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.