INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Globalization covers the most diverse spheres of human life, including social, where the processes of migration and globalization of culture take on special significance. Cultures arise and develop, interacting with each other. And the first field of this interaction is the diaspora. Diaspora is the environment where culture is directly developed and enriched. The development of diaspora is carried out by spreading the culture, values and traditions of their people, but at the same time integrating into society with a different culture, which implies the acquisition of new socially and spiritually significant qualities.¹

The rise of diaspora concern in global scale has been massive in this past ten years, diaspora has become one of the most fundamental actors in global economic growth. This has led the global world to be more competitive in term of economic development cause the countries’ income is not only gained from the domestic workers but also from the diaspora.

This phenomenon can be seen from how countries give a high concern towards their diaspora such as India and China which have been rapidly active in concerning on their diaspora, it is implied in both countries’ leaders statement where in 2017, Indian President Narendra Modi, at a celebration of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas which is a holiday to honor the contribution of India’s diaspora stated “We are converting the brain drain to brain gain”.² Meanwhile, in 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping expressed similar statement, believed that Chinese diaspora “can play an irreplaceable role in realizing the Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation as they are patriotic

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and rich in capital, talent, resources, and business connections.”³ These two countries have been taking part in leading the diaspora mobilization and also two of the largest diaspora in the world with approximately 15.6 million Indian and 9.5 million Chinese diasporas spread worldwide.⁴

In Indonesia, this issue appeared to be sort of a new concern of the government, this has been proven by the statement given by President Joko Widodo as following:

“Diaspora yang bertalenta tinggi harus kita berikan dukungan agar memberikan kontribusi besar bagi percepatan pembangunan Indonesia. Kita akan menyiapkan lembaga khusus yang mengurus manajemen talenta ini. Kita akan mengelola talenta-talenta hebat yang bisa membawa negara ini bersaing secara global.”-President Joko Widodo

That quoted statement from a speech titled “Visi Indonesia” or Indonesia’s Vision by Indonesian president has drawn a new concern of Indonesia’s politics circumstances where diaspora was mentioned in public for the first time. On July 14, 2019, Indonesian President Joko Widodo delivered his speech regarding his vision to increase the quality of human resources in Indonesia after being re-elected as the President of Indonesia.⁵

Indonesia is considered as the fifteenth largest diaspora population in the world with approximately 8 million populations widely spread worldwide.⁶ According to Dino Patti Djalal, Indonesian diaspora is divided into 3 categories namely, Indonesian citizen in abroad ( 4,6

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millions), foreign citizen recognized as Indonesian descends (2 millions), and the rest are non-
indonesian citizen with no blood-relations but have a strong willing and interest to Indonesia.\(^7\) This
considerable number has shown the potential of Indonesian diaspora that actually can contribute
more towards the development of Indonesia itself especially in economic sector. But the role of
Indonesian diaspora has not met the optimal impact towards Indonesia development yet, proven
by the statistic enclosed by The World Bank referring Indonesia at the 17\(^{\text{th}}\) rank with US$7 billion,
meanwhile China is on the top of the table with US$48 billion, followed by Mexico (US$22 billion), and Philippines (US$20 billion).\(^8\)

Jokowi’s statement regarding the contribution of Indonesian diaspora has marked the
beginning of diaspora politicization. It seems to be highly potential in increasing Indonesia’s
development and empower all of Indonesia’s human resources. It also includes diaspora that was
barely mentioned in the political stage previously and had been neglected notwithstanding the
existence of diaspora had been there for decades.\(^9\)

The concern of the government towards diaspora according to Jokowi’s speech in optimization
of highly talented Indonesian diaspora is also reflected from the Indonesia’s foreign policy by
hosting World Class Scholar Symposium (SCKD). This event is a government project to provide
a platform for the domestic and overseas scholars to collaborate continuously.\(^10\) This emergence
of government new concern on diaspora can not be separated from the effort of a diasporic NGO

\(^7\) Dino Patti Djalal: 8 Juta Diaspora Aset Besar Untuk RI” [Dino Patti Djalal: 8 Million Diaspora a Big Asset for the
https://www.insideindonesia.org/indonesia-s-diaspora-citizen-3
\(^10\) World Class Indonesian Diaspora Scientists Make a Contribution to the Motherland. Ministry of Foreign Affair of
that was established by Indonesian diaspora per se, Indonesian Diaspora Network, that has shown its contribution towards diaspora mobilization. It can be seen from the cooperation between Ministry of Foreign Affairs and IDN through Diaspora Connect, an application used to monitor the database of Indonesian diaspora.

The lack of government concerns and policies on diaspora empowerment and engagement and the integration among diaspora itself had triggered a movement aimed to upraise the term of diaspora which had been swept under the rug. In 2012, Dino Patti Djalal, who was Indonesian Ambassador to United States, initiated the very first Indonesian diaspora congress in Los Angeles which marked the emergence of diaspora movement after a long hiatus. Commenced by gathering the Indonesian diaspora in United States, the spirit was spread widely to the Indonesian diaspora in other countries such as Japan, Canada, Qatar, etc. In which during this event, a diaspora-oriented organization called Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN) was established and eventually became the biggest formal association of Indonesian diaspora. The paramount impact appeared in the Congress of Indonesian Diaspora on July 6-8, 2012, where it was well attended accommodating more than 3000 Indonesian diasporas from United States and other countries. This is considerably called the turning point of Indonesian diaspora supported by the fact that the form of support was not only in the attendance number, yet the amount of financial support was also beyond expectation with US$ 300,000 was collected from this event.¹¹

The impact of Indonesian diaspora movement also exists in the Diaspora Card (KMILN), where this issue was triggered by the demand of Indonesian diaspora to have a legitimate recognition as Indonesian citizen despite they are living abroad. The result was the government

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stipulated President Regulations no.76/2017 regarding *Kartu Masyarakat Indonesia di Luar Negeri* (KMILN) or also well-known as Diaspora Card which shows the manifestation of the government empowerment over Indonesian diaspora in order to boost Indonesian diaspora potential. This policy then symbolizes the simplification towards diaspora concept in Indonesia which is conceptualized in economy context since diasporas’ role was mostly understood as Foreign Direct Investment agent of Indonesia in their host countries.\(^{12}\)

IDN has delivered a spirit of unity among Indonesian diaspora where the first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora was ended by all of the Indonesian diaspora proclaiming Indonesian Diaspora Declaration that strengthened their commitment to the future of Indonesia and it begun to attract the government consideration. IDN, as a non-governmental organization actor, has remarked the change in government perception towards diaspora through the first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora which was then evolving to become country’s overseas investment with great potential for Indonesia’s development. This result surely was not reached in a concise process, the writer believes that this is the outcome of long standing efforts and a massive movement initiated by non-governmental organization which in this case taken by IDN. Therefore, writer finds it interesting to analyze the efforts of IDN in mobilizing the movement of Indonesian diaspora in order to upraise this issue to be taken by the Indonesian government into account after being neglected for decades.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

President Joko Widodo’s speech regarding the empowerment of Indonesian diaspora has become a sign of a new concern of the government towards diaspora where diaspora issue is adopted into the political stage. It is caused by this phenomenon has also influenced the decision

\(^{12}\) Hana Naufa, Raden Maisa Yudono, and Ani Soetjipto, “Discourse Analysis of Indonesian Diaspora: Conceptual Review in International Relations”, *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah*, (2018);93.
making inside government body in creating policies. Several actions have been taken by the
government in order to support and empower diaspora such as hosting the World Class Scholar
Symposium (SCKD) that provides a platform for Indonesian overseas scholars to collaborate and
dedicate to Indonesia. This issue becomes an important phenomenon to be analyzed since it marks
a big change in government perspective towards diaspora which was given an unfavorable stigma
before and had been neglected for a long period of time previously before becoming a national
interest that is highlighted by the president of Indonesia himself. The role of IDN is surely
significant in initiating the movement. Started from the first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora
which attracted and collected fat amount of audience and financial support as well as stealing the
government attention and eventually resulted a continuous movement of Indonesian diaspora
worldwide. Jokowi’s speech is an open gate for Indonesian Diaspora Network to collaborate with
the government and continue mobilizing Indonesian diaspora in order to accelerating Indonesia’s
development through their role as indonesia’s overseas human resources.

1.3 Research Question

Based on the background and statement of the problem have been elaborated above, writer
decides to frame the research question as following:

How does the IDN mobilize Indonesian diaspora in order to upraise the government concern
towards Indonesian diaspora and the government response towards it?
1.4 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to elaborate and analyze the effort of Indonesian Diaspora Network in their movement to mobilizing the Indonesian diaspora in order to upraise government concern towards diaspora empowerment.

1.5 Benefits of the Research

1.5.1 Academic Benefits

This thesis can hopefully be a guidance and reference in knowledge development of IRs student but not limited to other majors in diaspora and social movement context and how do they get mobilized.

1.5.2 Practical Benefits

2. This thesis can hopefully partake in enriching readers’ insight and knowledge regarding the issue of mobilization of Indonesian diaspora conducted by IDN especially for IRs students.

3. This thesis can hopefully be useful for the citizen in understanding and recognizing the existence of Indonesian diaspora and how they are being mobilized by a Non-governmental Organization.

1.6 Literature Review

In explaining the research, writer adopted several previous researches as references to analyze subject being discussed. These researches are taken as benchmarks and frameworks by the writer in elaborating and developing the research scope.

The first literature review adopted from “Discourse Analysis of Indonesian Diaspora: Conceptual Review in International Relations” by Hana Naufa, Raden Maisa Yudono, dan Ani Soetjipto that explained how the diaspora discourse is being brought in Indonesia and the process
of diaspora issue getting recognized by the government. This writing also enlightens the change of diaspora image from a traitor to country's potential asset and how the dynamics of changing itself being driven by Indonesian Diaspora Network. This writing elaborates the efforts of a particular Non-governmental Organization, IDN, in addressing an issue and influencing state’s policy, showing that national identity which tends to be government’s business and concern, can also be brought by a NGO. Besides, it also explains the mutual interest owned by both parties, the government and IDN, in addressing the issue of diaspora and upraising its initiatives towards Indonesia. 

Hence, this writing does not explain further about the process of mobilization conducted by IDN. Benchmarking from this writing, writer would like to explain the process of Indonesian diaspora to be recognized as well as the Indonesian Diaspora Network through its past and current efforts in order to address Indonesian diaspora into the main stream of political wave in Indonesia.

The second resource used by writer to analyze this issue is “Global Indonesian Diaspora: how many are there and where are they?” by Salut Muhidin and Ariane Utomo. This paper firstly notes the estimation of the size and composition of Indonesian diaspora by defining the term of diaspora itself in the first place and with several variables such as persons speaking Bahasa Indonesian at home, persons nominating Indonesia as an ancestry, and persons born in Indonesia. This paper then explains the potential positive impact of Indonesian diaspora towards national development in the form of remittance and the role of Indonesian Diaspora Network in transmitting information both formally and informally. It explains the estimation of Indonesian diaspora and potential that Indonesian diaspora has but not once did it mention about how IDN finally mobilizes the diaspora.

and approach the government. In order to complete the research gap, this paper will be used as reference in estimating the number of Indonesian diaspora spread all around the world as well as its possible positive impacts towards national development that is mostly supported and initiated by Indonesian Diaspora Network and mapping the Indonesian diaspora worldwide.

The third source of information is the research conducted by Agung Setiyo Wibowo titled Managing Indonesian Diaspora: A Preliminary Study. Besides the fact that not so many research has been conducted in studying Indonesian diaspora issue, this writing has enlighten the study of Indonesian diaspora with a conclusion that the Congress of Indonesian Diaspora which was held in Los Angeles in 2012 has rung up the momentum to empower the Indonesian expatriates spread all over the world. This writing also elucidates the definition of Indonesian diaspora in which who is included to this term and the history of Indonesian diaspora itself. It points the important role of CID as the fundamental background of what we have recognized as Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN).15 This research explains the past action of IDN in starting to mobilize diaspora and the research conducted by writer will continue and complete the previos research regarding the response of diaspora and Indonesian government. There for, this research will be used to analyze how CID could successfully arise the awareness of diaspora issue in Indonesia and will be linked to the discussed issue of diaspora mobilization.

The fourth is from Indonesian Diaspora and Dual Citizenship in Perspective of The Citizenship Law of Indonesia Republic by Ahmad Jazuli, this writing is focused on the power calculation of Indonesian diaspora overseas and furthermore, highlights the term of dual citizenship by providing two point of views towards it. This writing explains the possible advantages if government applies the dual-citizenship policy for diaspora. It argues that dual-citizenship will allow diaspora to act

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transnationally in which diaspora is the only actor who has full access towards abroad and domestic employments.\textsuperscript{16} Through this writing, writer would like to map the possible power of Indonesian diaspora as well as analyze the term of dual-citizenship in which this issue was firstly brought by Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN) and link all of the variables to the Indonesian diaspora mobilization process conducted by IDN.

Harnessing the Potential of the Indonesian Diaspora by Charlotte Setijadi is the fifth source of reference used by writer in order to carry out the research being analyzed. In the beginning, this writing discusses the IDN has been influential in popularizing the term of Indonesian diaspora in public discourse. It shows the potential of Indonesian diaspora thoroughly in several aspects such as economic, political, and social that actually have contributed to Indonesia’s development through remittances, political representatives and so forth notwithstanding the low level of government support given recently. This writing suggests that if the government wants to harness the potential of Indonesian diaspora, it means that it has to improve the consular and other diasporic services, particularly for its most vulnerable members.\textsuperscript{17} However, the writings does not explain furhter about the mobilization process carried out by IDN in delivering ideas to the government. Benchmarking from this writing, writer will analyze further about the relations between government and Indonesian diaspora in which this will be an impactful variable for how the IDN, as the influential actor, mobilizes Indonesian diaspora in order to strenghten the relation between both parties.

\textsuperscript{16} Ahmad, Jazuli, “Indonesian Diaspora and Dual Citizenship In Perspective of The Citizenship Law of Indonesia Republic,” Kementrian Hukum dan HAM RI. 2017.

1.7 Conceptual Framing

1.7.1 Social Movement

This concept emerged as a critique towards an essentializing concept of diaspora that is considered as a reified notions of belonging which meets a similarity with ideas of ethnicity or primordialist. In analyzing diaspora mobilization, Martin Sokefeld suggested to start from the constructionist conceptions of ethnicity which instead of taking primordialist as a substance, it is considered as codes of identifications used to claim identities. Instead of analyzing the formation of diaspora community through primordialist concepts, Sokefeld sees it as an instance mobilization processes which is not a natural consequence of migration but it is a specific processes of mobilization that has led the emergence of diasporic mobilization.

Since the formation of diaspora is an issue of social mobilization, the questions must be answered are why and how a diaspora discourse arises among a certain group of people and how people are made to accept the discourse and to participate in it. The main idea is to analyze the mobilization of people in order to carry out a collective purposes and actions as a social movement. Social movement is currently an immense concept in social sciences which takes place in challenging the particular existing political state. It can be in the form of new ideas, voice new demands, or create new kind of actions. In Power in Movement: Social Movement and Contentious Politics, Tarrow explains that social movements also practice other form of activities such as build organizations, explain ideologies, and socialize as well as mobilize theirs members which is engaged in collective identities. It shows that diaspora mobilization and social movement may

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have many parallels in the process at work and it is possible to analyze the mobilization of diaspora from the clues implied in social movements.

In order to explain how mobilization relate to the formation of diaspora particularly on its connection towards mobilizing structures, practices, and frames, Sokefeld limits the discussion and concentrate to four main topics and questions:

1. The formation of diaspora as a response to specific events and developments

   Since the imagination of community is not a direct consequence of migration it is fundamental to recognize what kinds of events and developments trigger the rise of a diasporic (namely transnational) imagination of community. In this indicator, it is also important to address what events and developments are framed in such a way that they require the response of a community.

2. Agents of diasporic imagination

   It indicates the actors who produce and disseminate a discourse of transnational community.

3. Mobilizing practices

   Given that diasporic imagination is not simply given or ‘natural’ but that people have to be mobilized for this imagination, hence the events, strategies and practices are instrumental to be highlighted in this mobilization.

4. Social and political dynamics of mobilization

   In this indicator applied by Sokefeld, the internal social and political dynamics of mobilization is a subject to be discovered and explained. It is also important to recognize if there any resistances to this mobilization, competing imaginations of community, or cross-cutting social processes that impede mobilization.

   Through these topics and questions, Sokefeld tries to identify several steps to analyze diaspora mobilization, topic 1 refers to framing processes which in the discussed topic writer would like to
see effort and action have been taken by IDN in order to trigger the awareness of Indonesian diaspora. Question 2 and 3 refer to mobilizing structures, practices, and their agents where it will highlight the practices IDN has performed in mobilizing Indonesian diaspora and its strategies in attaining successful mobilization. Meanwhile, question 4 tries to contextualize the diasporic mobilization by benchmarking to other social and political issue within the diaspora community. In the last indicator writer would to analyze how the existing political and social dynamic of mobilization itself influences the IDN’s processes in mobilizing the diaspora as well as change the political and social state in Indonesia. These topics then will be used as the means to analyze the mobilization of Indonesian diaspora performed by IDN by elaborating and answering the topics and questions mentioned above.

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 Research Type and Approach

The type of proposed research is descriptive analysis where writer would like to utilize it to explain the phenomenon and describe it systematically, factual, and accurate regarding the supporting facts of mobilization efforts of Indonesian Diaspora Network. This firstly takes place in defining the problem roughly and take a possible case to be examined in order to formulate the explanation. Then, the writer will examine further appropriate cases to establish how well the data collected fits hypothetical explanation. The next phase is sorting and categorizing data and further the data analysis is used to advance a working framework benchmarking to the existing literature and continued to process of reviewing, understanding, and explaining the phenomenon researched in this writing. This research utilizes qualitative method in order to explain the data collected from
scientific writings, reports, articles, journals, essays, thesis, and books\textsuperscript{20} which will highlight the search of meaning process behind social reality.

1.8.2 Research Limitation

In order to focus this research to a specific issue, writer limit the research from 2012 to 2019, since the beginning of Indonesian Diaspora Network mobilization which took place in 2012 when the first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora was held in United States, and the ending point is the release of application Diaspora Connect on the 5\textsuperscript{th} Congress of Indonesian Diaspora as the cooperation between IDN and Indonesian government. This research is also limited to focus on mobilization process of Indonesian diaspora initiated by IDN and the dynamic of government policy regarding diaspora.

1.8.3 Unit and Level Analysis

Unit of analysis, unit of explanation, independent variable, and dependent variable are the fundamental aspects to analyze units. All of those fundamental units are divided into two categories which are effects and causation. Unit of analysis and dependent variable is categorized as unit of effects, it indicates that both unit are objects to be analyzed. Therefore, unit of explanation and independent variable fall under the category of causation, meaning that they are the causes of the object of the research. In this research, since IDN and its behavior are the subjects being analyzed, it makes them to become the unit of analysis of this research and the unit of explanation is the Indonesian government policy regarding diaspora.

\textsuperscript{20} Iskandar. Metodologi penelitian Pendidikan dan social: Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif(Jakarta. Gaung Persamda Press. 2008), 186
1.8.4 Collecting of the Data

In analyzing this research, writer utilizes library research method by collecting facts and written data from various sources concerning Indonesian Diaspora Network, the growth of Indonesian diaspora, and the dynamic of government policy regarding diaspora. The datas being developed through this method are primary data and secondary data regarding the dynamic of IDN mobilization effort towards Indonesian diaspora starting from the first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora and dynamic of Indonesia’s policy concerning diaspora per se as well as Indonesian government response towards IDN’s effort. Writer will collect the primary data by interviewing IDN officials in which it will be conducted directly or undirectly. Writer will also take reference from several source such as Indonesian Diaspora Network website, International Migration Review, ISEAS, and other sources. Other data being the main consideration is how IDN attempts to takepart in the policy making regarding diaspora in Indonesia.

1.8.5 Analysis and Processing of the Data

In order to answer the question being asked in this research, writer will begin the analysis with the emergence of Indonesian Diaspora Network and the dynamic of the circumstance of Indonesian diaspora. Once succeeding in recognizing the IDN and Indonesian diaspora dynamic, writer will then focus on the dynamic of government’s policy regarding diaspora in the past 7 years and will also reflect to government concern before the emergence of IDN. Taking into the account the four indicators proposed by Sokefeld in analyzing mobilization through social movement, writer will be able to adress the efforts of mobilization performed by IDN in order to influence the Indonesian government, and see the result of mobilization carried out by IDN by benchmarking it to response of the Indonesian government through its policy, which in the end will answer the research question of this research.
1.9 Thesis Structure

CHAPTER I - Introduction

In this chapter writer introduces the issue being brought to the research and breakdown it through background, statement of problem, research question, purpose of the research, benefit of the research, literature review as the source of data and comparison, conceptual framework as the means to analyze the research, methodology, unit and level analysis, collecting of the data, and analysis and processing of the data.

CHAPTER II – The Emergence of Indonesian Diaspora Network

This chapter will explain further about the origin and emergence of IDN along with its visions and purposes. How was IDN established and what reason lies behind its emergence as well as its nascent stage in promoting diaspora discourse in Indonesia.

CHAPTER III – The Dynamic of Indonesia’s Policy Regarding Its Diaspora

In this chapter, writer will provide knowledges regarding the actions have been taken by Indonesian government in terms of Indonesian diaspora. This aims to scale the awareness level of government towards diaspora issue and explain how the stance of diaspora in Indonesia during the determined period of time.

CHAPTER IV – Analysis of Indonesian Diaspora Network Mobilization Process and Its Result

In this chapter, writer will continue on answering the question of the research which is How does the IDN mobilize Indonesian diaspora in order to upraise the government concern towards Indonesian diaspora and the government response towards it? In which, it will be possible by elaborating mobilization process has been endured by IDN.

CHAPTER V – Conclusion and Recommendation
The most important and fundamental results, conclusions, and contributions will be enclosed in this chapter, deriving from the research and writers thinking process towards the topic.