



**INTERACTIVE
COMMUNICATION FOR
BONDING AND BRIDGING
COMMUNITIES:
Experiences of Indonesian
Migrants in the Netherlands**

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Abstract

This study focuses on interactive communication and bonding and bridging communities in the context of international migration. The present contribution looks at the Indonesians, as one of the ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. This study compares the interactive communication experiences of the younger (less than or up to 55 years old) and the older (more than 55 years old) Indonesian migrants for bonding and bridging communities, in which 40 interviewees were involved. The present study addresses the following question: How do the older and the younger Indonesian migrants that have arrived in the Netherlands in 1965-2011 comparatively use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities? The key issue is interactive communication experiences with its two dimensions (i.e. experiences and motivations), in which migrants use different types of interactive communication (i.e. face to face meetings, letters, telephone, email, chatting and social networking sites). This study also investigates two related features, namely international migration experiences with its three dimensions (i.e. motives, length of stay and problems) and also bonding and bridging communities with its three dimensions (i.e. networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity). Findings indicate (a) the association between migration experiences and interactive communication use for bonding and bridging communities; (b) face to face meetings as the most favourable interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities; (c) a generation gap in the use of online interactive communication; (d) the opportunity of online interactive communication to expand the bonding community across borders; and (e) various motivations to use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities.

Keywords: interactive communication, migration, bonding and bridging, Indonesian, the Netherlands

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Let's start a new journey!

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1. Introduction

The first chapter provides an introduction of this study. It is organized into four sections. Section 1.1 presents the research proposition, which is followed by a description of the research context in section 1.2. The purpose of the study and the research question are described in section 1.3. Meanwhile, section 1.4 delivers an overview of the following chapters.

1.1 Research proposition

International migration is an important world issue. In the recent years people across the world can move easily from one country to another. As noted by Miller (2009), new developments in transportation systems and also information and communication technology (ICT) ease migrants to move globally across the national borders. Consequently, there are more international migrants today than ever before, which affect almost every country on earth (Koser, 2007). Nowadays, it is estimated that around 175 million people live in a country other than the country, where they were born (UN, 2002). International migrants contribute to the economic growth in the home country, for example through sending remittances for family or relatives at home. It also contributes to the host country, such as overcoming labour supply shortage (Castles, 2002). However, international migration also results challenges. The coexistence of different ethnic groups in the host country for example, potentially involves conflicts like racism as well as social and structural inequalities (Bonfadelli, Bucher, & Piga, 2007). International migration, therefore, becomes a great concern of the home country, the host country and the world in general.

The existence of family, relatives and friends are important in supporting international migration. Previous studies have emphasized the significance of friends and kin in facilitating international migration (Akcapar, 2009). The study of MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) and Ritchey (1976) for examples, discuss the ways earlier migrants usually provide information, facilitate and assist kin and friends of working age to migrate. However, as noted by Akcapar (2009) only recently international migration studies incorporate social capital concept to discuss the relationship between international migrants, kin and friends (e.g. Boyd, 1989; Koser, 1997; Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa, & Spittel, 2001; and Vertovec, 2003). According to Bourdieu (1986), the creator of social capital concept, social capital can be defined as follows.

The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition ... which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital. (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 248-249)

This definition indicates that social capital is created from the networks, links a person made with others. The creation of social capital is important for international migrants in both the host country and the home country (e.g. Bauer, Epstein, & Gang, 2002; and Boyd, 1989). According to Akcapar, complex kinship and friendship networks in the home country and in the host country, which provide assistance in finding housing and employment, facilitate adjustment to the new surrounding and develop ethnic community in the host country, affect potential migrants' decisions to migrate. Furthermore, the ways migrants' lives, for example family obligations and marriage pattern, remittances, regular visits and media consumption are influenced by sustained connection with the home society (Vertovec, 2003). Nevertheless,

migrants are also expected to assimilate and quickly adopt with the host society (Amit, 2012). Creating networks with the locals provides advantage for migrants, such as greater opportunity to adjust to their new neighbourhood and to find a job. Thus, social capital is significant to survive in the host country as well as to keep in touch with the home country.

Regarding the creation of networks with the home society and the host society, there are two types of social capital, namely bonding social capital and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2007). According to Putnam, 'bonding' social capital refers to "ties to people who are *like* you in some important way", while 'bridging' social capital refers to "ties to people who are *unlike* you in some important way" (p. 143). Thus, in this context the bonding community tends to the networks of the home society and the bridging community pertains to the networks of the host society.

Media play an important role for international migrants to create and maintain their bonding and bridging communities. Media can be used to imagine the homeland (Figer, 2010); therefore, providing 'feeling at home' for the migrants (Bonini, 2011). Moreover, interactive media, such as letter, phone and email, facilitate migrants to keep in touch with the family, relatives and friends at home country (e.g. Vertovec, 2004 and Wilding, 2006). Furthermore, media stimulate migrants to create networks for their bonding and bridging communities (e.g. Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Christensen, 2012; d'Haenens, Beentjes, & Bink, 2000; d' Haenens, 2003; Karim, 1998; Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005). The use of media for bonding community refers to the ways migrants use media to keep in touch with the home society, which help them to establish and maintain relations within their own groups. Meanwhile, the use of media for bridging community means the ways migrants use media to get connected with the host society, which enable them to participate within the local society. All of these studies show the importance of media for bonding and bridging communities in international migration context.

Nevertheless, previous studies about media use for bonding and bridging communities in the context of international migration are limited to the use of mainstream media. Those studies mostly discuss the use of mass media both printed and broadcasting media (see for examples the study of Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Bonini, 2011; Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005). A number of studies about international migrants and different types of interactive communication, such as telephone and letter (e.g. Bonini, 2011; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; Vertovec, 2004; and Wilding, 2006) as well as face to face meetings for bonding and bridging communities are still limited.

Moreover, prior studies about the use of new media for bonding and bridging communities mostly describe the early development of the Internet (e.g. Bonfadelli et al., 2007; d'Haenens, 2003; Figer, 2010; Kim, Yun, & Yoon, 2009; Ogan, 2001; Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005; and Wilding, 2006). Those studies have only portrayed the first development of the Internet, such as the use of websites, chatting rooms and email. Only a few of previous studies have described the recent development of the Internet, including the emergence of social media in an online environment, such as *Facebook* and *Youtube* (see the study of Bonini, 2011 and Christensen, 2012). Yet, the Internet provides the opportunity of networks creation, which enables the transportation of information and communication (van Dijk, 2006). The networks become obvious with the emergence of online social media, which encourages the establishment of social networks in the online environment (Boyd, 2011). The online social media provide opportunity for bonding and bridging communities.

The present study is proposed to extend the research line of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities in the context of international migration. Interactive communication actually refers to the interpersonal communication, which can be defined as “communication used to define or achieve personal goals through interaction with others” (Canary, Cody, & Manusov as cited by Dainton & Zelle, 2011, p. 56). The term interactive has been used by scholars to refer to “everything from face to face exchanges to computer-mediated communication” (Downes & McMillan, 2000, p. 157). Previously, interactive communication within human societies was limited to the spoken words via face to face interaction. The next was through the means of letters. Up until the early or mid 1990s most of the migrants relied on letters to connect with their family in the home country (Wilding, 2006). Along with the ICT development, some ICTs, such as telephone and email, provided opportunities for interactive communication. However, according to Wilding (2006), only after mid 1990s migrants mostly used telephone because of the significant drop of the cost of international calls. Then, he mentions that it was the Internet, particularly email service, which became alternative interactive communication for migrants to exchange information in the late 1990s. Other interactive communication emerging soon after that was instant messaging. It has developed in advance, which allows migrants to exchange text, voice and video. Nowadays, the Internet also allows migrants to establish and maintain their networks via social networking sites (Christensen, 2012). Each interactive communication might have limitations, such as time and space restriction for face to face meetings. However, all of those interactive communication facilitate migrants for creating their bonding and bridging communities.

The most important requirement for this study is covering both traditional and online interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. There are six types of interactive communication that are explored, namely face to face meetings, letters, telephone, and the Internet (i.e. email, chatting and social networking sites). While most of previous studies predict and describe factors influencing media use for social capital building, the relationship of media use and social integration to the host society, and the association between media use and social capital creation (e.g. Bonfadelli et al., 2007; d’Haenens, 2003; Ogan & d’Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; and Peeters & d’Haenens, 2005), this study examines the ways migrants use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. First, this study investigates migrants’ experiences (i.e. usage and perception) in using interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. Then, their motives in using particular interactive communication to keep in touch with the home society and to create new relationships with the host society are elaborated. The findings of such study provide insights about international migrants’ experiences and motives in using different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities.

1.2 Research context

Aforementioned, almost every country on earth is affected by international migration since it is much easier than before to move across the national borders. Europe, especially Western Europe, is one of the most popular destinations for international migration after the end of World War II (Bonfadelli et al., 2007). It is assumed as developed countries, which provide better living opportunities, especially for international migrants from developing countries. The Netherlands for example, has become an immigration country in the early 1960s (Bontje, Pethe, Petrash, & Tuppinger, 2009). The trend of immigration in the Netherlands is increasing each year and reaches 160.000 migrants in 2011 (CBS, 2012a). At the present time, the largest migrants in the Netherlands are Turkish, Moroccan, Suriname and Antillean (CBS, 2010).

Other migrants, who are significant in the Dutch population, come from Indonesia. This migration is an inheritance of the country's colonial past (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006). According to them, they are mostly 'Indische Nederlanders' and the Moluccans. They came to the Netherlands in the two major immigration waves from Indonesia between 1949-1951 and between 1952-1957 and also in the early 1960s (Zorlu & Hartog, 2008). Besides 'Indische Nederlanders' and the Moluccans, there were other Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands, who came afterwards. These Indonesian migrants were different from 'Indische Nederlanders' and the Moluccans. As noted by Pattopang (2009), the migration period, motives, adaptation, assimilation, integration and naturalization process of Indonesian migrants were different than those 'Indische Nederlanders' and the Moluccans. These migrants are called Indonesians because they migrated to the Netherlands after Indonesia obtained its Independence in 1945 and the Netherlands as colonizer acknowledged it in 1949 through Round Table Discussion (RTD). They mostly moved to find work or for religious, social, educational and political reasons (Martínez & Vickers, 2012).

Regarding the political reasons, there is an Indonesian political history led to international migration. It was the event of 1965-1966. During this event, Soekarno, the first President of Indonesia, was replaced by Suharto, which was followed by massacre. It was considered as a movement from Indonesian Communism Party. Several decades afterwards, therefore, there were marginalisation of Indonesian Leftist and their sympathizers. During this period, hundreds of Indonesian citizens overseas were screened and those who failed to demonstrate loyalties to the newly established Suharto government lost their passports and their right to return to Indonesia (Dragojlovic, 2012). According to Dragojlovic (2012), most of them were members of the Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI), a Leftist student organization formed in the 1950s, who mainly used to study in China and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Nowadays, the total number of Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands reaches 15.976 (Kemlu RI, 2011). They live in many regions in the Netherlands, from the metropolitan city to the smallest village. Nevertheless, as noted by Pattopang (2009), Indonesians mostly live in The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Eindhoven.

Studies about international migrants and media use in the Netherlands have long been conducted. Based on the meta-analysis study of Bonfadelli et al. (2007), there are at least six studies about migrants and media use in the Netherlands (see the studies of d'Haenens, Beentjes, & Bink, 2000; d'Haenens et al., 2002; d'Haenens, 2003; Milikowski, 2000; Ogan, 2001; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005). Nevertheless, all of those studies only discuss Turkish, Moroccan, Suriname and Antillean. They are the four largest migrants in the Netherlands (CBS, 2010). There is no study about Indonesian as other ethnic minority group in the Netherlands. As noted by Bontje et al. (2009) Indonesian is considered sufficiently integrated to the host society. However, Indonesian in their study refers to the group from the former Dutch Indies (now Indonesia) in general, without establishing clear distinction between the 'Indische Nederlanders', the Moluccans and post-colonial Indonesians. Results of previous studies, therefore, are restricted to the four largest ethnic minorities in the Netherlands.

There are two other limitations of those previous studies about migrants and media use in the Netherlands. Like most of the previous studies about media use for bonding and bridging communities in the context of international migration, those studies are also limited to the use of mainstream media, such as television, radio and the Internet in general.

Furthermore, most of them used similar target groups (e.g. d'Haenens et al., 2000; d'Haenens et al., 2002; d'Haenens, 2003; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005). They mostly conducted surveys toward students, especially high school students, with migrant backgrounds. The other participants were the parents. Students and parents were selected as participants to conduct comparative media use studies between the young and the old. Students and parents are the appropriate participants, who can be reached easily in large quantities.

In order to reduce the gap of ethnic minorities and media use studies in the Netherlands, this study investigates Indonesian migrants' experiences and motives in using particular interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. This study focuses on the Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands, who are neither 'Indische Nederlanders' nor the Moluccans. Unlike those two groups, these migrants are not part of the Dutch colonialism. This study focuses on Indonesian migrants, who have arrived in the Netherlands from 1965 to 2011. Most of them arrived in the year of 1965 and several years afterwards possibly moved to the Netherlands because of political reasons. Meanwhile, the others have moved to the Netherlands to work, to study, or for religious and social reasons. In this study, Indonesian migrants refer to the Indonesian people, who move to the Netherlands after the colonialism. Since this study involves political reasons as migration motive, Indonesian, therefore, refers to country of origin rather than nationality. Some of Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands, especially the asylum seekers, possibly have changed their nationality into Dutch.

Furthermore, this research involves three main characteristics to select the participants. First are the older and the younger generations. This study compare the interactive communication of older Indonesian migrants (more than 55 years old) and the interactive communication of younger Indonesians (less than and equal to 55 years old). This study takes 55 years old to distinguish the younger and the older generation because it is the retirement age for most Indonesians. Age distinction is important to understand the digital skills of the participants. The younger generation was born either at the age of the new media or the transition of the traditional media to the new media; therefore, this generation is more familiar with the use of the Internet. Moreover, in the working age, people are encouraged to understand the Internet use. Meanwhile, the older generation was born in the era of the traditional media. People of this generation might not used to the Internet. This study also examines the interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities of Indonesian migrants, who have lived in the Netherlands for more than 20 years and for those, who have just migrated to the Netherlands for less than or equal to two decades. Years of living in the Netherlands become important since time affects migrants' bonding and bridging communities as well as the marker of the Internet emergence. The last characteristic is gender, which includes male and female. Biological sex has strong influence on the ways people select media, resulting in gender-typed media use (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hoplamazian, 2012). Moreover, it plays important role in influencing the motives of media use (d'Haenens et al., 2002). Result of their study for example, shows that girls like to have more information on music rather than boys. Thus, age, length of stay and gender are employed as the characteristics to recruit the participants of this study.

1.3 Research question

The goal of this study is to contribute to our understanding on the interactive communication experiences and motives among Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands for bonding and bridging communities. This study focuses on Indonesian migrants, who arrived in the Netherlands from 1965 to 2011. To achieve that goal, this study explores six types of

interactive communication, both the traditional and the online interactive communication (including face to face meetings, letters, telephone, emails, chatting and social networking sites), used by Indonesian migrants for bonding and bridging communities. Firstly, this study explores and compares interactive communication experiences of the older and the younger Indonesian migrants for bonding and bridging communities. Secondly, this study investigates their motives in using particular interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. Therefore, the main research question is formulated as follows:

How do the older and the younger Indonesian migrants that have arrived in the Netherlands in 1965-2011 comparatively use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities?

Five sub research questions are formulated to answer the main research question:

1. How are the experiences (i.e. usage and perception) of the older Indonesian migrants in using different types of interactive communication for bonding communities?
2. How are the experiences (i.e. usage and perception) of the older Indonesian migrants in using different types of interactive communication for bridging communities?
3. How are the experiences (i.e. usage and perception) of the younger Indonesian migrants in using different types of interactive communication for bonding communities?
4. How are the experiences (i.e. usage and perception) of the younger Indonesian migrants in using different types of interactive communication for bridging communities?
5. What are the motivations of the older and the younger Indonesian migrants to use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities?

This study proposes that there is a difference of bonding and bridging communities between the older and the younger Indonesian migrants as a consequence of their interactive communication. In the past, the older Indonesian migrants did not have access to the new media. With the traditional media, they previously might have difficulty or limited access to keep in touch with the home country. In this case, they might meet locals more often. Meanwhile, the younger Indonesian migrants have access to the new media since these media emerge in their generation. The Internet enables and eases them to maintain the relationships with the home country. Consequently, they might have lesser contact with the locals. Thus, as the consequences of their experiences in using different types of interactive communication, the older Indonesian migrants might achieve greater bridging community and the younger Indonesian migrants might achieve greater bonding community.

1.4 Overview

This study is grouped into five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction describing the research proposition, research context and research questions. The second chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework. In chapter three, research methodology including research approach, research method, research object, research sampling, data collection and data analysis procedures are explained. Chapter four is allocated for the presentation and analysis of the data from the interviews. Data are presented as specific quotations and theme based on the categorization derived from the recorded interviews with the participants. Meanwhile, discussion and conclusion are covered in the final chapter.

2. Literature Review

The second chapter provides a summary of literature review related to the use of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities in the international migration context. This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 2.1 describes studies on international migration. Bonding and bridging communities in the context of international migration are explained in section 2.2. Meanwhile, concepts related to the interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities are presented in section 2.3. Eventually, section 2.4 provides a research framework based on the literature.

2.1 Defining international migration

Studies on migration indicate that the migration has become a world phenomenon, which is indispensable from human life. It is a fundamental characteristic of humans to move from place to place (UN, 2002). International migration refers to a process of people moving across an international border, whatever the length, composition and causes (IOM, 2004). It includes refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people and economic migrants (IOM, 2004). Although most of international migration studies discuss economic migrants and asylum-seekers, international student mobility is also part of the international migration (King, Findlay, & Ahrens, 2010). However, these authors note that international students might have shorter time of stay and a high probability of return.

According to Meija, Pizurki and Royston (as cited by Kline, 2003), the number of reasons lead to migration can be classified into two factors, namely push and pull factors. The first generally derives from the home country, such as poverty and natural disaster, while the later usually pertains to the host country, such as greater job opportunities. With regard to the ease of international migration nowadays, several migration purposes, such as studying, professional advancement, marriage, retirement or lifestyle are getting more significant (Castles, 2010). With the exception of retirement or lifestyle, most of these reasons indicate that migrants usually move from the less developed countries to the more developed ones.

International migrants are generally classified based on time aspect and long term goal of migration. Regarding the time aspect, there are two types of international migrant, i.e. long-term and short-term migrants (UN, 2002). Long-term migrant is a person moving to a country other than his/ her country of origin for at least a year, while the latter is a person moving to another country for at least three months, but less than a year. Meanwhile, based on the long term goal of migration, international migrants can be distinguished into permanent and temporary migrants (Castles, 2002). The first is migrants, who “gradually integrated into economic and social relations, re-united or formed families and eventually become assimilated into the host society (sometimes over two or three generations)” (p. 1143). The second is migrants, who “stay in the host country for a limited period, and maintained their affiliation with their country of origin” (p. 1143). However, Castles (2002) notes that this classification is irrelevant at the age of globalization. According to him, in the recent years migrants orient their lives to two or more societies. It implies that the orientation of international migrants, between the host country and the home country, is inseparable. Thus, international migrants accustom with the new surroundings in the host society as well as maintain their relationships with the home society.

Studies on international migration are mostly conducted from two approaches (Massey et al., 1993). The first is the initiation of international migration approach. It emphasizes the reasons underlying international migration decision. The second is the perpetuation of

international movement approach. It seeks to examine why international migration exists across space and time. Nevertheless, these two approaches pay less attention to the consequences of international migration, such as the obstacles faced by international migrants in the host country as well as their strategy to integrate with the host society and to maintain relationships with the home society. It indicates that studies on international migration should be integrated with other fields' concepts to provide the whole picture. As noted by Castles (2010), migration studies are interdisciplinary field; therefore, need to be linked to the insight of other disciplines.

2.2 Bonding and bridging communities in the context of international migration

Social capital is the core concept in sociology and political science (Burt, 2000). This concept is firstly introduced by Bourdieu (1986). Nevertheless, "when applied by Bourdieu to empirical research, the substantial problems of operationalizing the concept make this important theoretical corpus appear ill-found" (Schuller, Baron, & Filed, 2000, p. 5). Other definitions encouraging debate on social capital concept is provided by Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1995). While Bourdieu emphasizes on class domination, Coleman (as cited by Baron, 2004) explains the continuity of values and networks between home and school. According to Coleman, social capital refers to "particular kind of resource available to an actor ... It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure" (p. 98). Like Bourdieu's definition, this definition is also not clear. Coleman does not provide further explanation what he means with some aspect of social structures; therefore, this concept is also hardly applied in empirical research. However, the work of Coleman was acknowledged by Putnam when he firstly introduced the social capital concept (Baron, 2004). In his work, Putnam defines social capital as "features of social life -networks, norms and trust- that facilitate people to act together more effectively to pursue shared objective" (p. 664-665).

Social capital concept has been incorporated to the international migration studies. It is widely accepted in international migration studies through the adoption of network theory in the 1980s (Castles, 2010). Migration networks refer to "sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home" (Arango, 2000, p. 291). As noted by Arango (2000), these networks are form of social capital because they are social relations providing access to other goods, including economic significance, such as employment or higher wages. Nevertheless, the early use of social capital concept is limited to the migration chain. This concept is rarely used to discuss the relationship between migrants and the local society in the host country.

Putnam's (2007) concepts of bonding and bridging social capital contribute a tool to overcome that gap. Bonding social capital is "inward looking and tend(ing) to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous group", while bridging social capital is "outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages" (Putnam as cited by Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012, p. 925). Bonding and bridging concepts provide opportunity to understand not only the migration chain, but also migrants' relationships in general. As noted by Borgatti, Jones and Everett (1998), these concepts incorporate two approaches of social capital, namely "to look within the collectivity" and "to look outside the collectivity" (p. 28-29). While the first approach tends to focus on the relationships of individuals within a community, the second approach focuses on the relationships between individuals in a community and individuals from other communities. These concepts, therefore, encourage discussion on international migrants' bonding and bridging communities. Bonding community is

represented by the relationships between migrants and their kin and friends in the home country as well as the relationships between migrants and their kin and countrymen in the host country. Meanwhile, the relationships between migrants and the local society describe what so-called bridging community. Putnam reiterates that his concepts of bonding and bridging are inversely related. However, he emphasizes that their association is not a zero-sum. It indicates that having great bonding community does not mean having few bridging community.

Comprehending the dimensions of bonding and bridging communities is acquired to investigate these concepts in the context of international migration. These concepts are derived from social capital concept; therefore, their dimensions are similar with the dimensions of social capital. From many social capital definitions that have been discussed previously, Putnam's definition (1995) is the one, which describes the dimensions of social capital. In his definition, Putnam stresses three dimensions of social capital, namely networks, trust and norms.

The first dimension, networks, refer to "open structures, able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they share the same communication codes (for example, values or performance goal)" (Castells as cited by Schuller et al., 2000, p. 19). It indicates that networks are groups of people, who are interconnected within the same shared values, interests or goals. In bonding community, networks represent the links that an individual has with others from his/her own community. Meanwhile, networks in bridging community refer to the relationships that an individual make with others from a different community.

The second dimension, trust is defined as "the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest and co-operative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community" (Fukuyama, 1996, p. 26). Trust implies a person's belief that someone is good, reliable, honest and collaborative to have mutual relationships. While trust in bonding community implies a person's belief that other people from his/her own community provide will help anytime he/she needs it, trust in bridging community indicates a person's belief to the people from the other community that those people are good and reliable to have a contact with. Trust is often assumed to be prerequisite, which encourages people to create networks.

Meanwhile, norms as the last dimension refer to the norm of reciprocity (Putnam, 2007). It is "a widely accepted social rule that requires us to return favours to those who do something nice for us" (Burger, Horita, Kinoshita, Roberts, & Vera, 1997, p. 91). It means that the people need to remember the ones, who did kindness for them in the past and feel obliged to do in return in the future. In bonding community, the norm of reciprocity shows a person's behaviours in supporting his/her own community. Meanwhile, in bridging community, the norm of reciprocity reveals the ways a person act to support other community that differs from his/her own. The norm of reciprocity eases people to maintain their networks.

Recent study of William (2006) provides a more detailed description about the dimensions of bonding and bridging concepts. He proposes that the underlying dimensions of bonding concept generated through strong-tie networks should be (a) emotional support; (b) access to scarce or limited resources; (c) ability to mobilize solidarity; and (d) out-group antagonism. Nevertheless, his study concludes that out-group antagonism is not significance to portray bonding concept because this dimension is apart from the other three. To examine

bridging concept derived from weak-tie networks, William suggests five dimensions, namely (a) linkage to external assets/ information diffusion; (b) outward looking; (c) contact with a broad range of people; (d) a view of oneself as part of a broader group; and (e) diffuse reciprocity with a broader community. Here, William reveals that these dimensions significantly describe what is called bridging concept. Although this study delivers thorough dimensions of bonding and bridging concepts, most dimensions are derived from the main social capital dimensions, i.e. trust and the norm of reciprocity. Furthermore, the dimensions delivered by William portray the outcome of networks; therefore, none of those dimensions describe the networks. Overall, the dimensions proposed and tested by William complement the main dimensions stated by Putnam (1995).

Despite Putnam's social capital as the core of bonding and bridging concepts have been widely used as a way to understand the relationships existing within community and between communities, there are many studies criticizing it (Geddes, King, & Bravington, 2012). According to them, a lot of growing studies consider this concept could only be imagined; that therefore, is hardly applied to portray what is really happening in the communities. As noted in the study of Campbell and Gillies (2001), this concept is failed "to capture the fluidity of local community norms and networks in a rapidly changing society" (p. 329). Moreover, rather than being bounded by geographical space, key social networks are often extended way beyond local boundaries (Campbell & Gillies as cited by Geddes et al., 2012). Furthermore, Campbell and Gillies (as cited by Geddes et al., 2012) emphasize that trust in particular community is limited to prominent community members rather than is extended to those that are not personally known to the individual as Putnam assumes. These findings show the limitations of Putnam's social capital concept. Comprehending these limitations offers important insights for the operationalization of bonding and bridging concepts in this study.

Discussion about bonding and bridging communities in this section shows that these communities consist of mutual relationships, which represent migrants' relationships with the home society as well as the local society. These communities are mutual because in these communities migrants need to interact, which affects each other. It indicates that interactive communication is required for bonding and bridging communities.

2.3 Interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities

Albeit having been widely used to describe face to face meetings to online social media, which are booming nowadays, interactive communication is still in debates among scholars. The debates mostly discuss how interactivity can be defined. As noted by Downes and McMillan (2000), there are few attempts to define interactivity. Yet, according to them, the available definitions are usually contradictory.

Defining interactive communication is inseparable from the fields of sociology and communication studies. One of the influential interactivity definitions grow out of sociological tradition is suggested by DeFleur, Kearney and Plax (as cited by Downes & McMillan, 2000). According to them (as cited by Downes & McMillan, 2000), interactivity refers to "real-time, interpersonal exchange between individuals and is often framed in term of interaction" (p. 158). Furthermore, Jensen (as cited by Downes & McMillan, 2000) defines it as "the relationship between two or more people who, in a given situation, mutually adapt their behaviour and actions to each other" (p. 158). Meanwhile, communication scholars define communication as "the process by which people interactively create, sustain and manage meaning" (Conrad & Poole, as cited by Dainton & Zelle, 2011). This definition

indicates that communication requires people to be interactive with others. Therefore, interactive communication refers to interpersonal communication, which allows all of the interacted people to interchangeably create, maintain and manage meanings leading to personal relationships.

To understand different types of interactive communication, the criteria of what is called interactivity are required. A study of Downes and McMillan (2000) describes six operational definitions of interactivity. First is the nature and direction. Communication is called interactive, while the nature and the direction are two-way. It means that interactive communication allows individuals to shift their roles between sender and receiver. Second is time flexibility, which is related with the feedback. Downes and McMillan emphasize that the importance of timing in interactivity stresses its level of flexibility rather than its immediacy. It indicates that providing feedback is not just about immediate and delayed, but also the timing when immediacy and delay are expected and needed. The other four dimensions, namely sense of place, level of control, responsiveness and perceived purpose of communication, refer to the computer-mediated environments. Sense of place is defined as the capability of computer-mediated communication in creating sense of place called virtual place. Level of control represents sender's control in messages production and receiver's control to receive and attend the messages or not. Responsiveness indicates the ways individuals respond to the information they receive as well as the ability of the computer in customizing messages for individuals or groups. Meanwhile, perceived purpose of communication implies the ways receiver perceives the communication goals rather than the actual goal set by the content creator. Therefore, most of the interactivity criteria of Downes and McMillan are more intended to the computer-mediated environments.

An adaptation is needed in order to apply Downes and McMillan (2000) interactivity criteria to be more appropriate to portray different types of interactive communication. Referring to those criteria, there are two main characteristics to generally understand interactive communication. Those are (a) two-way in nature and direction and (b) time flexibility for feedbacks. Two-way in nature and direction indicates that people involved in interactive communication have opportunity to shift their positions as sender and receiver. The sender produces message and the receiver responds it by providing feedback. This process works continuously; therefore, the roles as sender and receiver can be interchangeable. Meanwhile, time flexibility of feedbacks implies the opportunities of individuals to adjust the time, when immediate or delayed feedback is needed. With these characteristics, interactive communication can be classified as conversational interactivity (Jensen, 2008), through which "human beings actually interact, thus excluding human-machine interaction" (Dimmick, Ramirez, Lin, & Wang, p. 797). With these criteria, interactive communication covers the face to face meetings to the recent interactive computer-mediated communication. In the context of international migration, these absolutely provide more alternatives for migrants to create their communities.

Interactive communication eases international migrants to sustain their bonding community and create their bridging community. A study of Wilding (2006) discloses that the historical development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), starting from letter, telephone, email and instant messaging, influences migrants' experiences in using particular ICTs for families communicating. Recent studies capture the roles of online social media for bonding and bridging communities (e.g. Bonini, 2011; and Christensen, 2012). While most studies portray the use of ICTs as different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities (e.g. Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Bonini, 2011; Christensen,

2012; d'Haenens et al., 2000; d'Haenens et al., 2002; d'Haenens, 2003; Karim, 1998; Ogan, 2001; Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005; Vertovec, 2004; and Wilding, 2006), a study of Usita and Blieszner (2002) describes the importance of face to face meetings. Their study describes the experiences of Japanese women, who had intermarried with Americans, in facing a lot of difficulties with language acculturation during their stay in the United States of America (USA). These authors reveal that interactive communication, mostly refers to face to face meetings, provide opportunities for those migrants to experience informal influences from the host society. Meetings with other Japanese migrants eliminate the feeling of being isolated from society because of their lacks of proficiency in English. Meanwhile, meetings with the local society encourage them to speak English and to understand the cultures. The findings of the above studies disclose that migrants use different types of interactive communication, including face to face meetings, letters, telephone, email, instant messaging and online social media, for bonding and bridging communities. The first three are called traditional types of interactive communication. Meanwhile, email, instant messaging and online social media are categorized as computer-mediated communication, known as new media. Firstly introduced by Daft, Lengel and Trevino in 1987, new media term refer to "communications technology" (as cited by Pieterse, 2009, p. 83) which bridge time and space in online communication. However, it should be noted that new media can also be used in offline environments, such as electronic book and DVD (van Dijk, 2006).

Furthermore, previous studies show that interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities have long been studied. Nevertheless, most of them (e.g. Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005) are quantitative in nature. These studies mostly measure the interactive media use of migrants for bonding and bridging communities. Within this context, media use is mostly referred to the total amount of use and the quantity of media content. To get insights about interactive communication, the use of interactive communication in this study is more appropriate to be described as an expression of one's personal (Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2002). It indicates that interactive communication is described from the people's experiences and motivations, not just the amount of time spent.

Experience is a core concept in psychology. It is defined as "empirical knowledge that affords the basis for valid judgments and expertise, informed decisions, and rational behaviour" (Fiedler, 2000, p.13). It is gained from the involvement of individual in activities through either observation or participation. Although studies of Bonini (2011) and Wilding (2006) only show migrants' interactive communications experiences for bonding community, their study draw the ways experiences portrayed from individual's usage as well as individual's perception of different types of interactive communication. Usage describes the ways migrants use interactive communications, including different types of communication, the partner, the intensity and the topics (Bonetti, Campbell, & Gilmore, 2010). Meanwhile, perception draws the ways individuals perceive the use of different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. Thus, usage and perception are two dimensions to describe the ways migrants experience different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities.

Furthermore, the ways migrants use interactive communications embed to their motivations. A study of Wilding (2006) reveals that migrants use different types of ICTs to establish virtual intimate connectedness with their bonding community, especially the ones at home. Meanwhile, migrants, namely evacuees in *Gush Katif* in the border of Israel and

Palestine, use diverse and multiple interactive communications, such as pamphlet, short message service (SMS), websites, and small-scale meetings for most of their needs, to overshadow mass media usage (Lev-On, 2011). It indicates that the ways people use particular types of interactive communication is influenced by their motivations.

Studies on media use and motivation are inseparable from uses and gratification theory (UGT). This theory assumes individuals as active human beings; therefore, they can use different types of communication to satisfy their perceived needs and desires (Katz, Blumler, & Guveritch, 1973). Those needs and desires are influenced by social and psychological characteristics manifested in motivations (Baxter, Egbert, & Ho, 2008). These motivations are various since individuals might have different needs and desires. McQuail, Blumler, and Brown (as cited by Katz et al., 1973) introduce a typology to portray those motivations. It consists of four categories, namely (a) diversion (escaping from the constraint of routine and problem); (b) personal relationship (establishing connectedness with others); (c) personal identity (exploring reality to look for personal reference); and (d) surveillance. In this typology, the meaning of surveillance is unclear. McQuail (as cited by Dainton & Zelle, 2011) then develops another four motivation categories. Those are (a) entertainment; (b) information; (c) personal identity; and (d) personal relationships and social interaction. Entertainment is for relaxing, escaping from daily routine, passing time, or enjoying pleasure. Information is the ways individuals seeking and learning information to obtain advice as well as to satisfy curiosity. Personal identity is gaining insights in order to develop individuals' own attitudes and beliefs. Meanwhile, personal relationship is willingness and necessity to connect with others. UGT provides the categories to understand individuals' motivations to use certain types of communication.

UGT is mostly used to explain mediated communication. Previous studies mostly use it to understand individuals' motivations in using certain type of mass media. A study of Hwang and He (1999) for example, employs UGT to investigate the relationship between the use of mass media and acculturation among recent Chinese migrants in the USA. In different cultural context, Chen and Choi (2011) use UGT to draw the use of the Internet among Chinese migrant in Singapore for social support. However, UGT can also be used to describe interactive communications. A study of Baxter, Egbert and Ho (2008) use UGT to describe that the individuals' motivations for communicating about health and health-related issues determine the ways they choose certain types of interactive, such as email, telephone or face to face conversation. In line with UGT, they reveal that interpersonal communication (i.e. face to face, telephone, and email) experiences about health issues varied by topics, channels, relationships and purposes. It means that UGT offers tools to explain individuals' motivations not only in mediated communication, but also in interactive communication.

2.4 Research framework

This literature review is synthesized to investigate the use of different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities in the context of international migration. Three main concepts that are elaborated in this study are international migration, bonding and bridging communities and also interactive communication.

This study examines the international migration concept from three dimensions, namely motive, length of stay and problem. Motive is defined as the reason(s) encouraging a migrant to leave his/ her country of origin, such as studying, marriage, looking for job and seeking for asylum. When a person migrates to get married with the locals, he/ she might more orient his/ her life to the local society. Length of stay indicates how long a migrant has

lived in the host country. This time aspect distinguishes whether a migrant stays in a short or in a long period of time. Moreover, this time aspect provides opportunity to differ temporary and permanent migrants. When migrants have stayed in the host country for a longer time, they might achieve greater bonding and bridging communities. Meanwhile, problem means any difficulties being faced by the migrants during their stay in the host country, such as cultural shock and language. In case the migrants face any difficulties with the local language for example, they possibly like to meet their bonding community rather than their bridging community. Therefore, motive, length of stay and problem are assumed related with migrants' bonding and bridging communities.

In the context of international migrations, migrants need to create their bonding and bridging communities to maintain their relationship to the host society as well as to integrate with the local society. In line with the study of Putnam (1995), this study distinguishes the three dimensions of bonding and bridging communities from social capital concept, namely networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity.

In this study, networks are defined as the links created by migrant with whom he/she shares the same interests, values or goals. Networks in the context of bonding community indicate migrant's connections with his/her kin and friends at home as well as his/her relationships with kin and countrymen in the host country. Meanwhile, in the context of bridging community, networks represent migrant's links with the local society. Based on the William's (2006) dimension of bridging concept, this dimension is elaborated from outward looking. It shows migrant's views, which would like to look outside rather than just to look inside of his/her own community. Furthermore, William suggests that networks in bridging community should also examine the willingness of migrant to simply start relationship with meeting new people out of his/her own community. Thus, this study also investigates the ways migrant simply meeting the new people from the local society.

Trust as the second dimension refers to migrant's belief that someone is good, honest, reliable and collaborative to have mutual relationship. Trust in bonding community implies a migrant's belief that the other people from his/her own community with whom he/she has strong-ties are good and honest; therefore, he/she could rely on them anytime he/she needs it. Referring to the study of William (2006), trust in bonding community is examined through emotional support and access to scarce/limited resources. While emotional support describes the ways migrant gets psychological assistance from their kin, friends and countrymen, access to scarce/limited resources refers to the ways migrant has permission to use something that is valuable for both a giver and a receiver, such as money and reputation. Meanwhile, trust in bridging community indicates a migrant's belief that people from the local society with whom he/she has weak-ties are good and reliable to have a contact with. Trust in bridging community is also investigated from one of the William's dimensions, called linkage to external assets/information diffusion. It indicates the ways the local people support migrant during his/her stay in the host country.

Meanwhile, the norm of reciprocity indicates migrant's behaviour to return any kindness that he/she has received from others. In bonding community, the norm of reciprocity shows a migrant's behaviour in supporting his/her own community. Meanwhile, in bridging community, the norm of reciprocity reveals the way a migrant acts to support the local community, such as the neighbourhood, where he/she lives.

The last concept, which relate to the ways international migrants create their bonding and bridging communities, is interactive communication. To get insight about it, two dimensions, namely experience and motivation, are investigated. Interactive communication experience means the ways individuals use and perceive different types of interactive communication. Usage explores how migrants use interactive communications, including the types of interactive communication (i.e. meetings, letters, telephone, email, chatting and social networking sites), the intended people, the intensity and the topics. Perception examines how individuals perceive the use of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. Meanwhile, motivation describes the reason(s) underlying different types of interactive communication usage for bonding and bridging communities. Based on UGT, there are four motivation categories, namely entertainment, information, personal identity and also personal relationships and social interaction.

To sum up, this chapter offers an overview as a guideline for the researcher to examine the ways international migrants use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. The work of all theories and concepts described in this chapter is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

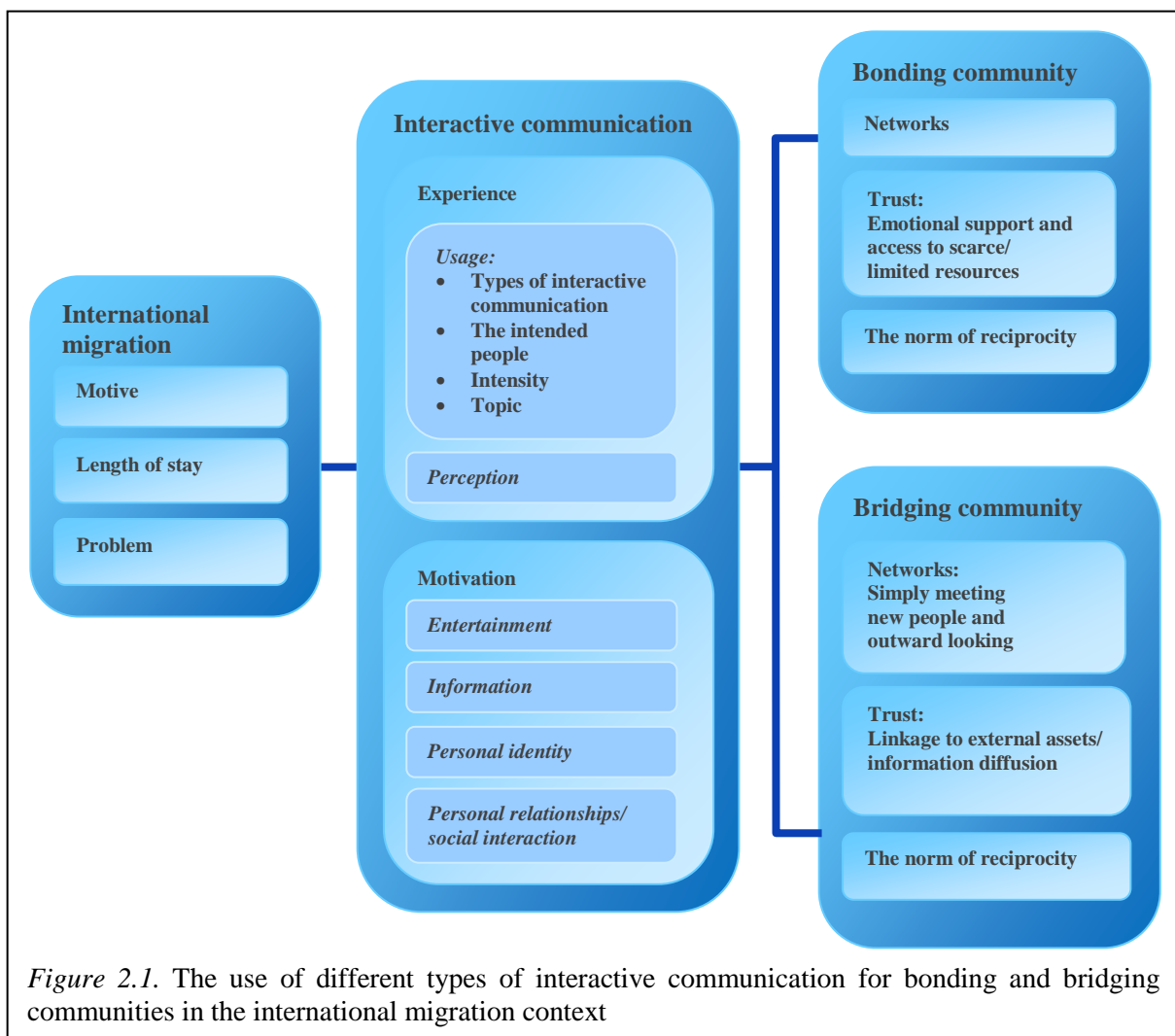


Figure 2.1. The use of different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities in the international migration context

3. Research Methodology

This chapter describes a research design and a research method for a data collection. This chapter is divided into six sections. In section 3.1, a research approach used for the current study is explained. Section 3.2 describes the research method. Section 3.3 provides an explanation about the research objects, which is followed by the selection of participants in section 3.4. The procedure for data collection is described in section 3.5. Meanwhile, the last section focuses on the data analysis procedure.

3.1 Research approach

The research approach is determined by the study purposes. As mentioned before, the purposes of this study are (a) to explore and to compare interactive communication experiences of the older and the younger Indonesian migrants for bonding and bridging communities and (b) to investigate their motivations in using particular interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. The nature of these purposes is congruent with qualitative approach. According to Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011), qualitative is an approach that allows the researcher to examine and interpret people's experiences from the perspective of the people themselves. They, therefore, state that this approach is in line with the use of interpretive paradigm. Moreover, they stress that qualitative approach "provides an in-depth understanding of the research issues that embraces the perspectives of the study population and the context in which they live" (p. 10). As noted by Marshall (1996), the aim of qualitative research is to explore complex human issues. This approach, therefore, enabled the researcher to achieve the goal of this study, which was to provide an understanding of the interactive communication experiences and motivations among Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands for bonding and bridging communities.

Nevertheless, the researcher needs to be aware with the challenge of qualitative approach. It is often criticized for the subjective nature of data collection and analysis (Easton, McComish, & Greenberg, 2000). To counter these critiques, qualitative researcher needs to understand the study context (Hennink et al., 2011). Understanding the context is important since people's experiences are shaped by the context where they live. Moreover, qualitative researcher needs to comprehend what is constituted of quality in qualitative research. Quality of qualitative studies is determined by grounded theory and data, rigor in data collection and analysis, multiple strategies in obtaining data, awareness and self-reflexivity along the research process and also interconnectedness between the Internet and the life-world context (Baym & Markham, 2009). The last criterion has become important in conducting research at the Internet age. In brief, during the entire research process, it is important to understand the challenges of qualitative research, as well as the strategies to cope with those challenges.

3.2 Research method

To answer the research question, which was designed to understand the ways the older and the younger Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands comparatively use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities, in-depth interview was employed as the research method. It is the most commonly used method in qualitative research (Mason, 2002). It is a technique designed to draw a vivid picture of the participants' perspectives on the research topic (Milena, Dainora, & Alin, 2009). As noted by Hennink et al. (2011), in-depth interview is used to seek people's individual voices and stories, such as the motivation for certain behaviour and the meaning people attach to experiences. In-depth interview, therefore, is an effective qualitative method for encouraging people to talk about

their personal feelings, opinions and experience as well as for gaining insights into the ways those people interpret and order the world (Milena et al., 2009).

However, in-depth interview has limitation. Dworkin (2012) argues that in-depth interview is more concerned with gathering an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon, which are focused on the how and why of particular issue rather than making generalizations to a large population. Thus, in-depth interview sample designs prohibit generalizing (Lucas, 2012).

3.3 Research object

The object of this study was Indonesian migrants, who arrived in the Netherlands from 1965-2011. The Indonesian migrants, who participated in this study, were recruited through networks. According to Hennink et al. (2011), networks are effective strategy to select participants, which allow the researcher to recruit the participants from formal networks, such as religious group networks and professional associations.

There are seven Indonesian groups in the Netherlands involved in the participant recruitment. Those are (a) Lembaga Pembela Korban 65 (LPK 65); (b) Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI); (c) Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Eropa (PPME); (d) Keluarga Katolik Indonesia (KKI); (e) Persatuan Perawat Nasional Indonesia (PPNI); (f) Indonesian Migrant Worker Union (IMWU); and (g) *Arisan*.

The groups involved in this study have various backgrounds. *First* is LPK 65. It is an organization created by former Indonesian students, who were sent to study abroad by the first President of Indonesia, Soekarno. Most of the members are former Indonesian students, who lost their passports and their right to return to Indonesia. *Second* is PPI. As noted by Pattopang (2009), it is the oldest Indonesian organization in the Netherlands established in 1908 under the name Indische Vereeniging and later on in 1922 changed the name to Indonesische Vereeniging. This network represents the Indonesian students in the Netherlands, which the number reaches 1200 (Nuffic, 2011). *Third* is PPME. While the ideology of PPI is nationalist, PPME is Indonesian organizations in the Netherlands with Moslem background. It was initiated by Indonesian students studied in the Middle East during the 1970's (Pattopang, 2009). Pattopang also describes that it is getting bigger and solid, which then finally built the first Indonesian mosque in 1995, named Al-Hikmah in Moerwijk, The Hague. Nowadays, the members of PPME are more diverse, which not only includes Indonesian Moslem students, but also Indonesian Moslems in general. *Fourth* is KKI. Likewise PPME, KKI is Indonesian network with religious background. Most of the members are Indonesian Catholics. It unites Indonesian Catholics, who conduct worship in many churches in the Netherlands. *Fifth* is PPNI. It was established by Indonesian nurses in the Netherlands. Most of the members are Indonesian nurses, who firstly arrived in the Netherlands to join International Healthcare Training Program (IHTP), an internship program developed by the Dutch Government in 1991. Previously, the Dutch government recruited Indonesian nurses, which reached 333, to fulfil the nurse shortage in the Netherlands during 1970's (Pattopang, 2009). *Sixth* is IMWU. It was established for all Indonesian migrants, with and without documents in the Netherlands. The purpose of IMWU is to fight against all forms of trafficking, exploitation and discrimination. *Seventh* is *Arisan*. It is typical Indonesian informal community to save money. The members of this network are mostly women. They gather once in a month in one of the members' houses. During the gathering, the members usually drink and eat Indonesian cuisine and speak Indonesian. At the end of each gathering, there is a lottery to draw the one, who will get the saving money. After receiving the saving

money, the person's name will not be drawn again until all members have received their savings. Overall speaking, those seven groups are expected to draw the heterogeneity of Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands.

3.4 Research sampling

Sampling in qualitative research is as important as in quantitative research. Albeit qualitative researchers are not interested in generalizing findings beyond the people, according to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), in every qualitative study one or more of the following generalizations nearly are always made:

- (a) from the sample of words to the voice; (b) from the sample of observations to the truth space; (c) from the words of key informants to the voice of the other sample members; (d) from the words of sample members to those of one or more individuals not selected for the study; or (e) from the observations of sample members to the experience of one or more individuals not selected for the study (p. 107).

Thus, sampling scheme as well as sampling size is important in qualitative study.

This study used quota sampling as the sampling scheme. It is a non-random sampling. It allows the researcher to decide the specific characteristics and quotas of participants to be recruited (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). In general, it allows the researcher to select the participants non-randomly as long as the quota is fulfilled. However, these authors also note the limitation of the quota sampling. According to them, only those, who are accessible at the recruitment time, have a chance of being selected.

As mentioned before, there are three characteristics used to recruit participants in this study. First is the length of stay in the Netherlands. This characteristic is distinguished into two categories, i.e. less than and equal to two decades and more than 20 years. Second is age. The participants in this study are divided into two generations, namely the younger and the older generations. The former is the people, who are less than or up to 55 years old, while the latter is those people, who are more than 55 years old. The last characteristic is gender, including male and female. These characteristics are used to recruit heterogeneous participants.

The sample size of this study is estimated 40 participants. This number seemed to be the minimum size to conduct a comparative study. As noted by Marshall (1996), the sample size of qualitative studies is appropriate one that adequately answers the research question. Dworkin (2012) recommends that 25-30 participants are the minimum sample size required in grounded theory using in-depth interviews. According to this author, this number is considered adequate because it,

- (a) may allow for thorough examination of the characteristics that address the research questions and to distinguish conceptual categories of interest; (b) maximizes the possibility that enough data have been collected to clarify relationships between conceptual categories and identify variation in processes; and (c) maximizes the chances that negative cases and hypothetical negative cases have been explored in the data (p. 2).

Thus, the amount of 40 participants was considered adequate sample size to provide vivid picture to answer the research question of this study.

3.5 Data collection

Five steps were employed to meet the participants. *Firstly*, the researcher joined four meetings. The researcher participated in workshop on “Optimization of Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection: Response to Needs of Indonesian Society in the Netherlands” held by Indonesian Embassy in The Hague, on September 8, 2012. On that occasion, the researcher had the opportunity to meet most of the groups’ chair, such as the president of PPI, the chair of PPME, the chair of PPNI and the chair of IMWU. The researcher also attended “Commemoration of 1965 National Tragedy” held by LPK 65 in Diemen, on October 7, 2012. On November 3rd, 2012, the researcher joined another event held by Indonesian Embassy about Indonesian Diaspora in the Netherlands. At that time, the researcher tried to get contact of KKI. Besides, the researcher met *Arisan* community in Enschede. From those meetings, the researcher met all contact persons from the seven groups -LPK 65, PPI, PPME, KKI, PPNI, IMWU and *Arisan*. *Secondly*, the researcher asked each contact person to provide 10-15 names from their groups. The researcher gave instruction, including the participants’ criteria, to ease the selection of participant candidates. The data provided by the contact persons only consist of names, gender and contacts (i.e. phone numbers, email addresses or *Facebook* pages). Besides, the chair of PPME asked the researcher to recruit the participants via mouth to mouth. In this case, the researcher also attended “The Feast of Sacrifice Prayer” in Al Hikmah Mosque, The Hague. Attending this great celebration provided opportunity for the researchers to not only recruit the active members and member board, but also the Indonesian Moslems in general. *Thirdly*, the researcher contacted those participant candidates, through telephone, short message service (SMS), email or *Facebook*. The researcher introduced the study purpose and asked participants’ willingness to be interviewed for this study. *Fourthly*, when they gave permission, another phone call, email or message in *Facebook* was made to ask their age and length of stay in the Netherlands. Gender was not important to be asked because it could be easily differed from the Indonesian names. *Fifthly*, appointment for interview was scheduled when the age and length of stay criteria were met.

The response rate in this study was 66%. In total, 65 invitations through phone call, email or message in *Facebook* were made to ask participants willingness to be interviewed. From those amounts, only 43 participants gave positive responses to participate in this study. The other 22 invitations received negative responses, i.e. eleven no replies, two late responses and nine rejections. Those participants were unable to participate because they were (a) busy; (b) abroad; (c) ready to go back for good to Indonesia; and (d) preferring to be interviewed in the Dutch language.

There were 41 people, who were interviewed. During the process, the researcher unintentionally interviewed a participant, who was ‘Indische Nederlanders’. He was then removed from the list because he did not meet the participant’s criteria. Thus, in total there were 40 participants.

All participants were interviewed in the face to face meetings. Face to face meetings provided opportunities for the researcher to meet the participants directly and gained their trusts. In qualitative research, getting trust from participants eased the researcher to explore information. Most of the interviews (67.5%) were conducted in participants’ houses. Other interviews were held in the libraries, mosque, cafes and community centre. The interviews were conducted in 15 municipalities in the Netherlands, namely Almere, Amstelveen, Amsterdam, Capelleaan den IJssel, Delft, Diemen, Enschede, Haarlem, Huizen, Purmerend, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, Velsen and Zuidplas.

The interviews were held consecutively in 6 weeks, from November 9th to December 19th, 2012. A series of semi-structured interview as attached in Appendix A was used to collect information from the participants. The interviews were conducted in Indonesian, Indonesia's national language. It was used to ease the participants in narrating their stories and to establish emotional proximity with the participants.

The procedure of the interview was as followed. *Firstly*, a brief introduction about the researcher and the study was given. This was important to gain the participants' trusts and to set relaxed atmosphere. *Secondly*, the researcher notified that the participants' voices would be recorded. The participants were encouraged to be vocal in telling their experiences. To explore participants' experiences and motivations in using different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities, the interview focused on the participants' stories about:

1. International migration experiences (including motive, length of stay and problem);
2. Bonding community (including networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity toward the Indonesian community);
3. Bridging community (including networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity to the local society); and
4. Interactive communication experiences (including particular types of interactive communication usage, the partners, the intensity, the topics, the perception and the motivations).

The duration of the interview was about 45 to 229 minutes, depended on the time participants needed to describe their stories. All interviews were recorded with a voice recorder.

3.6 Data analysis

The procedure of data analysis in qualitative studies was to transform the real findings into abstract concepts (Saldaña, 2009). According to Saldaña (2009), the process of data analysis in qualitative studies involves four phases, namely (a) transcription; (b) reading, coding and categorizing; (c) themes drawing; and also (d) information levelling and factors-mapping. These phases were employed to analysis the date from the interviews in this study. Moreover, an additional phase was added to analyze the statistical data.

In the *first* phase, all recorded interviews were transcribed. It was done completely in Indonesian to keep the original meaning. It is to avoid bias because of diction and language context during the translation.

Secondly, the researcher used SPSS to input nominal data, namely gender, age, generation, nationality, length of stay in the Netherlands, occupation, educational degree, marital status, the Internet experiences (including length of being online, the Internet access, online tool(s), online frequency and online activities), the most favourable interactive communication and also the types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. This data provided description about participants' demography. Furthermore, cross-tabulation allows the researcher to make comparison, such as the Internet experiences of different age, gender and education.

In the *third* phase, the researcher conducted the initial reading of the transcriptions. During the initial reading, numerous first-order quotations and phrases, which presented in the respondents' stories, were identified using open coding. All open codes were made in English to provide comprehend data for the next steps. The researcher conducted subsequent readings to assemble the first-order codes into concepts that defined similar ideas or issues. Those

concepts were then reviewed to determine whether they could be grouped and linked to certain categories.

Fourthly, the researcher analysed the data through themes drawing. During this process, Putnam's concept on bonding and bridging social capital (1995) was employed. It explained that the bonding and bridging communities could be described from networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity to the own and to the other communities. The researcher also used previous studies on communication experiences (Bonetti et al., 2010; Bonini, 2011; & Wilding, 2006) describing communication experiences covered both usage and perception. Besides, McQuail theoretical framework on the gratification typology (as cited by Dainton & Zelle, 2011), which explains four communication motivations, namely entertainment, information, personal identity and also personal relationships and social interaction were employed. The last two phases were conducted through a coding scheme as attached in Appendix B.

The *final* phase was mapping. In this phase, the researcher tried to discover any similarities, differences or contradictions of the stories among generations. Then, comparison between the older and the younger generations were conducted. These findings provided description to understand how the younger and the older generations comparatively used different types of interactive communications (i.e. face to face meetings, letters, telephone, email, chatting and online social media) for bonding and bridging communities.

All data were then analyzed with the use of interpretive tradition. It was appropriate with the purpose of this study, namely to explore the meanings attached to individuals' experiences. According to Schembri and Tagama (as cited by Schembri & Sandberg, 2011), this tradition is based on the phenomenological idea of life-world, in which "we live and act within our experience of the world, not above or outside it, which directs our decisions, judgements, feelings and emotions" (p. 168). Furthermore, this tradition is "particularly useful to explore the meanings that humans assign to their experiences as reflected in their oral or written accounts of those experiences" (Faver, 2004, p. 243). Thus, the interpretive tradition was used to make sense of the subjective meanings that Indonesian migrants created under their interactive communication experiences in relation to their bonding and bridging communities.

4. Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the study, and it consists of seven sections. In the first section, the demographic aspects of the participants as well as their Internet use are described. The succeeding sections present stories acquired from interviews. The stories are structured into six sections. In section 4.2 the international migration experiences of Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands are explained, including motives, length of stay and problems they faced. Section 4.3 draws on the experiences of older Indonesian migrants in using interactive communication for bonding community, which is followed by the experiences of the older Indonesian migrants in using interactive communication for bridging communities in section 4.4. The experiences of younger Indonesian migrants in the same topic are portrayed in section 4.5 and section 4.6. The last section describes the motivations of those Indonesian migrants in using different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities.

4.1 Participants

A total of 40 interviewees participated in this study. All of them were Indonesian migrants arrived in the Netherlands between 1965 and 2011. The earliest one arrived in the Netherlands in 1970, while the latest in 2011. Most of them originally came from Java, an island with the highest population density in Indonesia. The rest came from various islands in Indonesia, namely Sumatra, Sulawesi, Bali, Lombok and Flores. 25 participants are Indonesian citizens, the remaining 15 participants have changed their nationality into Dutch. Among the first group, there are three undocumented migrants.

Each participant is affiliated with different Indonesian communities in the Netherlands. Eight participants are members of Lembaga Pembela Korban 65 (LPK 65). Four participants are part of Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI). There are also participants from Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Eropa (PPME) and Keluarga Katolik Indonesia (KKI), eight people for each group. There were five nurses from Persatuan Perawat Nasional Indonesia (PPNI) involved in this study. Five participants are members of Indonesian Migrant Worker Union (IMWU). The last two participants are members of *Arisan* group in Enschede.

The participants vary in gender, age, education, occupation and marital status. They consist of 20 males and 20 females. Their ages range from 20 to 82 years. Within that range, 20 participants could be categorized as the older generation, whose age is older than 55 years. The mean age of this older generation is 67.2 years. The majority of the older participants are pensioner. Meanwhile, the other 20 participants could be classified into the younger generation, whose age is 55 years or younger. The mean age of this younger generation is 34.75 years. Most of the participants are high school graduate (14 out of 40) or had obtained a bachelor degree (15 out of 40). Only a few of them are university graduates with diploma and master degree. In the health related occupation, six participants work as a nurse, while the other two participants are elderly caregiver. Four participants are students. Three participants are domestic workers, whose jobs vary between house cleaning, baby sitting, cooking and construction work. Three participants are housewives. The remaining participants are administrative staff, architect, cardiology laboratory assistant, civil servant, entrepreneur, photographer, teacher and trainer. Most of the participants (31 out of 40) are married. Some are single and several of them are widow or widower.

The length of stay of all participants in the Netherlands could be categorized into two-groups. 20 of them have stayed in the Netherlands for up to 20 years, while the others have

stayed for more than 20 years. The range is between 1 to 42 years. The complete demographic information of all participants is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1
The Demographic Information of All Participants (N=40)

Demographic information		N
Originally from	Java	30
	Sumatra	6
	Sulawesi	1
	Bali	1
	Lombok	1
	Flores	1
Nationality	Indonesian	22
	Dutch	15
	Undocumented	3
Organizational affiliation	LPK 65	8
	PPI	4
	PPME	8
	KKI	8
	PPNI	5
	IMWU	5
	<i>Arisan</i>	2
Gender	Male	20
	Female	20
Generation	Older (Mean: 67.2 years)	20
	Younger (Mean: 34.75 years)	20
Educational level	High school graduate	14
	Diploma	4
	Bachelor degree	15
	Master degree	7
Occupation	Pensioner	13
	Nurse	6
	Student	4
	Domestic worker	3
	Housewife	3
	Elderly caregiver	2
	Other	9
Marital status	Married	31
	Single	6
	Other	3
Length of stay	Less than or up to 20 years (Mean: 7.95 years)	20
	More than 20 years (Mean: 31.95 years)	20

The majority of the participants (38 out of 40) use the Internet. There are only two participants, who have never used the Internet. On the average, all participants have been online for 11.05 years. The longest time online experience is 22 years. Almost all participants (38 out of 40) have the Internet access at their homes. Half of them also have the Internet access in their office, school and through mobile phone. Computer and laptop are the main online tools used by older generation. Meanwhile, younger generation prefers to use laptop and mobile phone. Only four participants, 3 younger and 1 older participants, adopt tablet computer. Most participants (36 out of 40) admitted that they are online every day. There are only two participants, who got online only 3-4 times a week.

Participants' online activities vary. As could be guessed, their online activities include surfing, reading news, listening to music, watching video, emailing, chatting, social

networking, shopping, Internet banking and working. There are two new activities introduced to this study, namely Voice over Internet Protocol (VOIP) and watching MIVO television, a site to watch streaming Indonesian television channels. There are 14 participants, who use VOIP to make a call. At least seven participants love to watch Indonesian television channels via the Internet.

Table 4.2 below provides an overview of participants' online activities. The online activities of older and younger generations differ from each other. The table shows that the number of older generation, who use each type of online activities, is smaller than younger generation, except for surfing and listening to music. The majority of the younger generation used email, chatting and online social networking in their online interactive communication (20, 16 and 20 consecutively), while the number of older generation, who use email is the highest among all types of online activities that is 16 participants. Only a small number of older generation is familiar with chatting and social networking (7 participants consecutively).

Table 4.2
Various Online Activities of Older and Younger Generations

Online activity	Generation	
	Older	Younger
Surfing	9	6
Reading news	11	12
Listening to music	4	3
Watching video	4	9
Emailing	16	20
Chatting	7	16
Social networking	7	20
Using VOIP	4	10
Shopping	4	9
Internet banking	10	14
Working	3	6
Watching Indonesian TV	2	5

The participants are quite heterogeneous. They vary in nationalities, organizational affiliation, gender, generation, education, occupation, marital status and length of stay in the Netherlands. As explained above, younger and older generation had performed differently in using the Internet, especially for online interactive communication. This provides a starting point to analyze the ways older and younger generations comparatively use different types of interactive communication, either traditional communication or new media, for both bonding and bridging communities. As mentioned before, this study proposes that the older Indonesian migrants might achieve greater bridging community and the younger Indonesian migrants might achieve greater bonding community as a consequence of their interactive communication, especially the online interactive communication usage. The analysis will be presented in the succeeding sections.

4.2 Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands: Motives, length of stay and problems

This study finds that the experiences of Indonesian migrants in their international migration vary, particularly due to the differences in their motives, expectations and problems they faced. Thus, the international migration stories presented in this section could be categorized based on those three factors.

4.2.1 Motives motivating the Indonesian migrants to move to the Netherlands

Motive is defined as the reasons why the Indonesian migrants left their country of origin, which in this case is Indonesia, to stay in another country that is the Netherlands. Six motives that motivated Indonesians to migrate to the Netherlands are finding a job, looking for asylum, studying, marriage, social security and also Indonesia-Netherlands history.

(a) Finding a job

Finding a job or a better job is the main factor that motivated Indonesian migrants to move to the Netherlands. Most participants (33 out of 40) agreed that they moved to the Netherlands to look for a job. One of the participants explained it as follows.

I was taking a Dutch language course with my friend's father. He informed me that the Netherlands had launched an open recruitment for nurses. When I applied, I was immediately accepted. At that time, I worked in the Netherlands for ten years. ... In 1982, I returned to Indonesia. I worked in a hospital in Jakarta without pay. I moved to work to another hospital, but the appreciation toward employees there was still poor. Most of the nurses underestimated me. ... When I worked in Indonesia, I could not even send any money either to my parents or my little brother and sister. ... I only stayed in Indonesia for one year. I looked for a job again in the Netherlands. I then worked in a hospital in Delft. I worked in that place for 28 years until I retired. (P16)

The above excerpt illustrates that the Netherlands offered a greater job opportunity than Indonesia. Also, working in the Netherlands is much more lucrative financially compared to working in Indonesia. Thus, the majority of the participants, both the older and younger Indonesian generations arrived in the Netherlands to look for a job.

(b) Looking for asylum

Eight participants moved to the Netherlands as asylum seekers. All of them were formerly Indonesian students, who were assigned to pursue higher education in Socialist countries by Soekarno, the first President of Indonesia. Nevertheless, most of them were unable to return to Indonesia after the 1965 military coup. They became stateless since their passport had been revoked afterward. The excerpt below illustrates their motive to look for asylum.

Previously, I studied in Vietnam. Then, there was a war. I finished my study there. However, the political situation in that country was unstable. In Indonesia, there was also a political change from Soekarno [The first President of Indonesia] to Suharto [The second President of Indonesia], which prevented me to return. I got married with my husband in Vietnam. Then, we moved to the Netherlands. ... Our status as stateless created a lot of difficulties for our daughter. All of us decided to apply for a Dutch passport. The passport permits me to visit Indonesia again. (P27)

The motive of looking for asylum is only used by the older generation who experienced the 1965 Tragedy.

(c) Studying

Another reason to stay in the Netherlands is studying. Eleven participants admitted that they arrived in the Netherlands for studying because they were interested in the quality of education in the Netherlands. Some of them (5 out of 11) indeed pursued higher education in the universities or colleges in the Netherlands.

I decided to study in the Netherlands. Geology program in my university is well-known. ... Moreover, the tuition fee and living allowance here is cheaper rather than in France or the United Kingdom. (P17)

Meanwhile, the other participants, namely nurses, were interested to participate in International Healthcare Training Program (IHTP) offered by the Dutch Government in the beginning of 90's.

At first, I joined IHTP. ... Upon arrival in the Netherlands, I took a Dutch language course, entered a nursing school as well as joining an internship. This program was for two years only. After that I had to return to Indonesia. But I decided to apply for another job before the due date of IHTP contract. There was a company that was willing to accept me as well as applying for a working permit for me. After five years, I got a permanent residence permit to stay in the Netherlands. (P22)

The above two excerpts illustrate that motives of studying and looking for a job are the main factors that motivated them to come to the Netherlands at the first place.

(d) Marriage

The other motive motivating Indonesian migrants to move to the Netherlands is marriage. There are eleven participants, who migrated to the Netherlands for a marriage reason. Most of them got married with Dutch or Indonesian-Dutch partners. The Indonesian-Dutch is a term used to refer to those, who have half Dutch and half Indonesian blood.

After having a divorce from my previous husband in Indonesia, I remarried a Dutch person. My husband was an army officer. He is 20 years older than me. (P28)

There are also participants, who have an Indonesian husband or wife, but live and work in the Netherlands.

My wife and I started to date while we were studying in colleges in Bandung [A city in West Java, Indonesia]. She then received an offer to pursue a higher education in the Netherlands. We thought that we would meet again if we were truly matched. Soon after my graduation in Bandung, I came here to follow her. ... We then got married here. (P 34)

Most of the participants, who moved to the Netherlands for a marriage reason, are females. There is only one male participant, who moved to the Netherlands with this motive.

(e) Social security

Social security refers to the action programs offered by the Dutch government to promote a welfare society that provides financial supports for sufficient food, housing, education, health as well as services for vulnerable people, such as the children, the elderly, the sick people and the unemployed.

I had lived in Saudi Arabia for ten years. I thought that the future of obtaining citizenship in that country was dark. ... I thought that the future in the Netherlands was better, because The Netherlands provides a better social security, including a better education for the children. (P3)

The above excerpt indicates that there are some participants that considered the Netherlands as a welfare-state country. One fourth of the participants moved to the Netherlands because of social security motive. They believe that the Netherlands provides a better social security than Indonesia or even the Middle-East countries. This social security motive becomes important when the participants reached their elderly age. Most of them admitted that they would like to stay in the Netherlands because they had worked in the Netherlands for many years and would receive their pension from the Dutch government. The story below illustrates how this motive influenced the decision of a participant to stay in the Netherlands.

Social security, including insurance and health, is well-organized in the Netherlands. Moreover, I have worked here. Thus, I have arranged my pension here. (P10)

The above story shows that the older migrants have worked and prepared their pension in the Netherlands. Thus, they would like to stay in the Netherlands in their elderly age for a social security reason.

(f) The Indonesia-Netherlands history

The last motive is the Indonesia-Netherlands history. In the past, Indonesia was part of the Dutch colonialism history. This bridges a relationship between the Indonesian and the Dutch. There are at least seven participants that mentioned the Indonesia-Netherlands history as their motive to migrate to the Netherlands. There are at least two factors from the Indonesia-Netherlands history, which motivated the Indonesians to move to the Netherlands. First factor is a belief. Some of the participants have a belief that moving to the Netherlands would unite them with those Indonesians, who have been living in the Netherlands.

I moved to the Netherlands because I want to be with other Indonesians, who are here. (P5)

Second is Indonesia-Netherlands cultural relationship. It was due to this relationship, one participant stated that he knew the Netherlands much more than any other countries in the world. For some other participants, this cultural relationship allows them to find Indonesian cuisine and spices in the Netherlands. This is noted in the story below.

The cuisine in the Netherlands for example, has a lot of similarities with Indonesian cuisine. The Dutch society is familiar with Indonesians. I feel a close feeling with Holland. (P15)

As the stories unfolded, this study discloses that there are six motives motivating Indonesian migrants to move to the Netherlands. The motives are overlapping. Each participant might have more than one motive to move to the Netherlands. Moreover, the motives vary between different generations as well as among gender groups. The older Indonesian migrants mostly migrated to the Netherlands because they were looking for asylum, beside for the reasons of finding a job, a better social security and the Indonesia-Netherlands history. Meanwhile, the younger Indonesian migrants mostly stayed in the Netherlands for studying and working purposes. Marriage motive was mostly experienced by

female rather than male migrants. A summary of motives for migrating to the Netherlands is presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3
Migration Motives

Motives	Sample quotes
Finding a job	My family was poor. I couldn't pursue higher education. At first, I migrated from Flores [One of islands in Eastern Indonesia] to Jakarta [The capital city of Indonesia]. In Jakarta, I met my uncle, who helped me to find a job abroad. There were many agencies in Indonesia. I had no idea whether those agencies were real or fake. I was tricked at that time. I arrived in Italy. I couldn't find any job there. Then, I moved to the Netherlands. I tried to find another Indonesians as soon as I arrived in Schiphol [An international airport in the Netherlands]. Luckily, he was willing to accommodate me in his house. After that, I tried to look for a job in the Netherlands. From that time, I have done a variety of jobs from construction to domestic work. (P38)
Looking for asylum	I left Indonesia in 1964. I got scholarship from the Indonesian Institute for Higher Education and Sciences to pursue higher education in China. I had just started my study when there was 1965 military coup in Indonesia. I continued my study there. Nevertheless, I couldn't return to Indonesia. I migrated to the Netherlands in 1976 to look for asylum and a job. After 1965 military coup, my passport was revoked. I have been stateless since then. (P35)
Studying	At that time, I was writing my Master thesis. There were two Dutch professors conducted workshop in Electrical Engineering Program - Bandung Institute of Technology. Actually, my major was physical engineering. However, I participated in that workshop. Two weeks after that, I got an offer to take a Ph.D program from one of those professors via email. At first, I guessed that all participants got the offer. When I asked the other participants, I found out that it was only me, who received it. I was in doubt how to reply that email. After ignoring that email for two months, I accepted the offer. (P19)
Marriage	I got married in 1998. My husband is a Dutch. We asked permission from The Netherlands Embassy in Indonesia to get married there. Soon after that, my husband applied for a residence permit, which allowed me to stay in the Netherlands. (P4)
Social security	We arrived in the Netherlands in 1996. We came here to provide better medical treatment for our daughter. She was sick. She needed intensive medical treatment for a quite long time. Since then, we have been staying [in this country]. (P30)
The Indonesia-Netherlands history	I decided to live in the Netherlands because a lot of Indonesians live here. Some of them are those, who were expelled by Soekarno [The first president of Indonesia]. A lot of Dutch have ever been visiting Indonesia [so there is connection between Indonesia and the Netherlands]. (P9)

4.2.2 Indonesian migrants' length of stay in the Netherlands

The second category to draw upon the international migration experiences is the length of stay. It indicates the length of time a migrant has lived in the Netherlands. As mentioned before, half of the participants have lived in the Netherlands for less than or up to 20 years, while the other half have stayed for more than two decades. In this section, the length of stay shows migrant's future plan of staying in the Netherlands. The participants' stories about their future plan are classified into three subcategories, namely settling down, going back for good and unsure of what will happen.

(a) Settling down

The majority of the participants (26 out of 40) would like to settle down in the Netherlands for the rest of their lives. Their settling plan is closely connected to their migration motives. There are three motives that led Indonesian migrants to settle in the Netherlands. First is looking for asylum. Most of the participants, who moved to the Netherlands as an asylum seeker felt insecure to settle in Indonesia due to a political change in the past. These people have obtained a Dutch passport. This passport allows them to stay in the Netherlands. The second motive is social security and this motive influences the settling plan.

I have lived in the Netherlands for years. I will visit Indonesia, yes. However, I'm not going to settle down in Indonesia. In Indonesia, Parliament Decree number 25 [It is a decree, which has banned Indonesian Communism Party as well as prohibited Communism dissemination in Indonesia] is still valid. I will just stay here. Moreover, I receive sufficient social security here, such as food and housing. I will visit Indonesia once in two years. Here, I also can have many books that could not be easily obtained in Indonesia. (P35)

The above story illustrates that looking for asylum and social security motives were associated with migrants' plan to settle down in the Netherlands. Such a plan was owned by older generation.

As explained above, the third motive that motivates Indonesian migrants to settle down in the Netherlands is marriage. All participants that migrated to that country because of marriage motive felt certain that they have to settle down in the Netherlands. Most of them believe that they have already established their own family in the Netherlands. This could be noticed from the participant's story below.

I like to settle in the Netherlands forever. My children are here. My husband is also here. For future, social security, especially health, in the Netherlands it would be assured. Now, I work, but eventually, I will receive my pension here. (P6)

Thus, marriage has motivated the person, man or woman, to settle down in the Netherlands.

(b) Going back for good

Going back for good indicates that migrants plan to return to Indonesia at the end. This future plan was stated only by three participants. Two of them are students that would return to Indonesia after their graduation. Meanwhile, the other one is a domestic worker that has lived in the Netherlands for ten years. She insisted that she will be back for good to her family. For the last ten years, as an undocumented migrant, she did not have any opportunities to visit Indonesia. This is illustrated in the story as follows.

I have enough staying in the Netherlands. I'm going home next year. Working in the Netherlands is nice. Nevertheless, I'm far away from home. I miss my family. I also need to manage my investment in Indonesia. For the last ten years, I have never returned to Indonesia. ... For those people, who are like me, undocumented, they want to have a lot of jobs [because] we want to go back for good as soon as possible. (P21)

It seems that there is only a few of Indonesian migrants, who would like to go back for good in the meantime. This future plan is mostly owned by the students.

(c) Unsure of what will happen

Unsure of what will happen shows that the migrants felt uncertain about their future plan in the Netherlands. They could not decide whether they would like to settle down in the Netherlands or return to Indonesia. There were eleven participants that were still unsure of what will happen. This was mostly showed by young generation, who stayed in the Netherlands with studying and/or working motives. As stated by a participant,

After graduating with a bachelor degree, I want to pursue a higher degree in the Netherlands or any other English-speaking countries, such as USA, UK or Australia.
(P18)

Meanwhile, the others felt unsure because of their job. They feel insecure since they have neither permanent job nor permanent residence permit. This following statement represents the situation they are facing.

I have no idea how long I will stay in the Netherlands. I will see next year whether my working contract is extended or not. If not, I will go back for good. (P37)

Another participant wanted to have larger savings. This is underlined in the following story.

My plan to stay in the Netherlands is not for a longer period. I just want to raise some money. I've started a business in Indonesia. I established an Internet cafe in Purwokerto [A city in Central Java, Indonesia]. My little brother and my uncle are managing it. My wife and my children might return to Indonesia first. ... That's our plan. How the future will be and when will I go back for good, I'm still uncertain.
(P20)

The above description shows that there are three possibilities concerning the migrants' length of stay in the Netherlands. The first group has decided to stay for good. The other group also has decided to return to Indonesia in the near future or when they reach their goal. There is also a group of participants, who is unsure of what will happen. It means that the length of stay could be infinite or fixed depend on their motives to come to the Netherlands, either looking for asylum, social security, marriage, working or studying.

4.2.3 Problems faced by Indonesian migrants during their stay in the Netherlands

Problem is the last category that should be drawn upon to portray the international migration experiences. Problem means as any kind of difficulties experienced by the Indonesian migrants during their stay in the Netherlands. When the stories unfolded, this study finds that there are at least seven problems experienced by Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands, namely language, cultural difference, climate, homesickness, identity, job and housing. Language was the main problem. There are only three participants, who were able to speak Dutch before their arrivals in the Netherlands. Most participants were unable to speak Dutch, either in their daily lives or at the workplaces. Thus, they had difficulties to communicate with locals. The second problem is cultural difference. Some of the participants have experienced a cultural shock. They are not used to the Dutch cultures, such as directness in speaking, drinking habit and individualist attitude. Climate is the second problem the Indonesian migrants faced. Since most Indonesians are used to live in a tropical climate, they need to adapt to the climate of four seasons area, such as the Netherlands. The fourth factor is homesickness. The participants admitted that they often miss their family and relatives in Indonesia. The fifth issue is identity. Some of the participants are struggling to maintain their Indonesia identity. For example, they try to continue speaking Indonesian as well as teaching

Indonesian to their children. The other two problems are related to job and housing. These problems are mostly experienced by undocumented migrants. Table 4.4 provides an overview of migration problems faced by Indonesian migrants.

Table 4.4
Migration Problems

Problems	Sample quotes
Language	I experienced a language barrier. At the workplace, everything should be explained or stated in Dutch. I was kicked out by a patient. At that time, she asked me to get a panty for her. Unfortunately, I didn't understand what she was asking for. She said, "Go back to your country. You can't speak Dutch. I can't understand you". (P13)
Cultural difference	The culture of Dutch society is directness. When they don't like something, they will say directly and openly express it. We Indonesians [in contrary] mostly are talking around the bush. (P22)
Climate	I get problem with the climate. The temperature in Jakarta is around 35-40 Celsius. Here, the temperature can reach -15 Celsius. At first, I thought that I would slowly adapt to it. In fact, this didn't happen. It's getting more difficult since I'm getting older. (P33)
Homesickness	I miss my family. I feel of losing a family presence in my everyday life. (P23)
Identity	I have a lot of problems raising my children [with two different cultures]. I teach both Indonesian and Dutch languages to them. (P8)
Job	I have a lot of difficulties in looking for jobs here. The highest risk is being arrested on the street. (P38)
Housing	During my stay in the Netherlands, it's difficult for me to find a house to live. During the first years, I stayed in someone's house, who didn't want to receive any rent fees. (P12)

In sum, drawing upon from motives, length of stay and problems faced during their stay in the Netherlands, individually Indonesian migrants have different migration stories. A description of migration experiences in this section is a preliminary finding to understand the ways Indonesian migrants initiate their bonding and bridging communities.

4.3 The experiences of older Indonesian migrants in using interactive communication for bonding community

The bonding community creation of the older migrants is inseparable from their migration experiences. As mentioned before, they mostly moved to the Netherlands because of four motives, namely finding a job, looking for asylum, marriage and the Indonesia-Netherlands history. These motives motivated them to meet other Indonesians, especially the Indonesians with a similar history, such as being stateless. Moreover, the need to create bonding community becomes important when they decide to settle down in the Netherlands. Thus, their bonding community is related with their migration motives as well as their future plan to settle down in the Netherlands.

4.3.1 The bonding community of older Indonesian migrants

The bonding community of the older migrants in this study indicates the relationships among the migrants in the Netherlands as well as the relationships between Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands with other Indonesians in Indonesia as the same countrymen. The creation of bonding community is determined by three factors, namely networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity with other Indonesians, both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. The stories about the bonding community of the older Indonesian migrants, therefore, are grouped based on their networks, trust and reciprocity with other Indonesians.

(a) Indonesian networks of older Indonesian migrants

Indonesian networks of the older Indonesian migrants were the links created by the older Indonesian migrants with other Indonesians, with whom he/she shares the same interests, values or goals. From the older participants' stories, they have developed several types of bonding networks that could be classified into three groups, i.e. networks to Indonesia, Indonesian networks in the Netherlands and Indonesian networks across the world.

All older migrants in this study maintain their relationships to Indonesia. Most of them had lost their parents. There are only three participants, who still have their parents living in participants have children from their previous husbands growing up and living in Indonesia as reflected in this story.

I still make contacts with my family in Indonesia. Three of my children from my previous husband live in Indonesia. (P31)

Obviously, outside a nuclear family, the older Indonesian migrants develop a relationship with their extended family.

In Indonesia, I still have family and relatives. There are my big brother and elder sister. There are also a lot of nephews and nieces. ... When the whole family and relative come together, we are almost 100 people. (P1)

Some of them also maintain their relationships with their old friends in Indonesia, such as childhood friends and classmates.

I keep contact with my classmates from elementary school, junior high school, senior high school and university. I even have a friend, who was always doing things together with me since elementary school until university. (P32)

It seems that regardless of the distance, Indonesians love to have an intimate relationship. The above two excerpts show that the older Indonesian migrants not only are caring for their

nuclear family, but also their relatives and friends in Indonesia. Although they have left Indonesia, they keep in touch with those 'at home' in Indonesia.

Besides their networks to Indonesia, the older migrants also create and maintain their bonding networks in the Netherlands. The majority of older migrants (19 out of 20) have their own family (husband/wife, children and grand children) in the Netherlands. Some of them also have relatives living in the Netherlands, such as brother/sister, aunty/uncle and cousins. Three of the older participants also said that they have Indonesian neighbours. Furthermore, all of them developed a bonding networks with various Indonesian communities in the Netherlands, such as religious community (e.g. PPME and KKI), sport community (e.g. Satria Nusantara and Badminton Club), as well as nationalist community (e.g. Persaudaraan and Ex-MAHID (Ex-Mahasiswa Ikatan Dinas)).

Some older migrants also have Indonesian networks across the world. There are at least four participants, who have Indonesian networks with Indonesian community in Germany (e.g. Masyarakat Indonesia Dortmund), Indonesian community in Europe (e.g. Ex-MAHID) as well as with relatives living in Malaysia and the United States of America (USA).

(b) The ways older Indonesian migrants trust other Indonesians

Trust in bonding community is usually portrayed from two factors, namely emotional support and access to scarce/limited resources. Succeeding stories about trust of the older migrants to their bonding community are classified based on those two factors.

There are two types of emotional supports received by older migrants. First is sharing intimate problems. One fourth older participants said that they easily share their intimate problems with other Indonesians, including family, relatives and friends, no matter they are living in Indonesia, in the Netherlands or in the other part of the world as illustrated in the following story.

If I get a problem with my husband, I usually share the story with my aunty living in Maastricht. She was born in Salatiga [A city in Central Java, Indonesia]. She also got married to an Indonesian-Dutch man. She is the one, who usually gives advices. (P31)

Having motivation and support is the second factor. Some older migrants stated that they could get motivation as well as support from the other Indonesians. One older participant explained it as follows.

I had a friend that was a part of the Mangkunegaran [A hereditary Duchy in Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia] family. He was so rich. At that time, he could subscribe Kompas newspaper [One of the biggest national newspapers in Indonesia]. He always invited me to have discussions about Indonesia. ... I also had another friend that was used to work in an Indonesian news agency. He suggested me to read a lot rather than being miserable with my tragedy. ... Another support was provided by the former Indonesian Ambassador. ... He asked me to accept the fact and keep moving on. Those three supports have become my strength to survive. (P35)

The above excerpt illustrates that the older migrants have great emotional support with other Indonesians. At that time, when the participant almost lost his mind because of losing his family as well as his right to return to Indonesia, he received motivation and support from the other Indonesians.

Meanwhile, trust of the older migrants to get access to scarce/limited resources from the other Indonesians could be described from four factors. First is obtaining job information. One fourth of the older participants explained that in the past they got job information from other Indonesians living in the Netherlands. Second is getting a loan. Some of them said that they trust each other; therefore, they are used to lend money each other. Third is getting a house or household equipments. There are four older migrants, who received assistance to get a house to live in. One older migrant explained it in the following story.

Friends from PPI [Indonesian Student Association] showed great solidarity. ... I told them my difficulties to find a house. I said, "Where should I live in?" They then cracked an old house for me and asked me to live there. ... We paid rent to the owner. However, it was very cheap. (P15)

Fourth is delivering thing(s) to Indonesia. Most of the older migrants that moved to the Netherlands as asylum seekers faced difficulties to contact their family and relatives in Indonesia. At that time, their fellow countrymen helped them to deliver several things to Indonesia, such as letters or packages.

(c) The reciprocity of older Indonesian migrants with other Indonesians

Reciprocity in the bonding community context means migrants' behaviours to return any kindness that he/she has received from others in his/her own communities. As the stories unfolded, there are four types of reciprocity performed by older migrants. First is participating in the Indonesian communities. All older participants participate in at least one Indonesian community/organization. Some of them even join several Indonesian communities/organizations. These communities/organizations were established to unite Indonesians living in the Netherlands. In that community/organization, they also raise fund for charity in Indonesia, such as for natural disaster victims. Second is sending remittances to Indonesia. Two third older participants experienced sending remittances to their parents or relatives in Indonesia. Third is caring others, including the elderly and the sick people. The older participants have empathy to the elderly as well as to the sick people. Most of them are pensioner; therefore, they have an available time for caring others. Fourth is providing advices. The older generation is considered wise and having more experiences by younger generation. They, therefore, sometime spend their times to listen to the others' problems, especially the younger migrants, and suggest some advices for them.

The older Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands have strong bonding community. They maintain their networks to Indonesia and networks in the Netherlands. Some of them also have Indonesian networks across the world. They have great trust to the other Indonesians as well as strong reciprocity to help the other Indonesians. An overview of the older Indonesian migrants' bonding community is presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5
Bonding Community of Older Indonesian Migrants

Bonding community	Sample quotes
Networks	
<i>Networks to Indonesia</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Family</i> 	I still make contacts with my parents as well as my brothers and sisters in Indonesia. (P32)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Relatives</i> 	I keep in touch with my relatives in Indonesia. My parents have passed away. However, I still have a lot of aunties and uncles

	there. (P33)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Friends</i> 	I keep contact my old housemates in Bandung [A city in West Java, Indonesia]. We always have reunion anytime I visit Indonesia. (P34)
<i>Indonesian networks in the Netherlands</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Family</i> 	In the Netherlands, I have two sons and four grandchildren. (P28)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Relatives</i> 	In the past I had an aunty living in Wassenaar. She had passed away because of cancer. I also have a cousin in the Netherlands. (P16)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Neighbours</i> 	There are a lot of Indonesians living in the Netherlands. In this neighbourhood, I have four Indonesian neighbours. I'm back to the Indonesian neighbourhood. (P26)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Indonesian communities</i> 	I have never disconnected from Indonesian communities. There are a lot of Indonesian communities, such as a community for those that couldn't return to Indonesia, Satria Nusantara, Persaudaraan and various courses. Just recently I also participate in Indonesian Embassy. (P27)
<i>Indonesian networks across the world</i>	
	I know all of the Ex-MAHID [Association for former Indonesian students that received scholarship from Soekarno Era and lost their rights to return to Indonesia] across Europe. When I visited Sweden, I didn't need to rent an accommodation. I could stay in his house and the other way around. (P10)
Trust	
<i>Emotional support</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sharing intimate problems</i> 	I have close relationships with my badminton group leader. In the past, my daughter left our house with her boyfriend after I took a big surgery. ... I got confuse. I shared my problem with him. He gave me two options: focus on my health or focus on finding her. I chose to focus on my health. He supported me until my daughter was back to our house. (P34)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Having motivation and support</i> 	After getting divorce, I was assisted by a mediator. She's an Indonesian, who speaks Dutch. ... She motivated me to study again and to attend courses. (P28)
<i>Access to scarce/ limited resources</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Obtaining job information</i> 	I met the headmaster of Indonesia-Netherlands School (SIN). He used to be the headmaster of my senior high school. ... At first, he asked me to help him teaching there. Eventually, I become a teacher there. (P32)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Getting a loan</i> 	There were many Indonesians migrated to the Netherlands from China. The ones, who arrived earlier, certainly had already got a job. Those people then helped the one, who just arrived, by providing a loan. (P35)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Getting a house</i> 	Upon our arrival in the Netherlands, a lot of friends helped us. They provided some household equipment. ... All of us usually collected second-hand stuffs from the locals. (P10).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Delivering thing(s) to Indonesia</i> 	We had several friends here. They brought our letters to Indonesia. If they had vacation in Indonesia, they sometime also visited our family. (P15)
Reciprocity	
<i>Participating in Indonesian communities/organizations</i>	Together we established Perhimpunan Persaudaraan. It was established as a place for the Indonesians to meet their countrymen. The aim is to transmit the Indonesian culture, to keep up date with the development in Indonesia and to provide

	charity for Indonesia, such as raising fund for tsunami and earthquake. It's a little. However, it shows our concern as countrymen. (P1)
<i>Sending remittances</i>	I was used to send remittances to my mother and mother in law via giro. We were used to send remittances to my mother in law every month and once in two months to my mother. My mother still had a pension from my late father. (P9)
<i>Caring others (The elderly and the sick people)</i>	I prefer to serve the others, especially the sick people. I intentionally care the other Indonesians, who come to the Netherlands for medical treatments. I could listen to their whining and complains. I've ever helped an Indonesian family with a sick seven years old daughter. They brought their daughter to get medical treatments in AMC, Amsterdam. I made Rosary praying for them. (P29)
<i>Providing advices</i>	Most Indonesians asked to meet me for sharing their intimate problems, such as marriage, divorce or other household problems. ... I've ever divorced. Eventually, I could provide advices for the others. (P39)

4.3.2 Different types of interactive communication used by older Indonesian migrants for bonding community

The older migrants use different types of interactive communication for creating and maintaining their bonding community. As mentioned before, they are used to traditional communication. For bonding community, they use various types of traditional communication, namely face to face meetings, letters and telephone. Furthermore, they also use the new media. There are only three older participants that have never used online interactive communication. Nevertheless, the majority of older participants are only used to email as their online interactive communication. Stories about the older migrants' interactive communication experiences for bonding community could be grouped based on the types of interactive communication, i.e. face to face meetings, letters, telephone, email, chatting and social networking sites (SNS).

(a) Face to face meetings

Face to face meetings are the most traditional interactive communication. They allow an individual to communicate with others directly in eye to eye contact. All older participants stated that they use face to face meetings for bonding community. They have different kinds of face to face meetings. These are usually determined by partner(s), intensity and topic(s). This study finds that there are six kinds of meetings conducted by older generation for bonding community.

First is worshiping meetings. Half of the older participants stated that they conduct worshiping meetings frequently. The male Moslem for example, they meet other Indonesian Moslems at least twice a week, during Friday prayer as well as Saturday sermon. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Catholics usually conduct sermon once a month. Worshiping meetings are not only used for praying, but also for gathering with other Indonesians from the same religion. During the gathering, they could have a little chat and taste Indonesian cuisine as illustrated in the following story.

I meet Indonesian Catholics in the church once a month. We conduct worshiping meeting and gathering. In the church, there are usually people that need a hand and get questions as well. After worshiping, we mostly discuss church activities, church choir and pilgrimage to Lourdes. (P26)

The conversation topic in worshipping meetings is limited. As illustrated in the above excerpt, participant only talks about religion and religious activities. Some of older participants stated that they sometime ask each other about their latest news, such as family and health.

The second type of meetings is family, relatives and friends reunions. All older participants stated that they spend some of their times to visit Indonesia. Some of them, who moved to the Netherlands as asylum seeker, felt so happy when they had the opportunities to visit Indonesia for the first time.

I visited Indonesia for the first time in 1998. I met my big brother in Prumpang [A city in Central Java, Indonesia]. I also had reunion with my relatives in Yogyakarta [A province in Java, Indonesia]. I couldn't imagine how I was so happy at that time. I have returned to Indonesia for four times. The latest one was in 2007. (P5)

Some of the older participants regularly visit Indonesia to have reunions with their family, relatives and old friends. These reunions are mostly used to relieve their homesickness. Not only having reunion in Indonesia, some of them also invite their family to have reunion in the Netherlands. During the reunion meetings, they usually share the missing moments of their lives.

The third is meetings in organizational activities. Some older participants that are part of organizational board meet regularly to discuss the activities in their communities/organizations as illustrated in the following story.

I have regular meeting with the member board of KKI once a month. (P26)

Furthermore, the Indonesian communities/organizations hold different kinds of activities to provide opportunities for members gathering, such as *Arisan*, discussion and exhibition. These activities are conducted regularly, such as once in a month or quarterly. One of the participants explained it as follows.

I'm a member of Perhimpunan Persaudaraan. ... We conduct organizational meetings to discuss the development of politics and culture in Indonesia. In those meetings, we usually invite Dutch experts as well as Indonesian experts that are visiting the Netherlands. I and the other friends, who are doctors, usually participate to hold health talk shows. Sometime we have cultural events, such as movie screenings to celebrate the Indonesian Independence Day and Bung Karno's birthday [The first President of Indonesia]. (P10)

Meetings in organizational activities provide opportunities for the members to meet each other as well as having conversation with various topics from personal to organizational issues. As illustrated in the above excerpt, the members of Perhimpunan Persaudaraan love to discuss the development of Indonesia from politics, cultural and economic perspectives. Some participants are also concerned with Indonesian migrant workers issues or feminism. Besides having public discussion, they also like to have small talks about their recent condition as well as daily needs, such as health, family and pension.

The fourth type of meetings is funeral ceremonies. The average age of the older generations is older than 65 years old. Most of their friends are certainly in the same age or even older. When a friend passed away, the older participants used the funeral ceremony as a space to give condolences as well as meeting and communicating with other Indonesians.

The fifth is parties. The Indonesians were used to invite each other in their parties, such as birthday party.

When our children were still kids, we were used to invite each others to birthday parties. We were used to bring food and eat all together. ... Now we rarely hold a birthday party, except for round age, such as 50, 60 or 70 years. (P26)

The above excerpt shows that nowadays the older Indonesian migrants are less likely to have and to come to the parties.

The last one is personal meetings. When the relationships with other Indonesians are close, the older participants love to have personal meetings. These personal meetings vary, such as hanging out, shopping and home visiting as explained by a participant in the following story.

I meet my friends 2-3 times in a week. I like hanging out and eating together with them. If we meet, we love to have jokes and chats about shopping and food. (P31)

In personal meetings, the older participants mostly feel free to discuss many things, including their personal issues.

The majority of older migrants perceived that face to face meetings for bonding community are rich in cues. According to them, face to face meetings are direct, spontaneous, expressive and personal. Face to face meetings allow them to create intimate relationships with their bonding community. Nevertheless, some of them noticed that in their age, meetings with others become more difficult. One of participants explained it as follows.

With face to face meeting, various issues can be discussed. ... It can relieve loneliness. It is perfect. However, I can't have face to face meetings too often nowadays. The distance is too far. Moreover, at this age I'm not strong enough to go by myself. (P5)

In sum, the older migrants use different kinds of face to face meetings. In each meeting, they usually meet different people, with whom they can share different topics, from organizational to personal issues. Most of the meetings are conducted regularly. Face to face meetings of older migrants are quite intense. They perceived that face to face meetings are rich in cues; therefore, ease them to maintain their bonding community.

(b) Letters

The majority of older Indonesian migrants were used to send letter to communicate with their family, relatives and partners in Indonesia. According to them, in the past letter was the main communication tool to keep in touch with 'home'. Some of them put high risk to send letters to Indonesia. One of the participants explained it as follows.

After the 1965 Tragedy, the communication with my family in Indonesia was disconnected. ... Around the 80's, I sent letters to my family in Indonesia. At that time, I sent it from Albania to Indonesia via the Netherlands. ... I told them that I'd got married and had kids. ... I received a reply from my father. He gave me a contact person living in the Netherlands. He was an Indonesian, who had lived in the Netherlands for years. ... Before returning to Indonesia for the first time, I communicated with family with letters. During 1983-1987, I sent letters to them with

my address in the Netherlands. ... I sent letter every month to my parents and parents-in-law. (P10)

The above excerpt illustrates that older generation were used to send letters to their family and relatives in Indonesia. Furthermore, some of them, who were asylum seekers, experienced a lot of difficulties in sending the letters to Indonesia. They were worried that their letters would endanger their family in Indonesia. They then asked another Indonesians, who were not asylum seekers, to deliver the letters. In the above story, a participant asked his friend in the Netherlands to deliver his letter from Albania to Indonesia.

The older migrants perceived letters as a personal interactive communication tool. They only used letter to those with whom they have intimate relationships, such as parents, boy/girlfriend and relatives at 'home'. Because letters were perceived as a personal interactive communication tool, they had high expectations in receiving reply. Furthermore, they mostly used letters to discuss personal issues, such as personal circumstances.

In the past, I was used to write letters. It is personal. Around the 70's, I sent letters to my girlfriend, mom and relatives. We were motivated to immediately write the replies because we were happy and enthusiastic to receive the letters. I did it until the 80's. The topics varied from recent situation, weather, politics, until our joys and sorrows. At that time, the mailing cost was cheap. (P29)

There were a few older participants, who also sent letters to their old friends in Indonesia. As letters perceived personal, sending letters to old friends indicated that they had intimate relationships.

Nevertheless, letters are not only used for personal purposes. Until recently letters are still used as organizational communication tool. Letters perceived to be effective to disseminate information to the members of organization. This study discloses that letters are getting more important to share the information to the older generation as illustrated in the following story.

I'm a secretary... I have to send letters to all members, who don't have email. The letters are usually announcements, invitations for New Year or information about health and pension. (P40)

The above story indicates that some of the older generation has a lack of digital skills. They are not used to the presence of the Internet. Thus, letters are still needed.

The above description shows that letters were the main interactive communication tool in the past. They diminished the spaces between people. They eased communication with someone, who was far away. Furthermore, they perceived to be personal. They were suitable to communicate with the love ones. Although some participants switch the use of letters to other types of interactive communication, letters are considered as important tool to communicate with the elderly, who are not used to the new media. Thus, letters remain important interactive communication tools for older migrants to maintain their bonding community.

(c) Telephone

The older migrants are used to the presence of telephone. They quite often use it for interactive communication. It is mostly used to communicate with family and relatives in Indonesia as well as abroad. One of the participants explained it as follows.

With the Indonesians, I love to call them. After the 90's the phone price was getting cheaper. I call my brothers/sisters in Malaysia, my relatives in Saudi Arabia and also my brothers/sisters in Indonesia almost every day. Because we live in foreign countries, making calls makes us feel closer. (P3)

The telephone cost was getting cheaper. Since then, the older migrants call their family and relatives in Indonesia as well as those abroad more often. If in the past they were used to make a call once a month, nowadays they mostly call their family and relatives once a week. Having conversation through telephone allows them to share various stories, such as the situation here and there, weather as well as funeral or marriage of their relatives in Indonesia. Moreover, they always call their family and relatives in every special occasion, such as birthday, Christmas, New Year and Sugar Feast.

Furthermore, all older migrants make calls to communicate with other Indonesians in the Netherlands, including family, relatives and friends as illustrated in the following story.

I often make calls to my friends living in the Netherlands, almost every day. The topics are various. ... Sometime I use telephone for discussion, sharing or idea exchanges. If I get mad, I also call my friend to find solution. (P26)

The above story illustrates that most of older participants like to communicate via telephone for bonding community. The intensity to make calls to other Indonesians living in the Netherlands is high and on the average reaches several times a week.

Telephone is also used as organizational communication tool. It is used to monitor the condition of organization members.

In Perhimpunan Persaudaraan [One of nationalist Indonesian community in the Netherlands], we have "Telepon Kring". Each board member has several fellows. He/she needs to monitor their fellows. These fellows are determined either by intimacy or proximity. "Telepon Kring" is used to notify and inform the other members when there is a member, who is sick. ... Eventually, all members are informed about it. (P40)

The above story illustrates that the older migrants are getting old. At their age, they might be more frequently ill. They also have a lot of difficulties to frequently attend their organizational meetings. Thus, telephone is important means of interactive communication to support others in the bonding community.

The majority of older participants perceived telephone as a handy interactive communication tool for bonding community. According to them, the telephone cost was getting cheaper. In this case, they are not only used to make calls to their family, relatives and friends in the Netherlands, but also in Indonesia as well as abroad. Besides crossing the spaces, the telephone provides voice cues that can relieve homesickness and loneliness.

If I make a call, I could hear the voices. It makes me feel closer to my family. I've always paid a lot to call my children in Indonesia. (P31)

The majority of participants perceived telephone as an interactive communication tool, which provides opportunity to create and maintain intimate relationships. Voice cues ease them to understand others' conditions much better. No matter the cost, they love to make calls with

other Indonesians. As the telephone cost was getting cheaper, they have made calls to their bonding community more intensely.

(d) Email

The majority of older participants (16 out of 20) are familiar with email. Moreover, they are used to write email to communicate with their bonding community. They use email to contact other Indonesians from the same organizations. Moreover, most of the Indonesian communities/organizations in the Netherlands use mailing list to connect their members.

I subscribe two mailing lists. One of them is Perhimpunan Persaudaraan mailing list. I guess it's already seven years old. The members are around 90 people. Most of them already passed away. However, not all members are active in the mailing list. (P10)

The above excerpt illustrates that most of the members were passive email users. They either only receive announcement posted by organization or read articles posted by active members. Nevertheless, email is used to actively communicate with other Indonesians living in the Netherlands.

I often use email with Indonesians living in the Netherlands and abroad. Most of them living in Europe have computer and the Internet. (P14)

Besides, most of the older migrants use email to contact their family and relatives in Indonesia, in the Netherlands or in the other part of the world.

I send email to my nephew in Indonesia. He is sick. I try to motivate him. Telephone is quite expensive. Moreover, there is time difference between Indonesia and the Netherlands. (P34)

The above excerpt illustrates that email is used to diminish the limits of space and time. Email is perceived liked letters, which is personal. Thus, it can be used to communicate and support their loved ones.

Moreover, mailing list also provides opportunity for older migrants to communicate with their old friends anywhere in the world. There are three older participants subscribe mailing list from their previous college/university in Indonesia.

I subscribed many mailing lists. One of them is Bogor Institute of Agriculture group. The members are my college-mates. We often discuss a recent invention; greeting each other as well as informing obituary. (P32)

Furthermore, email can be used to create new contacts. Email allows interaction for people around the world. One of the participants explained it as follows.

I know several friends in Hamburg, Malang, Bangkok and Italy from email. A friend from Hamburg has even visited me in the Netherlands. Since then, we quite often talk on the phone. We like sharing our intimate problems as well as staying overnight. We are like sisters. (P26)

The above story illustrates that email provides opportunity to get new contacts. Online relationships could be started through email then is continued to the offline relationships, in which those individuals have opportunities to have face to face meetings.

Most of the older migrants perceived that email is fast and worldwide. They agreed that email can be received anywhere in the world immediately after being sent. However, they also notice that the recipients might have not opened their email accounts. Thus, they need to be patient in waiting the delayed feedback. General speaking, email with rapid and extensive coverage ease the older migrants to strengthen their bonding community across the world.

(e) Chatting

There are only seven older participants, who are used to have chatting for bonding community. They use chatting to discuss with other Indonesians living in the Netherlands. Furthermore, chatting is also used to communicate with family, relatives and friends, who are far away from them. One participant explained it in the following story.

I usually have chats with my nephews/nieces and grandchildren in Indonesia. All of them are teenagers. It is easier to contact them through chatting than SMS. I ask about their recent condition and also their hobbies. I once caught my grandchild online in the middle of the night. I asked him to turn off the chat and to sleep. It was already mid night in Indonesia. With friends in Indonesia, I usually use chatting for having jokes. (P28)

The above excerpt illustrates that the older participant use chatting to communicate with her relatives, especially the younger generation, and friends in Indonesia.

The older migrants, who use chatting, perceived that chatting provides opportunity to reach the younger generation. They stated that it ease them to contact the younger generation in Indonesia. They understand that the teenagers nowadays love to have chatting. Nevertheless, more than half of the older participants perceived that chatting is just wasting their times. Therefore, most of them do not use chatting for bonding community.

(f) SNS

This study finds that the number of SNS users among the older migrants is still limited. There are only seven older participants that use SNS. In this case, all of them use *Facebook* to contact their family and relatives in Indonesia.

I use *Facebook* to contact my children and grandchildren in Indonesia. I usually ask their recent news as well as their studies. ... The funniest thing is we can use it for sharing the stories, such as recent news and weather. In Indonesia, the *Facebook* users are mostly my grandchildren. A few of my children have it too. My grandchildren said that it is unbelievable I can use it in my age. They told me that most grandmothers in Indonesia have no idea about it. I told them that I'm a modern grandma. (P31)

Furthermore, there are two older participants that use SNS group to connect with their relatives and friends in Indonesia and in Germany. One of the participants explained it in the following story.

I have a family website. Its name is ... kinship. All kinship members are connected in that group. We love to use it for photo sharing and commenting. This is just for our family. Other people couldn't see it. We can share various stories there. I also post my articles there. I also say happy birthday to my big brother in Indonesia through that group. This is favourable for relatives, who live far away, such as in Germany and in Indonesia. It cures my homesickness. (P1)

The above story illustrates that the participants are still not familiar with the right term to indicate SNS, although they use it. He called it a family website rather than a SNS group. Generally speaking, the older migrants that use SNS is still limited. These older users perceived SNS as an alternative interactive communication tool for bonding community. They realize that it eases them to contact their family, relatives and friends, especially the young generation, who live far away from them. The older users also perceived that SNS is free and confidential. However, the majority of older migrants perceived that SNS is just wasting their time like chatting.

The older Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bonding community. The majority still depended on traditional communication. They prefer to have face-to-face meetings with other Indonesians in the Netherlands and also in Indonesia. In the past, they mostly used letters as the main interactive communication tool to contact their loved ones at 'home'. Nowadays, letters remain important to contact other older Indonesian migrants, who are unfamiliar with email. Nowadays, the majority of older migrants also like to use telephone for bonding community. According to them, the telephone cost has dropped. Moreover, it can be reached anytime. It eases them to contact other Indonesians without thinking of the distances. Besides, the majority of older migrants also use email to maintain their contacts with other Indonesians as well as getting new Indonesian contacts. Nevertheless, there are only a few of older migrants who use chatting and SNS. Two participants, who use chatting and SNS, have limited online experiences. They have just been online for 1-3 years. Compared to the majority of the older migrants, their online activities are much lesser. Their Internet usage is limited to the use of email, chatting and SNS. While the majority of older migrants has only adopted the use of email for bonding community, there are also a few older migrants that intentionally learn the Internet for online interactive communications, including email, chatting and SNS to strengthen their bonding community.

4.4 The experiences of older Indonesian migrants in using interactive communication for bridging community

Similar to the creation of bonding community, the ways older Indonesian migrants create their bridging community are related with their migration experiences. Some of the older migrants, who moved to the Netherlands because of asylum, were motivated to have more contacts with the Dutch. They looked for protection from the Dutch, both from the government and the society since they were banished by the government of Indonesia. At that time, they got a lot of difficulties to visit their family as well as to discover the recent situation in Indonesia. Since then they intentionally made more contacts with the Dutch, so they could get information about Indonesia as well as their family. Meanwhile, some of the older migrants stayed in the Netherlands because of a marriage reason needed to create the bridging community in order to adapt and assimilate with their husbands' family. Thus, the migration experiences, especially motives, influences the ways older migrants establish their bridging community.

The bridging community of older migrants means their relationships with the Dutch. It is determined by three factors, namely networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity to the Dutch. The succeeding stories are grouped based on those three factors.

As the older migrants' stories unfolded, this study discloses that the older migrants simply met with the Dutch. Interaction with the Dutch also encouraged them to have an outward looking toward other communities. More than half of the older migrants stated that their Dutch networks are their neighbours. They said that they can easily meet the neighbours in their neighbourhood. According to them, most of the neighbours are good. Other Dutch networks are their organizational friends. Most of migrants, who were asylum seekers, have several Dutch friends from Dutch organizations that mostly concern on human rights. Meanwhile, some of the older migrants that moved to the Netherlands because of working motives meet the Dutch people in religious communities, such as Moslem and Catholic communities. There are only three older migrants, who have Dutch relatives. All of them are older female participants that stayed in the Netherlands because of a marriage reason. Two older participants that are still working have Dutch colleagues. They still spend most of their times together at the workplace. The interaction between the older migrants and the Dutch encouraged them to have an outward looking. Most of them thought that the Dutch are open-minded and direct. However, one fourth of older participants also perceived that the Dutch are mean. One of the participants described it in the following story.

Socializing with the Dutch and Indonesians is different. If they invite you for drinking tea, you will only drink tea. If they offer cookies, they will do it once. If they don't offer it again, you shouldn't take it. Although they put the cookies on the table, don't take it unless they offer them to you. If you take it, that's a very bad thing. That's the Dutch. With Indonesians, you certainly can take everything that is served on the table.
(P14)

Rather than personal characteristics, the story above illustrates the cultural differences between the Dutch and Indonesians.

To some extent the older migrants have trust to the Dutch. Their trusts are mainly on neighbour relationships, work relationships, obtaining job information/references and receiving aids. More than half of the older participants stated that they trust the neighbours living next to their house. They mostly left their house key to them anytime they return to Indonesia or have vacations abroad. There are four older participants that got a job because of

their relationships with the Dutch. In this case, some of them put trust to the Dutch because of work relationships. Furthermore, some older migrants have great trust to the Dutch because they provide aids and assistances during the most difficult moment of their lives. These are mostly experienced by the older migrants arrived to the Netherlands as asylum seekers.

The older Indonesian migrants show their willingness to return the kindness received from the Dutch. Some of older migrants participate in the Dutch communities/organizations. Most of them are the asylum seekers. According to them, participating in the Dutch organizations is a mutual relationship. They contributed in the organizational activities. In return, they got information about Indonesia, which was really hard to be obtained at that time. Meanwhile, the majority of older migrants only maintain their neighbour or work relationships with the Dutch. Table 4.6 provides an overview about bridging community of older Indonesian migrants.

Table 4.6
Bridging Community of Older Indonesian Migrants

Bonding community	Sample quotes
Networks	
<i>Simply meeting with the Dutch</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Neighbours</i> 	Most neighbours living in this neighbourhood are Dutch people. Some of them are good, while some of them are bad. I have known anything about my neighbour living in front of this house. I've ever greeted him, but he's just ignored it. Luckily, his wife is nice. The other neighbours are just simply ok. (P14)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Organizational friends</i> 	My contacts with the Dutch are mostly with those, who are affiliated in Amnesty International [A Dutch organization for human rights] and Stichting Wertheim [A Dutch organization concerning on liberation in Indonesia]. We mostly interact because of organizational activities. (P1)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Relatives</i> 	The relationships between parents-in-law and son/daughter-in-law in the Netherlands are different from those in Indonesia. In Indonesia, the parents-in-law can visit them anytime. It's impossible in the Netherlands. I need to make a call first before visiting them. It causes a problem when you don't understand it. I have one Dutch son-in-law and one Dutch daughter-in-law. (P28)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Colleagues</i> 	I work in a hospital. Most of the times, I interact with the Dutch, both colleagues and patients. ... I have a close Dutch colleague. Nevertheless, I need to arrange appointment anytime I'd like to meet him. (P10)
<i>Outward looking</i>	I've learned the life style of Dutch people. I think that they are open-minded. It eases me to understand them. If they get angry, they'll just directly express it. When it's over, it's done. They are spontaneous. Moreover, you don't need to doubt their appointments. (P32)
Trust	
<i>Neighbour relationships</i>	If I visit Indonesia, I usually leave my house key to my neighbour. He'll visit my house regularly, open the windows and check the mails. The neighbour living next to my house is trustworthy. (P28)
<i>Obtaining job information/references</i>	I've worked at my recent office for 12-13 years. I got the job information from my Dutch friend. (P11)
<i>Work relationships</i>	My colleagues held a farewell party when I retired a few months ago. (P16)

<i>Receiving aids</i>	I know most of the Dutch people affiliated in Amnesty International [A Dutch organization for human rights]. They help my family a lot. They visited my big brother, who was arrested after 1965 military coup. They regularly visited him until he finally discharged. (P40)
Reciprocity	
<i>Participating in Dutch communities/organizations</i>	One of the ways to have contacts with the Dutch is participating in particular Dutch organizations. I used to join Indok in Leiden. Its aim was to archive any documents about Indonesia. They collected the data from the newspaper. It was similar with library. They archive the data about farming, labour, women, etc. They needed the data about Indonesia. I participated in classifying the data. In return, I got information about Indonesia. They collected all news, both in English and Indonesian. (P14)
<i>Neighbour relationships</i>	We were close with the neighbour living down stair. She appointed us as her caregiver. She was used to call us anytime she needed hands. We had her house key. If there was anything wrong, we could enter her house. She already passed away. She was the nicest neighbour. (P15)
<i>Work relationships</i>	I invited my colleagues to this house. I also asked my neighbours to visit my house when I just recently moved to this neighbourhood. However, those were just like that, as long as we've known each other. (P33)

The older migrants have a quite wide type of bridging community. They do not only have contacts with their colleagues, but also with the Dutch from their organizational activities. Furthermore, the majority of older participants live in a public area, in which most of the neighbours are Dutch people. There are only a few older migrants that have Dutch relatives since there are only three older participants that married with the Dutch.

The ways older migrants create their bridging community are mostly depended on the use of face to face meetings. The majority of older migrants stated that nowadays they meet the neighbours more often after their retirement. One of the participants explained it as follows.

After my retirement, I meet my neighbours more often. I meet them in the parking area or in front of their house. For them, it is ok to have a small talk without inviting us into their house. They rarely invite us to their houses. We usually discuss our neighbourhood, such as cleanliness and security. (P9)

The above excerpt illustrates that the older migrants might meet their neighbours every day after their retirement. They mostly have small talks about their neighbourhood and their recent condition. Most of them noted that the Dutch people love to have conversations about weather and vacation. Four older participants stated that they regularly hold neighbourhood activities, such as gathering, flea market and bazaar.

Beside, some of the older migrants meet with the Dutch in organizational activities. They are still active to participate in various activities held by Dutch organizations.

I usually have meetings with Dutch activists from Amnesty International [A Dutch organization for human rights] once in three months. We usually have gathering and discussion. We discuss universal topics, such as social issues and politics in the world. (P40)

The older migrants stated that meetings with the Dutch in organizational activities provide opportunity to discuss various topics, such as social, politics, culture and economics in the world as well as in Indonesia. Furthermore, some of the older migrants usually meet with the Dutch during the worshipping meetings in mosque or church. These worshipping meetings are held regularly once a week or once a month. Here, they mostly discuss about religion since most of the Dutch have just converted into Moslems or Catholics.

As mentioned before, there are three older participants that have Dutch relatives. They are older female participants, who married with the Dutch. In this case, they usually spent some of their times to visit each other. The Indonesian grandmother for example, loves to visit her son, her Dutch daughter-in-law and her grandchildren.

Furthermore, there are at least three older participants stated that they like to have vacations with the Dutch. According to them, the Dutch people are really enthusiastic with vacations. Therefore, they prefer having vacations with the Dutch friends to Indonesians.

The last type of meetings with the Dutch is having interaction at the workplace. Recently, there are only four older participants, who are still working. They (3 out of 4) mostly meet Dutch colleagues, bosses and clients at their workplace. According to them, they mostly talk about work issues.

Besides face to face meetings, the older migrants also use telephone and letters for interactive communication with the Dutch. Telephone is mostly used by the older migrants, who are still working, to call their boss, colleagues and clients to talk about their work fairs. For example, they need to inform them when they will be absent. Moreover, they also make calls to the Dutch friends from the same organizations. In this case, they usually discussed their organizational activities as illustrated in the following story.

I'm a volunteer in an environmental ecology group. Some of my acquaintances from the group call me 1-2 times a week. We usually discuss about plants, planting and serving the harvest for vegetarian dishes. We also talk about our strategy to educate the children about green environment and animal breeding. (P27)

Moreover, some of the older migrants also use telephone to contact their Dutch relatives. They were mostly greeting or inviting each other.

Meanwhile, the use of letters for bridging community is very limited. There are only two older participants that use letters to communicate with the Dutch. The letters are usually written for organization friends. One of those participants explained it as follows.

I send personal letters to my Dutch friends at Amnesty International [A Dutch organization for human rights]. I use letters because they don't have email. ... I mostly ask their recent news. (P40)

The use of new media by older migrants for bridging community is also very limited. There are only one third of older participants that write email to the Dutch. First, those are older migrants, who are still working. They still write emails to their colleagues or office about work fairs. The other is the older migrants that are active in the Dutch organizations. They usually receive announcements or invitations from their organization through email. They also sometime use email for having discussion with their organization friends. All older

migrants do not use chatting for bridging community. Meanwhile, there are five older participants using SNS for bridging community. Nevertheless, they are either rarely use it or employ it with a small number of Dutch.

Although there are different types of interactive communication, the older Indonesian migrants are mostly depending on traditional communication for bridging community. The majority of older migrants use face to face meetings with the Dutch. Some of them also use telephone as interactive communication tool with the Dutch. There are only a few older migrants, who write letters to his/her Dutch friends. Furthermore, the use of new media for bridging communities is very limited. As illustrated in the following story, most of the older migrants stated that they have contacts with the Dutch just for social relationships.

My conversations with the Dutch are mostly shallow. There is nothing meaningful. We have nice small talks. That's all. (P33)

The ways older Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bridging community are very limited. They mainly use interactive communication to maintain their bridging community than to expand or strengthen it.

4.5 The experiences of younger Indonesian migrants in using interactive communication for bonding community

The bonding community of younger Indonesian migrants is also related with their migration experiences. As mentioned before, the majority of younger Indonesian migrants moved to the Netherlands because of studying and working motives. Furthermore, they are still unsure of what will happen and how long they are going to stay in the Netherlands. Most of them work in the Netherlands after completing their study. They then married and have children in the Netherlands. As they mostly interact with the Dutch at the workplace or in the university, they are motivated to contact the other Indonesians. The presence of bonding community is getting more important when the young couple raise their children. Most of them like to establish bonding community in order to provide an Indonesian atmosphere for their children. Therefore, the bonding community of younger generation is inseparable from their migration experiences.

4.5.1 The bonding community of younger Indonesian migrants

The bonding community of younger Indonesian migrants means the relationships among the migrants in the Netherlands as well as the relationships between the younger migrants and other Indonesians in Indonesia or another part of the world as the same countrymen. The bonding community is determined by three factors, namely networks, trust and the norm of reciprocity with other Indonesians. Thus, stories of younger Indonesian migrants about their bonding community are grouped based on those three factors.

(a) Indonesian networks of younger Indonesian migrants

The Indonesian networks of younger Indonesian migrants indicate their links with other Indonesians. As the stories unfolded, their bonding networks consist of three types of relationships, namely networks to Indonesia, Indonesian networks in the Netherlands and Indonesian networks around the world.

The majority of younger migrants maintain the networks to Indonesia. Most of them still have parents living in Indonesia. Furthermore, most of their brothers/sisters also live in Indonesia. Most of the younger migrants that are working live in the Netherlands with their own family (husband/wife and son/daughter). There are only two younger participants, whose wife and children live in Indonesia.

Now, my condition is more difficult compared to the past because I'm married. I have a wife and two sons. It's really difficult to leave them in Indonesia. (P7)

The majority of younger migrants still have family in Indonesia. In this case, they contact their nuclear family more often than their extended family. There are only a few younger participants that contact their relatives in Indonesia.

Besides, more than half of the younger participants keep in touch with their old friends in Indonesia, such as their childhood friends and classmates.

I still contact my family and friends in Indonesia. My family and most of my relatives live in Flores. Most of my childhood friends and classmates also live in that place. Meanwhile, my parents-in-law live in Jakarta. (P38)

The above excerpts show that the younger migrants have strong relationships with their networks to Indonesia. They do not only maintain their contacts with family, but also with their relatives and friends in Indonesia. Like most of Indonesians, the younger migrants also

love to maintain their intimate relationships with their networks to Indonesia, regardless of the distance. The presence of information and communication technology (ICT) eases them to maintain those networks.

Besides, the younger migrants also establish their Indonesian networks in the Netherlands. As mentioned before, the majority of younger migrants are married and have children in the Netherlands. Furthermore, some of them also have Indonesian relatives in the Netherlands, such as parents-in-law, brothers/sisters-in-law, cousin or aunty/uncle. One of the participants explained it as follows.

My cousin has lived in the Netherlands much longer than me. He is the one, who firstly invited me to have vacation in the Netherlands. ... Since 1999, I have settled down in the Netherlands. At first, I lived with my mother in law. She's an Indonesian, who was married to a Dutch. ... She remarried with another Indonesian. Both of my parents-in-law live in the Netherlands. ... Two of my sisters-in-law also live in the Netherlands. (P2)

Four younger participants that are single stated that they have Indonesian housemates. Meanwhile, there is also one younger participant, who has Indonesian neighbours. Generally speaking, all younger migrants create their bonding networks through different kinds of Indonesian communities in the Netherlands, such as religious community (e.g. PPME, Euro Muslim, Stichting Generasi Baru (SGB) and KKI), sport community (e.g. Badminton and Football Club) as well as profession association (e.g. PPNI).

There is a few younger generation that have Indonesian networks in Europe and across the world. There are only three younger participants, who have Indonesian networks out of Indonesia and the Netherlands. Their networks are mostly in Europe, such as Indonesian Moslems in Europe, friends living in Europe (e.g. a friend living in Switzerland) and a group of Minang, an ethnic group from West Sumatra-Indonesia, living abroad.

(b) The ways younger Indonesian migrants trust other Indonesians

Trust is influenced by two factors, namely emotional support and access to scarce/limited resources. To understand the ways younger Indonesian migrants trust other Indonesians, their succeeding stories are grouped based on those two factors.

Similar to the older generation, the younger migrants receive two types of emotional support during their stay in the Netherlands. Those are sharing intimate problem and also having motivation and support. The majority of younger migrants stated that they can share their intimate problems with other Indonesians, especially with their family, such as mother, brothers/sisters and husband/wife as illustrated in the following story.

I'm not an open-minded person. I'm not the one, who easily shares my intimate problems. If I have intimate problems, I directly share those problems with my mom. If it isn't a household problem, I can share it with my former colleagues [in Indonesia]. In the Netherlands, I have a close friend. ... She is like my little sister. ... I can express my sigh in front of her. (P4)

Compared to the older generation, the majority of younger migrants still have family in Indonesia as well as their own family in the Netherlands; therefore, it is easier for them to share their intimate problems with their family than with relatives and friends. Besides, the

younger migrants stated that they receive a lot of motivation and support from their family, relatives and friends, both in Indonesia and in the Netherlands.

In the past, there was a man from the church that always visited us in the hospital. He was used to come every Saturday at 3 P.M. He then led us praying. (P30)

The above story illustrates that the younger migrants do not only obtain motivation and support from their family, but also from their countrymen.

Meanwhile, there are five factors describing the trust of younger migrants to get access to scarce/limited resources from other Indonesians. First is obtaining job information. One fourth younger participants described that they obtained job information from other Indonesians. Second is getting a loan. According to the younger migrants, it is uneasy to get a loan from other Indonesians. There are only a few younger participants that experienced getting a loan from other Indonesians in the Netherlands. Third is getting a house. Two participants, who are students, stated that the other Indonesians assisted them to find a house to live in. This is also experienced by the undocumented migrants. Fourth is delivering thing(s) to Indonesia. Some of the younger participants ask other Indonesians to deliver their packages or remittances to Indonesia. One of the participants explained it as follows.

I send money to Indonesia through my friend. He will contact his brother in Indonesia to transfer the money to my family. ... He asks only 25 Euro for transferring 1000 Euro. That's much cheaper compared to transferring via a money transfer agent. (P12)

The above story illustrates that the participant trusted his friend to deliver his remittances. He does not mind to provide a little profit for his friend. This shows a mutual relationship among them. This kind of story is mostly experienced by undocumented migrants that do not have any bank accounts. To some extent they need a hand from other Indonesians. Fifth is welcoming new comers. The majority of younger migrants, especially nurse and student, are firstly depending on their sophomores. They believed that the sophomores provided the access to limited resources, such as picking up at the airport as well as providing daily information about living in the Netherlands.

(c) The reciprocity of younger Indonesian migrants toward other Indonesians

As mentioned before, the younger Indonesian migrants obtained a lot of assistance and support from their bonding community. This section describes the ways younger migrants return any kindness received from other Indonesians.

The reciprocity of younger migrants toward other Indonesians could be described from four factors. Those are participating in Indonesian communities/organizations, sending remittances to Indonesia, assisting new comers and providing job information. On the average, the younger Indonesian migrants participate in two Indonesian communities/organizations. The students mostly join Indonesian students association and religious community. The nurses participate in Indonesian nurses association and religious community. Meanwhile, the young housewives mostly join *Arisan* group and religious community. The aim of those Indonesian communities/organizations is providing spaces, to unite all Indonesians. Furthermore, the majority of younger participants that work in the Netherlands stated that they regularly send remittances to Indonesia. Some of them also said that they have invested some assets in Indonesia, such as buying a house, buying rice fields and establishing an Internet cafe. In the past, the majority of younger participants were welcomed by their sophomores; therefore they also assist the new comers. The last type of

younger migrants' reciprocity is providing job information. They are used to inform each other whenever there is a job vacancy. It is more important nowadays since it is getting more difficult to get a job in the Netherlands.

The above description shows that the bonding community of the younger Indonesian migrants is strong. They keep in touch with their family at 'home' as well as create their new bonding community in the host country. Moreover, some of them have started creating their networks with Indonesians abroad. They have strong trust to other Indonesians as well as reciprocity toward them. Table 4.7 presents a summary of younger Indonesian migrants' bonding community.

Table 4.7
Bonding Community of Younger Indonesian Migrants

Bonding community	Sample quotes
Networks	
<i>Networks to Indonesia</i>	
• <i>Family</i>	My mother lives in Indonesia as well as my brothers and sisters. (P6)
• <i>Relatives</i>	I invested some asset to my aunty. I trust her. ... I usually call her. ... I ask our profit. (P21)
• <i>Friends</i>	I keep making calls with my mom, brothers/sisters and former colleagues in Surabaya [The capital city of East Java, Indonesia] and Jakarta [The capital city of Indonesia]. I also contact my friends in Kediri [A small city in East Java]. (P4)
<i>Indonesian networks in the Netherlands</i>	
• <i>Family</i>	I married shortly before my departure to the Netherlands. I and my wife joined the healthcare training for nurse at that time. Now we have two daughters. (P8)
• <i>Relatives</i>	I have relatives in the Netherlands. She is a cousin of my grandmother. She is around 60 years old. (P18)
• <i>Housemates/ Neighbours</i>	Now I live with Indonesian housemates. (P37)
• <i>Indonesian communities</i>	I'm quite active in the mosque. Its name is Euro Muslim. That is for Moslem, especially those living in Amsterdam. (P20)
<i>Indonesian networks across the world</i>	I also join KIAT. It unites all Indonesian Moslem organizations across Europe. (P22)
Trust	
<i>Emotional support</i>	
• <i>Sharing intimate problems</i>	During my stay in the Netherlands, I have two close Indonesian friends. First is a female friend. However, she went back for good to Indonesia. Now, I only have a male friend. He's my best friend. I share all my joys and sorrows from A to Z with him. (P13)
• <i>Having motivation and support</i>	I'm a first-born child in my family. My parents always said, "The prosperity of your brothers/sisters might be from you. You should keep patient. Don't forget to pray". That's the support from my parents. (P21)
<i>Access to scarce/ limited resources</i>	
• <i>Obtaining job information</i>	I moved from The Hague to Amsterdam. At that time, I had a friend in Amsterdam that worked in a hospital. He had a good reputation in front of his boss. He told his boss, "I have a friend. If you still need a nurse, he could work for you". Eventually, I

	was accepted in that hospital. I have worked with him up to now. He's an Indonesian that has lived in the Netherlands for a longer period than me. (P20)
• <i>Getting a loan</i>	In the Netherlands, the Indonesians always help each other. At that time, my family in Indonesia really needed money. I shared this problem with my close friend. She then gave me a loan. (P23)
• <i>Getting a house</i>	When I'd like to move from Deventer to Enschede, I asked my Indonesian friends living in Enschede. They provided housing information in Enschede. At that time, there was a friend that was going to move out from Enschede. Thus, I could replace her. (P18)
• <i>Delivering thing(s) to Indonesia</i>	I know an Indonesian sailor that always have a sail to the Netherlands. If he'll return to Indonesia, he always asks whether I'd like to deliver something to Indonesia. I usually ask him to deliver packages or money for my family. (P2)
• <i>Welcoming new comers</i>	We usually help each other, especially those receiving similar scholarship or studying in the same level. ... Upon my arrival in the Netherlands, the sophomores picked me up at Schiphol. They accompanied me to my housing as well as showing supermarkets and second-hand shops. (P36)
Reciprocity	
<i>Participating in Indonesian communities/organizations</i>	I'm active as the member board of PPNI. I'm responsible to manage the sport activity in PPNI. ... I'm also active in PPME. ... I'm a volunteer in teaching Koran for children. (P8)
<i>Sending remittances</i>	Working in the Netherlands provides a lot of prosperity for my family. I could pay the tuition fee of my little brother. I regularly send remittances to my parents. I gave fund for my big brother to establish his garage. Now, my little brother manages my Internet cafe in Purwokerto [A city in Central Java, Indonesia]. My parents are farmer. I bought rice fields for them. (P20)
<i>Assisting new comers</i>	For new Indonesian housemates, I explain the places for shopping. I usually hang out with them to the market. For the Moslems, I also show <i>halal</i> stores. (P19)
<i>Providing job information</i>	I provided job information to an Indonesian friend. ... We then applied there together. I was accepted directly by the company. He was also accepted as an outsourcing. (P6)

4.5.2 Different types of interactive communication used by younger Indonesian migrants for bonding community

The younger Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bonding community. Most of them are used to face to face meetings and phone to contact their relatives, family and friends in Indonesia as well as in the Netherlands. There are only five younger participants that were used to write letters for interactive communication. Nevertheless, the younger migrants actively use online interactive communication for bonding community. All of them use email and SNS for bonding community. The majority of younger migrants also use chatting to contact with other Indonesians in Indonesia, in the Netherlands as well as around the world. The younger Indonesian migrants' stories about their interactive communication experiences for bonding community are grouped based on the types of interactive communication, namely face to face meetings, letters, telephone, email, chatting and SNS.

(a) *Face to face meetings*

Face to face meeting is the most traditional interactive communication. It provides opportunity for the individuals to meet directly. All younger migrants stated that they use face to face meetings for bonding community. They have various types of face to face meetings. In each meeting, they usually meet different people with various intensity and topic. From the younger participants' stories, their face to face meetings for bonding community could be classified into four types, namely worshipping meetings, reunions, organizational activities and personal meetings. Table 4.8 provides an overview about face to face meetings of younger Indonesian migrants.

Table 4.8

Face to face meetings of Younger Indonesian Migrants

Types of meetings	Sample quotes
Worshipping meeting	I meet Indonesian Catholics in KKI every 2 weeks. The sermon is delivered in Indonesian. All pilgrims are Indonesians. The priest comes from Flores [An island in Eastern Indonesia]. Our main activity is worshipping. Then, we always have gathering. There are always Indonesians, who sell Indonesian cuisine. Some of the profit is used as church fund. ... In the church, I only ask the church's plan and agenda. ... Sometime we also talk about my daughter. (P30)
Family, relative and friend reunions	Before married, I'd never returned to Indonesia. After married, I visit Indonesia more often. It's almost every year. My daughter needs to know her relatives in Indonesia, such as her grandmother. (P20)
Organizational activities	I play sports. I usually play football and badminton. During summer, we play sport every week. It is not that often during winter. This provides opportunity to meet Indonesian students in Utrecht. They are not really enthusiastic to be invited in worshipping meetings. With those students, I could discuss politics as well as the progress of their study. (P22)
Personal meetings	My Indonesian friends love to visit my home. We like cooking together, such as <i>rujak cingur</i> and <i>tahu campur</i> [These are traditional cuisine from East Java, Indonesia]. Then, we certainly love eating together. For us, the most important thing is eating. We always spend some of our times for this kind of gathering. (P25)

The table shows that the younger migrants use various types of face to face meetings for bonding community. More than half of the younger participants attend the worshipping meetings. These meetings are conducted regularly, such as every week in the mosque and every two weeks in the church. During these meetings, the younger participants meet other Indonesians from the same religion. After worshipping, they always have gathering, in which most of them could greet each other and ask their recent news. Small talks about family and job always happen during gathering. Furthermore, the majority of younger participants spend some of their times to have family and friends reunion in Indonesia. For those, who have children, family and relatives reunions are important to introduce the family and relatives to their children. Most of the younger participants have reunions in Indonesia 1-2 times every 2 years. Those that do not have opportunity to visit Indonesia are the younger undocumented migrants. To overcome it, they mostly participate in organizational activities. They love to meet other Indonesians migrants through various organizational activities, such as gathering, *Arisan* group, discussion and doing sport. Furthermore, one third younger participants stated

that they love to have personal meetings with their close friends, such as visiting each other and gathering. The majority of younger migrants said that they like to have face to face meetings with other Indonesians at least once a week.

The majority of younger migrants emphasized that they could discuss many things with other Indonesians. They could discuss public to personal issues, such as religion, politics, migrant workers, education, study, family as well as personal circumstances. Whatever the discussed topics, those are always linked to Indonesia.

The majority of the younger Indonesian migrants perceived that meetings with other Indonesians provided strong bound.

Face to face meetings with other Indonesians are touching because we have a strong chemistry. (P30)

The above excerpt illustrates that most of the Indonesians perceived face to face meetings to be rich in cues, which provide strong emotional supports during their stay in the Netherlands.

The younger migrants use various types of face to face meetings. Those provide wider opportunities to meet other Indonesians from various backgrounds. The majority of younger migrants stated that they meet other Indonesians regularly. Furthermore, the intensity of meetings with other Indonesians is quite often. On the average, they at least meet other Indonesians once a week. Those meetings also provide opportunities to discuss various topics from general issues, such as politics and education, to personal issues, such as family and personal circumstances. They perceived that meetings are rich in cues and touching. Therefore, the majority of younger migrants spend some of their times to have face to face meetings for their bonding community.

(b) Letters

There are a few younger participants, who experienced writing letters for bonding community. Moreover, there are only four participants that were used to write letters with high in return for bonding community. They wrote letters because in the past letters were the main communication tool to reach their loved ones, who were far away. One of the participants explained it as follows.

In 1999, I was used to write letters. At that time, telephone was still expensive. We also did not have the Internet at that time. I could write 8 pages letter. I sent letters 2-3 times a month depending on my mood and loneliness. I sent those letters to my parents, fiancé and friends in Indonesia. My family replied it by telling the stories about what was happening in Indonesia. With my fiancé, I discussed my recent condition, job, loneliness and our marriage plan. With my classmates, I usually share our recent news as well as job opportunity in the Netherlands. (P7)

The above excerpt illustrates that the younger participants perceived letters as personal interactive communication. They only used letters to communicate with other Indonesians, with whom they had intimate relationships, such as family, fiancé and close friends. The topics were mostly about personal issues, such as recent news, family, loneliness and marriage. Furthermore, they thought that letters were the main interactive communication tool because neither telephone nor the Internet was affordable at that time.

Nowadays, those younger migrants, who were used to write letters, have switched letters to other interactive communication, especially online interactive communication. Nevertheless, there is a younger participant, who remains to write letters as illustrated in the following story.

I've been used to write letters to my parents for years. We're used to write letters like a diary. This diary is delivered back and forth to Indonesia and the Netherlands. In the past, it was mom, who always brought the stamps. Now, it's my turn. We don't have any reason not to reply the letters. We have used letters to overcome our loneliness. We regularly send letters every month. ... Those letters are mostly about motivation, support and household problems. ... Up to now I still write letters to my mother. She loves writing. ... I follow her interest in writing. (P30)

The above story illustrates that letters to some extent remain important. Letters are an effective interactive communication tool to maintain the contact with the elderly. The old generation is unfamiliar to communicate with the new media.

Description in this section illustrates that letters were important interactive communication in the past. It diminished the distances between people. It allowed the younger migrants to reach their bonding community that was far away from them. Moreover, letters cost was the cheapest one at that time than any other interactive communication. The younger migrants that were used to write letters perceived letters as personal interactive communication tool. They mostly used letters only with the intimate ones to share personal stories as well as intimate problems. Nowadays, the majority of younger migrants perceived that letters are ineffective anymore. Delivering letters take a lot of time. Moreover, they need to wait for quite long time for the feedback. Thus, the number of younger migrants, who use letters for bonding community, drops significantly.

(c) Telephone

The telephone is another interactive communication medium, which diminishes the distances. The phone eases the communication among individuals that are separated by the distances. The majority of younger Indonesian migrants use telephones to contact their family and relatives in Indonesia. When the phone cost dropped significantly, their intensity to make calls to Indonesia is significantly getting more often than before. Telephone provides opportunity for them to share their intimate problems with their family in Indonesia. In fact, the female younger migrants make calls to the family in Indonesia more often than the males. Those females even have conversation in the phone for hours. One of those female younger participants explained it as follows.

I frequently make calls to Indonesia. I always contact my mother as well as brothers/sisters. Recently, during my pregnancy, I call my mom more often than before. Anytime I call, I always have a conversation with her for almost two hours. I call her because I'm homesick, lonely and inactive [due to maternity leave]. (P25)

Nevertheless, in the past some parts in Indonesia were even difficult to be reached by telephone as illustrated in the following story.

If I'd like to call my mother, I had to call my uncle at first. I informed him that I'd like to make a call with my mother. I told him the exact date and time. Then, he'd inform it to my mother. After that, my mother had to travel for 30 km from my village to the city to receive my call. At that time, I could only call her once a month. I was afraid

that it would be a troublesome for my uncle. ... Now, there is telephone in my village. I could call her 1-2 times in a month. (P22)

The above excerpt indicates that the intensity of making calls to Indonesia is also increasing as the telephone is more accessible nowadays. The majority of younger participants use a telephone to communicate with their family in Indonesia. There are only a few of younger participants that make calls to contact their old friends in Indonesia. Thus the conversation topics on the phone are mostly about situation here (in the Netherlands) and there (in Indonesia), children studies, parents health and financial matters.

Telephone is also a convenient interactive communication means to reach other Indonesians in the Netherlands. Most of the younger participants stated that they use telephone to contact other Indonesians in the Netherlands for almost every day. They could discuss many things on the phone, such as needing a hand, arranging meetings or discussing organizational plan. One of the younger participants explained it as follows.

I make calls to reach other Indonesians living in the Netherlands almost every day. We could talk about many things on the phone, such as making appointment, needing a hand or asking for a drive. If I couldn't meet them, surely I'll call them. (P20)

The excerpt illustrates that the telephone is handy interactive communication tool for younger migrants to reach their bonding community in the Netherlands. Most of the younger migrants are busy with their works. Thus, the telephone eases them to reach other Indonesians when they do not have enough time to meet them directly.

The majority of younger Indonesian migrants perceived that the telephone is rich in cues. The telephone allows them to hear the partners' voices. The telephone is also direct and spontaneous so they can hear the feedback immediately. Nowadays, the phone cost is getting much cheaper. According to them, they even can make calls in the Netherlands for free. Thus, the telephone is important interactive communication mean for bonding community.

(d) Email

All younger Indonesian migrants use email as interactive communication for bonding community. First, they use email to contact their Indonesian friends from the same organization. They mostly discuss as well as coordinate their organizational activities. There are also a few younger participants that use email to discuss personal issues with friends from the same community/organization.

Second, the majority of younger migrants subscribe the mailing list of their communities/organizations as illustrated in the following story.

In Annisa [A reading Koran community in Utrecht], we use a mailing list to share information. We also send email to inform whether we can attend the worshipping meetings or not. Sometime, we write email just for sharing our recent news. It is also used to coordinate and prepare the dishes for a gathering after the worshipping meeting. (P23)

The above excerpt indicates that the mailing list facilitates all community/organization members to share information as well as coordinating their activities.

Third, there are only six younger participants that write email to their family, relatives or friends in Indonesia. They stated that they can only write email to reach the younger generation in Indonesia, such as their little brothers/sisters or nephews/ nieces. One of the younger participants explained it as follows.

I use email to communicate with my old friends that are anti-*Facebook*. We have Tarakanita [A high school in Jakarta, Indonesia] mailing list for example. I also subscribe my family mailing list. Here, we usually discuss our household issues, such as our mother's birthday. (P30)

The above excerpt illustrated that the use of email with family, relatives and friends in Indonesia is still limited for interactive communication with the younger generation.

The majority of younger Indonesian migrants perceived email as a formal interactive communication tool. They mostly use it for organizational purposes, such as sharing information for organizational members, contacting other organizational members or coordinating their organizational activities. Thus, email is mostly used for organizational purposes rather than personal purposes.

(e) *Chatting*

The majority of younger Indonesian migrants (16 out of 20) use chatting for bonding community. According to them, chatting is similar with short message service (SMS). They can easily install chatting application to their mobile phone, so they can have chatting anytime and anywhere. They said that they almost have chatting every day.

I chat via *Facebook* with my nephews/nieces in Indonesia. They are high school students. With my friends in the Netherlands, I usually chat through *WhatsApp*. (P25)

Similar to email, the people that can be reached through chatting are limited to the younger generation. As illustrated in the excerpt above, chatting is used only to the younger generation in Indonesia (e.g. nephews/nieces or little brothers/sisters) as well as in the Netherlands (e.g. friends from the younger generation).

The presence of chatting encourages the younger generation to learn online interactive communication. It also provides opportunity for them to expand their bonding community across the world. One of the younger participants explained it as follows.

I like chatting via *MIVO TV*. I got a new Indonesian contact in Switzerland. I met him when I had vacation in Swiss. I even could stay overnight in his house. ... I know a lot of Indonesians from *MIVO TV*. I use chatting to maintain my relationship with them. ... Because of chatting via *MIVO TV*, I also know a lot of Indonesians living in the Netherlands. We then conduct meetings for shopping, dinner and clubbing. ... I trust my friends from *MIVO TV* much more rather than my brothers/sisters. ... At first, we introduced ourselves through chatting in *MIVO TV*. Then, we made a call via *Skype*. After that, we shared our pictures via *Facebook*. We then conducted a meeting for all Indonesian *MIVO TV* members living in the Netherlands. ... I actually could use computer because of *MIVO TV*. At that time, I thought chatting was so fun. (P2)

The above excerpt illustrates that the creation of bonding community can be started online. Those Indonesians built the networks and trust through online chats. Eventually, they arranged an offline meeting. This certainly shows that chatting provides an opportunity for the younger Indonesian migrants to expand their bonding community across borders.

The majority of younger migrants perceived that chatting is informal. Chatting does not need a formal structure like email. Moreover, it can be used for any kind of situations, including chit chat in everyday life as illustrated by a younger participant in the following story.

With chatting, I can use daily language. It doesn't need dear and regards. It can be used for informal situation. I'm used to have chatting with my elder sister in Indonesia as well as my friends in the Netherlands. If I use chatting, personal issues that I discuss with my elder sister would not be published publicly like in *Facebook*. (P37)

The above story indicates that the majority of younger Indonesian migrants like to use chatting as interactive communication mean for bonding community. Besides easily accessed in mobile phone, it is suit with the daily conversation. Thus, the younger migrants love chatting for bonding community, certainly with younger Indonesian generation.

(f) SNS

All younger participants use SNS for bonding community. All of them use *Facebook* to communicate with their family and relatives in Indonesia. Besides updating the status and commenting each other, the majority of younger migrants use it for photo sharing as illustrated in the following story.

I use *Facebook* with my nephews and nieces. I usually share pictures there, so they could show those pictures to their mother and grandmother/grandfather. (P23)

The above excerpt emphasizes that most of the SNS partners in Indonesia are the teenagers or the young Indonesian generation. The younger Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands depend on the younger generation in Indonesia to share their information or pictures with the older generation there.

Half of the younger participants also use SNS group to unite the members of their kinship as well as to contact their former classmates in Indonesia. One of the younger participants explained it as follows.

I have a family *Facebook* group. The name is ... kinship. I also join a *Facebook* group with my high school classmates. I usually have reunions with them anytime I visit Jakarta [A capital city of Indonesia]. I also subscribe a *Facebook* group for the Minang ethnic group [An ethnic group in West Sumatra, Indonesia]. The members are Minang people living abroad. Nevertheless, we only meet in *Facebook*. ... I mostly use *Facebook* to reach my sister-in-laws and nephews/nieces. We are commenting each other on our status, for example about family, health and job. It is mostly for family, relatives and friends, who are living far away. *Facebook* is cheap. It's even free. (P6)

The above excerpt shows that most of the younger participants use SNS for diminishing the distances. SNS provides an opportunity for the younger Indonesian migrants to expand their bonding community across borders, such as the establishment of Minang ethnic group community as mentioned in the above story. Nevertheless, the people that can be reached through SNS are limited to the younger generation.

Furthermore, some of the younger migrants also use SNS to communicate with other Indonesians living in the Netherlands. Most of them use SNS group so they could easily communicate among members.

Most of the Indonesians are in *Facebook*. Friends from PPI Delft [Indonesian Student Association in Delft] as well as KMD [Moslem Community in Delft] are in *Facebook*. There are also a lot of my alumnae communities in *Facebook*. Nevertheless, I don't use it to communicate with my family. ... In my opinion, everyone will know once you communicate via *Facebook*. (P36)

From the above stories, it can be concluded that the younger Indonesian migrants have various perceptions about SNS. Some of them perceived that SNS is a convenient interactive communication mean since it diminishes the distances. Moreover, they thought that it is free. Meanwhile, there are only a few of them, who realize that they have lesser privacy on SNS. The privacy concern is associated with the ways younger Indonesian migrants use SNS.

As the stories unfolded, this study reveals that all younger Indonesian migrants use SNS for bonding community. Some of them are really active to update status, comment on status or upload pictures. Meanwhile, some of them are passive, in which they only use SNS to share pictures. Since most of the younger migrants are SNS users, the use of SNS group are effective for community or organizational purposes.

The younger Indonesian migrants use various types of interactive communications for bonding community. The majority of younger migrants are heavily addicted to the new media. While email is mainly used for organizational purposes, chatting and SNS are mostly used for personal purposes. The presence of chatting and SNS provides opportunities for the younger migrants to get new Indonesian contacts and expand their bonding community across borders. Nevertheless, they realize that the partners for chatting and SNS are limited to the younger Indonesian generation. They still need the traditional interactive communication, such as the telephone, to contact the older generation in Indonesia. As the cost of international call was getting cheaper, most of the younger migrants make calls to their family, relatives and friends in Indonesia more often than before. To reach other Indonesians living in the Netherlands, they mostly prefer to have face to face meetings. Various types of interactive communication use interchangeably depending on the intended people. General speaking, both traditional and online interactive communication ease the younger Indonesian migrants to create and maintain their bonding community.

4.6 The experiences of the younger Indonesian migrants in using interactive communication for bridging communities

The bridging community creation of younger Indonesian migrants is also associated with their migration experiences. As mentioned before, the majority of younger migrants moved to the Netherlands because of studying, working and marriage motives. Furthermore, most of them are unsure how long they are going to stay in the Netherlands. These migration experiences influences their networks, trust and reciprocity toward the Dutch.

The Dutch networks of younger Indonesian migrants could be classified into five groups. Since most of the younger migrants are employee, their first Dutch networks are their colleagues, bosses or clients. They meet them daily at the workplace. The second is their neighbours. The majority of the younger Indonesian migrants live in public neighbourhood. There are only a few of them, who live in a Moslem neighbourhood. This kind of neighbourhood is easily recognizable with the presence of mosque, butchery as well as Moroccan and Turkish shops with *halal* labels. The other Dutch networks are their organizational friends. Some of the younger migrants know Dutch Moslems or Dutch Catholics from their religious organizations. Meanwhile, the bridging networks of the Indonesian students are limited to their classmates or lectures. Most of the younger female migrants married with the Dutch create strong bound with the family of their husband. The majority of younger migrants have an outward looking toward the Dutch. They perceived that the Dutch people are open-minded, direct and welcome. Nevertheless, they notice that the Dutch people are mean and close-minded to intimate problems. One of the younger participants explained it as follows.

My Dutch networks are my colleagues. However, I don't have any colleagues that are really close to me. It is too difficult to have close and intimate relationships with them. ... They are open-minded toward everything out of themselves. Nevertheless, they are really close-minded for private things. They look like the opened windows with curtains. (P37)

Trust of younger migrants toward the Dutch could be grouped into four factors. The first is neighbour relationships. They believe that most of the neighbours are willing to help each other on their daily basis. Second is obtaining job information or references. The ways young generation getting a job in the Netherlands are not as easy as the older generation. The situation is getting more difficult for the undocumented migrants. In this case, most of them get job information and references from their previous bosses. They are used to share the job information from mouth to mouth. The majority of younger migrants like the professionalism of the Dutch, so they trust them in term of work relationships. The most extreme case is experienced by a younger Indonesian family. While most of the Indonesians were unwilling to help them, they received aids for their sick daughter from the Dutch foundation. They felt so thankful about it.

The majority of younger Indonesian migrants provide reciprocity toward the Dutch. Their reciprocity includes participating in Dutch communities/organizations, neighbour relationships, work relationships and relative relationships. There are only a few younger migrants that participate in Dutch communities/organizations. Most of them are usually housewives or undocumented migrants. The young housewives try to fill their available time in a useful way. Meanwhile, the undocumented migrants participate in Dutch organization to contribute in their organizational activities. In return, they would get protection from them. Most the younger migrants that are working only maintain the reciprocity in term of work relationships. The younger migrants that married with the Dutch try to be more care and have

more contacts with their relatives. A summary of younger Indonesian's bridging community is presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9
Bridging Community of Younger Indonesian Migrants

Bonding community	Sample quotes
Networks	
<i>Simply meeting with the Dutch</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Colleagues</i> 	Most of my colleagues are Dutch people. If I make a mistake, they directly talk about it and it's done. I try to understand their characteristics. I can't have intimate relationships with them. I've just known them as colleagues. I can't trust them 100%. (P10)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Neighbours</i> 	I have a lot of neighbours: Surinamese, Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch. The neighbours easily call police when there is unusual thing. ... In 2005 or 2006, I was reported to the police, intelligent as well as Amsterdam municipality. At that time, my wife had just given a birth. We held gathering by inviting nurse worshipping group. It seemed that the neighbour didn't like it and reported us to the local authorities. He even installed a camera in front of his house. (P8)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Organizational friends</i> 	The Dutch Moslems in Utrecht have their own community. It's called Bina Dakwah. They conduct sermons twice a month. ... I join their activities. I know most of their wives that are mostly Indonesian women. Their kids join Koran reading community for children. (P22)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Classmates</i> 	I have contacts with my Dutch classmates. It's difficult to have close relationships with them. (P17)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Relatives</i> 	I'm so close with my mother-in-law. We are like friends. ... She's my mom in the Netherlands. She loves cooking for me. I usually arrange her pictures in the laptop. With her, I'm mostly gossiping rather than sharing intimate problems. (P13)
<i>Outward looking</i>	I like learning the Dutch culture. I'm curious to understand their characteristics. I think they are open-minded, direct and welcome. (P17)
Trust	
<i>Neighbour relationships</i>	At that time, my wife and kid were sick. My Dutch neighbour drove them to the hospital. (P22)
<i>Obtaining job information/ references</i>	I got five jobs from my former boss. I shared those jobs with my wife. I don't trust ads. Information about domestic jobs is mostly from mouth to mouth. (P12)
<i>Work relationships</i>	I work with Dutch artists. I have photo project about domestic workers in the Netherlands. If they say that they are willing to help, they certainly help you. They will neither talk it behind you nor mention it in the future. (P37)
<i>Receiving aids</i>	This neighbourhood is really nice. At that time, I told them that my daughter needed medical treatment. We showed them the medical expenses. We told them that we couldn't afford it. The neighbours and the community leaders from this small village as well as the mayor established a foundation. This village has the foundation because of our daughter problem. They conducted bazaar and performances to raise fund. They provided aid for our daughter's medical expenses and her educational saving. (P30)

Reciprocity	
<i>Participating in Dutch communities/ organizations</i>	I'm a volunteer for the Dutch society. I usually visit houses of the unemployed Dutch people. Some of them might get problems, such as divorce and alcohol addict, so they get difficulties to do the administration stuffs. I visit and assist them to do their administration obligation, such as the house payments. Previously, the coordinator observes them before appointing me to visit them. We try to revive them. (P4)
<i>Neighbour relationships</i>	When there is a neighbourhood gathering, such as Christmas, I always participate and bring some snacks. (P8)
<i>Work relationships</i>	To repay the kindness of my boss, I usually invite him for dinner. (P21)
<i>Relative relationships</i>	My parents-in-law are Dutch. ... We always visit them in Amsterdam every week. (P13)

The bridging community of younger migrants is limited compared to the older generation. Their networks are still limited to the relatives, colleagues, classmates and neighbours. Nevertheless, the younger migrants show that they also need to create and maintain their bridging community as they were still unsure how long they are going to stay in the Netherlands.

The younger Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bridging community. Similar to the older generation, they prioritize face to face meetings with the Dutch rather than the other types of interactive communication. The first is meetings with the Dutch at the workplace or at school. The majority of younger migrants meet the Dutch colleagues, bosses or clients every day at their workplace. During the working times, they mostly talk about their work affairs. They sometime also talk about their family and vacation during the lunch break or coffee break. Besides, some of the younger participants also meet their classmates 3-5 times a week. These Indonesian students usually discuss their study or research with their Dutch classmates. As part of the work relationships or peer group, the younger migrants spent some of their leisure time to hang out or have parties with their Dutch colleagues or classmates.

The second is meetings with the Dutch in the neighbourhood. As mentioned before, the majority of younger migrants live in the Dutch neighbourhood. They meet in the yard as well as in the neighbourhood activities, such as gathering, Christmas and New Year. One of the younger participants described it as follows.

If I meet my neighbours, they usually ask my recent news as well as my wife. We have a little chit-chat about the weather and my kids. From the 12 houses in this block, the most familiar one is the neighbour living next to my door. With the other Dutch neighbours, we are just greeting each other. (P22)

The above excerpt illustrates that the relationships with the neighbours are more like acquaintance rather than close friends. They only make contact with the neighbours for necessary things. There is one younger participant that has never participated in the neighbourhood activities as illustrated in the following story.

This neighbourhood usually holds meetings. For example, this neighbourhood would like to make a garden. All citizens in this neighbourhood are invited to the meeting. We'll receive an invitation in the post box. During the meeting, they'll ask whether

the citizens have any idea about it. Nevertheless, I have never attended it. ... I also don't participate in any Dutch organization. They wouldn't listen to my idea. Their ideas are different. I'm just a little part of them. (P20)

The above story illustrates the ways a younger participant does not have any willingness to participate either in his neighbourhood or other Dutch organizations. According to him, he feels that he is not fully accepted in the Dutch community. Therefore, he does not have sense of belonging toward the Dutch community.

Meanwhile, some of the younger migrants, who are parents, meet the parents of their children's friends at school or sport club. In this case, they mostly have small talks about their kids.

The third is meetings with the Dutch in organizational activities. There are only four younger participants that meet with the Dutch or even international networks through their organizational activities. One of them described it as follows.

I meet my friends in Wereldhuis [A Dutch organization for undocumented migrants] every Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. There are Dutch, Filipino and also Latin people. Our organization struggles to provide working permit for the undocumented migrants. (P12)

The fourth is meetings with the Dutch relatives. This is mostly held by the younger migrants that married with the Dutch. They usually visit each other regularly from once a week to once in two months. In this case, the Dutch parents-in-law mostly would like to meet their grandchildren. Their conversations are mostly about the grandchildren.

The majority of younger Indonesian migrants use face to face meetings for bridging community. Nevertheless, most of them perceived that meetings with the Dutch are formal. They need to make appointment long before the meetings. Furthermore, meetings with the Dutch mostly needed a topic. Thus, the meetings are too serious as illustrated in the following story.

Meetings with Indonesians are much more relaxing. We rarely have certain topic. ... You need topics when you have meetings with the Dutch. For example, my meetings with parents-in-law. If we discuss something, we need a certain topic and conclude it at the end. (P25)

Beside meetings, the younger Indonesian migrants also use telephone, email, chatting and SNS for bridging community. The majority of younger participants use telephone to reach their bosses, colleagues, clients or classmates. This is certainly about work or study fairs. Some of them also use it to make calls to their Dutch relatives, such as the parents-in-law. Conversation with Dutch relatives is usually more intimate as illustrated in the following story.

Recently, I call my mother in law more often. I like gossiping with her. (P13)

More than half of the younger participants write email to reach their colleagues and Dutch organization friends. The majority of younger participants perceived email as formal interactive communication tool. They mostly use it for official communication with colleagues or organization. Furthermore, there are only five younger participants that use

chatting for bridging community. They are students and nurses. According to them, chatting eases them to share information. One of them described it in the following story.

I rarely make calls to the Dutch. If there is something necessary, we've usually arranged it at the workplace. Otherwise, I just use chatting. It is mostly about work fairs or attendance at the workplace. (P2)

Furthermore, there are only one third younger participants that use SNS for bridging community.

With Dutch colleagues, I communicate via *Facebook* and official email. It is mostly about work fairs and family. (P8)

Meanwhile, the students usually create SNS group to ease the communication among classmates.

With my classmates, including the Dutch, I use a *Facebook* group. ... We made a classmates group. We share information through it. It is mostly formal. The Dutch classmates are close-minded about their personal issues. (P17)

In sum, the younger Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bridging community. The majority of younger migrants depend on the use of face to face meetings for bridging community. Furthermore, most of them (16 out of 20) also use the telephone to reach their Dutch networks, such as colleagues, bosses, clients and relatives. More than half of the younger migrants write email for bridging community. Nevertheless, it is mostly used for official rather than personal purposes. There are only a few younger migrants, mostly nurses and students, who use chatting to reach their Dutch networks, such as colleagues and classmates. Meanwhile, there are only one third younger participants that use SNS to have contacts with the Dutch. Moreover, the intensity to use interactive communication for bridging community is limited. They only use interactive communication for necessary things, such as work and study fairs, rather than to establish intimate relationships with the locals. The majority of younger migrants mainly use interactive communication to maintain their bridging community rather than to strengthen or expand it.

4.7 The motivation of the older and the younger Indonesian migrants to use interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities

This study finds that the most favourable interactive communication means among generation is face to face meetings. There are more than half of the older and younger participants that like to use face to face meetings, 12 people for each group. There is only an older participant, who loved to write letters. This indicates that letters are not really popular among generation. The use of telephone among generation is almost the same (7 and 6 consecutively). Although the number of new media fan is limited, this study reveals that the new media fan is younger generation. Two younger participants stated that they love the new media at the first place. The new media in this context refer to email, chatting, SNS as well as VOIP. An overview about the most favourable interactive communication among generation is presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10

The Most Favourable Interactive Communication among Generation

Types of interactive communication	Generation		Total
	Older	Younger	
Face to face meetings	12	12	24
Letters	1	0	1
Telephone	7	6	13
New media	0	2	2
Total	20	20	40

Interactive communication usage between the male and female migrants is also different. Similar to the use of interactive communication among generation, the most popular interactive communication among gender is face to face meetings. There are 13 male and 11 females participants, who like face to face meetings at the first place. The telephone stays in the second place. There are 13 participants that love the telephone. The importance finding is that most of the participants that like a telephone are females. As the stories unfolded, it is revealed that female migrants have tendency to use telephone for longer conversation with their mother, mother-in-law, sister-in-law or female friends. Most of them liked sharing stories as well as gossiping on the phone. An older participant that loves to write a letter is also a female. It seems that she likes letters because of her beautiful memory with those letters. In the past, she got acquaintance with her former Dutch husband through letters. Meanwhile, two younger participants, who love the new media at the first place, are males. In general, it indicates that male migrants are more highly addicted to the new media rather than females. One of those young male migrants stated that he loves the new media because the presence of new media eases him to contact his wife and sons in Indonesia every day. Table 4.11 provides a summary about the most favourable interactive communication among gender.

Table 4.11

The Most Favourable Interactive Communication among Gender

Types of interactive communication	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Face to face meetings	13	11	24
Letters	0	1	1
Telephone	5	8	13
New media	2	0	2
Total	20	20	40

Face to face meetings are not only popular among generation and gender, but also become the most favourable interactive communication for bonding community. The majority of Indonesian migrants perceived that face to face meetings are the most effective because they are direct. Face to face meetings provide opportunities to directly understand partners' gestures as well as oral spoken words. For bonding community, most of the participants stated that face to face meetings establish the feeling of intimacy with other Indonesians. The telephone stays in the second place. There are two third of Indonesian migrants, who like to use a telephone, to contact their family, relatives and friend in Indonesia as well as friends in the Netherlands. According to them, telephone can be reached anytime. While the younger participants are busy with their works and the older participants are aging to travel by themselves, they prefer to use the telephone for bonding communities as it is rich in cues. Meanwhile, there are also four participants that love the new media for bonding community. They are mostly Indonesian migrants, who left their family in Indonesia. The presence of new media provides opportunity to meet their family virtually, through chatting, VOIP, video calls and SNS. A summary of the most favourable interactive communication for bonding community is presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12
The Most Favourable Interactive Communication for Bonding Community

Types of interactive communication	Total
Face to face meetings	22
Letters	0
Telephone	14
New media	4
Total	40

Not only for bonding community, face to face meetings also become the most favourable interactive communication for bridging community. As mentioned before, the majority of Indonesian migrants perceived that face to face meetings provide eye to eye contacts. These ease the Indonesian migrants to understand the Dutch more easily from their oral language as well as their gestures. The majority of Indonesian migrants could not speak Dutch fluently; therefore, meetings with the Dutch facilitate them to understand them much better. There are also six participants, who love to use the telephone for bridging community. Those are mostly the Indonesian female migrants, who married with the Dutch. They make calls in reaching their relatives, such as parents-in-law. There are also four participants that like to use new media for bridging community at the first place. They mostly like to use email to communicate with their colleagues as well as organization friends. The type of new media for bridging community (i.e. email) is limited compared to the types of new media for bonding community (i.e. chatting, VOIP, video calls and SNS). Table 4.13 provides an overview of the most favourable interactive communication for bridging community.

Table 4.13
The Most Favourable Interactive Communication for Bridging Community

Types of interactive communication	Total
Face to face meetings	29
Letters	1
Telephone	6
New media	4
Total	40

The Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities with various motivations. In general, they use the interactive communication to create and maintain their social relationships both with other Indonesians and the Dutch. As the stories unfolded, this study discloses that each type of interactive communication is used with various motivations.

Face to face meetings as the most favourable interactive communication are used for various motivations. Face to face meetings for bridging community are mostly because of social interaction and information motivation. Meanwhile, the use of face to face meetings for bonding community are encouraged because of varied motivations, including entertainment, information, personal identity and personal relationships. An overview of the motivations to use face to face meetings is presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14
Motivation to Use Face to Face Meetings

Face to face meetings	Sample quotes
Motivation	
<i>Entertainment</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Escaping from routines</i> 	All the members of <i>Arisan</i> are Indonesians. There are 30 females. If we have <i>Arisan</i> , we don't want to carry our kids. If we have <i>Arisan</i> or clubbing, there are our husbands, who look after the kids. (P2)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Getting pleasure</i> 	In <i>Arisan</i> , we meet other Indonesians. Here, we are making jokes and laughing together. We are doing karaoke and dancing. (P6)
<i>Information</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sharing information</i> 	Most of the Indonesian nurses would like to pursue higher education up to NIVO 4 or equal to bachelor in Indonesia. We have PPNI. We share information about the education there. (P20)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sharing problems</i> 	I attend the sermon every week. We study about Islam. Furthermore, we also share our problems as well as find the solution together. (P38)
<i>Personal identity</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Eating Indonesian cuisine</i> 	PPME holds the sermon every Saturday. I escape from my work routine here. I meet other Indonesians, have chit chat, share experiences, increase the knowledge about Islam, as well as eating Indonesian food. (P7)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Speaking Indonesian</i> 	I'm quite often having gathering with Indonesians. We love cooking and eating together. There would be rice, <i>sambal</i> and fun stories. We speak Dutch in everyday life. If I meet other Indonesians, I certainly speak Indonesian. (P24)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Worshipping</i> 	We have the sermon every week. It is for social contact and strengthening the faith. (P22)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Self reflection</i> 	I have close friend in Purmerend. We love discussing human being attitudes. After that, we always conduct self reflection. (P34)
<i>Personal relationship/ social interaction</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Loneliness</i> 	I feel lonely; therefore, I go to the mosque to meet the other Indonesians. (P9)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Social contact</i> 	Face to face meetings make my relationships with my bosses closer. I like to have meetings with them. I have a boss that always invites me for lunch. ... He loves talking about Indonesia and IMWU. (P12)

The motivations of using a telephone for bonding and bridging communities are similar to the motivations of using face to face meetings. Most of the participants use telephone for personal relationships to maintain their contact with others. Furthermore, some of them make calls because of information motivation. They like to share information as well as to ask other's situation. Furthermore, the female migrants, who love telephone at the first place, mostly use the phone for entertainment. They make calls to reach their family, especially their mothers in Indonesia, for hours to get some pleasures. Meanwhile, the use of telephone for bridging community is encouraged by social interaction and information motivations. Most of the Indonesian migrants used telephone to maintain their relationships with the Dutch relatives, colleagues, clients, classmates, or friends as well as to obtain information from them.

The letters are the most rarely used interactive communication tool. There are 17 participants that were used to write letters for bonding community. The letters were mostly intended to the loved ones in Indonesia. From their experiences, at that time letters were high in return because they were the main interactive communication tools to contact with those in Indonesia. In the past, most of the Indonesian migrants wrote letters to their family, relatives and friends in Indonesia because of personal relationships and information motivations. The letters were the most affordable interactive communication at that time that provided opportunity to diminish the distance among them.

Email is the first new medium for interactive communication. It is very popular among the older generation. Most of the older Indonesian migrants use email for information and social interaction motivations. Email eases them to contact other Indonesians as well as their Dutch friends. Moreover, most of them subscribe to a mailing list, in which they could share any kinds of information. Meanwhile, email is perceived to be too formal by the younger generation. Most of them use email for official purposes. The use of email by younger Indonesian migrants is encouraged by social interaction motivation.

The heavy users of chatting are the younger Indonesian migrants. Most of them use it because of social interaction and information motivations. Chatting through mobile phone eases most of the younger migrants to keep in touch both with other Indonesians and the Dutch anywhere and anytime. Furthermore, chatting provides opportunity to get new contacts. The younger migrants use it to expand their bonding community across borders as well as maintaining their bridging community. According to the younger participants, chatting also can be used for entertainment purpose. Meanwhile, there are only a few older generation that trust and use it. The older generation thought that chatting just wastes their times.

The last is SNS. All younger Indonesian migrants use it. Meanwhile, there are only a small number of older migrants that used it. Similar to chatting, most of the younger migrants use SNS for social interaction motivation. It eases them to contact with their peers as well as the younger generation in Indonesia. However, the main motivation of using SNS is entertainment. Most of the younger migrants love to use SNS for photo sharing as well as commenting on a status. The number of Dutch friends in most of the Indonesian migrants' accounts is limited. According to them, SNS is ineffective for bridging community. This is because of different language and interests. Table 4.15 provides a summary of various motivations motivated the Indonesian migrants to use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities.

Table 4.15
Motivations of Using Different Types of Interactive Communication for Bonding and Bridging Communities

Types of interactive communication	Face to face meetings	Letters	Telephone	Email	Chatting	SNS
Motivation						
Bonding						
<i>Entertainment</i>	X	-	X	-	X	X
<i>Information</i>	X	X	X	X	X	-
<i>Personal identity</i>	X	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Personal relationships/social interaction</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bridging						
<i>Information</i>	X	-	X	X	X	-
<i>Personal relationships/social interaction</i>	X	-	X	X	X	X

The Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities with various motivations. Face to face meeting as the most favourable interactive communication for bonding and bridging community is used with the most complete motivations, including entertainment, information, personal identity and social interaction. Telephone is used because of social interaction, information and entertainment motivations. In the past, most of the Indonesian migrants were motivated to write letters also because of personal relationships purposes. Letters were the main interactive communication at that time to obtain information from the loved ones. Similar with letters, email is also used for social interaction and information motivations. Different motivations are provided by chatting and SNS. Besides for social interaction, most of the Indonesian migrants use them for entertainment. The motivations of using interactive communication for bonding community are more various than for bridging community. In conclusion, each type of interactive communication is used for various motivations either for bonding or bridging communities.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

How do the older and the younger Indonesian migrants that arrived in the Netherlands in 1965-2011 comparatively use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities? This question begins the exploration of this study. The main goal of this exploratory study was to contribute to our understanding on the interactive communication experiences and motives among Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands for bonding and bridging communities. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the findings based on the theoretical framework. This chapter starts with a discussion of the main findings in section 5.1. Section 5.2 provides a description of the theoretical implications, which is followed by a discussion of the limitation and further study in section 5.3. This chapter ends with some concluding remarks in section 5.4.

5.1 Discussion

The analysis of interactive communication in this study combines an international migration context, bonding and bridging social capital theory and interactive communication theory and also uses and gratification theory (UGT) to observe the ways Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. The findings described in the previous chapter highlight five issues needing further discussion, namely (a) the association between migration experiences and the interactive communication use for bonding and bridging communities; (b) face to face meetings as the most favourable interactive communication for bonding and bridging community for all age groups; (c) the limited use of online interactive communication by the older Indonesian migrants for bonding and bridging communities; (d) the opportunity of online interactive communication to expand the bonding community across borders; and (e) various motivations to use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities.

(a) The association between migration experiences and interactive communication use for bonding and bridging communities

The Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands have various migration experiences, including migration motives, length of stay and problems. Regarding the migration motives, the majority of the Indonesian migrants moved to the Netherlands to find work. Meanwhile, some of them have moved to the Netherlands because of looking for asylum, studying, marriage, social security and Indonesia-Netherlands history motives. These are in line with the study of Martínez and Vickers (2012). According to them, most of the Indonesians have moved to find work, while the others have migrated for social, educational and political reasons. Nevertheless, the religion motive as stated in their study is not revealed in the context of Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands in this study. The migration motives found here also support the study of Pattopang (2009) indicating that migration motives of Indonesians post-colonialism are different from the 'Indische Nederlanders' and the Mollucans, which mostly moved to the Netherlands with the status of Dutch citizen.

Furthermore, the Indonesian migrants' experiences in the Netherlands are described here from their length of stay and problems. There are three probabilities of their length of stay in the Netherlands, including settling, back for good and unsure of what will happen. Most of the older Indonesian migrants decide to settle as they have established their lives in the Netherlands. Supporting the study of King, Findlay and Ahrens (2010), most of the students in this study are going to go back for good after their graduations. Meanwhile, some of them are unsure about their length of stay in the Netherlands. The presence of those

migrants that are unsure of what will happen supports the proposition of Castles (2002) about the irrelevance of permanent and temporary migrant classification in the age of globalization. According to him, in this age migrants orient their lives to two or more societies rather than just to either home country or host country. Meanwhile, the Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands face seven problems, including language, cultural difference, climate, homesickness, identity, job and housing. These show that Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands have various migration experiences.

The migration experiences of the Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands are associated with the ways they use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. *First*, the use of different types of interactive communication is related with migration motives. Most migrants with looking for asylum and marriage motives use different types of interactive communication for bridging community in order to look for protection from the Dutch, to obtain information about Indonesia that was hardly accessed at that time and to assimilate with the husband's family. Meanwhile, migrants with studying and working motives usually use different types of interactive communication for bonding community. *Second*, the use of different types of interactive communication is connected with length of stay. For those migrants that have decided to settle in the Netherlands, they mostly use different types of communication, especially face to face meetings, for intensive meetings with their countrymen as well as to participate in the Dutch community/ organization, at least in their neighbourhood. Meanwhile, for those that would like to either go back for good or are still unsure mostly still prioritize the use of interactive communication for bonding community rather than bridging community. They intensify the use of interactive communication to maintain their relationship with family or relatives in Indonesia as well as the countrymen. *Third*, the use of different types of interactive communication is related with migration problems. While migrants feel homesick for example, they would use different types of interactive communication for bonding community. Therefore, this study shows that the ways the Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication are associated with their migration experiences including motives, future plan about staying in the Netherlands and problems.

(b) Face to face meetings as the most favourable interactive communication for bonding and bridging community for all age groups

Remarkably, previous studies emphasize the use of mainstream media and the early development of the Internet for bonding and bridging community (e.g. Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Christensen, 2012; d'Haenens, et al., 2000; d'Haenens, 2003; Karim, 1998; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005). Most studies focus on media use for bonding and bridging community and do not include face to face meetings as the most traditional type of interactive communication. This study demonstrates that the presence of interactive communication, including the face to face meetings is more important than the previous researchers assumed. The use of face to face meetings is the simplest type of interactive communication for both bonding and bridging community. Rather than being passive as media consumer, people like to actively initiate the creation of bonding and bridging community. Interactive communication, starting from face to face meetings, letters, phone, email, chatting and social networking sites (SNS) provide opportunity for the Indonesian migrants for bonding and bridging communities.

Furthermore, this study corroborates that the use of face to face meetings is the most favourable type of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. The second one is the telephone. Meanwhile, the use of Internet (email, chatting and SNS) is still far behind. The Indonesian migrants do not only consider types of interactive communication

crossing time and space, but also take the closest, the easiest and the richest-cues into account. This study argues that the Indonesian migrants' preference toward face to face meetings to the other types of interactive communication is also led by their perception. They perceive that the face to face meeting is rich in cues; therefore it could be used more easily for both bonding and bridging community. Furthermore, as noted in the studies of Ogan and d'Haenens (2012) and also Ogan and Ozakca (2010), face to face contacts also are the most basic form of interactive communication for bridging community.

(c) The limited use of online interactive communication by the older Indonesian migrants for bonding and bridging communities

Most of the older and the younger Indonesian migrants have adopted the Internet. They mostly access the Internet every day. Nevertheless, the older and the young Indonesian migrants perform differently on their Internet use. The online activities of the older Indonesian migrants are more limited than that of the younger Indonesian migrants. Specifically in the use of online interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities, the older Indonesian migrants mostly only use email, the early development of online interactive communication. Meanwhile, the younger Indonesian migrants use all types of online interactive communication, including email, chatting and SNS. This is in accordance with the study of van Dijk (2006). According to him, the gap of Internet use is getting bigger for people from different age groups.

This study confirms that the limited use of the Internet for bonding and bridging community by the older Indonesian migrants is guided by their perception of the Internet. Most of them perceive that online interactive communication, namely chatting and SNS only waste their time. Furthermore, most of them think that learning and using all online interactive communication is not necessary. This confirms the study of Vandebosch and Eggermont (2002) which stated that computer and the Internet are perceived as part of young people's life. Most of them feel neither the need to use all types of online interactive communication nor to invest their time to learn the recent online interactive communication. Thus, the generation gap is reaffirmed in this study.

(d) The opportunity of online interactive communication to expand the bonding community across borders

The majority of Indonesian migrants use online interactive communication for bonding community rather than for bridging community. The Indonesian migrants, notably the younger Indonesian migrants, integrate online interactive communication into their daily life make them having contact with their bonding community easier. They mostly use chatting and SNS with closely-related people, such as family, relatives and friends in the home country, in the host country, as well as across the world. The use of online interactive communication is mainly for providing emotional support during difficult times, such as living in a foreign country, struggling with alien cultures, or separating from loved ones. As stated in the study of Ogan and Ozakca (2010), the Internet is mainly used for bonding community in order to maintain the relations with the closely related people keep warm. Moreover, they describe that the Internet provides psychological support for tough times, such as a separation from loved ones. Meanwhile, the study of Peeters and d'Haenens (2005) indicates that the better the integration, the less often those migrants chat online. Although the younger Indonesian migrants also use online interactive communication with the locals, the intensity as well as the intended partners is very limited. While most of them use online interactive communication for the bonding community for personal relationship, the use of

online interactive communication for the bridging community is mostly for organizational relationship, working relationship or classmate relationship.

Similar communication use is experienced by the older Indonesian migrants. As mentioned before, they mostly use email for bonding community. Besides for maintaining personal relationship, they subscribe to mailing lists from their bonding community. This study therefore argues against the study of Peeters and d'Haenens (2005) stating that the older generation could not resort the potential of Internet for bonding community. This study reveals that the older Indonesian migrants could use the presence of Internet for bonding community, though their use certainly is limited compared to the younger generation.

Overall speaking, the use of online interactive communication by the Indonesian migrants is more for bonding community than for bridging community. This is in line with previous studies (e.g. Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005). Although the previous studies mostly describe the Internet use in general, including online reading, emailing, chatting, watching movie online, watching television online and listening to music online, those studies emphasize the importance of the Internet use for bonding community. The Internet, including online interactive communication is mostly used for maintaining relationships with the own group rather than for establishing new relationships within society.

This study argues that online interactive communication encourages the younger Indonesian migrants to establish bonding community across borders. The similarity bound as the Indonesians living abroad motivates some of them to create bonding community from online relationship. They put trust to the other Indonesians meeting online, although they have never met each other in the real life yet. They maintain their online bonding community to some point before they decide to have an offline meeting. Thus, the availability of online interactive communication (i.e. email, chat and SNS) provides greater opportunity for the younger Indonesian migrants to expand their bonding community across borders, including across the Netherlands, across Europe and across the world.

(e) Various motivations to use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities

This study discloses that each type of interactive communication is used for bonding community with various motivations. The motivation of using different types of interactive communication for bonding community is more complex. The usage of face to face meetings is for entertainment, information, personal identity and personal relationship/ social interaction motivations. The motivation of telephone usage is for social interaction, information and entertainment. The letter is written to the family, relatives and friends, especially in Indonesia to maintain the personal relationship and to seek information. Email as an electronic mail is used with the similar motivations of letter usage. The Indonesian migrants, especially the younger generation, like chatting for entertainment and personal relationship motivations. Although SNS is used for social interaction motivation, it is mainly entertainment oriented. Most of the Indonesian migrants use SNS for getting pleasure by sharing pictures and commenting each other.

Meanwhile, the motivation of using different types of communication for bridging community is much simpler. The use of different types of interactive communication for bridging community is social interaction and information oriented. Although the Indonesian migrants use different types of interactive communication for bridging community, they

mostly use them only to maintain their social contacts with the locals. Furthermore, it also provides opportunity for the Indonesian migrants to ask for any kind of information about the host society, especially about living in the Netherlands.

Various motivations of using different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities indicate that each type of interactive communication offers different gratifications. In line with uses and gratification theory (Katz et al., 1973), this study confirms that people are active human beings, who choose particular types of interactive communication to satisfy their needs and desires, including entertainment, information, personal identity and personal relationship/ social interaction motivations.

In sum, the findings are different from what is previously proposed in the beginning of the study: as the consequences of using different types of interactive communication, the older Indonesian migrants might achieve greater bridging community and the younger Indonesian migrants might achieve greater bonding community. The Indonesian migrants, both the older and the younger, use different types of interactive communication mostly for bonding community rather than for bridging community. Furthermore, the presence of online interactive communication raises the possibility of the younger Indonesian migrants to expand and strengthen the bonding community across borders. Nevertheless, the findings at this point provide an insight rather than generalization. This study was exploratory. For confirmation of the general findings, larger quantitative studies would have to be conducted.

5.2 Theoretical implications

This study has three theoretical implications. First, this study complements the studies of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. While previous studies only discuss the four largest migrants in the Netherlands, namely Turkish, Moroccan, Suriname and Antillean (i.e. d'Haenens, Beentjes, & Bink, 2000; d'Haenens et al., 2002; d'Haenens, 2003; Milikowski, 2000; Ogan, 2001; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005), this study describes the Indonesians as other ethnic minority group in the Netherlands. This study suggests that the migration experiences of Indonesian migrants, including motives, length of stay and problems are different from the 'Indische Nederlanders' and the Moluccans. Furthermore, this study shows that the Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands mostly use different types of interactive communication for bonding community rather than bridging communities. Thus, similar to the other ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, the Indonesian migrants also face difficulties to create their bridging community.

Furthermore, this study reveals that migration experiences are associated with the interactive communication usage for bonding and bridging community. The ways migrants choose particular types of interactive communication are not only associated with their orientation toward bonding and bridging communities, but also with their migration experiences. The migration motives, the length of stay and the migration problems contribute to the ways migrants use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities.

Finally, this study expands the intercultural communication studies in the context of international migration. Rather than focuses on the use of mainstream media, including printed and broadcasting mass media and the Internet (see for examples the study of Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Bonini, 2011; Ogan & d'Haenens, 2012; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; and Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005), this study reveals that interactive communication plays an important role in bonding and bridging communities. In fact, the face to face meeting as the

most traditional interactive communication type becomes the most favourable one for bonding and bridging communities. It indicates that the migrants are active human beings, who interchangeably become the sender and the receiver in the communication process and understand the timings to provide either immediate or delayed feedbacks. This also strengthens UGT (Katz et al., 1973). The migrants use different types of interactive communication to seek various gratifications, including entertainment, information, personal identity and personal relationship/ social interaction.

5.3 Limitations and further study

There are three limitations of this study. First, this study does not make a sharp distinction between online and offline relationships. Most of the migrants start their bonding and bridging communities in the offline relationships in the real life and then continue in the online relationships. However, some of the migrants show that their bonding and bridging communities have started online, which at some point are transformed into offline relationships. Do online relationship provides the same kinds of emotional and practical supports as the offline relationship, even without face to face meetings? This is noted in the study of Williams (2006). According to him, online and offline distinction should be clearly made since the creation of bonding and bridging communities may work differently online and offline.

Secondly, this study only focuses on the first migrant generation. Although this study compares the older and the younger Indonesian migrants, all of them are the ones that initiated the migration to the Netherlands. All of the participants have experienced living 'here' (in the Netherlands) and 'there' (in Indonesia). Furthermore, all of them were born in Indonesia. This might provide greater orientation to 'there' rather than to 'here' than in the so-called second generation of migrants.

In addition, no generalization can be made from this study. Aforementioned, this study employs interviews emphasizing deep insights rather than generalization. This study should be treated as a starting point to further explore the intercultural communication experiences of the Indonesians as one of the ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands.

Related to those limitations, a further study on the area of intercultural communication, especially on the ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, should be conducted. First, in the future the children should be investigated. This is important to understand whether there is a different orientation between the parents and the children. Furthermore, the distinction between the offline and online relationship should be clearly made; therefore, it could be comprehended if online relationship truly encourages the expansion of bonding community across borders, even without face to face interactions. Finally, further studies combining qualitative and quantitative approaches with larger samples, including different ethnic minority groups and the locals, should also be conducted. These kinds of research would provide more detailed and generalized conclusions from the migrants and the locals about their intercultural communication.

5.4 Concluding remarks

The emergence of new media in the 20th century has had a vast influence on international migration. The new media provide new opportunities for bonding and bridging communities. However, most of the studies only portray the mainstream media and use bonding and bridging as the predictors to understand media use patterns. This study tries to answer the question on how do the older and the younger Indonesian migrants that arrived in the

Netherlands in 1965-2011 comparatively use different types of interactive communication for bonding and bridging communities. This study shows that both the younger and the older Indonesian migrants mostly use different types of interactive communication for bonding community rather than for bridging community. Moreover, the younger generation use more various types of online interactive communication rather than the older generation. Finally, this provides greater opportunity for the younger generation to use the online interactive communication for bonding community across borders.

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Appendix A: A series of semi-structured interview
Interactive Communication for Bonding and Bridging Communities: Experiences of Indonesian Migrants in the Netherlands

Introduction

- Thank the participant for participating in the interview!
- Give a short introduction about the interviewer!
- Give a short explanation about the study and the goal of the study!
- Give a short preview about various subtopics of the interview!
- Tell the respondent that his/ her participation will be anonymous and ask for permission to record the interview!
- Ask if the participant has any questions beforehand!

Interview details

- Interviewer name :
- Date :// 2012
- Time : AM/ PM
- Place : Participant’s home/ Community Centre/ Others:
- Duration : minutes

Demographics of Participant

- Name :
- Gender : Male/ Female
- Place of birth :
- Date of birth ://
- Nationality :
- Years of living in the Netherlands : year(s)
- Living country(s) before coming to this country :
- Occupation :
- Educational degree (highest/ finished) :
- Marital status :
- Children : living at home/
..... living on their own

Concepts	Indices	Opening questions	Probing questions
1. International migration	a. Motive	How did you come to live in the Netherlands?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you move to the Netherlands? • Do you study here? • Do you seek for asylum? • Do you work here? • Do you get married with a Dutch person? Other than Indonesian? • Are you here with your family?
	b. Length of stay	How long are you going to stay in the Netherlands?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How long have you lived in the Netherlands? • Will you stay in the Netherlands? • Why? • Do you have any plan to return to Indonesia?

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you plan to go back for good to Indonesia? • Why?
	c. Problem	What kind of difficulties you have faced during your stay in the Netherlands?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did you experience cultural shock at the first time you arrived in the Netherlands? • Do you speak Dutch? • How the Dutch people treat you when you have different background from them? • Do you miss your family/ relatives/ friends in Indonesia?
2. Bonding community	a. Networks	How do you connect with your kin and friends in Indonesia as well as kin and countrymen in the Netherlands?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you still maintain your relationship with family in Indonesia? • Do you still maintain your relationship with kin in Indonesia? • Do you still maintain your relationship with friends in Indonesia? • Do you have family in the Netherlands? Who are they? • Do you have kin in the Netherlands that you know before your arrival here? Who are they? • Do you have countrymen in the Netherlands that you know before your arrival here? Who are they? • Do you have kin in the Netherlands that you meet (contact with) after your arrival here? Who are they? • Do you have countrymen that you meet after your arrival in the Netherlands? Who are they?
	b. Trust: Emotional support and access to scarce/ limited resources	<i>Emotional support</i> How do your kin and friends in Indonesia as well as your kin and countrymen in the Netherlands provide emotional support during your stay in the Netherlands?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you trust they will help you to solve your problem? • Can you go to them to get an advice while you need to make important decision? • Can you go to them to discuss intimate personal problems? • Can you meet them and talk to them when you feel lonely?

		<p><i>Access to scarce/ limited resources</i> Have your kin and friends in Indonesia as well as your kin and countrymen in the Netherlands provided help toward scarce/ limited resources during your stay in the Netherlands?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you meet them in case you really need a loan of 500 Euro? • Can they give you a good job reference? • Will they put their reputations on the line for you? • Can you get information about best Indonesian (Asian) shops or restaurants in your neighbourhood/ city/ region?
	<p>c. The norm of reciprocity</p>	<p>Do you support your kin/ friends in Indonesia as well as other Indonesians in the Netherlands?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you willing to help other Indonesians you meet in the Netherlands? • Do you have any stories, in which you provide help for other Indonesian(s)? • Are you willing to send remittance home? • Do you send remittances home? • Are you participating in an Indonesian community activity? • What kind of community activity? • Are you participating in an Indonesian organization? • What kind of organization? • How do you perceive your activity there (in an Indonesian community/ organization)? Explain!
<p>3. Bridging community</p>	<p>a. Networks: Simply meeting new people and outward looking</p>	<p><i>Simply meeting Dutch people</i> Do you have any friends with different background from you (i.e. nationality and country of origin)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you have Dutch classmate(s)? • Do you have Dutch colleague(s)? • Do you have Dutch neighbour(s)? • Do you have Dutch friends beside your classmate(s), colleague(s) and neighbour(s)? • Do you have any international classmate(s), colleague(s) and neighbour(s)?
		<p><i>Outward looking</i> How do you think about your interaction with Dutch people?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does it make you interested in things happen outside of your country? • Does it make you interested in things happen outside of your culture?

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does it make you want to try new things? • Does it make you interested in the way they are thinking? • Does it make you curious about other places in the world? • Does it make you feel connected to a larger community?
	b. Trust: Linkage to external assets/ information diffusion	How the Dutch people support you during your stay in the Netherlands?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does your interaction with the Dutch people ease you to hear new job opportunities? • Based on the Dutch people with whom you interact, is it easy for you to hear the best new places to shop in your neighbourhood/ city/ region? • Does your interaction with the Dutch people make you keep in touch with what is happening in the Dutch surroundings (with political, social, and cultural issues)? • Have the Dutch people ever helped you to solve your problem? How? Explain!
	c. The norm of reciprocity: Diffuse reciprocity with a broader community	Are you supporting the Dutch neighbourhood?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you willing to help Dutch people? • Have you ever invited your Dutch friends/ neighbours to your party/ home? • Are you willing to spend your time to support the Dutch neighbourhood? • Are you participating in the Dutch neighbourhood? • What kind of community activity? • Are you participating in the Dutch organization? • What kind of organization? • How do you perceive your activity there (in the Dutch neighbourhood/ organization)? Explain!
4. Interactive communication	a. General information on the Internet use	Could you describe your Internet use?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How long have you been online? (years) • Do you have internet access at home/ at work/ on your phone?

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you online through desktop personal computer (PC)/ laptop/ mobile phone? • How often do you log onto the Internet? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ once a day or more ➤ once in two days ➤ once in a week • What kind of activities do you usually do while you are online? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ (...) Surfing ➤ (...) Reading news ➤ (...) Watching movie ➤ (...) Listening music ➤ (...) Buying product(s) ➤ (...) Email ➤ (...) Social networking ➤ (...) Managing bank account ➤ (...) Working ➤ (...) Downloading/ file sharing ➤ (...) Education/ training ➤ (...) Visiting chat rooms/ forums ➤ (...) Others:
	<p>b. Experience</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Usage:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ <i>With the Indonesian community</i> 	<p><i>Types of interactive communication</i></p> <p>What kinds of interactive communication do you use to interact with other Indonesians?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you interact via face to face meetings? • Do you write letters? • Do you make calls? • Do you write emails? • Do you use instant messaging? (Do you chat with others via Yahoo Messenger (YM), Microsoft Network (MSN), etc.?) • Do you use social network sites (SNS) like <i>Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, MySpace, Google+?</i> (What do you usually do in SNS? posting status/ sending private messages/ chatting/ sharing pictures/ writing notes/ inviting others to event(s)/ others)

		<p><i>The intended people</i> Who do you try to reach?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With whom do you usually have face to face meetings? • What kinds of meeting do you have? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Is it party? ➤ Is it gathering? ➤ Is it dinner? ➤ Is it <i>Arisan</i>? ➤ Is it religious activity? ➤ Is it sport activity? ➤ Others? • To whom do you usually write letters? • With whom do you usually make calls? • To whom do you usually send emails? • With whom do you usually chat via instant messaging? • With whom do you usually use SNS? <p><i>Intensity</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How often do you use the interactive communication (face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS) to contact your kin/ friends at the home country? • How often do you use the interactive communication (face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS) to contact your countrymen in the host country? <p><i>Topic</i> What topic do you usually talk or discuss when you interact with other Indonesians?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you talk about intimate problem? • Do you talk about the recent condition of the family at home country? • Only asked if participants answer yes in <i>Question 2C (Remittances)</i>: Do you talk about remittances? • Do you talk about the recent political condition in the home country? • Others?
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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through which interactive communication those topics are discussed? (Face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS? Explain!) • With whom do you discuss/ talk those topics and why? (Kin/ Friends/ countrymen? Explain!)
		<p>➤ <i>With the Dutch people</i></p>	<p><i>Types of interactive communication</i></p> <p>What kinds of interactive communication do you use to interact with Dutch people?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you interact via face to face meetings? • Do you write letters? • Do you make calls? • Do you write emails? • Do you use instant messaging? (Do you chat with others via Yahoo Messenger (YM), Microsoft Network (MSN), etc.?) • Do you use social network sites (SNS) like <i>Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, MySpace, Google+</i>? (What do you usually do in SNS? posting status/ sending private messages/ chatting/ sharing pictures/ writing notes/ inviting others to event(s)/ others)
			<p><i>The intended people</i></p> <p>Who do you try to reach?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With whom do you usually have face to face meetings? • What kinds of meeting do you have? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Is it party? ➤ Is it gathering? ➤ Is it Friday drink with colleagues? ➤ Is it dinner? ➤ Is it religious activity? ➤ Is it sport activity? ➤ Others? • To whom do you usually write letters? • With whom do you usually make calls? • To whom do you usually send emails?

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With whom do you usually chat via instant messaging? • With whom do you usually use SNS?
			<p>Intensity How often do you use the interactive communication (face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS) to contact Dutch people?</p>
			<p>Topic What topic do you usually talk or discuss when you interact with the Dutch people?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you talk about intimate problem? • Do you discuss about sport, such as AJAX match? • Do you discuss about recent political condition in the Netherlands? • Do you discuss about Europe crisis? • Others? • Through which interactive communication those topics are discussed? (Face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS? Explain!) • With which Dutch people do you discuss/ talk those topics and why? (Explain!)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception 	<p>You have experienced using various interactive communications (face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS) to interact with others.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think about the use of face to face meetings to create and maintain the relationships with the kin and friends in Indonesia? With the kin and countrymen in the Netherlands? With the Dutch people? • How do you perceive the use of letters to create and maintain your social relationships with the kin and friends in Indonesia? With the kin and countrymen in the

			<p>Netherlands? With the Dutch people?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think about the use of telephone to contact your kin and friends in Indonesia? Your kin and countrymen in the Netherlands? The Dutch people? • How do you perceive the use of email to interact with the kin and friends in Indonesia? With kin and countrymen in the Netherlands? With the Dutch people? • What do you think about the use of instant messaging to have a chat with the kin and friends in Indonesia? With the kin and countrymen in the Netherlands? With the Dutch people? • How do you feel about the use of SNS to establish new contact as well as maintain your personal relationships with the kin and friends in Indonesia? With the kin and countrymen in the Netherlands? With the Dutch people? • Do you think the new media (email, instant messaging, SNS) differ/ similar from the old media (face to face meetings, letters, telephone? (How are they differ/ similar? Why do you think so? Explain!)
	<p>c. Motivation</p>	<p>What do you like most, new media, such as email, instant messaging, and SNS, or old media, such as face to face meetings, letter, and telephone?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you like new media? • Which one (email, instant messaging, and SNS)? • Why? • Do you like old media? • Which one (face to face meetings, letters, and telephone)? • Why?
		<p>Why do you use different types of interactive communication to connect with others?</p>	<p>Entertainment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you use particular interactive communication to get entertainment?

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which one (Face to face meetings, letters, telephone, emails, instant messaging, SNS)? • How? <hr/> <p><i>Information</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you gain information from interactive communication? • What kind of information do you get? • From which interactive communication (Face to face meetings, letters, telephone, emails, instant messaging, SNS)? <hr/> <p><i>Personal identity</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you learn something about yourself when you interact with others through face to face meetings? • Do you learn something about yourself when you write letters? • Do you learn something about yourself when you interact with others through telephone? • Do you learn something about yourself when you write emails? • Do you learn something about yourself when you chat with others via instant messaging? • Do you learn something about yourself when you interact with others through SNS? • How? Explain! <hr/> <p><i>Personal relationships and social interaction</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you think the face to face meetings with others are personal? • Do you think writing letters to others is personal? • Do you think making calls to others is personal? • Do you think using SNS like <i>Facebook</i> lead to personal relationship?
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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you simply meet new people from face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS? Meet other Indonesians/ Dutch people? • Do you use face to face meetings/ letters/ telephone/ emails/ instant messaging/ SNS to maintain your personal relationship (social interaction)? • How? Explain!
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End

- Ask if the participant want to add anything or to ask something about the topic!
(Are there any other questions that I have not asked you, but you think it is significant information for my study? Would you like to add something?)
- Thank participant for his/ her time and information!
- Ask the participant if he/ she would like to hear about the results of the interviews later!

Appendix B: A coding scheme
Interactive Communication for Bonding and Bridging Communities:
Experiences of Indonesian Migrants in the Netherlands

Open Coding	Categorizing		Themes Drawing
Working	Motive		International migration
Looking for asylum			
Studying			
Marriage			
Social security			
Indonesia-Netherlands history			
Settling	Length of stay		
Going back for good			
Unsure of what will happen			
Language	Problem		
Cultural difference			
Climate			
Homesickness			
Identity			
Job			
Housing			
Indonesian networks in Indonesia	Networks		Bonding community
Indonesian networks in the Netherlands			
Indonesian networks across the world			
Sharing intimate problems	Emotional support	Trust	
Getting motivations and supports			
Getting job information	Access to scarce/ limited resources		
Getting a loan			
Getting a house			
Delivering thing(s) to Indonesia			
Welcoming new comers			
Participating in the Indonesian communities/ organizations	Reciprocity		
Sending remittances			
Caring others (The elderly and the sick)			
Providing advices			
Assisting new comers			
Simply meeting with the Dutch	Networks		Bridging community
Outward looking			
Neighbour relationships	Trust		
Providing job referencess/ information			
Work relationships			
Receiving aids	Reciprocity		
Participating in the Dutch communities/ organizations			
Neighbour relationships			
Work relationships			
Relative relationships	Meetings usage (types, the intended people, topic)		Interactive communication experiences for bonding community
Worshiping meetings			
Family, relatives and friend reunions			
Meetings in organizational activities			
Funeral ceremonies			
Parties			
Personal meetings			

Open Coding	Categorizing		Themes Drawing
Direct	Rich in cues	Perception about meetings	Interactive communication experiences for bonding community
Spontaneous			
Expressive			
Personal			
Strong bound			
Writing letters to family and friends	Letters usage (the intended people, topic)		
Writing organizational letters			
Personal	Perception about letters		
Formal			
Making calls with family, relatives and friends	Telephone usage (the intended people, topic)		
Voice cues			
Direct	Rich in cues	Perception about telephone	
Spontaneous			
Expressive			
Reachable anytime			
Cheap			
Writing email to family, relatives and friends	Email usage (the intended people, topic)		
Subscribing organizational mailing list			
Diminishing the limits of space and time	Perception about email		
Creating new contacts			
Fast			
Worldwide			
Delayed feedbacks			
Formal			
Chatting with family, relatives and friends	Chatting usage (the intended people, topic)		
Easing the contacts with the younger generation			
Wasting times	Perception about chatting		
Informal			
Using <i>Facebook</i> with family, relatives and friends	SNS usage (the intended people, topic)		
Crossing the space			
Free	Perception about SNS		
Confidential			
Wasting times			
Lesser privacy			
Meetings in the neighbourhood	Meetings usage (types, the intended people, topic)		Interactive communication experiences for bridging community
Meetings in organizational activities			
Worshiping meetings			
Visiting relatives			
Having vacations			
Meetings at the workplaces or schools	Telephone usage (the intended people, topic)		
Making calls with the colleagues, boss, clients or classmates			
Making calls with the friends from the Dutch organizations			
Making calls with the Dutch relatives			

Open Coding	Categorizing		Themes Drawing
Writing letters to the friends in the Dutch organizations	Letters usage (the intended people, topic)		Interactive communication experiences for bridging community
Writing email to the Dutch colleagues or offices	Email usage (the intended people, topic)		
Writing email to the friends in the Dutch organizations			
Receiving email from the Dutch organizations			
Either using <i>Facebook</i> with a small number of the Dutch friends or rarely using it	SNS usage (the intended people, topic)		
Normal	Perception about meetings, letters, telephone, email, chatting and SNS		
Not intimate			
Formal			
Escaping from routines	Entertainment		Interactive communication motivations
Getting pleasure	Information		
Sharing information			
Sharing problems			
Eating Indonesian cuisine	Personal identity		
Speaking Indonesian			
Worship			
Self reflection	Personal relationships/ social interaction		
Loneliness			
Social contact			