, it illuminates how diasporic communities and local actors dynamically co-construct dynamics of inclusivity and exclusivity within Puncak's multilingual environment.

The study was conducted in the Puncak region, specifically along Kilometres 83–84 in Tugu Utara, Cisarua District, Bogor Regency, West Java, Indonesia. This site was purposively selected as a pivotal multilingual and multicultural contact zone characterized by a substantial influx of Middle Eastern visitors. The theoretical and contextual significance of this location stems from the unique convergence of an established Arab-Indonesian diaspora with contemporary global tourism, which together have transformed the locality into a transnational social space. Consequently, it offers an optimal setting to examine how the linguistic landscape reflects dynamics of inclusivity, exclusivity, and identity negotiation. The empirical dataset comprised a diverse array of public items including commercial signage, regulatory notices, and graffiti (Duizenberg, 2020; Palang et al., 2011) which were analyzed not merely as communicative instruments, but as symbolic markers of identity and power dynamics in accordance with frameworks proposed by Duizenberg (2020) and Spolsky (2020).

The study was conducted in the Puncak region, specifically at Kilometre 83–84 within Tugu Utara, Cisarua District, Bogor Regency, West Java, Indonesia. This site was purposively selected due to its status as a pivotal multilingual and multicultural contact zone, characterised by a significant influx of Middle Eastern visitors. The theoretical and contextual significance of this location lies in the unique convergence of a historical Arab-Indonesian diasporic community with contemporary global tourism, which has transformed the area into a transnational social space. Consequently, it serves as an optimal site to examine how the linguistic landscape reflects dynamics of inclusivity, exclusivity, and identity negotiation. The research data comprised a diverse array of public markers, including commercial signage, regulatory notices, and graffiti (Duizenberg, 2020; Palang et al., 2011), which are analysed not only as communication tools but also as symbolic markers of identity and power, aligned with the theoretical frameworks posited by Duizenberg (2020) and Spolsky (2020).

Data collection involved methodological triangulation combining photographic documentation and semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten participants (N = 10), who were purposively selected to reflect diverse stakeholder perspectives: five local business owners and residents, alongside five Arab diasporic business owners and visitors. Although modest in scale, this sample size was sufficient to achieve data saturation regarding the specific dynamics of linguistic negotiation in this localized context.

Ethical considerations were paramount throughout the research process. Prior to photography, verbal informed consent was obtained from business owners when signs were clearly positioned within private commercial premises. For interviews, written informed consent was secured, and participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality; consequently, all interview data have been anonymised in this manuscript.

To address the research questions, the study employed a three-stage analytical procedure. The first stage involved the systematic classification of all collected signage based on the taxonomies of Lefkowitz (1993) and Spolsky (2020), focusing on authorship (top-down versus bottom-up), language composition (monolingual versus multilingual), and function (informational versus symbolic) to establish baseline empirical data on inclusivity and exclusivity. The second stage comprised a thematic interpretation to analyze the socio-cultural meanings embedded within the coded data. Drawing on Shohamy and Gorter's (2008) linguistic landscape framework and Hall's (1990, 1997) theory of representation, this stage examined how signs function communicatively to foster inclusion (RQ1) or symbolically to affirm identity and produce spatial exclusion (RQ2).

To triangulate the visual data and gain deeper insights into local reception, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of local stakeholders (N = 10). Participants comprised local residents and service providers including parking attendants within the Bafageh commercial cluster (a hub for currency exchanges, restaurants, and retail shops) as well as store owners, retail assistants, and local transport drivers. These interviews were designed to elicit qualitative perception data regarding the socio-spatial impact and inclusivity of signage within the tourist area. Methodological triangulation of photographic documentation, field observations, and interview transcripts was applied to enhance the validity and trustworthiness of the empirical interpretations, yielding a robust analysis of how the linguistic landscape reflects and constructs social dynamics within the Puncak diaspora tourism space.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Field observations along Puncak's tourism corridor documented a total of N = 166 public signs across key commercial sectors, including travel, hospitality, retail, and personal services. The findings reveal a complex multilingual landscape dominated by Arabic signage alongside Indonesian, Sundanese, English, and various bilingual or multilingual combinations. This linguistic configuration reflects the convergence of local, diasporic, and global communicative influences, offering critical insights into how spatial inclusivity and exclusivity are negotiated within the public sphere.

TABLE 1. Overview of the linguistic landscape in Puncak Bogor

Language Type	Travel Agent	Hotels/Villas	Restoran /Café	Retail	Services	General Services	N	%
Monolingual								
Indonesian	0	2	1	5	3	0	11	6.63
Sundanese	0	0	3	1	0	0	4	2.41
Arab	11	5	8	33	6	1	64	38.55
English	2		1	2	2	0	7	4.22
Bilingual								
Indonesian-Arabic	2	2	7	15	10	1	37	22.29
Sundanese-Arabic	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.60
Arabic-Mandarin	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1.20
English-Indonesian	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.60
Inggris-Arab	7	2	8	4	4	0	25	15.06
Multilingual								
English-Arabic	3	3	4	0	4	0	14	8.43
Total	26	14	34	61	75	2	166	100.00

Analysis of the linguistic landscape data in Puncak, Bogor, reveals a visual hegemony of Arabic, which appears on 77.11% of all documented signage (encompassing both monolingual and multilingual configurations). This dominance indicates a substantial transformation of the public sphere into a specialized tourism precinct tailored primarily for Middle Eastern visitors. Conversely, the minimal presence of Indonesian (6.63%) and Sundanese (2.41%) demonstrates that this visual landscape is driven predominantly by commercial imperatives rather than the representation of local culture. This imbalance creates a form of visual exclusion that risks inducing cultural alienation among the local population.

Similarly, the utilization of English remains low (4.22% monolingual), indicating that this landscape is tailored not for general international tourists, but specifically for a Middle Eastern demographic. Consequently, English functions primarily as an auxiliary language for higher-value transactions or specific commercial services, such as travel agencies and specialized dining establishments. The marked marginalization of both local languages and English suggests that spatial commodification via Arabic script serves as a targeted strategy to foster psychological comfort for Middle Eastern visitors. This empirical pattern highlights the need to re-evaluate local linguistic governance to reconcile commercial incentives with cultural equity.

INCLUSIVITY IN PUBLIC SPACES

The analysis of Puncak's linguistic landscape reveals the systematic construction of the public sphere as a distinct "Arabized space," empirically evidenced by the overwhelming quantitative presence of Arabic visual markers (86%). This phenomenon exemplifies a form of spatial hegemony, wherein spatial representation emerges from a continuous negotiation between the commercial imperatives of tourism stakeholders and the cultural preferences of Middle Eastern visitors. Consequently, this linguistic dominance becomes naturalized into a normative spatial reality. However, such normalization inherently entails the marginalization of the local community's linguistic identity while simultaneously creating fertile ground for oppositional readings. The remaining 14% of non-dominant signage serves as a locus of resistance and alternative interpretation, confirming that beneath the façade of monolithic symbolic domination, a latent potential for counter-articulation and local agency persists.

LINGUISTIC INCLUSIVITY AS A DESTINATION ATTRIBUTE: IMPLICATIONS FOR DIASPORIC AND HOST COMMUNITIES

The findings demonstrate that the strategic proliferation of Arabic script within Puncak's public sphere functions as a key destination attribute, significantly enhancing the area's appeal to Middle Eastern visitors. This linguistic landscape cultivates a sense of "territorial belonging," effectively constructing a distinct "home away from home" atmosphere. The ubiquity of Arabic on commercial and informational signage serves to mitigate linguistic anxiety and foster psychological comfort, thereby increasing tourists' propensity for spatial engagement and active participation in the local economy. Concurrently, however, this phenomenon transforms the linguistic landscape into a symbolic arena of tension. Driven by commercial imperatives rather than demographic magnitude, the apparent ethnolinguistic vitality and visual dominance of Arabic actively marginalize indigenous code systems dwarfing the visibility of national Indonesian (6.63%) and local Sundanese (2.41%) scripts and precipitating a sense of alienation among native residents within their own territory. From a communicative perspective, such non-inclusive

signage practices erect informational barriers that undermine the ideal of a shared public sphere. Consequently, a critical re-evaluation of language policy is imperative; tourism stakeholders and local authorities must adopt a balanced multilingual framework to reconcile economic incentives with cultural equity. Furthermore, future scholarship should deepen the empirical interrogation of these semiotic-ideological formations (Gal & Irvine, 2019; Hopkyns & Zoghbor, 2022) to trace the long-term socio-spatial impacts of such linguistic asymmetry.



FIGURE 1. *Makhābiz Rif al-Mamlakah* ('Countryside Bakery of the Kingdom')



FIGURE 2. Local Community ABU MUTOWA



FIGURE 3. Top (Arabic): *Biqālah Zahrah* (بقاله زهره) – "Zahra Grocery."

Field observations of commercial signage, advertisements, and public notices highlight several paradigmatic cases of linguistic landscape practice in Puncak. First, the signage for "Countryside Bakery of the Kingdom" (*Makhābiz Rif al-Mamlakah*) explicitly employs the demonym *Al-Saudi* as an ethno-national marker of authenticity to build trust with diasporic clientele. By itemizing regional staples such as "Yemeni bread" (*Khubz Yamanī*) and "whole wheat bread" (*Khubz Burr*), the establishment replicates *Khaleeji* culinary terminology, effectively converting the physical space into a familiar cultural extension of the visitors' homeland. Second, local commercial actors exhibit instrumental linguistic accommodation by strategically adapting

terminology to tourist needs; for example, the Arabic phrase *Al-Mashwi Kāmil* is deployed as a functional translation for the local Indonesian specialty *Kambing Guling* (whole roasted goat). Third, signage produced by local community vendors reflects pragmatically hybrid communicative strategies. A representative case is "Zahra Grocery" (*Biqālah Zahrah* / بقالة زهرة), which pairs top-level Arabic script with Indonesian text at the bottom ("TEH ASLI" / Genuine Tea) and advertises therapeutic remedies ("OBAT: Asam Lambung, Diabet, Kanker, dll" / Cure for: Gastric Acid, Diabetes, Cancer, etc.).

Based on field observations in Puncak, Arab diasporic actors strategically deploy the Arabic language to construct transnational authenticity, seeking to recreate a "homeland" atmosphere for their clientele. A paradigmatic example is the *Makhābiz Rīf al-Mamlakah* bakery, which uses salient ethno-national markers such as the demonym *Al-Saudi* and replicates Khaleeji culinary terminology (e.g., *Khubz Yamanī*) to foster trust and transform physical space into a cultural extension of the diaspora's home region. Conversely, local stakeholders adopt an instrumental approach to Arabic, transforming the linguistic landscape into a hybrid commercial space driven by market demand. Local actors deploy Arabic functionally as a communicative bridge to translate culinary offerings such as using *Al-Mashwi Kāmil* for *Kambing Guling* (whole roasted goat) reflecting pragmatic economic adaptation rather than an assertion of ethnolinguistic identity. Furthermore, signage often exhibits split functionality: Arabic script is utilized symbolically to enhance storefront visibility and name recognition, whereas product details (such as medicinal descriptions) remain in Indonesian. This dual structure indicates that such signage strategically targets domestic consumers while simultaneously attracting Middle Eastern tourists.

ASPECTS OF INCLUSIVITY: INTERFACING LOCAL AND DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES IN PUBLIC SPACES

Inclusivity conceptualizes an orientation of openness that welcomes and engages individuals from diverse social backgrounds. It entails respecting cultural difference, ensuring equitable access, and systematically dismantling systemic barriers and discriminatory practices. Within public space, inclusivity necessitates creating social environments where both local residents and visitors feel both physically accommodated and psychologically integrated.



FIGURE 4. A Typical Middle Eastern Grocery Store for Saudi Arabian Diaspora



FIGURE 5. Local Community. The banner is an advertisement for hiring an Arabic music group

Field observations reveal three distinct linguistic strategies within Puncak's linguistic landscape. First, Arab diasporic actors construct transnational authenticity to cultivate a "homeland" atmosphere for their clientele. A paradigmatic example is the *Makhābiz Rīf al-Mamlakah* bakery, which employs salient ethno-national markers such as the demonym *Al-Saudi* and replicates Khaleeji culinary terminology (e.g., *Khubz Yamanī*) to build trust and transform physical space into a cultural extension of the home region. Second, local commercial actors exhibit instrumental accommodation by adopting a pragmatic approach to Arabic that transforms the landscape into a hybrid space driven by market demand. Local actors deploy Arabic functionally as a communicative bridge to translate culinary offerings such as using *Al-Mashwi Kāmil* for *Kambing Guling* (whole roasted goat) reflecting economic adaptation rather than an assertion of ethnolinguistic identity. Third, signage frequently displays split functionality: Arabic script is utilized symbolically to enhance storefront visibility within an Arab-dominant commercial environment, whereas specific product descriptions (e.g., herbal remedies) remain in Indonesian. This dual structure indicates that such signage strategically targets domestic consumers while simultaneously signaling accessibility to Middle Eastern tourists.

EXCLUSIVITY AND EXCLUSION IN PUBLIC SPACES

This section examines the socio-spatial impact of Middle Eastern diasporic signage on the host community. Storefront nomenclature frequently incorporates explicit toponymic affiliations referencing specific geographic origins, including Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and the wider Gulf region. This naming convention extends beyond regional geography to include culturally resonant sites and symbolic designations such as *Madina*, *Andalus*, and *Jabal*. While these markers spatially anchor the diaspora, they generate significant exclusionary effects for local residents. The prevalence of monolingual Arabic signage creates information asymmetry, restricting functional accessibility for community members lacking Arabic proficiency. This linguistic barrier fosters perceived exclusivity, causing local residents to experience spatial estrangement within their home territory a dynamic conceptualized here as social alienation. Drawing on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) geosemiotic framework, this exclusive deployment of Arabic performs an indexical

function, directly pointing to a specific ethnolinguistic identity and exclusive target audience. Consequently, while these signs serve as familiar cultural anchors that make Middle Eastern tourists feel "at home," they simultaneously produce local socio-spatial marginalization.



FIGURE 6. Landscape View of the Middle East Central Market (شواق بونشاك اندونيسيا)

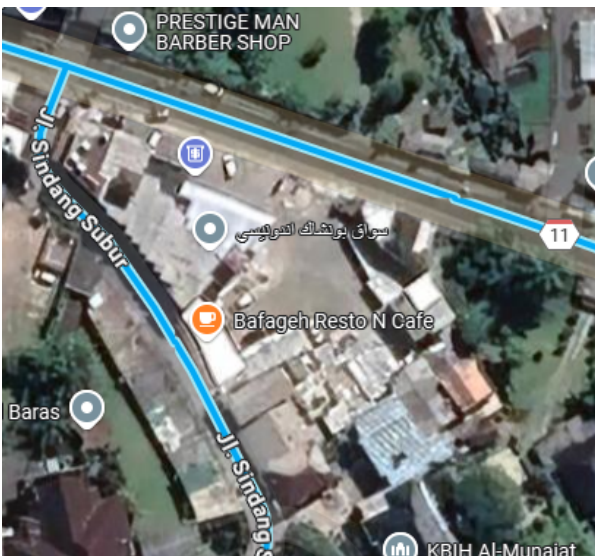


FIGURE 7. Google Earth Image View: The Bafageh complex is digitally constructed



FIGURE 8. Sample of Arab Diaspora Shop Complex مخابز بافقه

The emergence of the so-called "Arab Village" in Tugu Selatan represents a profound socio-spatial transformation wherein the public sphere is visually and functionally reconstructed to emulate a Middle Eastern *souk*. This spatial restructuring, illustrated by the signage in Figures 6, 7, and 8, reflects the deliberate construction of a "Middle Eastern enclave." Figure 6 highlights this visual hegemony through prominent Arabic commercial signage, signaling an intention to cater almost exclusively to Middle Eastern tourists. Figure 7 illustrates how the Bafageh complex is digitally rendered as a specialized enclave via Arabic map labels such as *Aswāq Buncak Indunīsī*

constructing a virtual toponymy that reinforces the area's identity to facilitate tourist navigation. Similarly, Figure 8 shows a commercial shop complex (*Makhābiz Bafaqih al- 'Arabiyyah* / Bakery Bafaqih Arab) whose explicit branding further consolidates this enclave character. While this linguistic landscape successfully cultivates "territorial belonging" for diasporic residents and Middle Eastern visitors, it concurrently precipitates socio-spatial segregation by prioritizing the commercial requirements of a specific demographic over the inclusive, open-access principles of public space.

Critically, the exclusive use of Arabic on commercial signage constructs an inherently exclusionary environment for the local community, fostering a psychological phenomenon conceptualized as social alienation. Local residents experience profound linguistic alienation, reporting feelings of being "foreign" (*asing*) within their own territory due to information asymmetry and a resultant inability to navigate these commercial spaces. From a political economy perspective, this linguistic dominance reflects the commodification of language, wherein Arabic is strategically deployed not merely for interpersonal communication, but as a high-value marketing instrument targeted at consumers with substantial purchasing power. Consequently, this market-driven adaptation transforms the public sphere into a symbolic battleground where the high economic value attributed to Middle Eastern tourists marginalizes the host population, ultimately undermining the ideal of an inclusive public sphere.

REPRESENTATION, ARTICULATION, AND ENCODING/DECODING THEORY

The dominance of Arabic in Puncak's linguistic landscape demonstrates how tourism globalization can fundamentally reposition local identities. Indonesian and Sundanese, which geographically and culturally constitute the primary indigenous languages, are instead marginalized, accounting for only 6.63% and 2.41% of observed signage, respectively. Drawing on Hall's (1996) analytical framework, this disparity represents not merely an absence of representation, but an active form of spatial displacement through which local identities are shifted from the center to the periphery to accommodate economically valued global identities. Here, Arabic serves not only as a communicative medium but also as a signifier of economic and cultural power. In line with Hall's theory of articulation, language choices are not inherently tied to commercial exclusivity; rather, Arabic script has been dynamically articulated with economic dominance and middle-class Middle Eastern tourism capital in this specific spatial context. As Bassiouney (2020) notes, linguistic symbolism operates under the premise that communication within a shared identity relies on mutually recognized semiotic resources.

Drawing on Social Identity Theory, this study posits that cultural boundaries and insider/outsider positions are continuously negotiated through linguistic artifacts within cross-cultural encounters. As literature suggests (Carter & Fuller, 2016; Hazaea et al., 2024; Xian et al., 2024), these symbolic dimensions are heavily structured by underlying hierarchies of cultural, political, and economic power a distribution vividly instantiated in the signage throughout Puncak. Crucially, Stuart Hall reminds us that hegemony is inherently unstable and never absolute, continually generating sites of potential resistance. In Puncak, while the proliferation of Arabic is normalized by commercial actors as a "tourist-friendly" facade, it is simultaneously decoded by segments of the local population as an appropriation of territorial space. This potential for resistance manifests through oppositional readings: local residents actively critique the commodification of their public sphere, contending that spaces intended to reflect Indonesia's constitutional diversity are instead being reconfigured into foreign enclaves on host land.



FIGURE 9. *Ash-Şarrāf* (The Money Changer)



FIGURE 10. Maktab Bāfaqīh ('Bafaqih Office') as symbolic capital



FIGURE 11. Writing on the glass door (Arabic): "*Maḥall Abū Yaḥyā* ('Abu Yahya Shop')

Figure 9 *Ash-Şarrāf* (The Money Changer). The monolingual signage serves as a dual-edged marker: providing functional intelligibility for tourists while acting as an opaque, exotic symbol of exclusion for locals, thereby reinforcing the diasporic enclave boundaries. Figure 10. Maktab Bāfaqīh ('Bafaqih Office'). The prominence of the clan name 'Bafaqih' operates as symbolic capital, demarcating the area as a diasporic enclave. This ethno-lineage marker fosters in-group belonging for tourists while framing the space as exclusive to the local out-group. Figure 11. Writing on the glass door (Arabic): "*Maḥall Abū Yaḥyā* ('Abu Yahya Shop')". The juxtaposition of Arabic branding with Mandarin product descriptions illustrates commercial cosmopolitanism. The shop strategically deploys "Middle Eastern" identity while simultaneously adapting to global market demands (specifically Chinese consumption of agarwood), revealing identity as a flexible commercial construct.

Empirical findings indicate that the deployment of Middle Eastern cultural symbols serves a dual function: as a tourism pull factor and as an assertion of identity. Nearly half of the observed signage incorporates non-linguistic symbols distinct to Middle Eastern culture. Interpreted through

the sociological lens of social facts (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2015; Carr, 2017; Durkheim, 2016), these symbols operate as external norms, values, and structures that exert coercive social force, thereby shaping behavioral norms for both commercial operators and visitors. Furthermore, drawing on Stuart Hall's conceptualization of unstable hegemony, the visual dominance of Arabic in Puncak, Bogor, is not passively accepted, but rather creates sites of ideological contestation. While local stakeholders normalize the proliferation of Arabic as a "tourist-friendly" facade, segments of the host community perceive it as an appropriation of local spatial identity. This potential for resistance manifests through oppositional readings in which local residents actively critique the commodification of their public sphere, contending that spaces intended to reflect Indonesia's constitutional diversity are instead being reconfigured into foreign enclaves on indigenous land.

The observed linguistic markers reinforce socio-spatial segregation, functioning simultaneously as communicative tools for tourists and symbolic barriers for the local community. Monolingual signage, such as that for *Ash-Şarrāf* ('The Money Changer'), acts as a double-edged marker: it provides functional intelligibility for Middle Eastern visitors while serving as an opaque semiotic barrier for local residents, thereby reinforcing diasporic enclave boundaries. Similarly, ethno-lineage markers, such as the clan name *Bafaqih* on the *Maktab Bāfaqih* ('Bafaqih Office') signage, operate as symbolic capital that fosters in-group belonging for tourists while positioning the local host population as an out-group. Furthermore, commercial cosmopolitanism is illustrated by the juxtaposition of Arabic branding with Mandarin product descriptions on the door of *Maḥall Abū Yaḥyā* ('Abu Yahya Shop'). This multimodal strategy demonstrates how identity is flexibly constructed to adapt to global market demands such as Chinese demand for agarwood thereby prioritizing commercial engagement over local cultural integration.

IDENTITY NEGOTIATION: DIASPORA VERSUS LOCAL

The linguistic landscape in Puncak reflects transnational identity politics, wherein the global identity of Middle Eastern tourists is prioritized for its commercial value, while local identity is subordinated. This pattern aligns with Stuart Hall's concept of articulation, which conceptualizes identity as contingent, contextual, and perpetually re-negotiated. This theoretical position accounts for why Sundanese appears minimally (2.41%) as a peripheral symbol. Conversely, the overwhelming dominance of Arabic signage (73%) indexes national allegiance, particularistic solidarity, and supra-societal orientations (Ben-Rafael, 2015; Van Mensel et al., 2016). National allegiance is embodied by Middle Eastern diasporic entrepreneurs who maintain a pan-Arab identity, consistent with Pierre Bourdieu's notions of *habitus* and cultural capital. Particularistic solidarity manifests through shared ethnic heritage, whereas a supranational orientation is strategically leveraged via Arabic signage to attract international tourists, transforming linguistic representation into a calculated form of identity economy. Nevertheless, the remaining 14–20% of the visual landscape that remains unmonopolized by Arabic signifies a critical semiotic fissure. This non-dominant space opens possibilities for oppositional readings by marginalized local groups, demonstrating that representational hegemony is never absolute, but inherently permeable to counter-discourse and continuous re-negotiation. Conceptually, the case of Puncak underscores the analytical utility of Linguistic Landscape research in interrogating power asymmetries, commercialized tourism, and spatial resistance within the public sphere..

The analysis of Puncak's linguistic landscape reveals the systematic construction of the public sphere as a distinct 'Arabised space', empirically evidenced by the quantitative dominance of Arabic visual markers, which constitute 73% of the total inventory. This phenomenon constitutes a manifestation of diasporic hegemony, wherein spatial representation emerges from a negotiation between the economic imperatives of tourism stakeholders and the cultural preferences of Middle Eastern visitors. Consequently, this linguistic dominance is naturalised into a normative spatial reality. However, such normalisation inherently entails the marginalisation of the local community's linguistic identity while simultaneously creating fertile ground for oppositional readings. The remaining 27% of non-dominant signage (including Indonesian and English) serves as a locus of resistance and alternative interpretation, confirming that beneath the façade of monolithic symbolic domination, there persists a latent potential for counter-discourse.

STRATEGIES OF LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION AND REPRESENTATION

Empirical findings demonstrate that the strategic proliferation of Arabic within Puncak's public sphere functions as a critical destination attribute, significantly enhancing its appeal to Middle Eastern visitors by mitigating linguistic anxiety and fostering a "home away from home" atmosphere. Analysis reveals three distinct linguistic accommodation and representation strategies deployed across the landscape: first, diasporic actors construct transnational authenticity to project and extend cultural homelands; second, local actors employ instrumental accommodation to create hybrid spaces that prioritize commercial market demand; and third, certain business owners utilize split-functionality to balance high-visibility Arabic symbolism with the functional targeting of domestic consumers. Despite these commercial successes, the resulting monolingual dominance precipitates substantial socio-spatial exclusion, causing local residents to experience profound linguistic alienation and feel "foreign" within their own territory. Ultimately, this dynamic underscores how economic imperatives specifically the commodification of Arabic as a marketing instrument are prioritized over the foundational principles of an inclusive public sphere

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that linguistic exclusivity within Puncak's linguistic landscape is characterized by the overwhelming hegemony of Arabic, which constitutes 73% of the total visual corpus. This spatial configuration is not organic, but rather a deliberate strategic construction by tourism stakeholders aimed at producing a welcoming "Arabized space" for the target demographic. Consequently, regional and national languages Indonesian (6.63%) and Sundanese (2.41%) are systematically relegated to the periphery, illustrating the subordination of local identities to global economic imperatives. In addressing the research objectives, the study demonstrates that the linguistic landscape operates as a complex mechanism of identity politics; it successfully constructs an inviting environment for Middle Eastern tourists, yet simultaneously precipitates significant social alienation among the local community, who experience marginalization within their own territory.

Ideologically, this landscape mirrors Stuart Hall's concept of representational hegemony, wherein business interests are articulated with the cultural preferences of the diaspora to naturalize a specific spatial order. Practically, this study calls for a balanced multilingual framework to mitigate social alienation while maintaining economic appeal. To operationalize such balance, local government policy should transition from mere recommendations to enforceable regulations,

such as municipal bylaws requiring that all commercial signs feature Indonesian as the primary language, alongside foreign languages, with equal visual prominence. Future research should move beyond semiotic analysis to quantify the economic and social impacts of this hegemony, specifically investigating the correlation between linguistic alienation and local economic resistance, and mapping the expansion of this diasporic enclave into surrounding rural areas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was funded by the Indonesian Education Scholarship from the Ministry of Higher Education, Research, and Technology, Republic of Indonesia.

REFERENCES

- Abodeeb, J., Wilson, E., & Moyle, B. (2015). Shaping destination image and identity: Insights for Arab tourism at the Gold Coast, Australia. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 9(1), 6–21.
- A. H. Al-Athwary, A. (2017). English and Arabic inscriptions in the linguistic landscape of Yemen: A Multilingual writing approach. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature*, 6(4), 149. <https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.6n.4p.149>
- Apriliyanti, A., & Randelli, F. (2020). Implementation of community-based ecotourism through waste management: The study case of Sukunan Tourism Village, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Gadjah Mada Journal of Tourism Studies*, 3(1), 43–55.
- Aristova, N. (2016). Rethinking cultural identities in the context of globalization: Linguistic landscape of Kazan, Russia, as an emerging global city. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 236, 153–160.
- Asscher, O., & Shiff, O. (2020). Diasporic stances, homeland prisms: Representing diaspora in the homeland as internal negotiation of national identity. *Diaspora Studies*, 13(1), 1–15.
- Atmawati, D., Mulyanah, A., Endardi, J., Muhandis, M., & Fatinah, S. (2024). The role of language in economic activities in the Borobudur area: A linguistic landscape study. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 11(1).
- Backhaus, P. (2006). Multilingualism in Tokyo: A look into the linguistic landscape. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 52–66.
- Bassiouny, R. (2020). *Arabic sociolinguistics*. Georgetown University Press.
- Ben-Rafael, E., & Ben-Rafael, M. (2015). Linguistic landscapes in an era of multiple globalizations. *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal*, 1(1–2), 19–37.
- Bhujel, B., & Sinha, S. (2025). Linguistic landscape as a tool of identity negotiation: The case of the Nepali ethnic communities in West Bengal. *Ethnicities*, 25(1), 43–68.
- Blazeska, D., Milenkovski, A., & Gramatnikovski, S. (2015). The quality of the tourist destinations a key factor for increasing their attractiveness. *UTMS Journal of Economics*, 6(2), 341–353.
- Carr, J. R. C. (2017). Negotiating and contesting identities in linguistic landscapes. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Carter, M. J., & Fuller, C. (2016). Symbols, meaning, and action: The past, present, and future of symbolic interactionism. *Current Sociology*, 64(6), 931–961. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392116638396>
- Castles, S., Miller, M. J., & Ammendola, G. (2005). The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 27(6), 537–542.
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic landscape and minority languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), 67–80.
- Chee-Beng, T. (2013). Routledge handbook of the Chinese diaspora. In *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora*.
- Cioce, G., Korczynski, M., & Però, D. (2023). The improvised language of solidarity: Linguistic practices in the participatory labour-organizing processes of multi-ethnic migrant workers. *Human Relations*, 76(12), 1855–1880.
- Clifford, J. (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(3), 302–338.
- Cohen, R. (2008). *Global diasporas*. Routledge.
- Coppel, C. A. (2005). Chinese overseas: Comparative cultural issues. *The China Journal*, 54, 189–191.
- Dabbour, K. (2017). The linguistic landscape of Tahrir Square protest signs and Egyptian national identity. *Studies in Linguistics and Literature*, 1(2), 142.

- Dahinden, J. (2010). The dynamics of migrants? Transnational formations: Between mobility and locality. In R. Bauböck & T. Faist (Eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism* (pp. 51–72). Amsterdam University Press.
- Ding, S. L., Kim, H.-c., & Kang, Y.-j. (2020). Imagined homogeneity: Identity and geopolitical and geoeconomic influences in the linguistic landscape of Seoul. *Lingua*, 244, 102851. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2020.102851>
- Duizenberg, M. R. (2020). Linguistics landscape: A cross culture perspective. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 4(1), 15–28.
- Dumitraşcu, A. V., Teodorescu, C., & Cioclu, A. (2023). Accessibility and tourist satisfaction—Influencing factors for tourism in Dobrogea, Romania. *Sustainability*, 15(9), 7525.
- Durkheim, E. (2016). *Social theory re-wired: New connections to classical and contemporary perspectives*. Routledge.
- El Ayadi, N. (2019). *Sounding Places*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Fang, T., & Wells, A. (2022). Diaspora economics. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 15334.
- Gal, S., & Irvine, J. T. (2019). *Signs of difference*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gorter, D. (2006). *Linguistic landscape: A new approach to multilingualism*. Multilingual Matters & Channel View Publications.
- Gorter, D. (2013). Linguistic landscapes in a multilingual world. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 33, 190–212.
- Hall, S. (1990). The emergence of cultural studies and the crisis of the humanities. *The Humanities as Social Technology*, 53, 11–23.
- Hall, S. (1997). *The spectacle of the other*. SAGE.
- Hall, S. (2014). *The postcolonial studies reader*. Routledge.
- Hall, S. (2015). *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory*. Routledge.
- Hasni, N. A., Ya Shak, M. S., Abdul Malik, N., & Anuarudin, A. A. S. (2022). Linguistic landscape of tourist spaces from 2014 to 2022: A review. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 12(10), 1695–1708.
- Hazaea, A. N., Al-Sofi, B. B. M. A., & Alfaifi, A. (2024). Tourism representation and strategies on public signs: linguistic landscape of a Saudi southern tourist destination. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, 10(1), 302–323.
- Hopkins, S. (2014). *The effects of global English on culture and identity in the UAE: a double---edged sword. Learning and Teaching in Higher Education: Gulf Perspectives*, 11(2). <http://lthe.zu.ac.ae>
- Hopkins, S., & Zoghbor, W. (2022). Introduction. In *Linguistic Identities in the Arab Gulf States* (pp. 1–14). Routledge.
- Kallen, J. L. (2023). *Linguistic landscapes*. Cambridge University Press.
- Khan, W. A. (2020). Your language, your identity: The impact of cultural identity in teaching English as a foreign language. *European Journal of English Language Teaching*, 5(4), 109–120.
- Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16(1), 23–49.
- Lawal, O., Akindutire, D. A., & Adegbosin, O. (2025). Language and identity construction in multilingual settings: a case study of the Nigerian situation. *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research*, 08(06).
- Lefkowitz, D. (1993). *The languages of Jerusalem*. Oxford University Press.
- Maitland, R., & Smith, A. (2009). Tourism and the aesthetics of the built environment. In *Philosophical Issues in Tourism* (pp. 171–190). Multilingual Matters.
- Mayer, K. B., Bureau of Social Affairs, Secretariat, U. N., Office, I. L., Food and Agriculture Organization, & Organization, W. H. (1958). Report on the world social situation. *American Sociological Review*, 23(2), 238. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2089039>
- Moise, R. (2023). Diaspora diplomacy and modes of engagement: The case of Romanian diaspora in the UK. *Journal of Communication Management*, 27(2), 173–190.
- N. V. Varghese. (2021). Education and migration: A study of the Indian diaspora. *International Journal of African Education*, 8(2), 103–116.
- Ou, L. (2023). A study of the three dimensions of linguistic landscape - a case study of five star commercial pedestrian street in Liuzhou, China. *Academic Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences*, 6(3), 1–7.
- Palang, H., Spek, T., & Stenseke, M. (2011). Digging in the past: New conceptual models in landscape history and their relevance in peri-urban landscapes. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 100(4), 344–346.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a Local Practice*. Routledge.

- Puzyreva, K., Henning, Z., Schelwald, R., Rassman, H., Borgnino, E., de Beus, P., Casartelli, S., & Leon, D. (2022). Professionalization of community engagement in flood risk management: Insights from four European countries. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 71, 102811.
- Reitsamer, B. F., & Brunner-Sperdin, A. (2017). Tourist destination perception and well-being. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 23(1), 55–72.
- Riandi, R., & Nupus, H. (2022). Kebijakan Bahasa dalam Lanskap Linguistik di Era Super-Diversity: Bahasa Asing (Bahasa Inggris) di Ruang Publik. *MENDIDIK: Jurnal Kajian Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran*, 8(2), 278–283.
- Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1(1), 83–99.
- Scollon, R., & Wong Scollon, S. (2003). *Discourses in place*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203422724>
- Shohamy, E., & Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, M. A. (2012). Linguistic landscape as a tool for interpreting language vitality: Arabic as a ‘minority’ language in Israel. In *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape* (pp. 89–106). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Shohamy, E., & Gorter, D. (Eds.). (2008). *Linguistic landscape*. Routledge.
- Shuval, J. T. (2000). Diaspora migration: Definitional ambiguities and a theoretical paradigm. *International Migration*, 38(5), 41–56.
- Snell, J. (2018). Solidarity, stance, and class identities. *Language in Society*, 47(5), 665–691.
- Spolsky, B. (2020). Linguistic landscape. *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal*, 6(1), 2–15.
- Tsolidis, G. (2014). *Migration, diaspora and identity*. Springer Nature.
- Väisänen, T., Järvi, O., Toivonen, T., & Hiippala, T. (2022). Mapping urban linguistic diversity with social media and population register data. *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems*, 97, 101857.
- Van Mensel, L., Vandenbroucke, M., & Blackwood, R. (2016). *Oxford handbook of language and society*. Oxford University Press.
- Xian, H., He, Y., Huang, F., & Latreille, P. (2024). A social identity perspective on language and researchers’ cultural identities in qualitative interviews in multinational corporations. *Critical Perspectives on International Business*, 20(5), 660 - 679.
- Yannuar, N., Febrianti, Y., Nurhayani, I., Nazarudin, N., & Basthomi, Y. (2025). Multidimensional perspectives on language vitality and linguistic landscapes in Indonesia. *3L: Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, 31(4), 420 - 448.