


The Role of the Indonesian Diaspora Network-Netherlands in Shaping the Transnational Social Space of the Indonesian Diaspora in the Netherlands

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Article Info	ABSTRACT
<p>Keywords: Transnational social space, Indonesian diaspora, Indonesian Diaspora Network- Netherlands (IDN-NL)</p>	<p>Indonesia's long historical ties with the Netherlands have produced a diverse diaspora whose organizations shape cross-border relations, yet their concrete roles and mechanisms remain underexplored. This study asks how the Indonesian Diaspora Network-Netherlands (IDN-NL) helps form and sustain a transnational social space linking communities in the Netherlands with Indonesia. Using a library-based design, it analyzes documentary sources from 2013 to 2025, including organizational materials and secondary studies, to map actors, programs, events, and policy linkages. The findings show that IDN-NL coordinates thematic task forces in arts and culture, culinary, health, environment and sustainability, liveable cities, tourism, migrant workers, and My Roots. These units organize cultural-culinary events and community associations that enable regular interaction, support Indonesian business activity and remittances that reinforce economic ties, use digital platforms for routine coordination, and pursue advocacy on issues such as visa facilities and dual citizenship. Taken together, these activities integrate event-based nodes, online coordination, and policy support, transforming dispersed initiatives into a more organized and durable transnational social space. The article contributes an empirically grounded account of how a diaspora organization functions as an institutional connector, while indicating areas for improved documentation and capacity building in future research.</p>
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INTRODUCTION

Indonesian migration to the Netherlands is shaped by long historical ties that span colonial-era movements, post-independence mobility for education and work, and later family reunification. These layers produced a diverse Indonesian presence with trajectories that continue to link communities in both countries (Gusnelly, 2017). A formative strand is the community of political exiles after the 1965 events, alongside students, professionals, and families who settled while maintaining links to Indonesia (Mudzakkir, 2015). Their associations and activities show how diaspora groups preserve collective memory, sustain cultural practices, and organize for social and economic aims in the Dutch context.

Despite this rich empirical landscape, scholarship on the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands has not systematically analyzed it through the lens of Transnational Social Space. Existing work highlights identity, culture, or policy, but it rarely explains how everyday practices, organizational routines, and cross-border interactions cohere into a stable space that links communities in the Netherlands with actors and institutions in Indonesia. This gap limits understanding of the mechanisms that connect diaspora networks to homeland relations in political, cultural, and socioeconomic domains.

This article addresses that gap by examining the Indonesian Diaspora Network-NL (IDN-NL). It investigates how IDN-NL programs and organizational practices help constitute a transnational space that links Indonesian communities in the Netherlands with Indonesia. Empirically, the article maps forms of activity and coordination that connect members, partners, and initiatives across sites. Theoretically, it shows how a transnational social space lens clarifies patterns of interaction and network building that sustain cross-border ties. The study contributes to International Relations and migration studies by offering an empirically grounded account of how a diaspora organization functions as a connector between diaspora members and the homeland, and by specifying where organizational capacity and documentation can be strengthened.

Analytical Framework

Transnationalism

Transnationalism, as outlined by Nye and Keohane, refers to cross-border interactions involving non-state actors that occur without direct state control. They classify such interactions into communication, transportation, finance, and travel (Nye & Keohane, 1971). Vertovec extends this view by demonstrating that transnationalism is a multidimensional phenomenon encompassing identity, consciousness, economic relations, and new forms of political participation in the context of global migration. He shows that transnationalism not only broadens social reach but also transforms social, cultural, and political structures in both countries of origin and destination (Vertovec, 2009).

Transnational Social Space

The cross-border social processes described by transnationalism materialize in several domains. One of them is the emergence of transnational social spaces as structures produced by transnational practices through which social and economic networks and attachments are formed and operate. Drawing on Pries (2001), transnational social spaces, or TSS, are dense and stable social configurations composed of practices, symbols, and artifacts that unfold simultaneously across multiple geographic sites. In Pries's account, TSS arose as the nation-state weakened as the primary social container due to shifts in social and geographic relations driven by international migration, global business, and developments in communication and transportation technologies (Pries, 2001). TSS grows out of migrant networks that continuously maintain connections with the country of origin.

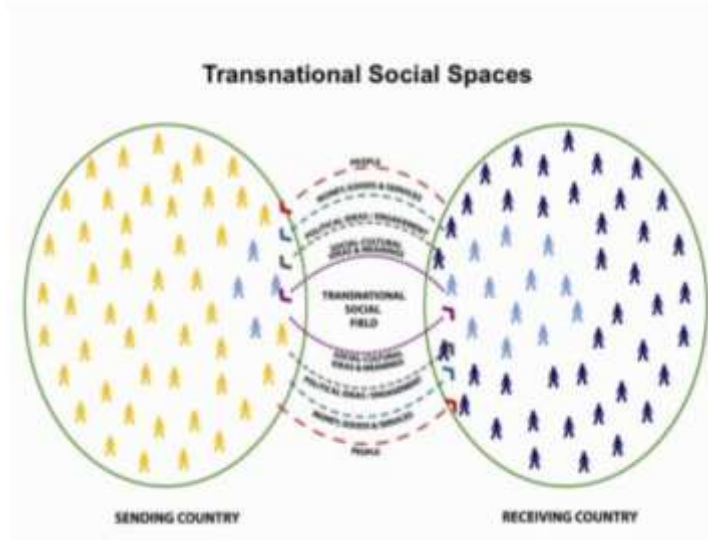


Figure 1. Transnational Social Spaces
Source: Lima, 2010

This reality underpins a major critique of classical paradigms that position the state as the sole or primary actor in the global order. Thomas Faist elaborates this critique by classifying transnational social spaces into four main types based on the relationships and the intensity of cross-border linkages among individuals and communities.

Table 1. Typology of Transnational Social Space

Typology	Primary Resource	Key Characteristics	Examples
Kinship- and Community-Based Spaces	Reciprocity	Family- and community-based; moral and emotional solidarity; remittances and social support	Migrants sending money to families, founding ethnic organizations abroad
Transnational Circuits	Exchange	Two-way circulation of people, goods, and money; cyclical migration; reciprocal socio-economic adaptation	Southeast Asian Chinese traders maintain business and family ties with China
Transnational Communities	Solidarity	Cross-border social networks; not dependent on location; reinforced by media, symbols, and organizations	Global Jewish diaspora with rituals, political support, and international networks
Issue Networks	Shared cause	Horizontal structures; cross-border advocacy; collaboration among NGOs, activists, and academics	Greenpeace (environment), Amnesty International (human rights), AWID (women's rights)

Source: Faist & Özveren, 2004

The first type, kinship- and community-based transnational spaces, is the most basic form. It is built on family and community networks that remain active despite geographic dispersion. Relationships are marked by emotional solidarity, moral responsibility, and strong cultural identity. Faist notes that such spaces function as informal social insurance systems and as instruments for community development, for example, migrant-financed infrastructure projects in the hometown (Faist, 1998).

The second type, transnational circuits, refers to dynamic and recurrent exchange networks between two or more countries. Interactions are cyclical and mutually shaping rather than unidirectional, involving the movement of people, goods, money, and cultural symbols at the same time. These circuits are common in economic migration and small-scale cross-border trade, where individuals or groups run businesses across borders while maintaining family and social ties in the country of origin (Faist, 1998).

The third type, transnational communities, represents a more complex and organized form. Unlike the previous types that are rooted in kinship or practical economic exchange, this type is characterized by communities with strong social and symbolic networks. Transnational communities often take the form of diasporas whose members maintain cultural, linguistic, and religious identities and collective solidarity despite global dispersion (Faist, 1998).

A fourth type, issue networks, was introduced in later work by Faist and Özveren. These are transnational social spaces organized around shared concerns such as human rights, the environment, democracy, feminism, or migration. They typically involve diverse actors, including state-linked stakeholders, non-governmental organizations, academics, activists, journalists, and international bodies (Faist & Özveren, 2004).

TSS produces wide and multidimensional effects in culture, politics, and the economy. According to Faist (2006), they enable the formation of syncretic and hybrid identities in which migrants and their descendants do more than straddle two cultures. They generate new identities that combine elements from the origin and the destination. This reflects cultural diffusion that yields new practices and symbols, with responses ranging from assimilation to pluralism or syncretism (Faist, 2006).

In politics, TSS creates opportunities for simultaneous participation in two political systems through dual citizenship. More than half of the world's countries now accommodate such arrangements, allowing migrants to remain involved in homeland politics while integrating into the destination system. TSS also opens channels for the transfer of ideas, such as democracy, human rights, and good governance, to the country of origin, often described as political remittances. These engagements can carry risks, including heightened tensions or transnational conflict, as seen in cases like the Chechen or Kosovo Albanian diasporas that mobilized militant networks from abroad (Faist, 2006).

Economically, remittances are among the most visible outcomes of TSS. Migrants send substantial sums to the origin country, often exceeding official development assistance. Funds support consumption as well as investment and local infrastructure. Beyond financial remittances, there are social and political remittances, including knowledge, skills, and values such as democratic norms and human rights. Not all effects are positive. In some contexts,

such as diaspora entrepreneurs dependent on low-cost labor in the origin country, structural dependency can emerge and constrain long-term transformation (Faist, 2006).

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative, library-research design (Mann, 2015). Data gathered from primary and secondary data span 2013-2025 and include scholarly books and articles, organizational documents such as reports, official webpages, and IDN-NL program materials, as well as relevant online news and media sources. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis through coding, categorization, and cross-source comparison to identify patterns of cross-border practices and institutional channels. Credibility was maintained through source triangulation and peer debriefing within the research team.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical Foundations of the Indonesian Diaspora in the Netherlands

The Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands is the outcome of a long historical process shaped by colonialism, decolonization, political conflict, and globalization. This trajectory is not linear. It unfolds in distinct phases, each producing specific diaspora communities with different experiences, identities, and relationships to both Indonesia and the Netherlands (Gusnelly, 2017).

In the early phase, movements from the Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands occurred under colonial rule on a small, unsystematic scale. These flows reflected the colonial relationship between the Netherlands and the Indies. Early migrants included domestic workers brought by Dutch families, elite indigenous students who studied in Europe, and Indo-Europeans who later experienced mass displacement after Indonesian independence. Mobility at this time was ad hoc and personal rather than the result of formal colonial policies encouraging large-scale population transfers (Mundzir et al., 2021).

The Indo-European community's repatriation after independence is also important. Many Indo-Europeans moved to the Netherlands despite never having lived there and often felt estranged from a country regarded administratively as their "homeland." Their migration was driven less by cultural attachment than by the need for political and social protection in the postcolonial transition (Riawanti, 2020).

A formative cultural construct in this period is the notion of "tempo doeloe," a collective nostalgia for the late-colonial Indies imagined as a golden age. For Indo-Europeans, "tempo doeloe" functioned as a psychological and cultural mechanism for coping with displacement and rupture from birthplace. This representation tends to romanticize the past by masking social inequality and colonial domination behind pleasant childhood memories and seemingly harmonious interethnic relations. Critics argue that such narratives normalize colonial relations and overlook the suffering of indigenous populations (Mul, 2010).

A subsequent phase centers on the 1965 events and the wave of political exile that followed. Indonesians abroad, including students, diplomats, and artists, had their passports unilaterally revoked by the New Order regime for alleged leftist sympathies or loyalty to President Sukarno. Many became stateless and could not return to Indonesia. The

Netherlands emerged as a key destination due to historical ties and the availability of political asylum. As exiles, they formed a diaspora distinct from earlier cohorts. They did not come for education or as repatriates but as political victims (BBC Indonesia, 2023; Sianipar, 2022).

Despite social rupture and stigma as “traitors,” exile communities built solidarities. They documented history, engaged in human rights advocacy, and sustained political-cultural identities through independent media, discussion forums, and participation in initiatives such as the International People’s Tribunal 1965 (Danang, 2024). A sense of Indonesian-ness persisted through long-distance nationalism defined less by formal citizenship than by commitment to shared values and collective memory (Hill, 2022).

From the 2000s onward, the diaspora’s profile changed. New migration waves included students, professionals, and young families. Motivations became pragmatic, centering on study, careers, and family formation rather than political conflict or historical trauma. The diaspora diversified and evolved into a multigenerational and multicultural landscape (Jennissen et al., 2023).

In 2013, the Indonesian Diaspora Network-The Netherlands (IDN-NL) was established, building on the first Indonesian Diaspora Congress in Los Angeles in 2012 and consolidated during the Second Congress in Jakarta in 2013 (INYS, 2021). IDN-NL facilitates interaction among diaspora communities, builds cross-border networks, and serves as an actor of Indonesian public diplomacy in the Netherlands. It is integrated into the global Indonesian Diaspora Network and provides an arena for participation in social, economic, cultural, and citizenship-related initiatives.

Institutionally, IDN-NL’s vision is to disseminate Indonesian culture and values inspired by Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Its aims include serving as a bridge for ideas, solutions, resources, and networks that strengthen Indonesia-Netherlands relations. Its mission involves mobilizing diaspora expertise for Indonesia’s development, enhancing information accessibility across both countries, and realizing development projects through public-private partnerships.

A core operational pillar of IDN-NL is the formation of thematic Task Forces aligned with member expertise (See Table 1). There are nine active task forces. The Arts Task Force is led by Rob van den Bos, Agriculture by Win Boesrie, and Culinary by Agus Hermawan. The Health Task Force is coordinated by Tjay Tan. Environment and Sustainability is led by Kees Lafaber, and Liveable Cities by Wiwi Tjiok. The Tourism Task Force is headed by Cindy Angelique, Migrant Worker by Yasmine Soraya, and the My Roots Foundation by Christine Verhaagen. Structurally, IDN-NL has been chaired by Dr. Lany Pradjarahardja since 2019, a physician and arts advocate who previously coordinated the Arts and Culture Task Force. Other board members include Dwi Resty Ariesta Dewi as Secretary and Wiwi Tjiok and Tik Tan as board members. Wiwi Tjiok is a senior landscape architect with the Municipality of Rotterdam, while Tik Tan is a reconstructive plastic surgeon active in social and humanitarian work in Indonesia since 2000.

Table 2. IDN-NL Task Forces

Task Force	Task Force Driver
Kesenian (Arts)	Rob van den Bos
Pertanian (Agriculture)	Win Boesrie
Kuliner (Culinary)	Agus Hermawan
Kesehatan (Health)	Tjay Tan
Lingkungan & Keberlanjutan (Environment & Sustainability)	Kees Lafeber
Liveable Cities	Wiwi Tjiook
Pariwisata (Tourism)	Cindy Angelique
Migrant Worker (Migrant Workers)	Yasmine Soraya
ROOTS	Christine Verhaagen

Source: IDN-NL, 2024

Taken together, these historical foundations show that the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands is not only the result of physical movement across territories. It is also an arena in which culture, identity, and the meaning of Indonesian-ness are continually negotiated. These dynamics have contributed to the formation of a transnational social space linking the diaspora communities in the Netherlands with the homeland. The transnational social space framework is therefore well suited for analyzing the diaspora as an active agent in building social, cultural, and political networks that connect across borders to Indonesia.

Transnational Practices as Builders of Transnational Social Space (TSS)

Cultural Practices



Figure 2. Pencak Silat performance at the Tong Tong Fair, Malieveld, The Hague, Netherlands

Source: Toto, 2017

Indonesian diaspora communities in the Netherlands organize a wide range of cultural activities that help maintain identity and strengthen community social networks. Organizations such as IDN-NL play a central role in coordinating and supporting these activities. Since the 1950s, ideas of Indonesian diaspora have been shaped by longing for the homeland. One of the most iconic events is the Tong Tong Fair, the largest Eurasian cultural festival, held since 1959 and drawing more than 70,000 visitors annually. The festival showcases Indonesian and broader Asian culture through performing arts, cuisine, and cultural product exhibitions (Mambrasar, 2022).



Figure 3. Indonesian food pavilion, Taste of Amsterdam
Source: Asdhiana, 2014

IDN-NL also manages task forces focused on cultural preservation and promotion. The Culinary Task Force promotes Indonesian cuisine through events such as the Ethnic Food Event and Taste of Amsterdam. It collaborates with institutions including the Ministry of Tourism and the Indonesian Creative Economy Agency and with importers of Indonesian ingredients to reinforce diaspora culinary networks. The Culture and Arts Task Force facilitates traditional and contemporary performances and presents a dynamic Indonesian culture to international audiences. For example, Maluku cultural showcases help Dutch audiences appreciate the richness of Malukan heritage (Febriandhany et al., 2025).



Figure 4. Minang Cultural Festival in Amsterdam
Source: Kurniawan, 2025

Diaspora organizations also engage in active revitalization of regional cultures. Malukan communities preserve the Ambon language and customary practices through community gatherings, performances, and Eastern Indonesia festivals supported by the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague. Minang communities host Minangkabau Cultural Night with traditional dance and culinary bazaars, while Javanese communities maintain language, gamelan, and the ethic of gotong royong as core cultural markers (DetikNews, 2014).



Figure 5. Indonesian School in The Hague, Netherlands
Source: Sekolahindonesia.nl, 2025

Language maintenance is pursued through institutions such as Sekolah Indonesia Den Haag and various cultural workshops. Challenges persist, especially among younger generations who use Dutch more frequently in daily life. Religious institutions, including mosques, churches, and temples, function as community hubs that support language and custom preservation through religious activities that reinforce solidarity and faith-based identity. Customary practices continue, with adaptations to the Dutch context. Examples include Islamic marriages registered formally or conducted in a sirri ceremony and ritual and festive practices combined with Dutch traditions. These adaptations illustrate an identity that is negotiated between cultural preservation and integration into the new society.

Economic and Communication Practices

Remittance transfers are a key economic practice that reflects the diaspora's tangible ties to the homeland. Indonesian migrant workers in the Netherlands, including those without formal documentation, routinely send money to support families in Indonesia. These flows constitute one of Indonesia's largest sources of foreign exchange after exports and are facilitated by services such as Western Union and Revolut, as well as informal channels used by workers with limited access to banking due to legal status (Mambrasar, 2022).



Figure 6. Tempo Doeloe restaurant, Amsterdam, Netherlands

Source: mldspot.com, 2020

Beyond remittances, the diaspora engages in transnational economic activities, especially in the culinary sector and the export of Indonesian specialty products. Diaspora entrepreneurs run more than 300 Indonesian restaurants across the Netherlands. These enterprises provide income, serve as cultural spaces, and function as instruments of gastrodiplomacy. The government's "Indonesia Spice Up the World" program supports international promotion of Indonesian cuisine, including in the Netherlands (Febriandhany et al., 2025).



Figure 7. ASPINA activities in the Netherlands

Source: ASPINA, 2024

Small and medium enterprises export tea, coffee, spices, and handicrafts with support from diaspora networks and business associations such as ASPINA, the Indonesian Business Association in the Netherlands. ASPINA connects Indonesian entrepreneurs with Dutch and European markets and facilitates business networking, investment, and technology exchange. These business practices illustrate cross-border economic linkages and strengthen the transnational social space in economic terms (ASPINA, 2024).

Digital media are also central to sustaining ties with the homeland and among community members. Indonesian diaspora groups in the Netherlands use satellite television, the internet, messaging applications, and social media for daily communication and for organizing community activities. Examples include the Diskusi Forum mailing list used by political exiles and the use of Radio PPI Dunia and the PPI TV YouTube channel by Indonesian students in the Netherlands. Organizations such as IDN-NL leverage websites and social media to disseminate information on programs and to build global networks through platforms like iDiaspora.org. This online-offline engagement strengthens social bonds and provides an avenue for cultural expression. It also contributes to the formation of hybrid identities and intergenerational cultural negotiation (Mambrasar, 2022).

Classifying the Indonesian Diaspora in the Netherlands within the Typology of Transnational Communities

The existence of IDN-NL reflects significant developments in Indonesian community dynamics in the Netherlands and globally. As a branch of IDN Global, an independent, non-governmental, non-political, and nonprofit organization with international scope, IDN-NL plays a key role in strengthening bonds between Indonesian diaspora communities worldwide and the Indonesian homeland. The organization emerged after the first Indonesian Diaspora Congress in 2012 in Los Angeles and has since expanded, with more than 1,000 volunteers and over 47 chapters across five continents (IDN Global, 2025). Established in 2014 as a foundation in the Netherlands, IDN-NL focuses on reinforcing ties between Indonesian communities in the Netherlands, Indonesia, and Dutch society. Its motto, “For Indonesian Diaspora, For Indonesia,” signals a commitment to support diaspora communities and deepen inter-state connections. In this sense, IDN-NL exemplifies what Thomas Faist describes as a transnational community.

As of 2021 there were about 15,000 Indonesians registered with the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands, although Indonesians and their descendants are often estimated at roughly 10 percent of the Dutch population, or about 1.7 million people (Mayaratih, 2021). Indonesian diaspora communities contribute across multiple domains in local society while reinforcing links to Indonesia. To support these roles, IDN-NL organizes thematic task forces led by competent coordinators, including Rob van den Bos for arts, Tjay Tan for health, Cindy Angelique for tourism, Win Boesrie for agriculture, Kees Lafeber for environment and sustainability, and Yasmine Soraya for migrant workers. Agus Hermawan leads the culinary task force, Wiwi Tjiok coordinates liveable cities, and Christine Verhaagen leads the My Roots Foundation. Official membership counts for IDN-NL are not yet available, indicating that community registration and organizational development remain ongoing.

In medical health, IDN-NL has supported programs such as plastic and orthopedic surgeries, the development of family medicine models, and ophthalmology initiatives for cataract management and education on women's cancers (Adri, 2018). These programs often involve partnerships with universities, hospitals, and foundations in both Indonesia and the Netherlands. IDN-NL is also involved in urban development projects through the Liveable Cities task force, which has expressed commitments related to spatial planning and urban practice and has collaborated with stakeholders since the Second Indonesian Diaspora Congress in Jakarta in 2013 (IDN Global, 2025).

On immigration and citizenship, IDN-NL communicates actively with the Indonesian government and educates diaspora communities on the importance and benefits of dual citizenship policies. The organization has also engaged in advocacy for amendments to the Citizenship Law. These efforts contributed to the adoption of special visa facilities for Indonesian diaspora members. Joint work by citizenship task forces across the IDN network, including IDN-NL, gained traction when in 2015 the proposed amendment to the 2006 Citizenship Law entered the 2015-2019 National Legislative Program. The bill was subsequently proposed by the DPR's Commission III to recognize diaspora existence and allow space for dual citizenship arrangements (Charity, 2016).

In the cultural and culinary sectors, IDN-NL introduces Indonesian culture to Dutch audiences through culinary events and youth activities organized with the Indonesia Nederland Youth Society (INYS) (Noer, 2016). These initiatives receive support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Embassy of Indonesia in The Hague, indicating synergy between government and diaspora. Questions remain about long-term impact for the small and medium enterprises involved. Pasar Indonesia 2024, which attracted about 20,000 visitors, may have mitigated losses linked to the cancellation of the Tong Tong Fair. This appears to be a temporary measure, and the broader challenge of program sustainability for participating Indonesian SMEs remains unresolved.

Overall, while IDN-NL advances Indonesian public diplomacy in the Netherlands and strengthens bilateral relations, its contributions to migrant worker issues, cultural programming, and Indonesia's international profile warrant closer scrutiny. The initiatives show substantial effort, but questions persist about long-term effectiveness, systematic documentation, and inclusive engagement of the wider Indonesian diaspora. IDN-NL demonstrates the potential of transnational communities within a Transnational Social Space. At the same time, there are significant challenges related to record-keeping, organizational capacity, and the concrete impact of activities undertaken.

CONCLUSION

This article has analyzed the formation of Transnational Social Space (TSS) among Indonesian diaspora communities in the Netherlands, focusing on the contributions of the Indonesian Diaspora Network-Netherlands (IDN-NL). As a branch of IDN Global, an independent, non-governmental, non-political, and nonprofit international network, IDN-NL organizes activities that support the social, economic, and cultural development of Indonesian diaspora communities in the Netherlands. Its initiatives, including cultural promotion, advocacy for dual

citizenship, and health programs, indicate the organization's role in building and sustaining transnational communities connected simultaneously to Indonesia and the Netherlands.

The findings show that IDN-NL functions as a platform that bridges relations between the diaspora and the homeland, strengthening solidarity and collective identity through structured cultural, economic, and social practices. Through its programs, IDN-NL helps create deep and durable social networks between Indonesian diaspora communities and Dutch society, with positive implications for Indonesia's public diplomacy. At the same time, important issues remain. Official membership data are limited, and record-keeping for diaspora organizations needs to be more systematic. These gaps suggest that organizational development is ongoing and that broader participation and documentation should be improved.

IDN-NL can be viewed as an active instance of transnational communities. Diaspora groups in the Netherlands do more than preserve cultural identity. They also act as strategic partners in Indonesia's social development, economy, and diplomacy. Even so, challenges related to organization, program sustainability, and internal capacity require further attention to ensure that the TSS fostered through IDN-NL develops in an inclusive and sustainable manner.

Lastly, this study also have several limitations which that this study relies mainly on secondary sources, so it does not capture first-hand perspectives from IDN-NL leaders, task-force coordinators, or members. Future research should add primary data through interviews, focus groups, and on-site observation at IDN-NL programs, and request internal documents to clarify membership, governance, and impact. A mixed approach can map organizational ties and program outcomes more precisely, for example by combining interview data with simple network mapping. The theoretical lens can also be widened by linking Transnational Social Space to migration studies, including diaspora governance, political transnationalism, and migration systems, to explain how mobility, legal status, and policy (such as dual citizenship) shape practices across Indonesia and the Netherlands. Comparative work across IDN chapters or with other Indonesian diaspora associations in Europe would test the generalizability of these findings and refine the role of organizations as connectors in transnational social spaces.

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