



***Tong-Tong Fair* Festival as a Representation of Collective Memory and Identity of the Indonesian Diaspora in the Netherlands**

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Abstract. This article will discuss the Tong-Tong Fair festival which is held every year in the city of The Hague, as a representation of the "night market" of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. This is interesting to research because, apart from the historical aspect which has relevance to the existence of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands in the form of collective memory of Indonesian descendants regarding various symbols and commodities of the country, the development of this annual festival does not only focus on Indonesia, but also includes other countries. such as Thailand including Suriname. The objectives of this research are: 1). Describe the historical aspects of the Tong-Tong Fair festival as a representation of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands; 2). Describes the development of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival as a representation of diaspora acculturation in the Netherlands; and 3). Describes the existence of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival in the context of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. The method in this research is qualitative, with the following steps: 1). Explaining the history of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival as a representation of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands; 2). Describe the forms of representation of acculturation of diaspora identity in the Netherlands; and 3). Correlating research data in the form of image documentation and the researcher's direct experience with the cultural context, especially related to the identity of the Indonesian diaspora, through the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival in the Netherlands. The research results show: 1). The historical existence of the Tong-Tong Fair festival in the Netherlands is based on the longing of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands; 2). The representation of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands in the Tong-Tong Fair festival is realized in the form of night markets, and culinary and entertainment events that represent Indonesian characteristics; and 3). In its development, the Tong-Tong Fair festival is not only for the Indonesian diaspora, but also the ASEAN diaspora community, and local

communities who have an interest in various things about Indonesia and ASEAN in general which are supported by the Dutch government.

Keywords: *Tong-Tong Fair* Festival, identity representation, Indonesian diaspora, in the Netherlands

1 Research Background

This article will discuss the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival which is held every year in the city of The Hague, as a representation of the "night market" of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. This is interesting to research because, apart from the historical aspect which is relevant to the existence of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands, the *Tong-Tong Fair* is a form of collective memory of Indonesian descendants towards various symbols and commodities of the country. Apart from being a gathering place for Indonesian descendants in the Netherlands, the *Tong-Tong Fair* is also a festival to enjoy Indonesian culture, art, and culinary specialties. Naftally Clarettha & Pesulima, Barbara Elisabeth Lucia (2020), *Tong Tong Fair* as a night market has high historical and cultural value. Since the arrival of the Tong Tong Fair, Indonesian people have had a place to reminisce. Apart from treating homesickness, the Tong Tong Fair is also intended for the next generation, namely Indo people and their descendants who live in the Netherlands, to maintain their cultural identity in the Netherlands.

The development of this annual festival does not only focus on Indonesia, but also includes other countries such as Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, and including Suriname. During its development, there were also many stands representing these countries with various knick-knacks on offer. This is of course based on the awareness that there are many diasporas from these countries and involving them in the festival will increase the grade of the festival and make the event even more lively. The Tong Tong Fair Festival has been held since 1959 by the diaspora who could not return to their homeland due to economic or political problems. In its development, Islamil Latif (2016), explained that the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival was Indonesian cultural diplomacy in the Netherlands.

Based on research by Gusnelly (2017:37), the number of Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands is very significant. Migration activities of Indonesian descendants have been going on since early 1946 until 1965 and the number reached 300,000 people or around 2.5 percent of the total Dutch population of 12 million people. This certainly correlates with the historical aspect of Dutch colonialism towards Indonesia, which in the past was referred to as the Archipelago or Dutch East Indies or Dutch East Indies. Apart from the exodus, colonialism also had an impact, one of which was intermarriage between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which correlated with the large number of Indonesian descendants in the Netherlands.

The study of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival is interesting because even though it was initiated by Indonesian descendants who miss various things about their homeland, currently the *Tong-Tong Fair* has become a very commercial festival. Not only is it

managed by Indonesian descendants, but the festival is also supported by the Dutch government through an official organization called the Tong-Tong Fair Foundation as an annual tourist destination. It not only attracts interest from people who are related to Indonesia by descent but also Dutch people in general, including other Asian diaspora members. Thus, studying the Tong-Tong Fair Festival in explaining the historical aspects, development, and representation of diaspora identity in the context of collective memory is interesting.

The festivalization aspect of nostalgia is important for studying the *Tong-Tong Fair* in constructing collective memory and representing identity. This is because festivalization not only impacts festival participants but also visitors. Festivals are not only limited to hedonistic celebrations but also celebrations of experience, identity, and a sense of belonging (Bennett and Woodward, 2014). Festival spaces are spaces of articulation, performance, and reconstruction of identity (Aitchinson and Pritchard, 2007). As a space of articulation, festivals are a free space to articulate various forms of activities and behavior (Bakhtin, 1984). The freedom of articulation created in the festival space allows individuals to escape from their daily identities and re-choose their identities. Thus, in the context of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival, both the Indonesian diaspora and festival visitors in general can articulate their identity through this cultural site.

As previously explained, the Tong-Tong Fair is not only used as a space to represent the identity of the Indonesian diaspora. Tong-Tong Fair becomes a negotiation space to help articulate other identities. The presence of other Asian diaspora identities shows the openness of the festival space as a space for the articulation of identities that are close socio-culturally, geographically, and politically. *Tong-Tong Fair* became a nodal point for articulating Southeast Asian diaspora identity. Bennet and Woodward (2014) call festivals a significant nodal point on lifestyle sites. Representing different identities and finding similarities becomes a new identity force. This is also based on greater community involvement in the Netherlands, and government participation in making the *Tong-Tong Fair* an annual tourist attraction.

2 Methods

This research is qualitative in nature, as explained by Moleong (1990), qualitative research aims to understand phenomena holistically through descriptions in the form of words and language. Steps: 1). Explaining the history of the Tong-Tong Fair festival as a representation of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands; 2). Describe the forms of representation of Indonesian diaspora identity in the Netherlands through the festival; and 3). Correlating research data in the form of image documentation and direct research experience with the cultural context, especially related to the development of the Tong-Tong Fair festival in the Netherlands.

The approach in this analysis is ethnographic, based on the experience of researchers who have lived in the Netherlands and visited the festival directly. Data support in the form of photo documentation is a material object in research. Relevant studies are

needed to strengthen scientific arguments to describe the representation of identity and collective memory of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands as represented in the Tong-Tong Fair festival in the Dutch city of Den Haag.

3 Result and Discussion

In this section, we will discuss data documentation in the form of photographs related to the Tong-Tong Fair festival, which is supported by other data. In the first part, we will discuss the history of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival held by the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. In the second part, we will discuss the Tong-Tong Fair as a representation of diaspora cultural acculturation in the Netherlands. Meanwhile, in the third part, the context of Indonesian diaspora identity in the Netherlands will be discussed.

3.1 History of the Indonesian Diaspora in the *Tong-Tong Fair* Festival

The Tong-Tong Fair Festival in The City of The Hague, which is held every year before summer, is a nostalgic cultural event for the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. The festival celebration invited the interest of descendants from all over the Netherlands, including those of Maluku descent, Javanese Surinamese descent, as well as other categories who were present through the marriage process, Indonesian students in the Netherlands, and workers from Indonesia who had no historical connection or marriage in the Netherlands. This festival is a big event that seems like a must-visit, apart from the celebration of the Republic of Indonesia's Independence Day which is also held every year by the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in the Netherlands.

Historically, the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival was first held after Indonesian independence, namely in 1959. In that era, there was a large Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands because many Indos were the result of intermarriage with Native *Nyai* who eventually moved to the Netherlands, and residents from Maluku who had to be alienated from their ancestral land because of political issues, namely their involvement as KNIL soldiers, so after Indonesian independence, which had implications for the return of Dutch colonialism from Indonesia, they took part because they needed Dutch protection against the threat of horizontal conflict with freedom fighters. Aritonang, Ayu Angelina (2017) explains that the recruitment of Maluku soldiers by the Dutch colonial army, *Koninklijk Nederlands-Indische Leger* (KNIL) at the end of the nineteenth century was part of the Dutch colonial policy to divide and conquer Indonesia. Problems occurred when the Dutch agreed to withdraw all KNIL from Indonesia, which meant the Dutch had to demobilize their colonial army. Maluku troops who were members of the KNIL were not allowed to return to Maluku while the armed conflict was still ongoing. This caused the Dutch government to decide to bring former KNIL soldiers, the majority of whom came from Maluku to the Netherlands.

In that era, the Surinamese Javanese diaspora had not yet come to the Netherlands, this was due to their presence in the Netherlands in the 1970s, after the Dutch gift of independence to Suriname. Javanese people were given the choice to come to the Netherlands and obtain Dutch citizenship, or remain in Suriname and become Surinamese citizens. This condition created divisions between those who chose to remain in Suriname and those who considered the group who chose to move to the Netherlands as traitors. The arrival of the Surinamese Javanese group who landed in the city of Rotterdam is commemorated by the Surinamese Javanese diaspora every August 8 in the Netherlands.

The Indonesian diaspora group at the beginning of the existence of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival was certainly not only the Maluku people who came to the Netherlands because of political issues. Of course, there were also many Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands in 1959, such as diaspora people who married Dutch people, or Indo people (descendants) resulting from intermarriage with natives who received recognition rights from their Dutch parents. Based on the long historical aspects of colonialism, it is possible that after Indonesian independence, many Indonesian-Dutch couples chose to live in the Netherlands. Apart from that, the existence of Indos in the Netherlands cannot be separated from the marriage culture carried out by the Dutch by taking wives from Indigenous women during the colonial era and obtaining offspring from these marriages. Many Indo children go through the process of obtaining Dutch citizenship and follow their fathers to be able to live and settle in the Netherlands. Several studies on Nyai in the Dutch East Indies were discussed by Suprihatin, Christina T. (2011); Janti, Nur (2019); and Asria, Rizki Fitriana (2020).

The implementation of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival in 1959 was always written on the billboard at the front door of the location where the festival was held. This is of course the committee's effort to show that the festival has been around for a long time and is an important part of cultural sites in the Netherlands. This information is reflected in data documentation in figure 1 showing the presence of Indonesian people in the Netherlands while visiting the festival.

Based on the figure 1, the beginning of the *Tong-Tong Fair* is written in Dutch, referring to "Sinds 1959" or "since 1959". This information is always displayed at every festival, which of course confirms the historicity of the festival and also shows that Dutch people like things related to history. On the other hand, the assertion that the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival began to be held in 1959 shows that the history and existence of the festival are dominated by Indo and Maluku diaspora groups compared to other Indonesian diaspora groups. This is of course because Indo and Maluku descendants already existed in the Netherlands in that year, namely since the gradual return of a large group of Dutch representatives to Indonesia from 1945-1948, and finally during the nationalization period in the 1950s.



Fig. 1. Photo documentation as data showing the beginning of the Tong-Tong Fair festival

Oostindie (2010: 23-39) in Hatib Abdul Kadir (2011) explains that in 1945, the Dutch population was only around 9 million and almost all of them were uniformly white. Now, out of around 16.5 million total residents, there are around 3 million people of color, the majority of whom are migrants from former Dutch colonies, such as the West Antilles which spread until the 1990s, the Dutch East Indies until the 1960s, and Suriname until the 1970s. Other studies on Indonesian diaspora communities include those discussed by Sulistyono, Hary., et al. (2020); Darmoko (2016); Ernawati, Yunita (2019); Rahmad Acep., et al. (2018); Komariyah, Siti & Puspa Ruriana (2010); and Susanti (2016).

3.2 Development of the *Tong-Tong Fair* as a Representation of Diaspora Acculturation in the Netherlands

As previously explained, the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival is a representation of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora, which in its development also involves diaspora from other ASEAN countries, including the involvement of residents in the event. This is of course based on the fact that the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival has been around for a long time in the Netherlands so it has gained popularity among various groups of people in the Land of Windmills. It made many groups feel a sense of belonging and not reluctant to be actively involved in the implementation of this annual event.

As an illustration of the involvement of other communities in the implementation of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival apart from the Indonesian diaspora, the pedicab driver next to the entrance to the event is a native Dutch woman. This shows that the local Dutch population was involved in the event, they even contributed actively to support the existence of Indonesian identity, which is reflected in the following photo documentation.



Fig. 2. Photo documentation as data on the active participation of the Dutch community in the Tong-Tong Fair

Based on the photo above, it can be understood that this Dutch woman is a very well-known means of transportation in Indonesia, especially in Java such as Yogyakarta and Solo, namely the *Becak*. Several other Southeast Asian countries also recognize this means of transportation, although with varying forms and names. In other language contexts, English calls *Becak* by the name Pedicab.

Even though rickshaws are not operated in the Netherlands and of course the woman does not work as a rickshaw driver, the presence of this means of transportation at the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival shows that the event provides various memory channels for people in the Netherlands, especially the diaspora regarding collective memory as a nostalgic aspect regarding Indonesia. Of course, many members of the diaspora have returned to visit the Land of Ancestors, so it is not uncommon for them to have the experience of both seeing and riding a *Becak* while in Indonesia. In this case, the presence of *Becak* is an effort to fulfill the nostalgic aspect and make the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival still relevant to its historical conditions, especially regarding the existence of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands.

An interesting aspect of the photo data above is the presence of local women who work as Pecak drivers. Even though in the Netherlands there are no Becaks, in terms

of skill this certainly does not make it difficult for Dutch residents to operate this means of transportation because the main means of transportation for residents in the Netherlands is bicycles which in principle work not much different from Becaks. On the other hand, this shows the existence of the event and the active participation of residents. This woman can be identified as the event committee which shows that the implementation of the *Tong-Tong Fair* is not only run by the Indonesian diaspora, but also residents, and there is support from the government.

The cultural acculturation representation of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival in the Netherlands for the Indonesian diaspora and other ASEAN countries, in particular, is the presence of contingents from other countries from Southeast Asia. The presence of contingents from Southeast Asian countries at this event shows such plural cultural acculturation, both in the context of the relatively identical relations between ASEAN diasporas in the Netherlands and as a representation of cultural pluralism in the Netherlands which is so complex.



Fig. 3. Documentation as data on the active participation of the ASEAN diaspora in the Tong-Tong Fair

Based on the photo documentation above, shows that the Thai diaspora also participated in the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival. In connection with the representation of diaspora acculturation in the Netherlands, the existence of the *Tong-Tong Fair*, which was initially presented by the Indonesian diaspora, has become a space for cultural acculturation encounters not only for the Indonesian diaspora. This shows the significance of this event as a rite of cultural trend in the Netherlands which is synonymous with cultural acculturation with the existence of various diasporas of other nations in the country.

The involvement of various diaspora communities, local communities, and the Dutch government in the festival shows the existence of the *Tong-Tong Fair* in the Netherlands. Apart from being related to the nostalgic aspect regarding the collective memory and identity of the diaspora towards their Ancestral Land, this of course also

correlates with economic turnover, both for traders who come from their home countries, for the diaspora, as well as the local economy including taxes and the involvement of the world of aviation with many traders from their home countries who came to the Netherlands.

3.3 The Existence of the *Tong-Tong Fair* in the Context of Indonesian Diaspora Identity in the Netherlands

In the context of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival, as a form of existence of Indonesian diaspora identity, it is a representation of diaspora social relations with community life in the Netherlands. The acculturation that occurred decades after Indonesia's separation from Dutch rule, and hundreds of years in the context of colonialism, certainly strengthened the cultural traces related to the Indonesian diaspora and social life in the Netherlands in general as part of a cosmopolitan society.

The existence of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands is manifested in various forms of symbols in social life. This is also reflected in the cultural rituals of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival which shows the dominant existence of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. One of the most prominent was the presence of typical Indonesian food stands which were marked with Indonesian language names so that they were quite a symbol of the existence of the cultural identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands at the festival. One of them is selling Fried Bananas as a typical Indonesian food which is very popular in the Netherlands. Both by the diaspora or those who have historical ties to Indonesia and Dutch society in general. This is reflected in the following data photo documentation which reflects the existence of Fried Pisang as a culinary specialty with the existence of the Indonesian diaspora in Indonesia.



Fig. 4. Photo documentation as Indonesian culinary data at the *Tong-Tong Fair*

Based on the photo data above, *Pisang Goreng* appear to be highly emphasized as a culinary and cultural commodity displayed at the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival. This certainly shows that there is a cultural symbol of the Indonesian diaspora in the

Netherlands through this event, *Pisang Goreng*, which is a typical Indonesian snack, has also gained a place and is an iconic representation of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands, so by just displaying the culinary name as it is, can be recognized by both the diaspora and all visitors who attend the annual festival.

The condition of typical Indonesian culinary delights which are much loved by people in the Netherlands is relevant to the large number of Indonesian restaurants spread across various cities in the Netherlands. Information from the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague, released on Monday (1/3/2021), explained that based on the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), the number of residents with an immigrant background from Indonesia was around 352,298 people. Based on 2017 data published in the book "Favorite Indonesian Restaurants in the Netherlands", 330 businesses are selling Indonesian food in the Netherlands, consisting of 190 restaurants, 118 takeaway services, and 22 shops. Maskur, Fathkul, *Bisnis.com*, Wednesday 3 March 2021, 20:20.

Even though the number of Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands is quite large, consumers of Indonesian food in these restaurants are not only the Indonesian diaspora, but also the general public. Based on the confessions of several Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands, the Dutch prime minister, Mark Rutte, really likes Indonesian food, and every lunch break, he will cycle and eat at one of the Indonesian restaurants in The Hague. He once invited French President Macron to the De Poentjak restaurant near Hofvijver in The Hague to eat Indonesian dishes. Rahman As-mardika, *Okezone*: Wednesday 01 February 2023 15:17 WIB.

The existence of Indonesian culinary delights as a representation of the acculturation identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands has long been known to the Dutch public. Long before it was presented at culinary stands at the festival and through Indonesian restaurants in various cities in the Netherlands, a Dutch song was sung by Wieke van Dort with the title *Geef Mij Maar Nasi Goreng*. The part of the song lyrics that represents Indonesian culinary delights in Dutch culture is as follows.

Geef mij maar nasi goreng met een gebakken ei

Wat sambal en wat kroepoek en een goed glas bier erbij Geef mij maar nasi goreng met een gebakken ei

Wat sambal en wat kroepoek en een goed glas bier erbij

*Geen lontong, sate babi, en niets smaakt hier pedis Geen trassi, sroendeng, bandeng en geen tahoe petis Kwee lapis, onde-onde, geen ketella of ba-pao
Geen ketan, geen goela-djawa, daarom ja, ik zeg nou*

Beri aku nasi goreng dengan telur goreng

Beberapa sambal dan beberapa kerupuk udang dan segelas bir yang enak

Beri aku nasi goreng dengan telur goreng

Beberapa sambal dan beberapa kerupuk udang dan segelas bir yang enak

Tidak ada lontong, sate babi, dan tidak ada rasa pedis di sini Tidak ada

*trassi, sroendeng, bandeng dan tidak ada tahoe petisKwee lapis, onde-onde,
no ketella atau ba-pao
Tidak ada ketan, tidak ada goela-djawa, itu sebabnya ya, saya katakan)*

Based on the lyrics of the song in Dutch about the Indonesian culinary experience, it can be understood that several of the culinary delights mentioned include Nasi Goreng with a side dish of Fried Egg which is quite synonymous with the cultural representation of Indonesian society, including the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. Several names of foods that appear in the song's lyrics include Fried Rice, Pork Satay, *Lontong*, *Sambil Petis*, *Crackers*, *Trasi*, *Serundeng*, *Bandeng*, *Tahu Petis*, *Lapis Cake*, *Onde-Onde*, *Bak Pao*, Sticky Rice, Javanese Sugar, and others.

The existence of this song for Dutch society is also a legacy of the existence of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands along with its cultural products, including of course culinary. Although the song was created in the context of the existence of Dutch representation, both full-blooded Dutch and Indos were still in Indonesia until the nationalization carried out by the New Order government in the 50s. The event of the Nationalization of foreign assets in Indonesian history, as stated by Tricahyono, Danan (2021), and Wasino (2016) generally discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the policies implemented by the Indonesian government.

The existence of a special stand with the words "Meet & Greet" with Wieke van Dort and Ais Lawalata at the 2015 *Tong-Tong Fair* in the festival hall, shows that the existence of Indonesian culinary delights, which are also a representation of diaspora identity, has a significant position in the context of cultural acculturation in the Netherlands. Wieteke van Dort, the singer of the song *Geef Mij Maar Nasi Goreng*, is not only popular among the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands but also among Indonesian music and culinary fans in the Netherlands in general, especially since the song is in Dutch. The existence of a special stand for Wieke von Dort and Ais Lawalata for fans to meet them at the festival is documented in the following photo data.



Fig. 5. Photo documentation of the Meet & Greet with Wieteke van Dort at the Tong-Tong Fair

Based on the photo above, it can be seen that there was a moment of meeting with singer Wieteke van Dort who is very famous in the Netherlands. The existence of the two of them certainly represents the identity of the Indonesian diaspora, culinary and cultural acculturation which is very significant both for the Tong-Tong Fair festival and in the context of social relations of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands. This is because, one of the most popular songs sung by Wieteke van Dort seems to be a means of promoting the representation of Indonesian culture, one of which is through typical culinary delights that, apart from being present at the Tong-Tong Fair festival, are also available in Indonesian restaurants in various cities in the Netherlands. At the moment. The fans who will meet him may not only be the Indonesian diaspora but also local Dutch residents, including another diaspora from ASEAN and Java, Suriname.

4 Conclusion

Based on the discussion in this article, the research results show that the historical existence of the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival in the Netherlands is based on the longing of the Indonesian diaspora for their homeland. Specifically, the diaspora in question is Indo and Maluku descendants because their presence in the Netherlands was earlier, namely along with the return of representations of Dutch colonialism after colonialism ended in Indonesia. This was because many of them were the result of marriages to *Nyai* and former KNIL soldiers, the majority of whom consisted of people from Eastern Indonesia, especially Maluku, who had to move to the Netherlands to avoid attacks by pro-Independence groups.

The representation of the identity of the Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands in the Tong-Tong Fair festival is realized in the form of night markets, and culinary and entertainment events that represent Indonesian characteristics. Apart from that, the existence of symbols of cultural identity shows that acculturation of Indonesian culture in the Netherlands is quite existing, which is supported by the large number of Indonesian diaspora in the Netherlands and various attributes that have relevance to the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands. This acculturation was expanded with the involvement of the diaspora from other countries and residents, which confirmed that the *Tong-Tong Fair* festival did not only belong to Indonesia but to all diaspora entities in the Netherlands.

In its development, the Tong-Tong Fair festival is not only for the Indonesian diaspora, but also for the ASEAN diaspora community, and local communities who are interested in various things about Indonesia and ASEAN in general. This is because the Tong-Tong Fair as a festival becomes a space of articulation for the community groups involved. So that the *Tong-Tong Fair* can be re-articulated by community groups outside the Indonesian diaspora, the festival is seen as a nodal point. *Tong-Tong Fair* becomes an anchor point that lacks meaning to be able to give new meaning to other identities. Thus, the *Tong-Tong Fair*, which was initially created as a cultural ritual space based solely on feelings of shared destiny in longing for the Indonesian diaspora, can provide negotiation spaces for the articulation of other identities.

The presence of community groups from several ASEAN member countries shows the openness of this space for articulation. Likewise, the Dutch government articulated the Tong-Tong Fair as part of its annual tourism agenda and for the Indo people to articulate their image of Indonesia.

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