Anthropologists working on post-authoritarian Indonesia frequently point to media and popular culture as key factors driving social and political change in this country of some 260 million. However, as in work on other parts of the world, their analyses rarely specify what ‘media’ and ‘popular culture’ actually mean—as if the referents for these terms were self-evident, and methods of analysis unproblematic. This paper reflects briefly on the difficulties entailed in our unreflective use of these terms, noting their relationship to broader issues in the philosophy of the human sciences. Through reference to ethnographic and filmic examples, it very tentatively proposes an alternative approach directed to examining cultural production as a form of aspiration and public argument.