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Dialectics of Transnational Mobility, Class, and Cultural Intermediary among Indonesian Migrant Worker-Students in South Korea*

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Abstract

1
Cosmopolitanism among migrant workers may present as the result of interpretations between transnational mobility, class, and cultural intermediary. Applying the ethnographic method this research was carried out during 2018-2019, which took Indonesian migrant worker-students aged 20-35 years in South Korea as informants. Travel and immigration, and higher education experiences have left Indonesian migrant workers at work in any places both in and out of campus areas. These practices show that the broader social, cultural, and individual agendas are one way of recognizing a new cosmopolitanism. There are two factors that influence the cosmopolitanism process of Indonesian migrant workers; first, the transnational migration process. Second, the process of cultural intermediation in universities. This study reveals significant differences in how Indonesian migrant workers respond to the possibilities and opportunities of transnational mobility, from developing the cultural acceptance skills needed in their life trajectories for building network relationships with other transnational actors. Higher education for migrant workers has introduced another form of work, namely cultural intermediation, which can be seen as a cosmopolitan process.

Kosmopolitanisme di kalangan pekerja migran dapat muncul sebagai hasil interpretasi antara mobilitas transnasional, kelas, dan perantara budaya. Dengan menerapkan metode etnografi, penelitian ini dilakukan selama tahun 2018-2019 dengan mengambil pekerja migran pelajar Indonesia berusia 20-35 tahun di Korea Selatan sebagai informan. Perjalanan dan imigrasi serta pengalaman pendidikan tinggi telah membuat para TKI dapat bekerja di berbagai tempat baik di dalam maupun di luar kampus. Praktik-praktik ini menunjukkan bahwa agenda sosial, budaya dan individu yang lebih luas merupakan salah satu cara untuk mengenali kosmopolitanisme baru. Ada dua faktor yang mempengaruhi proses kosmopolitanisme pekerja migran Indonesia. Pertama, proses migrasi transnasional. Kedua, proses intermediasi budaya di perguruan tinggi. Penelitian ini mengungkapkan perbedaan yang signifikan dalam cara pekerja migran Indonesia menanggapi kemungkinan dan peluang mobilitas transnasional dengan cara mengembangkan ketrampilan penerimaan budaya yang dibutuhkan dalam kehidupan mereka untuk membangun jaringan dengan aktor transnasional lainnya. Pendidikan tinggi bagi pekerja migran telah memperkenalkan bentuk pekerjaan lain, yaitu intermediasi budaya yang dapat dilihat sebagai proses kosmopolitan.

1
Keywords: cosmopolitan; transnational; cultural intermediaries; migrant workers; higher education

1
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Introduction

The flow of Indonesian migrant workers to neighboring countries has long existed and continues to experience an increase in the number and distribution of destination countries. Since the 1980s, female migrant workers dominate the flow of Indonesian migrant workers in the global market in all countries except Korea and Japan (Sukamdi, Satriawan, and Haris 2004). This data illustrates that the interest of Indonesian citizens working abroad is relatively high. The increased number of Indonesian migrant workers was also accompanied by the rise in the interest in continuing higher education. Data in May 2016 showed the number of Indonesian migrant workers spread in various countries was 97,349. Indonesian Open University recorded as many as 1,139 Indonesian migrant workers as Open University students, although the figure was only 0.28% of the total students but showed an increasing trend (Padmo 2015).

Migrant workers are often associated with practical activities, the working class, and marginalized groups. Researchers often assume migrant workers as low-skilled, unskilled and powerless (Andrevski and Lyneham 2014; Astuti 2006; Choi and Choi 2005; Hamidah 2016; Johan Kusuma, Ryan York, and Hari Wibowo 2015; Lee 2003; Rahman and Fee 2009; Subadi 2016; Ueno 2010). Meanwhile, higher education is more often associated with idealistic spaces, middle-class identity, and academics (Banerjee and Duflo 2008; Bourdieu 1987; Grodsky and Riegle-Crumb 2010; Heryanto 1999; Mayo 2014; Ong et al. 1996).

Using a cultural perspective and identity, Erel (2010) conducted a study of migrants and

cultural capital acquired through migration. Erel argues that the migration process produces new ways of producing and reproducing cultural capital. The cultural capital is more than just a reflection of the power relations of both the country of origin and the destined country. Migrants create validation mechanisms of their cultural capital, negotiating both ethnic majorities, institutions, and networks.

Meanwhile, Nugroho (2018) questioned the emergence of the Indonesian migrant worker-students phenomenon in Korea. According to him, the status of students carried by migrant workers is very ambiguous and does not guarantee them. He called them unwarranted students. His ethnographic study explained how these Indonesian migrant worker-students negotiated the ambivalence of their identity as migrant workers and as students. However, both Nugroho and Erel do not make the new identity of migrant workers or the new capital that migrant workers get as a phenomenon of cosmopolitan identity.

To date, there has been defined research on how people from other places can locate cosmopolitan identity and practice cosmopolitanism, but very few have seen it in the context of migrant workers. Characteristics of cosmopolitanism as direction, a consent to engage with "the other", give rise to another subjectivity, about what and who is determined as contrast or the same (Eriksen and Hannerz 1997). This study is essential to complement the research of Erel and Nugroho. This study also provides a different perspective from Indonesian migrant workers studies which usually focus on exploitation, violence, and studies on economic inequality.

The research was conducted with a qualitative approach. Qualitative research indicated the socially constructed nature of reality, the close relations between the researcher and the research subject, and the pressure of situations that configure the investigation (Denzin and Lincoln 1997). To answer the problem formulation and research objectives, we selected migrant workers who were currently working and studying at the Universitas Terbuka (Indonesian Open University) in Korea (UT Korea) and Cyber Hankuk University for Foreign Studies (CHUFS), a local Korean based university.

The informants in this study were migrant workers with an age range between 20-35 years old who determined purposively. Five informants were Indonesian migrant workers study at UT Korea, and five were CHUFS students. All informants in this study came from middle to lower family backgrounds.

To collect the data, we used several data collection techniques. First, observations were made in several locations in Korea and the origin district of the migrant workers in Central Java. Second, in-depth interviews were conducted to reveal Indonesian migrant worker-students' life stories and journeys. These life stories are helpful to examine the stages of historical change with the aspirations, desires, and hopes in the lives of the migrant workers. This in-depth interview will also investigate how Indonesian migrant worker-students defined their lives and relate them to the past and the future. Third, for research purposes, the various study of documents is very important. Documents are collected and analyzed with the

understanding of Indonesian migrant worker-students.

Indonesian Migrant Worker-Students in Korea

In 2018, more than a thousand Indonesian migrant workers registered as UT Korea students (PERPIKA 2018), and 40 Indonesian migrant workers registered as students at Cyber Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (CHUFS). Male workers dominate Indonesian migrant workers in Korea. It is related to the type of work offered by the employer. However, some female workers are placed in the manufacturing sector. The level of education of the migrant workers also varies. On average, they are high school graduates, and even some are diploma and undergraduates. The phenomenon that energetic young people choose to become migrant workers in Korea is no longer dominated by economic motivation. The motivation for traveling and education also influences the interest of Indonesian youth to become migrant workers in Korea. The global development of Korean tourism and culture is an attraction for prospective migrant workers. There is a certain satisfaction when they can exhibit traveling activities or other activities that are entirely unrelated to their status as migrant workers.

Indonesian migrant worker-students tend to be reluctant to reveal their identity as students in the work environment. On the contrary, through social media, they show their existence as students by constantly uploading activities related to their status. For students of CHUFS, the association with Korean citizens (represented by the lecturers at CHUFS) and their

migrant friends from other countries can evoke feelings as international citizens.

The migrant worker in this study embodies a student-worker form that conceptually signifies identity that affirms the desire for knowledge opportunities, develops new capacity skills, and presents themselves as students. Ambivalence emerged when they attended lectures and added their status as students on top of their framing as migrant workers. Indonesian migrant workers formed various associations and built houses of worship in the host country to symbolize the moral place. Through this, a new global ethnic, social world was formed. Indonesian migrant workers and Indonesian migrant worker-students in Korea reconfigure the premises through global connections that produce cosmopolitanism.

The Indonesian migrant worker-students accumulate capital by imagining and enforcing an identity in a social sense beyond being a migrant worker in terms of present life and future possibilities—a space of existence of aspirations and opportunities for transformation through migration.

The Practice of Cultural Intermediary by Indonesian Migrant Worker

Cultural intermediary activities refer to Bourdieu (1987) that see the emergence of people involved in the symbolic production of goods and services. Cultural intermediary activities by Indonesian migrant worker-students are carried out using various formal and informal approaches—for example, massive efforts in building opinions about educated and empowered migrant workers. Indonesian migrant workers students - cultural inter-

mediaries are personally involved in the production of consumption and consumption of production, helping to create experiences of higher education and activities related to higher education for others while internalizing their productive roles, thereby legitimizing these goods and activities through the investment of personal trust. Through higher education, Indonesian migrant worker-students have absorbed the student lifestyle. Migrant workers continue to produce the symbol of higher education as their modern lifestyle. Migrant workers become familiar with seminars, student orientation, workshops, public lectures, and student camps that were previously very strange to them. Such symbolic production is essential for the occurrence of contemporary commodification.

Although higher education is not a new cultural product in society, for Indonesian migrant worker, higher education is a unique space which is then communicated as a new experience that will bring them into new expectations in the future (Madrah and Suharko 2019).

The complexity of the habitus of the Indonesian migrant worker-students resulted in the different cultural intermediary practices. The Indonesian migrant worker-students tried to reduce the negative views about migrant workers. By joining the academic activities in higher education, migrant workers hope to change the community views.

The student-migrant workers felt necessary to disseminate the values of higher education to the other migrant worker. They do many activities in promoting higher education to

migrant workers. Although student-migrant workers or prospective students carry personal interests when deciding to pursue higher education, they need an affirmation from the group to legitimize their decision.

Sharing the experience of student-migrant workers may provide positive motivation for other migrant workers. The strategies taken by Indonesian migrant worker-students illustrate links between migration experience, the experience of higher education, and the experience of being a citizen (both while in Indonesia and while in Korea). Education turned into an increasingly essential factor concerning migration and the social reproduction approach of migrants. Indonesian migrant worker-students showed a role in the expansion of a higher education strategy for migrant workers.

Cultural intermediary activities by student-migrant workers require creativity. Creativity is practiced in various ways, like designing posters, making narratives, framing photos, and organizing activities. They use the applications or software available on the internet. Their creativity is facilitated by technology which allows designs, logos, and taglines. Creative work is also expressed in student programs that adopt regular student activities on other campuses, for example, public speaking training, entrepreneurial training, start-up training, and many others. They see their cultural-intermediary activities as a bridge to open opportunities for a better future.

Creativity is a person's ability to produce something brand new in the form of real work ideas (Hawadi, Wihardyo, and Wiyono 2001). Creativity is also defined as thinking something new, innovating, and doing something new

(Levitt 2002). The Indonesian migrant worker-student combined all those skills of interpersonal communication, communication in an organization, and the skill of optimized the social media platform.

Transnational Migrant Workers

The increasing exchange of people, goods, and ideas will further support the national sector in the transnational arena (Crane, Kawashima, and Kawasaki 2016). Facing the growing international competition, national institutions generate strength for transnational societies and chains. Cultural advancement implies the opening of ethnic fields to global markets and requirements. However, globalization brings humans to a risk society (Beck, Lash, and Wynne 1992). In this context, Indonesian migrant worker-students are faced with a greater risk of future uncertainty. Beck further explains that social life is becoming more individualized and the risks borne are increasingly conical to individual responsibility. In a risk society, individuals are required to plan and construct their biographical trajectories in terms of both education and employment. This strategy can minimize the risks that individuals may face in the future (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002).

Indonesian migrant worker-students in Korea show their efforts to maintain their old identity in a new environment. Indonesian migrant worker-students bear to develop complicated partnerships, meaningful connections, and numerous ties to problems, people, places, and traditions that lie outside the boundaries of the nation-state.

Various ethnic-based associations (*Gemeinschaft*) emerged and were initiated by migrant workers. When this research was taking place, there were thirty-six Indonesian migrant worker's community associations in Korea. These communities show articulation of local-national solidarity. The complexity of identity can also be seen when Indonesian migrant worker-students have to negotiate with the manager about overtime work schedules that interfere with class meeting schedules. Sometimes when Indonesian migrant worker-students hold a student event, they have to negotiate with sponsors and various related parties. In such a position, they will negotiate their activities as students with status as migrant workers.

They are also always connected to their homeland in various ways. Indonesian migrant worker-students carry out very dynamic activities, from a factory as a manual worker to campus as a student, in corporate meeting rooms looking for sponsors of activities, going on vacation trips, and so on. They practice skills and experience alternative cultures. Indonesian migrant worker-students in Korea adopt exclusive citizenship. They leave the language and culture but also associate the culture of origin. In short, they become what is known as transnational migrants.

There is debate as to the appropriate criterion and levels of analysis in this regard. Smith and Guarnizo (1998) distinguish top transnationalism, namely global capital, media, and political system, while transnationalism from below is an essential action. Some scientists see transnationalism as a product of advanced capitalism due to the expansion of

industrialization, dependence on cheap labor, and remittances that labor sends into the country. Meanwhile, Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) described it as a social arena which is defined as a set of networks that are interrelated in social relations through practice ideas and other sources that are exchanged in an unbalanced, organized, and transformed manner.

Transnational experiences formed cultural hybrids that produce cosmopolitanism. In contemporary discourse, Eriksen and Hannerz (1997) defined cosmopolitanism as an attitude of intellectual and creative openness to different cultural practices, understood as belonging to individuals who have acceptable compulsory cultural competencies that empower them to maneuver in new systems of sense. Werbner (1999) contends that working-class immigrants are adequate for developing and asserting working-class cosmopolitanism. It is an interpretation that directly challenges the theoretical relationship between transnational mobility, class, and cosmopolitanism. While sociologists usually define cosmopolitanism as a direction of openness to other people and foreign cultures and examine how it appears in practices and institutions in the international world (Beck and Cronin 2006; Calcutt, Woodward, and Skrbis 2009; Phillips and Smith 2008; Saito 2010).

From Transnational to Cosmopolitan Migrant Workers

Migration to work is generally recognized as a critical moment to improve cross-cultural skills (Mee 2015). In migration, there is a need for cross-cultural acceptance as a ground for learning new skills. Cultural acceptance in a broad sense is also the center of discussion on

cosmopolitanism. Labor migration has become one of the essential accrue strategies for Indonesian youth. As a mode of cultural acceptance, cosmopolitanism encourages people to be associate with and encompass other aspects of culture. The various conditions experienced by Indonesian migrant worker-students provide sufficient support for the argument that the context of migration and higher education can condition the opportunities to develop cultural openness and acceptance.

Migrant workers see Korea as part of a trajectory in their lives. Apart from the economic reasons, the experience of traveling, and education attracted them. They see Korea as a "cool" industrialized country. Besides, the Indonesia-Korea cooperation system also adds confidence and a sense of security for prospective migrant workers.

Prospective Indonesian migrant workers who choose Korea as their destination country have received information about the possibility of continuing higher education while in Korea. Economic and social processes that often conflict with each other effect the shift in PMI's destination countries. Beck-Gernsheim (2002) sees it as a period of transition especially for youth associated with a new lifestyle and an increasing emphasis on constructing individual identities.

The idea of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are often enforced interchangeably, but, as Hiebert (2002) emphasized, not all transnational communities demonstrated cosmopolitan qualities. Transnational migrants do not have to have a cosmopolitan direction, although their practices may indicate cosmopolitanism.

Transnational results from transnational movement and locality in the sending and receiving countries (Yun 2012).

Mobility must be understood here as the physical and non-physical movements of people in transnational spaces. Locality means entrenched socially, economically, or politically in the country of immigration and the country of origin. It means generating a set of social relationships in certain places. Looking at the transnational pattern as the consequences of the combination of two dimensions - mobility and locality, affords interesting insights into a wide variety of life forms.

The findings of this study have demonstrated that the relationship between the Indonesian migrant workers group and the Korean people is influenced by local migration strategies, especially the continuation of the communication with the place of origin, and the certain moments available in the host community. The transnational viewpoint is used to recognize how minorities find their host communities and education systems, and how they self-administer within them.

The transnational migrant strategy also works as a flexible social kind that influences Indonesian migrant worker student opportunities to switch economic capital into cultural capital (education), and symbolic capital of the future. Transnationalism is a transnational phenomenon and within the framework of the cultural, social, economic, and political relations formed by migrant's crosswise national boundaries. Transnational understanding helps overcome those who think migrants have made rational choices about staying in host societies

at the investment of moving from their home country. This perspective does not capture into account the character of migrants as agents that do not carry out their actions on totally rational grounds. Relations with the host country were also maintained when Indonesian migrant workers in Korea returned to Indonesia. This connection can be seen in various ways, one of which is by opening a Korean language and culture training business for candidates of migrant workers. Opening Korean language training is not merely a business sector that generates economic benefits but also shows an effort to always be connected with a country that was once a transnational career path. Higher education for migrant workers is mediated by Indonesian migrant workers-students become significant to be framed in this transnational field. Indonesian migrant worker-students mediate and preserve links between the ethnic and transnational arenas. Indonesian migrant worker-students created transnational practices and quality requirements and left them on to the field of national culture.

Transnationalism has also appeared as a pivotal point in reforming the ethnic immigrant's territories by linking them to global capital and labor flows (Lee and Park 2008). For example, in Ansan, a region in Korea where the concentration of migrant workers is high. The Indonesian migrant workers and other citizens from various countries flexibly change their identity in the situation in which they are in. Ansan is a very multicultural and heterogeneous space that becomes a combination (comparatively) than homogeneous, space in which intra and inter-ethnic statuses are reflected,

contested, and flexibly combined in a limited global interaction process. Working on a transnational frame has the potential to reshape the form we understand about the key conceptions that serve to underlie new social life in specific locations (Yeoh, Willis, and Fakhri 2003).

Transnational is a productive social process, not a passive idea of ties and points (Yeoh et al. 2003, Dahinden 2010). Transnationalism describes when people in peculiar places are related through social and allegorical ties, allowing the relocation of various styles of capital and giving rise to transnational social spaces. The actors engaged in these arenas are constructed by various forms of capital sources obtained from the migration experience in the form of opportunities and challenges. Scholars, especially those working in global metropolises, have considered the prosperity of the transnational group of globetrotting, namely from groups of highly skilled, experienced, directorial. Elite entrepreneurial people who disseminate in a particular of careers or business shifts from one city to city in response to global competition for proficient labor (Findlay et al. 1996; Verstock 1996; Willis and Yeoh 2000), they see using the perspective of transnationalism. Meanwhile, Smith and Guarnizo (1998) see transnationalism from below focusing on incompetent migrant workers, guest workers, foreigners, and outcasts.

In this context, we offer to see the phenomenon of Indonesian migrant worker-students-cultural intermediaries to mediate the top-down transnationalism debate. Indonesian migrant worker-students through networks at universities allow getting jobs outside the official factory hours with more credible jobs, for example being a tour guide in Korea for a group of Indonesian tourists (not through an official

travel agency), or even got several opportunities to be a voice actor for Korean drama productions. One of our informants has language skills that are similar to the native accent enjoy this job outside of his routine. He got this job from his friendship network with CHUFS students from Korea on campus.

Various transnational sequences, whether defined by the relationship between class, sex, ethnicity, nationality, generation, type of occupation, or skill level, can be further explained in contradictory relationships between one another. If previously the study of diaspora networks referred to certain classes and occupations, the transnational concept opens up the possibility to work with other fields, which consider the unification of different communities in the frame of cultural hybridity.

The cultural hybridity of Indonesian migrant workers can be seen from the phenomenon of the connection between technological globalization and the locality of Indonesian migrant worker insights and experiences as transnational. The practice is reflected in the results of intermediary work of promoting higher education for migrant workers. The moment of migrant workers connected to the ICTs allowed them to move freely and quickly through boundaries that were once impervious to such movement. Then Indonesian migrant worker-students imagined being a part of "going global". For example, as seen in the class of public speaking and corresponding for student-migrant workers. Indonesian migrant workers also envision being part of a transnational society through Korean for corresponding training. This kind of training takes Korean-style written communication courtesy and general standards of international correspondence and involve

their involves experiences in previous written communications (in Indonesia). We tend to see it in a hybridization perspective in which Indonesian migrant worker's experience or global insight is mixed with transnational experiences and Indonesian migrant worker's locality with ICT facilities. These abilities shape their cosmopolitan identity as well as the spaces they traverse.

The experience of transnational migration and higher education gave rise to cosmopolitanism as a "new capital". The higher education experiences of Indonesian migrant workers, legitimized cosmopolitanism as a fascinating predisposition at the global level, links intellectual capabilities that signify a cosmopolitan disposition with a growing number of areas requiring large-scale interaction with people from various countries. Higher education operates as a central institutional mechanism that legitimizes cosmopolitanism as a coveted aspect of people in a globalized world (Igarashi and Saito 2014). The glocalization of everyday practices and the institutionalization of world culture allows people to acquire a cosmopolitan orientation. The informant of these studies often participated in activities (outside of lectures) related to entrepreneurship, because they were interested in business development. When they have to come home from Korea, they want to build their own business. So, lectures are not always a matter of learning (academics), but also building relationships and strategies for the future.

Cosmopolitanism encompassed by transnational migrant workers demonstrates non-exclusive responsiveness to differences from

local and global, showing the form of cosmopolitanism that is formed from below (Hershberg 1999).

Indonesian migrant worker-students are representatives of transnational nets that compile and shareability on how to cross geographical and cultural boundaries. Such expertise is rarely recognized as a mode of cosmopolitanism but is more inclined to be interpreted as a minor strategy for survival or livelihoods (Kothari 2008). The Indonesian migrant worker-cosmopolitan offered to reopen the debate on promoting the idea of migrants as world citizens, who simultaneously think outside the nation and at the layer of individual rights and duties. As stated by Indonesian migrant students in CHUFS, they felt being international citizens, when they were on campus and meet other students from different countries. Certain responses, competencies, dispositions, individual and collective practices towards differences, associated with knowledge, and responsiveness to other cultures have become increasingly significant in characterizing cosmopolitanism (Szerszynski and Urry 2006).

Often the discourse of cosmopolitanism is assumed to be Eurocentric, city-centered, and elitist about who has the potential to become cosmopolitan and the attributes that shape a cosmopolitan sense (Kothari 2008). Here, cosmopolitanism is mainly formulated over cultural capital, socioeconomic status, and consumer capability. For example, travelers, professionals, and experts, visitors can buy various commodities in global supermarkets. Besides, the assumption of cosmopolitanism of

city inhabitants who meet different cultures in cities is dynamic and fluid (Diouf 2000; Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003), with a few notable exceptions, the main focus goes on culture and the first world.

The complexity of migration for which there is currently much continuum in the global transformation of migration flows, notably as huge numbers of subordinated laborers pursue to meet the demand for low-cost production and service arrangement. Nonetheless, a transformation to a transnational and interconnected world may increase the bargaining skill of some migrants, that is, the portion economically and culturally capable of invading the labor market and obtain some obtaining of cosmopolitan sensibility daily. The dominant population and political domains have passively accepted both their increased mobility and their claim to relative cultural freedom. The increasing level of cosmopolitanism is also not universally accepted. The reaction to these developments has had a profound impact on migration. Transnationalism and international migration can produce profound changes at both a personal and cultural level. Many people in many (yet by no means all) countries are now willing to think collectively as part of the same humankind. When diversity is increased, social actors become conscious that their identity can become wider (Cohen 2004).

This practice of broadening the social, cultural, and individual agenda is one way of recognizing new cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is gaining new traction because the phrase implies performing the junction of progressive concepts and new viewpoints

relevant to our culture. Cohen (2004) goes on to explain that cosmopolitanism suggests something simultaneously. First, beyond the seemingly depleted model of the nation-state. Second, cosmopolitanism is adequate to intervene actions and ideals that are oriented both to global and specific, global and local. Third, culturally anti-essentialist. Cosmopolitanism can represent a complex repertoire of loyalties, identities, and interests. In these processes, cosmopolitanism shows to suggest a means of managing cultural and political amplification. A constant challenge to cosmopolitanism is seeing it as a preference only accessible to the elite - those who have the necessary resources to travel, learn another language, and take in other cultures. Historically, this is often normal, but in the contemporary world, the diversity of cultures and languages is ubiquitous, and the capacity to convey with others and recognize their culture is available, at least potentially, to many.

Travel and immigration as well as experiences of higher education have led Indonesian migrant workers to be at work or on street corners, and in markets, neighborhoods, on Korea's elite campuses, and recreation areas. Hiebert (2002) has argued, the most interesting social studies in this area have now contributed countless cases of so-called everyday cosmopolitanism.

Over transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, people conform to the two relevant characteristics of contemporary forms of globalization and prominent knowledge. First, about many diverse lifestyles and cultures. Second, the practical issues such as immigration policies, comparative wages, and rates, unemployment

as well as currency movements. Mobile migrant workers can practice this knowledge to interfere with the uneven impact of global advancements. We are very careful to conclude that Indonesian migrant worker-students can represent a global populace. Nonetheless, their experience demonstrates that many people from many countries have been reached by the forces of globalization and can see migration as an available way to become cosmopolitan. In this study, the Indonesian migrant worker-students did cultural intermediaries' activities whose role is to bring news about opportunities through migration. When people migrate, they require to relate and earn practical communication tools. They are becoming increasingly cosmopolitan, not as cosmopolitan elite, though in a more casual sense. Cosmopolitan can more come from the working class.

Indonesian migrant worker-students acquire an international language other than their mother tongue and national language. They study the culture of the host country. They do sports and recreational activities they like. However, there is a perception that globalization from above, forced by powerful states and transnational associations, is now corresponded and to some extent perverted by globalization from below inspired by increased labor mobility. The relationship between global migrants and national (blue and white-collar) workers continues precarious and there are many differences within the groups of migrants. Some of them are looking for the establishment and cultural assimilation; others longed to use international moments to continue mass-threatened conventional lifestyles through higher education.

Meanwhile, higher education's emphasis on competence to work in a globalized world is stressed by the increasing impact of neoliberalism on education practice and educational programs (Apple, Kenway, and Singh 2005, Brown and Tannock 2009). In the past, higher education may have been defined as a vehicle for national economic development, but neoliberalism has moved the target coming out of the national to the global economy. Thus, the emerging new higher education has more to do with flexibility in response to fast-changing job requirements and opportunities, and cross-cultural understanding by gaining how to coincide with others in divergent public spaces (Burbules and Torres 2000).

Neoliberal education describes cosmopolitanism as the desired aspect of people who need to succeed in a global economy. Higher education intends to educate a strategic cosmopolitan that is aligned to transcend in the shifting global competitive situation, either as a worker (migrant), manager, or entrepreneur (Mitchell 2003). The World Bank and OECD also recommended promoting cosmopolitan competence concerning the global economy (Spring, 2009 in Igarashi and Saito 2014). The globalization of education has also been advertised by business campuses and the widening transnational network of their alumni (Roth 2008). In short, Indonesian migrant worker-students can legitimize cosmopolitanism as a qualification for behaving in a globalized world.

Conclusion

The intersection of Indonesian migrant worker-students with the transnational field through migration experiences and the field of

higher education has resulted in the practice of cultural intermediaries giving rise to a new discourse on migrant worker-Cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism is often framed to see the practice of work by certain groups (the middle class), cosmopolitanism is also often associated with Eurocentric and elitist cultures.

Two factors are influencing the process of cosmopolitanism of Indonesian migrant workers-students. First, the process of transnational migration, and second, the process of cultural intermediary in higher education. From these findings, the researcher offers to revisit the concept of cosmopolitanism, especially with the ideas of undercurrent cosmopolitanism (Werbner 2007). Labor migration has passed global routes, routes that people, goods, places, and ideas follow. Indonesian migrant worker takes the global route by bringing various attributes of local ethnicity and religion which have contributed to a complex cosmopolitanism.

This study reveals significant differences in how Indonesian migrant worker-students can respond to the possibilities and opportunities of transnational mobility, from developing the cultural acceptance skills required in their life trajectory, to building networking relationships with other transnational actors. Higher education for migrant workers has introduced another form of work, namely cultural intermediaries which can be seen as a process of a cosmopolitan nation.[]

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