

Diaspora and (un)Making of Boundaries: The Case of Indonesian Immigrants in Wongok-Dong*

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I . Introduction

The creation of a foreign migrant residential district is a new issue in Korean society. In the last twenty years, South Korea has experienced a large-scale inflow of migrants from various ethnic backgrounds and nationalities. Every year, migrant workers arrive in South Korea seeking employment. As a result, Korean society is experiencing a change in its ethnic and demographic patterns. As part of this process, foreign migrants have started to form their own residential districts throughout the country. Among the foreign migrant residential districts, Wongok-Dong in Ansan, is the best known. It is seen as the capital of foreign migrants in Korea due to the existence there of a large number of immigrants and immigrant facilities such as restaurants, shops and religious churches, aided by favourable local government policies towards immigrants. Through

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the formation of these foreign migrants' spaces, migrants endeavor to adapt themselves into the host society (Park 2011).

In this ethnic enclave, immigrants perform community-building activities by developing social relations with people from the same country. In this context, Portes (1995) argues that, although immigrants living in enclaves suffer in that they experience isolation from the destination country, such enclaves can provide some benefits. Migrants in ethnic enclaves are able to exchange social support in order to achieve a self-sustaining life in the destination country. Each immigrant group has a shared heritage of pre-migration cultural beliefs, collective identities and a sense of solidarity that comes from their nationality (regional origin, ethnicity, religion and history). Foreign migrant residential spaces thus maintain traditional boundaries, which can be defined as based on the "essentialized, and modernist notion of the static nation state" (Kraïdy 1999: 344). On the basis of this, they form communities with people who have a similar heritage, and carry out economic, political and socio-cultural practices not only to maintain connections with their homeland but also to achieve social adaptation in the host country (Kwon 2005). Migrants reinforce their boundaries, formed during the pre-migration period, by developing social relations in the host society to facilitate their adaptation¹⁾.

However, it is also possible that migrants change their identity and

1) To deal with issues of ethnic diversity within the society, similarly, Furnivall (1948) presents the concept of 'plural society' that indicates created space with culturally heterogeneous populations. In this society, each group hold its own cultural features such as religion, language and ways of behavior. Although people individually interact with others in daily life, they separately sustain their life under the same political system.

patterns of activity through shared experiences of life after migration to the host country. In this context, Rosaldo (1989: 28) points out that, “cities throughout the world today, increasingly include minorities defined by race, ethnicity, language, class, religion, and sexual orientation. Encounters with difference now pervade modern everyday life in urban settings.” Based on this, he uses the term ‘Borderland’ to define the characteristics of this kind of space. In this space it is possible to make intercultural connections among people who have different social backgrounds. As a result, Arce (2004) argues that there is cultural fusion, recreation and resistance. This heterogeneity in the space leads to the de-nationalizing and transcendence of cultural identities among the people.

These perspectives are useful in helping us to understand migrants’ adaptation strategies in Wongok-Dong. As I described above, Wongok-Dong has the distinct characteristics of an ethnic enclave. It is a social space in which immigrants from varying social backgrounds can interact each other. Nevertheless, the real strength of the town as a multicultural space is intangible due to government interventions (Park 2011; Oh 2011). Therefore, people in Wongok-dong have difficult to build intercultural connections beyond their nationalities. Although foreign migrants can enjoy multicultural events to enhance solidarity beyond their nationality, they use these advantages for not making social relationships with other who are from different countries but focusing on activities of their own national community. In this context, however, there are possibilities to make social relationship within the national immigrant community which has social divisions, through using various facilities and

advantages for foreign migrants within the town.

In this study, thus, I would like to answer how Indonesian diaspora groups maintain or transcend their boundaries. Wongok-Dong is a residential space for foreign migrants from various countries in which they might maintain traditional boundaries but also create intercultural connections beyond traditional boundaries. Thus, the features of Wongok-Dong provide Indonesian immigrants with the chance to evolve the process of maintaining and transcending their boundaries. In this perspective, I want to understand how Indonesian immigrants maintain or transcend their boundaries in response to various situations in Wongok-Dong. However, the heterogeneity of the Indonesian immigrant group²⁾, divided by regional origin, language usage, religious belief and cultural practices, produces some unique outcomes when examining immigrants' identity issues.

To conduct this research, ethnographic field work was conducted in Wongok-Dong from October 2010 to September 2011. Through participant observation, I focused on core concepts such as boundary making in my research through discussable observation. In specific places such as Indonesian restaurants, religious facilities, Indonesian

2) Indonesia is the most complex single nation in the world due to the great diversity of both its geographical and its people (Drake 1989; Neher 2002). There are more than 300 ethnic groups in Indonesia: Javanese is the dominant ethnic group followed by Sundanese and Maduranese. Each ethnic group has its own language, customs and cultures. This social heterogeneity within Indonesia is reproduced by Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. During my field work period, there were numerous Indonesian ethnic groups such as Javanese, Sundanese, Makassarnese, Sasak and so forth in Wongok-Dong; various local languages are spoken by Indonesian migrants and different cultural practices were conducted by each ethnic group. On the basis of social heterogeneity within the Indonesian migrant group, Indonesian migrants established their own *paguyuban*, which consists of people who have similar social backgrounds in Wongok-Dong.

community office, and in immigrants' homes, I observed aspects of their boundary maintenance and transcendence by asking questions by myself. Some questions were: who visit the place/ who they are, what they do, what do they talk about? In terms of conducting interview and informal conversation, I asked them about their perceptions of themselves. Especially, I tried to identify continuities and discontinuities in Indonesian life trajectories. In other words, the interviews contributed to the identification of migrants' boundary making issues before and after migration. In this regard, I could analyse their shared heritage (cultural beliefs, collective identities and sense of solidarity) pre-migration period and their shared experiences (challenges and opportunities in Korea) after migration and their impact on migrants' lives in Wongok-Dong. Based on this data, I could obtain information about how they maintained or transcended their boundaries.

II . Theoretical Framework: Diaspora and Ethnicity

From the 1990s, diaspora became a main research issue in understanding of international migration. The term diaspora is defined as "expatriate minority communities such as immigrants, expatriate, refugee, guest workers, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community including Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion" (Safran 1991; Tölöyan 1991). On the basis of this definition, several scholars (Brubaker 2005; Cohen 1997; Safran 1991) stress that

maintaining strong links with their homeland and their distinctive identities in the host society are important features of diaspora migrants. Although these concepts of diaspora are useful for analysing the features of diaspora groups, diaspora may or may not share all of these features. Clifford (1994) has pointed out that, “we should be wary of constructing our working definition of a term like diaspora, by recourse of ideal type” (1994: 306). Thus, to understand various types of diaspora in a various types of diaspora, we have to consider diaspora a concept of degree rather than a matter of black and white.

In this sense, there is another aspect that describes geographical displacement or de-territorialization of identity in the contemporary world. Although there have been many attempts to build ideal-type definitions of diaspora, they are not enough to explain the dynamic characteristics of diaspora in a vibrant transnational context. Several scholars emphasize hybridity, fluidity, creolization and syncretism as features of diaspora (Brah 1996; Hall 1993). While Safran, Cohen and Brubaker stress that maintaining strong links with their homeland and their distinctive identities in the host society are important features as a diaspora, Hall insists that diaspora is the product of a “diasporic consciousness” where identity “is always ... open, complex, unfinished – always under construction” (Hall 1993: 362). Diasporas can be placed in new psychological and cultural spaces that are distinguished from their home and host countries. Their identities are reformulated by sociocultural relationships in the host society. Therefore, they can formulate new identities that have different characteristics from those of the pre-migration period. In this regard,

“diaspora has arisen as part of the postmodern project of resisting the nation-state, which is perceived as hegemonic, discriminatory and culturally homogeneous” (Vertovec 2009: 127). In these perspectives, on the one hand Indonesian migrant groups try to maintain a strong link to their homeland through maintaining their identity rather than endeavouring to adapt themselves to life in Wongok-Dong. On the other hand, there are also opportunities to transform their identity through forming social relationships with people and engaging with their changed circumstances in the host country.

However, in all these studies, the diaspora group is assumed to be homogeneous. Wimmer and Glick Shiller (2003) pointed out that methodological nationalism in migration studies causes diaspora groups to be imagined as organic, integrated wholes in spite of their internal divisions. Similarly, Anthias (1998) points out that diaspora groups have heterogeneity due to the different time they moved, their different reasons for moving, and the different countries of destination which provide different social conditions, opportunities and exclusion for this reason, assuming that a diasporic group is a unit that represents the nation state is problematic since diasporas are not homogeneous groups, and have their own features. Despite the similarities in conditions in the host societies that can be experienced by each diaspora from one nation-state, diaspora groups in one destination country also have social cleavages in terms of ethnic group, language usage, cultural practice and religion. The Indonesian diaspora in Korea has these features. As I described in the previous chapter, the Indonesian migrant community consists of people of different heritages, as evidenced by their geographical, linguistic,

ethnic and social heterogeneity. Indonesia can be defined as a plural society. In this kind of society, “secessionism is usually not an option and ethnicity tends to be articulated as group competition” (Eriksen 2002: 15). For this reason, it is important to clarify the features within a diaspora group in order to answer the question of how Indonesian diaspora groups build their boundaries in the host society.

To answer this question, I apply the concept of ethnicity. Three approaches have been developed in understanding the concept of ethnicity: primordialist, instrumentalist and situational. Primordialism holds that ethnicity is something inherited, natural to an individual, and therefore non-negotiable and irresistible (Geertz 1963). In contrast, many scholars, taking an instrumentalist position, argue that ethnicity is socially constructed rather than primordial or natural (Anderson 1983; Brass 1991; Barth 1969; Cohen 1969). However, situationalists point out neglection of individual's rational choice of these approaches. That is, situational approaches³⁾ focus on that how individuals choose their membership by particular situations ethnicity that is produced by particular situations (Banton 1994; Okamura 1981). Therefore, ethnic identity can be used instrumentally for the individual's or group's interest (Smith 1991). Although these perspectives are helpful to understanding the ethnicity, each has its limitations⁴⁾ and only by combining them can the complex phenomenon of ethnicity be fully explained (Hale 2004; Wimmer 2013)

3) Although there are differences in emphasis between instrumentalism and situationalism, these approaches commonly regard identity as a social composition that is affected or formed by relationships with others.

4) Limitations of each approach will be presented in conclusion chapter.

These approaches are meaningful, I argue, in explaining the features of Indonesian migrants' ethnicity in Korea. Indonesian migrants maintain their boundaries based on a shared cultural belief, collective identity and sense of solidarity that is formulated during pre-migration periods. On the other hand, they also transcend their boundaries through encountering new circumstances during post-migration periods. Although the Indonesian migrant group has social cleavages, it has been exposed to the Indonesian elite's promotion of nationalism after independence. For this reason, Indonesian migrants present their hidden national identity to adapt themselves in Korea beyond their primordial bonds. In addition, each Indonesian wants to achieve their personal goals by using various opportunities that can be obtained in Korea. It enables them to transcend boundaries by making social relationships with people with the same personal objectives.

These perspectives enable us to understand dynamics within one diaspora group and various features of diaspora. First of all, we can correct assumptions of homogeneity within particular diaspora. Based on this, a new perspective can be found by investigating two approaches to diaspora that stress hometown-orientation and hybridity. Clifford in his article 'Diaspora' (1994) considers that the diaspora process subverts the idea of the modern state. As I addressed above, diasporic understanding, focusing on multiplicity of identity and hybridity in a transnational context, can challenge fixed identity that is orientated to a specific homeland. Many scholars (Clifford 1994; Hall 1993; Brah 1996) insist on identity negotiation as a feature of diaspora. As a result, this phenomenon subverts the traditional

concept of the nation-state as homogeneous. However, a totally different outcome can be produced when we apply the notion of hybridity to the heterogeneous diaspora groups such as the Indonesian migrant group in Korea. Namely, the Indonesian diaspora group has the possibility to strengthen its national identity in Korea through transforming its identity. For example, Indonesian migrants with strong primordial bonds can unite with each other to achieve common interests or profits by resisting or using various circumstances in Korea. The process has the possibility to contribute to building national identity beyond primordial bonds.

In sum, examining the relationship between diaspora and ethnicity using the case of the Indonesian migrant group in Korea provide meaningful angle. That is, it clarifies the homogeneity within diaspora group and provides a different perspective on the hybridity of the diaspora group and the nation-state.

III. Indonesian Migrants and (un)Making of Boundaries

1. Boundary Maintenance and Making Segregations with the Group

In this section, I will argue that the Indonesian diaspora is separately maintained in Wongok-Dong due to their shared heritages such as regional origin, language usage, religious belief and cultural

practices. Based on these factors, I will focus on the language, spatial and social segregation within Indonesian migrant community.

(1) Language Segregation

In this section, I suggest that the language usage of each Indonesian migrant group contributes to making segregations among them. Indonesians use the official language, Bahasa Indonesia, as a *lingua franca* and they also use their own regional dialects. This hometown language has been spoken by their families and friends and become their mother tongue, whereas Bahasa Indonesia is learned in school. Thus, the official language can be considered as a second language for most Indonesians.

This linguistic diversity contributes to making Indonesian migrants distinguish between ‘the inside’ and ‘the outside’. Basically, they use different languages depending on conditions in their daily lives. For example, Indonesian migrants create ‘the inside’ by hanging around with their *kawan sekampung*⁵⁾ and speaking their hometown language. In making this ‘inside’ amongst particular Indonesian groups, they create ‘the outside’ for Indonesians who cannot understand the regional language. Another ‘outside’ is created by circumstances where they cannot use their regional language but can instead use Bahasa Indonesia.

During fieldwork, I often encountered these ‘inside’ and ‘outside’

5) Basically, Indonesian migrants define *kawan sekampung* as people from the same region in Indonesia. Although Indonesian migrants stress regional origin for qualification as *kawan sekampung*, shared heritages such as language, cultural practices and memories of the hometown are the most important factors for defining *kawan sekampung*.

environments produced by Indonesian migrants. Sometimes I could not understand the conversation of Indonesian migrants when they were speaking their regional language. When I asked about the meaning of their conversation, my informants would say: "Sorry, we speak our hometown language." They build an atmosphere of 'the inside' by using regional languages in public spaces such as restaurants, streets, parks, and so forth. Making 'the inside' appeared even more strongly in the closed space of their community gatherings. For example, I had the chance to attend a Sragen community⁶⁾ gathering through an invitation from my key informant from Kendal. When I entered the Indonesian restaurant located in the basement, a band was performing live music. However, I could not understand the meaning of the song and asked my informant, from central Java, about the language. He replied, "this is Bahasa Jawa". That's why you cannot understand." During the performance, I could understand the lyrics of only one song, which was performed in Indonesian. In this gathering, my informant was in the position of 'insider'. He was invited by one of the members of the Sragen community to attend and could understand all of the conversations at the gathering. Moreover, he really enjoyed the party with his friends in a comfortable atmosphere.

On another occasion, I was invited by a community member to visit a Galok (Gabungan Anak Lombok)⁷⁾ community meeting. I took along the same informant from Central Java. The meeting was held in the headquarters⁸⁾ of the Galok community, which has been

6) Sragen is located in central Java in Indonesia.

7) It means son of Lombok, which is the name of the Lombok community.

maintained by people from Lombok for twelve years. At the meeting there were more than fifty migrants from Lombok in addition to my informant and myself. During the meeting, they discussed creating a new community uniform⁹⁾ in their language (*Bahasa Sasak*).¹⁰⁾ During the discussion my informant seemed uncomfortable. I asked him about this and he explained: “Actually, I cannot join this gathering because they did not invite me. This is the first time to visit Galok community gathering and their house. More importantly, they speak Lombok language (*Bahasa Sasak*). I can’t understand their conversation. So, I feel loneliness (isolation) here.” My informant’s experience was the total opposite of that at the Sragen community party. That is to say, he was in ‘the outside’ position as a person who spoke a different regional language to that of the people of Lombok who were creating the ‘inside’ atmosphere of the meeting.

That is, Indonesians create ‘symbolic space’ by using their hometown language in Wongok-Dong. More importantly, however, difference of language usage contributes to demarcate us and them among Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong.

8) It was a very small basement room. On the wall of the house, there were a lot of paintings that symbolized their hometown.

9) Annually, each Indonesian hometown community prepares their *paguyuban* (hometown community) uniform. Under the regulations of the Employment Permit System foreign migrant can stay for four years and ten months in Korea, so Indonesian migrant communities have experienced a frequent inflow and outflow of members. For this reason, they need something to identify newcomers from their hometown in Wongok-Dong. Basically, the name of their region of origin or symbols of their hometowns is printed on t-shirts. Even though they do not know each other, thus, they are able to recognize their homeboys by wearing the uniform.

10) I did not understand the contents of the meeting due to the language barrier. After the meeting, I asked one of the members about their discussions.

(2) Spatial Segregation

In Wongok-Dong, there is residential segregation based on ethnic enclaves created by Indonesian migrant groups.¹¹⁾ In several cases, these enclaves constitute small towns. For example, Indonesians from Lombok live near the central park of Wongok-Dong, there are seven houses for people from Makasar behind *Warung* ‘S’ and the Sundanese live in Rasung¹²⁾.

There is outstanding reason for the formation of ethnic enclaves in Wongok-Dong. Namely, they aim to build a ‘maintained community life’ by reproducing their years in the pre-migration periods. In this regard, the bond between villagers that was formulated before immigration to Korea is reflected in Wongok-Dong¹³⁾. Accordingly, Indonesian migrants endeavor to reproduce their hometown context by living with people from the same village.

Our members live together behind *Warung* ‘S’. Do you know the *Sanggar*¹⁴⁾ (headquarters)? [...] I’m staying there as a leader of

- 11) Although most of the Javanese community have their own *Sanggar* (headquarters), they do not form a special enclave. They insist that Javanese is the largest Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong and, for this reason, think that forming an enclave is impossible.
- 12) In terms of gathering their ethnic houses in the same spot, one Indonesian migrant explained, “we would like to live near each other. Agents of real estate rental service let us know once houses empty near the *Sanggar*. Thus, we could make our town this apartment.” (Ujan, 24 years old, from Lombok)
- 13) Indonesian migrant groups are influenced by the agricultural society of their homeland. In this society, exchanging labour between villagers is emphasized and this creates close relationships between villagers.
- 14) In the early periods of immigration to Korea, several Indonesian migrant groups established their headquarters by renting a house. Various community gatherings were held in this place.

community. One of my duties is having regular meetings with community members to find and solve problems. In addition to the *Sanggar*, we have six houses. Each house is occupied by the same villagers from Aspol, Toraja, Balla, Karamoank, Bolae and Bakap in Makasar. (Herwin, 30 years old, from Makasar)

I'm from Lombok. More specifically, I'm from Aikmel. This is a town that is located in west Lombok. All of my housemates are from Aikmel. Next door, there are three friends as well. They are from Masbagaik. (Ujan, 24 years old, from Lombok)

Although the relationship with the village unit is emphasized in the above, this does not imply an absence of solidarity with people from different villages. Based on the usage of the same regional language, cultural practices, and geographical proximity among houses, they can perform various social activities within their ethnic enclave.

It is fun. When my friends go out, I can meet other friends from next door, upstairs and downstairs. I can go everywhere in this building without hesitation. I can eat some food, sleep and everything in the next door. This is Lombok building. [...] We are living in each house but we always share many activities and give social support to each other. (Ujan, 24 years old, from Lombok)

Each Indonesian group endeavors to build solidarity between members of the ethnic enclave through various community activities such as prayer meetings, community birthday ceremonies, gatherings during the summer vacation, *Chuseok* (Korean Thanksgiving Day) and *Seol* (Korean New Year). Most of these activities are run by the *Sanggar* and community members visit Wongok-Dong to join the meetings not only from Ansan but also other provinces in Korea. At

this point, the existence of their ‘town’ is particularly useful. Houses near the *Sanggar* play an especially important role in accommodating visitors during these periods. Basically, visitors are accommodated according to their Indonesian village of origin.¹⁵⁾ Geographical proximity between houses full of *kawan sekampung* contributes to the hometown atmosphere within them and enables Indonesian migrants to exchange social support and strengthen the collective identity of community members within the ethnic enclave during their stay in Korea. In other words, the formation of their own ethnic enclaves allows Indonesian migrants to achieve a ‘maintained community life’ through intensifying internal solidarity and the building of a hometown atmosphere in Wongok-Dong.

In addition to building ethnic enclaves, patterns of Indonesian migrant food consumption also play a pivotal role in group demarcation. In terms of boundary making through food consumption, Lupton (1996: 25-26) points out that, “food is instrumental in making differences between cultures, serving to strengthen group identity ... food and culinary practices thus hold an extraordinary power in defining the boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’”. The flavour of food and Islamic rules relating to food preparation and consumption, in particular, create spatial segregation. There are many Indonesian restaurants¹⁶⁾ in Wongok-Dong compared to other national migrant restaurants. Although my informant pointed out that the number of Indonesian restaurants hinders the building of social relationships

15) This system is called *Rumah Kontrakkan* (contracted house).

16) There were thirteen Indonesian restaurants in Wongok-Dong while I was there between October 2010 to September 2011.

among Indonesian migrants, what he's trying to express is that Indonesians' choice of restaurant is dictated by the diversity of ethnic groups within the Indonesian diaspora. Moreover, his comment highlights the potential of restaurants as places for building social relationships amongst Indonesians.

Although the majority of Indonesian restaurants focus on selling Javanese dishes due to the size of this ethnic group, particular restaurants attract certain ethnic groups. For example, *Warung 'H'* is called a Lombok restaurant, *Warung 'S'* is crowded with people from West Java and Indonesians from Makasar can easily be found in *Warung 'A'*.

Although Indonesian migrants have various reasons for making a selection among many Indonesian restaurants, the key factor is similarity to their hometown cooking taste and flavors. Each Indonesian migrant group has its own, shared memories about home food and its taste. Therefore, each group tries to find an Indonesian restaurant that can reproduce the foods and tastes that they remember. For this reason, most of the restaurants employ Indonesian migrants as cooks. However, the taste of food is determined by the regional origin of the cooks. Therefore, each restaurant can recruit regular customers from certain regions from Indonesia.

Warung 'S' is the restaurant for Sundanese. [...] The cook is from 'Jawa Barat' (West Java). That's why she can only cook the food of that region. I usually go there to eat home food. (Zhungk, 35 years old, from Cirebon)

I worked as a cook at a small hotel in Korea. At that time, I made Indian food. [...] I studied Indonesian cooking in Indonesia for one

year. More exactly, I learned Javanese food. That's why most of my customers are Javanese. Sometimes, Lombok people visit my restaurant. However, the dishes of my restaurant are not spicy enough for them. Especially, the people from Lombok usually go to *Warung 'H'* because Samonim (the wife of the restaurant owner) is from Lombok and she is the cook as well. [...] They like spicy food. (P, Indonesian restaurant, Korean owner)

In brief, spatial segregation appears within the Indonesian migrant community through the formation of separated residential districts. Indonesian migrants build their own enclaves to maximize a maintained community life, derived from their homeland. Moreover, Indonesian migrants' different patterns of food consumption have also led to spatial division. Indonesian migrants become regular patrons of particular Indonesian migrants because they serve familial regional food. These spatial segregations cause the isolation of Indonesian migrants from what they deem to be 'other Indonesians'.

(3) Social Segregation

On the basis of symbolic and spatial segregation, social segregation within the Indonesian migrant group is unavoidable. Indonesian migrants do not willingly mix with 'other Indonesians'. In particular, Indonesian migrants have different points of view for defining the relationship with their *kawan sekampung* and 'other Indonesians'. Furthermore, they have divided Indonesians in their own minds. The following narratives show their recognition of two kinds of Indonesians and their different relationships with each.

I don't have many Indonesian friends. More precisely, Indonesians

have different hometowns. Most of the Indonesians are Javanese but I'm from Sumatra. [...] I know only fifteen Indonesians from Padang. Ten of them live in Ansan. Although I know many Indonesians, they are different from people from Padang. [...] I rarely hang around these people. (Uda, 38 years old, from Padang)
Look at this! [He shows his mobile phone to me] I have many friends, more than two hundred in Korea. But I divide these people into two groups. One group is from my hometown (*kawan sekampung*) and the other is just Indonesians.¹⁷⁾ Here ... seventy-six people are hometown friends. I applied different settings on my phone to identify who is calling me. Different music is ringing depending on the group. [...] I don't want to respond to all calls from Indonesians who are not a *kawan sekampung*. Their calls are only for business. It's annoying. [...] Socializing with them makes me uncomfortable. (Wanto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Therefore, the shared heritage of regional origin plays an important role in forming the mixed social relationships among Indonesian migrants. In this closed relationship, Indonesian migrants do not have a chance to socialize with 'other Indonesians' in spite of living together in the town.

2. Boundary Transcendence and Enhancing Bonds beyond Locality

Despite of the fact that Indonesian migrants maintain their boundaries, I will argue that Indonesian migrants also transcend these boundaries through experiences shared after migration that enable

17) Friends from hometown (76) and the other regions (193).

them intensify their national identity in Wongok-Dong. To support this argument, I will show how Indonesian migrants transcend boundaries to enhance bonds between previously separated Indonesian migrant diaspora groups in response to various 'challenges' and 'opportunities' in Korea.

(1) Overcoming Challenges

Indonesian migrants face unfamiliar and insecure conditions after their immigration to Korea. They occupy positions as foreign migrant workers from a less-developed country and as minorities within a more homogeneous Korean social fabric. Therefore, Indonesian migrants, who have less power relative to their Korean hosts, have realized the need to adjust themselves.

In this regard, Indonesian migrants have sought to establish an integrated 'Indonesian community' due to various pressures exerted by the Korean government. In the early 2000s, the majority of foreign migrant workers emigrated to Korea through the Industrial Trainee System (ITS). However, the ITS caused unexpected problems (Park et al. 2004). For this reason, the Korean government created the Employment Permit System (EPS) to replace the ITS. However, the Korean government decided to deport a large number of undocumented workers before launching the EPS. A huge nationwide crackdown followed from the end of 2003 to early 2004. During this period, undocumented migrants were indiscriminately arrested not only in private, but also in public spaces. For example, Korean government officials arrested foreign workers who were commuting to work or having dinner in their houses. These intense crackdowns

caused a lot of demonstrations in Korea.

In response to the situation, Indonesian migrants bonded together beyond their regional origin by establishing the Indonesian Community in Corea (ICC) in 2006 in Ansan. Its founding members were Indonesian migrants from various regions such as Lombok (NTB), Kendal, Sragen, Magelang (Central Java), Bengkulu (Sumatra), Jawa Barat (West Java), and Sulawesi. One Indonesian representative of the ICC reflected on its founding:

In fact, there were frequent conflicts between Indonesians in Ansan. For instance, Javanese fought with people from Lombok. These struggles had continued in this town. Because of these situations, I could not go out as I wanted to. I was very afraid. In 2004, however, we participated in a demonstration against the huge crackdown of the Korean government. At that time, Indonesian migrants, who have different social background, could meet in the same place and talk about our conflicts. We said that “we must stop fighting each other and try to secure our human rights first.” These actions contributed to making the foundation of the ICC. In 2006, the ICC was established by representatives of different local Indonesian communities. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

Although they could receive the assistance of local civil society organizations (NGOs and religious institutions) in Korea, Indonesian migrants recognised that they had to enhance the sense of solidarity among themselves, rather than to exacerbate regional conflicts as they demonstrated against the crackdown. In other words, Indonesian migrants realized that fighting together for their human rights was the most important action for sustaining their livelihoods in Korea.

During this time, members of the ICC established a more regulated form of coordination among the movement after gathering opinions from each Indonesian *paguyuban*. In doing so, they fostered cooperation to overcome the problems being experienced by Indonesians in Wongok-Dong. Although the ICC was created to cope with the crackdown, it soon began to meet migrants' other needs in Korea, such as protecting their vulnerable position, promoting greater cohesion among separate Indonesian groups and organizing various events. For instance, Indonesians facing problems, such as the withholding of wages or violence in their workplace, are able to request assistance from the ICC.¹⁸⁾ Moreover, undocumented workers can make a SPLP (*Surat Perjalanan Laksana Paspor*, a trusted traveller's certificate) through this organization instead of visiting the Indonesian embassy.¹⁹⁾ In addition, the ICC has held cultural, religious, and sporting events to encourage greater unity among different Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong.

Although these activities have enhanced cohesion among Indonesians in Wongok-Dong, the presence of ICC executives from various regions, such as east, central and west Java, Lombok, Sulawesi, Sumatra, and Bima, has proved more important. The ICC executives have played a pivotal role in promoting greater unity since they notice and help resolve the problems of Indonesian migrants

18) Even though it cannot directly solve these problems, the ICC as a representative organization for Indonesians in Korea asks Korean civil organizations for help to resolve troubles.

19) Most Indonesian migrants stay in Ansan. Thus, the Indonesian ambassador, who is located in Seoul, is too far for Indonesian immigrants. By providing this service, the ICC enables undocumented migrants to avoid the possibility of crackdown outside Ansan.

from every *paguyuban*.

Several days ago, I heard about an incident of an Indonesian woman from Kediri (East Java) who killed herself in her house. I don't know exactly why she did that. [...] ICC will do our best. We will hold a prayer meeting for her on Saturday. [...] Did you say hometown? We do not care about that. She is not only the friend of my friend, but also an Indonesian. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

Through these processes, ICC members and Indonesian migrants realized that troubles among Indonesian migrants were not simply the concern of others, but the concern of all Indonesians. Due to their shared negative experiences in Korea, Indonesian migrants have created social relationships beyond the local bonds that were formed back in Indonesia. As a result of this, Indonesian migrants have transformed their regional loyalties into a greater sense of national interest and consciousness. The following demonstrates this:

Indonesian migrants do not care about their regional origins. I've always said that I hate *paguyuban*. But I felt that way because I love Indonesia. When people in different *paguyuban* meet in the same place, they do not talk to each other. This is not *ke-bhinnekaan* [unity in diversity]. I'm from Sulawesi. But as you know, I have many friends from different regions of Indonesia in Wongok-Dong. We are different, but we are Indonesian in Korea. (Karim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

In addition to the pressures from the Korean government, other problems in their daily life have provided opportunities for Indonesian

migrants to transcend boundaries. Indonesian migrants have suffered many difficulties, such as the withholding of wages, illness, violence in the workplace, immigration problems, industrial accidents and so on. Although Indonesian migrants obtain support from their Indonesian friends to help them adapt to conditions in Korean, they find it hard to cope in the face of these problems because of their lack of Korean language skills and their position as foreign migrants.

In this context, counselling provided by the Antioch International Community (AIC) has played an important role in solving various problems of Indonesian migrants in Korea. The AIC was founded in 1995 and run by Korean Christians. The AIC has focused on their counselling and worship activities on Indonesian migrants using Korean Christians who could speak Indonesian. As a result, several Indonesian migrants converted from Islam to Christianity through the activities of the AIC:

In the early 2000s, seven Indonesian migrants converted from Islam to Christianity. They wanted to find some agency to obtain assistance to overcome various troubles in the early period of their migration. Thus, they became the members of our church. However, I could not see this case recently. (A Korean Christian in AIC)

My informant explained that these days there are no more conversions of Muslim Indonesians to Christianity.²⁰⁾ However, although Indonesians might no longer change their religion in order

20) After the mid-2000s, Indonesian migrants extended their Korean networks to include non-Christian organizations and Korean merchants in Wongok-Dong. As a result of this, Indonesian migrants' dependence upon the activities of the AIC decreased.

to access the support provided by the AIC, the church still provides connections between Muslim and Christian Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. The AIC has helped break the prejudices of Muslim Indonesian migrants against Christianity formed during pre-migration periods.

I suffered from many problems in Korea. At that time, I received help from Koreans. Do you know Mr. Nam? I did not receive my wage from the company - he solved this problem. Although he is Christian, he did not pressure me to convert to Christianity. He just helped me. [...] Frankly speaking, I was afraid of obtaining assistance from the AIC since they are Christians. But they are the same people like us. (Mahidin, 36 years old, from Lombok)

Indonesian migrants have consequently acquired an awareness of other religions. This means that the first principle of *Panca sila* has been achieved in Wongok-Dong. Although Indonesia is the biggest Muslim country in the world, Islam is not the state religion. Under the *Panca sila*, the first principle affirms the belief in one 'Supreme Being', and five religions are officially recognised in the country: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism. Nevertheless, understandings of other religions were negative due to Indonesians' isolation as *orang kampung* (country boys) during pre-migration periods. However, creating social relationships and obtaining support from people of different religious backgrounds provides a crucial opportunity to create more harmony among Indonesians in Wongok-Dong.

(2) Optimizing Given Opportunities

In addition to the negative experience that stimulates boundary transcendence, Indonesian migrants to Korea encounter various opportunities that provide positive chances to transcend boundaries within the diaspora. Before migrating, Indonesians may have experienced unemployment, or low wages making it difficult to sustain a viable livelihood. In comparison, Korea provides the opportunity to earn a lot of money. On the basis of this economic stability, Indonesian migrants have developed new capabilities in South Korea.

When I was young, about twenty-three years old, there was a broadcasting station near my house. At that time, people who held the cameras looked very nice to me. Since then, I have wanted to become a professional cameraman. However, I did not have money before coming here. [...] In Korea, immediately after obtaining a salary, I bought a Sony camera. But it was not good. So, I bought a second-hand Canon camera from Amin [his friend]. In addition, I have a Canon movie camera. [...] I'm studying photography and media to achieve my dreams. (Kalim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

Although economic stability provides opportunities for change, socio-economic conditions in Korea have played a pivotal role in enhancing the extra-curricular, vocational and professional activities of certain Indonesian migrants. In their minds, Korea is a well-advanced Asian country and they enjoy its cosmopolitanism and the vibrancy of its developed cities and historical tourist sites. They

are proud of having the opportunity to live in a modern country. As a result, a new group of Indonesians has emerged with aspirations of becoming photographers and models.

When I was in Indonesia, I worked as a model and a master of ceremonies for eight years. However, I could not earn enough money there. So I decided to migrate to Korea. [...] I have taken a lot of photos since I arrived in Korea. I visited many places such as Myeong-Dong, Gyeongbok Palace, and so forth for modelling. [...] Several days ago, I went to Seoul and had photos taken of me in Kangnam bus terminal. The concept was ‘Love in Ramadan’. So, I prepared an Islamic dress. Can you imagine! I was wearing an Islamic costume at the centre of Seoul city in the midst of Koreans. I really enjoyed it! And I’m proud of myself as well. [...] I have sent the photos back to entertainment agencies in Indonesia. This is preparing me for my future job as a top model in Indonesia. (Hermin, 31 years old, from Bima)

Even though there are many extra activities such as football clubs, music bands and religious gatherings within their *paguyuban*, the activities addressed above are performed outside of their *paguyuban*. In other words, several Indonesian migrants were not able to learn and pursue their interests within their community. In fact, taking photos is not popular among Indonesian migrants and finding people studying photography within their *paguyuban* was difficult. After 2009, however, many Indonesian migrants have started to use Facebook.²¹⁾ Using this web site, they can easily update their status in Korea with photos, create social contacts with other Indonesian

21) Before using Facebook, Indonesian migrants usually used Yahoo Messenger for chatting via video or text.

migrants, and easily access and share information with others. Through these activities, Indonesian migrants can build social relationships beyond their existing network. Therefore, eager to take part in these activities, they look for someone beyond their *paguyuban* to help them.

Indonesian migrants have thus achieved mixed social relationships beyond the boundaries created by linguistic and regional affiliations. During my fieldwork, I encountered several mixed social events. One day, I participated in a gathering of an Indonesian migrant group. When I arrived in Rasung, I saw many Indonesians who had professional cameras and suitcases. This was the gathering of 'Be the talent', a photography club. In the suitcases there were various costumes for outdoor photography. The gathering was an official activity to mark the establishment of the club. At that time, members discussed various matters, such as the formulation of the club regulations, election of the chairman, preparation of a club t-shirt and so on. This was similar to the activities of the *paguyubans*. However, the eleven Indonesians at the event were from Blitar, Bandung, Sragen, Sulawesi, Kendal, Sumatra and Bima. I asked them, "how did you guys meet each other? Why did you decide to establish this club?" Saiful from Bandung answered, "we met each other through Facebook. Especially, I saw a lot of pictures of members and made comments. Friends also press the 'like' button in the bottom of my pictures. This contributed to the formation of the club".

Through the new social connections created, Indonesian migrants have transcended their notions of regional boundaries formed during the pre-migration period. Strong bonds have appeared between

Indonesian migrants with similar interests despite their different social backgrounds. For example, Indonesian migrants exchange social support without cost, cultivating trust and solidarity among each other. I asked one Indonesian in the photography club, “how much money did you obtain from your friend for the cost of your camera work?” He explained:

It’s okay. I don’t want to ask for money from them. I’m a photographer and doing this for my study not to earn money. But I like these things. When I took the photo for Wanto [his friend], we always ate lunch or dinner together after. Also, he did not forget to say ‘thank you’ to me. That’s enough. We are living not in Indonesia but in Korea. If we have a good relationship here, we are family. Because of that, I cannot take money from them. [...] Wanto [from Kendal], Suria [from Sumatra], Ujan [from Lombok] and Hermin [from Bima]. As you know, we meet every day. [...] This is a family right? (Kalim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

Therefore, Indonesian migrants have endeavored to achieve certain personal aspirations that they always had and Indonesian migrants could encounter ‘other Indonesians’ through shared interest groups such as the photography club. Consequently, they have been increasingly able to change certain fixed perspectives that had been part of their social conditioning prior to their migration abroad.

(3) Enhancing Nationalism and Role of Islam

Challenges and opportunities have also, influenced migrants’ abilities to transcend boundaries in relation to religious identities,

particularly those pertaining to the changing role played by ‘Indonesian Islam’ among migrants in Wongok-Dong. In this section, I describe the ways in which Islam has played an important role in enhancing Indonesian nationalism in Wongok-Dong. Although there are Christians and Hindus among Indonesian migrants, the majority of them are Muslim. For this reason, Islam can provide a crucial bond among separate Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong.

Indonesian migrants have continuously tried to establish a *masjid* in Wongok-Dong, and I suggest that their efforts can be seen as a part of efforts to try to ‘re-create Indonesia’ in Korea and, thereby, re-connect with Indonesia. Before 2007, the absence of an Indonesian *masjid* contributed to a sense of social and emotional alienation among many migrants arriving in Korea. Indonesian migrants had to use the Ansan Islamic Centre, which had been established by Bangladeshis in 2001. At that time, this was the only Islamic *masjid* in Ansan and was used by Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Indonesians and Uzbeks. Although Indonesian migrants comprised the largest group at this Islamic centre, they spoke of their feeling of being ‘outsiders’. They did not occupy the position of a ‘host’ and felt like guests with an uncomfortable existence as ‘ethnic others’. At the Ansan Islamic Centre, Bengali is the language used by the Bangladeshi *imam* during prayers and sermons. The *masjid* is regarded among foreign migrants not only as a place of worship, but also as a place of refuge. After prayers, food is usually prepared and eaten together and the *masjid* also provides accommodation. Indonesian migrants needed to negotiate these activities with ‘others’ from different countries, and in doing so they often felt that they had to occupy a passive role

and had little power to decide on matters within the centre.

For this reason, Indonesians wanted to have a sense of ownership of their own private space in the form of a *masjid*, and they wanted to occupy the position of ‘host’ within this space. This triggered fervent efforts towards finding and creating such an independent space. Indonesian migrants started to fundraise, and the result was fantastic. Many bands from each *paguyuban* performed music to raise funds and they collected about ten million won from the event.

Finally, Indonesian migrants had a *masjid* of their own. Even though they had obtained a space independent from the Ansan Islam Centre, the opening of *Sirothol Mustaqim* exposed them to other challenging factors and new insecurities. That is, the presence of local Koreans, perceived as ‘ethnic others’ by Indonesians, in the building also contributed to insecurity. The Indonesian Muslims rented the fourth floor of a large building frequented by many other people – the other floors were used as a Christian church (basement), supermarket (first), boxing academy (second) and small residential service (third). One day, I went to visit *Sirothol Mustaqim*. Before I entered the building, I saw an Indonesian in front of the entrance. He climbed the building steps before me. When we arrived at the second floor, he turned to look at me and he kept doing this until we reached the *masjid*. There, he was still on strict alert towards me, but after I exchanged greetings with several Indonesians there, he began to relax again. Over dinner, I asked about the situation that happened earlier. One Indonesian explained:

A few days ago, police came to the *masjid*. They asked about the

money that we had gathered in our account. At that time, there were several undocumented Indonesians present. They were fearful because of the police. [...] The guy whom you met was also feeling the same. (Rinto, 32 years old, from Orbos)

As can be seen, *Sirothol Mustaqim* does not feel stable enough for the migrants, and they do not anticipate that the *masjid* will remain in that location. Since they have to pay rent to the owner of the building, the place is not permanent and they need to be ready to move at any time. Moreover, they are continuously exposed to the possibility of a police raid despite having their own independent space. Indonesian migrants feel that they need an isolated place for themselves, they would like to make a ‘stranger-free zone’ around themselves and continue to aspire to build their own Indonesian *masjid*.

Indonesian migrants are running their *masjids* in Korea under rental contracts. [...] They wanted to build a building for their *masjid*. So, I helped a little bit. [...] They asked me to find a relevant place in Ansan. Especially, they considered Wongok-Dong as the best place. However, land here in Wongok-Dong is so expensive. The value has gone up a lot in recent years, so they still have not been able to find a place. [...] For the past three years they have prepared for this fund. (P, Korean owner of an Indonesian restaurant)

During my stay in Ansan, fundraising for the construction of an Indonesian mosque continued. Money-collecting boxes were distributed to twelve Indonesian restaurants across Wongok-Dong. In addition, the fund-raising committee of *Sirothol Mustaqim*

encouraged migrants to set up direct debit donations. In this way, many Indonesian migrants participated in the project of *Pembangunan Masjid Ansan* (building Ansan *masjid*), regardless of whether or not they would use it. One Indonesian said, “We have collected about 200 million won through donations from Indonesian migrants. So far, we have planned to buy the whole building of the Pakistani *masjid* in Wongok-Dong. If we have 400 million won, we can buy that.” Indonesian migrants have endeavored to build togetherness in order to establish and construct their *masjid* in Ansan. My key informant explained their efforts further:

In my hometown, there is a *masjid*. Other regions are the same in Indonesia. We cannot imagine that we don't have a *masjid*. This is quite natural. [...] However, we are in Korea now. Our *masjid* is not perfect. [...] *Paguyubans* in Wongok-Dong usually send money to *masjids* in their hometowns as a donation. Like this, we joined forces as Indonesians in Korea. (Wanto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Indonesian migrants have regarded the absence of familiarity, stable immigration status and safety in the host society as contributing to feelings of alienation from their home country. These feelings led to the creation of bonds among separate Indonesian migrant communities as part of their efforts to reclaim familiarity, a stable status and safety through constructing the image of the Indonesian mosque, a physical place that reminds them of ‘Indonesia’.

In addition to create bonds with each other due to absence of an Indonesian *masjid*, Islam can be used as a tool by so-called ‘insiders’

for achieving integration among separated Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian migrants have strengthened their sense of nationalism through religious sentiments and discourse, propagated through activities that are formulated by ‘insiders’. The Indonesian embassy, as a representative of the nation, has encouraged unity among separate Indonesian groups using Islamic events. In this regard, there was a gathering for *buka puasa* (breaking fast) in the ICC office during the month of *Ramadan*. Indonesians feel more homesick during *Ramadan* since, if they were in Indonesia, they would go back to their hometowns. During the last days of *Ramadan*, Indonesian migrants in the *masjid* were watching Indonesian TV news that was broadcasting ‘*Mudik*’ using a laptop. One of the watchers explained: “They are preparing for *Idul Fitri* [the celebration that marks the end of *Ramadan*]. After *Ramadan*, most Indonesians working in the big cities usually go back to their hometown. But we cannot do this in Korea.” For Indonesians in Wongok-Dong, there were no hometowns or families to which they could return for *Idul Fitri*. Using this atmosphere, the Indonesian embassy tried to promote inter-cultural connection among Indonesian groups by stressing nationalist sentiments.

I attended one such *buka puasa* event organised by the Indonesian embassy in Wongok-Dong. For this meeting, more than ten embassy staff visited and about 130 Indonesian migrants from various *paguyubans* joined. The event started with an address by the ambassador, who had already visited other cities, such as Changwon and Daegu. He welcomed Indonesians from each *paguyuban*, explained the purpose of the gathering, and expressed appreciation

for Indonesian migrants during *Ramadan*. Presentations were also given by several embassy staff, covering topics such as the Korean immigration system, the immigration of Indonesians, the impact of migrant remittances, and success and failure stories of Indonesian migrants from around the world. They described Indonesian migrants as ‘heroes’ of the country due to their contributions to the nation’s economic development. Also during the presentation, officials emphasized the responsibility of migrants to promote the image of Indonesia as an attractive country for multi-national investment, for example from Korean enterprises such as Samsung, Posco and Hyundai Motors. Based on this, one presenter stressed the importance of nationalism for national development, as the following extract demonstrates:

We should be proud of Indonesia and recognize the spirit of our nation. [...] The success of the nation cannot be determined by the amount of resources we have. The most important factor is the ability of the human to manage resources. This can lead to the success of the nation. Indonesia has abundant natural resources but human resources are still not adequate. You are living in Korea now, aren’t you? Maybe you know how a nation can become highly developed? Togetherness among Koreans is the answer. Even though they have limited natural resources, Korea has dramatically developed. [...] We should have nationalism that can enhance togetherness, mutual respect about cultural differences and opinions among Indonesians. This will make Indonesia a harmonious, synergistic and effective nation. [...] Please remember, Indonesians have to achieve unity in diversity both within and outside of the country. (Staff of the Indonesian embassy)

Although the embassy held the *buka puasa* event ostensibly to support Indonesian migrants exhausted by their time fasting, I suggest that there were perhaps deeper objectives being played out with the intention of promoting the need for ‘national pride and unity’ among Indonesian groups. That said, I am unsure if the impact of their presentations was positive or not due to the Indonesian migrants’ negative perception of the government and embassy. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Indonesian elite to achieve a greater sense of nationalism among migrant workers have continued in Wongok-Dong, and many of these have also used Islam to further their agendas.

Another such effort was the *Tabligh Akbar* (the great sermon), a successful Islamic event that also stressed the need to enhance togetherness amongst Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. You (You 2010: 86) describes how these sermons were held in front of Ansan Foreign Migrant Service Centre in September 2010 and the following excerpt demonstrates the power of the event as it details a ceremony to end the *Tabligh Akbar*:

In this event, numerous Indonesian migrants who were living in Kyeonggi province participated. Moreover, an Indonesian ambassador, his family and staff of the Indonesian embassy also joined. [...] For this event, Ustadz Wijayanto [Islam religious leader] and Dik Doank [Singer] were invited. [...] Dik Doank played guitar and sang a song. Indonesian migrants sang along. Titles of these songs were Nostalgia, *Maafkan Cintaku* [I’m sorry my love], Ibu [Mother], *Bangunlah Putra Putri Pertiwi* [Stand up our nation’s son and daughter] [...] Mr. Ustadz Wijayanto and Mr. Dik Doank had tears in their eyes when they recalled the memories of their family and hometown. It made the audience cry as well.

At the end of the event, everyone prayed in Islamic style and recited Islamic prayers. Then they got up and sang the national anthem [Indonesia Raya or Great Indonesia] with their fists in the air.

Indonesian migrants in Korea commonly feel homesick. For this reason, Islamic religious leaders and singers appeal to their sense of the importance of family and hometown. I suggest, however, that the hidden motives of these elites were not to encourage nostalgia towards hometowns, but to deepen nostalgia towards other Indonesians living in Korea. They were able to use Islamic religious sentiments to skilfully maximize the nostalgia of their audience and further nationalist sentiments and the idea of ‘national unity’ among the Indonesian diaspora.

IV. Conclusion

This research contributes to the debate on diaspora. I discussed Indonesian diaspora features in this paper. Rather than assimilating themselves to life in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian immigrants try to maintain a strong link with their homeland by maintaining their identity through making language, spatial and social segregations. These features of the Indonesian diaspora can be explained by a ‘homeland orientation’, as several scholars have suggested (Safran 1991; Cohen 1997; Brubaker 2003). In addition, members of the Indonesian diaspora transform their identity, in the face of challenges and opportunities, through forming social relationships with people

in Korea. This view corresponds with features of diaspora such as hybridity, fluidity, creolization and syncretism (Brah 1996; Hall 1993; Clifford 1994). Thus, both perspectives – homeland orientation and hybridity – are useful in explaining the characteristics of the Indonesian diaspora in Wongok-Dong.

However, although the diaspora features addressed above help explain Indonesian immigrants' maintenance and transformation of their identity, the heterogeneity of the group can yield new perspectives on the concept of diaspora. In order to re-examine the Indonesian diaspora features of homeland orientation and hybridity, I used the concept of ethnicity. As illustrated in this paper, Indonesian immigrants make segregations within the group based on their shared heritages such as ethnic group, language usage and cultural practices in order to maintain their boundaries. Although Indonesian immigrants emphasize homeland orientation to maintain their cultural patterns in the host society, the divisions in the group mean that this does not result in a 'national' diaspora. Thus, there are various diaspora groups within the Indonesian migrant group. However, I also showed how Indonesian national consciousness is revealed in the face of the challenges and opportunities of life in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian immigrants reveal their national identity rather than their bonds with *Kawan sekampung* by forming integrated Indonesian communities, fund-raising for their own *masjid* in Wongok-Dong and enjoying Islamic events such as *Buka puasa* and *Tabliah Akbar*. A latent national identity, formulated by elites in Indonesia, is therefore emphasized to cope with circumstances in Korea. Although Clifford (1994) insists that diaspora processes change the idea of modern

states, the reality is that the activities of Indonesian immigrants can intensify solidarity among Indonesians who maintain different cultural patterns in Wongok-Dong by applying the hybridity element of the diaspora concept. Hence, examining Indonesian immigrants' boundary maintenance and transcendence using the concept of ethnicity allows us to realize that it clarifies the homogeneity issue within the diaspora group and provides a different perspective between the hybridity of the diaspora group and nation-state.

This research contributes to found a different way for understanding diaspora approaches by investigating ethnicity of Indonesian migrant group. Nevertheless, there is need to elaborate ethnicity of Indonesian migrants group for further research. Although Indonesian migrants maintain or transcend their boundary, this has fluidity depending on the circumstances. In other words, Indonesian migrants reveal one of their identities such as regional origin, language usage, religious belief, Indonesian national identity and identity as a foreign migrant to respond to various situations. In this regard, each approach has its limitations. In terms of primordialism, it is difficult to explain the fluid nature of ethnic boundaries if one assumes that ethnicity is given and inherited. In addition, such an approach has a limited ability to deal with the situational quality of ethnic identity at the individual level. Moreover, crucially it neglects the different social contexts and individual motives that can affect ethnicity itself. Meanwhile, an instrumentalist approach fails to consider the cultural and psychological dimensions of ethnicity by regarding ethnicity as a politicized or mobilized group identity. As a result, it is difficult to distinguish ethnicity from other collective group identities. Therefore,

combining the primordialist and instrumentalist approaches is needed to fully explain the complex phenomenon of ethnicity. This can be an important task for conducting a further research to build a bridge between two different approaches of ethnicity by applying the case of Indonesian migrants.

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<국문초록>

디아스포라와 경계 만들기: 원곡동의 인도네시아 이주민 사례

박 광 우

본 연구는 한국의 이주민 집중 주거 지역인 ‘원곡동’에서의 인도네시아 이주민의 경계 만들기 사례에 대한 분석을 목적으로 한다. 기존 연구에서는 ‘모국지향성(homeland orientation)’과 ‘혼종성(hybridity)’의 두 가지의 개념으로 디아스포라의 특성을 정의하고 있다. 하지만, 이러한 시각은 디아스포라 공동체의 균질성을 강조하면서 내부에 나타날 수 있는 다양성을 무시하고 있다는 것이 한계로 지적된다. 이에, 본 연구는 문화적 다양성을 내포하고 있는 인도네시아 이주민 공동체에 대한 민족지 연구를 바탕으로 디아스포라 이론적 특성을 재조명 하려고 한다.

종족성 개념을 통해 바라 본 인도네시아 디아스포라는 출신지역, 지역어, 문화적 관습 등과 같은 이주 전부터 공유되어 온 정체성을 강조하면서 인도네시아 공동체 내부에서 ‘언어적’, ‘공간적’ 그리고 ‘사회적’ 구분을 만들어 내고 있다. 다른 한편으로, 그들이 이주 후에 한국사회에서 맞이했던 ‘위기’와 ‘기회’와 같은 공유된 경험들을 통해 지역적 경계를 뛰어 넘어 국가적 정체성을 강화시키고 있다.

이러한 인도네시아 이주민 공동체에 대한 연구 결과는 기존의 디아스포라 개념을 재해석 할 수 있는 여지를 제공한다. 인도네시아

이주민들의 경계유지와 경계 뛰어넘기를 통해 모국지향성 강화와 혼종성의 발현이 공동체 내부에서 나타난다. 하지만 이는, 기존의 연구에 정 반대 되는 결과로써 디아스포라 집단에 대한 심층적인 이해를 가능하게 하는 것에 기여 점이 있다고 할 수 있겠다.

주제어: 디아스포라, 종족성, 원곡동, 인도네시아 이주민

<Abstract>

**Diaspora and (un)Making of Boundaries:
The Case of Indonesian Immigrants in Wongok-Dong**

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The aim of this paper is to analyze the case of Indonesian immigrants' boundary making process in Wongok-Dong which is the biggest foreign migrant residential space. Diaspora features can be defined as 'homeland orientation' and 'hybridity' in existing researches. However, these perspectives have limitations due to overstating the internal homogeneity within a diaspora community. Based on ethnographic research with a group of Indonesian immigrants which show social disjunctions, thus, this paper re-examines diaspora features.

Using the concept of ethnicity, Indonesian diaspora made language, spatial and social segregations within the group by stressing their hometown, local language and cultural customs which are shared heritages during pre-migration periods. After migration, on the other hand, they strengthen national identity beyond local boundaries through sharing experiences such as 'challenges' and 'opportunities' in Korean society.

This paper provides opportunities to re-examine existing diaspora concepts. Although the concepts of ‘homeland orientation’ and ‘hybridity’ are appeared within Indonesian diaspora group by maintaining and transcending their boundaries, the outcome contradicts the conclusion of other existing researches. Thus, this work contributes to yield new perspective for deep understanding about diaspora.

Key Words: Diaspora, Ethnicity, Wongok-Dong, Indonesian Immigrants