

# TRANSNATIONALISM OF INDONESIAN DIASPORA YOUTH: POLITICAL MOVEMENT THROUGH THE CONFERENCE OF INDONESIAN DIASPORA

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## Abstract

**Objectives:** This paper is aimed to study the transnational activity committed by Indonesian diaspora through the process of global framing as a way to influence the Indonesian political policies, namely, the rights of dual citizenship.

**Methodology:** This study uses a qualitative research method and the technique of interview, literature studies, and documentation data gathering. The use of multi-level strategy in transnational advocacy networks is utilised to find the patterns of network segmentation, where the multi-level strategy itself consists of the grassroots level, national to international level.

**Main Findings:** The process of global framing by IDN Global have also showcased the input and the ongoing process, however, the output and the outcome are yet to come in the phases of initiation which then resulted in the formulation of initiatives on transnationalism long term goals and sustainability. The discourse of diaspora constitutes a new culture of Indonesia, thus several transformations that are conducted by the government aimed in empowering its diaspora requires a deeper process and further research..

**Implication:** In accordance to the transnational activities in the shape of global framing conducted by IDN Global in influencing Indonesian government policy shows input and ongoing processes, however, the output and overcome are yet in the process of initiation which resulted in the formulation of initiatives as an effort of a long term goal-oriented transnationalism.

**Novelty/ Originality of the Study:** This writing will explain how far the effort of transnationalism conducted by the IDN Global, have accommodated the various aspirations to political contestation inside of the congress.

**Keywords:** *Transnational Activities, Global Framing, Transnational Advocacy Networks, IDN Global, Indonesian Diaspora.*

## INTRODUCTION

The movements of Indonesian diaspora in recent years have been transformed into a reality that successfully grabs the attention of the Indonesian government. In which the population number has come close around 6 to 8 million, similar to the total number of populations in Austria or Sweden. Indonesian diaspora has also contributed to the national foreign exchange of Indonesia reaching 7 billions of USD or nearing 70 trillion of rupiahs, closely similar when comparing it to “the fundings transferred by the central government to Indonesian autonomous region as written down on APBN-P 2012” (Jazuli & Pyke, 2011). Indonesian diaspora has also become a national asset that could compete globally since many of the Indonesian diasporas consisted of intellectual and professionals in the midst of developing their businesses and influence abroad. The success of Indonesian diaspora in the sectors of the economy, science and technology experts, and the discretion of understanding the religion and other sectors could also provide a great potential of Indonesian diaspora. Since that Indonesian diaspora could possess a great contribution to the nation, Indonesian identity ties should then be re-emphasised and maintained throughout the process as a way to strengthen the sense of belonging of those who live abroad to their home country and national identity as an Indonesian.

Indonesian identity ties were established by a Non-Governmental Organisation focusing itself on the Indonesian diaspora in foreign countries, namely the Indonesian Diaspora Network Global (IDN-G). IDN Global itself was made to be a platform/ medium in gathering and connecting aspirations and the ability of Indonesian diasporas. The existence of the organisation serves a foundation to strengthen the power of Indonesian diaspora, as, in the practice, IDN-Global have initiated various of congress and grand meetings of Indonesian diaspora from around the globe as to foster solidarity and synergy of the diaspora to their place of birth. To this day on, there have been held five congresses of Indonesian diaspora. *Conference of Indonesian Diaspora Youth 2018 (CIDY-2018)*, which will be the focus of discussion of this paper.

Quite distinct to the other previous conferences that do not involve the youth, Conference of Indonesian Diaspora Youth 2018 is aimed to gather youth from around 34 provinces in Indonesia to meet the diaspora youth of Indonesia from all around the globe including several others youth organisations and the national institutions. Youth involvement inside of the Conference of Indonesian Diaspora is to be believed to open up an opportunity for all the Indonesian youth from around

the globe to express their point of views in projecting Indonesian development, that is relevant to the making of Indonesian progress over the history, also characterised as a strategic, anticipative, and comprehensive measures.

In expressing aspirations related to national and international issues on the CIDY 2018 gave birth to the “Document of Indonesian Vision 2045” which will be the reference to conduct movements as a realisation of the “Proyek Visi Indonesia 2045” aimed at Indonesia Emas 2045. The velocity of interaction among diaspora to its state opens up an opportunity for them to run on transnational activity. The transnational process can be a bridge between local, national, regional and international issues that can raise local issues in a country and discuss it globally. It is according to what is the initiation of the implementation of the Conference of Indonesian Diaspora Youth 2018 which discusses various local, national and global issues (Adamson, 2018; Alonso & Mylonas, 2017; Indonesian Diaspora Network, 2018). Tarrow (2005) suggests that “transnational social movements can be seen from how the movement has a social and political base outside the country or target group” (Soetjipto, 2018). IDN Global by their chapters (United Nations, 2018) shows that the NGO’s has a strong root in social networks in more than one country to participate in fighting for issues that are being their agenda.

The concept of transnational activities on this paper will be identified through the process of global framing that consists of several phases of; domestic claim, communication and convergence, frame bridging, and frame transformation. Whereas the Global Framing process conducted by the IDN Global is an effort towards the framing of issues as a form of diaspora development that is aimed to reform and revise the national policies in accordance to the articulated aspirations and opinions.

This writing will explain how far the effort of transnationalism conducted by the IDN Global, have accommodated the various aspirations to political contestation inside of the congress. To provide an analysis, the questions formulated will then be “How is the process of Global Framing conducted by Indonesian Diaspora Youth on the *Conference of Indonesian Diaspora Youth 2018*?”

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The first concept used, will be the concept of transnational activity which was conceptualised by Sidney Tarrow (2005) to elaborate the mechanism and the process of dissemination of the Indonesian Diaspora movement. On the activity of transnationalism, global framing has become one of the forms of transnational activities used by the researcher to explain further the effort of framing issues to construct an agenda of Indonesian diaspora effort. As to elaborate to strategies utilised on the effort of Indonesian diaspora, the writer used the concept of transnational advocacy networking.

### Transnational Activity

Alongside its development, the concept of transnationalism has triggered the discussion on immigrants integration, specifically on the beginning of the 1990s since the introduction of migration studies. Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1992) defined that transnationalism as a process of immigrants in establishing social sector as a way to link their country of origin to the country where they settle. However, transnationalism is not merely a frequency of cross border relation, as it also involves the various and distinctive way of thinking and behaviour. Those various ways of thinking and behaviour exist, as “transnationalism discussion of nation-states role to influence the policy on the migrant flows” (Bauböck & Faist, 2010; Benford & Snow, 2000; Cass, 2018; Hitakshi & Maherbaanali, 2018)

Transnationalism has overlooked the transnational organising process which involves the force of the masses (organised or unorganised) in fighting for issues and its strategies through what is called as a transnational activity. An example of a transnational activity which serves as the foundation of this paper; The Global Framing defined as the make use of external symbol aiming to claim a part of the movement agenda. Also, the external symbol could perform the function of symbolising protests on issues that are per the related actors.

On his book of *The New Transnational Activism*, Sidney Tarrow describes the process of Global Framing as consisted of 1) **Domestic Claim** where framing issues make an opportunity for domestic actors to shape domestic claim in a universal definition to move across national borders; 2) **Communication and Convergence** mean the accessibility and ease of information in a global level, prompting new ideas and understanding to be applied domestically; 3) **Frame Bridging** is an effort of linking similar forms of ideology, however, its framework is not connected structurally; 4) **Frame Transformation** is the process of internalising new values while replacing the existing values to restructure the framework.

### Transnational Advocacy Network

Keck and Sikkink (1998) suggested that diaspora has become one of the non-state actors, that is made up of advocating groups of people working towards the main issues and its branches that gain the support of every background, ranging from the local level, national, regional, or even the national government abroad and so on. The targets and goals of transnational advocacy composed of “agenda-setting” process that caught the public's attention in regards to the issues that have been a focus of advocacy, and to influence the discourses as to involve the debate of narration and counter-narration of the issues that are being advocated” (Chang, 2016; Dunn, 2005; Soetjipto, 2018)

On the conduct of advocacy, non-state actors utilise the tactics and strategies in persuading and pressuring the state to adopt the demand voiced by them, through the mediums of “information politics, symbolic politics, politics of influence, and the politics of accountability” (Gunderson, 2015; Soetjipto, 2018). There have been several conditions however that could surface “the transnational advocacy networks as consisted of boomerang pattern, political entrepreneurs, and the development of international conferences” (Keck & Sikkink 1998).

The boomerang pattern on this writing is the meaning of a condition which there exist an obstacle inside of the coordinating structure of local groups to the government. Other than that the activists perceive that those networks are believed to be able to put forward the campaign missions and actively promote the ideas they brought up. Among the various advocacy networks, there are several who brought up the issue of “rights” on their campaign. Those things started to surface because they believed that the government plays a role in preserving the rights of the people but at the same time, violates them anyways giving birth on the political entrepreneurs. The resorting conditions that make it possible for transnational advocacy networks are due to the existence of international conferences as a platform for interaction to shape and strengthen those networks.

### Diaspora

Diaspora itself is the new concept in discussing the issues of collective action and identities of non-state actors rather to the discussion of generating an institution which will increase the political mobilisation process the academic narratives. Edmondson and Shaffer (1986). provides us with a universalistic definition regarding the modern diaspora, “the minority ethnic groups of migrants that are settling in the host country still in possession of special sentimental and material ties to its nationalities where they originate” (Santoso, 2014). Diaspora could also be defined as “specific ethnic communities that are diffused and dispersed all around the world (either voluntary or forced) however remain to have emotional and political ties to its country of origin” (Josselin & Wallace, 2001)

To distinct the understanding of diaspora, Welcker (2016) categorised two types of Indonesian diaspora namely; Expatriate and Diaspora Non-Expatriate. That will become matters of discussion on this research are the various forms of Diaspora Non-Expatriate, as they have consisted of nationalities that migrated to study, work, reunify their families, and those who have possessed the role on their destination country. Indonesian Diaspora may also have various interpretations on its definitions, enveloping every citizen of Indonesia abroad, be it those who possess the blood of Indonesia or those who identify themselves as Indonesian. Dino Patti Djalal is a former Ambassador of Indonesia to The United States of America, that is now positioned as the Leader of Boards of Trustees Indonesian Diaspora Network of IDN Global point out four groupings in Indonesian Diaspora, which are “1) Indonesian citizens whose abroad and in possession of Indonesian passport; 2) Indonesian citizens that have changed its status to foreign countries citizens due to the process of naturalisation and no longer in possession of Indonesian passport 3) foreign citizens that are having close ties through marriage and other processes; 4) Indonesians” (Santoso, 2014).

### METHODS

This research discusses how the efforts of transnationalism in the form of global framing are conducted by the diaspora youth population. Seeing from the analysis approach, writers selected the qualitative methods in the process of gathering data through several dialectical interviews that involves informants focusing on the issues on diaspora and documentation. Interviews were conducted on the semi-structured pattern, purposefully providing the flexibility for the informants to dig deeper and explore other issues that are related, on the diversity of backgrounds, perspectives and the interests of the informants (Lamont, 2015).

### DISCUSSION

The interaction that goes across national borders and involving non-state actors are not new phenomenons. IDN Global as one of the advocate groups in conducting the process of transnationalism in the domestic level through the process of global framing which consists of several stages; *domestic claim, communication and convergence, frame bridging, and frame transformation*

Domestic claim as a process where every transnational actor including the youths of diaspora wields a symbol of directing issues as a part of its effort to fulfil its agenda. Dual citizenship is an example of the main symbol to represent Indonesian diaspora agenda. Dino Patti Djalal, the present leader of IDN Global has become a notable figure in initiating Desk Diaspora Indonesia (DDI) on the year of 2013, marked the important role of actors as a symbol of Indonesian Diaspora. On the issues advocated are further categorised into short term issues consisting of; Dual Citizenship issue; Diaspora institutions; Diaspora Figures in Legislative Institutions; Indonesian Diaspora Data Synergy and the Preventive Act of Migrant Workers while on the long term issues involves the Talent Management of Indonesian Diaspora.

The stages of communication and convergence in emphasising on the strategy of political mobilisation is an effort to strengthen networks of massive collective movements. IDN Global utilised the multi-level strategy in transnational advocacy networks composed of the grassroots level, national, and international level. On the grassroots level, advocacy is conducted in aiming for Indonesian diaspora. Strategies that are conducted goes by the process of mobilising Indonesian diaspora as an object or targets of advocacy. Diaspora mobilisation is conducted by the use of a concept called as “organising unorganised” in which an effort to organise Indonesian diaspora from all around the world to gather and

organised themselves based on their country of where they settle. IDN Global possessed an IDN Chapter that is a bridge of IDN Global to diaspora around the world to guide those who are only scholars studying abroad but also includes those who have settled there for a long period and have reproduced, this action is based on the motives of maintaining connections of them to their country of birthplace.

**Table 1. Research Level of Analysis**

Object of Analysis	Level of Analysis	Subject of Analysis
Global Framing :		
1. Domestic Claim;	Regional (Non-State Actor)	Groups of Indonesian diaspora
2. Communication and Convergence		
3. Frame Bridging	State Actor (Government)	Stakeholders focusing on the Indonesian diaspora
4. Transformation Phases		
	Individual	Active Diaspora Youths in the transnational activity.

On the national level, the targets of advocacy by IDN Global is reasoned to push forward the Indonesian government on demanding changes of citizenship regulations and issues of the diaspora to be discussed on the Program of National Legislation. The institutional approach is utilised by IDN Global as its framework on their conduct of the advocacy process. The methods implemented by the IDN Global is by relying on persuasive framing of issues to attract sympathy and supports of the proposed issues (win the heart and mind). And on several occasions, experts are used to legitimising the issues brought by them to convince the policymakers (Hass, 1992; Sapiie, 2018; Saunier, 2009). With this pattern that is conducted by IDN Global, we could oversee and understand the power of transnational advocacy as “The Power of Ideas” so that the aimed narratives could be responded and gained attention and public support.

The other methods of shaping transnational advocacy networks require the establishment of international conferences as a bridging platform of moulding and strengthening the networks among Indonesian diaspora. Stirring of opinions and the dissemination of information could also be done through the organising of congresses. One of the agenda that serves as an instrument of political mobilisation is the participation of international and national forums. Inside these forums, they gather information whilst spreading their ideas and plans. They have also established a network alongside Civil Society Organisations (CSO) and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) that specialises on the issues of Indonesian Diaspora. As an example, IDN Global has partnered with organisations such as The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) Indonesia, Organisation of Indonesian Scholars (PPI) and several other communities.

On the stage of frame bridging, values and principles of the transnational activity basic procedures are referring to the vision and mission of the IDN Global of “connecting the dots” through the efforts of transnationalism. The presence of IDN Global has also opened up space for Indonesian diaspora youths to work on a transnational movement through the establishment of Congress of Indonesian Diaspora Youth 2018 (CIDY 2018). Diaspora youth act as an agent of social change to better nation-building processes. The involvement of youth generations especially the youth of diaspora has played a vital role of the nation in its contribution of thoughts and ideas in overseeing the problems of the country as to work alongside the government in providing preventive solutions and overcoming potential national threats and obstacles in the moving-forward youth dynamics. The background of CIDY 2018 itself is founded on the commemoration of The Youth’s Pledge, as a form of reconstructing “The Youth’s Pledge” as a legacy of Indonesian nationalism. The congress initiated by IDN Global aimed to initiate a circle of connecting the diverse perspectives of Indonesian youth from every part of the globe in formulating the project of Indonesian Vision of 2045 as an augmentation of a more elaborated definition of Sumpah Pemuda still with the regards of its true meaning.'

Indonesian diaspora in recent times especially the youth has become a new discourse that gains attention due to the reality of its contributions to Indonesia. The table below is a form of analysis made by the researcher to elaborate the indicator of success on the efforts of advocacy which includes the result of transformational framework done by Indonesian diaspora in voicing out the issues of their demand, which are written as below:



**Table 2.** Indicators of the success of IDN Global advocacy processes

No.	Issue	Initiating Institutions	Program Lanjutan
<b>Short-Term Issues</b>			
1.	Dual Citizenships	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia	Responded by the launching of <i>Kartu Masyarakat Indonesia di Luar Negeri</i> (Indonesian citizens living abroad card) (KMILN)
2.	Government Unit	<i>(initiation process)</i>	Prioritised Agenda of the elected president of 2019-2024 in the formation of special institution of diaspora's talent pitching
3.	Legislative Figure	Foreign Policy Community Indonesia Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI) use-Dunia Indonesia Diaspora Network Global	The Program "Know Your College (legislative candidates)" As to increase the connectivity of diaspora and their legislative candidates to raise the awareness of Indonesian diaspora to its role in actively participating on the development of Indonesian democracy of 2019
4.	Data Integration of Diaspora	The Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia	Registering Process of Indonesian Diaspora TKI (Non-TKI has not been included)
		Global PPI	Registering Process of Indonesian Diaspora Non-TKI
		IDN Global	The Application of Diaspora Connect: Connecting Indonesians Globally
		Kementerian Luar Negeri RI	Registering process of <i>Kartu Masyarakat Indonesia di Luar Negeri</i> (Indonesian citizens living abroad identity card) (KMILN)
		<i>(the process of initiation by the ministry and institutions related)</i>	Indonesian President Regulations No. 39 in the year of 2019 regarding the unified data of Indonesia
5.	Preventive Measures Towards Migrant Workers	Directorates of Indonesian Citizens protection and the Legal Bodies of MOFA RI	The Improvements of Programs on Protective Measures on Indonesian Workforce Abroad.
<b>Long Term Issues</b>			
1.	Talent Pitching of Diaspora	Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform of The Republics of Indonesian	Special Formation in CPNS Diaspora Tahun 2018
		Global PPI & Forum Indonesia Muda (FIM)	Elevating the Competence of Leadership and Character Building of Youth Through The Forum of Indonesian Youths (FIM).
		Indonesia Diaspora Network Global	CID: Empowering Indonesia's Human Capital
2.	Talent Mapping of Diaspora	The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit	Program Diaspora Expert & Returning Expert

**Sources:** Researcher Materials, 2019

One of the visible successes is the diaspora awareness of its role in providing political votes in the Presidential Election 2019. When compared to 2014, the percentage of diaspora participation in the Legislative Election was only 22.19% and 70% in the Presidential Election (Aritonang, 2014; Utami, 2015). Some of the obstacles of the diaspora are the lack of knowledge of Indonesian diaspora voters towards legislative candidates. This has led to the establishment of an online platform that contains a list of legislative candidates representing abroad, namely "Know Your Candidates" formed by the Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia and IDN Global. Know Your Candidates aims to improve connectivity between the diaspora and its legislative candidates so that the diaspora is aware of its role to actively participate in the development of Indonesian democracy in 2019. Besides, there is a collaboration between IDN Global and the Indonesian Lecturers Association (ADI) through webinars that can provide understanding for the diaspora to help the implementation of Indonesia's democratic system. The General Election Commission stated that the participation of diasporas to participate in the 2019 Presidential Election reached 81% and 75% of those who voted in the legislative elections (Farisa, 2019).

The discourse of diaspora constitutes a new culture of Indonesia, thus several transformations that are conducted by the government aimed in empowering its diaspora requires a deeper process and further research. IDN global has then become

a pioneer on the transnationalism movement in advocating various issues related to the Indonesian diaspora movement and partnering with the government to empower Indonesian diaspora.

The effort of the government in providing attention to its diaspora have also been an indicator and the process of integrating the demand and voices of diaspora through concrete steps as a way to accommodate Indonesian diaspora. With the presence of Indonesian government attention could be an early beginning of perceiving the success in advocacy by Indonesian diaspora and the youths abroad, and although every effort is done massively, does not rule out the possibility of reaching the targets and creating changes to policies that are no longer relevant in responding to the existing dynamics and situations.

## CONCLUSION

This writing concludes several points, First of all, the access to collective interaction space to shape and strengthen networks to open up opportunities in mobilising politics and masses nationally and internationally. Secondly, these writing pointed out that nationalism of Indonesian diaspora is not merely based on the territorial borders as it has shifted to transnational marked by the congress that was held as a form of love to their country and the pride of being Indonesian that could raise the public awareness towards the role and potential possessed by Indonesian diaspora. Thirdly in the context of Indonesia, the diaspora could be an object of policy as the youth diaspora transnationalism remain to be a new form of conduct that requires a clear juridical instrument.

In accordance to the transnational activities in the shape of global framing conducted by IDN Global in influencing Indonesian government policy shows input and ongoing processes, however, the output and overcome are yet in the process of initiation which resulted in the formulation of initiatives as an effort of a long term goal-oriented transnationalism. As the input and processes can be seen from the process of domestic claim, communication and convergence, and frame bridging. Whereas initiative formulation remains to be on the phase of frame transformation by the Indonesian diaspora.

There has been advised of recommendations proposal that the government should consider in every phase of Indonesian diaspora youth process of global framing as a means to influence the Indonesian government policies, which are:

1. Formulating policy of Indonesian diaspora to maximise every potential that is to be utilised by the state;
2. Conducting deeper research on the issues of diaspora, especially on the issue of citizenship and special foreign districts distinguished to fight for aspirations and the needs of diaspora that differs from one region to the other.
3. Elected legislatures on the second districts of Jakarta are recommended to meet and discuss with the Indonesian diaspora to generate substantial issue that will be further discussed as an effort to improve the quality of democracy.
4. The Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in pitching performing talents of Indonesian diaspora to be empowered through youth programs as a realisation towards Indonesian vision of 2045. The coordination of MOFA RI (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia) to Indonesian diaspora communities in every country where they settle to discuss problems and obstacles experienced by Indonesian diaspora.

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