



MASYARAKAT INDONESIA

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DDC: 302.3**Ahmad Fuadillah Sam****E-NETWORK SOCIETY: KOMUNALITAS WARGA DALAM KONTEKS SMART CITY****ABSTRAK**

Smart city merupakan produk dari masyarakat informasional, yakni ketika masyarakat menjadikan informasi sebagai bentuk utama dalam menjalin relasi. Dalam konteks ini, smart city menjadi infrastruktur yang mendukung masyarakat jaringan. Artikel ini bertujuan menggambarkan implikasi smart city terhadap lahirnya komunalitas di kota. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam dengan pemangku kepentingan untuk mendapat data terkait komunalisme warga pada lokus Jakarta Smart City. Studi-studi sebelumnya menghadirkan perdebatan teoretis terkait peran dan implikasi smart city dalam kepercayaan warga terhadap pemerintah melalui fasilitas teknologi. Artikel ini menawarkan optimisme smart city sebagai manifestasi bekerjanya masyarakat jaringan dalam bentuk hadirnya komunalitas melalui komunitas virtual. Studi ini menunjukkan bagaimana kebijakan smart city yang difasilitasi negara memberikan ruang bagi informasi yang diproduksi warga sehingga mampu membangun komunalitas di kalangan warga kota. Komunalitas di kota, nyatanya dapat terbangun melalui mekanisme masyarakat jaringan yang disediakan oleh infrastruktur pemerintah dalam bentuk smart city.

Kata kunci: *Network Society, Smart City, Virtual Community, City Communalities, Jakarta Smart City*

DDC: 305.8**Ibnu Nadzir****MEREBUT KEMBALI KEINDONESIAAN: AKTIVISME DARING-LURING OLEH EKSIL INDONESIA DI BELANDA****ABSTRAK**

Artikel ini mengeksplorasi keterlibatan daring dan luring dari eksil Indonesia di Belanda. Dengan melihat praktik penggunaan internet mereka, artikel ini menegaskan argumen yang menyatakan pentingnya melihat praktik budaya dan sosial di kedua arena tersebut sebagai satu kesatuan. Untuk menguraikan argumen tersebut, artikel ini menganalisis dua kasus penting yang menunjukkan keterlibatan daring dan luring eksil Indonesia, yaitu berbagai kegiatan IPT 1965 dan diskusi forum. Untuk menangkap praktik sosial dan budaya yang dilakukan di wilayah luring maupun daring, penelitian ini juga dilakukan dalam dua wilayah tersebut secara bersamaan. Penelitian ini sendiri diawali dari dua pertanyaan penting, pertama, bagaimana eksil Indonesia menggunakan keterlibatan daring dan luring untuk memobilisasi perjuangan mereka? Kedua, bagaimana keterlibatan daring dan luring mereka memengaruhi keberadaan mereka sebagai komunitas yang tersingkirkan? Artikel ini berargumen bahwa keterlibatan eksil Indonesia dalam ruang daring dan luring dilakukan dengan sangat cair. Implikasinya, peristiwa dan berbagai praktik yang dilakukan dalam kedua ruang tersebut saling memengaruhi satu sama lain. Lebih lanjut, artikel ini meminjam kerangka analisis Jackson (2013) mengenai kegiatan bercerita untuk melihat bahwa keterlibatan daring dan luring telah memungkinkan eksil Indonesia untuk merebut kembali perasaan menjadi Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *daring, luring, keindonesiaan, eksil, internet*

DDC: 302.2

Triyono Lukmantoro

HOAKS SERBUAN TKA DARI TIONGGOK: KEPANIKAN MORAL DAN BUDAYA KETAKUTAN

ABSTRAK

Pada akhir Desember 2016, muncul hoaks yang menyatakan bahwa ada sekitar sepuluh juta, bahkan dua puluh juta, Tenaga Kerja Asing (TKA) ilegal dari Tiongkok yang menyerbu Indonesia. Meskipun kabar bohong itu telah dibantah keras dan dianggap sebagai fitnah oleh pemerintah, kenyataannya, hoaks itu telanjur merebak. Salah satu situs yang memproduksi hoaks ini adalah Postmetro. Artikel ini merupakan kajian tekstual terhadap berbagai judul hoaks yang ditampilkan oleh Postmetro. Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa berbagai hoaks itu tidak lebih merupakan praktik-praktik “jurnalisme Frankenstein,” yakni sekadar mengambil berita dan memoles bagian judulnya supaya sedemikian provokatif dari sumber-sumber pemberitaan media lain. TKA ilegal dari Tiongkok dideskripsikan sebagai pihak asing yang memperburuk kehidupan buruh nasional. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa TKA ilegal dari Tiongkok itu diposisikan sebagai sosok yang menimbulkan kepanikan moral. Selain itu, mereka juga digambarkan sebagai setan rakyat yang memang pantas untuk dilaknat dan diusir dari Indonesia karena telah menciptakan ketakutan dan berwatak patologis.

Kata kunci: hoaks, tenaga kerja asing dari Tiongkok, kepanikan moral, budaya ketakutan

DDC: 302.2

Nina Widyawati

KOMODIFIKASI KEHIDUPAN PRIBADI DAN DEMOKRASI SEMU DALAM BUDAYA DIGITAL¹

ABSTRAK

Digital adalah perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi yang memengaruhi perubahan struktur masyarakat dari mass ke mass-self. Pesan media digital umumnya tersegmentasi dan menunjukkan pergeseran budaya dari budaya massa ke custom. Teknologi digital melahirkan berbagai platform media sosial yang memfasilitasi individu untuk memproduksi konten sehingga lahirnya masyarakat sebagai produsen sekaligus konsumen (prosumer). Perkembangan ini diasumsikan melahirkan masyarakat yang egaliter. Oleh sebab itu, media digital dilihat sebagai ruang publik yang netral. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah menganalisis perilaku prosumsi dalam praktik keseharian generasi internet, yaitu generasi Y dan Z serta implikasinya terhadap interaksi sosial. Subjek penelitian adalah mahasiswa Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah kualitatif, dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui focus group discussion (FGD). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa semua informan merupakan prosumer. Produksi dilakukan melalui ekspose kehidupan sehari-hari. Informan merupakan audience aktif terkait human interest, tetapi sedikit pasif dalam konsumsi informasi sosial politik karena informasi diperoleh dari portal berita dan komunitas. Melalui teknologi digital, subjek penelitian mampu meningkatkan produktivitas karena dapat mengerjakan lebih dari satu kegiatan secara bersamaan, yaitu kuliah sambil bekerja. Namun, media digital belum sepenuhnya egaliter dan demokratis karena komunitas virtual bisa menghambat kebebasan berekspresi.

Kata kunci: budaya digital, prosumsi, komodifikasi, demokrasi semu

¹ Data penelitian ini diambil dari FGD dalam rangka pengumpulan data penelitian “Media Baru dan Perubahan Masyarakat Pasca Orde Baru, Politik Sirkulasi Budaya Populer dan Media Baru Pasca Orde Baru” yang belum pernah dipublikasikan.

DDC: 302.2

Dian Tri Hapsari

JURNALISME RADIO PADA ERA DIGITAL: TRANSFORMASI DAN TANTANGAN

ABSTRAK

Di Indonesia sepanjang tahun 2015, sejumlah media cetak memutuskan tutup dan beralih ke digital. Di tengah meningkatnya pertumbuhan pengguna Internet, bagaimana masa depan jurnalisme radio yang juga terbilang sebagai media tradisional seperti media cetak? Dalam artikel ini, penulis memfokuskan pada bagaimana radio sebagai media tradisional bertransformasi menjadi media baru di era digital. Garis besar tulisan ini membahas transformasi radio sebagai media baru dari sisi model aksesnya yang menggunakan Internet dan bagaimana perubahan regulasi siaran radio memengaruhi proses demokrasi di Indonesia. Artikel ini berpendapat bahwa dengan adanya perubahan tersebut, radio bukan saja beradaptasi dengan tuntutan teknologi baru, namun juga bertransformasi dalam menghadapi tantangan perubahan teknologi dan akses penggunaannya. Pascareformasi telah memberikan tanda zaman dalam perubahan jurnalisme radio. Kesadaran peran informasi radio diikuti oleh pertumbuhan jumlah informasi radio yang dinilai sebagai perubahan ekspresi masyarakat Indonesia yang lebih demokratis. Namun, perkembangan akses radio juga memunculkan gejala spiral of silence tentang relasi wacana mayoritas yang harus menjadi perhatian radio sebagai media alternatif pada era digital. Perimbangan suara yang terisolir dalam argumen teori spiral of silence menjadi tantangan radio pada era digital ini. Tulisan ini berdasarkan penelitian kualitatif yang mengkaji opini publik pada radio sebagai media digital interaktif dengan menggunakan teori spiral of silence.

Kata Kunci: Radio, teknologi, media baru, jurnalisme, media tradisional, Opini Publik, Spiral of Silence.

DDC: 390.9

Ahmad Helmy Fuady

TEKNOLOGI DIGITAL DAN KETIMPANGAN EKONOMI DI INDONESIA

ABSTRAK

Perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi (TIK) yang begitu cepat melalui revolusi digital telah menimbulkan optimisme kemajuan ekonomi. Namun, perkembangan teknologi tersebut juga memunculkan kekhawatiran akan semakin tingginya tingkat ketimpangan ekonomi karena sifat teknologi yang bias modal dan keterampilan. Selain itu, otomatisasi yang muncul akibat perkembangan teknologi dianggap akan menggerus permintaan atas tenaga kerja. Tulisan ini bertujuan menganalisis hubungan antara kemajuan TIK dan ketimpangan ekonomi di Indonesia. Data yang ada menunjukkan bahwa pembangunan TIK di Indonesia masih relatif rendah dibanding negara-negara tetangganya. Pembangunan TIK antarwilayah juga masih sangat timpang. Analisis dalam tulisan ini menunjukkan pembangunan TIK lebih menguntungkan tenaga kerja terampil dan kelompok berpendapatan tinggi dibanding tenaga kerja kasar dan kelompok berpendapatan rendah.

Kata Kunci: teknologi digital, ketimpangan, disrupsi, indeks pembangunan TIK

DDC: 302.2

Maruti Asmaul Husna*) Subagio dan Budi Irawanto)**

BEYOND PROSUMPTION: PRAKTIK PROSUMSI PENULIS KONTEN DALAM PLATFORM NEWS AGGREGATOR UC NEWS²

ABSTRAK

Kemunculan teknologi Web 2.0 memungkinkan para pengguna internet tidak lagi terbatas menjadi konsumen yang mampu membaca, menjelajah, dan mengonsumsi konten internet saja. Lebih dari itu, kini pengguna dapat terlibat aktif menjadi konsumen sekaligus produsen (prosumer). Salah satu platform digital yang menjadi tren dalam satu dekade terakhir adalah news aggregator. Penelitian ini membahas aktivitas produksi-konsumsi (prosumsi) tulisan-tulisan sebagai bagian dari digital labor (pekerja digital) oleh para penulis konten di aplikasi UC News,

² Tulisan ini merupakan bagian dari tesis yang disusun oleh Maruti Asmaul Husna Subagio (2018) dengan judul "Prosumsi Penulis Konten dalam Platform News Aggregator (Fenomena Digital Labor Penulis Konten dalam Aplikasi UC News) pada Program Studi Kajian Budaya dan Media Sekolah Pasca Sarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada.

salah satu news aggregator terbesar di Indonesia. Tujuan penelitian ini ialah menganalisis praktik-praktik prosumsi yang dilakukan oleh penulis konten UC News dikaitkan dengan posisinya sebagai pekerja digital. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah etnografi virtual untuk memperoleh gambaran tentang kebudayaan digital yang termediasi internet. Data didapatkan dari jawaban pertanyaan terbuka kepada enam orang informan yang dipilih berdasarkan variasi tingkat keaktifan dan lama keterlibatan menjadi penulis konten UC News. Selain itu, data sekunder penulis dapatkan dari konten-konten tulisan yang dihasilkan para informan di media UC News. Hasil temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa para penulis konten melakukan praktik prosumsi dengan cara yang beragam, mulai dari mencari sendiri informasi tulisan (*witness journalism*) hingga mengolah informasi yang ada di media maupun literatur untuk dibuat tulisan baru. Peneliti juga menemukan bahwa bentuk kapitalisme era prosumer tidak sebatas memengaruhi penulis konten melakukan aktivitas produksi dan konsumsi saja, namun juga meluas pada distribusi dan marketisasi oleh para user sendiri.

Kata kunci: penulis konten, news aggregator, prosumsi, Web 2.0

DDC: 305.4

Widjajanti M Santoso³

KONSTRUKSI FEMININITAS DAN PROBLEMATIKA EKSPRESI RUANG PUBLIK VIRTUAL

ABSTRAK

Konstruksi femininitas menunjukkan perubahan sosial yang dapat dilihat dari konstruksi perempuan sebagai anak revolusi pada masa Orla dan “ibuisme” pada masa Orba. Namun, pada masa Orde Reformasi, terjadi situasi paradoks, yaitu perempuan kembali perlu berjuang untuk representasinya. Tulisan ini mengangkat masalah konstruksi gender yang ada pada saat ini, dengan tujuan membuka mata masyarakat tentang adanya ragam konstruksi gender dan melihat kelompok sosial yang menggalang pemaknaan tersebut. Masyarakat perlu mengetahui adanya upaya-upaya kelompok yang mempertanyakan konstruksi gender yang diwarnai oleh kepentingan dari kelompok tersebut. Ekspresi femininitas di ruang publik merupakan gambaran pandangan yang beredar di masyarakat tentang perempuan, seperti yang muncul dalam ruang publik di media sosial, yakni di aplikasi pesan singkat Whatsapp. Konstruksi sosial tentang perempuan yang awalnya dilakukan oleh negara, sekarang berada di tangan kelompok sosial di masyarakat yang menggunakan dalih keagamaan, misalnya yang dilakukan oleh HTI. Pemaknaan “baru” terhadap partisipasi perempuan terjadi di ruang publik virtual yang memiliki potensi mengganggu pemaknaan yang sudah berjalan di masyarakat. Pemaknaan ini menunjukkan kontestasi antara pemaknaan yang dikembangkan gerakan perempuan dengan pemaknaan yang dilakukan kelompok HTI. Dalam proses ini, konstruksi heteronormativitas menguat sehingga peran perempuan terdorong kembali ke ruang domestik dan menghasilkan gambaran ambigu tentang peran perempuan di ruang publik, termasuk di ruang publik virtual.

Kata Kunci: femininitas, ruang publik virtual, masalah perempuan

Rosita Dewi

RINGKASAN DISERTASI

ADAT RECOGNITION IN MERAUKE INTEGRATED FOOD AND ENERGY ESTATE IN PAPUA, INDONESIA

Summary of Dissertation, Adat Recognition in Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Papua, Indonesia, Graduate School of Asian and African Areas Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, xx+305pp.

ABSTRAK

Pemerintah Indonesia memberikan otonomi khusus (otsus) untuk Papua sebagai solusi menang-menang (*win-win solution*) upaya penyelesaian konflik di Papua. Otsus tersebut memberikan jaminan rekognisi bagi Papua secara legal. Meskipun demikian, orang Papua tidak puas dengan rekognisi tersebut karena adanya celah yang sangat luas antara pelaksanaan rekognisi dalam pandangan pemerintah dengan bentuk rekognisi yang diharapkan oleh orang Papua. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pemerintah melakukan “pembajakan” terhadap pelaksanaan rekognisi Papua sehingga terjadi korupsi terhadap rekognisi (*corrupted recognition*) melalui pembentukan Lembaga

³ Artikel ini perbaikan dari naskah yang dipresentasikan pada Pre Conference ICWG 2018, kerjasama antara IPSK LIPI dengan AIWA dan KPPPA yang mendukung isu kepemimpinan Perempuan di Asia.

Masyarakat Adat (LMA) dan pemetaan partisipatif. Hal ini terlihat jelas dalam pengembangan proyek Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) di Papua . Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode etnografis yang mencakup pengamatan terlibat, wawancara, dan studi pustaka.

Kata kunci: *rekognisi, adat, MIFEE, otonomi khusus, Papua, lembaga masyarakat adat, pemetaan partisipatif*

Fachri Aidulsyah

TINJAUAN BUKU

ISLAMISME DAN POLITIK KEWARGAAN DI INDONESIA

Judul Buku: Eric Hiariej And Kristian Stokke (Eds.). 2017. Politics Of Citizenship In Indonesia. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor In Cooperation With Polgov Fisipol Ugm Dan University Of Oslo, Viii + 394 Pages; 16 X 24 Cm, Isbn: 978-602-433-507-6



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DDC: 302.3**Ahmad Fuadillah Sam****E-NETWORK SOCIETY: CITIZENS COMMUNALITY IN SMART CITY CONTEXT****ABSTRACT**

Smart city is an informational society's product through which the society considers that information as a main form to build relations. In this context, smart city becomes an infrastructure that supports network society to work. This article aims to describe smart city's implication towards the emergence of communality in the city. This study used a qualitative method, through in-dept interviews with related stakeholders to exploring relevant and important data and information about citizens' communalism produced by Jakarta Smart City Program. Recent studies show theoretical debates about roles and implications of smart city on citizen's trust towards the government mediated by the technology. This article offers an optimism views concerning smart city as the way the network society manifests through a form of communalities within virtual community. This study shows the ways smart city regulation facilitated by state provides a space for information production by citizens hence communalism built in citizens context. City Communalism, in fact could be build within network society mechanism brought by government infrastructure within smart city form.

Keywords: *Network Society, Smart City, Virtual Community, City Communalism, Jakarta Smart City*

DDC: 305.8**Ibnu Nadzir****RECLAIMING INDONESIAN-NESS: ONLINE AND OFFLINE ENGAGEMENT OF INDONESIAN EXILES IN NETHERLANDS****ABSTRACT**

This article explores online-offline engagements of Indonesian exiles in Netherlands. By looking into their internet practices, this article affirms the notion that it is essential for Internet research to comprehend social and cultural practices engaged in both space as an entanglement. To elaborate the argument, this article analyzed two important cases where the online-offline engagements are performed by Indonesian exiles, which are IPT 1965 events and Diskusi Forum (forum discussion). Since the social and cultural practices were performed online and offline, this research is also conducted in both spaces simultaneously. The research itself was initiated from two main questions, first, how do Indonesian exiles employed online-offline engagement to mobilize their cause? Second, how do their online-offline engagement affect their existence as a displaced community? The article then argues that the engagement enacted by Indonesian exiles is performed fluidly in online-offline spaces. In consequence, events and practices in both arenas are influential to one another. Moreover, borrowing the framework of Jackson (2013) on storytelling, this article shows that the online-offline engagements has enabled Indonesian exiles to reclaim the sense of being Indonesian.

Keywords: *online, offline, Indonesian-ness, exiles, Internet*

DDC: 302.2

Triyono Lukmantoro

THE HOAXES OF ILLEGAL FOREIGN WORKERS FROM CHINA: MORAL PANICS AND CULTURE OF FEAR

ABSTRACT

At the end of December 2016, several hoaxes emerged stating that there were about ten million, even twenty million, illegal foreign workers from China who were invading Indonesia. Although the hoaxes have been strongly denied and regarded as slander by the government, in fact, the hoaxes were already spreading. One of the sites that produce these hoaxes is *Postmetro*. This article is a textual review of various hoax titles displayed by *Postmetro*. The results of this study show that the various hoaxes are no more than the practices of “Frankenstein journalism,” which is simply taking news and polishing the title to be so provocative from other media sources. The illegal foreign workers from China are described as the foreigner who exacerbates the life of national laborers. This shows that illegal foreign workers from China were positioned as a figure that caused moral panics. In addition, they are also described as demons of the people (folk devils) who deserve to be cursed and expelled from Indonesia for creating fear and pathological character.

Keywords: hoax, illegal foreign workers from China, moral panics, culture of fear

DDC: 302.2

Nina Widyawati

COMMODIFICATION OF PRIVACY AND PSEUDO-DEMOCRACY IN DIGITAL CULTURE

ABSTRACT

Digital is the development of information and communications technology, that changes the social structure, from mass to mass-self. Segmented digital media messages have shifted the culture, from mass culture to custom. Digital technology delivers social media platforms that facilitate individuals in producing content. Now individuals are a producers as well as consumers (prosumer), and assumed in contributing toward egalitarian society, as a neutral public space. The aim of this research are analyzes the behavior of prosumption in the daily practice of internet generation that is Y and Z generation and its implication to social interaction. The subject of research is a student of Communication Studies Program, Atma Jaya University Yogyakarta. The approach used is qualitative, and data collection is through focus group discussion (FGD). The results showed that all informants were prosumer. They are producing by everyday life exposition. On the one hand, informants are active audience in consuming the human interest information, on the other hand, they are passive audience in consumption social and political information. Many of them obtain information from the news portal and community. Digital technology increases productivity because individuals are able to do more than one activity simultaneously such as a student and workers. Unfortunately, digital media has not been egalitarian and democratic sphere, as the effect the virtual communities may decrease the freedom of expression.

Keywords: digital culture, prosumption, commodification, pseudo-democracy

DDC: 302.2

Dian Tri Hapsari

RADIO JOURNALISM IN DIGITAL ERA: TRANSFORMATION AND CHALLENGE

ABSTRACT

During the periode of 2015, in Indonesia, a number of print newspapers decided to stop publishing their printing media and switch to digital. This is also challenging for radio since it could be considered as traditional media such as the printing media. In this article, the authors explain how radio as a traditional mass-media is transformed into a new medium in the digital era. The outline of this paper discusses radio transformation as a new medium in terms of access model that uses the Internet and radio broadcast regulatory changes affect the democratic process in Indonesia. This article argues that throughout those changes, radio has not only adapted to the new technological demands while at the same time transform the media by facing the new technological challenger and access to their audience. However, despite the adaptability of radio towards the digital era, this new media era has brought up the seemingly silencing process of minority voice by the majority. This could be concurred through concept

of spiral of silence. This article is a qualitative research that pays attention to several processes of adaptation and transformation that radio has gone through since the era of Reformasi in Indonesia.

Key Words: *Radio, technology, new media, journalism, traditional media, public opinion, spiral of silence*

DDC: 390.9

Ahmad Helmy Fuady

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN INDONESIA

ABSTRACT

The rapid development of information and communication technology (ICT) through the digital revolution has raised optimism for economic development. However, it has also raised concerns about the increasing level of inequality because of capital and skill-biased technology. Automation arising from technological developments is also considered to decrease demand for labor. This paper aims to analyze the relationship between ICT development and economic inequality in Indonesia. It shows that ICT development in Indonesia is relatively poor and behind its neighbouring countries. There is also interregional inequality of ICT development in this country. Analysis of this paper shows that ICT development give more benefit to skilled labor and those in highest income group than to unskilled labor and those in lower income groups.

Keywords: *digital technology, inequality, disruption, ICT development index*

DDC: 302.2

Maruti Asmaul Husna*) Subagio dan Budi Irawanto)**

BEYOND PROSUMPTION: PROSUMPTION PRACTICE OF CONTENT WRITERS IN NEWS AGGREGATOR PLATFORM UC NEWS

ABSTRACT

The emergence of Web 2.0 technology has made the internet users not only restricted by reading, browsing, and consuming the internet content. Nowadays the users can contribute actively as both consumer and producer at the same time (prosumer). One of the digital platforms that has become a trend in the present decade is news aggregator. This research will examine how the content writers in UC News, as one of the biggest news aggregator in Indonesia, do their production-consumption (prosumption) writing activity as a part of digital labor. The purpose of this research is to analyze the prosumption practices which are done by the UC News's content writers in relation to their position as digital labor. The methodology that is applied in this research is virtual ethnography to obtain the representation of digital culture mediated by the internet. The data are obtained from the answers of open-ended questions to 6 informants who are selected according to rate of activity in the platform, and the period of involvement as a content writer in UC News. In addition, the secondary data are collected from the writing contents which are produced by the informants. The findings of this research show that the content writers did their prosumption practices in a variety of ways, either through the information of writing (witness journalism), or through process the available information in the media as well as literatures that become the stuff of new writings. The researcher also found that the form of capitalism in prosumer era did not influence the content writers in doing production and consumption activity only but also distribution and marketization by the users.

Keywords: *content writers; news aggregator; prosumption; Web 2.0*

DDC: 305.4

Widjajanti M Santoso¹

PROBLEMATIC OF FEMININITY CONSTRUCTION IN VIRTUAL PUBLIC SPHERE

ABSTRACT

Femininity construction is very apparent in Indonesia's women's movement. It can discernible in the definition of women by the state, across in three political orders (Orla, Orba and Orde reformasi). In Orla woman is the daughter of revolution, in Orba is the "Ibuisme" and in Orde Reformasi, there are paradox; women have to fight back for her representation. The article shows the problematic of femininity construction, in order for society to

¹ Artikel ini perbaikan dari naskah yang dipresentasikan pada Pre Conference ICWG 2018, kerjasama antara IPSK LIPI dengan AIWA dan KPPPA yang mendukung isu kepemimpinan Perempuan di Asia.

understand the meaning making process. The expression of femininity captured in the social media such as the WA Group. Formerly state played a significant role, which eventually decreased according to the position of power in the state, now there are other, such as by the HTI. The growing 'new' definition of women's participation by the HTI, happening in virtual public sphere, contests definition of gender and position of women in society. This situation is in the same condition, where the heteronormativity is stronger. The virtual public sphere shows a new challenging scope of women's movement that need to be reconsidered thoroughly.

Key words: *femininity, virtual public sphere, women's problem.*

Rosita Dewi

RINGKASAN DISERTASI

REKOGNISI ADAT DALAM PENGEMBANGAN MERAUKE INTEGRATED FOOD AND ENERGY ESTATE DI PAPUA, INDONESIA

Summary of Dissertation, Adat Recognition in Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Papua, Indonesia, Graduate School of Asian and African Areas Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, xx+305pp.

ABSTRACT

The Indonesia government issued the special autonomy law for Papua for granting legal recognition of the Papuan to reduce conflict in Papua. This recognition was not, however, a satisfactory answer for the Papuans; there is a wide gap between the adat (customary) recognition by the Indonesian state and the recognition expected by the Papuans. I argued that the Indonesian government applies the corrupted recognition by hijacking adat recognition in Papua. This is clearly shown in the issue of adat lands in the Merauke district, where the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) project was developed. This research shows the form of corrupted recognition in Papua by the existence of Customary Community Council (new LMA) and participatory mapping in MIFEE. This research uses qualitative approach with ethnographic method consisted of participant observations, interviews, and literature studies.

Keywords: *recognition, adat, MIFEE, special autonomy law, Papua, customary community council, LMA, participatory mapping*

Fachri Aidulsyah

TINJAUAN BUKU

ISLAMISM AND THE POLITICS OF CITIZENSHIP IN INDONESIA

Judul Buku: Eric Hiarij And Kristian Stokke (Eds.). 2017. Politics Of Citizenship In Indonesia. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor In Cooperation With Polgov Fisipol Ugm Dan University Of Oslo, Viii + 394 Pages; 16 X 24 Cm, Isbn: 978-602-433-507-6

RECLAIMING INDONESIAN-NESS: ONLINE AND OFFLINE ENGAGEMENT OF INDONESIAN EXILES IN NETHERLANDS

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ABSTRAK

Artikel ini mengeksplorasi keterlibatan daring dan luring dari eksil Indonesia di Belanda. Dengan melihat praktik penggunaan internet mereka, artikel ini menegaskan argumen yang menyatakan pentingnya melihat praktik budaya dan sosial di kedua arena tersebut sebagai satu kesatuan. Untuk menguraikan argumen tersebut, artikel ini menganalisis dua kasus penting yang menunjukkan keterlibatan daring dan luring eksil Indonesia, yaitu berbagai kegiatan IPT 1965 dan diskusi forum. Untuk menangkap praktik sosial dan budaya yang dilakukan di wilayah luring maupun daring, penelitian ini juga dilakukan dalam dua wilayah tersebut secara bersamaan. Penelitian ini sendiri diawali dari dua pertanyaan penting, pertama, bagaimana eksil Indonesia menggunakan keterlibatan daring dan luring untuk memobilisasi perjuangan mereka? Kedua, bagaimana keterlibatan daring dan luring mereka memengaruhi keberadaan mereka sebagai komunitas yang tersingkirkan? Artikel ini berargumen bahwa keterlibatan eksil Indonesia dalam ruang daring dan luring dilakukan dengan sangat cair. Implikasinya, peristiwa dan berbagai praktik yang dilakukan dalam kedua ruang tersebut saling memengaruhi satu sama lain. Lebih lanjut, artikel ini meminjam kerangka analisis Jackson (2013) mengenai kegiatan bercerita untuk melihat bahwa keterlibatan daring dan luring telah memungkinkan eksil Indonesia untuk merebut kembali perasaan menjadi Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *daring, luring, keindonesiaan, eksil, internet*

ABSTRACT

This article explores online-offline engagements of Indonesian exiles in Netherlands. By looking into their internet practices, this article affirms the notion that it is essential for Internet research to comprehend social and cultural practices engaged in both space as an entanglement. To elaborate the argument, this article analyzed two important cases where the online-offline engagements are performed by Indonesian exiles, which are IPT 1965 events and Diskusi Forum (forum discussion). Since the social and cultural practices were performed online and offline, this research is also conducted in both spaces simultaneously. The research itself was initiated from two main questions, first, how do Indonesian exiles employed online-offline engagement to mobilize their cause? Second, how do their online-offline engagement affect their existence as a displaced community? The article then argues that the engagement enacted by Indonesian exiles is performed fluidly in online-offline spaces. In consequence, events and practices in both arenas are influential to one another. Moreover, borrowing the framework of Jackson (2013) on storytelling, this article shows that the online-offline engagements has enabled Indonesian exiles to reclaim the sense of being Indonesian.

Keywords: *online, offline, Indonesian-ness, exiles, Internet*

INTRODUCTION

Previous researchers (Miller & Slater, 2001; Pink, Horst, Postill, Hjorth, Lewis, & Tacchi, 2015; van Dijk & Hacker, 2018) have shown that social and cultural phenomena which persist on Internet are not separated from previous values that has been developed offline. Their findings demonstrate that different societies from different part of the world use the same technology in different ways. Those differences are developed from the pre-existing values that has been developed prior the emergence of Internet as technology. However, this does not mean that pre-existing values and norms have deterministic relationship toward the use of Internet or vice versa. Rather, there is back and forth interactions between online and offline practices that borrowing the term proposed by Postill and Pink (2012) we could define as “messy web”.¹ In this regard, the case of Internet use among Indonesian exiles could be beneficial to discuss the complexities of such an instance.

Indonesian exiles in this article is referring to a group of people who were departed from Indonesia to communist countries, such as China, USSR, Albania, Vietnam, and others during Soekarno’s era. At that time, Indonesia developed close relationship with those countries that was not limited to political and diplomatic relationship but also on education and cultural programmes as well (Hill, 2014; Liu, 2006). Therefore, people who went to those countries came from various professional backgrounds, such as students, diplomatic representative, and artists. After the 30th September 1965 event, Indonesian military led by Soeharto persecuted and detained anyone perceived to be affiliated with communism. In consequence, those people who lived in communist countries are demanded to pledge their allegiance toward Soeharto. Amidst the uncertainty of political situation in Indonesia, many people chose not to obey such a demand. Soeharto’s regime then punished the refusal with the revocation of their citizenship status, thus made this group of people to become exiles.

¹ Messy is the term I borrowed from Postill and Pink (2012) that they used to describe unstructured and complex dynamics of interaction in social media. I choose to use the same term to show the parallel between these two interactions.

Most of these exiles continue to live their lives in each respective host countries until around late eighties when during political turmoil they moved to Western European countries, such as Sweden, Germany, France, and Netherlands. The group that resides in latter country are the one that is discussed in this article, particularly because this community is the one with the largest population in comparison with similar community in other countries (Hill, 2008, 2). Although not necessarily about the case in the Netherlands, the study of Indonesian exiles has been conducted by many researchers before. The topics has also touched various issues such as exilic literature (Schaefer, 2011; Setiawan, 2010), exiles in USSR (Hill & Dragojlovic, 2010), exiles in Cuba (Hearman, 2010), academic’s perspective on this subject (Hill, 2008), exiles in Netherlands (Mudzakkir, 2015), transnational activism (Hearman, 2016), Balinese exiles (Dragojlovic, 2010), and collective memories (Dragojlovic, 2012; Sipayung, 2011).

Despite differences on the subject, the discussion on the displacement memories persisted in many of these research. Particularly, on how the experienced of being displaced has become the most important narrative among the community over the years. Hence, it is not an exaggeration to say that the shared experienced of being displaced from their homeland is the bond of the community. It is important to note that this notion of identity based from the displacement is not an exclusive phenomenon of Indonesian exiles. Other studies from different group of exiles such as Iranian (Graham & Khosravi, 2002), Eritrean (Bernal, 2006), Palestinian (Aouragh, 2008), and other groups has demonstrated similar attitude as well. Nevertheless, the discussion on the dynamics within Indonesian exiles community still is important to contribute on the subject of exilic community. To be more specific, this article will discuss how Indonesians engage their ideals with current Indonesia by using Internet.

The existence of Internet practices among Indonesian exiles has been mentioned by previous scholars, e.g. Hearman (2010) and Hill (2008). Nevertheless, the discussion has been relatively brief thus leaving an absence on how the use of

this technology affects the community, particularly their displaced identity. In this context, this article will elaborate how their use of Internet pushed their collective memories to engage with the current notion of Indonesia. Furthermore, through their offline and online engagement, Indonesian exiles are enabled to grasp the sense of being Indonesian despite being separated from the country in the physical sense. To elaborate these arguments, I will discuss two important events exercised by Indonesian exiles. First, the IPT 1965 (International People's Tribunal 1965) and its related events where Indonesian exiles fluidly employed online and offline activism to mobilized their cause. Second, the *Diskusi Forum* (forum discussion) event where information received from online and offline practices were rearticulated and reinterpreted through storytelling activities.

INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE TRIBUNAL (IPT) 1965 AND THE LONG PURSUIT OF JUSTICE

During my presence in the Netherlands, IPT 1965 and its aftermath events was the most important topic among Indonesian exiles in the Netherlands. The initiative was started in 2013, after the screening of documentary film, *The Act of Killing*, in the Netherlands. When this documentary was launched publicly, many scholars and human rights activists considered it important because it had great impact raising international and domestic awareness about communist persecution in Indonesia during 1965–1966. Realizing this momentum, several activists and scholars in the Netherlands worked to create a movement to pursue the Indonesian's government responsibility, including sociologist Saskia Wierenga² and Nursyahbani Katjasungkana.³ After a series of discussions among the initiators, they came up with idea of organizing a people's tribunal.

The idea for a people's tribunal on the 1965 case was developed from the precedents of other tribunals including the *Russell Tribunal*⁴ and *Biak*

Tribunal.⁵ The initiators were aware that this kind of tribunal could not execute any legal sanctions, but could only provide moral sanctions. However, this was still considered an important progress since its result could be used as a legal basis to pursue justice from the Indonesian government regarding persecution in 1965/1966.⁶ Previously, there were several other initiatives that aimed to bring justice for these people, particularly after the fall of the New Order.

During the presidential period of Abdurrahman Wahid, known as Gus Dur, for example, there was a talk to bring exiles that he described as “orang-orang *klayaban*”⁷. Gus Dur already interacted with Indonesian exiles long before he became president. Therefore, he understood the situation of these people and sent his Minister of Justice, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, to assess the possibilities of returning this community to Indonesia. Yusril came to Netherlands and met several exiles to listen their opinion about the plan. Some held great expectations that their long aspiration would finally be realised after this meeting. However, there was no continuation of this effort after Gus Dur was impeached in 2001.⁸

During the presidential term of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, there was also an effort to return citizenship to these exiles. The representation of Indonesian embassy in Netherlands met several Indonesian exiles and proposed to give them a new Indonesian passport. To process the passport, Indonesian exiles were formally viewed as Indonesian citizens who had failed to extend their passport. While a few accepted this

the same name was created to investigate other state crimes.

⁵ A tribunal initiated to conduct an investigation of the Indonesian government's crimes in Biak, West Papua.

⁶ As manifested on their website, <http://www.tribunal1965.org/id/about/faq-ipt-65/>, accessed on December 12th, 2016

⁷ Literally translated as wanderers, referring to the fact that exiles were forced to move around countries after being prevented from returning.

⁸ Interview with Sarmaji on June 30th, 2016. Sarmaji did not elaborate further on how the talks of this effort failed. However, he implied that he questioned the sincerity of Yusril on his effort to talk with exiles. The discontinuation of government's effort, in his opinion proved that at the start Yusril never really has any intentions to bring exiles back to Indonesia.

² Dutch scholar, focuses on gender and women issues.

³ Indonesian human rights' lawyer.

⁴ A private body initially organized to investigate American war crimes in Vietnam. Later a similar tribunal using

offer, most of them refused and chose to keep their Dutch citizenship instead. The proposal was turned down because it did not address the fundamental demand of Indonesian exiles, namely an acknowledgement by the Indonesian government that it had committed injustice in the past. The Indonesian government, represented by the embassy, could not meet this demand, so the talks were discontinued.⁹

For Indonesian exiles, an acknowledgement from the Indonesian government that they are victims of the state's action is more important than formal documents restoring their Indonesian citizenship. Jackson (2013, 73) explains the importance of acknowledgement for a group of people who experienced trauma or loss in the past. He argues that a demand for acknowledgement from some ultimate authority is not merely an effort to seek material retribution. Much more than that, it is a symbolic gesture to regain a loss by demanding the authority to forfeit some of its power. In this regard, a public apology is an act of acknowledgement of "the truth of the experience of the powerless" (Jackson, 2013, 72). Therefore, it is understandable that most Indonesian exiles refused the offer of a new passport, as that offer did not provide acknowledgement of the experience that forced them to become exiles. A passport is 'merely a paper' or 'document', as my informants said, and so could not be seen as a meaningful gesture from the Indonesian government to meet the exiles' demand.

In 2012, Komnas HAM (National Commission of Human Rights) did research on killings and persecution of alleged communists perpetrated by the government in 1965. In that process, one of the representatives went to Netherlands and met several exiles to discuss the issue in general and the situation of exiles in particular. Komnas HAM then held a press conference in which they announced their conclusion that the execution of alleged communists in 1965/1966 was a severe human rights' violation. Nevertheless, the final report did not include exiles as part of the victims.¹⁰ Some of my informants

⁹ Interview with Andreas, June 16th, 2016.

¹⁰ For many exiles, the question on why Komnas HAM did not include exiles testimony as part of the report is also a baffling issues. However, on *Diskusi Forum* meeting

expressed their disappointment about this because they had high expectations about this initiative beforehand.¹¹ Komnas HAM also reported its findings to the Indonesian government but there was no follow-up.

IPT 1965 was initiated with a hope to create a 'different kind of effort' from other initiatives related to 1965 done in the past. From a very early stage, several representatives of Indonesian exiles were involved. Their involvement was considered crucial for the committee because one of their goals was to give a voice to victims¹² and represent their experiences as best as possible as stated by Lea.¹³

"Exiles are the first party that was needed to be heard, because we prioritize the voice of the victims. Meanwhile people who are involved in the arrangement were coming from various backgrounds... Their voices are the priority, we only helped to reflect those experiences into more practical testimony."

The delicate matter of conveying experiences to other people who did not share similar experiences is not an easy task. As Jackson (2013, 84) pointed out, there is an unbridgeable gap between the one who experienced a certain situation and others who did not. He added that this 'experience exacerbates the feeling of being isolated' and rendered the victim as speechless (Jackson, 2013, 84). In this regard, the role of Indonesian exiles is essential. As victims of the New Order regime themselves, they have the capacity to understand feelings and suffering experienced by other victims who experienced abuse and torture first-hand. Through this understanding, Indonesian exiles bridged these experiences to non-victim committee members to help make the tribunal sensitive to their feelings. Aminah and

¹¹ It is important to note that on one discussion, an exile suggested that the absence of acknowledgment toward exiles as victims was their own responsibility, because many of them did not allow their data to be included within the report.

¹² As manifested on their website, <http://www.tribunal1965.org/id/about/concept-note-on-international-peoples-tribunal-on-crimes-against-humanity-in-indonesia-1965/> accessed 12 December 2016

¹³ Interview with Lea Pamungkas, coordinator of Media and Communication of IPT 1965, June 16th 2016.

Andreas, for example, were consulted by other committee members and were asked to attend meetings for tribunal preparation.

The tribunal itself was held for four days, on November 10–13th 2015. Apart from its status as ‘legal city’, The Hague was chosen to be a place for tribunal because many Indonesian exiles who are 1965 victims live in the Netherlands.¹⁴ The whole process involved hundreds of volunteers filling different roles from various backgrounds, including academics, activists, victims, and students. They were also come from different nationalities, e.g. Zak Yacoob, the head judge, is a citizen of South Africa, Todung Mulya Lubis, one of the prosecutors, is Indonesian, while Saskia Wierenga, one of the expert witnesses, is a Dutch citizen. During the event, Indonesian exiles were involved in different activities. Some helped to provide accommodation for people who live abroad, while Aminah and one other exile testified during the trial.

One of the things that differentiate IPT 1965 from previous initiatives regarding the 1965 incident is the dominant use of the Internet. The Internet was utilized from very early in the tribunal preparations. The committee mainly used the Internet to communicate with their network all around the world through mailing lists, video calls, and social messenger platforms like WhatsApp. IPT 1965 also launched a website to disseminate all information related to this initiative. Finally, the whole trial was streamed online on *YouTube*, so people who could not be present could still monitor the trial in real time, including some of my informants. To some extent, the use of various Internet platforms helped IPT 1965 receive more public recognition, particularly in Indonesia.

The court process received plenty of news coverage from Indonesian media, some of which even sent their reporters to The Hague. This exposure then led representatives of the Indonesian government under President Joko Widodo to make a response. Around this time, the stance taken by the Indonesian government was generally defensive. The Indonesian vice president, Jusuf Kalla, said that since the IPT was

¹⁴ Ibid.

a ‘pseudo-tribunal’, there was no need for the Indonesian government to respond¹⁵, while Luhut Pandjaitan, Coordinator Minister of Politics, Justice, and Defence, accused the committee of IPT 1965 of being a group of people whose ‘thinking is no longer Indonesian’.¹⁶ Nevertheless, several months after the tribunal, the Indonesian government held a symposium to discuss the problem of alleged communist persecution in 1965/1966. This kind of event was unprecedented in Indonesia. Even until recently, many discussions related to communism or Marxism had to be cancelled, under pressure from police officials or vigilante organizations.

At the symposium in April 2016, many speakers from different groups articulated their thoughts about the event, from academics, victims, and representatives of the military considered responsible for the killings. Despite the reluctance of the military to acknowledge the systematic killings¹⁷, the general tone of the symposium was closer to the aspirations of the victims than dominant narratives regarding communism in Indonesia. The symposium gave recommendations that acknowledged the role of the state in the alleged communist killings in the past.¹⁸

A few days after the symposium, the Indonesian president Joko Widodo visited the Netherlands on bilateral business. The IPT 1965 committee and several exiles organized a public demonstration demanded truth-finding as part of the reconciliation process. They also aspired to give those written demands directly to Joko Widodo. This was perceived as an important act to respond to the statement from Luhut at the symposium that the government did not have any intention to apologize.¹⁹ Despite the maximum security, Francisca, one representative of the exiles,

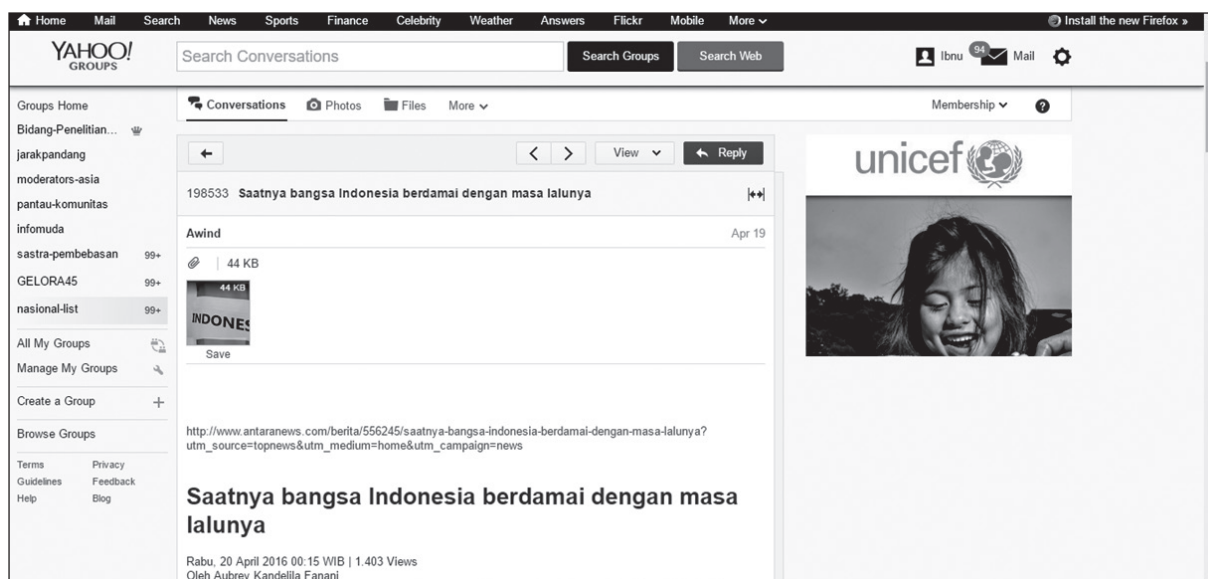
¹⁵ Hasibuan, “Jusuf Kalla soal sidang rakyat 1965: Itu pengadilan semu.”

¹⁶ BBC News Indonesia, “Luhut: Penyelenggara IPT 1965 ‘pikirannya bukan Indonesia lagi’.”

¹⁷ Affar, “Penyangkalan pembunuhan massal di Simposium 1965.”

¹⁸ Atharini, “Apa isi rekomendasi tim perumus Simposium Tragedi 1965?”

¹⁹ Theo, “Wanita yang serahkan surat tuntutan rekonsiliasi ‘65 kepada Jokowi.”



Sources: Nasional-list (20 April 2016)

Picture 1. Display of Mailing List Posting

managed to slip through and give the demand letters directly to the Indonesian president, who replied “I know”.²⁰

The enthusiasm of Indonesian exiles about these series of events could also be seen in their online activities. Their enthusiasm was expressed through news snippet they posted on mailing lists. After the symposium, Esti for example posted news from *Antara* online portal entitled “It is time for Indonesia to make peace with its past.”

Chalik Hamid, an exile, responded to this post with the following comment (Nasional-list, 20 April 2016).

“Hopefully recommendations from the symposium could heal the old wounds; hence it will not become a burden for our descendants in the future. With a legal way of resolution, let’s build Indonesia with a new face, which includes the rights’ rehabilitation for those who still wander abroad because their passports were forcefully revoked by the New Order regime. Without any effort to unify every strength of Indonesia as a nation, Indonesia will always be negatively perceived in the eyes of the world, as a state who could not resolve severe human rights’ violations within its own country.

Drawing comparison with Anderson’s notion on imagined communities, Appadurai (1996) argues that although movement of people

²⁰ Ibid

such as refugees is hardly a new phenomenon, the emergence of electronic media has an unprecedented influence. Electronic media allows displaced people to imagine their homeland through a “rapid flow of mass-mediated images, scripts, and sensations” (Appadurai, 1996, 4). In the case of Indonesian exiles, as exemplified by interactions between Esti and Chalik, news is treated as a partial representation of the current Indonesia. It is partial because they do not merely act like passive readers. They engage the information about the symposium with their hopes and aspirations developed from their experiences as exiles. Therefore, comparable to Chinese political writer (Yongming, 2005, 786), Indonesian exiles’ agency lies in the use of their own framework for curating and interpreting information they receive from the Internet.

Appadurai (1996) also discussed the role of imagination as one of the most important forces in this current globalized world. When he discussed imagination, he specifically separated this concept from fantasy. While he considered the latter as mostly private, imagination has what he called a “projective sense” (Appadurai, 1996, 7). This quality enables imagination to be translated into actions. In this regard, while Indonesian exiles interpret information based on their ideals, information from the Internet also shapes their ideas about themselves and Indonesia

as a homeland. On the post above, for instance, Chalik's comment demonstrated the negotiation between his ideas about Indonesia in the past where the government had committed human rights' violations, with present-day Indonesia in which he could put his hopes. Thus, in these practices, there is a constant negotiation between past and present. This kind of engagement with homeland would be unthinkable without the use of the Internet. While their collective imagination as exiles has long been an important drive of their political engagements, online practices bring a new dynamic.

These engagements show that Indonesian exiles are not only concerned about things that happened in the past, but also about the present situation. This interest is relatively distinct, particularly considering their status as an elder. For comparison, Khvorostianov, Elias, and Nimrod (2012, 595) shows that older Russian Jewish migrants in Israel prefer to use the Internet to look about the past in Russia. Unlike the younger migrants, they do not have any interest in the current situation in Russia.

The involvement of Indonesian exiles in this series of events also shows that their online engagements were exercised parallel to their offline activism. One example of this simultaneous engagement on these two platforms could be seen in the case of the verdict's announcement. To grasp the kind of activities engaged by exiles in this event, I would present an excerpt from my field notes.

"In a cloudy morning on 20 July 2016, I attended the verdict announcement of the International People's Tribunal 1965 (IPT 1965) held at the UvA library in Amsterdam. For many exiles, this announcement had been the most anticipated event for months. There was a great hope that this announcement would provide them with some justice they had been longing for decades. I was not very early, but not late either. Some Indonesian traditional snacks were served around the table, while Lea Pamungkas, IPT committee member, greeted other guests. The event was held in a long hall with a wooden floor. Most of the seats were already filled in a room where the big white screen seemed in contrast with the decorative posters that depicted life during colonial era. There was a sense of enthusiasm among the audi-

ences. They smiled and talked to each other while waiting for the start. I picked a seat on the left side of the hall, at the back. Sitting across from me were several familiar faces I have met before. I smiled and nodded to Andreas²¹, who was sitting in that group. Chalik, another exile, came to me and said, "Come with me, I will introduce you to Esti." During my previous interview with Chalik, he had suggested that I should talk with Esti since the name mentioned is one among few exiles who is very active on Internet.

Then I went back into room and sat on my chair. An Indonesian woman sat next to me and introduced herself as a law student who studied human rights for her doctorate in Netherlands. We talked a little about this verdict and the discussion regarding 1965 event, which at that time was also an important subject in Indonesia. "Aren't these (matters) still sensitive in Indonesia?" she asked. It sounded more like a rhetorical question, which is quite common to be found in discussions among Indonesian regarding 1965 incident. It was a reminder that for many Indonesians, it is still hard to acknowledge that the New Order regime led by Soeharto systematically persecuted their own citizens without even a fair trial.

Our conversation was interrupted when the light dimmed, signalling that the event was about to start. A pre-recorded video of Zak Yacoub, the head judge, reading the verdict in *Braille*, was screened. Alongside his statements, the video also showed an old footage of the communists' persecution in Indonesia. Everyone paid attention to that video and several people made some notes. The verdict took a strong stance against the crime and demanded the Indonesian government to be responsible for the victims. There was one exile who looked overwhelmed by the verdict; her colleague then patted her back. After the screening, the committee turned the light on again and people clapped as token of appreciation to the verdict.

After the screening, the committee asked several people to give a speech about the verdict. Among people who presented a speech was the exiles' representative, Sarmadji. He gave a speech in Indonesian that was translated into Dutch by an interpreter. "For me it (the verdict) is necessary to be disseminated among Indonesian people. It is very important because until today there have been a lot of manipulations regarding (30th September) 1965 incident," he said. Other speakers

²¹ The chairman of Persaudaraan, an Indonesian exiles community in Netherlands.

then emphasized how this verdict could be dealt with an international organization like the UN, and the necessity to push the Indonesian government by Indonesian society from within country. Those speeches concluded the event that morning. Yet many people were still eager to talk with each other, to share their thoughts and opinions about the verdict.”

As described above, Indonesian exiles were present at this event. Whether to observe, document the event, or present a speech, they enthusiastically participated in this offline event. Shortly after the event, there were many posts related to the verdict announcement on the Internet. In one secret Facebook group²² of IPT 1965 for example, one exile posted news about the Indonesian government’s response to the IPT 1965 verdict. To this news, he added his comment, “The government has started to feel besieged.”²³ With this post, this exile implied that the verdict had a significant pressure to the government. There were also posts created on mailing lists. Esti, for example, commented on the government’s refusal to work on this verdict.

“...the greatest deception was the one that Soeharto did with his military. This deception still rules over most brains in Indonesia. Soeharto’s deceptions alongside ABRI have sacrificed millions of innocent Indonesian citizens, alongside its natural resources. Now, the one who is referred as Reformation government is still trying to deceive the Indonesian people. Will Indonesia continue to live with deceptions? Read the conclusion of the IPT that was held in The Hague in 2015, that was announced on 20 July 2016 in Amsterdam.”

AA (GELORA 45, 21 April 2016)

In this post, Esti connected the recent information regarding IPT 1965 with older knowledge and ideals about Indonesia in the past. Esti addressed the past by writing about Soeharto’s deception. He then elaborated the past even further as some sort of original sin when he said that act of deceptions had taken a toll on Indonesia that was still affecting the general

²² As mentioned before, it is a feature of Facebook that means the group could not be found or accessed by other users unless they added into the group by its founder/moderator.

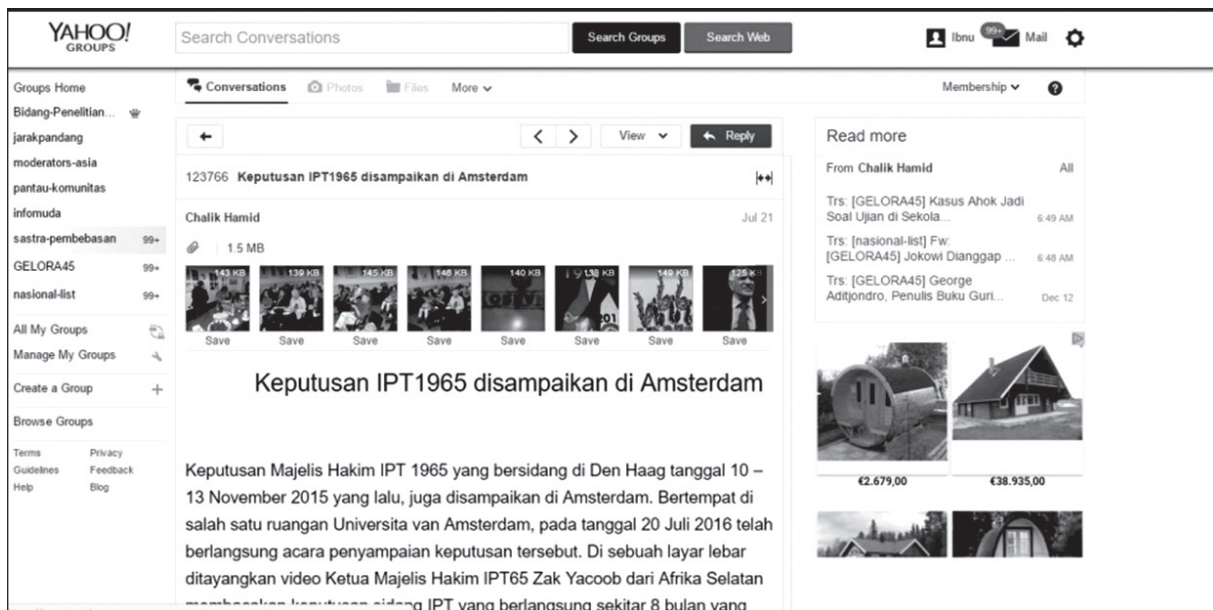
²³ Posted on 22 July 2016

society today. In the last part of his argument, he made the connection between the Indonesia in the past and present when he asserted that the current regime reproduced similar deceptions. He also stated that the conclusion of IPT 1965 should be taken as a reference to expose the deception.

When Esti talked about IPT 1965, this was not an event he referred in a distant past. The initiative is also not something he learned about only through online platforms like Facebook. Rather it is something he was personally involved with, alongside many other exiles in the Netherlands. Therefore, Esti was making online posts while at the same time performing offline activism. He has performed these kinds of activities since the mid-1990s. He joined multiple organizations in the Netherlands to oppose Soeharto, and at the same time, he was also active in *Apakabar*. These two forms of activism were performed simultaneously, thus influencing each other. The activities of his organizations became a reference for his posting. On the other hand, the information he received from *Apakabar* informed the kind of actions made by his organizations.

Chalik’s case is similar to this. He attended many of the events related to IPT 1965. He also documented those events with his camera, wrote reports, and posted these documentations on a mailing list. The documentation then became a reference to other members of mailing lists which included Indonesian exiles, thereby informing their online and offline actions.

These two forms of activism should not be seen as something separated, as they influence each other. The accounts showed that both Esti and Chalik purposely performed their activism both online and offline in a flexible way to mobilize their cause. Thus the line between online and offline activism is blurred. This kind of engagement affirms the notion discussed by Miller and Slater (2001) that a complete separation between online and offline is no longer relevant. Another case that is also important to understand this dynamic is *Diskusi Forum* offline meetings. At this event, Indonesian exiles rearticulated the information they gathered from Internet through story telling.



Source: Sastra Pembebasan (21 July 2016)

Picture 2. Documentation of IPT 1965 Verdict Announcement by Chalik

EXPERIENCING INDONESIA ON *DISKUSI FORUM*

After the fall of Soeharto in 1998, many Indonesian activists as well as students visited the Netherlands. Some of them later even decided to stay on in the Netherlands. This influx of people provided information to Indonesian exiles about the current situation in Indonesia. Knowing the situation, Ana, Asih²⁴, and several other friends believed that it was important to gather information from them to know ‘the truth about the current situation’ of Indonesia.²⁵ Thus, around 1998–1999, they initiated a discussion group as a place for exchange of information.

From the beginning, this discussion group utilized email to arrange offline meetings. Later, they created their *Diskusi Forum* mailing list to do this process, which is still used until today. The *Diskusi Forum* meetings do not have any given schedules, but are arranged ad hoc based on a certain interest of issues or informants that happen to come to the Netherlands. Once, for instance, they arranged a meeting because Asvi Warman Adam, Indonesian historian, was visiting the Netherlands. Other occasions, like the one I attended, were arranged because many exiles were interested in discussing the impact of the

1965 symposium. As stated in the previous section, it was also a topic that became an important discussion on the Internet. At some point in the past, there were offline meetings once every two months. In every meeting, the numbers of participants would vary between twenty and fifty people. In recent years, the number of participants has declined mostly because some members have passed away.

My participation in a *Diskusi Forum* event was triggered by one interview with an informant. Knowing that I was interested to find out about the use of the Internet among Indonesian exiles, she suggested for me to contact Asih, a co-founder of this forum. Several days later, I met her and she invited me to come at their next meeting. We then interacted through emails, in which she also explained the general agenda of the meeting:

“Please bring your friend. This is not a closed meeting. (It is) a free event. We will talk about the 65 symposium, for which until today there has not been any follow-up. (We will also talk) about the governor elections of DKI, and the government’s policy in handling its ocean to become a maritime country. There are also friends of the Forum that will present impressions from their visit to Indonesia. Thus, the schedule is quite tight...” (Asih’s email, 2 August 2016)

²⁴ Pseudonym

²⁵ Interview with Ana, August 17th, 2016

Based on that email, it is clear that this forum does not discuss only a single topic, rather multiple topics mostly issues that were considered relevant in contemporary Indonesia. The meeting was located in Zeist, in a small common room surrounded by apartments. *Diskusi Forum* does not always use this place as a location. For past events with fewer participants, the meetings were held at Ana's or Asih's place. When I arrived, there were already several participants that talked to each other. By the time the event started, several minutes after eleven, around thirty participants were present in that room. Most of the participants were exiles, and there were approximately the same number of men and women in the venue. Asih opened the event by explaining the agenda to the other participants. She suggested to allocate the time into two sections. The first section was the presentation by several exiles who had recently visited Indonesia. They were expected to talk about their impressions of the current situation in Indonesia. The second section was a discussion on political issues that were mentioned previously in Asih's email. Before the meeting started, I introduced myself and asked their permission to record the discussion. Some participants objected to being recorded, while others did not mind. Therefore, it was decided by the forum that the participants who objected would express their objection before they talked. In this article I use pseudonyms to refer to anyone apart from the informants I interviewed personally.

Ana was the first presenter. During her visit to Indonesia, she had the opportunity to talk and interact with what she referred to as the 'young generation'. She said that from these interactions she learned a lot of information about current political and social issues in Indonesia. To other participants in the *Diskusi Forum*, she conveyed that despite having good political intentions, Indonesian president Joko Widodo was still facing many great problems. Ana said that one of the most important problems is how many new laws give too much freedom for foreign investment. On a more positive note, she then talked about the progress of Jakarta under the current governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. In her opinion, the progress made by him could be seen from various aspects, from better transportation and clean

rivers to less corruption from public officials. Ana also added that she grew up in Jakarta and had visited this city several times since she moved to the Netherlands, but had never seen this kind of progress in the past. Therefore, she hoped that the current governor could be re-elected in the next election.

The rules stated by Asih at the beginning mentioned how the questions should be asked after presentation. Nevertheless, in reality the participants made comments or asked questions during Ana's presentation. Kartaprawira, for instance, corrected Ana on her statement that Basuki had eradicated corruption. He said that Basuki did not eradicate corruption, since it is another government body's responsibility. However, Basuki implemented bureaucratic reform that minimized the chance of corruption. Farida, who recently had also visited Jakarta, verified several points made by Ana. Aside from her impressions about Indonesia's development, Farida also told the forum about how different the acceptance she received from family and relatives this time. Despite her background as an exile, her family gave her a warm welcome. This was contrasted to her visit to Indonesia eighteen years ago, when many people ignored her. Farida believed that it was part of the positive developments in Indonesia.

The discussion on the first session was not all about social and political issues, some presenters emphasized their trip more as part of their leisure activities. Chalik, for instance, presented his road trip with his family to several cities in Sumatera. His stories presented a contrast between the problems he faced, such as bad infrastructure or bad ethics of civil servants, with the beautiful scenery of places he visited. Another participant, Hidayat²⁶ also talked more about the trip as a holiday experience. He expressed curiosity about how the guard of one tourism site could recognize his foreign citizenship from body language. Hidayat also visited Soekarno's burial, where he proudly identified himself as "Soekarno's fan" to the officer of the burial. He quite surprised himself that he felt safe enough to present his identity to that stranger. In this regard, he agreed with Farida that in general he also felt much safer than on previous trips.

²⁶ Pseudonym

After the lunch break, the second session started, again with Asih as the moderator. She gave the first opportunity to talk to Kartaprawira as the head of LPK65²⁷. He was requested to comment on the suggestion to initiate dialogue between the Indonesian government and exile community, just like the one they did during Gus Dur's presidency. At the beginning of his talk, Kartaprawira said that he did not go to the IPT 1965 verdict announcement due to illness. Nevertheless, he followed the announcement through online streaming. Kartaprawira also stressed how he spread the link of that live stream to his blog and several mailing lists that could reach thousands of members. He continued his presentation by praising Joko Widodo for his good track record, as public officials can be monitored for various aspects of development such as education, health, and infrastructure. Even more important for this community, he posited that Widodo has promised to solve cases of past human rights' violations. This promise, Kartaprawira said, can be regarded as a debt that can only be collected at the end of his term. Therefore, he suggested monitoring this presidency first before demanding the 'payment' of that debt.

For Kartaprawira, the symposium is the start of that promise's fulfilment. Nevertheless, there are still many people in Indonesia who oppose this effort, particularly from the military. They even created their own symposium to counter the first symposium. Since the results from both symposiums had already been given to the president, he suggested waiting for the follow up of this situation. At the end of his talk, Kartaprawira praised the IPT 1965. Although this initiative could not give legal sanctions, it helps to prove to the international public that there were severe human rights' violations in Indonesia. Moreover, he reminded others that IPT 1965 managed to address exiling people as part of human rights' violations when previously this categorization was failed to be included on the report made by Komnas HAM. At the end, he did not really address the question started by Asih, but the topic he discussed was relevant to the one suggested at the beginning of the meeting.

²⁷ *Lembaga Perlindungan Korban 1965*, a foundation initiated by exiles in Netherlands to advocate victims related to 1965 event.

Similar to the first session, other participants were also given opportunity to respond to Kartaprawira's presentation. Speaking pessimistically, Hidayat considered efforts to solve human rights' violations in Indonesia as suffering a setback. This could be seen from the rise of anti-communist movements in Indonesia, and the placement of human rights' violators in strategic government positions. In a similar tone, Andreas praised the importance of IPT 1965, but reminded others not to expect too much. His opinion was based on the observation that the president took an ambiguous position toward solving human rights' violations. On the other hand, IPT 1965 does not have the function to punish the perpetrators. However, given the circumstances, and judging from people's responses, Andreas considered that IPT 1965 was quite successful.

As one of the participants, I was also requested to give my opinions on this matter. I started my opinion by saying that I grew up during the last decade of New Order regime, where its control toward society was not as strong as it used to be. Hence, though my generation still experienced some of propaganda against communism, we also had more access to other information regarding the same subject. This fact was also addressed by many other participants at this event, that is also the one of the reason they asked me to talk which was to represent younger generations' opinion on these matters. I stated that I agreed with many points discussed before. I mentioned that despite the strong re-emergence of the anti-communist movement in Indonesia, the fact that more people currently engage with Marxism through publications or activism shows that the situation in Indonesia is not completely negative. Rather it is a democratic arena where there is a contestation of ideas regarding the issue.

Similar to several exiles, Esti then shared his concern regarding government's intention to solve human rights' violations. Additionally, he pointed out how the exile community might have some responsibility for not being included in the Komnas HAM report. Other participant, Sarmadji, added another interesting point on these topics. He argued that the exile community has the resilience to keep on struggling for justice.

In his case, this struggle is reflected in his daily activities collecting various publications related to communism and the 1965 incident in Indonesia. Sarmadji also believes that exile's spirit of struggle will be inherited by younger generations. Around half past four, the event was ended because the room was rented and there is time limit for the use. At the end of the discussion, Asih stated that this forum had been initiated so they could hear each other's opinions. Although there were many different opinions, it was important to discuss them freely so they could use these as a reference for their own consideration.

In reality, the interactions were even messier²⁸ and more spontaneous than this description. During each presentation, for example, there were many interruptions made to respond to some points made by presenters. Aside from the main topics, there were also smaller topics that were discussed in between the presentations. For example, some participants talked about the length of stay permit in Indonesia as a foreigner. Others dwelt on very particular subjects like the quality of Indonesian trains. In this regard, the messiness and spontaneity resemble similar form of discussions that are performed online, especially on mailing lists.

On mailing lists, the interactions are usually started by postings from some members. Postings are created by forwarding news considered relevant onto the list. On rare occasions, members produced their own written piece about certain issues. Other members then respond to these posts, most of the time with short commentaries. The continuation of the interactions depends on how controversial the topic is or the response from the members of the mailing list.

Similar interactions took place at this event. The discussions were started with presentations from several participants. The other participants responded to the main presenters, sometimes in the middle of their presentation. Hence, the stories presented by these presenters were constantly affirmed or refuted during the presentations. This pattern of interactions made the discussions really hard to have any kind of consensus. Asih is completely aware of this nature of *Diskusi*

Forum. Therefore, she never tries to draw any kind of conclusion for each discussion. In this regard, she portrays this forum as a place where people exchange ideas freely to each other. As discussed above, activities on mailing lists also have a similar freedom and flexibility and eventually produce more dissonance than consensus. These similarities are not a coincidence, since it is clear that both activities, on two different platforms, always inform one another.

Despite the similarities, there is fundamental difference between interactions on mailing lists and *Diskusi Forum*, namely the distant between participants. Generally, there is an assumption that on mailing lists there is a clear distance between members. People can write anything and do not have to deal with the direct consequences that might happen because of that writing. This sense of security is even stronger if the member uses a pseudonym that does not refer to their offline identity. This privilege enables people to act freely on mailing lists. On the other hand, there is no distance between participants in the *Diskusi Forum*. Each participant can respond directly to other participants' ideas. People could also monitor each other's reactions toward certain ideas brought up by participants. Therefore, despite many different opinions, none of them were delivered in a harsh manner.

However, in the case of Indonesian exiles, the participation on mailing lists does not automatically translate to anonymity or immunity from consequences. There are cases where online interactions could actually have affected their personal relations in offline events. These consequences are enabled to persist because members among Indonesian exiles mailing lists usually are not total strangers. Even if they use pseudonyms, most members knew the identity behind those make up names. Hence, anyone who posted or initiated harsh comments is never really safe from the consequences. Nonetheless, the consequences do not really effective to prevent harsh debates and open conflict from being performed on a mailing list. Even with its limitations, apparently for some exiles the platform still provides some sort of safe distance that is not available in offline event such as *Diskusi Forum*.

²⁸ See explanation on the "messy" term in the first foot note

If event such as *Diskusi Forum* resembles interactions performed on the Internet minus the limitations, why would Indonesian exiles still eager to meet at this offline event? To explain this, I would like to bring the discussion brought by Michael Jackson (2013) on the role of storytelling. Through Arendt's concept of 'subjective in between', Jackson argues that people never tell stories merely to voice their mind, but also to shape their experiences to relate with others (Jackson, 2013, 15). Moreover, since storytelling is a collective process, while shaping their own experiences, storytellers are at the same time shaping "collective identity and solidarity" (Jackson, 2013, 16).

Asih stated clearly that *Diskusi Forum* was initiated because of the need for Indonesian exiles to exchange ideas with each other. It was considered important because many of them had already accessed different kind of information from the Internet, and according to her it is sometimes disconcerting to keep opinions to oneself. In this account, we can see that for exiles having their own perspectives on certain issues in Indonesia is not enough. There is a strong need to create a meeting where they can relate their own thinking to collective thinking on certain issues. To do that, as shown in the above description, the participants on *Diskusi Forum* were encouraged to exchange their stories.

As Jackson (2013) pointed out, to be able to relate one's experience with others, the form of the stories are important. The stories need to be presented in a way that other participants can relate to. Ana, for instance, presented her experience with young generations which she considered were critical to old frames of thinking established by New Order. Given their age, it is natural for this community to consider most people that happened to visit this event as the young generations. More than that, the sentiment of seeing the young generations as a people who bring hope is something that most of the participants could relate to. A similar sentiment could also be heard from the way Asih requested me to share my opinion on the event. By presenting her story using a shared sentiment, Ana invited other participants to engage with their own expe-

riences. These interactions happened through the course of the event, which in turn moulded these individual experiences into the group collective.

The transformation of personal experiences into collective meaning could also be seen from the choice of topics discussed in this event. As described before, both sections talked about the current situation in Indonesia with different specific topics. The first section of this event relied on first-hand experience of speakers about Indonesia. Therefore, the presented stories were dependent from personal interactions of these participants with their surroundings during their time in Indonesia. When Chalik talked about the work ethics of civil servants, it was based on his experience seeing civil servants that spent time outside during office hours. Farida's narrative, where she felt much better accepted in Indonesia today, was also based on her personal interactions with her family. Despite coming from personal accounts, these stories are not free from information garnered from the Internet. Many parts of their stories, particularly their evaluations of the government, were presented with information they learned from mailing lists. These multiple personal stories were then accepted or refuted by other participants, yet in a larger context these interactions became an important part of collective imagination about Indonesia. On the other hand, for those who presented their stories, Jackson (2013) see it as a 'restorative praxis' where private meaning is transformed into public meaning, and an individual is looking to be a part of larger collective entity.

The second section of this event involved a different kind of stories. While first-hand experiences were still present, the stories relied more on the interpretation of information about Indonesia found online. These stories then presented as an interplay of multiple sources of information. The talk by Kartaprawira, for example, was partly his personal experience, partly online information, and partly shared knowledge among the exile community. It was hard to separate which part came from which source of references, particularly because despite the distant, he told the story as if he is not separated from Indonesia. Moreover, Kartaprawira presented himself as an

active figure within the large struggle of finding justice aspired by Indonesian exiles. This was demonstrated for instance at the beginning of his story when he said he circulated the link of live streaming on several mailing lists. In other part he presented himself as a subject with significance when he stated his institution's official support to IPT 1965. By doing this, Kartaprawira performed the second role of storytelling which is "a vital human strategy for sustaining a sense of agency in the face of disempowering circumstances" (Jackson, 2013, 34). On this matter, the clear separation between personal opinion and facts is no longer relevant, since most of the things discussed are a part of—and also become—the shared knowledge of other participants.

For this community, a big part of their life was determined by external circumstances which they could not control. They were not able to return to their homeland out of the fear of being captured and persecuted by their own government. This made them lose not just the connections with their homeland, but also the sense of freedom as a subject to determine their own course of life. In this regard, storytelling at events helped the Indonesian exiles to reclaim their sense of agency. By telling stories about the current situation in Indonesia and how they played a role in the situations, they had the sense that they were not really separated from Indonesia and still hold on to their Indonesian-ness. To participate in online activities is thus really important for Indonesian exiles, since many of them still consider themselves as Indonesian. As Asih put it, "Because, (I) can't escape from the feeling as Indonesian, though we are not acknowledged by the (Indonesian) government." The use of the Internet in this regard allowed them to overcome the gap between those feelings and their actual situation. Nevertheless, as discussed throughout this chapter, offline interaction such as participation in IPT 1965, or meetings like *Diskusi Forum*, is still considered really important because physical meetings reinforce the feeling of individual exiles being part of a community of Indonesian exiles.

CONCLUSION

This article is started by an elaboration of the importance regarding online and offline interactions to understand how the use of Internet affecting society and vice versa. In this context, the use of Internet among Indonesian exiles is presented to show the dynamics of activism and back and forth interactions engaged on those two arena. These instances have been demonstrated by looking into two events that are important among the community which are IPT 1965 and *Diskusi Forum*.

Series of events related to IPT 1965 demonstrated the culmination of activism performed by Indonesian exiles to pursue their rights. In doing so, they engaged through offline activities such as mass rally, participated as committee, and also provided testimonials during tribunal. At the same time, they performed similar kind of engagements on Internet. Those who could not participated at offline meeting would monitor the events through streaming facilities. They also spread the news regarding the event to mailing list with expectations to raise awareness on this cause. In doing so, the offline and online engagements are also affecting one another. Furthermore, pre-existing values and ideals were used by these exiles to evaluate the current development in Indonesia regarding the event.

While the Internet provides these exiles many information and opportunities to develop their lifelong cause, offline event is still very much relevant for this community. It has been shown on the IPT 65 events, but it is demonstrated even more clearly during *Diskusi Forum*. This event was specifically initiated because most of these exiles needed to related the information they receive on Internet with one another. During the event, the participants will present stories which usually a mixture of their own experiences and information they received on Internet. The other participants then joined the conversation by agreeing or refuting the stories presented before. Borrowing the framework of Jackson (2013) these practices then could be seen as 'restorative praxis'. When they shared each other the stories they have at that moment they transformed the individual into the collection. It does not only important for them to sustain their shared identity

as a displaced community, but also to reclaimed their sense being Indonesian which formally was already taken from them since decades ago.

As closing remarks, it is important to note that this article also has many limitations. Among the questions that have not been properly addressed is how will the use of technology helped the community to sustain their cause in the future, particularly if most of them are elderly? This kind of questions hopefully could be useful to initiate further research on this subject.

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