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HOMETOWN TRANSNATIONALISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF INDONESIAN DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE

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Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan pergerakan diaspora Indonesia dan inisiasi mereka untuk menciptakan aktivitas baru di era globalisasi. Berfokus pada organisasi diaspora Indonesia di Eropa, yaitu Indonesian Diaspora Networks (IDN) di Belanda dan Prancis yang bersemangat untuk berkumpul, membangun organisasi dengan basis kesamaan identitas, dan memberikan kontribusi bagi Indonesia. Konsep baru hometown transnationalism digunakan untuk menjelaskan remitansi kolektif, yakni kontribusi melalui proyek-proyek pembangunan sebagai wujud upaya diaspora untuk tanah air. Studi ini mengaplikasikan metode kualitatif dengan wawancara mendalam, studi sejarah hidup, dan telusur literatur yang dilengkapi dengan kunjungan lapangan untuk pengamatan hasil kerja diaspora. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kemunculan berbagai organisasi diaspora merupakan dampak dari semakin cepatnya pergerakan manusia dan perkembangan teknologi, sehingga mendorong diaspora untuk lebih terkoneksi dengan kampung halaman. Kedua IDN itu memiliki peran penting dalam merealisasikan cita-cita diaspora untuk membangun Indonesia dengan cara yang beragam.

Kata Kunci: *diaspora, jaringan diaspora Indonesia, organisasi diaspora, transnasionalisme kampung halaman*

Abstract

This article aims to explain the movement of Indonesian diaspora and their initiative to create multifarious new activities in today's globalized era. Focusing on Indonesian diaspora organizations in Europe, namely Indonesian Diaspora Networks (IDN) in the Netherlands and France who are eager to come together, build organizations based on a common identity, and contribute to Indonesia. The newly-emerged concept of hometown transnationalism is used to explain the phenomenon in which collective remittances through development projects are the main output of diasporas' contribution. Qualitative method is applied to this study through a set of in-depth interviews, a study of life history, and literature review completed by site visits to observe diasporas' works. The results of this study show that the emergence of various diaspora organizations is the impact of the increasingly rapid movement of people and technological developments, thus encouraging the diaspora to be more connected to their hometowns. Both IDNs play a vital role in realizing diaspora's aspirations to develop Indonesia through multifarious ways.

Keywords: diaspora organizations, hometown transnationalism, Indonesian diaspora, Indonesian diaspora networks

Introduction

The phenomenon of globalization, which emerged in the 1980s, has affected both state and non-state actors in conducting interactions in the international arena. This phenomenon makes everything seems borderless, and people are easier to obtain information, communicate, and reach from one place to another. The advancement of digital technology and transportation access is the main feature to best describe why globalization gives a significant influence on the interconnectedness of the world actors and transforms the way they interact. Cardoso(Cardoso, 2018) also supported this notion from which he said that transformations occurred were much or less driven by globalization. Great transformations in technology resulted in innovations such as artificial intelligence, the internet of things, advanced robotics, and advanced transportation systems have made the world change. Thus, the rapid development of technology and fast mobility also encourage people to move overseas, seek encounters and better life, and create innovations for giving positive contributions to their home country.

The recent upsurge of the mobility of people who migrate from their home country to another country positively results in the formation of organizations as a place for them to gather. The people who move from their homeland and reside in a particular space or country can be called the diaspora. The definition of diaspora is varied and debatable. Safran (1991)argued that diaspora seemed to increase to be used for several categories of people, such as expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities. In addition, Cohen (2008) defined diaspora as a settler community that had evolved from migration and dispersed from their original or putative homeland 'to two or more foreign regions' and that was connected by 'collective memory and myth about the homeland.' Specifically, to the definition of diaspora for Indonesian people, according to Setijadi (2017), the Indonesian diaspora could be understood as a global community bound together not by common ancestry or ethnicity, but by a broader sense of common national homeland and modern nationhood.

Diaspora organizations, such as Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN) established in 2012, have brought a great notion to build Indonesia utilizing the potential knowledge and skills. Getting back to the advanced technology, which results in

easiness in all terms, diaspora organizations are assumed as the concrete product of fast mobility and sophisticated transportation systems that encourage the diaspora to be more connected to their home country. Two branches of Indonesian Diaspora Networks (IDN) in Europe, which are IDN in the Netherlands (IDN NL) and IDN France, are some best examples that will be focused on this study. Indonesians living in the Netherlands and France are quite many. This cannot be separated from a long history between Indonesia and the Netherlands as well as the similar passion for arts and culture that Indonesia and France have. According to the dataset from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) international migrant stocks by the destination and origin (2020), Indonesians in the Netherlands reached 118,098 persons. On the other hand, in France, the number of Indonesian diasporas is considerably lower than in the Netherlands. It only reached 3,834 persons (UNDESA, 2020). Based on Eurostat (2020), there are up to 17,407,585 persons living in the Netherlands and 67,320,216 persons in France. These numbers make them seek one another to gather and collectively build the organizations to remain attached to the home country and give a contribution. Their contributions to Indonesia are also articulated in different ways, and both of them are quite spirited to run the organization and make contributions together. IDN NL through an active task force called Task Force Liveable Cities contributes to Indonesia in the form of some development projects, and IDN France has become an agent of connections to introduce Indonesia through predominantly arts, culture, and cuisine in their host country in a hope that the activities could bring attract potential development projects for Indonesia.

Responding to the emergence of diaspora organizations in Europe, the European government called the European Union (EU) also formulated a comprehensive policy that highlighted the importance of regulating the migrant influx in the region. Although it does not specifically rule out diaspora organizations, the EU perceives diaspora as a development actor that should be developed and educated. For the internal context, the EU set out A Common Agenda for Integration Framework to ensure that the incoming people can adapt and assimilate with Europeans. On the other hand, for its external context, the EU formally formed the Global Approach to Migration to ensure its external political position as a normative actor by bringing together migration, external relations, and development policy in the shape of partnership with third countries

(European Commission, 2007). It is not uncommon to say that many diasporas in Europe come from third countries.

This article aims to decipher the movement of the Indonesian diaspora and their initiative to create multifarious new activities in the globalized era. The emergence of diaspora organizations with the willingness of the Indonesian diaspora to develop their homeland is shortly the answer. The support of technology and advanced transportation systems ease diaspora to reconnect and contribute to their home country. The reflection on the European policy will also deeply be explored to see how Europe, especially the EU as a host region, responds to this new phenomenon. The concept of hometown transnationalism will be utilized to explain diaspora organizations from which collective remittances become the identical contribution. Studies on diaspora organizations and hometown transnationalism's activities remain limited in the academic scholarship. However, Lacroix (2016), in his previous research, has done similar studies and put emphasis on the coordination of interests and activities of hometown transnationalism in Indian Punjabis and North African Berbers. What makes this research different is the emphasis on not merely activities conducted but also the role of organizations and individual actors who contribute, supported by some personal interviews. An enticing example of Indonesian diaspora organizations and the practice of hometown transnationalism in Indonesians who reside in European countries is provided to bring novelty in the study of diaspora organizations to put emphasis that practices of hometown transnationalism can also be done in the host country.

Transnational Relations, Transnationalism, and Hometown Transnationalism Linked to Diaspora

This part attempts to link the study of transnationalism from an International Relations perspective and migration study. Both are arguably complete and linked to each other. Transnational relations are defined as contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments (Nye & Keohane, 1971). This definition is considered obsolete since current immense interactions among actors lead the government to take more control over how interactions are supposed to be conducted. Furthermore, the term– transnationalism

then emerged by which intense interconnectedness among actors remains the underlying background but is narrowed to the migrants as the actor. Schiller et. al (1992) defined transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants built social fields that are linked to their country of origin and their country of settlement. Both transnational relations and transnationalism emphasized the nexus of actors-states, non-states, and individuals. The concept of transnationalism has specifically addressed the context of migration in the modern era. Transnationalism is believed as the symbol of a new era, a social trend that draws post-industrial societies into postmodernity and is also labelled as a social consequence of accessible telecommunication and transport means due to globalization (Lacroix, 2014).

From the 1990s onward, hometown organizations grow in the motivation to develop the place of origin of the migrant who belongs to the membership (Lacroix, 2014). Since the motive of hometown organizations is closely linked to development, remittances in other means are also emerged and so-called collective remittances. It is no longer about remittances that are identically in the context of economic or financial matters, but it is in terms of ideas, knowledge transfer, and professional skills that are contributed to the development of diasporas' homeland. However, these long-distance development initiatives or collective remittances are considerably not new because historians have recorded the philanthropic activities of village fellows abroad (Moya, 2005). The concept of hometown transnationalism appears to elucidate the new pattern of the diaspora community in the form of an organization. Lacroix (2016: 3) defined hometown transnationalism as "social institutions in which migrants strive to collectively re-articulate the coherence of their multi-stranded selves, to find coherence in a history of disjunctions, to remain a villager when even the place of departure has radically changed." Lacroix completes the definition of hometown transnationalism with the emphasis of practices that the diaspora given to their homeland as the ties and practices maintained by organizations of expatriate villagers with their place of origin (Lacroix, 2019). From this, it is conceived that hometown transnationalism is social institutions as the concrete products of transnationalism. Hometown transnationalism is often regarded as the containers of skilled people who will execute development projects in the homeland. Therefore, hometown transnationalism is best known as a commitment to development projects (Lacroix,

2016). These development projects which result, for instance, infrastructure such as school buildings, apartments, and public parks, are labelled as collective remittances. Lacroix (2019: 176) explained the term collective remittances as "a form of expression (and thereby of legitimation) of their multiple embedding. Through these development projects, they both express their allegiance to and their capacity to import modernity in the place of origin." Also, collective remittances express the idea of showing the diaspora's sense of belonging and, at the same time, contribute ideas, skills, and concrete products to the origin country. Collective remittances are, therefore, an output of a dual positioning of migrants toward both the sending and settlement areas (Lacroix, 2014).

Neither states nor non-state agencies become the main actors in hometown transnationalism. However, the institutions are run by individuals or so-called diaspora living in a residing country. They establish institutions, divide task forces based on their expertise, think of ideas and innovations, and engage with the place of origin. In the context of our research, the individuals are mostly engaged with local government to assist in certain projects. Thus, it is also pivotal to know the definitions of the diaspora and its emergence. The term of diaspora was identically used to explain the forced movement that was experienced by Jewish, Greek, and Armenian people. Earlier, the term diaspora was used to explain the condition of the "Jewish Diaspora" and the "Black Diaspora" (Dufoix, 2008), who massively migrated overseas. With the leverage of globalization, diaspora emerges as a modern concept which Tölölyan (2019: 22) stated, "the term 'diaspora' was being 'shared' with such terms as 'migrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile, overseas community and, ethnic community,' and that diasporas had become 'the exemplary communities of the transnational moment." This definition shares the understanding that diaspora can be interpreted by various people who moved to other countries for multifarious aims. Adding to that, there are two common reasons why diaspora migrated from their home countries, which are as part of forced migration and voluntary (Cohen, 2008). The breadth of diaspora's concept scope is continuously flourishing, which is not limited to explaining people who are forced to migrate or flee away due to internal conflict, but also those of people who move to seek a better life or for a certain purpose.

Method

The qualitative research method is applied to this study. A thorough review of the literature, a study of life history, and a set of interviews during fieldworks have been undertaken to have an in-depth understanding regarding the emergence of Indonesian diaspora organizations in Europe. Through a review of literature, this article will discuss: the evolution of theoretical frameworks underlying this research including transnational relations, transnationalism, and hometown transnationalism; the emergence of Indonesian diaspora organizations under IDN, and; the European migration policy, which is imperative to be discussed. Accordingly, the Indonesian diasporas that are discussed reside in two European countries, which are the Netherlands and France. Interviews conducted through purposive sampling to some key informants to collect their life stories and experiences related working as diasporas. The understanding of "following the people" by Marcus (1995) was upheld to develop interview guidance in order to connect to other potential informants because they have entanglements to one another. Interviews such as with key informants from IDN the Netherlands, especially those who are engaged in Taskforce Liveable Cities, were conducted to provide valuable information regarding direct contributions that diasporas, through IDN the Netherlands, have given to Indonesia's development. Observations or site visits to several projects that were supported by IDN NL were also conducted such as in Jakarta, Bandung, Rotterdam, and Delft. In addition, a thorough review of literature and a website visit were also done to collect information regarding IDN France activities.

Result and Discussion

Indonesian Diaspora and Hometown Transnationalism

Brain drains phenomenon in which a country lacks potential human resources to develop the place where they live is started to be realized as the impact of globalization. This phenomenon has quickly been responded by the government to encourage the diaspora living abroad to return and contribute to the home country. Diaspora engagement is intended to turn brain drain circumstances into brain gain or

brain circulation, circulating diaspora's knowledge and potentials without obliging them to return home. In the era of globalization, the advancement of technology and the transportation system can be positive tools to engage with the diaspora. One of the methods to engage with them is through hometown networks. Lacroix (2016) stated that hometown networks had become a potential instrument of development.

Regardless of the high willingness of the government to connect strongly with the diaspora, the emergence of diaspora organizations is also triggered by the intrinsic motivation of diaspora themselves to contribute to their home countries. According to Kuznetsov (2006), members of expatriate communities had three resources that positioned them to make a unique contribution to the development of their home countries, which were unusually high motivation to have a significant influence on the course of events, knowledge and expertise of both global opportunities and local particularly, and financial resources to act on new opportunities. These specialized resources drive the diaspora to make an influential contribution to the homeland in various shapes, including strengthening hometown networks through diaspora organizations.

Talking about Indonesia, IDN is one of the realizations of Indonesian diasporas' high motivation by building task forces, for instance, liveable cities, health, culinary, immigration policy, and dual citizenship. Many Indonesian diasporas also established particular functions in the form of Indonesian Diaspora Foundation (IDF), business council, brain-bank, and human forum (Muhidin & Utomo, 2015)

In this research context, IDN is the centre of the discussion which represents the full expression of hometown transnationalism. Most categories explained by Lacroix (2016, 2019) regarding hometown networks, ties, practices, and development relevant to the home country have best described the IDN as hometown transnationalism. IDN was established in July 2012 at the very first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora in Los Angeles, the United States, inviting all Indonesian diaspora intellectuals and professionals around the world. Dino Patti Djalal, who was at that time the Indonesian Ambassador to the United States under the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Marty Natalegawa, initiated the congress. In the second Congress of the Indonesian Diaspora, which was organized in 2013, the meeting formulated some task forces as a commitment between the government, the Indonesian diaspora,

and related agencies. The task forces are in the realm of energy, employment, immigration, citizenship, education, science and technology innovation, urban liveable, green economy, public health, business, investment, aerospace, youth, and Indonesian cuisine (Narottama & Sudarmawan, 2017).

From this initiative, IDN has become widespread and has several branches in the country where the Indonesian diaspora resides. Some activities that have been undertaken by diaspora organizations under IDN NL and IDN France could be best instances to show the extent to which Indonesian diasporas have contributed to Indonesia in many ways including in the new form of remittances named collective remittances. As for IDN NL, it focuses on concrete development projects in Indonesia, and for IDN France, the contribution is more likely in the shape of promotions of culture, arts, and cuisine representing Indonesia in France.

Figure 1. The scheme of Indonesian diaspora's contributions to Indonesia as a home country
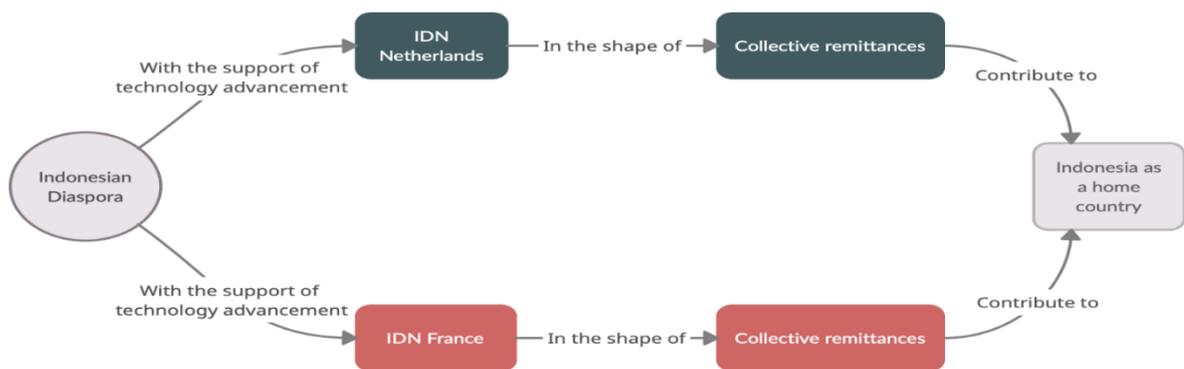
Source: Created by authors, 2022.

IDN the Netherlands: Development Projects in Indonesia

IDN the Netherlands or IDN NL has several task forces, which are health, liveable cities, dual citizenship, migrant workers, Moluccans, and Indonesian cuisine. This research engaged more with the liveable cities task force that has given significant contributions to Indonesia in terms of development projects from which concrete infrastructures have been supported by professional skills from IDN NL Liveable Cities Task Force (IDN NL TLC). Daliana Suryawinata, an architect for affordable

housing and urban renewal, along with her friends Wiwi Tjiook, integrated water and landscape urban planner, Pauline Budianto who works for rural development tourism and empowerment fields, Hasti Tarekat, an expert on heritage and conservation, are the key actors for this task force and have participated in various development projects in Indonesia, mostly in collaboration with local governments. According to Suryawinata (2019) and Tarekat (2019), the collaborations included:

(1) Fishermen *Kampung*, Muara Angke Vertical *Kampung* in collaboration with DKI Jakarta Provincial Office, Indonesia & Agung Podomoro Company;

(2) Micro libraries in Bandung in collaboration with the local government of Bandung, West Java during Ridwan Kamil's tenure;

(3) *Desa Rasa Kota, Kota Rasa Desa* in collaboration with the local government of Bojonegoro, East Java, Indonesia during Suyoto's tenure and Indonesian diaspora in the United States;

(4) Water as Leverage Programme in Semarang funded by the Dutch Government;

(5) Muntok Heritage Town, which was formerly an individual workshop project of Hasti Tarekat, but has been backed up by all team members of IDN NL TLC in collaboration with the local government of West Bangka.

These development projects resulted in tangible outputs such as a design for a liveable Muara Angke Vertical *Kampung*, public libraries in Bandung, a manual book for *Desa Rasa Kota, Kota Rasa Desa* program, the water system in Semarang, and the development of a heritage town in Muntok. Through these projects, IDN NL TLC, as a division of IDN, has given collective remittances. Indonesian diaspora has transferred their knowledge and professional skills through this organization and, at the same time, has shown their sense of belonging to the homeland. There are indeed many things to deal with, such as working salary and time to come back and forth to Indonesia. Also, some of them have decided to return to Indonesia temporarily or permanently to help and execute development projects in Indonesia fully. Conway & Potter (2009) argued that many expatriates returned to their homeland country and contributed to the development. This also happens in Indonesia through IDN with the projects they attempt to realize.

IDN France: Introducing Arts, Culture, and Cuisine of Indonesia in France

IDN France has also actively participated in showing off its sense of belonging to Indonesia, but its contribution is still mainly done in France. Similar to IDN NL, IDN France has several task forces such as art and culture, business and investment, culinary and gastronomy, education, science, and technology, fashion, humanitarian, immigration and citizenship, media and publications, sport and tourism. The task forces are considerably many and more varied, but the work of each task force is still limited. They execute projects to promote Indonesian arts, culture, cuisine, and also education in France *inter alia* (IDN France, 2017b, 2019):

(1) Art and culture: Roda Pantura film promotion, an open movie screening of Islam and Democracy, and the establishment of Sekar Jagat Indonesia community focusing on Indonesian dances and art performances (Narottama & Sudarmawan, 2017);

(2) Gastronomy: Warung Éphémère or My Little Indonesia as a culinary festival of Indonesian cuisine;

(3) *Elegne Inone* or foster parents' program, supporting Papuan children to continue their education in Yogyakarta.

In addition to its work under several task forces, IDN France also actively engages in the shape of cooperation with companies and other Indonesian associations in France. Based on these projects, there is a different pattern of contributions of IDN France to their homeland. IDN France is arguably more active in promoting Indonesia in their host country. They indeed give a contribution to the homeland in the distance through Indonesian arts, film, and culinary promotion, but the notion of hometown transnationalism does assumedly not align with this case because they do not directly contribute to the development of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the foster parents' program can be seen as one development project through educational support for Indonesia even though it is not as popular as the arts and culture program conducted.

Discussing collective remittances, it is difficult to argue that some projects, particularly those which are related to arts, culture, and cuisine, held in France are not included as collective remittances since Indonesian diasporas express their great sense of belonging. Nonetheless, when talking about remittances, it should also be seen on what diasporas have brought to Indonesia or what can be the 'concrete revenue' for

Indonesia. Collective remittances are closely related to concrete output in the shape of infrastructures or new facilities. As Lacroix (2019: 177) stated, "collective remittances represent at the same time a proof of allegiance to the community and the introduction of facilities, equipment, and therefore practices they experience in the place of settlement." Accordingly, IDN France arguably has different types of execution on its hometown organizations, but it does not mean that they limit their contribution to their homeland. IDN France is great proof of its dedication to promoting Indonesia arts, culture, and cuisine in other countries. What the IDN France has done can also be viewed as a contribution as an agent of diplomacy to introduce Indonesia to the world which could attract foreign people to visit Indonesia in the future. Potential revenue would also gradually come to Indonesia when the activities done by IDN France are consistently run. To strengthen its existence, IDN France also engages with Indonesian companies and associations. The listed associations are *L'association franco-indonésinne*-Pasar Malam, Ilse PERALTA, and Pantcha Indra (IDN France, 2017a). Those associations are dedicated to Indonesian arts and culture, attracting people to learn and practice dance, music, and arts together. From this case study, it is found s novel understanding that hometown transnationalism is also expressed through a set of actions that has undertaken in the host country, for instance, by showing their love to their home country through arts, culture, and cuisine introduction. IDN France formed a different means of contribution to develop Indonesia with tangible outcomes such as people can practice Indonesian traditional dances, taste Indonesian food, and as a consequence, potentially bring back revenue for Indonesia or be a bridge for further development projects. Only the practices are not undertaken in the home country.

Seeing both branches that have been contributing to Indonesia through different means which can be considered as an excellent example of the realization of collective remittances, IDN NL and IDN France are still perceived successful in establishing diaspora networks with strong motivation to develop the home country. Still, to Kuznetsov (2006), there are three main features indicating successful diaspora networks, which are: (a) networks bring together people with strong instinct motivation; (b) members play both direct roles (implementing projects in the home country) and indirect roles (serving as bridges and antennae for the development of

projects in the home country), and; (c) successful initiatives move from discussions on how to get involved with the home country to transactions (tangible outcomes). By this view, it is commendable that Indonesian diasporas have a strong motivation to transfer their knowledge and other resources in order to develop the home country through IDN, which is built as the result of networking. Established task forces are also the result of Indonesian networks with the same expertise, for instance, IDN NL TLC in which architecture, urban planners, and people who are eager in social community and heritage came together with one vision to develop concrete projects in Indonesia. Besides, what IDN NL TLC has done in Indonesia with its development projects on building innovative infrastructures is not only a realization of collective remittance, but also a part of the direct role of diaspora networks that is considered as an indicator of success for diaspora networks. Furthermore, what IDN France and its task forces do on art, culture, and cuisine can be depicted as a bridge for the development of potential projects in the home country due to its active promotion of Indonesian arts, culture, and cuisine in France. Also, IDN France shows its efforts to get involved with the home country in different ways by introducing many Indonesian richness and specialties so foreign people can practice such as dance, enjoy Indonesia's arts, and taste authentic food.

European Policy on Diaspora and the Practice of Indonesian Diaspora's Hometown Transnationalism

How international and supranational organizations perceive diaspora remains debatable and perplexing. Not only are academics, but also those actors in international organizations debate the term diaspora and how they should locate diaspora on their agenda. Weinar (2010) stressed that international and supranational organizations had offered themselves as entrepreneurs framing 'diaspora' in several ways that had become a challenge in academic discourse. In the context of the European Union (EU) as a supranational organization, the diaspora in the European policy is perceived as a development actor. The European policy, in this case, the EU migration policy is strongly intertwined with the development agenda and the EU social policy (Weinar, 2010). There are two focuses highlighted on the EU policy on migration. One is talking mostly about the internal context, and another one is about

the external context, which is strongly related to our discussion on the Indonesian diaspora's hometown transnationalism.

On the one hand, the EU policy on migration provides an agenda focusing on internal actions, pointing out how the diaspora assimilates and integrates into the host country. Unprecedented numbers of immigrants have led the EU to underline this issue and set out a policy covering strategy at the national level and the EU level. On 19 November 2004, the EU Council adopted its set of Common Basic Principles (CBPs) on Integration, which were later elaborated into the Common Agenda for Integration (Weinar, 2010). The CBPs were initiated to underpin a coherent European framework on integration of the third-country nationals or so-called immigrants. This strategy has been communicated and published in the documented communication named A Common Agenda for Integration Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union (Commission of the European Communities, 2005). This communication set out strategies to integrate migrants in the EU from which it can be concluded that the EU endeavoured to keep their region and member states stable under the high pressure of migrants. The migrant influx rattled the development and social cohesion process inside the region. In that sense, this policy solely focuses on internal actions and does not deal with migrants as transnational actors. As Weinar (2010) also pointed out that the home country's loyalties were not highlighted in this frame. It can be said that migrants' relations with their homeland are not the main focus of this framework. Yet, the growth of migrants' initiatives to contribute to their home countries is getting bigger recently due to the support of technology.

On the other hand, examining the external dimensions, how the EU wants to engage with other countries, especially the third countries, can be best reflected in the EU migration policy under the Global Approach to Migration. In December 2005, the European Council adopted the Global Approach to Migration, which was initially focused on Africa and the Mediterranean region (European Commission, 2007). However, it is expanding due to the EU's interest in increasing its leverage at global level with the notion of developing the country of origin of the migrants. According to the European Commission's communication to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the

Regions (2007), Global Approach to Migration was to bring together migration, external relations, and development policy to address migration in an integrated, comprehensive and balanced way in partnership with third countries. This policy, however, also gains criticism from which the 'partnership' discourse is considerably rhetoric for the imposition of 'externalization' of the EU policy that can potentially lead to negative consequences (Carrera & i Sagrera, 2009) and the implementation process that is failed to be respected by institutions either within the EU or those who worked together with the EU to execute it (Collyer, 2012).

Regardless of the debate on its practice, the policy concerned with the external context is possible to answer the question of why the diaspora can be considered as an important development actor although the actors are aiming for the interest of the EU. In the Global Approach to Migration, the policy also highlighted the need for a balanced, global and coherent approach, covering policies to combat illegal immigration and, in cooperation with third countries, harnessing the benefit of legal migration' (European Council, 2005).This indicates that the EU is indeed concerned about the issue of immigration, underlining the benefit of legal migration by strengthening the relationship with the third countries to give support for development to them. It is also supported by the statement that: "[t]he European Council emphasizes that the European Union's commitment to support the development efforts of countries of origin and transit is part of a long-term process to respond to the opportunities and challenges of migration, as outlined in the Hague Program" (European Council, 2005).

Given the fact that this policy points out the centeredness of immigrants, development agenda, and the EU's interest to engage with third countries, the policy that has been central to the relations to the African and the Mediterranean has started to expand to the south-eastern region of third countries. In this case, the country of origin for the Indonesian diaspora has arguably not become a prominent target as the place to put its interest in external relations. Nevertheless, the European Commission in its communication (2007) then clearly mentioned Indonesia as the country of origin that must be paid attention to encourage potential further dialogue and cooperation on migration and development.

The approaches taken to undertake this policy includes cooperation with third countries in migration management, supporting the fight against illegal migration, and migration and development (Weinar, 2010). According to these three dimensions, it can be argued that the first and second approaches are still far from being implemented in Indonesia. The number of Indonesians who come to the EU countries is uneven. Most of them reside in the Netherlands due to their long historical background. It is no wonder that if the EU takes a look at Indonesia, the two above points are presumably not the main focus. However, when it comes to the third approach, it is probable for the EU to have an eagerness to engage with Indonesia in development projects. Indonesian diasporas in the Netherlands and France, which are gathered in IDN NL and IDN France, are very potent. Many of them are skilled and professional figures who have worked for a long time in notable companies or universities. IDN NL and IDN France, as the forms of hometown transnationalism, can be a bridge for the EU to implement its intention to expand its 'normative actorness' on development projects. If the EU still wants to cling firmly to the notion of the diaspora as an important development actor, engaging with the Indonesian diaspora through IDN NL and IDN France could be the best option. Also, if this stronger cooperation is established, the IDNs, along with members of task forces, will potentially gain more recognition because of their indirect roles as bridges for the EU and the Indonesian government in realizing development projects. This can also fulfil the success measurement of diaspora networks in which members play indirect roles such as serving as bridges and antennae (Kuznetsov, 2006).

Supporting funds and project developments are considered the strategic point to start a relationship in the context of development in the origin country of the migrants. These strategies can also be argued as the EU's political engagement through the development project. Seeing the Indonesian diaspora under IDN NL and IDN France, supporting funds to execute development projects are necessary. Despite projects that have successfully been developed between the Indonesian diaspora under IDN in collaboration with local government, other support from other actors to maximize the result of the projects are inevitably needed. As stated by Kuznetsov (2006), one of the three resources that positioned diaspora communities had made a contribution was the financial resource from which they seek new opportunities in

their home countries. This circumstance is relatable that some of the Indonesian diasporas joined in IDN have stable financial conditions, so some are voluntarily given to the execution of development projects. It is, nonetheless, still necessary to seek additional support to realize the project due to some conditions. For example, in the case of Indonesia, some micro-library and eco-friendly garden projects developed in Bandung also got financial support for the establishment and renovation from another organization, which is IDF (Heinzelmann, 2019). This indicates that even though the task force has engaged with the local government, other supporting actions are required to make those projects sustainable either from other Indonesian diaspora networks, except the IDN or other parties. Maintaining the development project to run accordingly in the third country such as Indonesia is way more challenging. It is more likely because the bright notion executed by the diaspora in some projects in Indonesia become something new or have different perspectives from local people. Thus, it takes time to convince them that this project is essential for their well-being, and it will spend more money to make it sustainable.

All this time, IDN NL and IDN France arguably run their organizations and projects independently without the support from the EU or the rules on the European policy. It is clear because these hometown organizations intend to build and contribute to the homeland without political motives. If it should link to the European policy in all terms, it is perhaps about the legal obligation as an organization in which IDN NL and IDN France should register themselves in order to be legal organizations that exist in Europe. In addition, if the support is there, it would be in the shape of indirect funding for the execution of certain organization events through another agency that is funded by the EU, and it is argued that there is an interest behind it. As Awan (2016) stated that the underlying grounds for the EU supporting the origin country was that many in Europe want to send the immigrants back home. It is to reduce the overwhelming numbers of immigrants in EU member countries. Through funding and other development supports, it is conceived as a way for sending back immigrants in order to seek opportunities in their homeland and, at the same time, maintaining the EU's principle as a normative actor.

Conclusion

The emergence of hometown organizations in the forms of IDN NL and IDN France has shown their unshakable contributions to Indonesia, especially in the development context. The advancement of technology and transportation systems in the globalized world has made the Indonesian diaspora easier to connect, to come back and forth to Indonesia, and to contribute substantively. Collective remittances are also actively given to the homeland, replacing the economic remittances, which always became the main hope. Running IDN NL and IDN France cannot be separated from the European policy in which the place where they established the organizations. The European policy has two layers, the national policy level and the EU policy level. This research focuses on both in which the EU migration policy under the Global Approach to Migration encompasses the notions to be implemented at the national and the EU level. However, the European policy does not play much in the execution of IDN, except for the registration of organizations to be legal in the host country. Despite, the European policy on migration, IDN NL, and IDN France have got the same visions for development. We may conclude that the research about Indonesian diaspora organizations remains lacking. It is important to analyze more into the effectiveness of each Indonesian diaspora organization in order to seek for possible development projects in collaboration with the Indonesian diaspora in the future. Diaspora can indeed be a potential agent for development in the homeland. Therefore, research regarding the effectiveness of diaspora organizations should be conducted more profoundly than this.

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