Repression in literacy activism has still occurred in Indonesia even though the New Order’s authoritarian regime has been collapsed. The Reformation period still colored by a series of actions conducted by the state apparatus (military and police) along with mass organizations (ormas) to disperse discussions and raiding books. The most frequently targeted are groups and knowledge products that discuss the themes of Marxism, Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), and the 1965 tragedies—themes which we classify as critical discourse. Repression is carried out arbitrarily and legitimized through a series of claims which sounds: "endangering the state", "disturbing public order", or "opening the wounds of the nation". These claims, we see, is a form of defining “others”, carried out by the state and its apparatus, on groups of people and their activities that try to explore and offer critical perspectives and new insights related to the part of history of the nation, which was forbidden to discuss by New Order regimes. In this paper we aim to elucidate the assumptions and forms of ideas behind those claims, by interpreting it based on the Indonesia historical experience regarding Marxism, PKI, and 1965 tragedies. The continuation of repression on critical literacy activities in post-New Order regimes shows that the legacy of New Order authoritarianism is still working in the State structure and strives to dominate the public discourse through the exclusion of activities and production of critical knowledge.

Keywords: critical literacy activism, authoritarianism, repression, politics of othering

**TRAVELING WITH KEBAYA: READING WOMEN, READING INDONESIA**

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Today, there is kebaya as a choice of everyday clothes for women who come from kebaya community in Jakarta, it has difference style among the people who choose modern clothes. When it comes to kebaya as product of tradition, it still alive amidst the contestation between the political of unity and political of differences in Indonesia. Those women who wears kebaya have become to conduct the body politics as it associated with people. Base on experiences in their every single trip, wearing the kebaya is an autonomous right for them to choose their own clothes. Kebaya makes them learning to understand themselves, then find out that kebaya still loved by most of women in Indonesia, but at the same time, it is being abandoned. The research subjects in this paper are members of kebaya community who wearing kebaya as everyday clothes and often traveling frequently. I briefly analyze this topic with theory of power from Foucault by feminism.

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anthropology to explain the political of the bodies as an autonomous individual through the kebaya as their choice, their freedom to travel and their williness to change the way of what most people thinking about kebaya. This topic then raises several questions: why do those women choose kebaya as everyday clothes, not other regional cloth? How do people react to these women and their kebaya as well? Are some actions and reactions able be describe the actual conditions regarding political issues in Indonesia? This research has been carried out since 2017 whose data was obtained from in-depth interviews, supplemented by travel books written by them, online media that written about them and their social media accounts.

Keyword: women, kebaya, everyday clothes, traveling, body politic

BACKGROUND

Nowadays, there are political situation polarizing some society in Indonesia and dividing them into it. One is carrying unity and another is promoting diversity. Since kebaya presents as a symbol of local tradition, it is carrying two meaning that namely about unity through its position as a national dress and diversity through its cultural roots as a traditional dress. Base on that case, today in some social media as Facebook and Instagram, there is tagline about "The National Movement returned to the national dress of the Archipelago's national identity" which raising various images of women in wearing traditional clothes, mostly in kebaya as Indonesian people known as national dress. That social movement has invite Indonesian women become returning to wear traditional dress, especially kebaya as they love Indonesia as well. According to that movement, in the last few years, some women have been present as they choose to wear kebaya as everyday clothes. They are presenting among people who prefer to wear modern (Western) clothing or some people who choose to Muslim clothing. The kebaya that worn by that women bring an interesting phenomenon, especially when they get traveling and make interactions with other people who they found in every various places. This paper comes from the research that doing by me, kebaya community in Jakarta as my analysis unit and the research subjects are women from that community who love to travel and get traveling as their job.

OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this paper is to raising the issue about how that women from kebaya community do the body politics and showing their own authority through the freedom of choosing clothes. They express it themselves through kebaya, how their needed about changing the way of people thinking and perceiving kebaya in the trips that women do as they negotiating it with some values in society. Kebaya is not only seen from the aesthetic aspect but what happen behind it. This paper is expected to fill some literature on kebaya from the point of view of anthropology as quoted from Eicher (2000) that the position of clothing in anthropology received less attention but nowadays it is being get more attention because there are so many facts that cloth has lots of meaning in many culture and bringing many symbol to analyse it.

DESCRIPTION

Those women from kebaya community become agents who influencing to their society through the kebaya that they wear and some activities that they do. In their every single trip, the kebaya that worn get as a readable medium for many people as well as what behind it, namely the character of Indonesian women and the position of kebaya in Indonesian society. For those women from kebaya community, they bring out kebaya to many position that not only as a
medium of self-expression, but also bringing some mission to introduce many people about kebaya as an Indonesian cultural asset. They also want to prove that kebaya does not hinder any activities. Those women had found that many people who they met on their trip had given positive appreciation about kebaya event though some people told them that they did not want to choose it as everyday clothes for some reasons, for example kebaya were impractical and has not in accordance with their activities or their modern lifestyle.

FINDINGS

The meaning of kebaya while those women from kebaya community got traveling in Indonesia, it has different meaning than when kebaya has get abroad. Mostly, the reaction of the people in Indonesia revolve around that kebaya is synonymous with Javanese culture. While the reaction of the foreign society abroad has become diverse, for example, informant Sabrina who traveled to Myanmar in using kebaya as her cloth as her dress, she was mistaken by local society as a local woman due to the similarity of kebaya with the costumes of the local community. Zoya's informants who consistently wearing kebaya as every day cloth, she gets various reactions from various people she had met, for example, some people thought that she is Javanese or maybe Balinese. Zoya who also love to hiking even get more provokes the reaction from others in a positive way because of she wearing kebaya as a costume to climb a mountain. Risma, who love to riding bicycles or motorbikes as a daily transportation, she wants to prove that wearing kebaya as she does, it is not hinder activities while she introducing kebaya in a unique way. The kebaya model that worn by these women has some adaption to their activities, for example when Zoya climbs a mountain, she wearing ‘kain’ that wrapped below the knee to make it easier to move, then her footwear is a mountain shoes. Likewise, with Sabrina who wears kebaya with cotton, she has modified wrapping model of kain to make it easier for her to move. Due to Risma wearing leggings behind her kain, she needed her legs closed safely when sitting on motorcycle or bicycle. In every traveling, these women carrying kebaya in a more modern sense. They realize that it is not easy to invite other women to love kebaya as they do, moreover there are some people who see kebaya as clothes that bringing sensuality and contrary to religious values. Through their trips, there is some interaction and communication with other people and the local community also, those kebaya women hoping that kebaya will get more appreciation than today. What these women has do, it is related to the concept of power discourse (Foucault, 2017), there is a desire to change the world view of others according to their wishes and spread knowledge about kebaya. According to the perspective of Foucault’s power discourse in Jones (2016), there is a strong belief in a free subject spirit that get the basic about dominance of discourse and the concept of agency, there is also a control and supervision in those perspective. According to feminism that see Foucault’s concept of power as a form of women’s subordination especially to the body (Jones, 2016), feminism is fighting for it. Although in kebaya believe, these women show their femininity and independence.

CONCLUSION

Base on the concept about discourse of power, kebaya is a vehicle for empowered women to achieve their own goals. They wear kebaya within feminist perspective, kebaya is an easy way to do so many activities, kebaya as a medium of self-expression while there is a fact that preservation of clothing culture laying in women’s hand. Kebaya women become agents of culture as well as agencies that using their authority to travel by. Through the journey, kebaya get establish broader and more global interactions that perhaps it has two contrasting things will be found, the kebaya
will survive on their own or the kebaya will disappear by itself and also will be crushed by other cultural influences.

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**POLITICS OF BELONGING AND STRATEGIES OF PERSEVERANCE: INDONESIAN POLITICAL EXILES AND MIGRANT WORKERS WITHIN AND BEYOND THE NATION-STATE**

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This study focuses on the relationship between transnational migration, nationhood and citizenship in the examination of two categories of migrants within different periods in Indonesian history, namely Indonesian political exiles in the post 1965 period and migrant workers in the post New Order period who are currently residing in the Netherlands. The two categories allow us to examine both commonalities and differences in terms of the creation of borders and boundaries; the role of the state; and relationships with the family back home. In the period between 1965 – 1967, the passports of hundreds to thousands of people who happened to be abroad to study or to represent the Indonesian government within the Non- Aligned States were revoked by the New Order regime. The role of the Indonesian state in persecuting those who would not affiliate themselves with the New Order regime shaped also the politics of exclusion as they were seen as ‘a danger to the nation’. In the case of the migrant workers, particularly during and after the economic crisis in 1997/1998. migrant workers were referred to as ‘revenue heroes’ (*pahlawan devisa*). However, the fact that hundreds of the migrants were victims of trafficking, highlights another dimension of stigmatization and boundary making, as a large percentage become undocumented workers. In the first case one sees the clear role of the state in shaping the boundaries of exclusion; and in the second case one sees ambivalences in the state’s role. This paper will examine how these divergent roles of the state but also the historical context and moral politics of various political actors have contributed to the strategies of these two categories of migrants in dealing with their trajectories and shaping their politics of belonging.