Boundary Work of Everyday Domains in Migration:
A Sensory Ethnography of Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai (NiMO)

By

Median Mutiara

DISSERTATION

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Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

HIGASHIMURA Takeshi
SHIMADA Yuzuru
KUSAKA Wataru

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STATEMENT

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ABSTRACT

In this sensory-ethnographic investigation of migrants' everyday lives, I explore the activities and interactions of Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai (NiMO) in three daily domains: church, factory, and home. NiMO is a particular migrant community with unique characteristics pertaining to their cultural, historical, religious backgrounds, and area of origin and settlement. Their socio-historical backgrounds engender the distinctive types of establishment and ministering of the churches. The special characteristics of the town as secluded, tiny, yet, dense, with traditional factories or *kaisha* influences the behaviors of migrants in managing their everyday lives. The unique characteristics of kaisha in Japan bring paternalism and seniority system into play. All of these idiosyncrasies are intertwined with the colonial historical ties with Japanese ancestors.

While other studies about Oarai focused mostly on two domains, this study incorporates three main domains: kaisha, church and home. Borrowing Goffman's theatrical metaphor, every domain is analogized as a stage, where characters, roles, and settings are determined, even before the social actors enter one. The main research inquiries of this study are: 1. How do NiMO manage three main domains on an everyday basis? This question includes few sub-questions as follows: What and how practices and rituals are performed in, before, after, and in-between the domains? How do they make the transition? What and how boundaries are created/ maintained/ negotiated? How can the interplay and interconnection among the domains be explained? 2. Why do NiMO choose certain strategies to manage the domains? This question include a question to ponder: How do their identities, culture-historical backgrounds, and other possible factors explain the specific strategies of managing domains?

This investigation is aimed at shedding layers of agency and control of social actors across domains. The analysis encompasses in-depth details of microlevel interactions and politics of categorization in each domain and the interplay of the three spheres, representing a social ecosystem in migrants' everyday lives. Examining the dynamics of everyday boundary-making helps readers to arrive at a more adequate understanding of migrants' adaptation and integration process in the host societies. Moreover, it lays the groundwork for more research into paying attention to Nikkeijin's multifaceted backgrounds and daily practices.

The data was collected through ethnographic fieldwork from 2016-2018, comprising several intermittent stays and an 8-month of living and working in Oarai, also a visit to North Sulawesi, Indonesia. I conducted interviews focusing on the participants life-history narratives and sensory ethnography in each domain to capture subtle boundaries, familiarity and regularity of everyday habitual practices and address the challenges of accessibility to interview participants. Sensory ethnography is an emerging, new approach to observe migrants' everyday lives. While existing studies explore sensory experience in a single modality—mostly visual (such as clothing change and look enhancement)—my research covers multimodal perceptions.

The discussion is elaborated in three time-periods of the participants' life history: The historical period (before migration), the transition-adjustment period (1998-2008), and the transformation period (2009-2018). The research finds that in the factory, migrant workers are subjected to hierarchy and required to be docile, yet competitive among other workers. In the present time, they negotiate the jobs by the acts of separating

clothes and body care. In the church, most NiMO are appointed as being bishops and pastors, the most respectful figures and the epitome of holiness for the congregants. The church is not referred to as the generic structure, but an association, fellowship, and commitment. The church is also where migrants extend their networks to find a job and other opportunities, and thus is not exclusive to Christian believers. Home is where the transition between factory and church occurs. It is where purification and impurification rites are conducted on an everyday basis. However, some of them have to struggle in this private space due to continuous noise complaints from the Japanese neighbors.

The analysis identifies the interplay of the three domains in how migrant workers manage dirty work (in the factory), religious work (church) and the nonwork domains (home and after church). The findings include the micro-behavior and -interaction exhibiting the logic of purity and impurity as part of the self-othering process in their everyday lives. With limited power to assert their agency in each domain, migrants manage home and body as boundaries between factory and church by creating dimensions and space of liminality through purification and impurification rites. This particular strategy acts as a stigma management strategy to obscure the factory from the church life, and maintain the identities, performativity and performance in each domain.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Boundaries of Everyday Domains in Migration

As social actors, human beings, act through classification and categorization to perceive and construct reality. Very often, they act automatically based on pre-existing conceptions and dispositions (such as categories, images, stereotypes, internalized moral beliefs) that are not further questioned (Terrier n.d). These everyday behaviors result in creation and maintenance of "mental fences" (Zerubavel 1991, 2) constructing the "slices of reality—domains" (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 474). Nevertheless, standing with the social constructivist, I believe that reality is not only 'constructed,' but pre-given (Goffman 1961). For example, it is not sufficient to define something as a parking lot if there is no place at all (Verhoeven 1985). The place is pre-given, and social actors construct its meaning as a parking lot. Similarly, there is a place called as church by people who define and construct its holiness through certain acts. When people enter a church, for example, "they lower their voices to help congregants substantiate the mental separation of the sacred from the profane" (Zerubavel 1991, 18). Knocking on the door before entering a room or altering the appearance, for instance, is also an effort to make a contrast line between home and the larger world (Zerubavel 1991). These practices create boundaries manifested in both imaginary—as totally invisible lines "drawn in our head" (Zerubavel 1991, 18)—and actual objects (e.g. fences, gates, or walls). In other words, domains exist due to mental processes and repetitive behaviors that separates one reality from another.

Everyday life is interwoven with repetitive conscious, semi-conscious and unconscious behaviors with various purposes and underlying backgrounds in different domains. In migration, the everyday lived realities are most likely changed, as well as the behaviors. The ways migrants create, maintain, and cross the invisible boundaries in everyday domains still

gets little attention, compared to the discourses on racial and ethnic boundaries (Wallman 1978; Wimmer 2008, 2009) and group formation (Glick Schiller et al. 2006). Looking into the nature and dynamics of the boundaries that are stretched or renegotiated in domains sheds light on migrants' complex everyday lived realities (Rudnick 2009, 24). Examining how and why boundaries are constructed through the mundane practices and rituals is crucial to any effort to understand the social order in the migrant community and the larger society. Below are the previous studies exemplifying how migrants manage their everyday domains.

Table 1-1 Related research on migrant workers in managing everyday domains

Authors	**Research settings**	**Domains**	**Managing domains**
Lan (2006)	Identities across Borders and at Home in Filipina migrant domestic workers case in Taiwan	The employer's house, public space	Change clothes in the public restroom
Lynch (2007)	Sri Lankan garment workers (domestic "rural-urban" migrants)	Factory, outside factory	Clean up their body and hair in the factory's restroom
Rudnick (2009)	Gendered boundaries of Bangladeshi female factory workers in Malaysia	Self, domestic, work, community	Renegotiate meaning of gendered norms on what constitutes appropriate behavior for women
Dekel (2016)	Art photography by Israeli migrants in Europe	Work and non-work	Not explained
This research	Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai	Church, factory, home-neighborhood	The main investigation in this study

In her book, *Global Cinderella*, Lan (2006) explains the micro-politics of boundary making and identity formation behind the structural picture of dividing domestic labor across borders. She reveals the strategies of Filipino migrant domestic workers in Taiwan, changing from casual dress at the houses where they work, to the stylish ones when they go outside. Before going home, they change clothes and take off their makeup to look like a totally different person at home, just like Cinderella (Lan 2006). The public lavatory becomes the place to "mend" as well as to downgrade their appearance to prepare for the performance in

the next domain. In Lan's work, the domestic workers only go to the public place on Sunday, for their leisure time. In addition, an employer's "private" residence becomes a "public" workplace or the front (Lan 2006, 21), while places like the train station and parks, provide them with more degrees of privacy and personal freedom (Yeoh and Huang 1998). The boundary-making and domain management in Lan's work differ from those of factory workers.

In Lynch's (2007) research on the female garment workers in Sri Lanka, I found a clue to how everyday boundaries are constructed by factory workers. Lynch went to work together in the factory, and her hair and clothes were covered with little bits of fabric and thread. She narrated her experience in an interview with Smitha Radhakrishnan: [1]

> And at the end of the day, I would be standing, waiting to leave with people, and all the other people besides me were brushing their hair. […] they were all brushing their hair and getting stuff out. [...] They want to look nice because they don't want people to know they're garment workers.

The hair brushing cleaning performed by Sri Lankan garment workers before leaving the factory is a subtle yet powerful cleaning act showing their agency in making boundaries between work and non-work domains every day.

Art photography of Brodinsky in Dekel's book (2016) on Transnational Identities, provides an example of perpetual negotiation from their body, identity, and representation. The photography captures a figure of a migrant woman split into two. One part is elegantly dressed, which symbolizes purity, and the other wears the clothes of a housemaid, symbolizing impurity. As migrants, there is a dialectic move between the old and new which together forms a hybrid identity that captures the migrant's sense of being simultaneously European (foreign) and Israeli (local), new-old, and protests towards the regimenting stereotypical gaze (Dekel 2016).

[1] The video is part of "Global Inequality" online course of WellesleyX (SOC102) taught by Smitha Radhakrishnan from Wellesley College on www.edx.org. Accessed in April 2017.

Rudnick (2009), meanwhile, approaches transnational everyday practices through gendered norms in the temporary migration situations to answer: "Why did Bangladeshi women migrate?" She found that the migration of Bangladeshi women is driven by both economic and social goals. They strive to gain economically to increase their social standing by either improving their marriage prospects or being able to live dignified lives without husbands, although it means encountering various obstacles of economic and sociocultural origin (Rudnick 2009, 286). In her research, the domain of work plays an overarching role in the lives of temporary migrants, because as soon as they stop working for the employers, they become "illegal" and are required to leave the country (Rudnick 2009, 37). This study raises a question: Are there any differences in managing work domain, for descendants, like Nikkeijin (Japanese descendants), who are legally still eligible to live in the country even without any work status?

There are at least five notes taken from the previous studies above: (1) The process of changing clothes from a working outfit to a stylish one (in Lan's) and cleaning the body (in Lynch's), also the dialectic representation through clothing (in Dekel's) has become boundary-making strategies to separate public-private domains. Thus, body and clothes serve significantly as the sign vehicles, interpretative tool, and method of establishing migrants' attitudes towards themselves and others. This is in line with Zubair and colleagues' (2012) argument in how dress and specific presentations of the embodied "self" are used to negotiate the "multi-layered and complex nature of insider/outsider boundaries" (sec. 3.1). (2) Everyday boundary-making is often not the main subject discussed in the existing studies (only Lan who specifically focuses on the micro-transitions and boundary-making). Hence, the theoretical review for boundary work in migration contexts is still scattered and implicit. (3) The everyday domains of migrants are complex, however the dual work-nonwork domains are the most common coverage of the existing studies. Thus, there is lack of investigation of the interplay

of more domains, such as work, home and religion domains, in the everyday realities. (4) The focus of the study is mostly female migrant workers. (5) All research above studied "temporary" migrant workers who rely on their work status to live in the host countries. Shall migrants with non-work status negotiate the self-others and boundary-making differently to the temporary ones?

How everyday boundaries are constructed is often invisible, subtle, nuanced, taken-for-granted, and therefore, more likely missed in many studies. It is intriguing to investigate how migrants juggle micro-interactions, multi-identities and transitions among various domains (work, religion and home-neighborhood), which becomes the topic of this study. I conduct an empirical investigation on the everyday domains of the third generation of Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi, Indonesia in a rural neighborhood in Japan, Oarai. They will be addressed as Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai (NiMO). I find it crucial to investigate this particular migrant group because the discussion and narratives of the identities of Nikkeijin in Japan are dominated and generalized in the past decades by the cases of Nikkei Brazilians. The main focus of this research is the everyday practices and rituals of NiMO in perceiving, creating, and maintaining boundaries in everyday domains. It is equally important to understand what factors caused the particular strategies. This study took place in a small, secluded town where Nikkei Manadonese have been living since the late 1990s.

The discussion covers three time-periods in the participants' life history: The historical period (before migration), the transition-adjustment period (1998-2008), and the transformation period (2009-2018), with more investigation on the third one, being the main time-setting of the research. To make it possible to identify the subtle transitions and boundary-making, I conduct a combination of classic ethnography and sensory ethnography. In what follows, I will explore the historical background of Nikkeijin and briefly about NiMO, by explaining about Oarai and the previous studies on this specific migrant group. Then, I will

present the key points based on what I found during my pre-research. Furthermore, I will discuss the gaps, research questions, participants, and methods of the research. In the last part of this chapter, I will explain the outline of this dissertation.

1.2 Background: Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai

1.2.1 Notes on Pre-research: NiMO

From my pre-research,[2] I take consequential notes: first, the majority of migrants in Oarai come from North Sulawesi, Indonesia (see Figure 1-1). Among them, Japanese descendants are dominant; and, they address themselves as *"orang Manado keturunan Jepang"* or Nikkei Manadonese/ Manadonese Nikkeijin.[3] The word "Manadonese" represents the collective native ethnic groups in North Sulawesi (e.g. Minahasan, Sangir, Bolaang Mongondow and so on).[4] Manadonese people have a robust church association (Presbyterians) conveying their distinctiveness and exclusivity, even among other ethnic groups in Indonesia.[5] For Manadonese (especially the Minahasans) church life is "not a separate domain" but is strongly integrated into all areas of everyday life and regarded as an important supporter and stabilizer of social identity in the society (Buchholt and Mai 1994, 32). Thus, they do not just use the church for religious purposes (Buchholt and Mai 1994). Does it work the same way in migration? This question is intriguing and relate closely to the second note of my pre-research: The everyday life of Manadonese migrants and NiMO seems to oscillate between factory and church. I remember jotting down in my fieldwork journal of the first impression in Oarai:

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[2] Details on pre-research will be discussed in Chapter 3.
[3] In this study, I try to accommodate what they want to be called and identified as.
[4] Minahasan ethnic group is the most populous (33.19%) in North Sulawesi, and the second highest is Sangir (19.81%) from Statistical Agency of Indonesia (2000).
[5] One important development during the Dutch-colonial period was the strategic employment of the state and the church in North Sulawesi to acquire and display their power, status, and prestige (Borkenhagen 2004).

"Factory is the underworld. It is the world that is hidden." It is because I observed how segmented they tried to separate and hide the kaisha life in the church.

Figure 1-1 North Sulawesi in Indonesia

Manadonese migrants in Oarai work and are associated with at least one factory and only one church. There are six churches in Oarai (as per the time when the research was conducted) administered by the Manadonese: one Catholic and the others are Interdenominational, Protestant, and Pentecostal churches. They spend their daytime in the factory and the evening time in the church, or in someone's house, for religious gatherings. Church and factory are the two most important domains for the Manadonese community in Oarai. The characteristics of Oarai also make the church association distinctive to the other Manadonese churches in Japan or other countries[6] (Sumakul 2005; Swazey 2008). This is confirmed by officials and pastors in the main church (synod) in Tomohon, North Sulawesi during my fieldwork in early 2017.[7]

[6] In terms of the church association, the establishment of migrant churches in Oarai can be discussed vis a vis to the case of churches for Filipino and Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan.
[7] The synod administers the church association of Manadonese diaspora around the world.

Third, housing and factory ownership in Oarai is mostly overlapping. Oarai is a rural town with fenceless houses, small alleys, and propinquity among neighbors and factories. Many factories predominantly own the houses where migrants live, which are usually located within walking distance of the factory. The church building rented by the migrants is also owned by the same person owning the factory, the houses, and so on. Paternalistic practices are indicated through supports as well as ownership in many aspects of migrants' life. The three notes above lead me to some questions: How do they manage each domain, and among multiple domains in the small and compact town? How do they cope with the overlapping power structure in the neighborhood every day, while juggling the church and factory domains? Is ethnic background involved in the answers to the above questions? To situate these main points in the existing literature, I will briefly review the previous studies on Nikkeijin as migrants, their identity formation and migration in Oarai.

1.2.2 Nikkeijin as Migrants

The fear that migrants will pollute the purity of the Japanese society is derived from the centuries-old concept of purity- impurity embedded in Japanese culture, explicating some of the hesitancy to accept foreign workers (Cornelius et al. 1994, 385). Sakoku is the principle of "locked country," which has been the foreign policy of Japan during the Tokugawa regime, which isolated the country from 1633 to 1853 (Morris-Suzuki 2010, 10). It is justified by the idea that Japan consists of a single race of people, with a single cultural origin and continuity (Denoon, et al. 1996). Therefore, there had been an agitation of ethnic impurity in Japanese society towards growing migrant workers in the 1980s, which initiated the reform of Immigration Law in June 1990. Due to this kind of anxiety and antipathy, Japanese descendants overseas (Nikkeijin) were projected to fit the needs of a "temporary" labor shortage in the early 1990s. Among Japanese descendants scattered around the world, Brazilian Nikkeijin,

especially, was considered to be the priority confining the criteria of temporary, compared to Nikkeijin from Asian countries (Tsuda 1999).

Brazilian Nikkeijin started to come to Japan in 1989, as the first ethnic Nikkeijin going with the special visa of Nikkei.[8] Later, more Nikkeijin from other parts of South America, like Peru, also arrived. Nikkeijin, in general, refers to Japanese descendants who live outside Japan. This status put them below the *zainichi,* Koreans, and Chinese who have been living in Japan for several generations, although still above most other foreigners (Shipper 2008) (see Table 1-2). This kind of immigration law has indeed created a clear classification of migrants by their statuses, which closely correspond to ethno-racial categorical lines (Shin 2010). Although the arrival of Nikkeijin was projected to be just temporary, the population of Brazilian Nikkeijin is growing, followed by the dispatch of other Nikkeijin, from the Philippines and Indonesia. Therefore, the discussion and narratives of Nikkei identities have been dominated, and generalized by Nikkei Brazilian cases. Nikkeijin from Southeast Asian countries, like the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam are considered as newcomers.

Table 1-2 The existing terms to categorize Japanese descendants

Term	**Meaning**
Nihonjin (日本人)	Japanese people (have pure blood lineage of Japanese, born and grow up inside Japan)
Nikkeijin (日系人)	Japanese descendant born and raised outside Japan (Tsuda 2003). This term differentiates the emigrated descendants and Japanese descendants who were born and raised *inside* Japan. For instance: Brazilian Nikkeijin, Peruvian Nikkeijin,
Zainichi (在日)	Japanese descendant from China and Korea living in Japan
Dekasegi (出稼ぎ)	"This term was used to refer to the practice of temporary work involving a migration between the rural and urban regions. The meaning was extended to refer to the Japanese emigration in the Meiji era, in which many intended to return to the mainland. It then entered the Portuguese dictionaries to refer to the temporary work(ers) in Japan." (Sasaki 2008, 64)

[8] Most Nikkeijin use brokers to immigrate and find work in Japan (Shipper 2002). Brokers typically take a dispatching fee from their client-companies and a brokering fee off the workers' wages (Shipper 2002).

Nikkeijin work on the jobs that native-born Japanese will not take (Armstrong-Hough 2012), thus putting them at the lowest levels of the social hierarchy in Japanese society[9] (Tsuda 1998). A Japanese participant in Tsuda's research even describes Nikkei Brazilian as "low-level people (teikyuna hito), social drop-outs (ochikobore), poor and uneducated, and at the lowest position in Japanese society" (see Tsuda 1998). Another Japanese participant explicitly mentioned that he does not want the Japanese to be "mixed" with other races and to lose their distinctive culture, because outsiders are considered as a source of cultural and racial impurity and pollution (Tsuda 1998, 339). Strong feelings about Nihon minzoku (Japanese blood) feed into the prejudice and discrimination experienced by multiethnic people; those who look Japanese but do not possess cultural knowledge, such as the Nikkeijin (Murphy-Shigematsu 2000, 213). This notion has been rooted in the common Japanese myth of Japanese racial purity and a reflection of the distorted perception that mixed-blood Japanese are still not "authentic Japanese" (Ohno 2007).

Being "authentic Japanese" or *Nihonjin* is based rigidly on a biological standard of purity and pollution in the same sense as racial boundaries (Murphy-Shigematsu 2000, 212-213). The demarcation is more obvious through the juxtaposition of the term *Nihonjin*, the pureblood, who was born and grew up *in* Japan, with *Nikkeijin,* the "impure" ones (co-ethnic)—who were born and grew up *outside* Japan. In other words, even with the pure blood of the first Japanese lineage,[10] Brazilian Nikkeijin acquired a connotation of cultural impurity, as they were born and raised abroad (Tsuda 1998). Thus, the construction of purity-impurity for the Japanese is not only based on blood purity, but also in the frame of place and territory: where one grows up, acquires, and constructs their identities.

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[9] It may also be derived from the assumption that migrant workers move to Japan for economic reasons or poverty.
[10] Most Brazilian Japanese's great (great) grandparents are Japanese.

1.2.3 One Plus One Equals...?

Among studies on Nikkeijin, the idea of identity reconstruction is prevalent. The main problem is that the identity of Nikkeijin has been largely interpreted arbitrarily by the generic equation of 1 + 1 = 2, e.g. Brazilian culture + Japanese culture = Brazilian Japanese. Koga (1995) and Tajima (1995), for example, argue that Nikkei Brazilians develop their identities combining the best of Brazilian and Japanese culture. Moreover, Tsuda (2003) claims that Nikkei Brazilian is just like "Brazilian." He further adds that those coming to Japan are mostly the second and third generation, and are consequently culturally Latin American, with limited Japanese-speaking ability (Tsuda, 2003). Linger (2001) also confirms that most Nikkei Brazilians do not even identify themselves as diasporic Japanese. In the existing studies, the discussion of Nikkeijin has been much heightened to the racial purity-impurity of being (or not being) Japanese through the fluency of Japanese cultures and language. In reality, Nikkei identity is not merely about being fluent or not fluent in Japanese cultures and languages. The ethnic cultural and historical backgrounds of Japanese descendants are complex and multilayered. Hence, the identities cannot be simplified in the equation of one plus one equals two. It depends on the way the ethnographers approach: The closer ethnographers look at Nikkei identity, the more "slippery" the definition seems to get (Linger 2001, in Armstrong-Hough 2012).

In other words, the discussion of Nikkei identities needs to be done on a deeper dimension, such as by taking a closer look at the sub-ethnic levels and their everyday interaction and practices. Vilog's (2015) research in explaining the different traits and competition among Filipino Nikkeijin from Manila and other parts of the Philippines is one of the attempts towards that direction. The historical backgrounds and place origins of Nikkeijin are crucial in determining the ways they negotiate their identities and belonging as migrants in Japan. Although my study does not intend to exclusively analyze Nikkei identities, through

exploring a series of their habitual rites and behaviors in various everyday situations, the results may shed light on the identity-making of Nikkeijin with colonial history (see Table 1-5).

Table 1-3 Terms used in this study related to Nikkeijin

Terms	Meaning
Nikkeijin living in Japan	Japanese descendants from any nationality and background living in Japan
Nikkeijin with colonial history	Nikkeijin from Southeast Asian countries which were colonized during World War II (WWII). The descendants of Japanese people who emigrated to the colonized countries as soldiers or spies and married the local people during WWII. For example: Filipino Nikkeijin, Vietnamese Nikkeijin, Indonesian Nikkeijin
Nikkei Manadonese	Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi, Indonesia
NiMO	Nikkei Manadonese living in Oarai, Japan

The term Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai (NiMO) is used in this study to support the way participants want to be seen and recognized which covers their subethnicity, Japanese kinship, and a place of settlement in Japan. The place of settlement, as a factor in migrants' identities, is intimately involved in producing and reproducing salient social practices and phenomena such as history, language, thought, and identity (Sunderland et al 2011).

1.2.4 Oarai and the Unique Characteristics

The uniqueness of the story of Nikkei Manadonese also situates in the unique town they live in, its compactness, smallness, the closed-type community, and the characteristics of factories where they work. Oarai is as small and compact as 23.74m^2 wide, about 100 km northeast from Tokyo, or in the eastern part of Ibaraki Prefecture (see Figure 1-2). It comprises three villages that are merged into one, Isohama, Oonuki, and Natsumi, with about 16,823

populations (Statistics Bureau Japan, 2015).[11] In Oarai, the concentration of Japanese descendants makes up a large part of the seafood processing migrant workers (Meguro 2005).

In terms of size, Oarai may not be as tiny as 18-km^2 of Oizumi, where many Nikkei Brazilian concentrate. However, Oizumi is surrounded by other cities with three train stations in the town. Oarai, on the other hand, is geographically secluded with a border on the Pacific Ocean along its eastern part, and a river as the border in the western and northern part, and a vast area of farmland and a big lake of Hokota in the southeastern.[12] To access the town, one can take a one-man car train which will pass over a vast rice field and a big river before arriving at the only train station, Oarai station. Because of this, most of my participants own a car for their mobility.

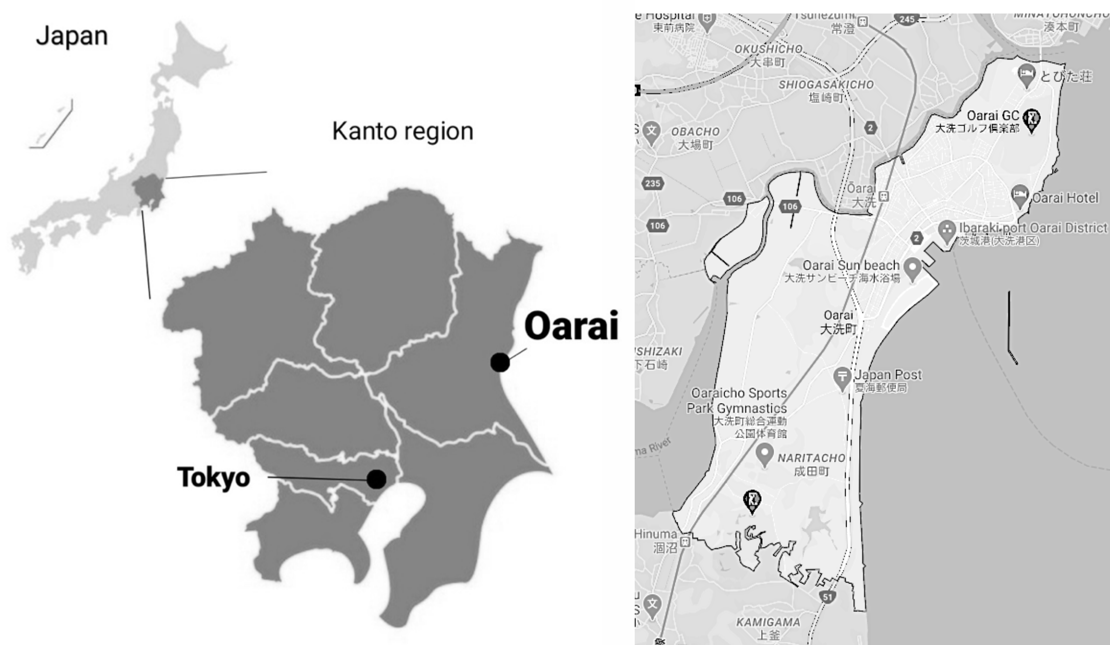

Figure 1-2 Map of Oarai

[11] It decreases to 15,787 in 2020 (Statistics Bureau Japan, 2020).
[12] Due to its proximity to the Pacific Ocean, this town was affected by the Great Earthquake in 2011, in which some parts of the town were submerged by the tsunami, including the migrant church building.

Rural area is usually vast with lower density (see Table 1-4 to see the information of cities where most participants originate from). The density in Oarai is 709 people per kilometer square. Compared to where participants originate from, Oarai is more similar to *kampung*. Kampung is a small and dense district (village-like) in urban areas with small alleys, borderless space, and proximity with neighbors.[13] Hence, participants often label Oarai as "kampung" instead of a town[14].

Table 1-4 Density, population, and area of Tomohon, Bitung, Manado, and Oarai

	TOMOHON	BITUNG	MANADO	OARAI
Area (km sq)	147.11	302.89	166.87	23.74
Population (people)	93,857 (2012)	208,995 (2016)	701,390 (2014)	16,823 (2015)
Density (km/ sq)	640	690	4,200	709

Oarai is home to numerous factories, mostly fish-processing factories.[15] Compared to other seafood processing sites of similar size, Oarai's has some distinctive features. One of them is that they have actively introduced and utilized imported seafood since the mid-1960s (Meguro 2005). By so doing, it has reduced its dependence on the unstable local fisheries and established a year-round operation (Meguro 2005). By the 1980s, the processing of imported capelins had become a major production activity in the town (Honda and Ono 2000 in Mazumi, 2014). However, since the 1990s, in response to the decline of the imported capelins, the local seafood processing plants have also processed imported horse mackerels (Honda and Ono 2000 in Mazumi, 2014). While the other factories focus on producing high-quality dried mackerels by manually processing domestic horse mackerels, Oarai's processors specialize in making

[13] See Ong (1987) for an example of transformation of kampung and the rural society into industrialization after the arrival of transnational factories.
[14] Many participants consider Oarai as *Kampung Manado*.
[15] The prefecture where Oarai is located, Ibaraki, has numerous sweet potato industries. It makes Ibaraki renowned for being the second-biggest sweet potato production in Japan.

lower-priced products with the use of imported raw materials and a fish-cutting machine (Honda and Ono 2000).

Besides using the imported raw materials and fish-cutting machines, the strategy of Oarai's processors in competition with others is by focusing on the mass production of low-priced products, by recruiting cheaper foreign workers. This strategy is different from the other seafood processors, like in Kawai city, where they recruit mostly Japanese workers. In Oarai, among the fish processing industries in Japan, the percentage of foreign workers is among the highest (Mazumi 2014).[16] By employing foreign migrants and imported products, the companies can keep running all year round. With its small size, seclusive geographical setting, many processing industries, and a high number of international migrant workers, Oarai becomes a unique, contested site of migration. In the next sub-section, I explain more on the migration history in Oarai.

1.2.5 Historical Background of Migrant Workers in Oarai

The existence of migrant groups in Oarai was started in the 1980s when there was an influx of foreign workers from the Middle East and South Asia to Japan due to the oil price drop in the Middle East. Sassen (2006) regards that timing as a tipping point, in which globalization produces migrations. At the same time, the bubble economy in Japan had resulted in a growing need for unskilled laborers. The cheap workers (mostly from Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Iran) who were laid off from the declining Middle East oil industry (Sharpe 2014, 125) came to Japan to fill in the shortage. The continuing acute shortage of labor force compelled the Japanese government to open their "side doors" for migrants, under various official guises as unskilled foreign workers (Tsuda 1999, 688). One of the most significant

[16] For more about local fisheries in Oarai and Japan, see Meguro (2005), Honda and Ono (2000), and Mazumi (2014).

guises is the creation of a new entrance category, *teiju* (settler), applicable for the descendants (up to the third generation) of Japanese emigrants, their spouses, and children (Broody 2002, 3), as we later call them Nikkeijin. Hence, as Goto (2007) argues, the labor shortage and the influx of Asian foreign workers from the declining Middle East oil industry were two of the main catalysts of the creation of new Nikkeijin status (under the Immigration Act reform in June 1990).

Based on the Statistics on Foreign Residents Registered by the Ministry of Justice (2015), the highest concentrations for Nikkeijin (especially for the Nikkei Brazilian) are located in industrial areas in Shizuoka, Mie, and Aichi Prefectures.[17] However, although most migrants and Nikkeijin work and reside in industrial cities, those in rural areas in Japan do not live in a vacuum. Oarai, a rural town in Ibaraki prefecture, has experienced frequent shifts in the numbers of foreigners: in 1985, Iranian migrants dominated, followed by Filipinos and Thais (Meguro 2010, 170). Three undocumented Indonesian migrants formerly working in a restaurant in Tokyo started coming to the town in early 1990s, following the offer to work in Oarai from their networks.[18] Because of the abundant work opportunities, these three people called more friends from Tokyo to work in Oarai. More people started to inform their families in Indonesia as well to come to Japan as tourists and be undocumented migrants. This is the beginning of the Indonesian community in Oarai, as narrated by one of the three first Indonesian settlers.

At the beginning of the Immigration Act reform, the Japanese Immigration Bureau initiated inspections to seafood processing factories in Oarai and arrested many undocumented workers at regular intervals. Because of this mass arrest, the number of undocumented workers

[17] For research on Brazilian Nikkeijin in Hamamatsu, see Sugino (2008); in Toyota, see Linger (2001); and Toyama, see Tsuda (2000).
[18] It is as narrated by one participant who is known as the earliest Indonesian settler in Oarai.

decreased significantly, regardless of their nationality.[19] Oarai had been experiencing a severe labor shortage after the arrest of massive undocumented workers in the late 1990s until the beginning of the 2000s. In the first half of the 1990s, the factories in Oarai began employing Nikkei Brazilians. However, to employ them, factories must pay a high commission to recruitment agents, so it was economically difficult to employ Nikkei Brazilians at that time (Meguro 2005, 50). In the late 1990s, Nikkei Manadonese started to arrive in Oarai,[20] while the Nikkei Brazilian had been gradually leaving Oarai since 2002 to look for more promising wages in other cities. Below is the data of registered Indonesian migrants (including the Nikkei Manadonese) which outnumbers migrants from other countries in Oarai.[21]

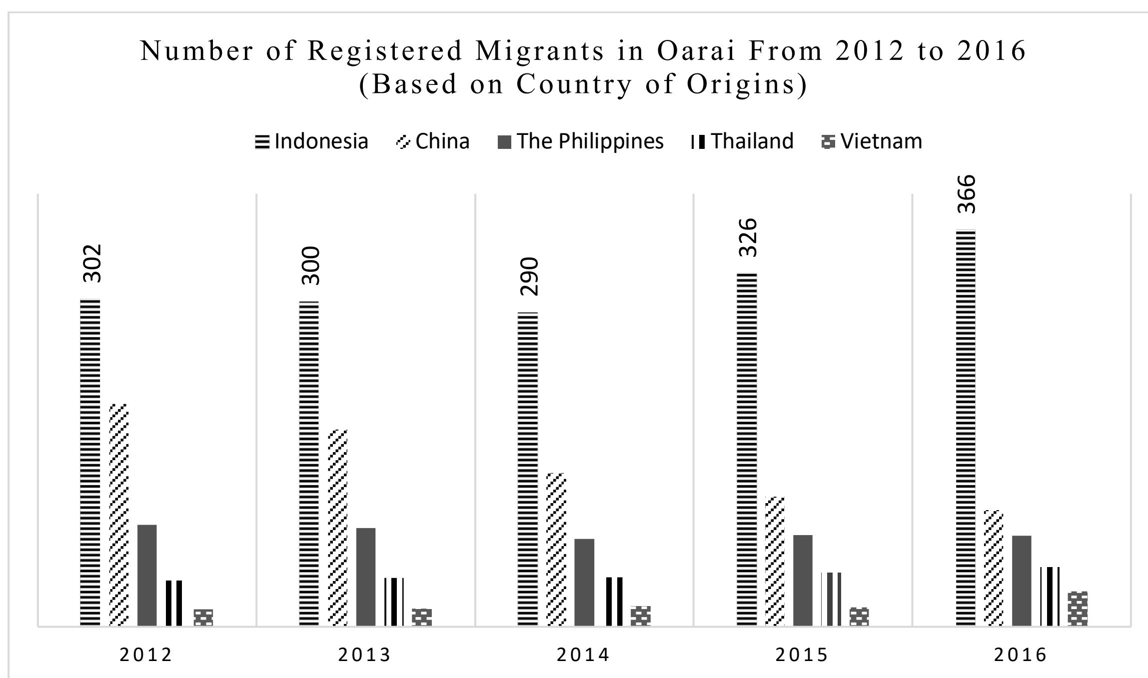

Figure 1-3 Number of registered migrants in Oarai from 2012 to 2016 by country of origin (source: Oarai Town Office, graph by author)

[19] See Meguro 2005 for more about the condition of Oarai before 1998.
[20] From 1998 to 2005, a total of 180 Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi were moved to Oarai (Meguro 2005).
[21] As of April 2005, Indonesians were the largest group of foreigners, 443 people, followed by Chinese (154), Filipinos (112), Thais (58), and Brazilians (25), according to Oarai's foreigner registration documents (Meguro, 2005).

Oarai Town office only has the official data of registered migrants from 2012 because the method of data collection and responsibility towards foreign residents had not explicitly been institutionalized before that year. In March 2009, Japan amended its Immigration Act calling for improvement among other resident registration programs, foreign training programs, and the college student visa. The significant change of this amendment impacted Oarai with its population of undocumented migrant workers, because from that moment, the management of foreign residents was centralized in the Immigration Bureau. Then, the Immigration Bureau started collecting the residents' personal information and issuing Residence Cards that only took effect in 2012 (Kartikasari 2013). Since 2009, the regulation on undocumented migrants has been more restricted, and there was an increase in raids and inspections towards the undocumented workers in Oarai, as retold by participants. Due to the significant decrease of these workers, and the continuous dispatch of Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi, the population of Nikkeijin outgrew the non-Nikkei migrants. Moreover, foreign workers with other visa holders also emerged in Oarai, such as *kensushei*/ trainees, *Nihongo gakkou* students, and the recent ones: *nanmin*/ refugees. Of JITCO's 50,064 first-year trainees in 2009, most were located in Ibaraki (7.6%), of which, 11.4% worked in food manufacturing (JITCO 2009, 141), like in food-processing factories in Oarai.

1.2.6 Previous Studies on Oarai

The background of events related to the presence and trajectory of Indonesian migrants in Oarai can be divided into at least three periodical years: Historical period, transition-adjustment period, and transformation period (see Table 1-5).

Table 1-5 Key events of Indonesian migrants in Oarai until 2018 (based on my pre-research and the previous studies)

Time Frame	Years	Key Events
1	Before 1998 Historical period	• Bubble economy and labor shortage in the rural area • The arrival of undocumented workers to Oarai • The establishment of the first Indonesian church in Oarai
2	1998-2008 Transition and adjustment period	• The amendment of the Immigration Act for Japanese descendant visa (1998) • The first arrival of Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai • Churches establishment • Mass arrests of the undocumented migrants, along with the security measures after the 9/11 in 2001 • Children-parents reunification
3	2009-2018 Transformation period	• The amendment of the Immigration Act (March 2009) • Continuing inspection and arrest, so the population of undocumented migrants was decreasing • Nikkeijin started to invite more family members, and the numbers outgrew Indonesian migrants in Oarai • The growing number of the fourth generation • The arrival of trainees and students of Japanese courses • The arrival of Indonesian refugees (nanmin) from 2014-2018

The table shows that the social situations of migration in Oarai are dynamic, influenced by the policy measures on migration enacted in a specific period of time. Thus, the social landscape of the research is much affected by the measures and occurrences within the specific time-frame. For example, a mass arrest of 50 undocumented workers occurring in 2002 was a new trend in security policy after the terror of September 11, 2001 (Tirtosudarmo 2005). Because of some arrests, many adjustments took place in the church and the factory as the result of the shrinking labor force. Moreover, in that period, many Nikkeijin still left their children behind, whereas, in the next time period, there was a growing number of teenagers, the fourth-generation Nikkeijin. As the everyday lives of migrants in Oarai are evolved and affected by the political initiations, measures, and the emanating social problems, so has the research about them.

The research about migrant workers in Oarai has been published since 2005 after more Nikkeijin arrived. At least five researchers were conducting the earliest research within the transition and adjustment period in Oarai: Okushima,[22] Tirtosudarmo, Pudjiastuti, Meguro, Sumakul[23] (see Table 1-6). These studies have become the foundation of much subsequent research.

Table 1-6 Research conducted about Indonesian migrants in Oarai

Author/ year	Type/ language	Topic about Oarai and migration	Method	Domains discussed	Terms for migrants
Okushima (2005)	Article/ Japanese	Trends of Indonesian workers in Japan	Library research	Factory	Indonesian workers/ Minahasan tribe
Tirtosudarmo (2005)	Article/ English	Socio-cultural life of Minahasan community	Interview, Questionnaire	Factory, Church	Minahasan
Pudjiastuti (2005)	Article/ English	Dynamics of Indonesian migrant workers	Interview, Question.	Factory	Indonesian migrant workers
Meguro (2005)	Article/ Japanese	Establishment of the Japanese-Indonesian Community and their Employment System	Interview, Questionnaire	Factory	Japanese-Indonesian community/ Minahasan tribe
Sumakul (2005)	Dissertation/ English	The Concept of Vocation amongst Migrant Workers of GMIM in three countries	Interview, Ethnography (fieldwork)	Factory, Church	Minahasan migrant workers
Okushima (2006)	Article/ Japanese	Churches and Indonesian Migrants in Japan	Library research	Church	Indonesian migrants
Fukihara (2007)	Article/ Japanese	The Birth and Development of an Ethnic Community	Interview Questionnaire	Church	Indonesian migrant
Meguro (2010)	Article/ English	Social capital and job-searching process of Japanese-Minahasans	Interview, Questionnaire	Factory	Japanese-Minahasans
Fukihara and Sukegawa (2012)	Article/ Japanese	Japanese language acquisition of Indonesian migrant workers in Oarai	Interview, Question, Experiment	Church Factory School	Indonesian migrant workers
Kartikasari (2013)	Dissertation/ English	Effects of Labor Immigration Policies on Indonesian Migrant Workers	Interview, Questionnaire	Factory	Indonesian migrant workers

[22] After my pre-research in 2016, I had a chance to meet Okushima in person to discuss what I found in Oarai and received a suggestion to approach the pastors of the churches.
[23] I met and talked to Sumakul during my fieldwork in Oarai, in 2017 as he was invited to give a sermon in one of the churches.

Author/ year	Type/ language	Topic about Oarai and migration	Method	Domains discussed	Terms for migrants
Jin et. al (2016)	Article/ Japanese	Acceptance of foreign workers in the fisheries processing industry	Interview, Questionnaire	Factory (main) Church	Japanese Indonesian
Utsumi (2019)	Article/ Japanese	The living experience in Oarai for Trainees and Nikkei families	Interview Questionnaire	Church Factory	Nikkei Sansei Japanese Indonesian
THIS STUDY	Dissertation/ English	Identity formation of Nikkei Manadonese	Interview, Questionnaire, Sensory Ethnography, Fieldwork, Living/ renting a house	Factory. Church, Home	Nikkei Manadonese

The table shows that the majority of the studies on Oarai were in the form of short articles (except for Sumakul's and Kartikasari's). Only Sumakul (2005) conducted his research by living in the town for three months and experiencing working as a migrant worker. Moreover, the main domains covered in the existing research are factory and church, without including home and the neighborhood. They also address the participants with various terms and generalizations: Indonesian migrant workers, Indonesian workers from the Minahasan tribe, Japanese-Indonesian, Minahasan migrant workers, or Japanese-Minahasans. This is to show that in the existing studies the participants' identities are labeled in various hyphenated phrases.

The motivation of Nikkeijin to come to Oarai is described by Tirtosudarmo[24] as "economic matters." He also observed the relationship between migrants and the employers which were portrayed as family-like: "the Minahasan feel at home in Oarai, just as in their own family, associations, and churches in their homeland" (Tirtosudarmo 2005, 122). In his work, the process of home-making is shown as less troubling with the support of the *kaisha* (factory or company), church, and the broker: "The kaisha and churches are crucial for them to keep in touch with the changing world, with the aid of the shachō (Mr. K) and priests to support them"

[24] Tirtosudarmo's research is a preliminary study for migrants in Oarai, written in English, thus becoming a crucial reference for researchers to understand the snippet of Indonesian migrants' journey.

(Tirtosudarmo 2005: 130). In his article, he puts a smiling photo of female workers in their white uniform, in front of the factory building, visualizing the life of Nikkeijin as happy and thriving with the help of the broker.[25] In my vantage point, it may be the benevolent effect of the paternalistic practices in Oarai.

The intertwining roles of factory and church are overarching in their everyday activities. The churches provide the migrants with a wide range of guidance for their daily life and let them realize their sense of belonging (Meguro 2010). Meguro even mentioned that the Protestant churches have a strong influence on their job changes compared to the members in the Catholic church. Religious activities were therefore considered to have an important influence on the decision to stay in Oarai or seek jobs in other places (Meguro 2010, 176). The churches serve them more directly as their physical and mental guide, and as a place where they can express their anxiety and distress as well as their devotion and worship (Tirtosudarmo 2005). In other words, through the churches, the community services help other migrant workers to survive in Oarai.

In addition, Sumakul (2005) convinces that the ties of Manadonese migrants to the church are influenced by the policies enacted in every country where they reside. Based on his observation and interview, Manadonese in Oarai "see the church as having a protective duty towards their interests", as opposed to those in the Netherlands who mostly possess legal status; therefore, "their bonds with the church are not as strong as in Japan" (Sumakul 2005, 196). He adds that due to the legal status, those in the Netherlands have more confidence and opportunities to interact and integrate with society, through Dutch language fluency, than

[25] The discourse on happy and thriving life was also framed in reporting videos by a TV program (in 2014 and 2019) with the broker as the source person. The videos showed that the fourth generation of Nikkeijin like to continue living in Japan. So, the broker and one of the church leaders decided to establish an NPO to provide the Indonesian language course for them with an agreement from the Indonesian Embassy. Based on my pre-research, children speak their mother tongue, Manadonese, fluently, so they do not urgently need an Indonesian language course. The videos frame the narratives of migrants as thriving living in Japan with their families, and their children live happily too. It can be one of the strategies for the broker to secure the workforce in Oarai.

Manadonese in Oarai. Thus, he argues that legality and religiosity, for the Manadonese diaspora, are inextricably intertwined (Sumakul 2005). Nevertheless, he did his research before 2003 when the undocumented migrants were still more populous than the documented ones and the number of churches was fewer. Are NiMO with their legal status, more integrated than the undocumented migrants? How do the current dynamics of migrants in Oarai affect the church life? Although my research does not dive into theological perspectives and the religiosity of NiMO, my observation may provide insights into how NiMO create, maintain, or diminish daily rituals in the church domain and how they manage the church and the other non-religious domains.

Another interesting finding by Sumakul (2005) is about the relationship of migrants with the local people in Oarai. The characteristics of local people in Oarai are pointed out through the statement of a Japanese pastor of a church in Mito[26] in Sumakul's (2005). He stated that the local people in Oarai prefer to live in a close community with no interaction with urban people and that they are resistant towards foreigners living in their neighborhood (Sumakul, 2005). Pugh (2007) argues that such a situation could make the potential threat of racism more difficult to escape in rural areas than in urban ones (in Danson and Jentch, 2012). At the same time, Sumakul observed the Minahasan community[27] in Oarai as "a closed community"—due to their majority visa status as undocumented migrants—and is similar to "a ghetto" (2005, 178).

Further Pudjiastuti (2005) notes that a poor relation between migrants and neighbors has resulted in authoritative measures. She states that the mass arrest of overstayed Indonesian workers in 2002 was triggered not by immigration authorities or the police, but by Japanese

[26] Mito is the capital of Ibaraki Prefecture, which is located approximately 11 kilometres from Oarai. The pastors of this church in Mito often assist the congregation of an Indonesian church in Oarai with ecclesiastical matters.
[27] In Sumakul's study, he uses the term 'Minahasan' to address the ethnicity of Indonesian migrants from North Sulawesi in Oarai.

neighbors who became impatient about car accidents, noise, and other disturbances caused by the workers (Pudjiastuti 2005). Consequently, police officers conducted patrols many times per day and posted notices on the walls of apartment buildings where many Indonesians live (ibid). In addition, seemingly to be the response to the issue above, Tirtosudarmo (2005) observed that an Indonesian pastor guided the congregation in the church on the importance of neighbor relations. The guide includes asking the congregation to avoid committing thievery, adultery, and excessive alcoholism, also to make a positive rapport with the Japanese and other neighbors (Tirtosudarmo 2005).

The description indicates that the relationship between Japanese people and the Manadonese in Oarai may not have been harmonious as depicted. As Sumakul states, they tend to be “closed” communities, with certain social boundaries in the neighborhood. Yet, it is not really clear how these social boundaries and possible segregation are managed by migrants in everyday situations. The church is depicted as playing its role as social control for the migrant workers to promote integration. However, it is not explicit how the ownership of the factories, church buildings and houses by the same persons may influence the practices and rituals of migrants in everyday encounters. To my limited reading, no research has attempted to give a satisfactory explanation of how migrants in Oarai manage their domains or elaborated on the micro-problems in day-to-day activities. Thereby, my study wishes to extend and revisit the previous studies’ coverage, by exploring their everyday activities in the main domains: church, factory, and home and the neighborhood.

1.3 Issues, Questions and Significances

1.3.1 Issues in the Previous Studies

Based on the discussions above, the distinctive characteristics of NiMO among other Nikkeijn can be summarized in three aspects: 1) the colonial, historical and ethnic backgrounds, 2) their associations with churches, especially the Protestantism and 3) Oarai with all its characteristics as a place of settlement for migrants. The earlier studies serve as the important points of departure and primary references for researchers to understand them. Yet, the 15-year-old studies, mostly short and preliminary ones, need to be updated along with the rapid changes and policy amendments imposed to the contemporary situations and challenges. The issues relating to how other researchers gain access to participants has become one of my concerns in the previous studies here. Positionality and reflexivity have been discussed as part of "appropriate research methodologies when researching marginalized or vulnerable social and cultural groups" (Zubair, Martin and Victor 2012, sec. 5.1). Through whom researchers enter a community can influence how the participants behave towards the researchers and the research project. If a researcher enters the community through a broker, he/she can develop hierarchical relationships that will not allow diverse perspectives and voices to be heard. Mr. K, the broker who arranged the migration of NiMO, for instance, is an influencing and powerful individual for the life of the migrant workers. He also has key roles in securing the labor stock in his own and other factories, to spur the local economic development in Oarai. As described earlier, I indicated various forms of power from the researchers and brokers in the previous studies portraying a positive life depiction of NiMO in Oarai.

Hence, there are at least three problematic issues to address from the existing studies on Oarai. First, there is a dire need to address the nuanced Nikkei identities, not only based on their ethnic nationality, but also sub-ethnicity and historical background, to avoid the simplified equation and generalization with the most-researched group: Brazilian Nikkeijin. Revisiting

the concept Nikkeijin is crucial in voicing up the narratives on their diverse identities, addressing their inclusion-exclusion in the contemporary society and stigma on being "impure Japanese." Second, although many researchers have investigated the two main domains, church, and factory, there is still lack of observation in the "private" domain, home, which could show the closer looks of the interplay of social interactions in and among the social institutions. Third, there is a power-related issue when entering the community through the broker as the gatekeeper, which could potentially influence the discourse and answers of the participants in the interview. With participants' limited time and the sensitivity and difficulty for a researcher in accessing the community, there is a need to use alternative ways in the methodology.

1.3.2 Key Questions

Based on the above points and issues in the existing studies, there are two key questions needed to answer:

1. How do NiMO manage the three main domains on an everyday basis?
    - What and how practices and rituals are performed in, before, after, and in-between the domains?
    - How do they make the transition? What and how are boundaries created/ maintained/ negotiated?
    - How can the interplay and interconnection among the domains be explained?

2. Why do NiMO choose certain strategies to manage the domains?
    - How do their identities, culture-historical backgrounds, and other possible factors explain the specific strategies of managing domains?

This investigation is aimed at shedding layers of agency and control of social actors across domains. The analysis encompasses in-depth details of microlevel interactions and politics of categorization in each domain and the interplay of the three spheres, representing a social domains in migrants' everyday encounters.

1.3.3 Significances of this Study

Examining the dynamics of migrants' everyday boundary-making helps readers to arrive at a more adequate understanding of the adaptation and integration process. Moreover, it lays the groundwork for more research into paying attention to Nikkeijin' multifaceted backgrounds and daily practices. Since migration entails changes in migrants' lives, looking into the nature and dynamics of the boundaries that are stretched or renegotiated in each of the domains sheds light on migrants' complex lived realities (Rudnick 2009). Thus, this study seeks to make some contributions. First, this study explains the construction of three domains: church, factory, and home, in which it is an extreme example of crossing between religious domain (holy) and factory-work domain (dirty) in migration settings. "Typically, boundary theory research has focused on the management of two domains (e.g., work and family)" (Knapp et al. 2013, 19) in non-migration contexts. Dirty work, like what participants do at the factory, is seen as an extreme case of identity work (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999) and is usually explained in juxtaposition with home domain only. Would there be a complete segmentation between the two domains due to their extremity, which Knapp et al. (2013) believe to be rare? How does migration affect the everyday boundary setting?

Second, this study takes place in a secluded, small yet dense town, with all everyday activities, including work, happening in the same area, with the same people: migrants and locals. This is contradictory to the common rural area impacted by urbanization; whose residents work in the city. In addition, most work on stigma management (such as Drake 2013,

Lan 2000, Dekel 2016, Grandy and Mavin 2011) observe migrants in urban settings. This study explains how international migration affects a rural area and is affected by its distinctive rurality in Japan.

Third, Nikkei Manadonese renders some unique perspectives on the post-colonial migration in Asia. This study explores in the subethnic level rather than ethnic (such as Indonesian Nikkeijin, Brazilian Nikkeijin or Filipino Nikkeijin, and so on). It hopes to offer different depths and perspectives in Nikkei studies. Fourth, sensory ethnography is an emerging, new approach to observe migrants' everyday lives. While existing studies explore sensory experience in a single modality—mostly visual (such as clothing change and look enhancement)—my research covers multimodal perception. In sum, this study wishes to contribute to an understanding of the everyday challenges faced by migrants as they navigate everyday domains, with a rare case of holy and dirty work, through multisensory practices and rituals in rural settings.

1.4. Participants and Place of Study

1.4.1 Participants

The participants consist of two groups: the first group as the main participants, and the second one is people other than those belonging to the first group. The criteria of the first group are the 3rd generation of Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi and the spouses, living in Oarai or the surrounding area, or those who have ever lived in Oarai for more than 6 months. Participants in the second group are people having daily interaction with the first group and living in Oarai or the surroundings, including the fourth generation/ children of group 1,[28]

[28] Because of the topic switch and the time-space constraints, this study should focus on the scope of the third generation and the spouses as the main participants. This is to avoid ambiguity in generalization because researching children will be related to another domain, school, and the construction of identity for the 4th

factory owner, pastor, and work partners. The participants in the second group will put more perspectives on what the main participants deal with in their everyday activities. In total, there are 62 participants in this study: the first group consists of 40 people: 21 are the third generation, 19 are the spouses. The second group consists of 22 people, including 2 Japanese, as a pastor and a factory owner (see the attachment). The following is the definition of each generation used in this study: The third generation refers to the descendants of the second generation (*Sansei*). The fourth generation of Japanese refers to the descendants of the third generation (*Yonsei*).

Table 1-7 Generation of Japanese and Nikkei Migrants

Generation of Japanese		**Meaning**	**Ages (current)**	**Generation in Migration to Japan**	**Roles in Research**
1st	Issei	Japanese and Spouse	-	-	-
2nd	Nisei	Children of Issei	-	-	-
3rd	Sansei	Children of Nisei	40s-60s	The first generation under Nikkei status	Main Participants (Group 1)
4th	Yonsei	Children of Sansei	0-30s	Second generation	Other participants (Group 2)

Some participants are recruited in the church, through recommendations and mostly through personal contacts in the neighborhood and factory after living in the town for a while. Interviews and observation participations are conducted in various domains, more often at home and during the activities, for example, in the car, at the beach or while walking through the area in Oarai. Nevertheless, I entered the community through the church, where I handed in the details of the study and consent letter to the church assembly and the pastors. In my first

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generation should be preceded by the discussion of identity construction for the 3rd generation. The perspectives of the fourth generation are reserved for the continuation of the study.

attendance in the church, I was also given time to introduce myself and explain my purposes in Oarai, in front of the congregation.

1.4.2 Research Methods

I conducted qualitative research and fieldwork by residing and working in Oarai and did interviews, participant observation, non-participant observation, questionnaires, and sensory ethnography (I will explain more in Chapter 3). Qualitative research analyzes nonnumerical data by drawing patterns among words and offers a meaningful interpretation of the data retaining its original essence (Verdinelli and Sacgnoli 2013). The preliminary research in Oarai was conducted between February and March 2016, and in Manado and Tomohon (North Sulawesi) in January 2017. Then, from April to November 2017, I conducted the field research, rented a small house (apāto) and resided in Oarai. From June to December 2018, I had intermittent home-stay visits. Thereby, all interviews and observations for this study were conducted within three years: 2016 (February-March), 2017 (January-November), and 2018 (June-December).

The language used is Bahasa Indonesian mixed with Bahasa Manado[29] and Japanese.[30] During my stay, I also learned Bahasa Manado through the interactions with participants. In the interview, I also paid attention to how participants use certain terms, definitions and words, and how they present certain views in the interview itself, in a particular situation. Although the participants were familiar with my presence as someone residing in Oarai and attending the liturgies, they participated voluntarily and were informed about my role as a researcher via the

[29] It is the North Sulawesi people's colloquial language (Manado itself is the name of the capital of North Sulawesi). The language diction is absorbed from Malay, Dutch, Japanese, Portuguese and Spanish as a result of the colonial history in Celebes (Previous name of Sulawesi).
[30] The participants' Japanese language skills are very minimal despite living in Japan for more than 15 years (see research on their Japanese language skills by Fukihara and Sukegawa 2012). They only learn from what they hear in the kaisha. Therefore, their Japanese words are not accurate in their pronunciation and grammar.

letter of consent and details of my study. They were always able to indicate any information they wanted to exclude and to stop participating at any time. All names were referred to by pseudonyms.

Of the 62 participants, 36 had full-uninterrupted talks, 16 had intermittent talks, while 10 people had short talks and (supplemented by) questionnaires. Questionnaires are taken only for those who did not have sufficient time to conduct an interview but were willing to participate. The conversation with participants averagely last between 15 to 115 minutes. They could decide on when to have breaks, interruptions, or non-continuation. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were read through several times. The interviews were conducted most naturally through their life courses, focusing on migrants' personal migration history, including their memories of Japanese ancestors, the stories before migration, the first years in Japan, the current situations, and plans. I am aware that memories and narratives are constructed and changed over time, as the person changes, and in response to the responses of audiences for the story (Linde 2015).

I use a life history interview to capture the constructed meanings, events, and processes of belonging before and during migrations. It gives the participants freedom to use photos, documents (letters, diaries, archival records), oral histories, and various kinds of narratives. I am also open to "opportunities for dialogic encounter and collaborative interpretation between the researcher/listener and the teller (Goodson and Gill 2011, 35). In addition, I include my autobiographic narrative based on the observation and experience living in the town. As the interview itself is a social event, I also took notes on the process of the interview: how, when, with whom and where they are conducted. It includes the attention to the interaction, gestures, and gaze during the interview, including how participants reacted towards me as an interviewee. For example, when I interviewed a male pastor, he requested to be interviewed

outside of the apartment building, to respect the social norm and his work ethic as a pastor: that a married man and a married woman should not meet in a private, closed space.

1.5. Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of eight chapters in the following order: Chapter 1 Introduction; Chapter 2 Boundary Work in Migration; Chapter 3 Sensory Ethnography in Migration; Chapter 4 The Beginning of NiMO; Chapter 5 The Kaisha; Chapter 6 The Church; Chapter 7 Home and the Neighborhood; Chapter 8 Putting it all Together. Chapter 1 elaborates the research background: the pre-research and the previous studies on boundary work of everyday domains in migration, Nikkei studies, and Oarai studies. They are utilized to formulate the two key research questions, design relevant research methods, and outline the dissertation. Migrants' lived realities will be discussed in depth in three main domains: factory, church, and home-neighborhood. In the final discussion, they are brought together to highlight the interplay and interconnections.

Chapter 2 reviews the theories of boundary work in migration. I explain the concept of boundary work in general and in migration contexts, through the existing studies. Most of the studies do not particularly look into the practices and rituals on the boundary-making phenomenon and are scattered into various topics. Thus, to formulate the theoretical insight for this study, I need to utilize some examples from various studies including the non-migration studies that indicate the ways people manage domains in everyday life. Then, I will explore the concepts of boundaries across domains, before synthesizing migration theories on boundary work. Finally, I analyze them through the lens of purity-impurity conception and migration theory to be able to formulate the framework. The migration theories used are the ones that intersected with sociology and anthropological theories on everyday life, such as religion in

migration, dirty work in migration, integration of migrants in a rural setting, post-colonial migration, and Japanese studies of migration as the backdrop of Nikkei migration trajectory.

Chapter 3 explains the fieldwork and ethnography process of this study. A study involving observation in multi-arena of daily social roles and interactions is complex and subtle, and thus requires the analysis of power relationships. Thus, it demands a particular theoretical framework and innovative research methods. In this chapter, I explain the concept of sensory ethnography and the differences with the classic one, and the reason why this approach is necessary for this study. Investigating senses requires the body and language as the modes of representation that can be accessed. Hence, I will briefly discuss the sensory embodiment, sensory properties and sensory language and address the challenges. The discussion flows to the ways I negotiate my identities and senses including my positionality and reflexivity. In the last part of the chapter, I elaborate the process of entering the field and encountering the sensory experiences.

Chapter 4 explains the historical backgrounds of the participants on their Nikkei identities, migration drives and trajectories, and their everyday lives at the beginning of their settlement in Oarai. This chapter discloses memories and perceptions of participants being Japanese descendants before and after migrating to Oarai, Japan. The setting of this chapter is in the historical period, flashing back from the ending of World War II—the time-point when their Japanese ancestors were separated from their great grandmothers in North Sulawesi—to 1998 onwards. I explain what being Nikkeijin means for the third generation of NiMO and revisit the motivation of their migration to Oarai. One of the arguments of this chapter is that the third generation's motivation to migrate to Japan is beyond the economic drives, but as sympathy and obligation towards their parents'—the second generation of Japanese descendants—longing for their Japanese identities. These motivations and historical backgrounds result in inconsequential behaviors in participants' everyday lives at the beginning

of their migration. This chapter serves to be the point of departure in exploring the everyday lives of NiMO in the present time.

Chapter 5 explores the everyday life of NiMO in the factory through autobiographic narratives on the dirtiness construction and struggles of moral ambivalence dealing with a dirty job. This chapter explains migrants' attitudes as food workers towards the food they processed. The chapter starts with the description of kaisha in Oarai and the labor shortage. Then, I explain the workflow in two processing factories (the seafood and agricultural farm), including the sorting process which becomes the main manual task for migrant workers. To be able to work in kaisha needs a recommendation from senior workers, so I elaborate the ways a worker starts working and copes with the seniority system. Then, I will explain the process of sorting the sweet potato through the sensory inspection and the construction of the dirt system and classification. The chapter proposes the idea of impurification through the symbolic system and sensory perception of dirt.

Chapter 6 elaborates the everyday encounters in the church: the respectfulness of being clergy, the liturgies, the self-presentation, and social class struggle to mask the spoiled identities. This chapter starts with the description of the church association, concepts, and establishment. The discussion leads to the structure and membership of churches in Oarai, the liturgy and celebration, and the respectful figure of *Pelayan Khusus* or *Pelsus* who become the epitome of holiness for the congregation. This chapter discusses the purity-impurity embodiment and concepts in the performative body of the participants.

Chapter 7 explores the ethnography in the home and the neighborhood. It describes the daily experiences at home and in the neighborhood by elaborating the participants' habitual and everyday routines and the social interaction with neighbors. Purification and impurification rites are discussed in the same vein with the preceded social space: kaisha and church. It also highlights the noise conflict between migrants and Japanese neighbors and the escalation to

space control. In this chapter, I argue that home becomes their liminal space and transition where their performative acts between kaisha and church are conflated.

Chapter 8 is the discussion as well as concluding remarks of purity-impurity concepts in migrants' boundary work. I take the research inquiry back to be discussed with the theories and the findings. The first section answers the first research question on how NiMO manages each domain. I review how the conceptions are changing along with their migration journey and explain how the changes affect their self-othering process. The second section describes the ways participants manage the three domains and explains the reasons. Lastly, I discuss briefly how the results can contribute and be extended for future studies, especially with the pandemic backgrounds.

CHAPTER 2 BOUNDARY WORK IN MIGRATION

2.1 Overview

In many migration studies, borders and boundaries are discussed referring to a place or locality (Conversi 1999). They encompass spatiality and territoriality, such as geographic patterning and boundaries of ethnic neighborhoods (Walton 2017), border-crossing between countries (Morokvasic 2008; Cassidy 2020), or between urban and rural areas (Chew 2019), with more weight on the urban settings. Boundaries and borders are mostly treated as “interstitial zones” and “a cultural interface” that separate society, resulting in "a range of multiplex and transnational identities” (Lamont and Molnar 2002, 184). Therefore, more insights into how boundaries in transnational settings impact the everyday lives of individuals are needed (Vertovec 2004, 973). In the previous chapter, I briefly discussed the gap in the existing on boundary work of everyday domains in migration contexts studies (Lan 2006; Lynch 2007; Rudnick 2009; Dekel 2016). In this chapter, I will deepen the discussion aiming at offering the theoretical insights. Theoretical insights come from demonstrating how the addition of a new variable significantly alters our understanding of a phenomenon by reorganizing our causal maps (Whetten 1989, 493). Below is the framework as the guideline.

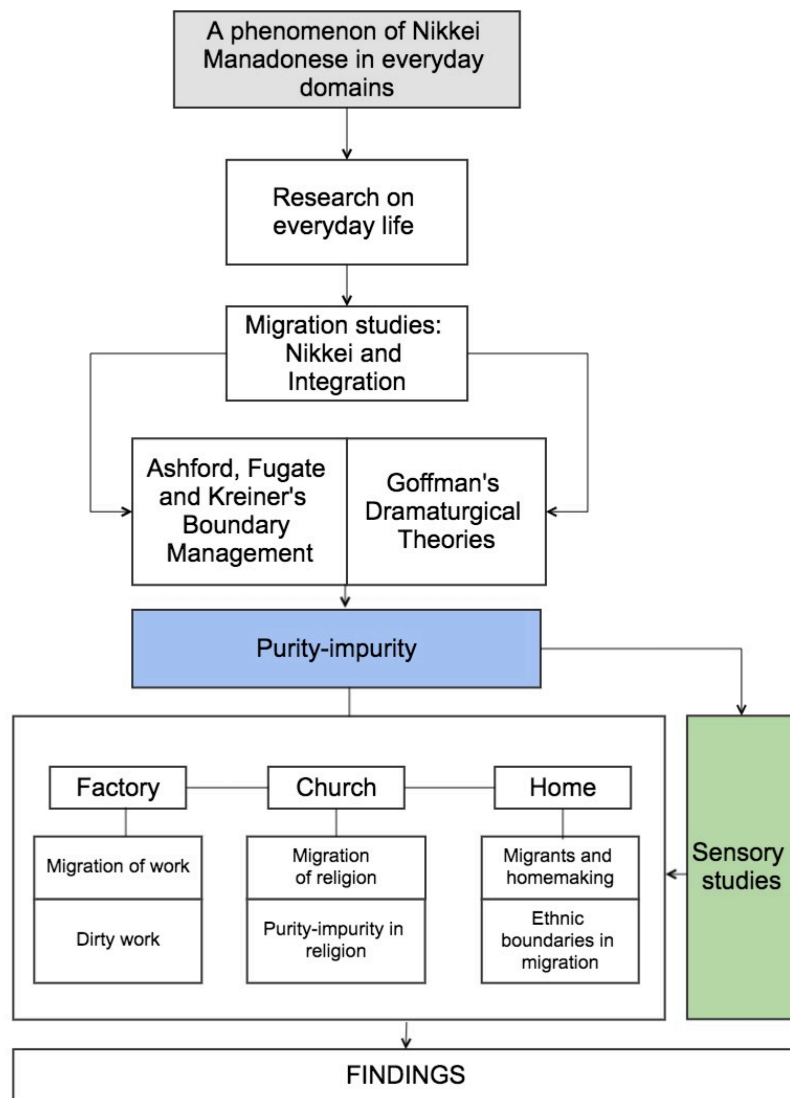

Figure 2-1 Theoretical framework

I use purity-impurity as lens to interrogate boundary work of everyday domains initially because the research on ethnic boundaries, Nikkeijin and migrants are often interrogated with the concept of racial purity. So, purity-impurity is considered as best fit to the nature of data and topic. I use sensory studies as the paradigm and a methodology because the quotidian reality of everyday life consists of a series of socially produced sensory experiences through which commonality with others is established and maintained (Chau 2008). In addition,

research of everyday life is, by nature, sensitive and private, yet ordinary and regular, because the activities are often beyond conscious manners.

In this chapter, I will first explain the boundary work and dramaturgical theory in the contexts of migration. Then, I will elaborate them through the lens of purity-impurity conception, before discussing the possible practices and rituals in the everyday domains of migrants (factory, church and home) by intersecting pertinent concepts of migration of religion, dirty work, integration and ethnic boundaries with the backdrop of rural setting and post-colonial migration.

2.2 Boundary Work

2.2.1 Everyday Research in Migration

Everyday activities of migrants are routines that look ordinary and mundane. Migration itself creates an unsettling of daily routines and a questioning of the taken-for-granted world, that tends to get overlooked (Morawska 2009). Although research on everyday life includes activities that seem ordinary and cliché, it can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how migrants experience life (Lynn-Ee Ho and Hatfield 2010). In addition, these kinds of studies gain more attention as shown by Boccagni and Brighenti (2017) on housing, practices of production (Dudley 2011), cooking and giving (Conlon 2011), relations with neighbors and colleagues as enabled/constrained by particular locations (Cook et al. 2011), negotiations of everyday activities, like shopping (Hindman 2008), eating (Law 2001) and working (Yeoh and Huang 1998). Meanwhile, other studies center on migrants' adjustment to and challenges of everyday life and their determining factors (Keene 2008; Song 2010). There was also an inspection of the daily lives of temporary migrant workers exemplifying the degree where exploitation is extensive as migrants are not entirely aware of their rights (Kalekin-Fishman

2013). These studies show how migration is comprised of real, often small-scale, but time and energy-consuming experiences taking place daily.

To do sociology research of everyday life means “to see the ordinary as strange, the routine as new, and the unquestioned as doubtful” (Weigert 1981, 48). The primary task of this kind of research is “to describe the processes of meaning establishment and meaning interpretation as these are carried out by individuals living in the social world” (Schutz 1976: 248). There are at least two traits of everyday life research. First, everyday life is the observable manifestation of social existence, which always includes relationships with other people, and occurs in a social context (Sztompka 2008). Second, everyday life events are repeated, cyclical, rhythmic, which then turn into routines (Sztompka 2008). Hence, de Certeau and Giard assert that investigating everyday life deals with three aspects of the field: *orality*, *operativity* and *the ordinary* (1998, 251-6). To be able to do so, Weigert (1981) suggests a researcher to switch from the natural attitude to a sociological attitude to diving into underlying structures and processes, to see humans as actors in the social world, rather than reacting like objects in the natural world.

2.2.2 Boundaries: The Creation of Domains

The concept of boundaries can be explained in two narratives: First, boundaries are made, imagined, and perceived. The coastline of an island, for example, is construed as a boundary as long as its inhabitants accept it as such (Simmel 1992). Second, boundaries are not fixed, but fluid and moving, that their existence depends on their maintenance, or “liquidation” (see Bauman 2000). Although the boundaries are fluid, yet “roles are more or less stable rather than in flux, emergent, or under threat” (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 473). In addition, although individuals frame boundaries differently, collectives can develop shared norms about the permeability of given domains (Kreiner, Hollensbe and Sheep 2009).

These two standpoints assert the nature of boundaries being subtle, invisible, and ever-changing. Boundaries can refer to the visible spatial divisions, such as fence, wall, gate, or concrete blocks, but they can also be "emotional, cognitive, and/or relational limits that define entities as separate from one another" (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 474).

According to earlier studies on "boundary theory," individuals create and maintain boundaries as a way to simplify and order the environment (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000). The process of erecting "mental fences" (Zerubavel 1991, 2) results in the creation of slices of reality, or one calls them domains. Home, work, and church are examples of the social domains created by boundaries (Nippert-Eng 1996, in Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 474). These mental fences separate "acceptable from unacceptable behavior—the assertive from the rude, the funny from the crude" (Zerubavel 1991, 15). By circumscribing domains, boundaries enable one to concentrate more on whatever domain is currently salient and less on other domains (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 474). Boundary-making logically derives from the essential activity of classifying things or people, such as in the basic divisions of dirty and clean, edible and inedible, filth and holy, or silent and noisy. It can be enacted on "a continuum, ranging from highly segmentation to highly integration" (Nippert-Eng 1996, in Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 475). Further, Ashforth and colleagues (2000) note that the process of making micro role transitions is affected by the flexibility and permeability of the boundaries.

Boundaries are drawn through a set of everyday routines, practices, and senses that people *perform* distinctively to construct identities in a particular domain. Everyday boundaries are often collectively established through organizational policies, designs, or structures; however, individuals also uniquely play important roles in creating and maintaining boundaries (Nippert-Eng 1996). This proposition is echoed by research by Bentley et al. (2019) stating that moving from one domain to another requires a reconstruction of the self. Furthermore,

according to Nippert-Eng (1996), the boundaries around that domain are somewhat idiosyncratically constructed, that by circumscribing domains, boundaries enable one to concentrate more on a particular domain (in Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 474). Whether it is literal or metaphorical, a boundary is not given and inherent. Instead, it is a construct through power-agency interplay, especially because the individual enactment of boundaries is a matter of personal preference (Rothbard, Phillips and Dumas 2005). How and why do they make and maintain the everyday boundaries in migration contexts? In the same vein, it will also ask how migrants exercise their agency and power in everyday situations.

2.2.3 Roles and the Transitions

Boundary-making practices look at people's everyday actions as a form of cultural politics embedded in specific power contexts (Ong 1999, 5). When reality is partitioned into discrete domains, differences between the domains tend to emerge or become exaggerated (Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate: 2000). There are at least two kinds of strategies in boundary-making: Segmented and integrated. In a segmentation strategy, individuals attempt to keep different domains separate to avoid "contamination," "blurring", "ambiguity," and "interruption" of one domain into the other" (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000, 476). An integration strategy refers to attempts to integrate different domains by deconstructing any boundaries or maintaining of more flexible and permeable ones (Rothbard, Phillips and Dumas 2005). As the consequence, there can be increased ambiguity between roles and identities between domains (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000). There are three models illustrated by Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate (2000, 473) with examples from three major domains of everyday role transitions involving work:

Table 2-1 Three everyday role transitions by Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate (2000) (Table and point no. 4 by author)

No	Transitions	Examples
1	WORK - HOME	Commuting between home-work
2	WORK – WORK	Between one's roles of subordinate, peer, superordinate, and organizational representative; between multiple jobs (moon-lighting)
3	WORK – "THIRD PLACE"	Between work and other social domains, such as a church, health club, and neighborhood.
4	This research: WORK – HOME - CHURCH	Among three social domains, factory work – home/ neighborhood – church on a daily basis

The theory of boundary work (Ashforth et al. 2000 and Nippert-Eng 1996) provides the analytical tools necessary to account for the work-life boundary comprehensively in single crossing with some models. However, it still needs more investigation of how the theory is applicable in the everyday life of migrants. In addition, fewer studies can provide empirical evidence to account for managing extreme opposing domains such as doing dirty and holy work. If both roles as a factory worker and church leader were perceived as mutually exclusive, "individuals would be likely to engage in segmentation behaviors, including having different sets of clothes for work and for personal time" (Cruz and Meisenbach 2018, 184). Therefore, this study endeavors to fill in the "unusual" transitions in the boundary work among the church, factory, and home and the neighborhood in migration contexts.

Referring to Table 1-1 (in Chapter 1), related research in migration contexts have similarities in managing domains: (1) They do dirty work; (2) They have a space for transitioning and transforming their appearance before entering another domain; (3) They do body care before crossing boundaries between domains through cleaning up and changing dress. In addition, the cleaning rite for the Juki girls is conducted in the toilet in the factory, after working hours, by brushing their hair to clean it up from the cotton dust. The toilet is their

transitional space serving as a boundary between work and non-work life. They purify themselves to avoid the stigma against their visual presentation in a "dusty" appearance. In eliminating dirt of all kinds, Douglas argues, we are involved in a perpetual spatial and visual process of arranging and rearranging the environment (1966, 2). This is the example of what Kupers (2017) said, that people may "manipulate" sensory experience often for the desired impression management across stages. The public restroom, factory restroom, and the dry house can serve as the transitional space that function as boundaries in the segmented one among other domains. One of the main differences is none of the research above gives a sample for transitioning from working in the factory to the church, in the migration contexts, that can hopefully be provided by this research.

2.3 Through the lens of purity-impurity

2.3.1 Logic of Purity-impurity

Boundary work logically derives from the essential activity of classifying things and people, such as in the basic divisions of the dirty and the clean, the edible and inedible, the filth and holy, or the silent and noisy. Mary Douglas' *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, first published in 1966, is an exploration of social and cultural systems through the evidence of the everyday, the excluded, and the prohibited (Campkin 2013). She argues, "dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements" (Douglas 1966, 45). Douglas is convinced that there is nothing in our rules of cleanness to suggest any connection between dirt and sacredness. There is no way of dirtiness being in the same place of holiness. For Douglas, purity and impurity are always separated in two opposing poles, and the classifications depend upon a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. She argues: "our pollution

behavior is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications" (1966, 44-5). Douglas' theorization has been criticized by some scholars. One of the most influential ones is by Sibley (1995), through his book, *Geographies of Exclusion*. There are four main points of Sibley's arguments on Douglas' theory on purity-impurity: (1) the idea of "dirt as a matter of place," (2) the potential construction of purity-impurity, (3) the application of purity-impurity in the everyday and natural settings, (4) the different discourses of purity-impurity across cultures. I will discuss each of them respectively.

The first, and certainly the most important of Sibley's argument, points to the proposal that "dirt is matter out of place." Douglas, and later followed by Julia Kristeva, argues that the impure is one that does not respect boundaries. For them, an object or a substance is defined as a "pollutant" because it is anomalous to a given symbolic order (Speltini and Passini 2016). Nonetheless, for Sibley, "the social and spatial contexts of abjection need considerable elaboration" (1995, 11). It is because purity and impurity classifications have a rather permanent spatial element to them, and Douglas does not address the precise properties of place (Duschinsky and Brown 2015). If a place is perceived as a stable and homogenous state, then 'pure' spaces or forms of subjectivity are understood not to have deviated from their essence (Duschinsky and Brown 2015). Moreover, other geographers also believe that there is an "association of spatial penetration with impurity" (Morley 1999, 157), that "very often such geographical distancing goes hand in hand with discourses of filth" (Modan 2002, 479). There is further demand in investigating the role of *place* in the processes of defilement: why and when particular bodies "contaminate" or "render impure" the spaces they occupy. Adding to the list, I propose to question how everyday space determines the purity-impurity of bodies.

Second, Douglas' idea of dirt as "a matter out of place" is in line with the representation of impurity, as a "spontaneous byproduct" of classificatory orders (Douglas 1968). However, Sibley objects to it; he regarded impurity as "a discursive construction in the course of situated

practices of one set of phenomena as equivalent to another: a material metaphor" (1995, 18). This material metaphor suggests a much more dynamic account, in which there is no universal division between "in place" and "out of place," but rather the potential for the discursive construction of phenomena as dirty, shitty, sluttish (Duschinsky and Brown 2015). I agree with Sibley (1995) and Duschinsky (2013) in suggesting that purity-impurity is associated with "a matter out of place" only when the phenomena are assessed for their relative deviation from an imputed state of "self-identity." Purity and impurity do more than judge self-identity; they can play a fundamental role in its performative construction (Duschinsky 2013). Hence, I would also argue that dirt should not only imply an anomaly or matter out of place but can also be emplaced and constructed in certain situations.

Third, based on the personal communication with Douglas by Duschinsky and Brown in 2013, it is confirmed that the former did not apply her ideas to everyday life in developed societies or material spaces (Duschinsky and Brown 2015). Sibley also indicates that Douglas' paradigm presents us with significant regularity, but not an explanation that specifies the situations. The lack of evidence on empirical data in everyday life is what needs to be enhanced from Douglas' theory. For example, the distinction between what is holy and what is common, as mentioned in Douglas' book, is one of the essential things in religion, but also one which is very difficult to grasp precisely without specific occasions in everyday encounters. It is because the purity-impurity interpretation varied from age to age with the general progress of religious thought (Turner 1997, 132). Hence, there is still a need to dive into the concept of purity and impurity in how the "system" is constructed in everyday instances.

Fourth, the purity-impurity concept in Douglas' book has been generalized by far within the framework of Western cultures. In one of her arguments, Douglas' ([1966] 2002, 43) mentions: "the difference between pollution behavior in one part of the world and another is only a matter of detail." Sibley (1995) objects to this and indicates that "themes of purity and

impurity are contingent discourses” (37), suggesting that purity and impurity discourses are not the same by cultures. In fact, every culture has developed its own idea of cleanliness and dirtiness as well as hygienic practices and, above all, that “disgust is not only an instinctive tool to protect from diseases and infections but it is also culturally determined” (Speltini and Passini 2016, 244). I agree with Sibley, Speltini and Passini that the concepts of purity and impurity do not always readily work for all cultures. Douglas also admits that her original thesis has limitations since there are clear cases where “people were not really that concerned about defilement and happily mixed discrepant categories” (Sibley 1995, 37). Thus, it is important to shed light on the non-Western cultural and historical backgrounds of purity-impurity in contemporary society. In addition, to date, there has been little research on purity-impurity across everyday domains in migration contexts.

2.3.2 Purity-impurity in Migration

Purity and impurity demonstrate an interest in how culture is embedded in "the concrete, the mundane" and, at a more abstract level, in the "collective ordering of social life" through systems of classification (Wuthnow, et al. 1984, 78). The concepts can be explained into two intertwining operation systems: symbolic/ metaphorical and sensory/ corporeal. Through a symbolic/metaphorical system, purity-impurity explains the process of othering and exclusion which become the basis of discrimination, prejudices, and stigma in everyday life. Purity-impurity in everyday life can be analyzed throughout spaces, domains, places (situations), and broader sociopolitical contexts (society, nations, transnational contexts). Symbolic or metaphorical applications often trigger the construction of boundaries across spaces. Notions of purity and impurity can be seen to permeate all spheres of human experience, often in the form of symbolic or metaphorical applications to a wide range of phenomena (Schnall 2016, 381-382). Douglas explains “at the social level, as at the individual level, an

awareness of group boundaries can be expressed in the opposition between purity and defilement" (in Sibley 1995, 36-38). If we relate this to the racist discourses in migration contexts, we will find the migrants are often represented as impure, while the natives are in the corner of purity.

Migrants often have a lack of access, power, and agency at the macro institutional level in the host society. As a result, the emergence of borders is more often dominated by and examined from the perspectives of the natives, or those with power, where boundaries segregate the migrant groups with negative labels and stigma (e.g dirty, impure, deviant, or noisy). Purity-impurity classification can explain the process of stigmatizing and boundary-making towards the inferior others, as it is related to negative attitudes toward out-groups, including foreigners and migrants (Navarrete and Fessler 2006; Hodson and Costello 2010). This argument stems from the dominant groups' concern that migrants may contaminate or pollute society with crime and disease. Therefore, othering concerns the consequences of racism, sexism, class (or a combination thereof) in terms of symbolic degradation, as well as the processes of identity formation related to this degradation (Jensen 2011). The person or group being "othered" experiences this as a process of marginalization, disempowerment, and social exclusion creating a separation between "us" and "them" (Grove and Zwi 2006), and between the more and the less powerful (Lister 2004, 101).

The prevalence of figurative categorizations of migration as a war presents evidence of an issue of ideological contention–namely that migrants are the enemy, and their presence is that of occupation or invasion of the country (Castello 2016). Some negative referential construction or identification about migrants and minorities in stereotypical metaphors in German and Austrian discourses are relevant to this study:

Table 2-2 Negative stereotypical metaphors in reference to migrants' identification in German and Austrian discourses (Reisigl and Wodak 2001)

Negative stereotypical metaphors	**Referential construction and identification of migrants**
Pollution and impurity	Intergroup contacts, exchanges, and relations as pollution and impurity
Body	Racialized, nationalized, ethnicized groups, are metaphorically ascribed "collective (racial, national, ethnicity) bodies;" outgroups are metaphorized as "foreign bodies" or alien elements.
Blood	Immigration as bleeding white or bloodletting of the imagined "collective bodies;" intergroup relations as blood impurity
Disease/ infection	Immigration/ migrants as an epidemic; intergroup contacts and relations as an infection; immigrants/ minorities as parasites
Food	"good/ welcome immigrants/ minorities" versus "bad/unwelcome immigrants/ minorities" metaphorized as the wheat that has to be separated from the chaff
House/ gateway	The ingroups' territory as a house or a building; stopping immigration as bolting the door

In the table above, there are listed the negative stereotypical metaphors about migrants' identification in German and Austrian discourses. The table shows that the dirt system imposed towards migrants may include metaphorical/ symbolic dimensions of prejudice, such as body, blood, food, house, and others. Discourses about races, nations, and ethnicities, the metaphors, synecdoche, and metonymies are almost always connected with specific dichotomic and oppositional predications, that let the speakers polarise and divide the world of social actors into black and white, good and bad (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), pure and impure, migrants and natives, and so on.

The underlying emotion of the prejudice and stigma towards migrants is disgust. Disgust plays an indispensable role in generating and maintaining antipathy to out-groups. It involves a vertical dimension of degradation-elevation and a connection with beliefs of purity, by which the in-group is considered purer than the out-groups (Hodson and Costello 2007). Taylor states, "an effect of disgust against other groups and categories of human beings is the idea of social contamination," that the targeted group is "a bearer of pollution or disease, a danger to the integrity and purity of an individual or group." (Taylor 2008, 601). The

stigmatized "food smell" in Manalansan's (2006) research, for example, does not only stay in kitchens but marks houses and apartments, clothing, and bodies of Filipina migrants in post-Fordist New York City.

Just like smell becoming a memory trace of place, time, or person, the presence of migrants may be metaphorically construed as "noise," the unwanted sound. Noise associated with a minority group is a subtle manifestation of prejudice and discrimination. In other words, migrants are often disgusted and represented as dirt and noise by the dominant groups. Defining some social groups as "dirty," "unclean," "smelly" and "impure" is sometimes another way of labelling them as "dishonest or immoral" (Speltini and Passini 2014, 214). This rejection of personhood discourages any kind of empathic perspective by treating migrants as objects, rather than as individuals (Castello 2016).

2.3.3 Gaps and Impurification Idea?

Ellis (2011) suggests researchers not to continue "to linger in Mary Douglas' shadow" as her work is "as influential as it is potentially misleading" (890). Therefore, modern research needs to identify the blind spot of her theoretical concepts. With these four qualifications on Douglas' theorization, my study stands to fill in the theoretical gap by (1) explaining purity-impurity in real daily encounters in migration contexts, to investigate the practices of purity-impurity in social domains and boundary-making, and (2) explaining how purity-impurity is constructed and emplaced in the Asian cultures.[31] The first two will help to explain the identity construction of migrants rooted in the daily categorization of dirty-clean.

The third is suggesting the discussion on *impurification* rites. Research has been conducted more on the purification of the body, but, not so much on impurification. In Douglas'

[31] In this case, Japanese and Manadonese cultures. Culture itself is about more than being or thinking; it is also a matter of feeling and sensory engagement (Marion and Offen 2009).

theorization (1966), impurity has been merely conceptualized as the “anomaly” of purity. However, Douglas may implicitly indicate the impurification rites through her view on body control. In her view, “body control” is an expression of social control and conversely, abandonment of bodily control in ritual responds to the requirements of a social experience which is being expressed (Douglas 1973, 98-100). Lack of care of one's body is represented by the presence of body odors, which can be considered as a “social violation” (Low 2005, 43). It is exemplified by the domestic workers in Lan's study who change their clothes to the ordinary/ non-stylish ones when they return to the houses where they work. This is where the idea of impurification may be conceptualized from. In this study, I want to suggest closer looks on both purity-impurity conceptions as equal as, and as opposed to one another. For example, if a body can be “purified,” can it also be “impurified?” If so, how are impurification practices possibly conducted? Why do people need to impurify the body? These three points are the gaps this study wants to examine further.

2.4 Everyday Practices and Rituals

I will discuss practices and rituals in everyday domains through the lens of purity-impurity. Purity-impurity is not an automated or natural concept; It is socially constructed in conscious and sub-conscious manners driven by political and discursive power relations that affect the everyday lives of migrants. Migrants’ lives are affected by (and affect) their new physical and social surroundings (Huang and Yeoh, 2007). The roles of the workplace, religious institutions, and home-neighborhood towards migrants and vice-versa, are reflections of an instrument in the production of individual, social, or cultural ordering systems in migration, through which the exploration of habitus, rituals, meaning-making, and roles are possible. To view migrants' life on an everyday basis helps to provide a counter-perspective to

stereotypes of migrants' passivity and dependency. Day-to-day basis significantly impacts these social relations and how new places are experienced. This focus on every day brings into view the social elements that add scholarship to migrant experiences.

2.4.1 Workplace

Working with "the Others"

The workplace is where migrant workers spend the majority of their time every day, where social interactions with other individuals from other cultural backgrounds are inevitable. They engage in shared working activities and pursue common working goals, allowing them to interact together despite ethnic differences and stereotypes (Gsir 2017). Therefore, the workplace offers an opportunity for encounters and for creating stronger bonds (Wise et al. 2010). Kaisha is not a term that can be simply replaced by "company" in English. The term kaisha itself, for Japanese, symbolizes the expression of group consciousness, conceived as an *ie* (house), and all its employees qualify as members of the household with the employer at its head (Nakane 1997, 8). This "family" envelops the employees' personal family (including the migrant workers); it "engages" them "totally" (*marugakae* in Japanese) (Nakane 1997, 8).

In rural areas, particularly, the employers can be central figures within the communities, acting not only as economic hubs for small-town life but also key political and social figures (White 2006). As result, migrant workers often find themselves in a precarious position when they are dependent upon their employers for housing and living expenses (White 2006). It happens in the traditional kaisha, with an aging society, where there are "various types of traditional authority—patriarchalism, patrimonialism, and gerontocracy" (Newby 1977, 63). These types are the most salient characteristics of paternalism in the Pacific Asian cultures (Dorfman and Howell 1988; Pye 1986), such as those in China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and India (Zeynep 2006). Chao (1990) links paternalism to one of the fundamental principles of

Confucian ideology that balances an employer's authority and guidance in exchange for loyalty and deference from the subordinates. Paternalism can become a two-edged sword between "autocracy and obligation, cruelty and kindness, oppression and benevolence, exploitation and protection" (Newby 1973, 70).

Migrants and 3D Jobs: Negotiating Dirt and Stigma

Dirt is socially constructed and associated with feelings of disgust and ideas of danger and disease (Widding Isaksen 2002). Migrants are often depicted as impurity, pollutant, nuisance, with dirt and disorder attributed in their embodiment (Brah 1999). Their body and embodied dispositions connote a stronger "otherness." This is because the imagery of dirt and filth are common representations of migrants, as the Other. The image of the migrant underlines the importance of mixture, catachresis, and impurity as a necessary critique of racist and exclusivist notions of identity (Dasgupta 2008). With less freedom to choose their preferred job opportunities in the new environment, migrant workers more often work in dirty, unattractive low-paid manual jobs shunned by the locals.

Migrants are regarded as a better choice to do the 3D jobs than the locals, as they are mostly willing to endure the poor employment conditions (Yee and Yuen 2014). They are seen to have several flexibilities on labor performance: wage flexibility (to be paid lower than the locals), functional flexibility (to handle different tasks and beyond, and play different roles), internal numerical flexibility (to work flexible hours and adjust inputs at work) and external numerical flexibility (to be hired and fired, as they are mostly just temporary workers) (see Atkinson 1984; Bryson 2007; Dench et al. 2006). Migrants are willing to work for lower wages than non-migrants (Piore 1979; Blanchflower, et al. 2007; Dustman and Weiss 2008), even in 3D jobs.

According to Hughes, an occupation can be stigmatized as "dirty work" because it is "physically disgusting" and/or "a symbol of social degradation" (1951, 319). Dirty work refers to jobs, roles, or tasks that are seen as being disgusting or degrading (Hughes 1951; Ashforth and Kreiner 1999). Such tasks are often undertaken by those at lower levels of the social hierarchy or at the margins of the labor market (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999). Working in a fish or seafood-processing factory, for example, is associated with smell and dirt, and requires physical bodily contact with dead creatures. Thus, based on the classification of dirty work by Ashforth and Kreiner, such work falls into the category of *physical taint*. Physical taint arises when an occupation is either directly linked with dirt, waste matter, or death (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999, 415). Another form of taint is *social taint*, which may be found in occupations that involve regular contact with people or groups that are themselves regarded as stigmatized, such as being a prison guard or a social worker. There is also *moral taint*, that might attach to jobs in which a worker is thought to employ methods that are "deceptive, intrusive, confrontational, or that otherwise defy norms of civility" (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999, 415).

How do migrants cope with disgust and stigma? As disgust is also multicultural (Curtis et al., 2011), levels of disgust have been shown to vary among individuals and within their cultures (Rozin, Haidt, McCauley, Dunlop and Ashmore, 1999). Jordan (2008) pointed out, disgust evolved from being just a food-related emotion to be used as an emotion of social rejection of certain kinds of socially inappropriate people and behaviors. It also influences their set of perceptions towards the larger society and cultures in their integration.

2.4.2 Church and Religious Organization

Migrant Church and Religious Participation

The religious institution is crucial for migrant groups as it may manifest to a form of social and political expression and mobilization, and a vehicle for community building and

group identity (Gozdziak and Shandy 2002, 129). Transnational social spaces include cross-border religious groups and churches, especially those that belong to Christianity, and diaspora communities (Kitani 2016). In many cases, churches and religious organizations, play a vital role in the creation of community and as a major source of social and economic assistance (Hirschman 2004). In this study, the word "church" does not merely refer to a physical building, but a social institution, a group of people with religious conformity which plays an important part to maintain social order in society.

The type of a migrant church may result in different relations with the host society. Kitani (2016), who wrote on migrant churches among Brazilian and Filipino in Japan, argues that there are three phases of the establishment of migrant churches in Japan according to the three settlement phases. First is *the grafting-type*, where a Japanese church provides a service for migrants. Second, *the seedling-type* church is a church established and administered by migrants. Third, *the sapling-type*, in which a church is imported from the migrants' country of origin. Notwithstanding, she generalizes that the birth of the church types is linear with the growth of migrant communities, their length of stay, and settlement.

Among immigrants, religious participation is also likely to be affected by conditions at the place of destination, including the share of co-religionists, the proportion of foreign-born, and the diversity of local religious beliefs (Connor 2009). Further, Connor (2009) argues that although a higher concentration of co-religionists in the place of destination increases the degree of religious participation among immigrants, overall religiosity at points of destination seems to depress participation (van Tubergen 2006). Multivariate analysis of data also confirms that the most common and immediate response to international migration in the level of religious participation is a decline, in contradiction to the theologizing hypothesis (Massey and Higgins 2011). This is what I would like to pay attention to in the case of religious participation

of NiMO, and how their participation is operated into the purity-impurity negotiation in their everyday life.

Purity-impurity in Religion

Holiness is most often associated with religion. When ones talk about church and religious institution, the discussion on holiness-defilement or purity-impurity is almost always present. According to Hargrove, religion components include

> "(1) a community of believers who share (2) a common myth, construing the abstraction of cultural values into historical reality, through (3) ritual behavior, which makes possible personal participation in (4) a dimension of experience recognized as encompassing something more than everyday reality-the holy" (1971, 13).

These four components represent the holiness in the church. Discussing holiness in Sociology can be daunting and slippery, especially the concept discussed in this study will refer to the church and Christianity contexts. Explaining only through the perspectives of theology may become preachy and beyond the researcher's capability and the purpose of this study. Meanwhile, defining holiness only from the viewpoint of the sociology of religion can be misleading, because, in this study, it obviously refers to the church and the congregation. Thus, it is crucial to make it clear that holiness in this section will be examined in both traits: Sociological perspectives, and Theological perspectives, by conceptualizing the distinction between *holy* and *not holy*. Then, I will describe the embodied experiences of holiness.

In Sociology, the concept of holiness here is specific to how people translate, define, express, and construct daily rituals and everyday reality into a meaningful social system that is applicable in the church. Douglas (1966) is convinced that there is nothing in our rules of cleanness to suggest any connection between dirt and sacredness. As she argues that there is no way of dirtiness being in the same place of holiness. The distinction between what is holy and what is common is one of the essential things in religion, but also one which is very difficult

to grasp precisely because its interpretation varied from age to age with the general progress of religious thought (Turner 1997, 132). While Turner (1997) uses the term "savage societies" or "savage religion," Douglas (1966) uses "primitive religion" to show the evolution of religious thoughts in historical pinpoints that will be discussed shortly.

Is it a common practice to strongly oppose the sacred and the unclean in non-migration contexts? The short answer is not necessarily. Holiness and unholiness in the Hindu ideas of pollution, for example, need not always be absolute opposites: what is clean in relation to one thing may be unclean in relation to another, and vice versa (Douglas 1966, 9). Using the example of Havik peoples of the Malnad part of Mysore, Harper describes his observation: "behavior that usually results in pollution is sometimes intentional to show deference and respect; by doing that, which under other circumstances would be defiling, the individual expresses his inferior position" (in Douglas 1966, 9).

The liquid for the feed bathing of a holy woman, *sadhu*, was passed round in a special silver vessel for worshipping to be drunk as tirtha (sacred liquid) (Douglas 1966, 11). In this example, the distinction between the idea of holiness and uncleanness is non-absolute. The feed bathing, which is associated with uncleanness, may become sacred tirtha in a certain socio-cultural-religious finesse. Thus, as Frazer argues, the confusion between holiness and unholiness is the distinctive mark of primitive thinking or "in primitive religion" (Douglas 1966: 11-12). Religion is where the very idea of "contamination" originally evolved, in which "religious mind" is the rigid manner that "compartmentalizes the world into sacred and profane spheres" (Zerubavel 1991, 56). Zerubavel also believes religion is specifically designed to keep the sacred and the profane literally apart and ensures that they will not touch, each other (1991, 58).

Taboo, as Turner (1977) uses as an example, is parallel in rules of uncleanness, that a person under taboo is not regarded as holy. For instance, a man who has touched a dead body

and so forth is temporarily taboo and separated from human society, and in savage societies, the act is associated with supernatural dangers. It can be shunned like an infectious disease (Turner 1997). As Turner (1997) mentions, in savage societies, there is no sharp line that seems to be drawn between temporary physical and supernatural interactions with taboos. It means, in savage societies, by touching the dead body, a man may become "permanently" associated with supernatural dangers, although he has washed his hand. For them, the act of washing hands would not arbitrarily purify the impurity, as it did not recognize the temporariness of the contamination.

Christian Rules of Holiness

Christian rules of holiness, by contrast, disregard the material circumstances and judge according to the motives and disposition of the agent (Douglas 1966). What is holiness in Christianity? First, the concept of holiness is distinguished between Catholics and Protestants. Catholics are taught that if they would become holy, pride must be renounced, and all appearance of pride must be laid aside (B. T. Roberts 2011). But in Protestant churches, one will find persons advocating holiness, whose appearance unmistakably declares that pride reigns within (B. T. Roberts 2011). Their costly apparel, their ornaments of gold, their affected tones, their whole bearing, proclaim that there has been no real renunciation of the vain pomp and glory of the world (B. T. Roberts 2011). The fine church must be filled with finely dressed people, and so pride and extravagance are encouraged, and the poor virtually excluded from the house of worship (B. T. Roberts 2011). In the Christian tradition, holiness entails moral purity, and generally, any notion of ritual purity includes moral purity (Louth 2003, 217); and it is exemplified by completeness (Douglas 1966).

Holiness in the New Testaments as in the Old Testament is related to an understanding of *who God is and where God is to be found* (Barton 2003, original emphasis). From the key

scriptural text of Exodus (19-20), there are two main ingredients of holiness: worship and obedience (Bartel 2001, 196). According to Barton (2003), the idea and practice of holiness in the New Testament are not only related to a re-evaluation of the self-above all, in relation to God, but also as a direct corollary, in relation to others. Holiness as separation—of life and death, male and female, priest and lay, purity and impurity—is displaced by holiness as solidarity. In Luther's eyes, everything was holy, which was done with the right disposition toward God – even walking, standing, sleeping, eating, and whatever else may be done for the nourishment of the body and the common good (Sumakul 2005, 24). On the other hand, everything was unholy, which was not done with this attitude towards God, even the works which had hitherto been regarded as specifically holy - praying, fasting, making pilgrimages, saying and endowing masses, building churches and monasteries (Sumakul 2005, 24).

Although Turner talked about Semites' religion and Douglas gave the example of Haviks people and the Christian, they have similar points in saying that the primitive, savage, or traditional religious has vague, unrestricted, and undistinguishable boundary between the rules of holiness and uncleanness. The impurity can be permanent, as there is a vague and non-absolute way to be holy after having contact with impurity. Therefore, some rituals may be exhaustive as to purify someone to be holy, and even so, there is no wholeness and completeness. Meanwhile, in Christian, the unclean things are relegated to the kitchen, bathroom, and municipal sanitation, nothing to do with religion. Thus, rules of uncleanness are dissociated from religion; the boundary in the modern, advanced religion becomes more evident between the holy and the unclean (Douglas 1966; Turner 1977), so dirtiness can be "separated" and "washed away" from holiness, as through rituals and body purification. As explained by Weiss and Zellentin (2016), various cultural and religious activities require physical cleansing, such as washing or carrying out symbolic cleansing practices. Thus,

discerning and representing holy moral character can only be accomplished in a highly automatic, ritual manner (see Willis and Todorov 2006 in Schnall 2016).

2.4.3 Home and the Neighborhood

Home and House

Purity-impurity plays an influential role in the neighborhood, especially in shaping urban/ rural space, for instance, through the creation of segregated areas for people under specific categories. Sibley notes that there are "spaces comprising the home or locality, which can be polluted by the presence of nonconforming people, activities, or artifacts" (1995, 91). These nonconforming people and activities can be construed as nonconforming behavior in the determining stage, in Goffman's theory of dramaturgy, or as the anomaly in the homogenous situation, in Douglas' concept of dirt. More specifically, Sibley postulates that there is recurrent relation of purity-impurity discourses to socio-spatial regions, such as the suburb, "where there is internal homogeneity[32] and clear, strong boundaries separate that space from others" (Duschinsky and Brown 2015, 7).

In the context of migration, I need first to define both house and home clearly, because both are often used interchangeably in many works of literature when referring to a dwelling place in the neighborhood. Rapport and Dawson (1998) have argued that home need not be a site at all; It can be sets of practices and habitual actions. Home, more than a dwelling, is embodied, it carries lived experiences and histories, as Minh-ha (2010) contends. Brun and Fabos (2015) describe a home as a set of everyday practices, involving both material and imaginative notions people undertake and the social connections they make (12). The home-as-process, built on practices and routines, does not have to involve a fixed structure; It denotes

[32] Every domain, additionally, has homogeneity, which is "situated by hegemonic values as both natural and preferred, or in other words, 'recalcitrant'" (Duschinsky and Brown 2015, 7).

"a highly complex system of ordered relations with a place, an order that orientates us in space, in time, and in society" (Dovey 1985, 39). Making a home is about finding a daily structure, regular rhythms, and constructing routines (Easthope 2004, 135; O'Mahony 2013). Therefore, Leung (2004, 9) suggests we approach "home" as a place, a social unit, and a perception.

A house, on the other hand, refers to the material and often a generic form of the home in a given society (Samanani and Lenhard 2019). Houses also refer to the idea of households as typical social institutions, defined by dominant norms (Samanani and Lenhard 2019). In addition to being seen as a symbol indicating particular cultural beliefs, earlier generations of anthropologists also saw the house mostly as a container or setting for those social relations, such as kinship, which were taken to be of primary interest (Carsten and Jones 1995). While house refers to the generic physical structure and container, home as a site and process, including a set of everyday practices and routines people undertake and the social connections people make, including the social interaction with neighbors and people in the public space in the proximity of the house.

Homemaking for Migrants

Both places of origin and destination influence migrants' routine practices and everyday lives, which can lead to their acculturation strategies. The adaptation and acculturation process are anchored in the daily routines in the society. Berry (1990, 1997) proposed a taxonomy of acculturation strategies elaborating migrants' adaptation: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. He argues that adaptation was largely dependent upon the "fit" between the dominant and the dominant group's choice of the way they wish to acculturate (Berry 1997). However, although Berry recognized large variations in migrants experiences within a single group, how these macro-level factors translated into individual life was not specified (Timotijevic 2000, 359). Acculturation can be too subtle to observe through macro perspectives.

Many neighborhoods that appear integrated from a bird's-eye-view of the data, for example, can actually be experiencing micro-segregation on the ground, where residents of different groups are isolated in their everyday activities and participate in little meaningful interaction (Miller 2015; Tach 2014). In addition, deliberate shifts in the social environment can be inescapably stressful as they bring about a sudden change in everyday rootedness (Norberg-Schultz 1977), which could only be observed through observation of everyday life.

Based on Botticello's (2007) research on the homemaking of migrants, argues that a sense of home does not have to be limited to domestic, private space. Instead, home extends into the public realm of the street of outdoor markets. Home is the "site of practices where comfort, familiarity, and intimate sociality occur" (Botticello 2007, 19). Hence, for Botticello, a home also includes social interaction with neighbors and people in the public space, within the house's proximity. Boccagni (2017) further asserts that through the home experience, people connect their present with the past, draw an elementary boundary between the inside and the outside, and, likewise, between all sorts of opposites: orderly vs disorderly, clean vs dirty, predictable vs unpredictable, proximate vs far away, but also us vs them, or natives vs aliens (Van der Horst 2004; Boccagni and Brighenti, 2015). Home can be a hub or a transitional space of the suggested binaries.

Home is not necessarily conflated with a house. Home provides a unique venue on the transnational facets of migrants' everyday life over space and time. The most common place to be "renegotiated" is home. Home is a "socio-spatial system" that represents the fusion of the physical unit or house and the social unit or household (Mallett 2004, 68 paraphrasing Saunders and Williams 1988, 83). Therefore, home is both an actual place of lived experience and metaphorical space of personal attachment and identification (Armbruster in Al-Ali and Koser 2002). Migration in itself is a source of de-naturalization of the home, as it reveals how its familiarity and obviousness have been culturally constructed and are ultimately fictitious

(Boccagni 2017). On the side of receiving societies, migrants' access to housing is, first of all, a matter of livelihood, and then a condition for long-term integration (Boccagni 2017). "Home area," is typically defined as "an area of 5–10 minutes' walk from one's home" (Kearns and Parkinson 2001, 2103). In the "good neighborhood," as Brower (1996) outlines, the home area may function as the place for "relaxation and re-creation of self, making connections with others, fostering attachment and belonging; and demonstrating or reflecting one's own values" (in Kearns and Parkinson 2001, 2103). Thus, based on his research on the homemaking of migrants, Botticello (2007) argues that a sense of home extends into the public realm of the street of outdoor markets, including social interaction with neighbors and people in the public space, within the house's proximity.

Ethnic Boundaries in the Neighborhood

Research shows that racist and discriminatory practices are widespread in housing, which renders a major barrier to integration (CECODHAS European Social Housing Observatory Autumn 2007). Yet, the problem is not only the segregation per se but also its consequences; segregated areas and the people living there are often socially excluded and tend to be subject to marginalization and stigmatization (CECODHAS European Social Housing Observatory Autumn 2007). This is how classification can be manifested in the everyday contested space where minority group lives. In particular, when the in-group perceives a particular fear of cultural contamination, measures that promote the isolation of out-groups may be regarded as ways to contain such contagion threats (Speltini and Passini, Cleanliness issues: From individual practices to collective visions 2016), as depicted in Lan's study:

> The Taipei City Councilor's survey results show that 76% of the Taiwanese passengers in the train stations were either "disgusted" or felt "bad" at the noises and chaos made by migrant workers on Sundays. In addition, local residents in the neighborhood near St. Christopher also air grievances about noises and dirtiness caused by migrant workers and are concerned about their life quality and safety on Sundays (Lan 2000, 20).

This reaction has resulted in segregation among migrants with the emergence of ethnic enclaves around the world. “Weekend enclaves” appear in two Asian host countries, such as Lucky Plaza in Singapore and Central District in Hong Kong. The existing discussion has been overwhelmed by how prejudice is made to react towards migrants ~~as~~ attributed as dirty and noisy, like in the case of the dominant group towards migrants in Taipei, Hongkong, and New York. Reactions of disgust become a socially shared reaction of people to “foreignness and unfamiliar cultures” and which may support the exclusion and denigration of social groups and minorities (Speltini and Passini 2016). It is the logic of purity constructed by the dominant group.[33]

In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu shows how the logic of class struggle extends to the realm of taste and lifestyle, and that symbolic classification is key to the reproduction of class privileges: dominant groups define their own culture as superior. The logic of purity is also defined by the dominant groups which are used as a symbolic classification of privileges. This is in the same vein with Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) who define legitimate and “dominated” cultures in opposition: “the value of cultural preferences and behaviors are defined relationally around binary oppositions (or boundaries) such as higher/lower, pure/ impure, distinguished/vulgar, and aesthetic/practical” (245). Thus, only dominant groups could define the logic of purity in society, and thus have the power to “monopolize privileges” (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 31), including controlling social space and putting people in jeopardy. These practices in everyday life have “unconscious classificatory effects that shape social positions” (Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki 2015, 852).

[33] According to the logic of purity, the social world is both unified and fragmented, homogenous, hierarchically ordered (Lugones 1994).

According to Douglas, purification and defilement only holds in "closed, tightly knit communities in times of crisis when the identity of the community is threatened" (Sibley 1995, 38), such as during migration. Purity-impurity is examined through the lenses of micro-social interactions in individuals levels among social actors. The different social interactions depend on a multiplicity of contextual factors related to the destination country (such as residential segregation, degree of racism and acceptance, opportunities for encounters, and neighborhood effects) and individual factors related to migrants (demographic characteristics, migration trajectory, and length of residence) (Gsir 2017).

Experience from multi-ethnic contexts shows that neighborly interactions and feelings of mutual trust can help to remove social barriers between majority and minority groups and foster social cohesion (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Henning and Lieberg 1996; Putnam 2001). Nevertheless, existing evidence indicates that the relationship between migrants and local neighbors often suffers from discrimination, prejudice, and hostility (Chen et al. 2011; Roberts 2002; Solinger 1999; Whyte 2010). It includes monopolizing privileges and dominating spaces (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 31), through the establishment of physical borders or partitions, also paternalism practices.

2.5 Self-presentation, Performance and Performative

2.5.1 Goffman's Self-presentation

The social world is composed of a multitude of different performances by social actors[34] in a variety of settings. The performances include the behavior of people to construct and maintain desired images that are projected in real or imagined social interactions

[34] In the sociology of everyday life, individuals are regarded as 'social actors' or 'reality constructors' (Mehan and Wood 1994).

(Schlenker 1980). When these images are self-related, this behavior is known as self-presentation (Panteli 2003, 80). One of the influential pieces about self-presentation in everyday life is Erving Goffman's *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959). He discusses how social actors establish and maintain a definition of self in social reality as in the theater, which is later known as the dramaturgical theory. Goffman's dramaturgical theory focuses on how social actors present, perform and manage different versions of themselves in different situations (Scott 2015). The dramaturgical perspective uses a theatrical metaphor of stage, actors, and audience to observe and analyze the intricacies of the many social interactions that comprise everyday life. It illuminates the spatiality and mobility of social actors to perform on a routinized basis (Low 2012).

Goffman argues that social actors act accordingly in different situations, or in Goffman's word: *stages*. Goffman (1959) further uses the metaphors of "front" and "backstage" to theorize the situational and context-bound performance of everyday life (Lan 2006). The act is guided by the context of the situation and executed through an "on stage" (front stage) performance when they are in the midst of others. The backstage is characterized as a private place where we are allowed to be our true selves in lieu of our societal role and identity (E. Goffman 1959). In his theorization, our sense of identity is drawn from both our self-image and public image, which are mutually reinforcing (Prasad 2005). Each performance is slightly different than all others, even when replication is the goal in everyday life as in theater (Goldfarb 2008). Social actors are performers, who play characters and roles with a "theatrical consciousness" (Mangham and Overington 1987, 221), while they perform their acting and experience passion and suffering (Höpfl and Linstead 1993) on a stage. When social actors—for example, migrants—arrive on the "scene," they do not merely append their props to a place. On the contrary, their things, thoughts, and memories "take place:" they occur as events that reproduce place and produce it differently (Creswell in Aydemir and Rotas 2008, 17).

For Goffman, people's performances to others, to manage the impressions are what constructs the self (Lloyd 2015). People played their roles and engaged in interaction theatrically, often following common social scripts and using props and costumes to support their roles, like in the church or the workplace.[35] "The script…is always already determined within this regulatory frame, and the subject has a limited number of 'costumes'" (Salih 2007, 56). In the workplace and in a church, there is no full freedom to act; there are rather social conventions –or what Goffman later called "frames." Wearing particular clothes or moving in the "right" way, for example, makes the performance of a particular role more convincing, although they do not have full freedom to act (Lloyd 2015). Hence, individuals cannot just stage performances as they wish or define situations in any way they please. In other words, performance in a certain domain may renounce agency.

2.5.2 Identity-making in the Theatrical Stage: Performative and Performances

The theorization of identity-making is expanded into three stances: natural (spontaneous, unconscious), social construct (engineered, conscious), critical constructivism (both natural and social construct). This research corroborates the critical constructivist, in which it is suggested that identities can be both natural and created, shaped, maintained, communicated, presented, negotiated, challenged, reproduced, reinvented, and narrated (Scott 2015). The spontaneous and unconscious manner of identity-making is usually internalized in everyday habits and routines, which we are almost unaware of doing it. At the same time, we can also "construct" or "modify" it consciously (as well as subconsciously), by giving others impressions about ourselves, by the activities we engage in, in how we dress, and in many other ways (Peluchette, Karl and Rust 2006). Thus, when looking at "self" at any given time and in

[35] Performances—of art, rituals, or ordinary life—are 'restored behaviors' performed actions that people train for and rehearse. But everyday life also involves years of training and practice, of adjusting and performing one's life roles in relation to social and personal circumstances (Schechner 2002).

any given context, three aspects can be distinguished: how one identifies or sees one's self, how one wants to be seen by others and how one is regarded by others (Rudnick 2009, 40).

Performance, in general, can be understood as a form of inter-related process mediating a dramaturgical enactment (Kupers 2017). Performance emphasizes that individuals use certain gestures, manners, and “routines” to seek to influence others in their enactments of specific roles in conscious manners (Kesici 2019). The instances of performance of every day are carrying out a task, performability, and playability in a theatrical or aesthetic context.[36] The actions that Butler (1990) calls “performances” are presumed to give some kind of agency to the subject. A performative, on the other hand, is a series of conscious or unconscious actions, perceived as facts over time, thus affecting the process of the formation of identities (Kesici 2019).

The body is that through which social actors act on the world (Butler 1990). The performative body entails the active ways by which people utilize both ascribed and elastic “sign vehicles” for bodily expressions and impressions given and given-off (Waskul and Vannini 2013). These elastic characteristics include things like clothing, jewelry, and other adornments, hairstyles, cosmetics, perfume, and other scented aromas (Waskul and Vannini 2013). For Butler (1999), a performative accomplishment is achieved when the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and perform in the mode of belief.

Performances and performatives through the participants’ bodies are institutional and situational. In the social stage, when people interact and develop a capacity to act together on the basis of shared commitments, principles, or ideals, they develop system and political power. When social actors engage and perform their work, their bodies are always already active participants (Green and Hopwood 2015, 26). At the same time, it is complex somatic,

[36] The term 'performance' should not only be applied to rituals, dances, or activities within the realm of what is considered to be art, but also to the practices of our everyday life and the processes by which we develop certain ways of behaving in relation to our social and historical circumstances (Kesici 2019).

expressing its communicative power, implicitly reveals an autonomous discourse of resistance (Pandolfi 1999).

2.5.3 Why do Migrants Manage Everyday Domains in Particular Ways?

Finally, I come to the last question of this study: why do migrants manage everyday domains in particular ways? *Why* is the most fruitful, but also the most difficult avenue of theory development (Whetten 1989, 493). First of all, the answer suggests there is a significant difference in boundary work in migration and non-migration backgrounds. Migration is "a true test of human endurance and creativity, identity construction or re-construction" (Reyes 2014, 111). It is because the nature of moving to another place entails different social norms and values, a new language, and a new working and social environment to which migrants need to adapt (Rudnick 2009, 41). In consequence, migrants may negotiate their identities upon their adjustment to the new country, their socio-economic status, their mobility prospects within the old and the new culture, and so on (Timotijevic and Breakwell 2000).

Therefore, first, boundary work helps migrants to maintain, construct or reconstruct identities. The construction of identity, on individual and collective levels, is always dialectic between recognizing sameness and difference and, consequently, between inclusion and exclusion (see Jenkins 2004). For migrants, building a distinct collective identity is a salient part of their social inclusion and belongingness, which can be cultivated through concrete, embodied practices and rituals such as, the practices of sharing food, space, and spirit (Yukich 2010, 187). Therefore, managing domains and boundaries is often done collectively to create solidarity and inclusion within a community. In the research, Yukich observes the boundary work of Catholic workers and concludes that the boundary drawing is central to creating and maintaining a distinct collective identity and group solidarity (2010, 186). Although his research is not based on migration background, it may partly show similarities with migration

on the collective level. By constructing a distinctive identity, a group can construct a distinct community in each domain (Yukich 2010).

The second proposition is that boundaries play an important role in “claiming authority, the creation of inequality, and the exercise of power” (Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki 2015, 850). Law’s (2001) study with diasporic communities of Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong, for instance, presents an argument which “connect[s] the senses to questions of power and the cultural economy of labor migration" (274). In the study, it is explained that the workers are prevented from cooking foods as producing unfamiliar odors within the homes they share with their employer. Then, they “occupy” public spaces in the Central district of Hong Kong on Sundays and actively recreate the sensory experience of Manila. This practice not only establishes a “sense” of belonging in an unfamiliar environment but also challenges the power that is so commonly imposed on them within their home. A boundary, with political and social relevance, implies social actors “reify it, by naming it, attempting to control it, attaching distinctive practices to it, or otherwise creating a shared representation" (Tilly 2004, 214).

The third possible reason is to destigmatize spoiled identities being migrant workers doing 3D jobs. Stigmatization affects how individuals perceive themselves, and how they feel others perceive them; or will perceive them if their stigma is discovered (Crocker, Major, and Steele 1998). The example of clothing change in Lan’s research of migrant workers in Taiwan, and hair brushing in Lynch’s Juki girls shows the everyday performance in purifying their bodies from dirt and stigma of working as domestic workers (in Lan’s work) and garment workers (in Lynch’s work). They do not passively accept the stigmatized position of the work they perform, as also noted in Sanders’ (2005) research on dancers. Making a distance or separation to what is disgusting is conducted to preserve the purity of the body (core disgust), the soul (moral disgust), or the society (interpersonal disgust) (Speltini and Passini 2016). Workers usually create a symbolic separation between the types of tasks they undertake, based

not only on technical distinctions but also on moral distinctions related to the prestige, pride, or alternatively the shame or disgust they feel for undertaking them (Hughes in Morales and Lambert 2013).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss boundary work and everyday domains from the lens of purity-impurity and self-presentation in migration contexts. From the classic Douglas's *Purity and Danger*, Goffman's *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, to the theories of migration, boundary-making, this research captures the existing studies of micro-practices and everyday rituals. It touches the core notions of spatiality, identity-making, bodies, and society, from the individual perception to the larger sociopolitical contexts of migrants' everyday life. Purity-impurity has become the lens to see how the dirt system is constructed, modified, negotiated, and escalated to discrimination and stigmatization in modern society. It elaborates the perception, boundaries, and transitions of clean-dirty to make sense of how life domains are managed in migrants' everyday situations. In its fundamental philosophy, this study questions how meaning-making is operated in categorizing and classifying things through symbolic and non-symbolic dimensions in migration.

Boundary and border in migration concepts have been widely investigated in two manners: first, to show spatiality and territoriality in transnational space, that instigate the ethnic boundaries. Second, to show the perspectives from the dominated group who have the power to label and attribute minority groups as deviant, noisy, dirty, among others as their reasons for segregation. This study explains boundary-making through purity-impurity concepts in everyday life in everyday domains, places, and settings where the conceptions are negotiated. In addition, most studies do not find the sample to account for the opposing

domains such as dirty work and church in one frame. This study endeavors to fill in the unusual transitions in the boundary work among the church, factory, and home and the neighborhood in migration contexts. A classification system based on purity-impurity in the society leads to the process of self and othering, or in other words, identity work. Linking the body and senses in the integration contexts of migrants' everyday experiences avails new dimensions of corporeality in migration study for empirical investigation and analysis.

Grounding the notion of bodywork within the traditions of phenomenology, dramaturgy, and embodied experience, I propose sensory ethnography to investigate the subtle and invisible boundaries and micro-transitions among domains, that will be discussed in the next chapter. Through migrants' sensory observation in the everyday domains, this study expects to see how issues of representations, discrimination, and agency encapsulate in the efforts of integration.

CHAPTER 3 SENSORY ETHNOGRAPHY IN MIGRATION

3.1 Sensory Ethnography

3.1.1 Rethinking Ethnography through Senses

The term “sensory ethnography” as a methodology was started to be widely known after Sarah Pink outlined it in her monograph, *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (2009). She puts it, “sensory ethnography is a critical methodology departs from classic observational approach,” as the ways of “seeking to understand and engage with other people's worlds through sharing activities, practices and inviting new forms of expression” (Pink 2009, 7-9). However, its practices have emerged since 1980s and 1990s as earlier anthropologists, such as Stoller (1989), Howes (1991), and Seremetakis (1994) put attention on senses and embodiment. One of the criticisms of attending to senses exists between Ingold (2000) and Howes (2005). Ingold asserts that corporeality is central in the sensory research, while Howes argues that culture is the basis of how sensory perception is developed.

Nevertheless, the initial criticism on the use of senses had been addressed by Kant in his seminal *Critique of Judgment (1790)*. Kant argues that sensations are always subjective as the result of the subjective representations. He gives more account to sight as being more objective, than those of taste and smell (Jankowiak 2012). The influence of Kant has removed Western observers from the arena of sensoria, and, “only reinforced their visual orientation to the world” (Stoller 1989, 8-9). Therefore, the conventional approaches tend to use the visual properties as the most important mode of understanding (Atkinson et al. 2007). Anthropology became “more scientific” afterwards and “vivid descriptions of the sensoria of ethnographic situations have just been merely a dry, analytical prose” (Stoller 1989, 8). The study of sensory ethnography began as a response to, and partially as a criticism of former linguistic, visual and aural turns from one mode of experience and meaning-making (Howes 2005 in Pink 2009).

Moreover, Paul Stoller states explicitly the importance of sensory experiences incorporated in the ethnography as a result of *rethinking* of what he called "conventional methods." It was started in 1976 when he conducted his doctoral research about Songhay people in Nigeria, by using some methods such as a survey, census, tape-recorded data of everyday interactions and religious ceremonies. He returned to Nigeria several times after finishing his doctoral degree and came to realization that he needed to let the sights, sounds, smells and tastes of Niger "flow into" him. He said: "There is nothing wrong with the conventional research methods I used, but they failed, nonetheless, because most Songhay refused to cooperate with me" (1989, 4). He wrote his multisensory ethnographic experiences as a book titled *the Taste of Ethnographic Things* (1989).

In grasping "the most profound type of knowledge [which] is not spoken of at all and thus inaccessible to ethnographic observation or interview" (Bendix 2000, 41), researchers need to be open to multiple ways of knowing and exploration, including sensory ethnography (Pink 2009). As Stoller suggests in his way of re-approaching the Songhay, and as Pink articulates in her monograph, sensory ethnography is a result of re-thinking ethnography through the senses. Sensory ethnography is more than just a mere description and prose. It lays within interpretive philosophical approaches to research, particularly phenomenology and anthropological phenomenology (Outhwaite 2005).

Most importantly, one needs to differentiate sensory ethnography used as a method of study and the subject of study. In this research, sensory experiences are aimed for understanding other people's lives, perceptions, experiences, or in other words, the method of study, rather than the subject of study. It means this research intends to *create knowledge through the senses* (Pink 2009) rather than *creating knowledge of the senses* (Howes 1991). The implication of sensory ethnography as a method is that the questions asked are not necessarily around the topic of senses or sensory experiences but the understanding of

behaviors (in this case, everyday rituals and practices) through sensory experiences. In other words, "the senses are situated as a way of knowing, and the research findings are not intended to generate knowledge regarding the senses themselves" (Jackson 2018, 11).

3.1.2 Sensory and Classic Ethnography

The most frequently asked question on sensory ethnography is: What is the difference between sensory ethnography and the usual ethnography? First of all, ethnography is both a product and a process, in which ethnographers' lives are embedded within the field experience (Herdt 1988, 185). It may range from qualitative research practices which tends to include "participant observation, ethnographic interviewing and other techniques developed and adapted in context" (Pink 2009, 8). The ethnography has often been called as "traditional ethnography" (Sunderland et al. 2011), "classic ethnography (Pink 2009), and "conventional methods" (Stoller 1989), to compare to the alternative ones, including sensory ethnography. Some differences can be subtle, but I tried to summarize the main points from Pink's presentation in National Center for Research Methods (2015) as follows:

Table 3-1 Main differences between Sensory and Classic Ethnography (summarized from Pink's presentation materials, 2015)

Classic Ethnography	Sensory Ethnography
The basis is in mostly visual observation.	It builds on phenomenological arguments that experience is multisensorial and neither dominated by nor reducible to the visual.
Interview concentrates on talking and conversation	Interview while walking with, eating with, sensing with. The interview itself is a multisensory "event" and a way of probing sensory categories
Ethnographer as an observer	Ethnographer as sensory apprentice which involves intensive participation in everyday embodied activities

Sensory ethnography involves some forms of understanding and engagement of sensory experiences with participants (see Table 3-2 for the definition of terms). However, senses in sensory ethnography does not only represent the specific senses as descriptive, but also attend to meaning-making process through them that can capture one's ideas on categorization and identification—which, in this study, becomes the basis of boundary work. Sensory ethnography distinguishes itself in its conception of the senses not as "an intrinsic property of the body, but as something "far from innocent… a situated practice that can shed light on the way bodies experience different spaces of culture" (Law 2001, 266). This subtle, but imperative difference between classic and sensory ethnography might effectively be characterized by describing the body not as an instrument of "data collection," but rather as an instrument of "cultural reception" (Bendix 2000, 34, in Jackson 2018, 27). As Howes affirms, sensory ethnography moves beyond individual experience to identify the "cultural dimensions of corporeal (sensory) experiences and physical infrastructures…to provide a more full-bodied understanding of social life" (1991, 115). It is because "the sensory is not only encapsulated within the body but is also dispersed out there on the surface of things, which then can invade the body as perceptual experience" (Seremetakis 1994, 6).

Researchers undertaking sensory ethnography engage as co-learners and co-creators in the world sharing and empathizing with other people's experiences and actions (Pink 2011, 270). In Laplantine's words, this engagement is "an experience of sharing in the sensible [partage du sensible]" (Bragard 2007, 2). Researchers experience and make sense of places, things, others, and ourselves via the medium of the body (Pink 2009). The body of the researcher and the participants are part of the process of ethnographic inquiry and data collection which will facilitate "greater phenomenological sensibility to ethnography" (Kusenbach 2003, 455). In the sensory ethnography, the researcher needs to be a sensory apprentice, not a mere observer (Lave and Wenger 1991 in Stevenson 2017). By this process,

“knowledge deepens the more the senses, exertions, and co-productive experiences of the ethnographer overlap with participants” (Stevenson 2017, 6).

Table. 3-2 Terms used in the sensory research

Terms	Description
Sensory experiences	Kupers (2017) used the term “sense-based practices” to refer to a collection of embodied orientations, feelings, thoughts, and intentions. Sensory experience both structures and reveals the power relationships present in any society (Jackson 2018).
Sensory perception	The “perception” of a sense goes beyond the basic reception of a sense by the body. It results in the expression of a sense, mental construction of it. Through the process of perception, the blunt sensation is recognized, labeled, and shared by a community. The intimate sensation becomes a collective perception. (Baicchi, Digonnet and Sandford 2018)

Sensory approach, therefore, neither replaces long-term immersion in a society or culture, nor aims to produce “classic” ethnographic knowledge, but, instead, “creates deep, contextual and contingent understandings produced through intensive and collaborative sensory-embodied engagements” (Pink 2009, paraphrased by Postill and Pink 2012, 4). Hence, sensory ethnography needs to be equipped with classic ethnography techniques. In this study, my data stems from the interviews, questionnaire, participant observation, and my embodied sensory experiences (and the participants’): the sensuous enactment (Stevenson 2017). This sensuous enactment is documented as autobiographic narratives through recordings, messy texts, photographs, videos, and field notes. Messy texts and narratives of a researcher in representation data are vital for accessing tacit knowledge encompassing the "ineffable truths" (Altheide and Johnson 1994, 491).

The importance of conducting sensory ethnography rather than the classic one is related to the research inquiries, what mode of knowledge researchers need to explore and whether the conventional methods are sufficient to do it. As Jackson (2018) mentioned: “The ethnographer

must identify when the relationships between sensory experience, the sentient body and cultural phenomena are central to the anthropological question(s) being addressed" (9). In this study, this methodology is anchored to the research questions, problematic issues I found in the previous studies, and the nature of the topic. Hence, not all ethnographic work can nor should foreground the role of sensory experience (Jackson 2018). After all, an ethnography is best discerned by asking what practices ethnographers do in the field rather than just mention "its prescriptive terms" (Pink 2011, 5). Therefore, in this chapter, I will also elaborate what, how and why I did my ethnographic fieldwork.

3.1.3 Why Sensory Ethnography?

So, why does sensory ethnography need to be conducted in this study? At least three circumstances are underlying this decision. First, the research topic and questions on (symbolic and non-symbolic, visible and invisible) boundaries require the involvement of more of the researcher's body and senses. The quotidian reality of everyday life consists of a series of socially produced sensory experiences through which commonality with others is established and maintained (Chau 2008). In addition, research of everyday life is, by nature, sensitive and private, yet ordinary and regular, because the activities are often beyond conscious manners. Therefore, there are some technical challenges in the field that need to be tackled beyond the classic ethnography. In investigating everyday life, today's research designs call for not only a resurgence of participatory fieldwork (Rankin 2003) but also the study of attentiveness to embodiment and the sensory realm (Lynn-Ee Ho and Hatfield 2010).

The observation during the fieldwork is conducted in three everyday domains, involving profoundly complex, subtle, and vulnerable practices to perceive. Through the everyday life perspective, one studies the banal, the mundane, and taken-for-granted aspects of social life which then come to bear upon sensory embodiment in connection with sociality

through different sociocultural dimensions (Low 2012). Everyday life research has methodological implications, such as, the diversity and diversification of data (Jones 2017). Research engaging with the nitty-gritty of everyday life requires specific methodologies (Lynn-Ee Ho and Hatfield 2010) because the everyday rituals are embodied, emplaced, and easy to be taken for granted. Just as human experience is always embodied, it is also always emplaced (Pink 2009; Howes 2005) and the body is enmeshed with the environment in which actions take place (Schnall 2016). For instance, I experienced the ways participants are reluctant to talk about their dirty job in the factory when the interview is conducted in the church when their roles have been changed to be holy clergymen. It may seem that what happens in the factory remains in the factory.

Doing dirty work in the factory results in multiple emotions, such as ambivalence, shame, disgust, and guilt. These emotions cannot be thoroughly expressed and captured through narration. They must be felt and experienced to be understood (Rivera and Tracy 2014), via the body and thus the senses (Sunderland, et al. 2012) in the right place. Sensory research materials have the potential to give "a richer understanding of the complexities of lived experience, encompassing the immaterial, the phenomenal" (O'Neill and Hubbard 2010, 48). Therefore, narratives alone may fail to explain various boundaries, sensory perceptions, emotions, and ruptures in everyday life, which are salient, vulnerable, and private in the migration journey.

Second, there are problematic issues of power and representation identified in the previous studies, requiring an alternative method (refers to Chapter 1). Issues of discursive power to access the participants have been pervasive in a rural community like in Oarai, as also indicated in the previous studies. Power distribution in society and researcher's reflexivity play essential roles in determining whether the discourses constructed in the narratives of the participants are their own. Therefore, I should limit the asymmetrical power by not entering or

contacting the broker during the stay and focus on building trust with the participants. Sensory ethnography comes in response to this sensitive issue by “engaging as co-learners and co-creators in the world sharing and empathizing with other people’s experiences and actions” (Pink 2011, 270). Later in this chapter, I will elaborate my positionality and reflexivity to clarify the power relations between me, as a researcher, and the participants, also how it may affect the discourses and narratives of the participants.

The third issue is the challenge happening to almost any everyday research. The participants are always busy managing their life domains, so it is hard to spend time sitting and talking like a conventional interview. They have to work a full-day and attend a religious gathering nearly every day with almost no time for themselves. They rather talk on the go or spare a short time between or during their activities. It means the interview could be conducted in various means of transportation: car, train, bus, and on foot; while shopping, cooking, eating, working in the factory, doing activities in the church, park, restaurant, hospital, beach, and other places. With such conditions, it is almost impossible to conduct a long, full interview in a quiet environment. Only if I was lucky, I could have their time at home, before going to the church, on their day-off, or sometimes at midnight. In consequence, I have to participate and engage in their activities and be ready at any time they are ready to share their stories. In these circumstances, sensory ethnography techniques play their important roles as it is founded upon dialogic, collaborative, and participatory methods intended to co-opt the participants as active collaborators in the production of knowledge (Jackson 2018, 29).

In short, as Stoller explains, “sensuous descriptions improve not only the clarity and force of ethnographic representations but also the social analysis of power relations-in-the-world” (Stoller 1989, 817). Hence, attention to sensory experiences provide important insight into “how individuals work out and embody multiple identities in daily life and during celebratory events” (Ricke 2017, 175).

3.2 Investigating Senses in Everyday Life

3.2.1 Body and Sensory Embodiment

Sensory ethnography requires the translation of sensory experiences into other modes of representation that can be accessed following the fieldwork (Jackson 2018). It is the body that can be one of the mediums where action and interaction in situated social encounters are wrought of (Waskul and Vannini 2013). In line with Goffman's dramaturgical theories, the body is always performed, staged, and presented.[37] Thus, the body becomes the "instrument of data collection" (Spencer 2013, 17) and the raw material and the theatre, by which the ritual dramas of our everyday embodied life and senses are produced (Waskul and Vannini 2013). In performing bodily work (Vannini, et al. 2010), social actors create, manage, reproduce, negotiate, interrupt and communicate bodily awareness and sensations (Kupers 2017). The performative body in the workplace, for instance, is different from the body in the church. Hence, body care in every domain "mirrors both external and internal threats to the social structure" (Yanay and Rapoport 1997, 652). This is in line with the embodied approach that "our brains have evolved not to provide us with accurate mirror images of the world, but rather they have evolved to help us successfully act on the world" (Schnall 2016, 385).

Being embodied means experiencing and making sense of places, things, others, and ourselves via the medium of the body (Pink 2009). However, the nuances of aromatic and gustatory experience are less easy to record (Taylor 2010). Therefore, "being there," and having all senses "switched on," takes on particular importance in a multisensory ethnography (Taylor 2010). Embodying others' sensory experiences is indeed complicated because the senses are mediated, interpreted, and conceptualized with different preconceived notions and systems. Reesearchers' backgrounds, socioeconomic, cultural positioning, and pre-existing

[37] Dramaturgical analysis has primarily focused on the symbolic dynamics of embodiment. Hence, Goffman's work and the dramaturgical tradition, in general, supply a highly sophisticated framework for understanding the body and experiences of embodiment (Waskul and Vannini 2013).

embodied experience, for example, necessarily affect how they experience, interpret and interact with the world (Classen 1993; Sunderland et al 2012). The sensory perceptions and interpretations intersect with social, cultural, and moral order, compelling reflexive forms of bodywork (Reyes 2014).

Prior experience is a pre-requisite for the formation of sensory preferences (Einstein and Hornstein, 1970) for both researchers and participants.[38] Therefore, as a researcher, I do not try to directly represent and embody the same sensory experiences as the participants. The embodied experiences between me and the participants are rather "creative construct correspondences" (Okely 1994, 47). It also involves the transfer of knowledge and perception from people's experiences in the world into language and/or across various other modes of expression (Caballero and Paradis 2015).

Migrant workers, in this case, have to perform their body according to the "stage" they participate in and adjust (even remake) the roles, values, meanings, including the classification system. Thus, there can be "a potential collision of values, ideas and roles" (Felstead and Jewson 2000, 115) between workplace and non-workplace, like factory and church, as the two are powerful sources of meanings and identities. Those domains are indispensable for all kinds of performative actions, interactions, and relational practices (Kupers 2017). For all these forms of performative work, migrant workers are incorporating embodied senses and cultures, as intertwined with feelings and cognition, into their social or organizational work practice (Sodhi and Cohen, 2012). As a corporeal and vulnerable practice that calls for ethnographers to submit their sentient bodies to the field of study (Stoller 1989, 39), it also has the potential to "transform" the body of the ethnographer in enduring and meaningful ways (Jackson 2018).

[38] High levels of experience with eating a product, for instance, result in inferences that predict the actual sensory properties more accurately, and low levels of experience result in less relevant inferences being drawn (Alba and Hutchinson 1987; Dick, Chakravarti and Biehal 1990).

What Jacques Lacan, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida argued for a new dimension of the body is aligned to how the body can stand for any bounded system: "the body as a political arena or major battleground where identities are wrought" (Pandolfi 1999). It is because the body surface can be viewed as a social skin—the boundary between society and the psycho-biological individual, a sort of stage on which human beings interpret the drama of their socialization (Pandolfi 1999, 17). The skin provides a boundary that maintains the separation between what is inside and outside. Hence, the body keeps the self away from other objects and people (Duschinsky, Schnall and Weiss 2016). In Douglas' (1966, 115) words, the human body is a replica of the social body, a symbol of society.

3.2.2 Symbolic Sensory Properties in Society

Senses not only manifest in a concrete body sense, but they can also subjectively signify the embodiment of class culture. Social hierarchies, structures, race, gender, class, and social norms are all "learned" through the senses (Lawrence 2013, 5). When one discusses the concept of dirt, for instance, there are at least two understandings: the "concrete" dirt and the figurative "dirt." Both can be subjective; and, the second one is more often discursive. Thus, dirty-clean is a constructed meaning and can always fall into a subjective category. To call the sound of something like noise, for example, is to make a subjective judgment and classification based on who makes the sound, when and where the sound is made. Loudness alone does not account fully for why some sounds become noise. Minority group, for example, is often described as noisy by the natives, based on their subjective perception. Therefore, sensory can be used as a social intermediary and as a point of entry for sociological analysis to understand social structures, power relations, body management, and the self (Low 2009). Through sensory research, one can explain what is concrete or salient and for whom (Caballero and Paradis 2015).

Table 3-3 Some sensory properties with figurative/ symbolic meanings

Senses	Symbolic meanings
Smell	The lower classes smell (Orwell 2001). Odor emphasizes the premise that olfaction functions as a social channel employed by individuals in many ways, including in the judgment of others (Harris 2007).
Sight	The essence of visibility lies in identification—not just identification in the concrete sense, but identification as a way of recognizing the other's existence and accepting his identity. (Lomsky-Feder and Rapoport, 2010: 12, in Dekel, 2016).
Taste	Taste is not only a body sense and an innate capacity but mainly something we acquire with our socialization over time (e.g., Caplan 1997; Macbeth 1997; Scholliers 2001). Taste is an embodiment of class culture where a physical representation of class difference is acted out through individual preference (Bourdieu, Taste of Luxury, Taste of Necessity 2005).
Sound	Noise is the unwanted sound that is political and unjust for the weak (Keizer 2010).
Touch	Softness, heaviness. Studies have found that food and disgust may come from the appearance attributes (e.g., rot, dirtiness), familiarity (e.g., common to culture), texture (e.g., slimy, mushy), and perceived danger (Martins and Pliner 2006; Rozin and Fallon 1987).

Smell, for instance, plays a significant role in the social categorization, as Orwell described as the reason for class apartheid in the west in four words, "The lower classes smell" (Orwell 2001, 116). It is because odor renders a statement of one’s identity, “a boundary maker, a status symbol, a distance-maintainer, an impression management technique” (Synnott 1991, 438). Moreover, the upper-middle class, for instance, distinguish their belonging to a group by selecting and maintaining particular tastes in such things as clothing and dress (Bourdieu 1984; Entwistle 2000). In other words, very basic bodily concepts and sensory dimensions can be mapped onto more abstract concepts and meanings (Schnall 2016) and socially mediated by constructed discourses that produce the body and its meanings (Banasiak 2014).

Thereby, the body is the main vector of symbolic communication (Pandolfi 1999). Negotiating, managing, or conducting sensory acts towards the body can be perceived as a step towards purifying or elevating one’s class. Crosby’s research (2012), is relevant to explain the

interplay of sensory embodiment. She observes the low-class women in Brazil who use cleaning products to reformulate their identity from "poor" to "poor and clean," in order to diminish the stigmatization associated with their lower economic status. For them, having clean clothes is essential in maintaining a desirable identity. Cleaning is essentially a separation process relying on multisensory perception, in which some differences in the physical properties of the contaminants are exploited (Grandison 2012). To be "poor and clean" is acceptable to them, but to be "poor and dirty" is an anathema. They wash their clothes multiple times a week, following the meticulous rules that they construct. This practice is part of purifying acts which are to separate dirt. Negotiating body as a boundary as well as a social skin through sensory embodiment is what vulnerable, the dominated group still afford to do, amidst their limited power in a controlled space.

3.2.3 Limited Sensory Language

Descriptions of sensory perceptions usually involve the transfer of knowledge from people's experiences in the world into language and/or across various other modes of expression (Caballero and Paradis 2015). The sensorium, knowledge, and skills of sensory ethnographers play a central role to tune to various sense modalities and sensory literacies. This is one of the challenges to express sensory perceptions through the linguistic reservoir in which the typology is still constrained by the languages of the Western world. Although the language may be ill-suited to translate highly subjective sensorial experiences into comprehensible and shareable terms, it still appears to be the best — if not the only — medium human beings have for such an endeavor (Majid and Levinson 2011, 6–7).

The participants in this study are speakers of multi-languages. Thus, the languages anticipated in this dissertation are mixtures of Bahasa Indonesia, Manadonese, and Japanese. They describe the vision, smell, taste, texture, and sound in discourse interaction—from highly

specific contexts to everyday situations. Like other sensory workers, sensory ethnographers may express themselves to explore the alleged scarcity of specific sensory terms for describing sensory experiences (Caballero and Paradis 2015). Verbal descriptions of sensations rely upon language construed through various figurative schemas (Caballero and Paradis 2015). Viberg (1983) shows that in addition to the fine-grained description of sensory qualia, evaluation and intensity are also important aspects of the meanings of various sensations and perceptions. He emphasizes the fact that there are great differences across languages in the degree of elaboration of verbs referring to sensations. In many cases, they resort to figurative language of various sorts to facilitate the understanding and communication about such notions (Caballero and Paradis 2015).

Semiotic theory can alternatively explain the construction of meanings. In the Peirce model, adapted by Ogden and Richard, (as reported by Fiske 1982), meanings are created through a process of signification involving signs, referent (meaning the external reality), and reference (meaning the "mental representation" of external reality). It can be manifested to the use of onomatopoeia, as a mental representation of the sensation. The taste sensation is one of those frequently expressed by onomatopoeia in Japanese (Kagitani, et al. 2014), for example *betabeta* (sticky), *fuwafuwa* (airy), *gitogito* (greasy), and so on. It is to exemplify that humans categorize sensory inputs using words, and words are an important index in investigating such sensory categories (Kagitani, et al. 2014).

3.3 Negotiating Self and Senses

3.3.1 Positionality

In a discussion about ethical vetting with Grandin (2015), if a researcher can be clear about the significance of the research, "the act of balance" between risks and benefits can be

considered with still making a higher portion of respecting human dignity. As Liempt and Bilger (2012) added, ethical standards in social science are generally based on three basic principles: respect for human dignity, justice, and beneficence. Guidelines by Grandin (2015) are (1) participants must not be harmed by the research (2) participants are given consent to the research, and (3) participants are being informed about the research. Christians (2005) summarized it into informed consent, non-deception, privacy and confidentiality, and accuracy.

There are concerns on important issues, regarding "power, representation, voice, privilege and partiality" (Mauthner 2002; Scheyvens, et al. 2003; Smith 1999 in Bose 2012, 290). Bose suggests, that developing reciprocal relationships with migrant communities and individuals requires a good deal of reflexivity by the researcher regarding their positionality and relative power vis-à-vis their research subject (2012, 290). Apparently, by using this method there is a threshold of my positionality, in-between outsider and insider. Thus, it leads me to aspects I need to evaluate: positionality and ethics.

Research is shaped by the actions and values of the researcher (Limb and Dwyer 2001). The positionality is imperative as it is a matter of representation, affect how researchers understand the world (Johnston, et al. 2000) and self-reflexivity (Sanchez-Ayala 2012). Self-reflexivity in a study involving interviews with migrant minority groups can be problematic when the researcher is the minority migrant who lives in the community. Anna Gavanas in her lecture in 2015 mentioned it as "sideways" where the researcher is a part of the research.[39] There are blind spots in studying our community. She construed, "when you touch an issue, you are touching yourself." Therefore, it is the most difficult experience, Gavanas said, compared to the other two: upward and downward.

[39] The lecture is part of a course in REMESO Graduate School, Lingköping University, on Introduction to Research Methods in Ethnic and Migration Studies that I attended in October 2015.

Nevertheless, the insider position like what I experience can also situate the researcher in "an advantageous position of having firsthand information, through life experiences, and even through a common language, culture, background and so on" (Sanchez-Ayala 2012). The case will be the opposite if the researcher is too close to the communities. In some conditions, a researcher should drift out as an outsider to make a “neutral position,” bring the necessary trust to preserve the interviewees' anonymity. In short, researchers need to be cognizant of their positionality as insiders or outsiders to gain acceptance and trust or skepticism and rejection.

Gavanas (2015) mentioned that besides interviewing, observation is one way to explain how people put words into action and how they make sense of themselves–which will be missed out from interviews. Interviews then should be conducted in different settings and places to see the differences. This is just one example of how different settings may reveal different 'realities' and sides of a story. All in all, investigating different aspects of the participants’ lives and experiences is often sensitive. In this case, an in-depth interview is the most suitable technique to come into interviewees' consciousness to explain and describe the most complicated social issues encountered. These are the "abstractions from concrete lived experiences" (Limb and Dwyer 2001, in Vargas-Silva 2012, 123).

3.3.2 Reflexivity

Reflexivity and positionality are one of the salient moral dimensions which are often opted out in the ethnographic writing, especially in sensory ethnography. The narratives presented in the publications which employ sensory research methods are likely to be altered by the increased reflexivity, self-awareness, and 'authorial humility' (Stoller 1989, 56) that sensory ethnography implies. A more general trend toward ‘reflexivity’ in ethnographic writing (Cole 1992), influenced by both postmodernism and feminism, also informs the increasing emphasis on self-disclosure and self-display (Reed-Danahay 2011). Reflexivity is when one is

conscious of *being self-conscious* of oneself as an Other (Babcock 1980, original emphasis). Meanwhile, positionality recognizes that researchers are part of the social world that they are researching and that this world is "…an already interpreted world by the actors, undermining the notion of objective reality" (Cohen, et al. 2011, 225). When researchers describe their reflexivity and positionality, they acknowledge the politics of representations and the power relations inherent in their ethnographic accounts (Reed-Danahay 2011).

I combined realist tale and confessional tale (auto-ethnography) which is an impressionist tale. The reason is that it is more vivid to do epistemology by using an impressionist tale rather than a mere description. The descriptions became meaningful perception and patterns only in the writing of the ethnography. "Before that, it was only a disconnected array of chance happenings" (Tyler 1986, 137). How does this reflexivity impact to the research process?

The researchers' identities and bodies are crucial in the basis on all aspects of the research process, including "on which participants perceive and judge them either positively or negatively as 'insiders' or 'outsiders'" (Zubair, Martin and Victor 2012, sec. 1.3). The researchers' identities and bodies can either suppress participants' identity expression or empower their agency in expressing their identities. When a researcher asked participants to describe themselves, the participants will likely answer based on what they are conscious about, or reflective of who the researchers are, and what researchers may expect to hear. For example, my participants said they are "orang Manado" (Manadonese people) when I asked them a question: "Where do you come from?" It can be a reflection of me as an Indonesian, and not a Manadonese. I have shared identities with the participants in terms of nationality and being migrant. Nonetheless, there are my 'othering' reflections: being Muslim, non-Manadonese, non-worker. This reflexivity in identities is useful to explore what they profoundly and subconsciously perceive about themselves, more than just the discourse on the ethnicity.

Power relations between the researcher and the participants also greatly influence the construction of the narrative and promote trust and reciprocity. The asymmetrical relationship allows the researcher or the participant to direct and intervene in the storytelling of the interview. I try to formulate three scenarios on the effects of relational power on relationships between researchers and the participants:

1. SCENARIO 1: R > P

   If the researcher’s relational power is higher than the participants → Researchers may intimidate and intervene in the participants' discourses.

2. SCENARIO 2: R < P

   If the researcher’s relational power is lower than the participants → Researchers may empower the participants, but the participants may control the researcher, and become uncooperative.

3. SCENARIO 3: R = P

   If the researcher’s relational power is even with the participants (or sideways) → Both researchers and participants may share power and somehow empower the participants, yet it can also trigger competitions.

The potential for asymmetrical field relations and power differentiation in fieldwork is concerned with status on several levels, including that of the body: "what is perceived as acceptable/desirable/normal in terms of physical appearance, as well as what is seen as threatening or intimidating" (Coffey 1999). Similar to Coffey's experience during her fieldwork, I was conscious of the need to manage and produce an acceptable body to the field site in each domain, especially in the factory and in the church. Although I was concerned with presenting a personal front that mirrored that of the participants, I cannot change my complexity and facial

identification that I am a Javanese. Besides, I chose to keep one religious identity intact, being Muslim, with an overt marker: the hijab. In the following subsection, I will explain how my ethnic and religious identities have influenced the power relations during the fieldwork.

3.3.3 My Self-identity in the Tensions

During my fieldwork, I only focused on Church A and Church B as being the oldest churches in Oarai with more congregation than the others. One day in the evening, the community leader, who is clergy and pastor in Church B invited me to the Sunday mass in the church so I could meet people. I went together with Edo and his family. Edo wore a shirt inside his trousers. He looked sleek and clean. We arrived there early and Edo went into a pastor's room. When he went out, he had worn a black robe, a very respectful look. I sat in the back rows. All bishops had gathered there early before any other people.

An hour after that, more people came and they offered me a handshake saying: "Happy Sunday." One person approached me for a handshake and said something different: "Congratulations. God bless you." I understood that he may mean that I may intend to convert to Christianity. I replied to him with "Happy Sunday". After the Sunday mass and all the rituals finished, I was given a chance to introduce myself in the section of *Warta Jemaat* (the congregation news). It is when newcomers should introduce themselves to the congregation. The community leader let me introduce myself in front of the congregation. I also handed in a letter of consent to the church, including formal letters from my university on the research I would conduct. This is the way to enter the community: through a church. A new person who wants to interact with people in the community has to introduce herself in the church, to be recognized and somehow legitimated by the church and the bishops. My introduction was followed by prayers given by the pastor to emphasize that this church is open to anyone and to wish all of my purposes for coming to Oarai would be achieved and blessed by God. Life as a

migrant worker is multisensorial in terms of the nature of the factory workers and their being Manadonese.

Immersing in the migrant community is always challenging and sensitive, especially when the researcher projects all dominations against the participants. One of the biggest challenges in setting the stage is related to the idea that Minahasans are the minority in Indonesia who are believed to "feel threatened by an increasingly Islamic Jakarta, and they resent their position as a backwater is greatly ignored by the central government" (Brown 2002, 15). At the same time, my personal background and identities represent all of these 'domination' symbols against their ethnic group, to be Javanese, from the capital city, Jakarta, and with Muslim background, in addition to the different status as a 'student' not as 'labors.' Another challenge is when approaching children, within the great differences of ages and imbalance personification of non-Minahasan. The strategies are involved in their church activities and work in the *kaisha*.

My ethnic background is Javanese, with a darker complexion when compared with my participants. I wear a headscarf as a Muslim, and I did not remove it during my research, even when I entered and participated in the church. Local people seemed to know that I was not a settler of the town, most likely from my appearance (headscarf). I noticed people looked at me, and even while driving their cars, they turned their heads when seeing me walking on the sidewalk. In the church, I limited my participation in religious rituals. I sat in the congregation row but did not participate in the singing or drinking wine and bread. I observed and imitated some basic gestures, such as standing up and praying. I participated in the social interaction among the congregation and their activities before and after the liturgy. In the church, there are many commensal activities, besides the religious ones, such as talking, dancing, eating together, preparing of food, playing games, and others which I participated in.

There are three identities to address my positionality and reflexivity: being Muslim with a hijab, Javanese, and a student. Being a Javanese Muslim represents the symbol of the majority in Indonesia. I was aware that my personal identification may have had an impact on the power relations towards the participants who are the minority group in Indonesia. I anticipated Scenario 1 towards the participants. However, unexpectedly, when I lived and interacted with them in Oarai, it was easy to feel like the minority among them. How is it possible? I indicate three underlying reasons.

For the first reason, my status as "merely" migrant, a non-Japanese descendant, has positioned me 'lower' than them. Their Nikkeijin status seems to be powerful among migrants in Oarai. Due to their unlimited visa to live in Japan, they become the senior workers in the factory and the church. Second, they are socially and culturally distinct and gradually become the most populated ethnic group in Oarai. One of my participants from group 2, a Javanese Muslim said that "Manadonese is more foreign than the Japanese." Although she often bumps into Manadonese people in the market or street in Oarai, they barely greet her, like a foreigner. Third, in North Sulawesi, particularly in Manado, Muslims and Javanese belong to *Sabla Aer*. Sabla aer is a discriminative label for a particular ethnic group (Sangihe, including Talaud and Sitaro) and Muslims, who are usually migrants from Java or Gorontalo (Sumampow 2018). Thus, being a Muslim does not represent any superiority among Manadonese, but the otherness and the inferior. Therefore, in Oarai, the participants somehow show their superiority as Manadonese and Nikkeijin against my personal identities: Javanese, Muslim, and non-Nikkei.

Related to the third reason, it was also amplified by a sensitive occurrence happening in Indonesia which was massively covered in the national and international media. I started to live in Oarai precisely when there was a negative sentiment towards Muslims due to the blasphemy of the Christian, Chinese governor of Jakarta. It was not easy to talk with them without having some blast of debates over the case. However, at the same time, the situation

let me enter into the position where I am a Muslim who is open to enter a church and neutral to the blasphemy. I visited and stayed at the church, not trying to subjugate them as they believe to have happened in Indonesia. At the same time, they tried to demonstrate that churches are open to Muslims.

I realized and acknowledged that my presence in the church had initially created a scene. People looked at me suspiciously. Some of them offered a handshake and greeted me: “Happy Sunday.” I was photographed candidly. My photo was also uploaded on a Facebook account of one of the pastors. The photo’s caption was “The church is open for everyone.” Many of his Facebook friends in Indonesia made comments praising the church. A pastor in Oarai responded: “Although she came (only) as a visitor (for now), who knows later she will be a Jesus believer. Amen.” Thus, during my fieldwork, I let them define me as a “moderate,” an “educated,” and “open-minded” Muslim who is not fanatically committed to Islam. This situation has helped me to enter the community and positioned me in between Scenario 2 and 3. As part of my reciprocity, I was assigned and given a role to teach English for the Teenagers’ Group during in the church gatherings.

3.4 Entering the Field

3.4.1 Oarai and the Feeling of Home

It was one Sunday in February 2015 when I visited Oarai for the very first time. I came there with teachers from Indonesian School in Tokyo (IST) to assist them in teaching Bahasa Indonesia for Indonesian children in Oarai. It was a program initiated by a local NPO and the Embassy of Indonesia in Japan. We had to leave Tokyo by 7 AM to arrive at Oarai around 9 AM. We took the fastest train to reach Mito, the capital of Ibaraki prefecture, then caught a local train to Oarai station, where the local NPO representative would pick us up by car. I

vividly remembered the plain sight of the vastness of the paddy field before *entering* the town of Oarai. Yes, it feels like "entering" another world because there is a clear threshold, a big river, separating Oarai and the surrounding towns: *Hitachinaka* and *Tsunezumi*.

Oarai is a small town with no sight of tall buildings. The houses are mostly fenceless. From my sight, it is pastoral and closely reminds me of small villages in Indonesia. Oarai station had no automatic machines to check for the tickets, so the station master just manually checked my card and gave me a piece of copied paper stating that I had paid for my trip. Soon after we went out the gate, a silver-painted luxurious car arrived. I was surprised to see this kind of car in this small town and thinking: who are these people? What do they do every day? I imagined them doing office jobs. If they work in a factory, they must be a senior staff with high salary. There were a lot of questions in my mind.

Jack, the driver and the owner of the car is a migrant worker who has been living in Oarai since 1997. In the car, he turned on the radio. To my surprise, the broadcaster spoke in Indonesian language and greeted the listeners: “Selamat pagi, *Jakarta*…” (Good morning, Jakarta). A familiar sound is powerful in altering the reality. I was stunned at one moment, trying to process what I had just heard and where I was. His car audio is connected to his mobile phone on streaming of a radio station in Jakarta. It was gapless in creating the ambiance which reminds me of my homeland. No, it was not only *reminding* me of, but it does *feel* like home: everyone talking in Bahasa, Indonesian song in the background, and the pastoral view. Sound is a memory revoking tool to recreate home. Although it was my first visit, it felt memorable, like there was no chaos of senses against familiarity and foreignness in Oarai. It is a “transnational social field” (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc 1994) linking places of origin and the current migration settlement.

3.4.2 "Sorry, I am smelly"

In 2016, I returned to Oarai for the preliminary research to observe more of the phenomena I encountered during my first visit. I was picked up by Edo[40] at Oarai station. He allowed me to stay at his house with his family. He came to the station in a white uniform and white cap. I offered a handshake, but he quickly refused it: "Sorry, I am smelly. Sorry, I was thinking if I went back home first, you will have to wait longer, so I just directly came here from the kaisha just now. I just finished it… just now." I was astounded by his reaction even before I smelled anything from him. I could later smell a pungent fishy stench striking up my nose. It is similar to the stench of fish in a traditional market. He apologized again when we were inside the car. It was surprising to me that although he was wearing a white uniform symbolizing cleanliness by sight, the smell could contradict its look. Oarai neighborhood was much like *perkampungan* (villages), with small and narrow streets and alleys, also borderless houses connecting one's yard to another. Along the way, I also experienced the pungent fishy stench in many spots which always stopped me to find the source. The smell came from the fish-processing factories which sometimes only look like an old warehouse or a two-story house.

All Manadonese migrant workers in Oarai, including NiMO, work in a factory and are associated with a church. They seemed to manage both arenas simultaneously in a small town where people live in proximity. The question migrants asked me for the first social identification was: "Which church do you belong to?" or "who brought you in?" When I said Z, the gatekeeper, for instance, they would instantly respond: "Oh Z, from Church A." Church association is the first identification of a Manadonese migrant in the town. The gatekeeper is usually the pastor or any of the bishops. Therefore, a church as a place is usually the initial

[40] Edo is the third generation of Japanese descendants (Nikkeijin) from North Sulawesi, Indonesia who came to Japan in 1998.

arena to visit for newcomers to get into the Manadonese migrant community.[41] A newcomer has to choose one church to be associated with. By being committed to a church, a newcomer can establish an interpersonal relationship with more people in the congregation. The second identification will be: "in which kaisha do you work?" As I do not work, other migrants seem to think that my presence is strange. They asked me how I can afford my life in Japan without working. Having no job started to feel like a shame and a symbol of detachment in the migrant community.

In one evening, Edo came out from his room in a black robe and stole, like a pastor. He looked clean and dapper. I was surprised, if not shocked. I was told that the church would hold a liturgy for a consolation of a migrant worker whose family member passed away in Indonesia. It turned out that he is a pastor of a church and would be leading the worship that evening. Was this the same Edo I first met this afternoon with fishy stench? Is that why that he was so well aware of his smell and the stigma of smell when meeting me? There was an impression that the factory work is obscured in the church life which was intriguing to investigate further.

3.4.3 "We Have No Time to Tell a Story"

Edo's place is owned by a factory where he works.[42] He lives there with his family and three extended families. Every morning, at around 6 AM, everyone in the house rushed to go to work. The women prepared lunch boxes for themselves and their kids. One of the mothers in the house walked her child to the daycare before going to work. The house suddenly became so silent and empty afterwards. At noon, the men returned for a short lunch, then went back to work. The house became so silent again. At around 7 PM, everyone came home with tired faces.

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[41] There are six church groups (at the time of the fieldwork) established in Oarai, so there are at least six gateways to enter.

[42] Although it is owned by a factory, the coordinators of the house have the freedom to let people stay in. Therefore, I did not have to ask for permission from the owner to stay overnight there. More about housing and ownership will be discussed in Chapter 7.

While the men were taking a bath, the women prepared dinner for their own families. In an instant, the smell of richly flavored spicy cuisine emanated from their kitchen. The four families took turns using the four-seat dining table. The kitchen, however, was not bustling for long. After everyone finished dinner, the women took a bath and everyone went to their rooms to take a rest, watch TV, check and interact on social media, or contact their children or parents in Indonesia. Hence, although living in the same house, they barely talked with or met the other family members. It was more or less the daily routine in the house every day.

Some other days, they still had to attend and host religious gatherings and liturgies after work. One of the liturgies is specifically conducted for the teenagers where they read the Bible, with guidance and interpretation of a bishop. I decided to attend almost all of these gatherings because it was the only way to meet and talk to people during working days. Surprisingly, these liturgies were conducted almost every day in the migrants' houses and usually finished late at night. Even for me who did not work in the morning, it was quite exhausting. Edo's wife said bluntly, "We have no time to tell a story" when I asked if they are willing to be interviewed. The gatekeeper said that it (having no time) is the everyday reality of migrant workers here. Only on some Wednesdays, migrant workers have *ichiba* day, which means the day for going to markets and having a day off, so I could meet and talk to them at home or while they were shopping. The gatekeeper told me that earlier researchers usually just met them at the church on Sundays, and spread some questionnaires to the congregation. He convinced me to do the same (to collect the responses from the congregation through questionnaires). "As long as the activity is instructed by pastors/ bishops, people will comply," he assured me. These people may have become overwhelmed by research processes conducted by various researchers in the past decades. It also reflects the influence and power of the church towards the congregation, and how information can be collectively conformed.

3.5 Conclusions

Sensory ethnography does not stand alone as a mere alternative methodology, but it must be designed and re-assessed based on the characteristics of the participants, field site, and the main purposes of the research. Hence, there is no one way to do a sensory ethnography. The sensory approach does not replace the classic ethnography but instead goes hand-in-hand with it to create deeper and contextual understandings of social realities and sensory embodiments that may be uneasy to be defined through narratives alone. In addition, the sensory dimension can provide richer descriptions of this challenging work that extends our understanding of the cultural manifestations of boundary work in everyday migration. Everyday boundaries are often sensitive and drawn in unconscious manners. Thus, they can be difficult to be explained and narrated by some individuals in certain settings and roles. Sensory ethnography is used to bridge many challenges I encountered during the fieldwork and as a part of the methodological inquiries on boundary work.

CHAPTER 4 THE BEGINNING OF NIKKEI MANADONESE IN OARAI

4.1 *Being* Nikkeijin

4.1.1 History of Japanese in North Sulawesi, Indonesia

The Japanese occupation in Dutch East Indies (former Indonesia) took place only from 1942 to 1945, but the memory of imperialism was a turbulent one with "adverse conditions and painful experiences" (Lapian 1996, 212), with widespread misery and starvation by the end of the war (The Library of Congress Country Studies). A deadly combination of forced labor, deprivation, food shortages, and day-to-day terror by the military police made the Japanese occupation the only period in the 20th century in which the overall population of the Dutch East Indies declined (Beck 2015). Hence, the number of Japanese descendants in the Asia Pacific is much smaller when compared to the ones in the Americas, such as the Brazilian Nikkeijin. The smaller numbers have resulted from the post-war outcomes, which were characterized by the death or removal of militarized and auxiliary civilian populations to Japan (Quizon 2017).

Long before the occupation, the first Japanese fishermen who were Okinawans arrived in the northern part of Celebes (former name of Sulawesi) after moving from Singapore (Aziz 1995), around the 1920s[43] (Meguro 2005). Those who were engaged mainly in the fishing industry acted "as forerunners of Japanese expansionism and as auxiliaries to the Japanese navy" in some prominent places of the archipelago, one of them was in Northern Celebes (now North Sulawesi) near Manado (Aziz 1995). Through their excessive espionage activities in the Dutch East Indies, the Japanese began their military action for the conquest of Southeast Asia

[43] Meanwhile, Japanese migration to Peru began in 1899 and to Brazil in 1908 (Sharpe 2014, 121), and migration to the Philippines and Manchuria was started in the 1920s and 1930s (Broody 2002) for both demographic and political reasons.

(Noppen 2016). As part of their espionage, they married local people, had children, opened small kiosks, and moved from one place to another. These are allegedly the ancestors of many Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi today.

During the imperialism in Dutch East Indies, the Japanese regime divided the archipelago into three separate regions under different military commands (Raben 1988, in Kratoska 2006): Java, Sumatera, and "Great East" (Poeze 2006, 158). Java and Sumatra were administrated by the Japanese Army (Gunseibu), Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and East Indonesia by the Navy (Minseibu) (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008; Raben 1988). Java, as the densest island, had the most difficult situation of being occupied by the Japanese Army, filled with forced labor called *Romusha*, combined with restricted access to food, creating widespread impoverishment (Swazey 2008, 41). Thus, being Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi may show different traumatic behavior and a sense of belongingness to Nikkeijin in Sumatera or Java. For this reason, the focus on sub-ethnic 'Manadonese' Nikkeijin reveals a specific slice of the Nikkei Indonesian population.

In August 1945, the news of Japan's surrender gave a psychological shock and was very hard to be accepted by Japanese troops from the highest to the lowest ranks (Lapian 1996). They were divided into two categories: the allegiance and the renunciation (Goto 1984). The allegiance, the biggest majority, obediently returned to Japan, while the latter renounced their loyalty to the Emperor. Approximately, 324 soldiers remained in Indonesia and were reported to assist local people to fight against the return of Dutch colonies (from the witness of Shigeru Ono) (Hayashi 2011). However, there is no fixed number, only a rough unofficial estimation of how many Japanese and their descendants still live in Indonesia.[44] After the Japanese spouses left, the wives had to struggle to raise their children (the second generation) and

[44] There is a website mentioning that the estimated number of Japanese descendants in Indonesia is around 4,500. However, it is unclear how the estimation is taken.

survived their lives with a backdrop of chaotic post-war. Some of them married the Eurasians[45] who returned soon after the end of the Japanese occupation. The second generation had the most intrusive ruptures with their identities, with their leaving father and the new families.

Being Japanese descendants in Indonesia was best hidden after the imperial breakdown.[46] These second generations, especially, were the war-displaced generation affected by the stigma of being the descendants of the colonizers, as well as growing up without their Japanese fathers. They are the 45 generations who experienced the three periods of Indonesia in history: the years of Dutch colonialism, Japanese occupation, and independent government (Lapian 1996). While the third generation of Nikkeijin are those who may hear the recycled stories of their grandfathers and the imagined Japaneseness in their blood. This is the brief historical background of Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi, Indonesia. The sense of belonging and trajectory of Nikkei Indonesian will be different from Japanese descendants with different cultural and historical backgrounds, such as the Brazilian Nikkeijin and Filipino Nikkeijin.

4.1.2 Different History, Different Trajectory

Many countries in Asia were former colonies and continue to see substantial flows to and from their former empires (Koh 2015). Imperial connections and ethnic obligations (Sharpe 2014, 43) are suitable to describe Nikkeijin migration, especially from Asian countries which is more peculiar than the other types of flow. With postcolonial background, the terms 'migrated back' (Armstrong-Hough 2012) and 'return' (Tsuda 2000) do not sound fit for

[45] Few of them keep their western family name. However, a few of them also have Japanese names, mostly in their middle names.

[46] The situation of Nikkei Manadonese may be similar to Nikkei Filipino. The Nikkei Filipino communities are said to bear the stigma of being called "collaborators" or the "children of the enemy." However, since the 1970s, after Japan emerged as a global economic power, and becoming one of the biggest economic partners of the Philippines, Nikkei people began to propose their recognition as Japanese ancestry so their generations could "return" to Japan with a long-term resident visa (San Jose 2013, 198).

Indonesian Nikkeijin. Among other Nikkeijin now living in Japan, Filipino Nikkeijin have more affinity to Indonesian Nikkejin. Yet, it is important to note that when Japan began to colonize Dutch East Indies and also the Philippines, ‘Indonesia’ had not been founded as a country. In consequences, their struggles against the Japanese imperialism were still sporadic by regions, when compared to the Philippines which had declared itself as a country. It results in different history, ruptures and impacts of the colonialization on people in any part of Indonesia.

Nikkeijin with colonial and imperial backgrounds, Nikkei status is part of the critical aftermath of postcolonialism (McEwan 2009) which is constructed not only based on economic force but also culture (Said 1994). Borrowing an argument by Said (1993), imperialism did not end with colonial rule and cannot be limited to a specific moment in history. The repercussions of postcolonialism continues in a modernized version of colonialization, such as in migration. The opening of the side-door mechanism for Nikkeijin in the 1990s becomes an example of "a clever anti amnesia dispositif” (Fiore in Lombardi-Diop and Romeo 2013, 78). It means, bringing history into the present and vice versa to emphasize the similarities by migrating people across space and time (Fiore in Lombardi-Diop and Romeo, 2013). Therefore, Nikkei flow is believed to be one of the political initiations using "ethnicity and ethnic nationalism to resolve political and economic problems" (Sharpe 2014, 125), under “imperial connections, ethnic obligations” (Sharpe 2014, 43). How does this backdrop influence NiCH life in contemporary Japan?

As they possess no shared memories and myths, and have a sense of exclusive solidarity, Filipino Nikkeijin do not feel nor yearn for the sense of “Japaneseness” and do not recognize Japan as a homeland (Vilog 2011, 689). Hence, the use of the words 'return' and 'migrate back' shows the slipperiness of Nikkeijin definition. Do they return? Or just migrate? I suggest the discourse on 'Nikkeijin' to be distinguished based on the ancestors’ emigration backgrounds:

the imperialism/ postcolonial background (such as the Southeast Asian Nikkeijin) or the economic background (such as the South American Nikkeijin). The belongingness of Japanese descendants in the first category will depend on the factor whether their Japanese ancestors were the allegiance (returnees to Japan) or the renunciation (the ones living in the colonized country). The historical backgrounds evince different impacts on the contemporary Nikkeijin trajectory and their belongingness.

4.1.3 Orang Manado (Manadonese)

The majority of the ethnic group in North Sulawesi province is *Minahasan*. The region itself has long history of imperialism, starting from the Spanish in 16th century, the Portuguese in the 17th century, the Dutch in the 17th century, and the Japanese in 1942. Minahasan is somatically related to the southern Philippine tribes and the regional languages belong to the Philippine language group (Buchholt and Mai 1994, 4). They started speaking a variant of Malay (known now as Bahasa Manado, or Manadonese) since the rebirth of *Minahasan volk* in the process of their Christianization during the occupation of the VOC and the Dutch in the 18th century. The vast majority of Minahasans were converted to Christianity between 1831 and 1891 by the Dutch Missionary Society or NZG (Gunning 1924). NZG deemed to create a homogenous unity of Minahasans: "The Christian religion shall eliminate all divisions, and all Minahasans shall truly become brothers" (Graffland 1863, 24). Manadonese then became the language of unity to encompass Minahasa as a whole, as a feature in a single curriculum of the local mission school system (Kroeskamp 1894, 296). Therefore, the words are rooted from Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Tagalog, and Malay languages, with Malay accent. This dialect has never been standardized in writing forms, yet has been retained from generation to generation, as an identity marker and communication means in the everyday conversation in North Sulawesi.

Manadonese, as an ethnic group, used to refer only to people living in Manado city, the capital of present-day North Sulawesi, but gradually it has become a collective identity of people from North Sulawesi outside *Tanah Minahasa* (Minahasan land). This is also how they introduce themselves to others, when in Oarai. One may think that this identification is dialogic as related to my own identity as an Indonesian. However, it may not be completely dialogic, because they introduced Oarai as “Kampung Manado” (Manado village), instead of “Kampung Minahasa” or “Kampung Indonesia” to a Japanese researcher as well (see Fukihara 2007). Identifying them as “Manadonese” raises their unique identities more than addressing them as “Indonesian.” In terms of size, urban planning, and non-modernity, Oarai is definitely best described as *kampung*. Kampung means "rural, and it is also used to describe a traditional or vernacular way of doing things, and to describe something that is non-modern or outdated" (Maliki 2008, 35). The existence of their families, brothers, and relatives including the community and associations centered on the Christian churches result in why they call the town Kampung Manado (Manado village) (Fukihara 2007, 36). Oarai as Kampung Manado has become the second hometown, where people return wherever they try their luck in other cities of Japan.

The establishment of six churches (at the time of the fieldwork) consisting of two Protestants, one interdenominational, one Catholic, one Pentecostal, and GISI, adds to more similitude to their homeland. Manadonese identity is imbued in their daily use of the Manado dialect in their interaction with their compatriots, family, and surroundings. An Indonesian migrant from West Java, Indonesia, for example, speak Manadonese fluently more than in Indonesian language, after 8 years residing in Oarai. This is due to high interaction with Manadonese people in the factory who always speak the dialect.

4.1.4 Keturunan Jepang (Japanese Descendants)

This section will discuss how the third generations recognize their Japanese roots, the story which defines a part of who they are. Below is the basic four-generation pedigree to illustrate the generations of NiMO.

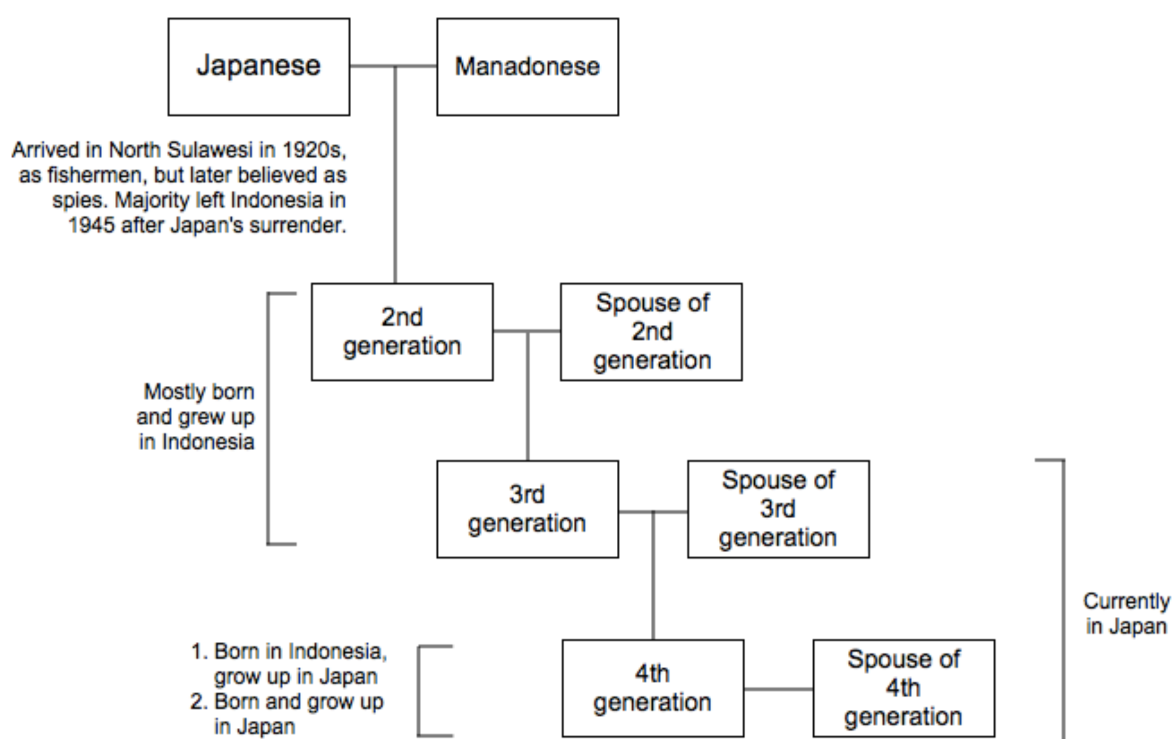

Figure 4-1 Illustration of four generations of NiMO

Although most third-generation never had a chance to meet their Japanese ancestors, they can retell the story of the past. Interestingly, the stories about Japanese ancestors were mostly discussed whenever I asked about their motives for migration. They usually started with: "We are here because we are *keturunan Jepang* (Japanese descendants)." What does having Japanese ancestors and being keturunan Jepang mean for them? How do participants understand their Japanese ancestors and Japaneseness?

> "The war… separated *oma* (grandmother) and *opa* (grandfather). They have got married. They have got married. During the war, opa is the Navy. The day when Japan was defeated, opa was about to embark for Japan. At that time, oma was in the church. When oma returned home, the ship had left. Oma could not follow. Poor oma. In the

> past, they still sent letters to each other. However, oma's parents disagreed if oma went to Japan to live there. It may be because her parents saw the Japanese as *penjajah* (colonizers). But, I think opa is kind. […] There was a time when Japanese opa went back to Indonesia to find oma, but at that time, oma had got married to the current opa. After the war, oma just thought of how to take care of many children, so she just got married again soon, because it was hard to raise many children in such conditions." (Rumi, home interview in 2017)

The stories of being Japanese have been discontinued since the separation between their Japanese grandfather and Manadonese grandmother, more than 70 years ago. Rumi could feel the hardship of her oma being left by the Japanese opa, and the fact that her opa is a colonizer. There are three settings Rumi chose to describe their Japanese ancestors: first is the separation in 1945, after the separation, and some years when Japanese grandfather went to Indonesia, but her grandmother had restarted her life with her new husband. It is the chronological order in how she sums up her Japanese origins. The reason why her oma married another man is also a depiction of post-war situations. Rumi's story is similar to the stories of other participants, in how it is reproduced with the reasonings over generations.

Moreover, Miki has a little different story about her father, Hiro. Hiro had a chance to meet his Japanese father after the war as he was invited to come to Japan and went to Japanese school for some years. Miki said Japanese people think a son is precious. That is why her Japanese grandfather gave her father the opportunity to go to Japan and get educated there. When talking about her Japanese grandfather, she suddenly stood up, grabbed a book on the shelf, tugged a folded newspaper inside it, and brought them to me. *"I got this book from the writer."* She opened a page with a bookmark. *"This is my opa. I heard he is someone who has a high position in the Navy, maybe General* (what she meant could be an Admiral). *I don't know, but he is an influential one."* The book has another bookmark, and she opened it, *"and this is my father. He was interviewed and appeared in a Japanese newspaper too,"* while opening the folded newspaper page. Miki can barely read the Japanese words in the book. Thus, the bookmarks come in handy every time she needs to "open" and narrate her Japanese identity.

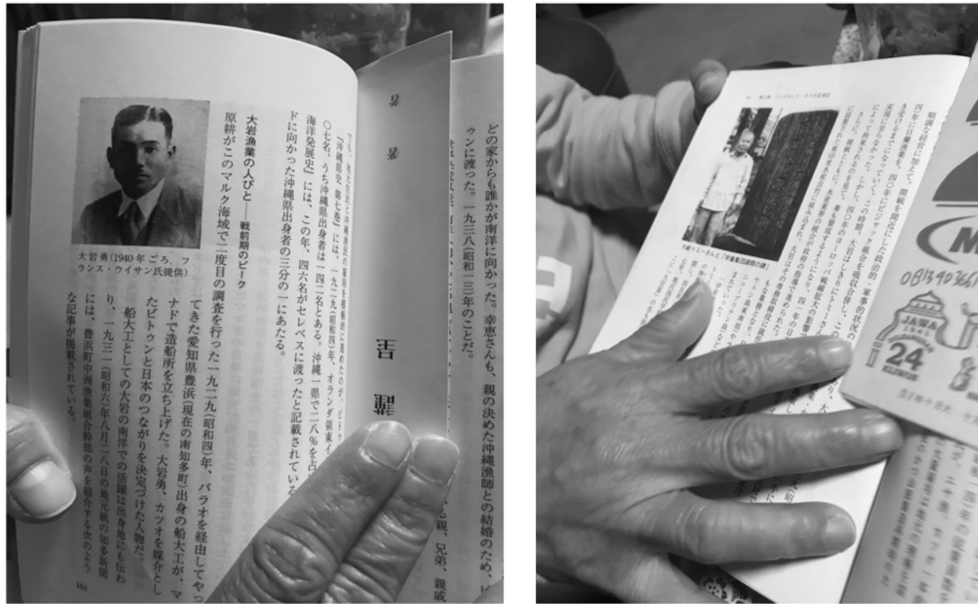

Figure 4-1 Miki showing a book written in Japanese about her grandfather (left) and father (right)

In her childhood, her father used to sing some Japanese songs when playing with her. However, she did not know the Japanese language, other than the common words like *Arigatou* and *ohayou*. "My father always told me how great Japan is. I always replied to him: 'Ah, papa. Japan, again and again…' It may not be true." She revived her memory about her father, who had once gone to Japan. She admitted that she did not believe what her father described about Japan. For her, it was too dreamy compared to what she experienced in her homeland.

On another occasion, I visited Riri's place where I met her daughter, Chika.[47] *"Ojiichan no otousan ga nihonjin"* (My grandfather's father is Japanese). Chika (4th generation) explained in short when I asked whether she knows her Japanese ancestor. She seems to have heard this story many times. I had the privilege to listen to their story about Japanese ancestors from both the third generation and a fourth generation. They have good teamwork, in which Riri waited for Chika to tell the story with her own words, and they

[47] Chika was born in Indonesia, but grew up in Japan, after Riri came to Oarai in 1998. She speaks Japanese as well as Manadonese, like all other children in Oarai.

completed each other’s sentences, reconstructing their Japaneseness from the memories of her grandmother (and great grandmother for Chika), passing through generations.

> Chika: “because of defeated from war, *opa Jepang* (Japanese grandfather) went back to Japan, but inside the belly (of oma), there was grandfather's sister."
>
> Riri: “…so, my father was two years old at that time."
>
> Chika: “After that, because opa returned (to Japan), oma did not know where his father was.”
>
> Riri: “Papa kept telling me his longingness (of his father). So, I was raised with such deep longingness. Then, I wanted to come to Japan someday because of my sympathy for my father. Finally, his effort had a result. One day, there was a foreign company (Japanese) came to our place to set up the electricity. It turned out that the person from this foreign company is my father's relative after my father showed a document. He finally knew that grandpa is someone who comes from Fukuoka. From that moment, they had some correspondence. Even with such correspondence, my father still hadn’t felt satisfied. So, when I went to college, I was encouraged to take a Japanese course."

This story may have been retold many times when people ask about their Japanese lineage. Chika may have heard this story, too, as her bedtime story. The story of the Japanese grandfather is passed through generations. From the story, it shows that parents of the 3rd generation have a bitter past[48]. They bore the burdens of how they should raise their children post-war, which forced them to have another spouse. Most of the time, the third generation only knew their Japanese fathers for a short time, which explains how hard it is for them to imagine their Japaneseness, especially for the later generations.

There are mixed feelings for some participants regarding their blood ties with the Japanese. The sense of Japanese may be felt differently for each generation. They know that their grandfathers are Japanese, but it was not positively associated in North Sulawesi, or maybe in Indonesia, except for the rest of the people who still consider them as *penjajah* (colonizers). Miki’s daughter (the fourth generation), for example, experienced being shouted at and bullied by her teacher at school when she returned from Japan for a few years: "You are

[48] It is a similar struggle experienced by Filipino Japanese in Ohno's book *Transforming Nikkeijin Identity and Citizenship* (2015).

the child of penjajah. You should go back to Japan!" At that time, she was too little to understand it. Miki admitted that the majority of elderly people, who experienced the harsh time of the war, have been hating the Japanese until now. The third-generation participant said: "We know our ancestor is spy…we are not proud of it. But what can I do about it? it is unavoidable."

At the backdrop of the war, the reason for the Japanese ancestors' marriage could be questioned if it was for the purpose of espionage. However, the feelings of the wife, the second generation, and the continuing generations are real. The separation left the second generation dreadfully longing for the Japanese father. The longingness has affected their emotions in narrating the history of identities to their children and the next generations. For the third generations, the Japanese identity had been inherited and bookmarked in pages of a book, pieces of newspaper reporting, and memorized through a few little anecdotes and bedtime stories with farewell endings, at least until 1998.

4.2 1998: Push-pull Factors

4.2.1 Prosperity during Krismon

In this section, I will discuss whether economic condition became their reason to migrate to Japan in 1998, when economic crises affected the world, including Indonesia. In previous work, Tirtosudarmo (2005) wrote that one of the reasons Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi went to Japan was because of the financial situation. In 1998, many countries suffered an economic crisis. The same year, more people flew to other parts of the world to work. However, Hugo (2000) has argued that one of the most distinctive features of Indonesia's economic crisis in the late 1990s was its "patchy" nature. He points out that some areas of the Outer Islands, such as Sulawesi, dependent upon cash crops or resource extraction activities,

suffered less than Java because they continued to export their products to world markets (King and Kim 2005). The economic crisis (*krisis moneter* or abbreviated as *krismon* in Indonesian words) did not hit the export-oriented economy of Minahasa, because coffee prices also rose (Steenbrink 2015). Not only coffee but also fish products' prices rose. One of my participants shared her story of having the highest income from 1998 until 2005, claiming it as "the most prosperous momentum." Miki evoked her memory when her family gained a lot of money, operating two big fish-catching ships and three small ones:

> I don't mean to bluff, but the truth of why I came to Japan was not to pursue material gains, but only to get experience. Also, because we are "turunan" (descendant), right? So, it was not for pursuing money because, at that time in *Bitung*, our economy was strong. […] We didn't even have to send money home, so we just used our money here (in Japan) as we liked. […] at that time, I used to have three bank accounts, with a saving of a hundred million rupiah per account. In that period, it was huge. […] I don't mean to brag, but I did not migrate for holding much money by hand, because I had experienced it (holding much money) before. […] So, for me, I just wanted to know how my ancestors used to live. How Japan was. Not only my case, but many Manadonese people who came here were also previously government employees. So, they were not in a difficult economic situation nor from low-class people, somehow. […], you know, in general, Manadonese have no economic difficulties because back home everyone has a farm and plantation. (Miki, home interview in 2017)

Miki's story is similar to Karinda's, in which she believes "earning money was not so difficult in Manado" because people commonly own a vast land of clove plantation. North Sulawesi is a volcanic region; Most of its territory is fertile and provides a healthy climate (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008). With the background of abundant natural resources, from the sea to the mountain, there are various opportunities to manage the natural resources. Not only as being said by the workers, two Manadonese pastors who served two churches in Oarai admitted that in Manado people can do various jobs, to argue that they did not lack opportunities in their homeland. One pastor said that most Manadonese people prefer to maintain *gengsi* (prestige), by avoiding any dirty jobs. Their dream job is mostly to become "*PNS,*" the abbreviation of *Pegawai Negeri Sipil* (government employees). "Manadonese didn't want to do dirty jobs in Manado. People doing construction work are usually Javanese,

who went far away to Manado to build houses. Some of them (Javanese) also sell vegetables and work on things shunned by common Manadonese," The pastor convinced. Although it sounds like a stereotype, being PNS for Manadonese has been a dream-job since the colonial period when they tended to be assigned in *ambtenaar* (government employees in Dutch) (Sumampow 2018).

4.2.2 For Papa: Journey to Japan

In 1998, Riri met a friend in the Japanese course who happened to be a Japanese descendant, who was preparing to leave for Japan through a broker. She asked for more information from this friend about the arrangement to go to Japan. She wanted to try the opportunity because of her father's obsession to look for his Japanese father. "I wanted to look for opa's grave for papa." She memorized. Everything about the piece of Japaneseness suddenly began to make sense when the broker came to North Sulawesi that year. Hearing about the chance to go to Japan, she contacted the broker. Therefore, for her, the intention to go to Japan was semi-voluntary. The main reason was not because of economic needs, but *for papa*.

Slightly different from Riri, Diana said she went to Japan because her father forcefully asked her to. She was a government employee, and her husband was a successful young businessman when her father asked them to grab the chance to go to Japan through the broker. Her husband, Steven, proclaims,

> Mr. K (the broker) once said, if Nikkeijin wants to apply for a Nikkei visa, it would be better to apply now, all at once, together, to avoid inconveniences. Then, we just tried. Actually, both of us did not want to go. But, because *Papi* (Diana's father) likes Japan so much. He wanted us to go, so I did not feel good to refuse." (Steven, home interview in 2017)

Diana agreed to him and emphasized: "Papi really, really likes Japan."

Mr. K used the chance to persuade them to proceed with the paperwork with a little 'ultimatum' that there would be no second chance. Although it could be true, most Nikkeijin,

who did not even intend to apply, decided to do it because their father/mother, who are Nisei, wanted them to just 'try'.

> Steven: "But, there was a big question for us. We were not asked for any certificates! But, we were going abroad! I had a big question then…"
>
> Diana: "…What kind of work (would it be)?"
>
> Steven: "Right. Like, no background of education was required."
>
> Diana: "So, both of us were questioning: what kind of work we are going to do??"
>
> Me: "Mr. K did not explain it?"
>
> Diana: "At that time, we had not met him directly."
>
> Steven: "At that time, we were busy. Mr. K. only met our brother, but we did not know what kind of work and how to do the job? Later, when the eligibility was issued, a shachō (a factory owner) from Oarai came to Manado. There was an invitation to a meeting because the eligibility was issued. But, the event was in the Novotel hotel, it was super luxurious, right? During the talk, it was never stated the educational background requirements. We were only asked: 'how old you are?' 'How old are you?' When it was finished, we went home and just ignored it. Until we were about to go, we asked each other, 'what are we going to work there?' But, I was afraid to disappoint my father-in-law."
>
> Diana: [laughed]
>
> Steven: "It turned out… Shocking, arrggh! The job is like this!" [laughed]
>
> Diana: [laughed]

Diana, her husband, and the other third generations went to Japan not because of economic situations, or their dream of Japan, but because of their father's desires. "Papi really, really likes Japan" illustrates how her father's obsession of Japan. He pushed Diana and her husband to try the opportunity to work in Japan and to agree on the broker's terms. They would never expect that applying for a Nikkei visa was meant to be a (life)long journey that would change their lives.

Rumi had a similar experience. It was her father who asked her to proceed with the documents to Japan. At that time, her grandfather in Japan was still alive. He could show the proof—the documents and photos of Rumi's grandmother—when the broker asked about his descendants in North Sulawesi. Nonetheless, the grandfather and his family in Japan had a particular term before permitting Rumi and her siblings to come to work in Japan. It is that they could come to Japan only for working, not for asking for any financial endowment and inheritance from the Japanese family. For Rumi, the term was understood as a part of the Japanese's strictness on family wealth and inheritance. Not only for Rumi, but most participants also acknowledged that they had to sign an agreement letter about this term. Miki, for instance, also explained,

> So, opa called my father to come to Japan to meet him in Kagoshima. After my father met him, and he agreed on the term, opa invited all his descendants. So, whenever we extend our visa, the family certificate is required in Yakuba (municipal town office), and approval from opa is a pre-requisite. So, in the family certificate in Japan, he registered his children from Indonesia. (Miki, home interview in 2017)

The agreement letter is a part of their paperwork to be fulfilled before they could get the approval for the visa. Riri told the same story. She asserted that Japanese people are very *kibishii* (strict) when talking about wealth. However, because again, they were not in a poor situation to demand wealth, they did not see it as an insult. The broker set the expenses for the whole process of migration and settlement for about 40 million rupiahs (about 400,000 Japanese yen). The workers did not have to pay it in advance, but by installing it for 8 to 10 months through their monthly wages, which became their job contract as well.

From this section, I learned that the main reason for Nikkei Manadonese to migrate to Japan was initially because of their parents' persuasion rather than their willingness to migrate. They were also not severely impacted by the economic crisis, and instead were in a sufficient economic condition. In other words, economic conditions did not become the factors for them to travel far away from their homeland. Their main motivation was because of their parents—

the second generation who had been longing for their Japanese fathers after the war separation in 1945. By these means, their migration cannot be considered as an absolute voluntary one, but semi-forced.[49] In this semi-forced migration, how did they experience living in Japan for the first time?

4.3 The Beginning: Life in Oarai

4.3.1 "Aparto Asa" in Kampung Manado

"Is it Japan? Why is it like in Indonesia, no buildings and such?" Eve recollected her memory when she traveled from Narita airport and saw only bushes and paddy fields along the way to Oarai. When they arrived at the town, the first impression participants described was: quiet. It is easy to feel lonely in that small town bordered by the Pacific Ocean on the east, a big river on the north, and vast paddy fields in the other surroundings. The view was far from how they might have imagined of Japan. As mentioned in Chapter 1, many participants come from cities with more population and a larger area. They experience downward mobility and associate Oarai as *kampung.*[50]

A kampung is formed through human habitation and routine practices, usually has no demarcated geographical boundaries, and their everyday social, economic and political interactions held the members of the kampung together (Kemp 1988; Ali 1968). When talking about borders, gates, and fences, which are most likely constructed, kampung represents an area with fewer border and physical boundaries. In kampung, space sharing is easily done as

[49] The voluntary migrant, with the consent of the receiving society, has almost full control over the circumstances of his/her departure: when to leave, where to establish a new life, etc. The forced migrant has little, if any, such control: coercion and uncertainty on all levels mark his/her departure (Reyes 2014).
[50] A kampung (Indonesian language) is a group of houses which are part of the city (usually inhabited by low-income people); villages; hamlet; the smallest administrative unit occupying a specific area, located under the sub-district; a backward (not modern); related to habits in the village; old-fashioned; page of the area or village of birth (based on Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia online).

most houses in the kampung are unfenced, and there is respect for the private and public use of spaces without needing an imposed physical boundary (Maliki, Abdullah and Bahauddin 2014). There is minimal use of visually and physically obstructive barriers which suggests that the community still recognize "invisible boundaries" by conforming to cultural rules and norms (Maliki, Abdullah and Bahauddin 2014, 607). Oarai shows the characteristics of kampung.

Participants came to Japan without deliberate choice to work and live, as everything had been arranged by the broker. Karinda recalled her memory of *Aparto Asa* (Asa apartment).[51] It was derived from the big advertisement sign in Japanese, in front of the aparto building written as: "Asahi Shinbun" (*Asahi* means morning day, and *Shinbun* means newspaper). In Indonesian language, "Asa" means "hope." Aparto Asa is a witness for the firstcomer of Nikkei Manadonese in struggling for hopes day-to-day:

> When I came here for the first time, I slept on a piece of cloth, no futon or else, just a cloth! No blanket, nothing. I was praying before sleeping, "Oh God, this life here, why is not elevating, but plummeting." It's unimaginable. I thought I just had to push-push something; everything was imagined as automatic in Japan. But, here only like this?! I lived in Manado, not from a wealthy family. But living in a city is different from living in *the kampung*. If people come from *kampung* to Japan, they may think that they have been in a city. But because I lived in a city, I felt like oh no, why is it like this? I also lived in *gubuk* (hut) at that time, owned by Shacō K (how they call the broker). (Karinda, window-shopping interview in 2017)

Karinda recounted that for her, this opportunity was crossing her path after she had a complication in her marriage. So, it is like an escape from her problem, not more than that. Arriving at Oarai, she realized that she might have made a faulty decision. Oarai is not even slightly better than Manado, including the fact that she had to sleep on the floor with a thin cloth covering it, while in Manado, she sleeps on a spring bed. However, she had to continue her plan because she must pay the debt to the broker and had signed the contract for at least two years. Aparto Asa, as described by Karinda as "gubuk" or hut, ugly old hut. The "hut" was

[51] Aparto is the way they called an apartment. It is a mishmash of Japanese and Indonesian language.

equipped with ten small mattress-less rooms, with only one bathroom and one kitchen, which were far from decent. They had to sleep on the hard floor every day for the first months. Oarai resembles kampung in their homeland, lower than their expectation of Japan. The first impression of their ancestral land was not impressive. Not at all. After a Japanese broker set up their place to live in Aparto Asa, they were distributed to some kaisha In Oarai, the beginning was hard. They lamented and cried all the time. They felt a bit relieved when more Nikkeijin arrived, so they could share the hardship they encountered at the factory.

4.3.2 Encountering Dirty Work

Working low-level jobs is not desired by anyone, especially Manadonese people. All dirty jobs are always handled by migrants from Java or another area outside North Sulawesi, who do jobs such as construction workers, helpers, farmers, shop keeper, laborer, or food seller.[52] When Nikkei Manadonese came to Oarai, they did not expect they would do the dirty work they shunned back home. The first day after the arrival in Japan on 15 July 1998, the broker introduced Bella and her cousins to one kaisha:

> The first Kaisha we entered was Maruichi (pseudonym). All WERE (emphasized) Manadonese people over there…the overstayers. When I arrived, I said to each other: "Oh, we are going to work… work like this?" They are cleaning the fish at that time… "Oh, what should we do? It's so smelly." I said to the others, "We have to work like this? Why do we have to work like this? We worked at the office before" [laughed]. (…) "Oh, I prefer to work in Bitung. I don't want to work like this." Oh, God forbid. I never even held a knife at home, now I have to clean fish? (Bella, researcher's home interview in 2017)

Like Bella, most participants remembered the first day they stepped their feet on Japan's land. Bella evoked her memories on the first day when the broker assigned her where

[52] Migrants in Manado belong to the lowest social status because they can only fill in the job as a laborer, ice seller, or meatball seller and such kinds of job (Sumampow 2018). Minahasan people since colonial periods tend to be assigned in *ambtenaar* (government employees) or white-collar jobs or office work because they have educational standards higher than any other people in Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). The identity construction of dichotomies between Us and Them, the poor and the rich, the educated and uneducated, are predominant in North Sulawesi.

she would work. It was the first time she finally knew what kind of work she would undertake in Oarai. She said that, at that time she was luckier to be placed in a packing station, compared to her cousins, who were placed in the cleaning station. Bella used the term 'wet' and 'dry' work. Wet work is the dirtiest work that requires touching and cleaning out the fish in the wet station. While dry work is the less dirty work, which includes packing the fish that has been dried, thus the station is dry.

The first months were very hard. Diana could not help to throw up because of the fishy smell in the kaisha. Although both Diana and her husband, Steven, were so frustrated and shocked by what they were doing in Oarai, they were afraid to quit because it would disappoint their father, so they tried to survive.

> I lost much weight right after working here. I separated and thawed fish from the freezer. The fish was still hard, so we needed to dunk them in water. I was not used to working like that. Only one or two days of rest after our arrival, I worked. I started working from 7 am until 10 to 11 pm. I often asked friends what time it is… when she answered, 9 am. I was like...what? It is still a long time to go. I just wanted to cry. I wanted to go home. But I was afraid to disappoint my parents. (Diana, home interview in 2017)

Although they may be informed about the kind of industry in which they were going to work, most participants did not expect such working conditions in the kaisha. None of them was familiar with seafood processing in a factory. The working conditions in kaisha are mostly wet and unbearably smelly. 'Wet work,' such as cleaning the fish, cutting, and trimming, is one of the aspects avoided by most of the workers, as opposed to “dry work,” such as packing and sealing. This is the same thing as what Tara did when she first encountered a dirty job in Oarai.

> Unimaginable. I thought we were going to work at an office. I thought everything used sophisticated technology-based machines. It turned out that here is like this [laughed], like in Indonesia. […] Unimaginable, we had to work like this. We left our children to come here. […] we thought we would be happy working with all sophisticated technology. (Tara, church interview in 2017)

Tara was a housewife back in Indonesia. However, when she said "like in Indonesia", she referred to the condition of the manual-kind of work characterizing work in her hometown,

as opposed to the well-advanced-of-technology image of Japan. However, Tara reminisced about it without feeling hard. She told her story while laughing at herself and her journey starting from 1999. She embraced her journey and the harshest period as a newcomer back then. When I asked if she knew anything about the job before, she said:

> No. I just knew everything here (in Japan). I was told it is required to have high perseverance. How hard…I could not imagine at first. Must *ganbatte* (strive). In the past, when I worked in a kaisha, I never took a day off because I was afraid to take it. […] we worked in the early morning and went back home so late. When the kaisha was busy, we worked until morning again. Worked at 7 am, at 10 am had a break, only had a drink, then at 12 had lunch. At 3 pm we had another break. Then we worked until 7 pm for dinner, and at 10 pm, we had a 10-minute break. Working until midnight and then had a break until the dawn, around 3 or 4 am. We did household chores, washing clothes and stuff, and slept when it was already morning. Then we went working at 9.30 am. (Tara, church interview in 2017)

The working time was similar to slavery, as Tara described that she did not have enough time to sleep with a marathon of work. It may be the worst and most abusive period the participants had encountered. Several incidents, including the deaths of Chinese trainees in Ibaraki, also happened in 2008 because of *karoshi* (death from overworking) that the foreign trainees' programs, especially, received significant criticism. Internationally, the reputation of Japan's industrial training and a lot of internship programs has also been denounced (Kartikasari 2013). The significant impact on this issue was that there was a strict regulation and inspection of factories and companies to apply standard working time and to give extra wages for overtime work. Although it was meant for protecting the trainees through the 2009 amended Immigration Act, Nikkeijin, also received its impacts as the regulation and penalties were also imposed in the kaisha they worked. As participants mentioned, from around 2010, kaisha in Oarai applied 25% extra from the regular wages for the overtime work.

The kaisha life and the work were unimaginable compared to how their parents used to depict Japan. From their first impression of the job in the kaisha, it is revealed that they were

actually not proud of the reality of their work in Oarai. This is the point of departure of how they feel about kaisha and the work they are doing in Oarai.

4.3.3 Establishing a Church

Christians in North Sulawesi make up a significant minority group in Indonesia, and Christianity becomes the ethnic marker of people living in North Sulawesi until now (Melton and Baumann 2010). Even when they live overseas, Manadonese people always associate themselves with a church. Establishing a church is believed to be the main antidote, the prominent support for these people in surviving in Oarai. In a compact and small Oarai, there are at least six Indonesian churches/ groups. However, before these six churches were established, there had been a Japanese church for the minority Christian people in Oarai. Yamamoto Rev.[53] said that before Manadonese workers came to the town, this church had a very small congregation, consisting of only four to five people (lunch interview in 2017). However, when more Manadonese workers started to come, the small church could not accommodate the growing congregation. Dena recalled the day when many people stood up in the small church to attend the Sunday mass. Because of the conditions, Manadonese workers initiated to collectively help to expand more rooms in the church (church interview in 2018).

The Sunday mass in the Japanese church was conducted in Japanese, a language that most congregations did not understand. Therefore, many migrant workers decided to join the Sunday mass in the Indonesian language in a church in Tokyo.[54] To meet the needs of the congregation, the Japanese church started hiring an Indonesian translator from Tokyo. As the population of Christian migrant workers from North Sulawesi was growing, they started to make a religious gathering: *Persekutuan Oarai* (Oarai union), with their *tata-ibadah* (liturgy

[53] A pastor in Mito church, in Mito city (around 30 minutes by train from Oarai)
[54] The earliest undocumented migrant workers previously joined a church in Tokyo before working in Oarai.

rules) derived from the Indonesian church in Tokyo. After a while, in July 1993, this *Persekutuan* was inaugurated as Church A, with Atsumi pastor.[55] Leading the service when a church in Tokyo had another Indonesian pastor in substitution. For several years Church A finally had their *gembala* (shepherd, or pastor), an undocumented migrant, who has a pastoral background. Church A is an interdenominational church that is open to any Christian sects and not associated with any church groups in their homeland.

When Nikkeijin arrived in Oarai in 1998, they already had two options to go to the church: Church A or the Japanese church. In the beginning, Church A could only serve the mass in the morning. Thus, migrants who worked on Sunday morning joined the Japanese church whose mass was in the evening. However, it was not easy for Manadonese workers to go to the church on Sunday morning, in the past. When the workload was more onerous than it is at present, migrants had to work seven days a week, including Sundays. There was no holiday, and they could not go to church. If they wanted a day off on Sunday to attend a Sunday service, the shachō would always go against them. This is the example that, in the past, employers did not allow workers to negotiate Sunday as their day off. In many cases of migration, Sunday is the only time and space where migrants can enjoy leisure time.

> In the past, if we want to go to a church on Sunday, we must first argue with shachō. Every day was a working day, including Sunday. He once said to me, "I am the one who gave you a salary, not your God." So, it was tough…
> (Edo, home interview in 2017)

Church A accommodated for this situation by providing two periods of Sunday services: morning and evening. Those who had to work in the morning could still attend the Indonesian church in the evening. After years, as more and more workers asked for permission from the shachō to have a Sunday off to attend the Sunday mass, gradually more kaisha allowed

[55] A Japanese pastor who serves in Kalimantan, Indonesia, for many years and thus speaks fluent Bahasa Indonesia.

them to go to the church on Sunday. They gradually realized that church life is vital for Manadonese workers to keep staying and working in Oarai. Rumi said, "In the past, if we wanted to go to the church on Sunday, we had to *onegai* (beg) to *shachō*. These days, it is shachō who should onegai to us if he needs us to work on Sunday." Although there is no institutionalized union, the collectivity of the congregant in the church activities has demonstrated to exert collective power over kaisha (especially in the period when the other working visa was still scarce in Oarai). Moreover, the Manadonese community has, over the years, changed the landscape and growth of churches and Christianity in Oarai.

After the arrival of Nikkeijin, the Manadonese community became bigger and dominant among other migrant workers from other countries. However, as there was a rapid increase of members of Church A, the Sunday masses were too crowded, with three shifts: morning, afternoon, and evening. In addition, there was a desire from most new coming Nikkeijin to establish a church associated with the organization they belong to in their hometown. They decided to establish a new church group, Church B, in October 1999. The pastors serving were the Nikkeijin who have a pastoral background, yet also worked in kaisha in Oarai. Church B adopted the rules from their home church organization in North Sulawesi.[56] This church was the first sub-ethnic church established in Oarai, run by the regulations and cultures of their home church in North Sulawesi.[57]

From the discussion of this section, there are two important notes to be taken on the establishment of many Indonesian migrant churches: First, the landscape of churches in Oarai is similar to the one in North Sulawesi, where there are many church groups with different sects and leadership. Among six churches (now seven) established in Oarai, two of them are

[56] The church organization is the biggest and the most influential one in North Sulawesi.
[57] On 30 June 2001, Yamamoto Rev. was invited to come to the inauguration of Church B. He committed to help this small church to grow. From July 2001, they also started to have regular attendance at Mito Church for a liturgy.

Protestant churches, and they are split because of internal reasons, while other churches are different sects or groups which are established following the same rules and cultures associated back in North Sulawesi. Second, this is to show the importance of the church as an organization and association for Manadonese, and they take the church (and the organization) matters in their social life. Since its establishment, the church as an organization has given migrant workers responsibility and commitment to grow and maintain the institution, which becomes one of the reasons for their continuity, survival, and existence in Oarai.

4.4 *Becoming* Nikkeijin

4.4.1 Relations with Non-Nikkei Migrants

The Japaneseness is inherited from their parents, who are the second generation. The third generation may not have migrated voluntarily to Japan (and left their work) if it was not because of the compulsion of their parents. In this section, I will explain the identity reconstruction of the third-generation Nikkei through which Nikkei meanings are constructed, negotiated, and managed, with 'the help' of non-Nikkei. The reconstruction of Nikkei identities is an ongoing and unfinished process, consisting of projections of non-Nikkei migrants. This process is in line with the concept of identity construction by Beech: Social identity consists of projections of others towards the self, projections of the self towards others, and reactions to received projections (Beech 2008).

The term "non-Nikkei" appears along with the presence of Nikkeijin, which includes undocumented migrants (overstayer), trainees (kenshusei), Nihongo students, and refugees (nanmin). The main interactions of NiMO with non-Nikkei migrants are at the kaisha, the church, and the neighborhood. Having a secure visa, NiMO were considered as threats and enemies by the undocumented ones. "When we initially started working in the kaisha, we were

considered as an enemy by the overstayers. There was an indisputable competition, because we are Nikkei, with legal and valid visa" (Diana, home interview in 2017). Nikkei visa with legality contradicts the status of the undocumented workers, their seniors who had been working longer in Oarai.

This competition environment was unexpected by the Nikkeijin as they had been shocked by their new life in kaisha and Oarai and were hoping to make friends with the Manadonese senior workers. This competition is also mentioned in Tirtosudarmo's article; the undocumented workers convinced the employers that they are still fond of the "good" old settlers and should be more reliable than the late-comer Nikkeijin and *kenshûsei,* trainees (2005, 129). For undocumented migrants, Nikkeijin have significant impacts on their continuity in the kaisha. They are afraid that Nikkeijin would take over their positions and jobs. For the kaisha owners, this Nikkeijin status is *kankeinai* (not inherently related) to any special entitlement. It does not grant them with privileges or special treatment in the kaisha or the society. NiMO learned this word in the kaisha when the factory owners tried to reassure the undocumented workers (senior and trusted persons) not to worry about Nikkeijin presence at work.

> When I came, I still had no acquaintances. However, at that time, there were many illegal people. I went to Z (the name of the factory). I was the only Nikkei entering the factory. I was despised and considered as a menace for them. Do you know the first Japanese word I memorized at that time? Kankeinai [laughed]. (Miki, home interview in 2017)

While in the beginning Nikkeijin was the minority and being disliked and intimidated, many undocumented workers started to make use of Nikkei's legal status to do things on their behalf. As Bella retold, they asked for help, such as buying a phone and even a car using her name. They started to treat Nikkeijin kindly. Slowly, Nikkeijin started to be accepted by the undocumented-worker community in Oarai. The interaction between Nikkei and non-Nikkei is also the beginning of their love stories.

NiMO were around 20s or 30s at that time. Some of them had been married, but most of them were young and single. The undocumented workers began to learn if they marry a Japanese descendant, they would get the opportunity to get a valid visa, then live and work in Japan for an indefinite time. Dena, whose husband was an undocumented migrant, admitted that at that time, many 'overstay' guys approached her: "Nikkeijin girls were like blooming flowers at that time. We were competed for." Not only for Nikkeijin who had not married, those who had married, were also being 'surrounded' by many non-Nikkei migrants.[58] Because of this, adultery and divorce were notorious among the community. Nikkei's presence was like blooming flowers, and many bees tried to take the honey. It was also one of the reasons why Eve decided to go after her husband, the third generation, to live in Japan. "The town is like Sodom and Gomorrah. So terrifying. Many married people here have affairs and divorces." The infidelity case is also one of the particular concerns of Pastor A. He reasons that the proximity and small neighborhood in Oarai increases interaction and the chance of people to get close to each other.

4.4.2 The Luxurious Visa

In much previous work, researchers also label the status of being Nikkei as "privilege" (Ohno 2007; Armstrong-Hough 2012; Vilog 2013; Takenaka 2014). What kind of privilege does it mean for NiMO among other migrants? From the previous sub-section, we learned that Nikkeijin started to realize their power of distinction by having a Nikkei visa through the projection of non-Nikkei. Nikkeiness, which was only meaningful for their parents, became

[58] The young generation of fourth Japanese descendants today were also approached and dated by non-Nikkei Manadonese men.

socially valuable for them as well. That way, they reconstruct their Nikkeiness from merely parents' inheritance to their own meaning: a luxury.

This luxury and distinctness are considered more potent than economic drive and even their care arrangement for their children can be settled and struggled for to keep the active visa status. "*Shinjirarenai*" (it is hard to believe), Ami said, as she did not believe she could leave her newborn son in North Sulawesi after her delivery, only to ensure her visa did not expire. This particular care arrangement is driven by their "urge" to stay being Nikkei, to keep their "status." The same thing happened to Gina, Sylvi, and many more participants who left their newborn babies for their "luxurious" visas. Leaving their newborn is the price that they have to pay in return to keep their Nikkei visa.

"A visa is a luxury here. As we are descendant, we can extend our visa forever as long as we maintain good behavior" (Karinda, car interview in 2017). Karinda went to Japan in 1998; then, she convinced her sister and family to come to Japan since then so that she did not feel lonely in Oarai. Her sister and her husband refused to come to Japan because they believed they had sufficient life with a house and high working positions. They did not have to come to work in Japan because "earning money was not so difficult in Manado." Karinda always convinced them to come to Japan because she knew the visa is precious for undocumented migrants. Nikkei visa is a luxury and a social distinction. Finally, in 2000, her sister and her husband had the willingness to come again and live and work in Japan until now. It was not easy for Karinda to convince them, but the social distinction is essential for Manadonese, which becomes a strong inducement. Not only Karinda, but other participants also began to create a discourse on their Nikkei status as a "privilege" they earned because they are Japanese descendants.

Nikkeijin identity has been evolved into economic capital, securing economic opportunities to increase their prosperity and enhance social status in the hometown. However,

in these recent years, due to the high inflation in Indonesia, a one-month salary in Japan can no longer be extended far to the needs of families in Indonesia. Taro, third generation, admitted that he regretted the fact that he did not make any investments from their salary in the first years of working in Oarai. Currently, the price of land and farms in Manado has been unreachable, and he needs to save a year to buy land, compared to the past, when he could have afforded to buy a property with a two-month salary. Dena also said that, in the past, she and her husband leased their house in Indonesia and gave the renting money to the extended family. However, nowadays, she needs the money to make ends meet in Japan and no longer gives it to the family. The luxury of a visa has become their permanent decision in life, just to continue living in Japan.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter answers questions posed to the historical backgrounds of the participants: First, being Nikkei was once inherited and reproduced through parents' stories and daily talks. Because of the defeat of Japan in the Pacific War, the cultural transfer between Japanese fathers to their young generation was disrupted. Thus, Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi, particularly, had fewer exposures to Japanese cultures and feelings of Japanese than Nikkeijin with a non-war backgrounds. Besides, the plot of the story about their Japanese ancestors was often tragic. It is a separation of the family that had caused the ruptures of many second-generation (Nisei) who are destined not to meet their biological fathers. Nisei had the most profound longing of missing identity puzzles that is passed through generations. Additionally, the fact that their Japanese ancestors are colonizers had given them a stigma. The legacies of colonialism and imperialism become the backdrop of the migration of NiMO.

Second, the push and pull factors for NiMO to come to Oarai were not entirely derived from economic factors. They did not come from impoverished areas or because of poverty. North Sulawesi is abundant with natural resources, from the sea to the mountain, and most participants have their clove farm and fishing boats which were economically sufficient at that time. Moreover, around 1998, their economy was not impacted by the global crisis. They were "semi-forced" by their parents (Nisei) whose Japanese identities had been ruptured because of the separation from their Japanese fathers after the end of World War II. This semi-forced migration background exposes the uniqueness and complexity of their identity construction. Without their strong willingness to migrate to Oarai, the participants experienced a period of time when they disparaged the life and the job available in Oarai. They also confronted many difficulties that first-generation migrant workers often endure: a foreign culture, downward social mobility, and poor working conditions (Armstrong-Hough 2012). Through a period of transition to resettlement, they were exposed to Japanese cultures and the ideas of "non-Nikkeijin", from which they realized that being Nikkeijin is *kankeinai* (not subject to any privileges) and treated the same as any other migrant workers. In other words, although ethnically related to the Japanese, Nikkeijin are still socio-economically marginalized as disposable migrant laborers performing the 3-D–dirty, dangerous, and difficult–jobs (Tsuda 2003).

Third, although they were disgusted by their job, they did not return home because of three main reasons: (1) the motive of why they came to Japan, which is because of their parents, so they were afraid to disappoint them; (2) commitment to the church: by establishing a sub-ethnic church, they indirectly tied themselves to the responsibility and commitment to administer it on a regular basis 3) Nikkeiness reconstruction. In the beginning, when they came to Oarai, the dominant group and most populations were the undocumented migrants. NiMO

were treated as enemies and threats among non-Nikkei in the kaisha because they were the competitors for those without a valid visa.

Because of the perpetual projections from non-Nikkei migrants, NiMO began to perceive “Nikkeiness” as a luxury, that other people yearn for. Hence, young Nikkei is analogized as "the blooming flowers" surrounded by non-Nikkei "bees". NiMO started recreating meanings on their Nikkeiness during their interactions with the undocumented workers who continuously projected values on their Nikkei status. The Nikkeijin went through a phase considering Nikkei a social distinction and power among other migrants. The processes of Nikkei reconstruction are, in Greenfeld’s words, “a reaction to the values of others and not [merely] to one’s own condition regardless of others” (Greenfeld 1992), that had caused the re-invention or re-articulation of identity (Reyes 2014). Based on the basic principle of social comparison, people can increase their subjective well-being through comparison with a less fortunate other (Wills 1981) When stigmatized, the tension can be relieved by the relatively favorable comparison between oneself with another person who is even worse off (Gibbons and Gerrard 1991). Thus by collectively comparing themselves with the non-Nikkei migrants, NiMO normalize the stigma and construct “superiorness” being Nikkeijin.

Nikkeijin meaning is constructed and has no single and universal meaning. The inheritance of Japanese cultures does not apply for most NiMO in the absence of their Japanese ancestors due to the war. Migration by blood connection is political and, in the case of Nikkei, was more to fill the shortage of laborers in Japan. However, for Nikkei Manadonese, this status is regarded as a luxury because of its distinctiveness and projection of its privileges, although they have to downgrade their social status. They reconstruct their Nikkeiness because of the privilege: the discourse which had continuously been reinforced by the non-Nikkei migrants and brokers. The discussions in this chapter, thus, become the point of departure for researching the boundary work of NiMO in their everyday domains.

CHAPTER 5 THE KAISHA

5.1 Kaisha in Aging Oarai

5.1.1 Labor Shortage

Compared to other seafood processing sites of similar size, Oarai's have some distinctive features. One of them is that they have actively introduced and utilized imported seafood since the mid-1960s (Meguro 2005). By so doing, it has reduced its dependence on the unstable local fisheries and established a year-round operation (Meguro 2005).[59] While the other factories focus on producing high-quality dried mackerels by manually processing domestic horse mackerels, Oarai's processors specialize in making lower-priced products with the use of imported raw materials and a fish-cutting machine (Honda and Ono 2000). Besides using the imported raw materials and fish-cutting machines, the strategy of Oarai's processors in competition with others is to focus on the mass production of low-priced products, by recruiting cheaper foreign workers. This strategy is different from the other seafood processors, like in Kawai city, where they recruit mostly Japanese workers (Mazumi 2014). In Oarai, among the fish processing industries in Japan, the percentage of foreign workers is among the highest (Mazumi 2014). By employing foreign migrants and using imported products, the companies can keep running all year round.

One of the classical problems of kaisha in rural Japan is the scarcity of human resources, not only of the manual workers but also the managerial personnel, due to the migration of the young people to the city. In Oarai, although the fishing port is not among the largest in Japan, seafood processing is the dominant local industry. In the past, there were around 128 fish-

[59] By the 1980s, the processing of imported capelins had become a major production activity in the town. However, since the 1990s, in response to the decline of the capelins import, the local seafood processing plants have also processed imported horse mackerels (Honda and Ono 2000 in Mazumi, 2014).

processing factories, but many have been bankrupted or closed permanently with only around 20-30s factories at present, as informed by Mr. Sato, a factory owner.[60] His kaisha is one of the surviving ones, at least until the research was conducted. Mr. Sato runs his kaisha with five Japanese workers—mostly elderly people—and seven foreign workers. It was founded by his great grandparents during the Meiji era and has been passed through generations. Now, in his 70s, he prepares his son to inherit the family legacy. However, as a university graduate, his son wishes to have a better opportunity in Tokyo. With smaller profits gained from food processors these days, the future of his longstanding factory becomes more precarious. Many factories in Oarai are closed permanently because of this typical regeneration break in the family to continue the business.

Food processing is seasonal, both in terms of demand for products and the availability of raw materials (Grandison 2012). The unsustainable fish stock became a problem prompting the shrinking number of factories in Oarai. "In the past, the fish in the sea were abundant. We could even catch much fish in front of our houses at the seashore," Mr. Sato said. Year by year, the fish stock is decreasing, so that kaisha owners had to buy seafood products from the market. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Sato, the market is systematically monopolized and cartelized, resulting in very high prices. This fact led to severe situations for the small fishery industries in Oarai to survive and to compete with other similar processors in bigger cities, such as in Chiba and Tokyo.

The challenges of small food processors in Ibaraki are multiplied after the 2011-tsunami and earthquake causing the radiation leak in the Fukushima nuclear power plant. Because of its geographical proximity with Fukushima, approximately 130 miles from Oarai, more food products from Ibaraki are refused by markets in other regions of Japan. Mr. Sato used to send

[60] Unfortunately, there are no official statistics of the list of kaisha by years, in the municipal office. I only get the number of factories info from the shachō, as he showed me a table of kaisha name in the present day. The table is from the association of fish kaisha in Oarai.

his processed fish products to Nagoya, but after 2011, his products could no longer penetrate the market due to customers' avoidance of any products grown and processed from the northeastern part of Japan. Hence, their products are only able to meet the demands in the local prefecture.[61] In consequence, the factories receive substantially fewer orders than before, which affects workers' income too.[62] The busier the working hours in a kaisha are, the more loyal migrants are to keep working. A kaisha that offers non-seasonal work or full-time work is the most favorable one for migrant workers. They refer this kind of job "PNS," an abbreviation of Pegawai Negeri Sipil (Government Employee) because of its certainty and stability of income. Being PNS is very well regarded for Manadonese, not only to secure their income, which means better "social status" among migrant workers.

In sum, the challenges of factories in Oarai to survive are multifold: (1) workforce shortage (2) unstable fish stock (3) the decrease of orders due to the Fukushima nuclear leak in 2011, when many distributors in other regions ceased to order seafood and fish products from factories in Ibaraki, due to people's concerns on nuclear radiation. Some kaisha in Oarai could survive for decades by applying various strategies to adapt to any situation and exist until now. One of them is by recruiting cheap laborers with a long, safe, stable visa status, Nikkei.

5.1.2 Workflow

Food processing work in this study includes seafood and agricultural food processing. When discussing food-processing in Japan, people may easily imagine advanced automation, food canning, and high-technology machines, however food processing plants in Japan, as in other parts of the world, vary in technology levels (such as in Jeebhay, Robins and Lopata

[61] Only one big factory can import their processed products to Taiwan.
[62] When orders are low, shachō usually asks the workers to clean up parts of the building, toilets, workstations, or trim the grass of the surrounding area, to maintain the income for the workers, as like any other day. Mr. Sato, like the other kaisha owners, wants to keep the loyal and trusted workers in his kaisha. Otherwise, workers may move to other kaisha, due to unstable income.

2004). In Oarai, the work still mostly relies on manual handling, with a few automated machines. Their products are not food canning, but rather fish filleting, frozen food, or ready-to-eat food in plastic or Styrofoam packaging.

A seafood-processing kaisha is run based on the cold chain process. A cold chain process is the uninterrupted temperature-controlled transport and storage system of refrigerated goods between upstream suppliers and consumers to maintain the quality and safety of food products (Ndraha, et al. 2018). The steps in processing include transporting the pallets of fish from the freezer to the workstations, thawing, separating and selecting, cutting, cleaning and trimming, and arranging; most of which can only be performed manually by a human workforce (see Figure 5-1). Because of its restricted time cycle and due to non-automation, kaisha in Oarai needs a large workforce to accomplish the workflow. Once the seafood products are outside of the freezer, they have to be processed and packed within 24 hours. Thus, when there is a significant order, the employees will have to work at least 12 hours per day, including the weekends.

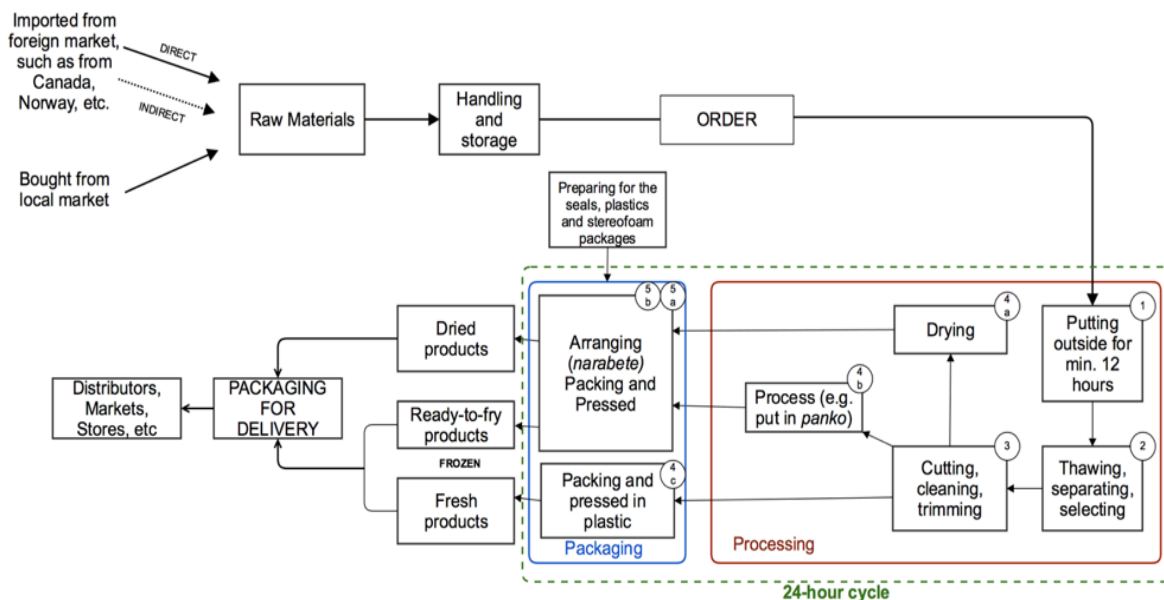

Figure 5-1 Seafood-Processing Work Flow (based on observation and interviews)

Depending on the kinds of fish, the first thing to do after thawing the fish is usually cut the fish body into two opened sides, by a machine (used to be manual). This step has to be done very carefully; otherwise, the workers can accidentally cut their fingers. Then some workers in another station have to clean and trim the shape of the fish with a knife. The workspace is wet most of the time, and the employees' uniforms and bodies are in contact with the melting ice, the innards of the fish, the fish scales, and the smell. Those are the main contaminants in seafood products which include unwanted parts of the animals, insects and their eggs, animal excreta, soil, sand, and other particles. Cleaning is essentially a separation process, in which some differences in the physical properties of the contaminants and the food units are exploited (Grandison 2012). Cleaning and trimming include wet processing activities, which produce higher particulate (respirable fraction) concentrations than dry activities (packing in cold store and box store) (Douglas et al. 1995). This kind of job has the most demanding task as it takes time and skills with hours of standing. In the daytime, more workers are stationed here to optimize the flow of the work.

After being cleaned and trimmed, fish are dried for several hours in a drying room. They arrange the fish on big trays and put them on the rack in the drying room. This drying room has powerful wind and has been used to replace the traditional sun-drying process, making it faster to desiccate the fish products to be naturally preserved. If there are already much-dried fish, some workers will be ordered to move to *narabete* [63] (arranging) section, to arrange the dried fish on *osara* (flat plate from plastic or Styrofoam). This job section is one of the driest jobs in the workflow, although they still need to lift the heavy fish trays. Arranging is usually a post that many female workers prefer to do. In Figure 5-1, it is illustrated that once

[63] Narabete is a command word meaning "put it in line!" from the base verb "naraberu" (to arrange). However, as workers always hear it as the act of arranging food products, they understand its meaning as "arranging."

the seafood products put outside the freezer, it has to be processed within 24-hour until it is packed. This workflow illustrates what migrant workers do in a kaisha in Oarai, Japan.

Besides seafood processing as its primary local industry, the surrounding towns are well-known producers of sweet potatoes and other agricultural products, such as vegetables, sweet potatoes, honeydew melon, and strawberries. Ibaraki, especially, is known as the second-biggest producer of sweet potatoes in Japan, in both production area and amount, and diverse varieties are grown there (based on the data from the Ministry of Agriculture). Sweet potatoes are harvested between September and November. Harvested sweet potatoes are rinsed, steamed, peeled, sliced, and dried in the sun before they become *Kanso-imo*（乾燥芋）or *Hoshi-imo* (干し芋): the important agricultural products in Ibaraki prefecture (Kuranouchi et al. 2006).

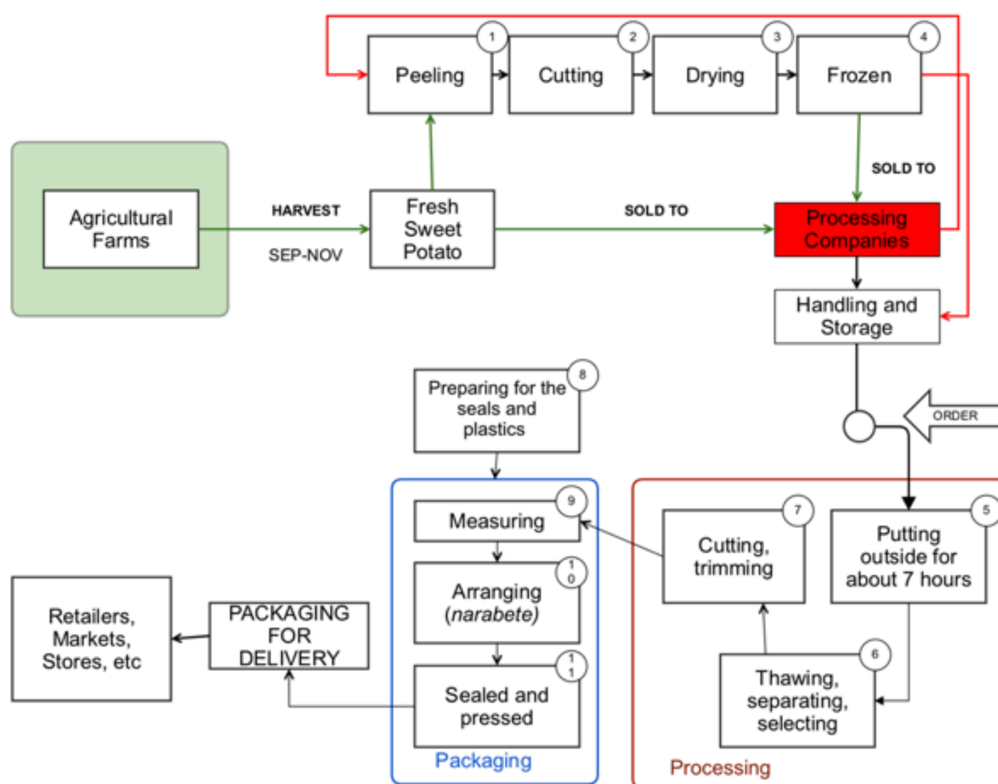

Figure 5- 2 Sweet-potato Processing Work Flow (based on the author's experience and interviews with participants)

The workflow above explains the tasks of workers in agricultural farms and processors in Oarai. In agricultural product processing, some factories handle both raw and processed materials, and some others only handle each type of material. Most steps in Figure 5-2 are manual work that has to be handled by the human workforce. Agricultural products offer more varied types of work, from laborious work in the farm field (for plantation) to the simple processing to be ready-to-eat products. Processing is a wide umbrella that includes not only preservation, cooking, liquefaction, and freezing, but also various operations and transformations of food raw materials to final products (Leadley 2016). The final products of both processed seafood and sweet potato are minimally processed. Thus, they can still be similar to their unprocessed forms. In minimally processed food like sweet potato and fish in Oarai, the processing is conducted to reduce pathogenic contaminants (through washing and heating) or to prolong shelf-life (freezing and adding preservatives), which could delay microbial and enzymatic activity, extending the edibility of the ingredient (Hastorf 2017).

5.1.3 Sorting and Sensory Perceptions

In both fish and sweet potato processing factories, there are five basic steps conducted manually by workers: (hand) sorting which is often inseparable to cutting/trimming the products into the standardized or visually appealing size or shape, measuring, [64] narabete (arranging products in the package), and packaging the products (including sealing and putting on the products' labels). Although the processed food products need less preparation, it requires meticulous sorting, because some of them (i.e. cod roe and filleted fish) will be consumed raw. The step, therefore, requires more time and more workforce. Sorting itself is said to be one of the most physically demanding processes known as causing ergonomic health effects for food

[64] Although measuring sometimes uses a machine, it needs to be operated correctly by human beings.

workers, such as constrained neck postures, prolonged standing, and skin issues, when in contact with a hazardous agent (Jeebhay, Robins and Lopata 2004).

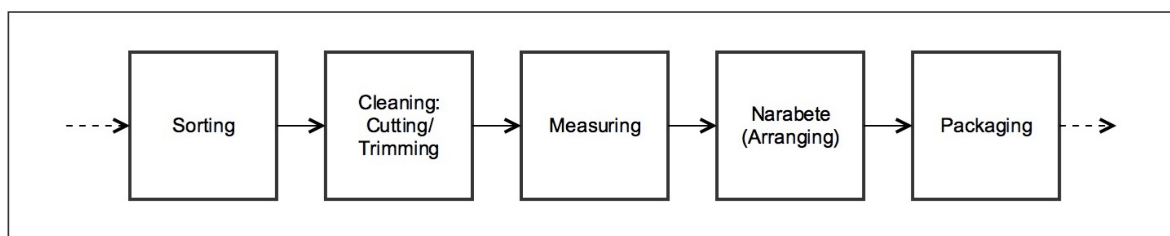

Figure 5-3 Basic works requiring manpower in seafood and sweet potato processing factories

Sorting is a separation based on a single measurable property of raw material units (Grandison 2012). Agricultural products, especially, sometimes do not come in regular shapes and exacts sizes; Therefore, geometry is vital to packaging and controlling fill-in weights (Grandison 2012). Depending on the kind of products, the criteria for the sorting will be different. In general, there are at least two purposes of sorting in food processing factories in Oarai: first, for the edibility, and second, for packaging. Both purposes depend on all sensory perceptions. Sorting for edibility includes examining, tasting, smelling, touching, and even 'listening to the sound' of the food products, to identify the spoiled products and separating them from the edible ones. Meanwhile, for visual packaging, sorting depends primarily on visuals, such as the products' shapes, colors, sizes, and weights to arrange the products in their most appealing and marketable presentation. Hence, in its assessment, "subjective approaches" (Grandison 2012, 4) are applied in sorting. Due to its natural type of work in sorting, in many cases, it can only be performed manually by human beings, not a machine. Thus, sorting can mostly be identified by performing and activating the body and the senses.

The owners usually explain the standards and categorization of sorting to the coordinator, who will pass them to the workers. However, as sorting also means separating the dirt from the food products, the concept of dirt can be very subjective by each person's

understanding, especially when the workers handling them come from different cultures. This is the problem of sorting in migration contexts, that "different cultures manifest different degrees of "analytic ability" in different sensory modalities" (Ritchie 1991, 192). Moreover, the assessing standards and categorization are often sensorial, which is often hardly expressed and understood in (foreign) words. This is where the challenges in sorting arise, as there are potential processes of learning and unlearning the old-new concepts of dirt through linguistic and embodied experiences by the migrant workers. The observation on sorting reveals more than the sensory experiences but also the perceptions of migrant workers on the cultures of the host society through their food.

5.2 Working in Kaisha

5.2.1 From the Pre-research

I used to imagine Manadonese migrants work in a clean, automatic canned-fish factory, with a high salary, because most of them have nice cars, beautiful clothes, and bags from what I observed in the churches. Since I could only meet people in the church, and could not see any of them during the daytime, I decided to try getting a job. I wanted to experience working in a factory and attending the liturgy in the evening. How to get a job? Where should I start asking for it? I had no idea until the community leader told me that there was a vacant job in one seafood restaurant. The restaurant was run by a kaisha which also has a shop next to it. The location is within a short walking distance to the place where I stayed. I was excited and asked him for more information about it. He and his wife changed her tone to worry and approached me slowly. They seemed to be as gentle as possible not to make me shocked, to inform me that the work is washing dishes. They convinced me to do the dirty job because everyone here also does the same. I was surprised, not because of the job, but the way they informed me as if it

was a very unusual job. The truth is I am familiar to hear that kind of work, because in Nagoya, many friends of mine, who are students, also do cleaning jobs in restaurants and hotels.

I visited the restaurant with the community leader's wife who will ask one trusted person in the kaisha, who is a Manadonese. There I met Leo, the spouse of the third generation. He has been the most trusted person in the kaisha who runs both restaurants and shops. He is also one of the congregations in Church B where the community leader became a bishop. It was a coincidence that the *tenchō* (the manager of the shop) was there. Suddenly Leo asked him bluntly if I could work washing dishes in the restaurant, as it was now vacant. Hearing the loud voice of Leo that I was looking for a job, all other workers looked at me. I felt a bit uncomfortable about that. I thought we could talk something about this on a more private occasion. Tenchō just said: "It is up to you, Leo."

I was surprised. I thought, as the most trusted person, Leo had just a small privilege to recruit a new worker. However, later I found that by recommending a person to work, you are responsible for the quality of their work. In hindsight, your name and reputation are at stake in guaranteeing them. No wonder that it is not so easy to get a job even though there are many kaisha in need of workers. Owners of the kaisha do not have to do the screening for new workers. They just have to rely on the seniority, *shōkai* system (recommendation), and trust of the insiders. In the end, I could not get the job, because the tenchō said that the restaurant was not in a busy season. The busy season for the restaurant is usually in summer when more tourists from Tokyo came for the beach and seafood products. During pre-research, I did not successfully get a job.

5.2.2 Shōkai System

Although there are many factories in the town and they seem to be looking for more workers, getting a job in Oarai is not as easy as I thought. There are two underlying factors to

this. First, “kaisha is not *isogashii*." (The factory is not busy), said one of my participants. Most kaisha only get busier from autumn until the end of the year. After the Fukushima disaster in 2011, kaisha in Oarai has been short of orders in particular months, and therefore, does not recruit many new workers. Some kaisha can only call their workers to work 3-4 days/week with shorter working times. Before that, workers can work almost every day, including Saturday. Therefore, these days, most workers try to find another (part-time) job to compensate for the loss of income due to the limited working time.

The second factor is because the recruitment system is not open, but by introduction or *shōkai* (紹介). It means, to enter a company, a new worker needs to be recommended and introduced by a senior worker in that company, which is not so easy unless they know and trust the person. If nobody was willing to introduce and recommend them, then they have to contact a broker, although it is not favorable because the broker will deduct the commission fee from the hourly wage for the entirety of their work contract. To recommend someone means to be responsible for the person's work merit. When the owner is disappointed with the quality of work, he will reproach the senior worker.

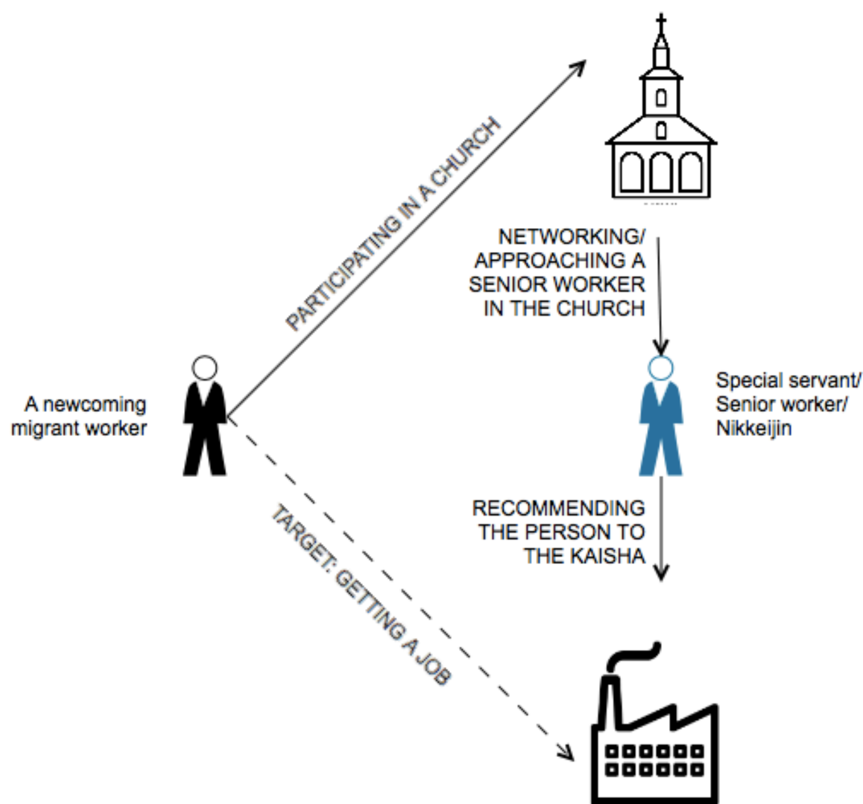

Figure 5-4 How to get a job recommendation through a senior worker

A senior worker can be the trusted person in the kaisha and have a position in the church. Therefore, if new-coming migrants want to get a job, they have to approach the senior workers which require them to attend the church activities. The bishops are responsible to maintain the welfare of the members, by sharing some job opportunities. This is how the recommendation works (see Figure 5-4). Therefore, many new-coming migrants irrespective of their religions usually attend the Sunday service to approach people in the church to get a job, but their attendance is usually temporal. When they have got a job, they will no longer attend church activities. The church in Oarai is, thus, open for migrants with any religious backgrounds.

All information and updates are always circulated through the congregation, in the church. That is why many undocumented workers, even Muslims, made their time to participate in the church, to find information on jobs. I had to convince the senior worker that

I would be committed to working, as she had to be responsible for my work. It took me two months before finally getting a job in a sweet potato processing factory located in the neighboring city of Oarai, Hitachinaka.

In short, there are two ways to enter kaisha, first by the recommendation of the senior in the kaisha, and second, through a broker. Being recommended by the senior requires some approach in the church as well because most senior workers have positions in the church. The recruitment of workers in the kaisha is conducted through a recommendation system of senior workers serving in the churches. Hence, networking ties are important for job-searching migrant workers, through participation in the church. These points exhibit the importance and interrelated the church in social interactions and access to job vacancies, among social institutions in Oarai.

5.2.3 Getting In

Kaisha is the unknown space I had tried to imagine for some time. One day, I saw Dena's husband grabbed bread after waking up, without even washing his face and combing his hair, in his loosened worn-out T-shirt, and training trousers, he went outside. I asked Dena if her husband not going to work today. She said, "but, he just went to work.” I was surprised. The shabby T-shirt, uncombed hair, and morning face, untouched by water, that is the appearance of her husband going to the kaisha. In a seafood processing factory, a worker has to wear a white uniform, with gloves and a cap to cover their hair. The uniform is similar to a jacket that covers the laborers' casual clothes. Some kaisha require the workers to wear a full-body uniform, while others only require an outer shirt. They usually leave the uniform at the kaisha and wash it once or twice a week. Some workers who have more spare uniforms bring them home every day.

Some questions I have in my mind are: How do people dress inside the white uniform? How should I talk and behave, especially with the bishops who happen to work in the same kaisha as I do? There are many questions I had in mind until I heard workers in this sweet potato processing are free to dress up. There is no particular uniform, only an apron, and a headcover. Still, I could not imagine their appearance as workers, as I usually saw how stylish they were at the church. On the first day, I chose a casual sweater and loose jeans.

I went together with Eve, who drove her car to the factory. Eve works in the fish-processing factory in the morning, from 8 to 5 PM, and continues working part-time in the evening from 6 to 9 PM. Between 5 to 6, she picks up her son from the daycare and stays home shortly for a break that often she cannot even make. Without her makeup and fashionable dress, she looked very much different. She wore loose training trousers, a T-shirt, and a hoody jacket, making me a bit awkward in my jeans. Later I noticed that most workers wear that outfit style,[65] which I had never seen them wearing before. The stylish looks in the church are the visual appearances they give off when in the kaisha. As mentioned by Goffman on performance in theatrical metaphor, entering the kaisha is not only about the impression they gave deliberately but also those they gave off to have their roles "accepted." This is in the same line as what Scott (2015) mentions that the physical context in which individual and team performances are given is crucial.

Before leaving the car, Eve tugged a pair of rubber gloves into the car shelf and gave them to me. "You always prepared your gloves in the car?" I asked. "Yes, I always took some pairs of gloves from the fish kaisha (where she worked in the morning) and stock them in the car. I like these gloves better (than the ones provided by the sweet-potato kaisha)." I wore them immediately as soon as the car is parked, to enhance my look as a worker. However, putting

[65] After knowing what they wear, the day after I decided to buy something more resembling theirs: A T-shirt, training trousers and a simple hoody jacket

on the tight rubber gloves was not as easy as I thought. After wearing them both hands, my fingers felt tight, sweaty, and taut. I stretched them to get used to the uncomfortable feelings. However, I quickly removed them, knowing that I still had to touch everything else: the car handle, the clock timesheet, and machine, and other things. In my understanding, the gloves should be maintained as hygienic as possible, for the food products I would be handling.

As soon as I entered the building, I was given a clock timesheet, wrote my name, inserted the sheet into the machine where it automatically printed the date and time. Then, I had to change my shoes to the provided slippers (or I could bring my own).[66] The working station is on the second floor. The first floor is mainly for the storage and the docking space. At the end of the stairs, before entering the working station, there is a space fitting for two persons covered by yellow partitions that connects with a sliding door for the entrance to the working station. In this small space, before entering the working space, there is a full-body mirror to check their appearance, to comply with the kaisha rules. Eve looked in the mirror, managed her hair to make sure it is all covered by her white cap, blew the gloves to have more space to put on her fingers smoothly. Then she took one deep breath as a sign of her readiness before sliding the door.

5.2.4 Seniority and Power Hierarchy

To me, at first, everyone looks like equally doing the same kind of work, sharing the same workstation, sitting at the same level, without any differences or physical separation. The chair, the spot, the scissors, the *narabete* board looked the same to me; nothing looks more special than the others. Only after Eve told me where to sit, which tools to take and to not to, I began to sense the different power of each of these people. There are many unseen and

[66] This is different from working in the fish-processing kaisha, which is almost all stations are wet, except for the packing. In such kaisha, workers need to wear rubber-sole shoes or booths.

unwritten rules in the workstation, the claimed tools, spots of territory, which other people must not use, even when they are unoccupied. Kaisha provides everything for workers to use and be shared. However, particular seats, comfortable spots, and tools are tacitly ruled out by senior workers. I learned that the most important thing being a new worker like me is not learning how to do the work, but how to deal with these unwritten rules, seniority, and territoriality, or the attempt to control space.[67]

Seniority is prevalent in many activities in Japan, including in the kaisha. Senior or *Senpai* as a title can be subjective. In Japan, it entails the length of time and the quality of work which create power hierarchy. This power hierarchy in the kaisha comprises the shachō and mama-san as their bosses, besides the seniors, the elderly people, the Japanese, and the other workers (see Figure 5-5). Being a new worker is tough because, in the kaisha, I belong to the lowest social strata which means having the least power and agency.

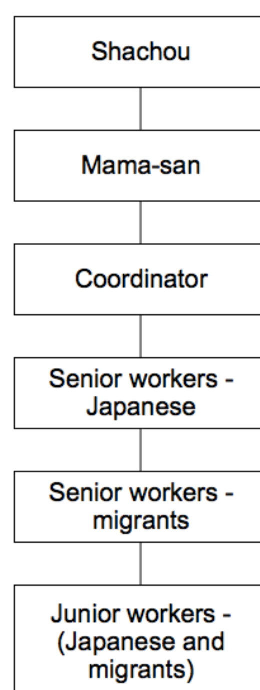

Figure 5-5 Illustration of the power hierarchy in a kaisha

[67] Seniority and territoriality also apply in the neighborhood where participants live (in Chapter 7).

In most kaisha, the coordinators manage the workforce: they handle all work stations, the who-does-what, depending on the load in each station. Every worker has to know how to work from thawing to packing. Therefore, there is low dexterity in working in this type of traditional kaisha because everyone does everything. The work arrangement is made accordingly to maximize the workforce and limited time. The owner usually supervises the overall work and works together with the workers when needed. In a traditional kaisha, the owner's wife also works together. So, it is easy for workers to feel that they have more than two bosses: shachō and the wife, the coordinators, the Japanese senior workers or the Japanese elderly, the migrant senior workers and the other workers, who keep an eye on them. Yet, as shown in the hierarchy, in general, shachō rarely communicate directly to the new workers, but coordinators and the senior workers do.

NiMO gradually became the senior workers and coordinators in many kaisha after the mass arrest of undocumented workers, at the beginning of the 2000s. After acquiring the hierarchy system for some years, they apply the seniority system to the new workers, to comply with the culture in the kaisha.[68] They are obliged to explain to and supervise the work of new workers.[69] However, "Indonesian people do not want to be commanded by the same Indonesian people," some participants claimed. Dena told me how it feels to be a senior worker in the kaisha.

> Here, our job does not require us to be smart; well, we just need to be able to work. If we work for some years, the boss will reckon us. He will give us trust…to manage the work. The work itself is the same for everyone. The salary is usually the same, but Japanese people are usually… um, for example, I work longer than you, and you just started working, even when the boss can speak Bahasa, the boss will always ask me to tell you: "try to speak to her."

[68] In the past, when Nikkeijin were still newcomers, the shachō also communicated to the senior undocumented workers to inform and supervise the Nikkei workers. With this command line, Nikkeijin experienced some hard time being scolded by the undocumented workers (see Chapter 4).
[69] Therefore, communication in the kaisha is majorly conducted in Indonesian or Manadonese, which is why they do not speak Japanese and have never been urged to learn Japanese through formal education. They acquire Japanese words only through their interactions with Japanese co-workers and the written characters they see on the packaging sheets or boxes.

> Sometimes Indonesian people have an ego. “The boss does not command me directly, so why do you command me?” There is such a feeling.
>
> So, I always say to my boss: “Boss, we are Indonesian. It would be better you say it yourself." Because we don't want to be commanded, right? But my boss will always say, “No, you tell her. You show it to her.” So, even if you understand Japanese. I have to command you as instructed by the boss. (Although the new worker will say) “Who are you?” (laughed). I know, because we are all the same (migrants) in the kaisha, right? (Dena, home interview 2016)

This conversation took place far before I had a chance to work in a kaisha, so she did not refer to my real case as a worker at that time. She put me in the position of the new worker to illustrate. Dena wants to underline that her task as a senior is not easy. Besides doing her work, she has to unofficially 'supervise' and instruct the other workers. It is the seniority system that works in the kaisha that provably eases his job. The seniority system does not always accelerate with wages or other privileges. For the coordinator, the hourly wage could be 50 to 100 yen higher. However, trusted persons could also get a chance to rent in a house owned by the kaisha, to get the year-end leaves and bonuses, although it may differ in each kaisha.

Because of this rigid power hierarchy and subordination, many participants acknowledge that working in kaisha is a hard to bear job, both physically and mentally. Nikkei male workers choose to work in construction work outside Oarai than in the processing companies because of the harsh scolding and commands through the seniority system.[70] Kevin, the 3rd generation, decided to quit the fish factory and work in a construction company when his contract was overdue to the seniority system. The job he does is varied, including installing water closets in a house:

> (In fish-processing factory) Many people command you all at once. Not only the shachō but there is also the coordinator, the seniors, the obaachan… too many people scold you. In the construction job, I work alone with only one boss: the shachō. Japanese people do not want to do such dirty jobs (installing water closets). However, it is quite an easy job, and the wage is good. I received 10,000 yen/ day for installing water closets in some houses. (Kevin, driving interview in 2017)

[70] The second reason is that they like going to work farther outside Oarai.

In the fish processing factory, a male worker usually earns 850 - 1,000 yen/ hour, and a female worker earns 800 – 950 yen/ hour. With less hierarchy and indirect supervision, Kevin and other male workers consider construction jobs less demanding than the jobs in fish factories. From the participants' stories and my observation, I found that this seniority system also generates some conflicts among workers in the kaisha which has caused some workers, like Kevin, to decide to move from one kaisha to another.

5.2.5 Subordinate-performing and Face-saving

The strategies to cope with seniority (of Japanese coordinators/ senior workers) and to be trusted by shachō are performing subordinates and face-saving. Face-work is Goffman's term for dramaturgical efforts on specific behaviors and mannerisms (Goffman 1955). Niko argued that shachō prefers to hire Indonesian workers than the Philippines because of their work ethos and docility. One act as a subordinate is narrated by Rumi as "to respect the senior and follow their work even if they are wrong or work slowly":

> (…) for example, if you just start to work…if you only come to the kaisha to work then, they will… as a *senpai-kohai*, you will have to show respect to senpai. Even if a senpai does something wrong, kohai needs to follow. That is what I do not like about Japanese. Even if (they are) wrong and work slow, we have to follow their work. How come? Meanwhile, for *us,* Indonesians, the best one is the one respected (not the ones who work longer). But, here (in Japan), it is not. Because they are called senpai, we have to respect them. That is what happened in the workplace. How come people like that (we should follow)? However, we could only accept the situation, right… we are only migrants. (Rumi, home interview in 2017)

Rumi emphasizes that seniority is compelling for the juniors to follow, although the seniors work in incorrect ways. Although Rumi complies with the rules, during the interview, she gave her criticism towards the subordination. It means, as an interviewee she has exercised her power to convey her disagreement with the actions she does in the kaisha. However, in the end, she also depicts herself as powerless in "we are only migrants." As I am also a migrant, she uses the term "we" for solidarity and conformity. It is similar to the word Dena chooses to

express solidarity. She uses the words we-they to represent the otherness. “They” refers to the Japanese work partners in the kaisha; and “We” refers to Indonesian workers. Insofar as the situations, Rumi and Dena explain “patterns, order, and routine” (Scott, et al. 2013) in the kaisha. Rumi continues:

> So, if they (the senior workers) are not approached, like praised, they will not befriend us. In my *kaisha*, it is also like that. So, we, Indonesians, if we just come, we need to do for their sort-of *kimochi* (feeling good). We can just give them a drink. Next time they (Japanese) will talk to us. However, if we arrive at the kaisha and are only silent, they won't befriend us. They will keep a distance. Japanese are like that. That is the way they treat people. If you want to approach Japanese, you have to be like, saying such us *yoroshiku* for the first time, *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* (introductory expression). They want us like that. Just like *senpai*, right? […] They know they are superior; they have to be respected. So, we need to follow what they want. […] It (the senior-junior system) has been ingrained. It cannot be changed." (Rumi, home interview in 2017)

Through the concept of senpai-kohai, a migrant, like Rumi, learned Japanese courtesy through the social interaction in the kaisha, such as making the seniors feel good as “kimochi” and the politeness of making permission, “yoroshiku." The interaction contexts Rumi scripted identify theatrical components such as the roles she predicts people to play and the sequence of actions that will take place (Clair, et al. 2005; Wiederman 2005). Rumi concedes that the Japanese workers are more superior to her. Thus, acting inferior supports her role in the kaisha. Goffman's dramaturgy indicates individuals actively alter their appearance, manner, and set to receive a favorable review by their audience. Drawing on the work of both Foucault and Goffman, Rumi’s and Dena’s narration on seniority and subordination explains how identities in domains are constructed within relations of power (see Gabriel 2004).

Subordinates-performing works to maintain the characters of migrant workers towards those in the higher “hierarchy” in the kaisha. Performing as a subordinate is also part of the face-work strategy to gain trust from the kaisha owners and compete against their counterparts. Certain patterns of face-work to enhance self or discredit others can be specific by cultures,

such as "Baku cungkel" in Minahasan cultures. In Tombulu language,[71] it is known as *mahtetewelan,* meaning: placing other people low so they will not be able to rise (Renwarin 2006). *Baku cungkel* is a Manadonese word meaning mutually ruin each other, which is negatively embedded individually and socially in Minahasan ethnic society. It is because everybody wants to be a leader; and this often leads to much disorder and dispute (a participant, in Sumakul 2005). Sumakul (2005) further argues that Baku cungkel (covetousness, jealousy, and resentment) plagues Minahasans society at home and abroad (204).

Baku cungkel is one form of face-work that can be exemplified when someone lowers another individuals' standing by dismissively labeling them as troublemakers (Prasad 2005). Sylvi warned me about this baku-cungkel concept among Manadonese: "Manadonese people… they are very competitive. If someone else is on a top of a position, they will lever (cungkel) the person so he will fall." She admitted that it applies both in the workplace and the church, wherever there is a position to compete. The most common case of baku-cungkel is slandering or damaging a person's reputation. In other words, morally "dirty" behavior can be found as a strategy for Manadonese workers to pursue the path to get power in domains.

5.3 Dirty Work

5.3.1 "The Fish Died Longer than They have Lived"

Small factories in Oarai are sometimes indistinguishable because they only have the appearance of a warehouse or a two-story house. Instead, one of the clear indicators of a fish factory is its fishy stench. Besides the smell, another clue is through the visual appearance of

[71] *Tombulu* is an Austronesian language, of northern Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is a Minahasan language, a sub-group of the Philippine languages. It is a local language of the Minahasa people tribe spoken in the city of *Tomohon* and the villages under the Kota Tomohon administration such as *Rurukan, Pinaras, Kumelembuai, Woloan*, and *Tara-Tara* (Wikipedia).

workers in a white uniform. When I walked past such a warehouse, the strong fishy smell would often spontaneously cause me to stop and look around to identify the source of the smell. The pungent fishy smell can be a sign that they may process some non-fresh/ preserved products. Many participants also admitted that some factories prolong the shelf life of some seafood products.

As kaisha in Oarai process imported seafood due to unstable local stock, the products can age many years. The oldest seafood products one has ever handled, are 30 years old. Some of my participants even made a joke about it when we spent our Sunday out after the church: “The fish died longer than they have lived.” This kind of banter may not be heard in the kaisha, implying a separation between work and the “self” outside it, based on moral distinctions on prestige, pride, or the shame or disgust they feel for undertaking them (Hughes 1958 in Morales and Lambert 2013). It reminds me of the moment when Eve drove her car home from work. She compared one kaisha to another and concluded that some kaisha still have low-quality control in food hygiene. She suddenly asked me: “Do you like X fish?” I happen to like that fish. Then she told me that she used to like it too until she did the sorting process of the fish:

> I used to like it before I worked in a kaisha that processes it, where I had to clean up the fish. It is not fresh fish…maybe it has been kept in the *rezoko* (freezer) for years. But, they still sell them. I had to clean up the innards…and you know, there are many maggots, inside the fish! It is so disgusting and smelly! So, I have to get rid of the maggots using something like a tweezer… Oh God, after that, I never want to eat X again, ever!" (Eve, driving interview in 2017)

Eve and other workers know that some of the products may not be edible, and they do not want to consume them by themselves. I thought there could be conscience when Eve told me the negative information about X fish, but she did it on the way home from work, which is more like a free zone. Yet, it is hard to imagine the moral ambivalence she experiences during the sorting. When I asked how she could bear it knowing that people are going to eat the defective products she handles, she said, "It is inevitable.” The inevitability is based on the

economic motives by being obedient as workers to follow the procedures in the kaisha. Thus, outside the kaisha, Eve and many other participants choose not to consume the products they handle. They are even disgusted with sushi (raw fish that are wrapped in rice and seaweed), and any other Japanese cuisine prepared in its raw forms. The feeling of disgust is connected in a variety of ways, with the antinomies of pure/impure and clean/dirty (Speltini and Passini 2016). In the kaisha, this emotion (disgust) is triggered by the way sorting food is conducted. It, thereby, affects their social attitudes towards Japanese food. However, not only because some of the food is spoiled. Even non-spoiled food can provoke a disgust reaction (Eickmeier, Hoffmann and Banse 2017), and that the emotion of disgust influences the way they consume their own food (Hartmann and Siegrist 2018; Pellegrino, Crandall and Seo 2015).

Another day, I met Tara in the church. There, I had a chance to ask about her job tasks in the kaisha. She works in the biggest factory in Oarai. It processes at least two kinds of seafood products, and adopts a division of labor, where Tara's job task is only measuring:

> Tara: "I handle (seafood product A). I measure them. After that, they will be placed in the packaging, but my task is only measuring. So, I measure them, put them on the table, and other people will place them in the packaging. Before that, they will put something like preservatives…
>
> Me: preservatives?
>
> Tara: …but no, it's not preservative, it is something to make it long last…then after it is inserted, they will press it, and after pressing, it will be steamed. After being steamed, they will be sunken in icy water. Being sunken for one day. So, my task is only to measure it, and other workers do the other work. That is for (seafood product A). For (seafood product B), they are just inserted into the packaging before being measured. So, I am just in the measuring station, to measure the weight." (Tara, church interview in 2017)

I noticed how Tara tried to correct herself when saying "preservative" but giving the same definition of it afterward. I do not know exactly what kind of preservative she meant, but I realized that there seems to be a moral obligation for her to show that what she is doing is morally conscient. I was considered as a potential consumer/ an outsider, who should not know

anything behind the curtain. Or, is it because the interview was conducted at the church, where a positive image is to be maintained?

I interviewed Ami at her home to ask about her job tasks at a factory.

> I put the (seafood product B) on osara or hakko...clean the *gomi*...the nerves. […] Those are raw food, so no mistakes can be tolerated. We will receive complaints about it. […] Although it is not my company, I have the responsibility. For me, honestly, we eat from there, so I have to work well, make things good so that the (product B) could be sold…if they get money, we can get a salary too. If I do not make it well, then…(trails off). (Ami, home interview in 2017)

Once in the kaisha, Eve, Ami and Tara have to perform well as good workers, to make the role successful. Kaisha is where they rely on their income which will enable them to survive: "We eat from there." The more people buy the products, the more orders come; the more products they will have to work on, the more money they can collect. Meticulous sorting and packing food products are influential to their economic gains. No mistakes on removing dirt can be tolerated, because most of the time, right from her hands, the food products will directly go for the consumption of Japanese consumers in their rawest form. Therefore, once in the kaisha "stage," they have to perform well, despite any disgust of the *gomi* (dirt). They have to embody the dirt as sensorily manageable. This embodiment is what I need to experience in kaisha, to be able to explain the sensory experience on dirt and moral ambivalence entailed.

5.3.2 Sniffing Out the Busuk Smell

Kaisha Z, the sweet-potato kaisha where I worked bought the semi-processed products from suppliers (other sweet-potato factories) which did the first step of processing: planting until slicing (see the workflow in the earlier section of this chapter). There are at least four kinds of *imo* (sweet potato) that Kaisha Z processed and the assessments in sorting can be different for each kind, most importantly it also depends on the moldiness of the products. If the imo is still relatively new, sorting is quick and easy. Workers only need to assess their

shapes and colors and trim them when necessary. However, one day I was about to experience sorting a certain kind of imo that had been kept refrigerated for years. Thus, together with other workers, I had to examine the imo piece by piece for its edibility, that is to dispose of the spoiled ones. The workers said to me that spoiledness in this kind of imo cannot be recognized by sight or touch, only by inhaling its scent. The coordinator and senior workers taught me the steps: first, make a short cut cross of the *imo* with the tip of the scissors. Then, inhale the smell from the slit. If the smell is bad, it means the imo has been spoiled and has to be disposed of. It sounds easy. Yet, the smell is perception and it may be perceived differently from one person to another. I know other workers have been accustomed to the scent of imo. Yet, for me, it would be a whole new experience; and I had not had prior knowledge or smell memory recollection of imo. What is the "agreed" bad smell like?

One senior worker tried to explain it by words: "Edible imo should smell sweet like a fresh potato, while the spoiled one should smell "busuk" (bad in Indonesian). Although I appreciated her effort to lead me, it was still not clear how *busuk* is for imo. Explaining the smells in words should be very specific because bad smells for one thing will be different from bad smells for other things. However, there is an alleged lack of words in many languages, particularly in the domain of smell (Caballero and Paradis 2015). So, the only thing I can do is just imitate how the other workers do it. I made a short slit of one piece of imo, widened it with my fingers, and bring it close to my nostrils. I smelled… nothing. Could it be a good imo? I think so. I convinced myself and put it in the basket. The coordinator and the other workers looked at me while smelling their pieces of imo in hand. Meanwhile, one senior worker next to me, suddenly checked the piece I just put in the basket and smelled it herself, to make sure if it had been sorted correctly. Instantly, I felt less assured of my assessment; and all eyes were on me. Yet in the end, the senior worker confirmed it correct. It gave me a little confidence.

I took another imo from the pile and did the same thing as before: make a slit, open and inhale it. Yet, again, I was not sure of the smells. After seeing me awkwardly sniffing the surface of the imo, the coordinator unexpectedly shouted to me. “Closer!” "Closer?" I reaffirmed. "Yes, closer!" She repeated. Although I could not believe what I had to do to this piece of imo, I literally put my nostrils inside the slit! The imo touched my nose skin. Despite my hesitation to do it, I have to let whatever smell it will give off, flow inside my body with no filters. "Yes, that way." The coordinator grinned seeing me smelling the imo the way it should have been. When sticking my nostrils in the imo, I began to smell a thinly and subtly sweet smell. “Sweet smell” is the broad term I used to denote the smell of the imo, which means it smells the way something smells which tastes sweet (as in Frisby and Featherstone 1997 for sour). However, in sorting, the meaning-making process does not stop in labeling the sensory experience. The next questions are: to which sorting category I had to put that smell experience into, edible or inedible? Does it comply with my own judgment (if not, will there be moral ambivalence)?

More pieces of imo underwent my nose smelling system, but I still had not found the spoiled one. I had some worries that I may have put the wrong ones in the basket. The spoiled imo is dangerous for health, as it is poisonous. Abruptly, the coordinator threw one piece to me. She said, “smell it!” I opened the incision that was made by her, put it closer to my nostrils, and inhaled it. In a second, fart-like reek shocked me! I spontaneously blew out the smell from my body and rubbed my nose, trying to wipe off the smell trauma in my nostrils. I was revolted. “That is the spoiled imo.” The coordinator said while laughing with everyone else in the room. For me, the smells resemble fart or rotten egg or the combination of the two. The smell is churned out in response to the invisible fungi, indicating that the *imo* is already spoiled.

I observed that many times, other workers also wiped their noses after smelling the pieces of imo. It is because smell inspires visceral feelings of pleasure or revulsion (Wurgaft

2006). Wiping my nose acts as a resistance to avoid the parasites or fungi from the imo to enter their body. Besides wiping noses, I saw some workers frequently washed their hands and scissors to reduce the stickiness on the gloves and the scissors, which hindered them from working faster. The frequency of self-protection responses, such as wiping the nose, washing hands, is significant to show the level of disgust emotion of the workers. Participants who washed their hands often showed higher negative emotions than those who did not wash or rarely wash (Pellegrino, Grandall and Seo 2015). Cleaning the gloves and the scissors with warm water and wiping the nose during sorting are disgust reactions and parts of defence mechanisms. That day, after finishing sorting out many boxes of that imo, I got flu and watery eyes, indicating the danger of sorting to workers' health.

5.3.3 It Tastes Piri-piri

I thought sniffing the fart-like imo was the worst way to assess imo. I was wrong. On another evening, many other boxes were ready to be sorted in front of us. One of the boxes was packed in 2009, or eight years ago. There were about eight boxes unpacked every round. We can do two complete rounds (from sorting to arranging them on the packaging plastic) in three hours if the quality of imo is good. To start working, I and another worker lifted the plastic of imo weighed around 15 kilograms off the box to the working table. The piles of imo in the box are packed in thick transparent plastic. Because the imo has been mouldy,[72] the plastic has adhered, so we had to tear it up. I could see that the upper side of the imo was wet, dumped, and whitish because of the glucose and fungi.[73] When seeing the mouldy piles of imo, the workers are disgusted: their eyebrows are lowered, and their lips are inverted. Yes, everyone realized that the rest of the boxes are nothing but other piles of rotten imo. I and other workers

[72] If the humidity of the storage environment exceeds the equilibrium relative humidity (ERH) of the food, the food will gain moisture during storage, and vice versa (Grandison 2012).

[73] Less obvious biochemical problems may occur even where no visible damage occurs (Grandison 2012).

were not sure if they are still edible, but the shachō thinks they are. The shachō gathered all the workers around the pile, and everyone kept making those stank faces unconsciously that to me depicted both disgust and perplexity on how they should examine them.

The shachō instructed us to examine the imo not based on its visibility or olfaction. "You cannot smell anything from it. You cannot tell (which one is still edible and which is not), unless by tasting it. Cut a tiny piece of it and taste it! If it tastes *piri-piri* (stinging), dispose of it." The shachō said. Everyone still with their stank faces took one piece and sniffed it. Some of them may not fully understand what the shachō instructed in Japanese, but it is easy to guess it from the gestures. Knowing that all workers still tried to smell it, the shachō restated, "You cannot tell it by the smell! Taste it a bit! It is OK (to eat it a bit)! No worries!. If it tastes piri-piri… It is gomi." Shachō realized that everyone did not seem to understand the meaning of piri-piri, then he made an example of something more common to associate with the piri-piri taste he referred to. "Uhm, piri-piri is like yogurt..." He picked one whitish imo, cut it with scissors on its small corner, and put its small piece to his mouth and chew it. After the shachō mentioned "yogurt" to explain the word "piri-piri", the workers nodded simultaneously. However, their immediate and automatic response was still disgusted and tried to take one piece and smell it. Mouldy sweet potato contains *ipomeamarone,* a toxic that is harmful to human beings. The fungal dust can cause asthma, infection, pneumonitis; by tasting, it will cause even hazardous effects to our bodies.

As the shachō left the workstation, we looked at each other and seemingly agreed not to taste it. This is the first time I knew that the coordinator did not comply with shachō's instruction. Some workers still tried to smell it, but they had no hint of how to identify the spoiled imo. Everyone else was still talking about how disgusting the imo by its look. They could not believe that they must take the risk to eat it. "The imo selection is in our hand." One of them said while grinning bitterly. It took us around 30 minutes to "learn" and understand

the pieces using our best sensory system other than the palate, to find some sparkling signs to identify the spoiled ones. Then, the coordinator initiated the alternative ways to examine the imo without tasting it. She said we could just identify them by the look while touching the surface. If it looks whitish dampened and feels clammy, it is spoiled. So, she suggested us using our tactile and visual perceptions, rather than what the shachō instructed. There is moral ambivalence in putting this imo to the "edible" basket. It does not matter what methods should one use to examine it, because, by its visual appearance, all of them look inedible. When individual experience is limited, detailed visual presentation in a food context could play an important role because it provides a concrete representation of the item (Trope, Liberman, and Wakslak 2007). The visual presentation also gives much information on what sensory properties to expect (Yeomans, Chambers, Blumenthal, and Blake 2008).

Although the workers refused to taste the pieces of spoiled imo, on the other day, they could eat a few pieces of a particular kind of imo (the clean and new ones) when feeling hungry. I was surprised to see them putting a piece in their mouth while sorting them. They did not look disgusted and even offered me to get some. Although I never felt like eating any kind of food products from the kaisha, I was obliged to try one piece. The new piece of imo is stretchy, transparent-yellowish, with no whitish signs on the surface. It smells sweet and tastes good. To my surprise, I liked it. Most importantly, it can curb out everyone's hunger, as we have to work until 9 PM and pass our dinner time.

To get my role accepted in the "stage," first, I had to rehearse myself as a docile subordinate by following the instruction, despite my disagreement or hesitation to interact with the spoiled imo. Yet, along the time, I had no guilty conscience. Several times I initiated to cover and mix the defective products with the good ones before packing, to ensure the products look more appealing. It felt right, despite my reluctance to buy or eat it outside the factory. In hindsight, I found that although I did not work for a living when in the kaisha, I felt the urge to

support the success of the work. Due to the minimal or absence of the division of labor, it was relatively quick to feel the teamwork spirit and to be responsible for the whole process and products I handle. On one big table, under power hierarchy and territoriality, together we learn-unlearn, construct-reconstruct, and negotiate the clean-dirt meanings of the "unfamiliar" products via our sensory systems.

5.4 Rituals of Going Home from Kaisha

5.4.1 Kaisha-Home Transition

An example of Kaisha-Home transition is when I bumped into some workers who just arrived home from *hatake* (farm) with all dirt and mud on their faces, clothes, and body. They did not expect to meet me at home as I just finished an interview with one of their family members. It does not mean they do no purification after their work. Removing dirty gloves, taking off head caps, and washing hands are the rituals Eve does before going home from the kaisha. However, they do not clean up themselves for the look of their neighbors or people in the neighborhood. This is because being a farmworker or factory worker is common even for local people in Oarai. Although they do not clean up their look before going home from the kaisha, they do purification rituals at home.

One of the rituals at home I observed is the separation of clothes washing. On several occasions, I visited the participants' homes, e.g. for homestays and the weekday liturgies. During that time, I often found soaking wet, dirty white shirts with a fishy odor in a separate bucket waiting to be washed. Clothes from kaisha will not touch the main washing machine but are washed in a bucket, or on the floor of the bathroom. Some household has two washing machines, that one is special for washing the white uniform. They usually put whitening detergent to remove the stain and smell without much effort. Although the shirts were always

in a bucket, they never put them in the same area, as where the other regular dirty clothes were collected. For example, I saw the white uniform below a washroom basin, in a bathtub, or on the upper floor's washroom. They locate them in a secluded or dirty corner. They always apologized to me about the soaking shirts, even before I had seen them myself. It is also noticeable that there was a postponement, reluctance regarding washing the uniform. Allocating a separate place for washing the stained uniform signifies the separation of kaisha from their other life domains. Thus, not only practice bodily routines, but they also do separating and washing rituals at home.

5.4.2 Neighbors in the Transition

The rituals of going home from work for NiMO are different from what "Juki girls" do in the garment factory in Sri Lanka (Lynch). Those female workers always spend much time cleaning and brushing their hair to remove threads and dirt before going out of the factory. They care about their self-presentation in the after-work transition. The most significant difference between the Srilankan workers and the migrant workers in Oarai is in the neighborhood setting. In the case of Srilankan workers, the factory is located in the city where people have more various jobs and industries, garment job is one of the various occupations in place. Hence, for Juki girls, the setting of work-home transition is in the heterogeneous neighborhood, where they do not want to be seen as low-class members.

Oarai, on the other hand, is a very small town, where most of the industries are fish-processing, and their houses are located in the same neighborhood as the factories. They do not need to clean up their bodies because most of the time they live in the proximity of the kaisha. Therefore, the after-work is not an issue for the workers, even with their fishy smell or dirty look. The smell of fish is also the smell of streets in Oarai. They can walk home as pedestrians with a full white uniform covering their body from head to toe, without anyone looking strange

or down at them. Many local people also work in the factory. Therefore, every evening, it is very usual to see workers in a white uniform walking home everywhere in the streets of Oarai. In this case, while body control is vital in the construction of boundaries among domains, the neighborhood, where work and home domains are located, has a prominent influence on how migrants negotiate their self-presentation during the transition/ domain-crossing. It also serves as an example of different behaviors and interactions migrants work on self-presentation in urban-rural settings.

For Juki girls, the lavatory in the factory is the liminal space, before they leave the factory and walk to the public space. For NiMO, the liminal space between kaisha and home is not the lavatory of the factory, but the bathroom of their house. They do not usually enter their bedroom, dining room, or kitchen after work, but straight to the bathroom. The liminal space for some participants who work on the farm or other places outside Oarai is in the car and the journey home. Both working in Oarai and outside Oarai, the neighborhood, on the way back from the kaisha, is the site where transition starts to happen.

5.5 Conclusions

Working in a seafood processing factory means working in a 24-hour cycle where they have to work hard, long hours, and fast. Their work includes cleaning, sorting, and arranging food products that require human sensorial abilities. All of those activities are conducted to improve the edibility and marketability of the products. Embodied performing a worker does in the kaisha includes imitation, construction, motion, interruption, transgression as dramaturgical staging (Conquergood, 1998: 31). They started to negotiate the dirty job at the beginning of their migration by making two categories of work: "wet," the cleaning and sorting, which is regarded as dirtier and the least favorable, and "dry" as in packing, is the cleaner one,

and thus is more favorable. As food workers, they act like experts in the sensory quality of seafood and sweet potato to categorize the edible and inedible ones for Japanese consumption.

Differences in the perception of purity and impurity in handling food with the factory owner have caused disgust and avoidance for the migrant workers. It is explained as when I learned the classification of the smell of imo. I tried to construct the specific concept of the foul smell of spoiled imo, to categorize it as *gomi* (dirt). Similarly, when the workers learned the word “piri-piri" from the shachō, they could not associate it with any reference. The shachō had to analogize the word with the tingling taste of common yogurt to link to the workers’ sign repertory. It is because the choice of signs through which it represents and communicates the reality could make out of a wide repertory of potential signs (Reyes 2014). Workers have to denote the words with sensory-bodily experience and the imo, before categorizing it as gomi. From this process, I learned that sorting is a complicated task for migrant workers with their systematic ordering and defense mechanism to dirt.

The mental image of the referent (such as the *piri-piri* taste, the *busuk* smell, the colors and shapes of imo) is represented through symbols (sensory modalities), which are the signs that stand for the reference by conventions, agreements, or rules set by the shachō which passed to the coordinator and workers. In this case, the imo is the referent. Quality (edibility) is the reference; sensorial aspects, such as fart-like smells, are signals, and symbols are all quality descriptors of imo. According to this model, quality is the outcome of an interaction between actors (the workers), product (sweet potato), and entities (all sensorial perceptions, modalities, and agreements on those). Notions of pollution, contamination, and dirt, therefore, could be used in a symbolic manner (Schnall 2016). The fact that they still can eat the products in the kaisha leads me to two explanations: first, they only eat imo in the kaisha, not outside it. It shows the boundary they draw between work and their non-work life. Second, it is also a part of their performance and roles being subordinates. Other than those with such criteria are that

they are hungry, and they chose the clean and new kind of imo. Dirt (in the kaisha) is the one that smells busuk, looks whitish and dampened, and tastes piri-piri. Piri-piri is an example of an onomatopoeic word to express sensory experiences in Japanese.

There are indeed cultural differences in owners' and workers' perceptions of dirt and disgust in handling food. Thus, what has considered dirt for the participants may differ from what I may perceive (see Table 5-1).

Table 5-1 Food and edibility for the participants and the researcher

Food handled	**Most of the participants**	**Japanese**	**Me**
Raw fish	X not at all	V	V as sushi or sashimi
Dried sweet potato (imo)	V in kaisha (for a certain type of imo) X outside kaisha	V	X in kaisha V outside kaisha
Extreme meat	V cooked	N/A	X
Notes: V: to eat X: not to eat/ dirty/ disgust			

Raw meat and fish for most participants are gloriously disgusting to be consumed as it is. It is because socially and culturally bound meanings and associations attached to different kinds of food are significant determinants in our selection of edible versus non-edible or tasty versus non-palatable food (Weichart 2004). The survey conducted by Pellegrino, Grandall, and Seo (2015) supports this argument, showing that individuals with foodservice experience perceived a higher level of disgust for foods handled than individuals that have no such work experience. There is ambivalence and competing feelings about sorting some inedible food products they do not want to consume. In reaction to that, these workers have avoided Japanese food ever since. Although they perform as obedient workers in front of the owner of the kaisha when it comes to 'taste' spoiled imo as a way to assess it, they refused to do it as instructed for it is something that their bodies reject.

CHAPTER 6 THE CHURCH

6.1 Churches in Oarai

6.1.1 The Establishment of Church A and Church B

During my fieldwork, I focused on Church A and Church B as being the oldest migrant churches established in Oarai with larger congregations than the others (see Table 6-1). Although some of Kitani's phases (see discussion of Kitani's work in Chapter 2) could be applicable to the church establishment in Oarai, Church A and B did not necessarily go through all of them. The grafting type applies when a Japanese church provides for migrants' services in languages other than Japanese. However, the beginning of Church A does not resemble any of Kitani's (2016) models on Brazilian and Filipino churches in Japan. Church A is established as an interdenominational church with an assembly of an Indonesian church in Tokyo.[74] First-settling undocumented migrants initiated it before the Nikkei visa policy took effect. Because of the demand from an Indonesian Christian *Persekutuan* (fellowship) in Oarai to found a church as the number of Indonesian people was growing. The Indonesian church in Tokyo agreed to establish another Indonesian church in Oarai under one coordination. Thus, Church A was administered and supported by the Indonesian church in Tokyo, not a local Japanese church. It means the establishment of Church A is not similar to the 'grafting-type' church in Kitani's.

[74] This Indonesian church in Tokyo was first an Indonesian Christian communion (in the late 1980s) from mixed Christian backgrounds (Protestant, Catholic, Lutheran, etc.). Later in 1989, the church was founded by Indonesian migrants after a Japanese pastor, who just returned from being a missionary in Indonesia, agreed to lead the church. Thus, it was decided that the church was to be interdenominational, and the sermon would be conducted in Bahasa Indonesia.

Table 6-1 Churches managed by Indonesian migrants and Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai (per 2018)

Name code	**Churches in Oarai**	**Establishment Year**
Church A	Interdenomination church	1993
Church B	Sub-ethnic church 1	1998
Church C	Sub-ethnic church 2 (split from Church B)	2007
Church D	Catholic church	2001*
Church E	GISI (Gereja Injil Seutuh Indonesia)/ IFGF church	2003*
Church F	Pentecostal church	2011*
Church G	Sub-ethnic church 3 (Split from Church B)	2018

Source: an interview with the participants; (*) is from Li et. al (2016)

From the beginning, all activities in Church A are conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and administered by Manadonese. However, Church A and the assembly in Tokyo do not adopt the structure and system from churches in Indonesia. There is no interdenominational church in Indonesia to explain that it cannot be categorized as sapling-type either. The characteristic of the interdenominational church is that it can accept any Christian backgrounds and is more open towards the host society. Therefore, although the pastor often gave nationalistic sermons, he almost always invited the congregation to interact with Japanese people, to adopt any positive influences from Japanese cultures, to accommodate children to use the Japanese language everyday (including at the church) and to follow the rules in the society.

Congregation of Church A are open to different views about Japanese cultures, as to how the pastor tried to lead them. In consequence, more adult members in the church seem to comprehend Japanese, compared to those in Church B. Although the sermons are in Bahasa Indonesia and Manadonese dialect, the Sunday school and teenager liturgy in Church A provide children to learn the religious lessons in Japanese (with the help of the multilingual teenagers who can interpret in Japanese and Indonesian). Through this way, Church A promotes social inclusion and integration inside and outside the church and thus will be called an integrated migrant church. Being an integrated migrant church means the church formulates the

organizational rules autonomously based on the diverse migrant backgrounds, situating the settings between home and host cultures, promoting integration in the larger society with diverse ethnic (and even sub-ethnic) practices.

Church B is also a distinct model of establishment, for which the explanation is twofold: First, many migrants who arrived in 1998 from North Sulawesi, mainly come from Tomohon, the so-called city of a thousand churches. Some of them have pastoral with theological education backgrounds, making it possible for the newly arriving migrants to establish an independent communion service, even without interacting with the Japanese church (as in the grafting-type). Second, most of them are Nikkeijin, in which it secures their long-term stay in Japan. This status enables them to stay committed to the church as long as possible. In consequence, just within a year after their arrival,[75] they initiated a communion and established an ethnic church, Church B, importing systems and structures from the synod in North Sulawesi (like in sapling-type church, but without going through the first phase). The independence of this church type makes the congregation less assimilated to the host society, and the congregation and administrators of the church are more homogenous by ethnicity. As a consequence of being an 'independent' migrant church, all services and activities in Church B are mostly conducted by migrants, in Bahasa Indonesia or Manadonese. Their social life and commensality are fulfilled in the church with their compatriots, engendering somewhat limited interactions with the local cultures. Thus, the church establishment phase may not be completely linear as Kitani has formulated. Church B establishment is a distinct independent subethnic church.

[75] In the first months/ year, they joined Church A.

6.1.2 Structure and Fellowship

When I use the word "church," it does not merely refer to a physical building, but a social institution, a group of people with religious conformity which plays an important part in maintaining social order in society. In Oarai, three churches rent public halls only when they conduct liturgies: one church rent exclusively for the church, and others conduct the liturgy in the congregation's places. The churches in Oarai refer to Christian groups, with or without a permanent building to gather. Church A and most churches in Oarai are semi set-up churches. A set-up church means the church does not have a building or a permanent location (Gesler 2013). Meanwhile, in a semi set-up church, although the building and the decorations are set up just before the religious gathering, the congregation uses the building so regularly that it becomes associated with a specific church. For example, Church C rents a community hall in the neighborhood every Sunday. Although the hall is not rented every day, people will associate the building with Church C. Thus, the other church may not likely rent the same building for their regular liturgies. Similarly, Church A rents a karaoke dance hall as their regular Sunday liturgy. Tools and equipment needed for a Sunday service—e.g., the Cross, musical instruments, chairs, and so on—are stored and set up before the dance hall 'becomes' a church. After the service, they have to re-store and re-set-up the chairs and stage to be a dance hall.[76]

It is sometimes problematic for migrants to rent a building in Oarai, especially for religious purposes. Church B, for example, had rented an old two-story building,[77] owned by a kaisha for more than 15 years. They put in the flooring and renovated the walls by themselves to make it proper to be a church. This church had been flooded about one meter during the tsunami and great earthquake in 2011. They had to repair some flooring and replace furniture

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[76] During the church anniversary, the congregation of Church A covered the dancer posters on the wall, which the pastor admitted has become *pergumulan* (obstacles) to feel the holiness of the church.
[77] During my pre-research in 2016, I had a chance to come to this church and introduce myself in front of the congregation.

too during that time. However, in 2017, suddenly the owner requested them to move out of the building. Some participants said that the actual reason was that many Manadonese workers quit the kaisha;[78] and the owner did not like it. If migrants are involved in any conflicts at the kaisha, it can adversely affect their collateral for building or house rental. It is because they are owned by the same person where they work. Most buildings and houses in Oarai are owned by factories showing paternalistic practices in the town.[79]

Church B had to find another building to conduct their religious activities. I followed the process of looking for a new building for the church. With the help of Yamamoto Rev., the Japanese pastor from Mito, the congregation of Church B decided to rent an abandoned warehouse. They considered the new church building a safer place because it is located in a hilly area, to prevent them from a potential tsunami in the future. They worked hard every night for several months to clean up and renovate the warehouse. During the time, the women arranged the schedule to provide food for the working men. This arrangement is the manifestation of the *Mapalus* tradition from North Sulawesi. Mapalus is an organization aiming at achieving welfare and goodness for all the members and a form of working together, aiming at reducing the workload both physically or economically (Turang et al. 2014). In the church activities, the manifestations of social and cultural values of the Manadonese are apparent.

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[78] The reason for their resigning from migrants' standpoint is because of strict regulation of the kaisha on salary deduction for a 15-minute late arrival at work.

[79] Paternalism will be explained more in Chapter 7.

6.2. Structure and Membership

6.2.1 Structure

In this section, I will discuss the structure of Church B. Church B adopts the structure of the main synod in North Sulawesi. This church uses the *Presbyterial Synod* in its church structure. *Presbyteros* is derived from Greek words meaning that the elders are respected. In this church, the presbyters refer to *Pelayan Khusus* (special servants/ bishops), including the *Syamas* (the treasurer), the *Penatua* (the respected), and the *Pendeta*[80] (the pastor, fully ordained minister). The Pelayan Khusus (abbreviated as *Pelsus*) is chosen via election, self-surrender, and a ceremonial inauguration. In the contemporary church system, Pelsus is usually called Penatua. Penatua is elders, not specially trained people who took some local responsibilities in a congregation (more reviews in Steenbrink and Aritonang 2008). People ordained as Pelsus are usually addressed using the titles Syamas (treasurer), Penatua (respected elderly person), or Pendeta (pastor), respectively, before their names, even outside of the church. The pastor is not only the leader of the church but also God's shepherd. Thus, they must have a deep concern for their lifestyle and teach not only through their intelligent knowledge but primarily through their experience and example (Legoh 1990).

[80] During the Dutch occupation, when Christianity was still its beginning phase in North Sulawesi, pastors had to be only Dutchmen, with academic training in Europe (Steenbrink and Aritonang 2008: 426).

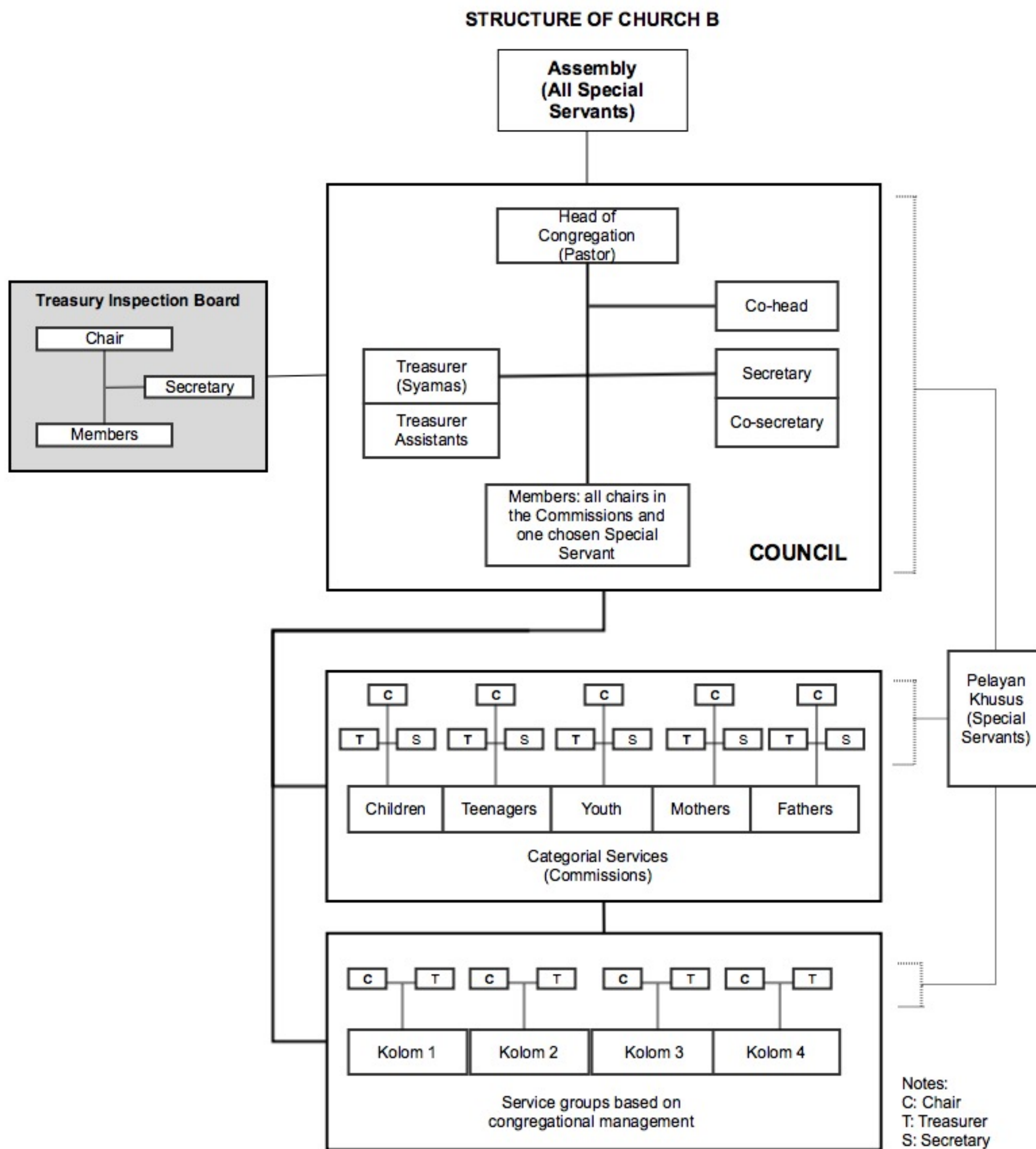

Figure 6-1 Structure of Church B (based on observations and interviews, 2017)

The organizational structure of the church is bureaucratic and involves various hierarchical positions and highly respected leadership roles, all of which are filled by migrants. Through this structural system, decisions on the leadership, services of the church, and the congregation have to be made in a democratic *musyawarah-mufakat* (deliberation-consensus) way by the Pelsus in the Assembly (see Figure 6-1). The categorial services in the structure include children (below 12 years of age), teenagers (aged 12-16 years), young adults (17-30

years of age and unmarried), mothers or married women, and fathers or married men. For each categorial service, there is a commission structure called the *Kompelka* (Komisi Pelayanan Kategorial), which includes the Chair, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the members. Meanwhile, Kolom is a "service group based on congregation management" (Badan Pekerja Majelis Sinode, Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa 2016, 40), which consists of 15 to 25 households. In brief, each layman belongs to both religious/ learning groups: Kolom and the Categorial Service. Each Kolom group has its weekly meetings, while each categorial service conducts its meeting once a month. Both religious meetings are usually conducted at home, on other days than Sunday.

6.2.2 Membership and Attendance

The attendance of the congregation is "regulated" with an implicit rule examined by the main pastor, as a church minister. As there are many churches in Oarai, the turnover of the members can be high because one person can choose which church they want to commit to. Thus, every church applies rules to qualify the membership status. In Church A, for example, people can become "full-time" members when they are active in the church's activities, such as attending and participating in Sunday service, group liturgies, and church activities for the consecutive three months. Otherwise, they will be just considered as a "participant." People have options where they want to affiliate themselves to any church. Once they are committed to one church, it is considered unethical to participate in another church. Some considerations to choose a church include which church has the most suitable teaching for them, or people they enjoy spending time with; but more importantly, for non-Nikkei migrants, it is a church with vast networks for job opportunities.

> Newcomers have three months coming here (to Church A) to observe. During that period, we consider them as participants. Congregants who are often absent from

> Sunday mass can also become participants (not members). Therefore, I need to keep monitoring the attendance of the congregation. (Pastor A, terrace interview in 2017)

Interestingly, although there are many churches in Oarai, there are rarely any communication or meetings among these church leaders, as mentioned by Pastor A. One participant illustrates the relations between Church B and C as: “We are like ‘separated’ by a glass of wall. We can see each other, but we don't touch or interfere with each other.” In the sermon, I also often (if not always) heard pastors and Pelsus use the term: “Gereja sabla," (the next-door church) when referring to the other churches. However, once a year, the representatives of a church still attend and give gifts in each other's church anniversary event, which is more based on reciprocity in maintaining social order. In addition, as some families belong to different churches, they usually visit their relatives in other churches as ‘temporary visitors,’ in a particular occasion. In that case, the glass of wall is made permeable. Managing familial events in different churches results in some problems too, as Bella explains.

> It is very difficult (to manage). With many friends and relatives in many other churches, I got some sneer when I attended one event and not another in two different churches. I rarely take photos and post them (on social media), but I could not hinder myself being photographed. Once people from another church saw my photos (on someone else’s posts), they would be jealous, and started talking about my attendance to the particular church and questioning why I came to that church and not to the other. (Bella, researcher’s home interview in 2017)

Although I am not a member of a particular church, I also experienced getting some disappointing looks from the participants I am close to, when I chose to attend events in a particular church, and not in theirs. I often had to attend a half time here and there to make it fair for both churches (Church A and B).

However, the rules of participation in another church seem to be less stringent for children and teenagers. For example, Diana and Riri are the members the Catholic Church. However, every Saturday, her son and daughter attended the teenager’s liturgy in the Protestant church (Church B). I noticed this peculiarity and decided to ask Felix (a bishop in Church B).

He said, “That is true, they are the members of Catholic church, but they join the teenager liturgy in Church B, because there is no teenager liturgy in the Catholic church.” The teenagers in the Catholic church were too few, so they did not have any religious session special for the teenagers. Therefore, parents sent their children to the preferred church (after asking for permission from pastors). During my stay there, one teenager from the Catholic church joined in Church A’s teenager liturgy, and two joined in Church B’s. It shows that religious education for the younger generations are critical for NiMO parents, so they are willing to negotiate the church boundaries for their children. Church A and B also do not mind accommodating for this need.

In other words, although the churches maintain some boundaries, they do not live in a complete tension and segregation with each other. The boundary of “wall of glass” can be understood as segmented on one occasion, and permeable on another. With this strategy, they are able to be coexisting and inclusive as needed, although each church has autonomy to structure, rule out, and teach the congregation. Pastor A explained this with an analogy of ‘the shepherd’ (the pastor) and ‘the sheep’ (the congregations): “a sheep must not easily move from one shepherd to another because it can cause a disturbance.” He further set forth, “For example, with shepherd A, a sheep is encouraged and taught to move forward. But, when the sheep comes to shepherd B, it is taught to move backward. What happened if the sheep returns to shepherd A, it will make chaos. It will ram into other sheep and disturb the flock.” With this analogy, the pastor indicates that each church has its different ways of interpreting and teaching the members the religious values incorporating various social norms into processes and practices.

A member who commits to a church will learn certain ways of thinking and behaving, based on the congregation's consensus.[81] Sometimes personal problems with other members, disagreement over collective behavior, or decisions in the church can set off a person to occasionally move from one church to another. Sometimes members could have some conflicts or feel incompatible with the church consensus. If that happens, they may decide to 1) stay with the condition and make a compromise; 2) become inactive congregation/ turn to be participants; 3) try to approach another church or "shepherd" with the same style as he/ she prefers. If no options are satisfactory, one may initiate, invite or encourage people to create a new communion, as there is always a strong need for them to be communal for social and pious purposes. This kind of communion usually becomes the origination of a newly established church in Oarai. Hence, when there is a member who misses the liturgies frequently without any exigent reasons, the pastor and the Pelsus will remind and ask him/ her personally if any problems prevail. Membership negotiation in the church can be seen as a process of constructing meaning about and within the organization, partially by learning the formal and informal structures through social processes (Gesler 2013).

What is intriguing and surprising for me when attending Sunday worship is when I found out that some of the participants are non-Christian.[82] They usually just come to the church during Sunday service and wait for a chance to introduce themselves to other people in the church. Non-Christians seek support from the church for job vacancies, and their attendance is generally temporary (as explained in Chapter 5). Many of the non-Christians who join the church are the newly arrived migrants with tourist visas who planned to be undocumented migrants or to apply for a refugee (*nanmin*, in Japanese) visa. Thus, their status in the church

[81] The consensus and conformity serve as the point of departure to the recurrent basic questions: Why are there many Indonesian churches in Oarai? Why is one church not enough?
[82] There are non-Christian Indonesian people in Oarai. However, they are the minority group and usually has very small religious groups with occasional gatherings.

is only a guest or a participant. If, in the end, they decide to be a member and convert to Christianity, they need to show that their participation and motivation are genuine because of God's calling. Thus, the church commits to be open for any religious-background migrants who want to participate, yet the membership is closely monitored.

Being a member of the church enjoys several social benefits, including all working channels of their members and *diakonia* (sickness allowance or when other problems persist), that only members can obtain. Working vacancies and job channels are the prominent social benefits of participating actively in a church mostly for non-Nikkei migrants in Oarai. A church with more Nikkei members usually has more robust networking ties for opportunities, and thus, is preferred. Pastors and Pelsus also support and advocate members who have legal problems in the court, police office, and other Japanese law enforcement institutions. For example, one church member had an accident, and the pastors helped the issues with the police office and hospital; In addition, when there was a trial of one of the church members, the pastor acted as a witness in the court. Thus, the function of the church is salient in fulfilling the needs of migrants for social support. Through the pastors and Pelsus, the church is at the forefront of dealing with the members' problems related to social and legal issues.

6.3 Constructing Holiness

6.3.1 Election and Criteria of Pelsus

In this section, I will explain the concepts and roles of Pelsus in the church and social life of Manadonese. Pelsus are the pastors and the bishops, who become the epitome of holiness in the church. They are chosen via election, self-surrender, and a ceremonial inauguration. They are usually addressed based on their positions: Syamas (treasurer), Penatua (respected elderly person), and Pendeta (pastor), respectively, before their names, even outside of the

church. Not only by the name attribution, they usually have a special place to sit in the church, which is in the front row overseeing and serving as an example to the congregation. Pelsus are gifted orators, and their delivery styles share specific linguistic elements such as the use of formal and complex Indonesian[83] (Swazey 2008). I noticed that elected Pelsus are mostly NiMO, in which with their legality and financial stability place them in a higher social rank among other Manadonese migrants. The congregation typically selects people to serve as Pelsus who have financial stability, good personality, high education, and righteous behavior. Husbands and wives with Nikkei visas are both usually appointed as Pelsus because of the lack of people who can be appointed.

One day, in a one Kolom-group liturgy of Church B, there was a Pelsus election[84] attended by 14 members (out of 40 members of the group, including children and babies). Four names came out from the votes. The members seemed to have the same figures to choose from since the names are not very diversified. Two of them, albeit in their absence that day, were elected. The voting result is considered as God's will, in which the chosen ones should never refuse. They believe that the appointed Pelsus refusing the appointment will receive misfortune. Before the election, there was one person who had come to the pastor asking not to be nominated for being Pelsus in this election. Her reason is because her husband is also a Pelsus so it is hard to manage time for the church, family, and work. At first, I thought a Pelsus position is only open to those with long-term and safe visa status, due to the concept of holiness it entails. However, during my stay there, one trainee and one refugee were elected as Pelsus.

As regulated by the synod in North Sulawesi, Pelsus will be serving for two years. Nevertheless, from this year, the Assembly of the church decided to extend it to three years.

[83] Skillful oration represents a traditional quality of Minahasan leadership that has been preserved through the church (Schouten 1998).
[84] Pelsus in the Kolom group consists of Ketua Kolom (leader of kolom), Wakil Ketua (co-leader), and Syamas (treasurer) (see Figure 6-1).

As explained by Karinda, the reason is because of the lack of people who want to be Pelsus. She said that there is a big difference between being a Pelsus in Manado and in Oarai:

> Karinda: "In Manado, this kind of election is like, how do you call it? A competition. It is not only about working at the church, but it has also become a…social achievement. So, if someone is elected (in Manado), he or she is really…a highly respected person. But here (in Oarai), we (the *kolom* members) are just 20, 30, or 40 people. There (in Manado), the members are about 200 until 300 people (per Kolom group), and only two people are selected. Therefore, if someone is elected [in Manado], he or she is definitely a highly respected person."
>
> Me: "What are the members' considerations in choosing Pelsus?"
>
> Karinda: "In Manado, those who are chosen as this Pelsus are truly '*tokoh masyarakat*' (prominent figure). Generally, people choose them by status, 'the haves'…but, but not only about that, if they are personally good, although they are poor, they can also be chosen."

In Manado, Pelsus positions are competitive and are usually for prominent figures, with righteous social standing, highly respected jobs, power, and authority. Another criterion is that Pelsus must not have a divorce background. All of these criteria are enacted to maintain the symbol of holiness. However, in Oarai, almost all Pelsus work as migrant workers in the factory, with their tight schedule of working. In addition, people with divorce backgrounds could still be elected because of the limited available candidates.[85] Thus, being elected as Pelsus in Oarai is no longer a competition. To maintain the quality of the pastoral service, Church A (since 2008) and Church B (since 2007) started to recruit a full-time Indonesian pastor to lead the congregation, through a missionary-duty visa. The pastor is responsible for leading the whole church to be evangelistic (Legoh 1990), so he/she must not work anywhere else.

[85] During my fieldwork, some couples with a divorce background were elected to be Pelsus. In the past, when undocumented migrants were still populous in Oarai, there were a lot of divorce and infidelity cases among NiMO and the non-Nikkei migrants (see Chapter 3).

6.3.2 Visual Self-presentation

The church is the predominant space where people meet their compatriots, interact, and exercise their agency. In this space, migrant workers can be more respectable by being Pelsus. Their holiness manifests from their social bearing and attitudes. Symbolic representation of holiness can also be observed from their self-presentation and where they sit during the worship. The assigned Pelsus are required to come an hour earlier to prepare for the service. Then they will take a seat at the special seats facing the congregation (see Figure 6-2). The unassigned Pelsus of the day can take a seat in any front row of the congregation seats. This is to show that Pelsus should always be the example for the congregation.

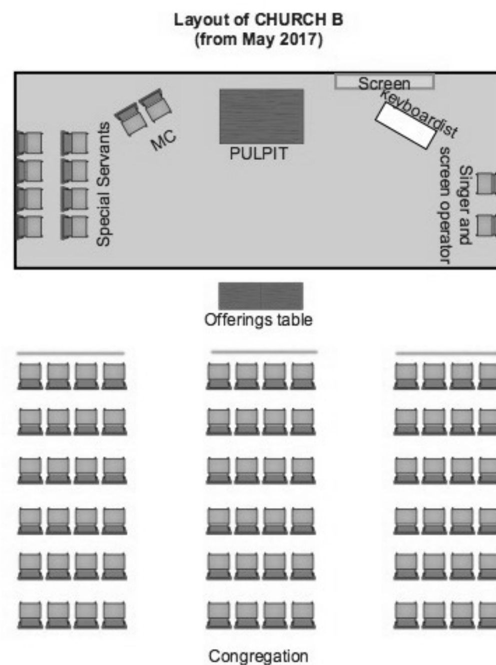

Figure 6-2 The Layout of the Church for Sunday Service (Author, May 2017)

Not only on the rituals they do in the church, during the Assembly, Pelsus have to look presentable because they are the chosen ones who serve the church and God. Pelsus men usually dress in dapper outfits, with the men wearing shirts and shoes, while the women dress elegantly with makeup and hairdos (mostly seen with branded bags, apparel, and jewelry) in

high-heels. On some special occasions, the men dress in suits or *batik*, while the women wear blazers or formal dresses. Presentable attire is also one topic Pastor B brought up as a reminder to Pelsus, during the Church Assembly.

On one Sunday at the church, I saw Eve, whom I work with in the kaisha, and a Pelsus of Church B. Unlike the usual Eve I meet in the kaisha, that day she wore a tight green dress with a hemline that was five inches above her knees.[86] Her shoes featured a leopard pattern and had 10-cm heels. This mother of three looked so tall and slender. Besides slenderizing the ankles, wearing high heels also "generate[s] the sensation of power and status" (Smith 1999, 11). On that day, Eve was the liturgy leader, as she was substituting for the pastor, who was sick. Over her dress, she wore a long black robe. Before she led the liturgy in the pulpit, another Pelsus placed a green stole on her shoulders as symbols of being the ordained liturgy leader, along with a gospel sung by the congregation. This ceremony of placing a stole displays one of the holiness construction habitus. With the stole and robe, Eve has been transformed from being a Pelsus to God's shepherd, that from her palms blessings could shower to the congregation.

The church in general, and the Reformed Church in particular, has historically placed special robes on its ministers when they conduct worship. The purpose of the robe and stole is to cover the man or woman and to emphasize his or her God-ordained office or calling (Rev. Meyers 1997). The black robe and the green stole are symbols of holy duty for a Pelsus to lead a liturgy. Felix, who had been chosen as a Pelsus in Church B for 17 years in a row, expressed his feelings about being a Pelsus and the stole:

> The feeling of wearing the stole is, hmm…It is heavy. It is here (he touched his nape and both shoulders where a stole is usually hung). The responsibility is heavy. Not that it becomes a burden, but that is my commitment to God. So, once I wear the stole, I

[86] Eve and the other Manadonese women had not aged much in their 40s, through looks, postures, and complexions. They like to wear colorful, stylish, sleeveless, often tight, dresses, with skirts inches above their knees, without showing too much "disjuncture between the expectations of the dress and the aged body that wears it" (Twigg 2009, 9).

> really have to be careful in my doing and saying. It feels very special. Pelsus, for me, is a lifetime obligation that even when I don't wear it, I have to manage my personality. (Felix, home interview in 2018)

The heaviness Felix feels every time he receives a stole on his shoulder is sensorial and metaphorical, depicting the transformation from being the commoner to the holy. The props worn at church, among other things, help to emphasize the role of the pastor and the Pelsus and to "de-emphasize the personality of the man" (Rev. Meyers 1997), including their roles and what they do outside of the church. Yet, the long black robe is only worn during Sunday worship. For the weekday liturgy, the appearance of Pelsus is more modest. They can wear any formal clothes and a stole. It shows that the appearance of the pastor in the church carries more symbols than theirs for the weekday liturgy.

Not only for the Pelsus, the clothes that the other members choose to wear at the church also emphasize two purposes: holiness and social status, as to how they want to be identified as a 'different person' compared to who they are at work. Deciding what to wear to attend a Sunday service at the church becomes what I had to be solicitous about, to belong in the 'church stage'. There was a sense that it was conformable to appear stylish, not to be overlooked amid the ubiquitous styles, branded bags, and apparel they show off at the church. As mentioned by Panteli (2003), the motives for self-presentation are driven by the desire to be favorably viewed by others. Thus, "actors and audience" of the church jointly construct the situation they are in, as well as the situated identity of each other (Panteli 2003).

There is a moment to exemplify the importance of constructed identities and conformity on self-presentation in the church. During the special worship on the anniversary of Church A, there was one Japanese man (a friend of the congregation) coming to the church in short pants and polo shirts. Everyone was surprised, as much as he was. He may have thought that it was similar to a summer party in a dance hall. Contradictorily, the congregation was dressed in formal gowns and suits. The Japanese man could not hide his embarrassment and awkwardly

covered his thighs with his hands when sitting. Although the building is a dance hall, the congregation considered it as a church that requires people to 'construct' holiness when entering. The dance hall is the social stage with properties, decorations, actors, and scenarios to be a church. Without this belief and conformity in clothing and manners, an outsider may see the symbols, rituals, props, and the people in the dance hall preposterous.

6.3.3 Body Rituals in Home-Church Transition

Dena and her family usually arrived at her house around midnight from the Sunday service, because she and her husband are the Pelsus. As Pelsus, they have to make sure everything is well-kept after the liturgy. Sandra and her husband usually changed her clothes, without taking a shower, and went to bed after arriving home. She even let her children sleep in the same clothes they wore at the church. In the early morning, Kitty, her 3-year old daughter, went downstairs with the white gown she wore last night at the church. Clothes from the church seem to be acceptable to be worn during sleep. The body in the transition from the church to home does not need to undergo some purification or cleaning rituals, signifying that church is associated with cleanliness.

Meanwhile, before going to the liturgy, the participants always do body rituals, such as washing the hair and body thoroughly, using deodorant and wearing clean clothes. Therefore, every time they attend the weekday liturgy, the women always come with wet hair.[87] One of the participants said: "We like taking a bath and changing clothes, not like the Japanese. Once they go out from the house, they wear the same clothes until night, then take a shower before bed." Body care as part of self-presentation is crucial for Manadonese when crossing domains in a day, and that requires them to fashion the body. Body care is one form of purification

[87] They seem to have no time to dry them before the liturgy due to the short transition time between work and the liturgy.

through the separation of dirtiness, to construct holiness. The clean body is a symbol of purity, in which washing the body results in physical purity believed to be equated with moral and spiritual purity (Schnall 2016). Through body care, holiness appears to diminish their taken-for-granted status as a worker sorting the smelly fish and sweet potato in the factory.

Due to the proximity of one house to another, with minimal fence or gate, the neighbors noticed the different clothes NiMO wear before going to the church, as Dena told me:

> Neighbors were urusai (noisy). They actually watched us. Like, what we wear, I even heard they talked to other neighbors. They said that when we go to work, we wear shabby clothes, but then we also often wear a blazer and suit in the evening. You know when my husband has (his turn) to lead the liturgy at the church, he is in a suit, right? They asked, "Where are they going with that dress?" So, they are curious. They pay attention to us, even to our changing clothes, like we often change clothes. We go home and take a bath and wear different clothes…Moreover, I have lovely bags too. You know that is why I never bring a fake Luis Vuitton (LV) bag when I have to meet the mothers at the schools because they can identify which is original and not. I don't want them to say, that because we are migrants, we cannot buy the original one. (Dena, home interview in 2017)

Dena feels the stigma from her neighbors on her and her family through their physical appearance, that migrants are poor. Hence, migrants dressing well in the rural area seems to be strange. Resisting to be judged as a poor migrant, who cannot afford to buy an original LV bag, she afforded herself the original one, purchased in the second-hand shop. Minahasan (sub-ethnic) people are well-aware of self-presentation, including the sense of visibility.[88] There is even a traditional Minahasan maxim: *"Biar kalah nasi asal jangan kalah aksi"* (Sumakul 2005, 88), literally meaning "better lose in rice than losing in action/ style." Figuratively, it means that, although having not much money, it is important to perform on a stylish and fancy level. For Manadonese, "a provocative, energetic, vulgar, egocentric and hedonistic life principle" (Mokalu 2014, 42) and "pasang aksi" or "bagaya" (styling well) even without money is a *need*

[88] It reminds me of Waskul and Vannini's (2013) statement that the expressive and impressive dynamics of the performative body can be situated within, elastic characteristics that are put on, taken off, and most often commoditized. These elastic characteristics include things like clothing, jewelry, and other adornments, hairstyles, cosmetics, perfume, and other scented aromas (Waskul and Vannini 2013).

(Lapian and Geru 2006, 141, original italicization). The church is the space where they can regularly show off their best visual representation, against what they encounter in the kaisha.

6.4 Liturgy: Silence and Noise

6.4.1 Through Weekdays and Sunday

As mentioned in Chapter 4, in the past, migrants used to work seven days a week, including Sundays. Sunday has become a crucial day for migrants after many factory owners agreed to give it as a day-off. Working time occupies most of the migrants' time during the week. Sunday is the only full day on which they can do their other activities. Hence, Sunday is overwhelmingly managed for both leisure and religious purposes, which are often merged into one time and place—at the church. People sometimes go shopping or do other things after the Sunday service, as this is the only available time they have for any non-work activities. The church has become the principal place where they meet their compatriots regularly outside the Kaisha. More than just a religious site, it is also the place at which people spend their time socializing.

At Church A, the Sunday service starts at 19:00 until 21:00. Meanwhile, at Church B, it has two masses: in the morning, from 10:00 to 12:00, and in the evening, from 19:30 to 21:30. When they have additional events or special liturgies, they usually stay longer. Approximately 50 people attend Church A every Sunday night, while there are around 70-100 people who attend Sunday masses in Church B every Sunday morning and night. The mass is routinely started by singing gospels, sermon, and the announcement of *Warta Jemaat* (lit. congregation

news), then a potluck lunch. Besides Sunday mass, they have regular gatherings/ liturgies on the weekdays based on the groups.[89]

Pelsus are obliged to attend and lead the group liturgies. Similar to the Sunday mass, the weekday liturgies also consist of a sermon, singing, and eating together. There are usually 10-15 people attending, out of 30-50 people in a total of the members of each group. The commitment and membership in a church are assuredly pivotal for supporting the life courses of the congregation. The commitment to the church through liturgies, besides fulfilling parts of their religious needs, is also a survival strategy for migrants to be socially supported. While, in North Sulawesi, the compulsion to attend a liturgy is rooted in social norms. In Tomohon, for example, everyone knows each other through the church and group liturgies, so when a person does not go to the church on Sunday because of indolence, people will notice and he/ she will be ashamed to be absent. Attendance and commitment to the church becomes a social obligation; otherwise, they will be socially punished.

The weekday liturgy is usually started at 21:00 and finished around 22:30. People usually came to weekday liturgy with tired faces and half-closed eyes. For instance, in one liturgy I saw Gina, mother of three, looking so exhausted. She sat at the back of the room, closed her eyes and dozed off when the pastor propounded his sermon. That evening, she came home from the factory at 19:00 after 10 hours of working. There is practically not enough time on the weekdays for taking rest for these workers. This liturgy seems to be a palpable struggle for them. Among their personal and family life, they have to reserve a great deal of time for religious activities through liturgies. When I asked Karinda why some people are so committed and persistent to go to the weekday liturgies although they look fatigued and sometimes even disregard their family matters. She said:

[89] When we see the structure of the church, we will see that there are several groups, in which each of them has a schedule for a group meeting every week or once a month.

> You see, we are actually tired after working a day long. But we have to do this. This is our call. […] Someone who did not go to the church will get squared because they won't know anyone, right? When they need help, they cannot just suddenly come up to the church. Who will want to help them? (Karinda, home liturgy interview in 2017)

The weekday liturgy is not only a struggle for those who attend but also for those who are assigned to be a host. Someone assigned as a liturgy host sometimes needs to finish his/her job earlier, or ideally take *yasumi* (day-off) from the kaisha, to clean up the house and prepare for food. In Manado, this group liturgy does not feel too onerous. Fundamentally, it is because in Manado most of them do not work in such enervating physical labor jobs. Even if so, in Manado, they have many relatives who can assist them in preparing for food and everything else, or they can just order at the catering service without a hitch.

6.4.2 Celebration in the Church

The Manadonese is known as a religious community with frequent thanksgiving ceremonies[90] and worship days, which are conducted almost every day in North Sulawesi (Nelwan, et al. 2018). Thus, in North Sulawesi, Saturday and Sunday are also known as social workday by attending various thanksgiving events (Nelwan, et al. 2018). The church always plays a role in social (including private) events, in the community, and sometimes even beyond Weichart (2007). There is the term *fosso* among the pre-colonial North Sulawesi people (Minahasan), nowadays replaced by *pesta* (derived from Spanish term fiesta, meaning celebration). "Pesta" retains some characteristics of fosso while presenting itself as a thoroughly Christian ritual (Kiem 1994). The obligatory pesta is always preceded by *ibadah syukur* (thanksgiving liturgy) and is usually held at baptism, birthdays, weddings, and funerals, as part of their gratefulness to God. The food shared and served at the feasts in North Sulawesi

[90] The ceremonies include birthday celebrations, weddings, new homes, promotions, moving houses, graduating from kindergarten to college, recovering from illness, commemoration, the third night after the funeral, one week after the funeral, commemoration, and others.

is generally luxurious (Kiem 1994, 54), and so is in Oarai. Sharing food in the church with other people can be an important ritual, one that brings people together over one of the most basic of human activities, constructing and solidifying religious identity (Dodson and Gilkes 1995; Warner 1997).

Figure 6-3 Food served in the anniversary party in Church A (2017)

Celebration according to (Durkheim 1969) is a form of "sacralization." It emerges in specific moments of collective excitation during which large numbers of individuals gather (usually physically) and take part in something akin to a celebration (Joas 1997; Shilling and Mellor 1998). For Manadonese, life events are sacred, therefore, it needs to be celebrated with food and feast, while also involving the church and the congregation to be part of the sacralization process. It explains why social status and celebration are vital to them. Therefore, aside from their working time, migrants spend quite a considerable amount of time celebrating life events: gather and interact with the compatriots at the church or houses. During fieldwork, I attended many food feasts, not only for specific events but also during their liturgy, Sunday service, and through thanksgiving (see Table 6-2).

Table 6-2 Typology of Celebratory Events for Manadonese Migrants in Oarai

Scale of events	Guests	Collective events	Family/ Individual events
Big	Wide range of networks, relatives, extended families	Church anniversary Venue: Church	Wedding party Venue: Church, hotel/ resort or hall, hometown
		Regional Thanksgiving Venue: Church	*Ibadah Penghiburan* (Funeral liturgy) *Pembaptisan/ Ibadah Sidi* (Baptism) Venue: Church, House
Medium	Church congregation, close networks, family, and some extended family	*Peneguhan Pelsus* (Inauguration of bishops) Venue: Church	Birthday party Venue: Church, House
Small	Church congregation, family, and some extended family	Regular liturgies at group liturgy levels Venue: Church, house	Smaller life events, such as thanksgiving for moving out to a new place, buying a new car/ house, acceptance in the university, and so on. Venue: Church, house

While gathering for religious purposes, migrants also use the time to conduct communal activities such as sharing information in the neighborhood or just catching up with each other's lives. Their social life is fulfilled in the church with their compatriots, and consistent ethnic dishes are served for the social gatherings both at the church and the group liturgies. Celebrations are usually started with worship, big meals and eating together, singing together, dancing together, drinking together, and others.[91] In Minahasan culture, having enough food to take home shows the great respect of the host towards the guests.[92] In Oarai, they keep the traditions of thanksgiving and party as a part of the church and congregation activities. In her

[91] These are some examples of the implementation of *Mapalus* values in the life of the Minahasa community nowadays (Nelwan, et al. 2018).

[92] The abundance of the food is a prerequisite to ensure everyone eats and takes home enough, and hosts should not bring back the food they served at the party (also in Swazey 2000 for Minahasan church in the US). Yet, the meal quality in the group liturgy can depend on the socio-economic status of the host family.

sermon in Church B, Sarah explains how a celebration like a birthday is very crucial for Manadonese to show their social status:

> A birthday party in Manado is a celebration for showing a status, so it has to be extravagant. So, making it opulent is (important) for (social) status. We usually celebrate it at a hotel, order a catering service...We don't want to have any hassle. Although it is expensive, it's not a big deal because 50% of the capital (expenses) will be returned from the money gifts. […] (when we are) in Japan, we celebrate it at the church, and not many people give money gifts. They usually bring food, because not many people here have (money), right? So, they bring food as (money) substitution. (Sarah, home-liturgy interview in 2017)

As Sarah describes, a celebration is an important event to elevate Manadonese's social status. Big gift-giving, celebration, food festive, and wealth boasting for the North Sulawesi people, are aimed for maintaining and enhancing their social standing (Jacobsen 2012: 42). While, in North Sulawesi, people will give money gifts, in Oarai, people usually cook some food as a gift. Some workers usually make use of the seafood or agricultural products from the kaisha that they can get for free or at cheaper prices, reproducing them into Manadonese ethnic cuisine with traditional ingredients. Food festive and celebrations remain palpable in the life events of Manadonese in Oarai, outshining the life they encounter in the kaisha.

6.4.3 "In Any Gathering We Eat"

For Manadonese, gathering means commensality. In Oarai, the food served at the liturgy is most often homemade, the traditional Manadonese food, such as nasi kuning (yellow rice), pampis (seasoned bonito flakes), sambal roa (roa fish spicy relish), and traditional confections (see Figure 6-4). Despite being Nikkeijin and living in Japan for more than 15 years, NiMO avoid eating sushi and most Japanese food.[93] However, although they assert that they are not fond of consuming fish products they handle in the kaisha, they can still consume

[93] Raw fish is often used to represent one of the disgust elicitors of raw food in Pellegrino, Grandall, and Seo's (2015) experiment. Sushi becomes one of the related items associated with hygiene and contamination, as listed in the subscales of Food Disgust Scale by Hartmann and Siegrist (2018), along with aging food with fungi, decaying fruit, fish, and vegetables (Ammann, Hartmann and Siegrist 2018).

them if they are cooked with ethnic ingredients.[94] Particular food, practices, and objects establish a sense of familiarity and continuity with the past and reveal how migrants' ideas and expectations of home are reconfigured through the migration process (Wilkins 2019).

Figure 6-4 One of the common set Manadonese menu to be served in a weekday liturgy: Nasi kuning (yellow cumin rice), with pampis (bonito flakes), spiced chicken, boiled egg, and sambal roa (roa-fish relish)

People from North Sulawesi have been notorious for "eating anything." The famous joke on Manadonese regarding being a true omnivore is that: Manadonese eats everything except three things: in the sky, airplanes; in the sea, submarines; on the land, trains. This reputation derives from their habits of consuming extreme meats,[95] such as bats, dogs, rats, snakes, squirrels, and others and serving them at celebratory events. Their preference for eating many varieties of extreme meat and chili become their strong identity markers. Compared to

[94] Although the food products in the kaisha are processed, they are minimally processed. Minimally processed food products are very similar to their raw, unprocessed forms (Leadley 2016).
[95] People can find those wild animals in an extreme market in Tomohon, North Sulawesi.

chapulines for Oaxacans, which are claimed to be nutritious, the extreme meat Manadonese people like to eat is aimed for social standing.

The wealth of the host of a celebratory event can be indicated by the lavishness and distinct menu (the availability of dishes with extreme, expensive meat) they can serve to the guests. Therefore, for Manadonese people, dishes in the celebration are a significant part of elevating social status. In Japan, due to the unavailability of such meat, those elevated dishes become even rarer and more special if they are found at any celebratory events. Therefore, whenever possible, they usually entrust bat or dog meat from North Sulawesi to Japan through their relatives coming to Japan and it is reserved for very special occasions. While other kinds of meat may be offered at an optional level, pork should not be missed at any feast (Weichart 2004). In Oarai, the pig butcher shop has been well accustomed to Manadonese customers. The seller often gives free bones as a bonus because Manadonese people buy a lot of pork almost every week, for the liturgy and gathering. One small grocery shop even caters a lot of on-demand products with some labels written in Manadonese dialect.

Manadonese people have a cooked-spicy-flavorful food culture, as opposed to the raw and plain food culture of Japanese. The strong taste of those extreme meats needs to be subdued by spices (Weichart 2004), such as chili. Chili is one of the most important spices in Minahasan cuisine and is being added to most dishes (except sweets of course) (Weichart 2004). Like rice, chili is considered a fundamental ingredient that should not be missed at any meal (Weichart 2004). In addition, the spiciness flavor in Manadonese food acts as a social agent (Adapon 2008), through which they exert power and distinction. In Oarai, most chili they can find is a Thai product. However, they confided that *Manado Rica* (Manado chili) is spicier than the Thai, so they brought chili seeds from Manado and plant them in Oarai, to cater to their cooking needs.

6.4.4 Life Begins at Nine

Attending the night liturgy almost every night for me means walking down the small streets, passing through abandoned houses, in the dark, eerie neighborhood. Most of the town is quiet, more like a dead town at night. On that day, the liturgy is held in the pastor's house. The liturgy hosts whose houses cannot be visited by people may use the pastor's house. I arrived at the house at 20:45. Nobody was there yet, but the pastor. "People usually arrive late, at nine or more, because they just finished work around seven." She said. After a while, more people and families came, mostly by car. Some women came with wet hair, looked so refreshed. One person brought two big plastics of burgers, chicken and beef, and some drinks. She is the host for today's gathering. "I am sorry, I didn't have time to cook anything, so I just bought burgers." She said to another woman, with laughter and cheers from both of them. Suddenly, the images of dark streets, desolate, eerie houses outside, dispersed in this warm ambiance and contentment. At 21:00, their life just begins.

The liturgy is opened with opening gospels led by one Pelsus who has been appointed as an MC, and everyone stood up to sing. While singing a gospel, a stole was placed by the MC to the liturgy leader of that day. Then, the sermon was led by the leader. This is the excerpt in the opening of a liturgy led by Donna (40s, spouse of second-gen) after she finished reading the bible on John 18:36.

> As Indonesian citizens, we are blessed that we are here... and given an opportunity to work in this country, let's follow all the rules. Let's create a clean environment. If we litter *gomi* (trash), we should pay attention to the existing regulations. In our neighborhood, we shouldn't disturb other people or our neighbors where we live. Don't be noisy and other (disturbing) behaviors. As a congregation, let's be conscientious in praying, both in the liturgy service and in the church, and within togetherness. Let's help each other. Let's assist each other. And let's remind each other. (Donna, sermon in 2017)

Liturgy gathering is one of the domestication practices in everyday living spaces carried out by immigrants entailing a way of "cultivating home." Through sermons, gospels, and other

activities at their church, the dialects of “here/ there” and “now/ then” to depict Japan and Indonesia are prevalent. The self-identity is also collectively reconfirmed by consistently addressing themselves as “Indonesian citizens” and putting Japan as “the other.” In the sermon, Pelsus reminded the congregation to behave well, including not being noisy. The sermon indicated that the church, through Pelsus, is aware of the importance of following the rules in the society where the congregation lives and noticing the problems existing in the neighborhood. Dona emphasized the *we-ness* in helping, assisting, and reminding each other for living in better ways in the neighborhood.

The moment when they pray right before the liturgy is over always feels like the most serene ambiance. Everyone, including children and infants, closes their eyes. Their palms are tangled on their chests. In a moment, there are silence, full of hopes, and prayers. For outsiders or non-believers, this liturgy could mean nuisance. However, for these workers, it is their commitment to the church, and the oasis of their daytime’s whirlwind and tension, to remain steadfast and strong. Although most people are exhausted after working the whole day, their attendance signifies that this event is crucial for them socially and religiously. There is peace and restfulness, enthusiasm, and energy in the whole process of liturgy, in how they sing the gospels, pray, eat and celebrate. The noise and silence in the liturgy offer feelings of home: rootedness, comfort, and safety.

6.5 Conclusion

Manadonese are always associated with churches even when they live overseas. In Oarai, the establishment phases of Church A and B were not very similar to the migrant churches by the Brazilian and the Filipinos in Japan (based on the study of Kitani 2016). Some of the distinguishing characteristics of churches in Oarai are, for example, the pastoral

backgrounds among NiMO that enables migrants to establish a migrant church without the help from a Japanese institution and the homogenous subethnic background of most of the pastors, Pelsus, and congregants. I develop the term "integrated migrant church" for Church A, a church established by migrants with diverse Christian teaching backgrounds integrating the cultures of the host and the homeland. Meanwhile, Church B is a "subethnic migrant church" that establishment is based on the migrants' homogenous subethnic backgrounds with rules adapted from the synod in the homeland. All services and activities in Church A and B are conducted by migrant workers (except for the main pastors), and the language of instructions are in Bahasa Indonesia or Manadonese for the adult members, and dominantly Japanese for the children and teenagers (for Church A).

Table 6-3 Overview of Church A and Church B

Factors	**Church A**	**Church B**
Term based on the establishment type	Integrated migrant church	Subethnic migrant church
Establishment year	1993	1999
Founder	Earlier (undocumented Indonesian migrants in Oarai	Nikkei Manadonese who came 1998
Main church in homeland	Non-existent, but there is a main church in Tokyo, established in early 1990s	Exists in Tomohon, North Sulawesi, established by Dutch Missionary (during WWI)
Pastor	Missionary duty assigned by the first interdenominational church in Tokyo	Missionary duty assigned from the main church
Bishop	Members	Members
Congregants	Mostly Manadonese	Mostly Manadonese
Language used	Bahasa Indonesia, Manadonese, Japanese	Bahasa Indonesia, Manadonese, Japanese
Number of congregants (per 2017)	Around 100s	Around 300s
Building	A set-up church: A space is rented occasionally, so all church properties, symbols and instruments need to be set-up before use, and to be dissembled after the event.	Renting a building, dedicated for a church annually

The church does not necessarily signify physical building or space. Beyond its organic structure, it is fellowship. A church is a union, a fellowship, a community, an organization that offers affiliations, protection, and support for migrants on their journey. Participants cannot be affiliated to more than one church (as a fellowship). Religious conformity is clearly explained with the analogy of shepherd and flock by Pastor A. They only go to another church to attend events (usually family-related events). In that case, the church is considered a venue, referring to a physical structure rather than a fellowship. Nevertheless, newcoming migrants who look for a job in Oarai are allowed go to several churches as a participant.

Although a church in Oarai is not confined by a physical building, the visualization of the building as a religious place remains vital to support the holiness construction. It is done by setting up, renovating, and decorating a dance hall or an old warehouse with properties and symbols, to be a holy church. Indeed, the building is merely physical without people's performance and interaction in and towards the organic structure. The community of believers shares their Protestantism, norms, cultures, and organizational values through ritual behaviors such as liturgies and the use of symbols and properties. The conformity through their belief and rituals lead to the construction of “church” and holiness pertaining to it, in which non-believers will not be able to understand. In addition, the church is a space where they show social standing through clothing, self-presentation, lavish food, and celebration.

Similar to shachō’s roles in the kaisha, Pastors give guidelines and maintain the rules and standards in the church. Meanwhile, Pelsus are similar to the roles of coordinators in kaisha. Therefore, the church can be analyzed not only as a leisure but also work domain. There is a demarcation of work (as a bishop) and leisure (as a migrant worker) in the church set through the on-off holy attribute (stole and robe), creating a degree of flexibility between holy and profane.

The thorough body-washing and body adorning through visual self-presentation are one of the ways chosen to purify the body that embodies dirt and stigma as dirty workers. The clean body is a symbol of purity, and washing the body results in the physical, as regarded as moral and spiritual purity. In addition, clothing and appearance act as the on-off switch between the "fishy" job and a life with more dignity. The clothes intermediate the body and its public presentation (Twigg 2009). Through the church, they present themselves to the world, validate their social status and class. Therefore, although some of the Pelsus were undocumented migrants or with divorce history, they can still be the epitome of holiness for the congregation in the church.

Church in Oarai is a domain (1) where migrant workers can benefit from important network and supports, (2) where religious and communal activities take place; it is enmeshed between leisure and work, and (3) where migrant workers negotiate purity-impurity conceptions and adjust (and readjust) the preconceived rules and cultures from the homeland church. In general, holiness in the church refers to We-ness, physical attribution, and non-physical attribution that can be constructed by separating physical and moral taint. Holiness in North Sulawesi is related to physical and non-physical attribution such as self-presentation, education, high education, and occupation (being PNS/ government employees), which all contribute to social standing.

Hirschman argues that although religious faith provides continuity with experiences prior to immigration, the commitment, observance, and participation are generally higher in the migration setting (in his study refers to the US) after immigration than in the origin country (2004, 1208). However, the narrative of the pastors in Oarai contradicts Hirschman's argument, that the commitment of the migrant workers to the church is much less robust than in Indonesia. Arguably, it is because of the influences from the irreligious society in Japan, and as migrants, they have focused more on economic benefits, as the pastors argued. Church is more often to

be used as the means for looking for support and job vacancies. Because of the less commitment to serve the church, the positions in the church have become burdens rather than prestigious positions (as opposed to how they were in the homeland), as Karinda mentioned.

In this chapter, I discussed the group liturgy conducted almost every day at home, where migrants manage alongside kaisha and church. The church is commitment, ties, and emotions of where people belong, not only on Sunday but every day. In the church, they gather with their family, eat their ethnic food, spend leisure time, express themselves, and regain energy. However, little we know about the space where participants carry out their private activities and where they conduct the everyday liturgies: home. To complete the discussion on migrants' domain-crossing in Oarai, I will discuss home and the neighborhood in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7 HOME AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

7.1 Behind the Thin Wall

7.1.1 Housing and Ownership

In Oarai, the migrant workers mainly lived in an *apāto* (apartment) or old houses owned by the factory they currently worked at or used to work. An apāto[96] (アパート) is the Japanese term for a two-story apartment building that is usually small and constructed of wood or light-gauge steel. Similar to the old land house, due to their wooden structure, the walls are thin, and the buildings' soundproofing tends to be weaker than mansion apartments. Mansions are made of concrete with three or more floors. There are only two mansion buildings in Oarai. One of them is the complex of old *jūtaku* (住宅)—buildings or municipal public housings—which are located in the lowland, near the seashore. Some people choose to share their space with their relatives or other migrants to make the rent more affordable. However, for the houses, the owner only leases them to the trusted persons in the kaisha, who will be responsible as the coordinator of the house. Only the coordinator's relatives could live in the house.

Table 7-1 Housing types and ownerships which participants live in (exclude pastors and Japanese participants)

Types / Ownership	Single House	Shared House	Apāto/ Ko-po[97]	Mansion	TOTAL
Company Relation	13	6	26	-	45
No Company Relation	-	-	2	1	3
Municipal	-	-	-	4	4
Self-owned	-	-	-	-	-
No information available	1	-	2	-	3
TOTAL	14	6	30	5	55

[96] Manadonese in Oarai calls it aparto since they heard it through daily talk with Japanese and previous migrants at the beginning of their settlement in Oarai (see Aparto Asa in Chapter 4). It is also because of their intertextual memory of the word 'apartemen' (in Indonesian language).

[97] Ko-po (コーポ) is an apartment of 3 stories or less. It is derived from corporative housing.

It is quite challenging to find a place to live in a small town like Oarai. When looking for it, I had to approach a kaisha owner, because a house is often associated with a factory. Besides, migrants need to have a Japanese guarantor if they want to rent a house. Thus, housing for migrant workers is more often related to the kaisha they work at. Generally, the kaisha owners provide houses or apāto to be rented by their workers. The housing relation to a company is one of the characteristics of paternalism in Japanese business firms.

Paternalism is a practice of when employers extend benefits to workers in return for good behavior and loyalty on the job.[98] The paternalism system makes its appearance in Japan in the early decades of the twentieth century, when, in the heavy industry, in particular, there was a shortage of skilled labor, and the few employees would repeatedly change their company (Mihut 2014). Paternalism usually emerges to attract labor to an isolated area, like Oarai and endures to attract and hold the right kind of labor and mute labor discontent (Reynolds 2015).

7.1.2 House Full of Tears

The place where I lived was a two-room apāto of 20 meters square. It was once the sanctuary of a family I never met, whom I heard had struggled on their undocumented status for a few years until the court refused their visa request. "That house was once full of tears." One of my participants recalled the story. The husband and wife met in Oarai as undocumented migrant workers who then had a daughter. Both of them worked in the small kaisha, which also owns the house. Because her daughter is raised and grown up in Japan, they decided to report themselves to the immigration office with the hope of approval to change their visa to a working one. They had the recommendations from Pastor of Church A, a Japanese pastor, and

[98] Besides being able to stay in one of the employers' houses, the workers are often offered some defective products for free.

the kaisha owner to describe their credentials. However, on that day of the surrender, the father was directly detained in the immigration bureau in Tokyo, while the proposal was being reviewed. His wife and daughter had to survive living without him, by cooking and selling Manadonese food for Indonesian workers' lunches or the church events. It is one of the many classic stories of undocumented families in Oarai.

A week before I arrived in Oarai, these families were deported back to Indonesia after their years of struggling to get a visa. The owner of the house just cleaned up that apartment. When I moved into the house a few weeks later, I could still find some signs of the previous settlers: The corner of the wall was covered by thin Styrofoam, to protect a young child from getting bumped. Some used sellotapes and plastic ropes on the rack that they have just packed their boxes and stuff, and two hyphenated names are written in pen ink on the side of the AC remote controller which became my first “hello” to the struggling couples. One room which I used for a living room had an *oshiire*, a wall closet, with a partition. This room shares a thin wall with the next-door neighbor’s. The other room is my bedroom; it has some mounted racks on its wall and an oshiire, but without a partition, so it feels a bit spacious. When Bella came to see me, she was surprised by the arrangement, because my bedroom used to be a living room for the previous family.

> We used to gather here when the person in this house was a host for a weekday liturgy. As you see, it is a very small room, so they put chairs inside the wall closet. So, some people sat inside there (pointing to the oshiire). As the other room has a partition, they used it as their bedroom instead. (Bella, researcher’s home interview in 2017)

Home is where transitions between multiple front stages happen.[99] It is also a place where they gather with their compatriots in a liturgy. By arranging the layout, designating a room for gathering, and setting on some properties and decorations, such as a cross and a poster

[99] As I discussed earlier, home can become a backstage (referring to Goffman's theatrical metaphor), but not necessarily a backstage. The neighborhood, the short walk between kaisha and home, the moment in the car, the spaces between the work station, and the doors are also backstages.

of Jesus in the room, a house may be transformed into "home." Yet, I came to realize that with such thin wooden walls, the bumping and the creaking sound of the parquet floor where people step on it, the sound of singing along during the liturgies may be intrusive for their neighbors, especially on weekday nights.

7.1.3 Police Sirens and the Trauma

"Quick! Shut the door!" Gina whisper-shouted to a few people who were just coming to her apartment for the liturgy. On that day, I went together with Bella and other people from Church A to Gina's place on the third floor. She lives in public housing. When we arrived in front of the building, Bella reminded everyone to step quietly and not to talk or make any noise while climbing the stairs. Bella told me that Gina has received some complaints regarding noise on the stairs when many people come to her apartment for a liturgy. Therefore, Gina and her husband, Alex, always remind the guests to stay quiet outside the door.

On another week, it was Bella's turn to host a weekday liturgy at her house. However, she did not hold it at her house, which is near to my place, but in her sister Nayla's. I was thinking it may be because Bella's house is small. So, I went to Nayla's apāto for the liturgy. When the liturgy had started, Nayla whisper-shouted to one person near the windows, "Close the windows!" Although it was a hot evening in summer, the door and windows must be kept closed to muffle the sound from people talking, walking, and singing during the liturgy. After two hours, the liturgy was over, everyone left the house. Bella's family and I stayed and talked relaxedly until midnight. Suddenly, there were police sirens heard afar. In a second, Nayla's face turned to be so tense, her eyes protruded. She quickly put her palms on her ears.

> Nayla: "Police…police…what happened? [pause] I always get goosebumps every time I hear police sirens." She showed her goosebumps to me."
> Me: "What happened?"

> Nayla: "I still have trauma. The feeling is always like, who is arrested? What is wrong? [pause] I am afraid… recently there are a lot of raids and arrests again. Currently, from our church, eight people are being detained."

This kind of siren was usual in my ears when living in Nagoya, and I had no nerve. But in Oarai, this siren can mean someone I used to meet at the church may be trying to run away from the chase. Someone who may be close to me in daily life may get caught. The feelings of worry and nervousness burst. For Nayla especially, she still has the trauma because she was an undocumented migrant back in 1997 (before meeting her current husband, the third generation of Nikkei, who came to Oarai in 1998). [100]

Nayla and her family's conversation flashed back to the early 2000s when inspections and arrests were frequent because of the high number of undocumented migrants. She said, in the past, the inspections were random. Many policemen usually came in one big bus. Some of them would knock on the door and inspect the house while others would be guarding outside every window, door, or corner of the house building. When they opened the door, a policeman would ask the number of people living in the house. Then he would ask them to show their identity cards and many policemen would enter and inspect the house, checking all rooms, any possible places a person could hide, like closets, to ensure no one was hiding. Not only Nayla, but Bella also recalled her experience of having a full bus of a policeman getting into her house because of a high-intensity inspection at that time. Their conversation instantaneously switched back to a present situation about people with refugee's visa (*nanmin*, in Japanese). They are quite upset with people with a nanmin visa who, they think, are very careless.

> Those people (refugees) never feel how terrifying it was being chased by immigration because of a tourist visa because they directly received a visa. So, they are careless and not afraid. They don't feel vulnerable. You know, we have a valid visa, but still, we are afraid. Sometimes nanmin gather in someone's house, making some loud noises with windows opened! (Nayla, home interview 2017)

[100] Her visa was changed to 'the spouse of Nikkei' after the marriage.

What Nayla and Bella were afraid of was that if any neighbors reported the noise to police officers and they would come for inspections. At the beginning of the issuance, people with a nanmin visa had no work permit. Thus, if they are found to work, they would be arrested for having illegal activities without permission. Instead of being careful with their status, many people with refugee visas are considered to be careless by the Nikkeijin. That is why Nayla, Bella, Lely always make sure to close the door and windows when they conduct the liturgy at their houses, as what I also noticed when coming to people's houses for the liturgy. There is "othering" when Nayla felt that nanmin are more careless for their safety in obeying rules, compared to the former undocumented migrants, like her.

7.1.4 Stigma in the Neighborhood

The impressions of the past migrant settlers seem to overshadow this Nikkeijin to make a relationship with their neighbors. In the past, where more undocumented migrants dwelled in Oarai, Japanese neighbors became impatient about the car accidents, noise and other disturbance caused by Indonesian migrants, and triggered the authorities' mass arrest (Pudjiastuti 2005). The past flux of population in the neighborhood resulted in the longstanding stigma, that whoever they are today, some neighbors still see them as troublemakers who are suspected of living illegally in Japan.

The day when I was about to move into the house, a friend drove me by car to the house. He wanted to park at the side of the house, but suddenly his car wheels bumped into concrete blocks (which were not visible from the car). Although I could simply move them, I did not do it, as I had no clue of their functions. Later I know that it was a Japanese neighbor who put the concrete blocks in purpose. From the other participants, I know that these concrete blocks were meant to prevent any Indonesian friends of the previous tenant from parking their cars, or in other words, visiting the house for a liturgy. On the same day, the owner of the house (and a

kaisha) also warned me: “Please don’t be noisy, especially after 9 PM. You know, Indonesian people usually stay up ‘til late, singing, playing guitar (while imitating a guitar-playing gesture). The person next door needs to sleep to work in the morning. Indonesian people are *urusai naa* (noisy uh).” This warning was striking me and left me with a question: Why did he think I would be noisy with the fact that I live here alone?

Nayla and Bella’s story of the past makes a perfect loop of the story of why the house owner warned me of the noise I might potentially make on my very first day. I understand why Bella cannot hold a liturgy in her house. It was not because her apāto is small, but because she is afraid of her sensitive neighbors. Thus, it is common to conduct a liturgy at the other family’s house (with better soundproofing insulation structure) or at a pastor’s house to prevent the neighbors’ complaints. Noise in a small town like Oarai is easily intruding into people's houses.

7.2 Noise Report

7.2.1 “Stop that Racket” and the Barbed Wires

During the pre-research in 2016, I stayed at Priscilla's house for two weeks. The building, which is quite old, is owned by a factory where she works. Priscilla shares the house with her brother Edo and her extended family. She is one of the coordinators of the house, as entrusted by the factory owner. The building comprises two parts: the house at the backside and a large garage at the front (originally functioned as a store by the factory) which is used by Priscilla's family as a multifunctional space and a seating area for guests. A curtain separates both parts, but it is always left open. The entrance to this house is at the garage, thus, the doorway is a little away from the house part. The house itself has two stories, five rooms, two bathrooms, and one big kitchen with two cooking stations. The house interior is made of wood, with outdated parquet flooring and loosened tatami inside the bedrooms. Three bedrooms are

located on the second floor, while two others are on the first floor, opposing the kitchen. I stayed in the room closest to the kitchen.

When I was about to go out of the house, I was startled by the sight of barbed wire and a hand-written sign: “Stop that racket” (see Figure 7-1), just outside the door, that I did not notice before when I entered. The migrant's house does not share a side wall with the neighboring houses, and there is a meter pathway between each. When I asked Edo about the sign, he explained it briefly in a relaxed manner: “Oh, it has been there for a while, because our neighbor is urusai (noisy), so mama-san (the wife of the owner) was angry and put up the sign. We don't know what it means, though. What is ‘racket?’ We do not understand [its meaning]." It was surprising to see the sign and the wires, which made it appear like a "no trespassing" sign. In Edo’s understanding, the sign is aimed at his neighbor because she was noisy. Edo does not consider this sign as an offense because of this understanding, and the unwitting meaning of racket.

Figure 7-1 The sign and barbed wire in front of the door of Priscilla’s house

When I interviewed Priscilla in the seating area, she had a chance to talk about this neighbor. She talked in a very calm manner during the interview:

> Japanese people do not like it if we are noisy. Well, it is the same thing as people in our *kampung*; (They) also do not like it if we are noisy, right? Japanese people after 9 PM want to go to bed. That is their sleeping time, resting time." [in a very calm tone].
> "How noisy?" I asked. Still, with the same calm tone, Priscilla continued:
> There are some…people who talk too loudly. Some neighbors might get used to these, but some others do not. They cannot. Just like neighbors in front of that door (She indicated the doorway on my opposite). (Priscilla, home interview in February 2016)

She portrayed the Japanese as "people in our kampung." Her definition of noisy situates in how neighbors perceive loudness. She admitted that some people in the house might talk too loudly, but the perception of being noisy is not about the loudness of the sound itself but rather on how others think it is. She further described the sound from her house, which she believed had triggered her neighbor's complaint.

> In the past, when I just climbed the stairs, the *oma* (referred to the neighbor) knocked the walls." [Priscilla knocked on the table to illustrate].
> "Aa, noisy!" She (the neighbor) shouted." [Priscilla illustrated it in a whisper, lowered her tone, and sounded a little apprehensive]
> Then, I wondered, what should I do; I only want to walk in the house? I cannot walk or climb the stairs…it always makes a sound. What should I do? (Priscilla, home interview in February 2016)

The house's floor, as it is an old parquet, always makes a sound when walked upon. When I stayed in her house, I also had to step slowly at night to avoid making any creaking sound that could disturb anyone in the house. Priscilla's room is on the second floor, so whenever she wants to go to her room, she has to climb the stairs, and a creaking sound is inevitable. The sound can be heard in the house and the room, but when I was outside it is barely inaudible. In addition, the neighbor's wall is also not adjacent to Priscilla's house. Priscilla, who does what people typically do at home, finds it puzzling how it could be heard as noise by her neighbor.

> One day, the oma was angry. She wanted to call the policeman. "I want to call the policeman," she said. Then I said, "Yes, it is fine if you want to call the policeman, we do not make any *keributan* (disturbance). We only talked in the house. We do not

> make any keributan." Then she went back to her house… (Priscilla, home interview in February 2016)

Priscilla lowered her voice until I could not hear it. There is sadness and desperation when her last word trailed off. Noise for Priscilla is a disturbance, such as doing something out loud, beyond the scope of quotidian activities at home. Hence, she did not find the sound of climbing the stairs or talking with the other family members as noise. So, I asked Priscilla, if the neighbor really called the police officers. "No. Maybe, (at first) she thought we had no visa." She replied. In her opinion, the neighbor did not report the noise to the policeman because she knows that Priscilla and her families have valid and legal visa.

7.2.2 "You are just Gaijin"

Bella, my neighbor, lives with her family about one and a half kilometers from Priscilla's house. For the interview, she came to my house. Visiting her house is impossible, even for her relatives, due to the sensitivity of her next-door neighbor, X-chan.[101] Bella's house, unlike Priscilla's, shares a wall with her neighbor. Bella moved to the house in 2011, right after her former house was flooded due to the great earthquake and tsunami. However, during our talk, Bella cheerfully told me the story of her moving out and building one room for her daughter, with the great help of her family and friends. She rejoiced at the moment when her daughter finally has her room. When continuing, suddenly, her tone changed. She sighed and said: "But the only *mondai* (problem) is that person, X-chan." One day, when Bella and her husband were still working, her daughter was home alone, when suddenly X-chan yelled out loud without any clear reasons. Her daughter was terrified and called Bella to go home soon. X-chan often gets aggressive to any sounds Bella makes at home. She had to arrange the interior layout and avoid eating in the dining room, to prevent any sound for her neighbor. When she

[101] In Japanese, -chan is usually used to address children or a younger person. The Japanese man is called with "-chan" by the shachō, and that is how Bella addresses him too.

contacts her family in Indonesia, she also has to go outside, sit in the car, or go to the nearest store's parking lot. When I called her, she always answered the phone in the kitchen (the farthest space from the wall shared with her neighbor) and speaks in whispers. The relation with this neighbor has thoroughly influenced Bella's family life. She cannot have a guest or make phone calls at home, and her daughter suffers from unhealthy tension and fear with this neighbor.

In January 2017, she had an argument with X-chan outside Bella's house. X-chan accused Bella of always being *urusai* (noisy), including holding a loud party at her house during New Year's Eve. Bella was astounded by the accusation because she and her family were on the church retreat during New Year's Eve. He threatened her to report this to the shachō. Bella responded in soliloquies for almost the entire interview, vividly depicting the situation:

> He said I am always urusai. I said to him: "You are the one who gets noisy. You are noisy with your cat. […] You knocked the walls. You often do this [Bella knocked on the table]. Later I will record it. I will report you to the police." […] It is because he easily reports to shachō. I challenged him, "You report to shachō, I will report to policemen." Then he said, "*Douzo-douzo* (go ahead), report to the policemen. I am sure you are afraid because you are just *gaijin* (foreigner)." I confronted, "No, I am not afraid. Do you want me to report you now? Do you want me to call the police now? Want now?" Then he stopped talking. (Bella, home interview in 2017)

Bella's voice was trembling when retelling this story. Sadness and frustration are etched on her face. I asked Bella if the neighbor knows that she is Nikkeijin. Bella said that she assumed shachō has told him, but it is *kankeinai.* Although Bella is the third generation of Japanese descendants, for her neighbor, being Nikkeijin or not does not make any difference. She is "just *gaijin*" and seems to remain a foreigner for the Japanese. On that day, X-chan reported Bella to shachō; then, mama-san came to mediate. In the end, Bella initiated to reconcile the conflict by asking for apologies to mama-san and X-chan for the issue. Mama-san then urged X-chan to say apologies to Bella too; however, despite her pressure, he did not want to do it. On another day, Bella also came to meet shachō to ask for apologies for the

persisting problem with X-chan (although she did not make the accused noise on New Year's Eve).

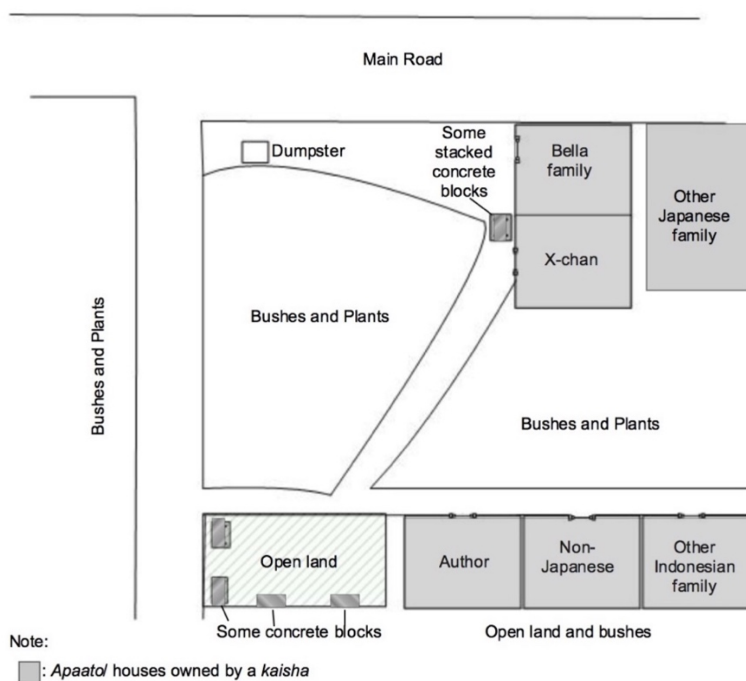

Figure 7-2 Illustrating map of the neighborhood where I lived

Unfortunately, the complaints are not the only problems Bella experienced with X-chan. He also puts concrete blocks on the border between his house and Bella's house and forbids anyone to use the pathway (see Figure 7-2). Meanwhile, he can always go through it when throwing garbage in the dumpster. Thus, although there is a shorter way from my rented house to Bella's, I have to go around the way. The houses and land complex are owned by the shachō, not by X-chan, so he practically has no rights to block a pathway or make unilateral rules for his neighbors, unless the shachō lets him do so. This is an example of territory domination, which is similar to what I found in the kaisha, when a senior claims space and tools in the workstation, as well as forbids other workers to use them. This is also an example of how more powerful residents influence decisions about the situation of land use in ways that are beneficial to them (Cushing et al. 2015, Morello-Frosch and Lopez 2006).

7.2.3 Urusai Opa

One and a half kilometers from Bella's house, there was Dena's rented house. That night, I was about to stay over at her house for the first time. Right after she parked her car at the end of the alley to her house, everyone in the car abruptly changed their voice tones and motions. They whispered and moved silently, even after the vibrant vibes of three little kids in the car just a moment before. When her little daughter was rather cranky, Dena hushed her harshly to silence her: "Don't be urusai, *opa* will be angry." Her daughter made a sudden nod signaling that she understood. Even after they entered the house, the children kept silent while tiptoeing to their bedrooms. I remembered, a year ago, Dena drove me to someone else's house just to be able to talk to me. At that time, I was not informed that the reason was because of this neighbor. It finally made sense a year later when I experienced myself tiptoeing and talking to her only with gestures and whispers.

Dena whispered to me, "There is an *ojiisan* (elder man) (living) in front of the house who usually throws stones to my front door if we make any noise," I looked outside but could only see a yard and high wall, no house. "It is behind the wall," Dena added. Dena told me that the man would be angry if there is any sound at night from her house, including showering sound, although the pitter-patter of the showering sound is inaudible even outside the house door. Moreover, the shower room is on the backside of the house, while the man's house is located in front of the house, behind the high wall. Although Dena does not usually take a shower after church for a different reason, doing everyday activities at home without producing sound becomes an everyday struggle.

On one occasion, Dena showed me some photos from her mobile phone of her dirty front door and front yard. One striking photo shows how shrubs along the wall are green and healthy except one side, precisely at the front side of her doorway across the man's house. "We do not know what the ojiisan throws away, but it may be sewage or poisonous water, so

that…look! (showing the photo) All the plants died only in that part (where he usually throws away something), and the other plants are healthy." Dena explained. She also has Japanese neighbors at the backside and next to her house, who never complain of any sound, although their houses are located literally side by side, and not fenced off from Dena's house.

Dena then showed a video of her neighbor when coming to her house to complain about the noise. I saw a Japanese man in his sixties, wearing a white singlet, bringing a long baseball bat, and yelling at Dena’s husband in Japanese. I could not clearly hear what he was saying, but the Japanese man’s expression looked infuriated and intimidating. Dena said, instead of trying to hit her husband, the neighbor provoked her husband to beat him first. Dena's husband shook his head as a sign that he was not going to do what the neighbor said. Dena said that it was a trap for them, because the Japanese man only wanted to find an excuse to report Dena's family to the authorities.

7.3 The Unwanted Matters

7. 3.1 Cucumbers

On one Sunday, I came to Karinda’s house at 9:00 to go to the church together. Karinda lived in an old land house owned by the kaisha where she works. She and her family just moved there in the past two years. The house has small side and back yards and a fence in front of it. Compared to other participants' houses, Karinda's house seemed to have more privacy.

Suddenly, my conversation with her was interrupted by a woman shouting in front of her fence. She muttered: “Oh, the urusai oma," and then she went outside. From the living room's windows, I could hear Karinda repeatedly said: "Hai, *wakatta*. Hai. Wakatta." (Yes, understood), while the neighbor kept talking continuously. After about 10 minutes, she came back: “Oh, urusai oma. It is always difficult to interrupt her when talking." She suddenly asked

her husband to cut off all the cucumbers that they had planted in the backyard. The urusai oma is her neighbor who accused Karinda's cucumbers to inflict the growth of her plum tree in the backyard. Karinda's husband asked: "Now? But we are going to go." Karinda asked him to cut them off right away as the oma's request. She also blamed all plants in the pots that Karinda and her husband planted along their side yard. "She blamed everything we planted. She said the minerals in the soil are decreasing because we grow plants here." Karinda said. Her husband took shovels and garden scissors and added, "Actually, her ume (plum) is not thriving because she never puts fertilizer on it. It is not because of our cucumbers." However, Karinda just calmed down her husband and got him to do what the neighbor said.

Although Karinda rents the house, two trees (orange and plum) in the back yard of the house are still taken care of by the oma, because she is the mother of the house owner, who is also Karinda's boss. She lives across from Karinda's rented house. Karinda had to accept the terms when the shachō offered her to rent the house, that his mother owns the trees in the backyard. In consequence, his mother still has the right to enter the backyard through the side of the house. Therefore, although Karinda's house is fenced, it is never locked.

7.3.2 Leo

Around 800 meters from Karinda's house, there is Leo's rented apāto. It is a two-floor Ko-po building. His place is on the second floor. It is owned by the most visited gift shop in Oarai, where he worked. Leo is one of the trusted persons in the shop and is usually assigned to serve special guests from Tokyo.

When I visited his house in the evening, he was still at work. I talked to his wife and sat around the kerosene heater in the living room. After about 15 minutes, Leo came home, and joined the talk while his youngest son was playing next to him cheerfully. Leo shared his experiences in a lively manner, until I asked him what his biggest hurdle living in Japan is. His

tone suddenly changed; his gaze on his son was empty. I could feel agitation and despair. His different gesture surprised me after his exuberant talk: “Here, if the relationship with the people is not good, it is difficult.” His wife suddenly said: “Yeah, that person.” “Who? Neighbors?" I asked. He did not answer and just continued his story:

> It has been ten years (living in the neighborhood). If they are not willing to (accept us), if they hate foreigners, they will hate them until… [trails off] that kind of character exists. If they are, for the first time, hate foreigners, it is impossible to change it, even if we give them anything, they will not like us. Some people are open, but some people are difficult. Even though we do not disturb them, they will not change it. From the past, this place (the apāto) has been the place of foreigners. So, they cannot accept it. [He continued with low tones. Then I asked him to explain more about it.]
>
> Well…[sighs] If we usually say good morning or anything else… they just ignored it. However, that was only a standard of people run across, right? (It is) *Aisatsu* (greetings). But, because since the first time…[pauses]. There was one occasion. At that time, I was walking, and he suddenly drove back his car carelessly, intending to hit me! It means... it seems (they) do not like us. If the first impression, has not been positive, it will be like that forever and ever. If they could accept us, we should have been close. […] If he does not care, he will continuously not care to us. That is how the Japanese are. If they care, wherever we are, (we will be) “Oh, we met.” like that. (Leo, home interview, 2016)

Leo felt his relations with his neighbors are difficult to build if they have negative pre-conceived ideas on migrants. He said that the building used to be inhabited by undocumented migrants. He assumed that the last impression of the previous dwellers for the Japanese has not been positive. Neighbors will continue keeping that mindset regardless of the change of tenants in the building. For Leo, the unwelcoming and rejection acts of his neighbor towards him are a signal that his presence is unwanted. It affects his emotions towards his migration experience in everyday settings.

A “good neighborhood,” as Brower’s (1996) outline, is the area that can serve several functions, most notably those of relaxation and re-creation of self; making connections with others; fostering attachment and belonging; and demonstrating or reflecting one’s own values. Neighbor relations could be the most mundane of relationships that occur in the small routines of social life as we say “good morning” while walking to the car (Stokoe and Wallwork 2003)

as expected by Leo as standard greetings. Similar to noise, anything threatening the order (such as migrants' presence in the neighborhood) seems to be considered as pollution—or contamination (Hemer 2020). Russell and Giner-Sorolla (2011) argue that disgust is an "unreasoned" emotion: little can be done to change the feeling once it is there. Similar to disgust (see Speltini & Passini 2016), the relationship between feelings of physical noise and moral condemnation exist regardless of whether the action to be judged itself was physically noisy.

7.4 Home and the Neighborhood

7.4.1 Relations with Neighbors

In a rural area like Oarai, the land is compact, houses are almost borderless, and walls are thin. Migrants and neighbors can meet, hear, and easily sense each other's presence. In this kind of neighborhood where migrants' and local's houses are located side by side, the use of living spaces is negotiated inter-ethnically on an everyday basis (Boccagni and Brighenti 2017), with noise bringing a heightened awareness of people's connection to others (Keizer 2010). Unfortunately, the social interactions between some Japanese neighbors and migrants are conducted through continuous complaints, reports, and bordering, which signify how separation is constructed. The partition of stones and wires provides a glaring example of a boundary marker that is unlikely to produce good neighborly relations (Nash 2009).

The stories on NiMO and Japanese above demonstrate five typical conflicts and relations between migrants and neighbors in a small town, Oarai. Noise complaints are escalated into the actions of space control by the Japanese neighbors or the factory owners. The Japanese neighbors' actions—putting stones in a public place, throwing dirt in the private outdoor space of others, claiming trees inside one's garden, writing and putting a sign by the

entrance door—indicate the establishment of boundary and power to control private-public spaces. This domination of private-public spaces escalates to arbitrary rules set by the Japanese neighbors without conventions.

Although not all neighbors give them complaints, the existence of one person has been disturbing for the participants in constructing home, because privacy at home should refer to freedom from surveillance and external role expectations (Saunder and Williams 1988). Home for the participants is backstage for their body, where transformation and transition take place, thus should not be interrupted and observed by neighbors. The emplacement of a home into a particular dwelling is affected by their broader processes of acculturation and integration in other domains. No matter how good the decoration and furnishing at home are, if the neighbors are not welcoming and consistently complaining of their presence, the emplacement of home into an organic structure will always be contested.

In the end, in many cases of noise complaints, Japanese neighbors reported them to the house owner. Mama-san usually mediated the conflicts, instead of the shachō. She usually handles social issues among the tenants (who are also workers of the kaisha), like what happened to Priscilla. Aycan states that when the wife of the factory owner is "more involved in the non-work lives of their employees by assisting them in their social and family problems, this practice is considered as new paternalism" (2006, 448).

7.4.2 Paternalism and House Ownership

The underpinning of paternalism in Asian cultures is the traditional value of familism, with a strong emphasis on patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal relationships within the family unit (Kim 2004). The housing and neighborhood situations in Oarai can be described as paternalistic in at least two ways. The first is the *ie* system and seniority: a father-son type of relationship between the employer and the employees, creating the premises for a family:

mama-san (mother), the shachō (father), and workers (children). Therefore, a juxtaposition of two families, the one at home and the one in the enterprise where they are employed, prevails (Mihut 2014). The fact that the workers are Japanese descendants also means the recruitment is more often based on kinship, which is believed to offer a more stable workforce.

Japanese society is best suited to the advancement based on seniority, being dominated by Confucianism, whose essential factor is the respect for the older people (Mihut 2014). In time, paternalistic relationships went beyond family boundaries, and vertical relationships in the family were extended to those based on seniority and gender in the workplace and social life (Kim 1994. The etymological connection with parenthood and hierarchical relationships may explain why paternalism is sometimes thought to involve an attitude of superiority (Grill 2011). In line with Bourdieu who suggests that the social position of people is an integral part of power dynamics that can dictate other people's degrees of freedom and choice (Gieseking, et al. 2014).

The second is housing and domination. Housing forms the focus of early factory paternalistic activity. Most of them live in houses owned by the shachō and located on company-owned land. Their church building was also rented from the owner of the factory where the congregation worked (see Chapter 6). Their neighbors can be their work partners or those who have close relations with the factory owner's family. For example, the elderly woman who asked Karinda to cut the cucumbers is the mother of a shachō. The Japanese man living next to Bella's is the shachō's trusted person at the kaisha. The ojiisan's wife, who threw pebbles and dirt at Dena's front door, is the senior worker at the same kaisha with Dena and her family. Additionally, the owners of the houses or apāto the migrants live in are always the same people who own the kaisha where they work. These overlapping positions at the workplace and the neighborhood explain the paternalism of kaisha and domination towards migrants' lives (see Table 7-2).

Table 7-2 Japanese neighbors' noise complaints and relations to the kaisha

Case	Complaining matters	Complaint escalations	Participants' Relation to Kaisha	Neighbors' Relation to Kaisha
Priscilla	The noise of talking and footsteps	Threatening to report to the policeman, Installing board and barbed wires	The rented house is owned by the kaisha, where she works.	None.
Dena	Noise from daily house activities	Throwing pebbles, dirt, and threatening with a baseball stick	The rented house is owned by the kaisha, where she works.	The neighbor's wife worked at the same kaisha.
Karinda	"Disturbance" of Karinda's cucumber and plants existence	Asking to cut all the cucumbers and remove all plants in Karinda's garden (private space)	The rented house is owned by the kaisha, where she works.	The neighbor is the mother of Kaisha's owner.
Bella	Noise from daily house activities	Reporting to shachō Installing concrete blocks	The rented house is owned by the kaisha, where she used to work.	The neighbor is the trusted person of the kaisha.
Leo	Leo's presence	Reporting to the policeman, trying to injure Leo	The rented house is owned by the kaisha, where he works.	None.

Homes are under the control of paternalism, between the kaisha-house owners and the senior neighbors. Therefore, paternalism becomes the reason why NiMO found challenges in a complete homemaking in the neighborhood, through which noise politics and space control took place. To some extent, home and the neighborhood become "sites of displacement: places where one is made to feel out-of-place and threatened" contributing to "a sense of alienation, exclusion, dislocation, and insecurity" (Samanani and Lenhard 2019). It may make home simply a "transitory dwelling place," which is "semi-private, semi-public" (Shortt 2015, 639). Thus, for many participants, paternalistic practices in housing appear to be disempowering. The difficulties of access to housing and sometimes leisure had left workers little alternative but to depend on company assistance (Koushiro 1978). It is one of the paternalistic practices for a company to "buy" the loyalty and docility of its workers through sustained housing facilities (Michell 2005 [1993]). By implementing paternalism, the owners tried to ensure a

stable workforce dedicated to the company (Mihut 2014), which explains the solution against the labor shortage in Oarai.

7.4.3 Noise Politics

One of the issues on their neighborly conflicts is how the reporting was related to the status of migrants. I had a chance to go to the police station in Oarai to look for some information regarding noise complaints and reports. The police officer on duty explained that the police station had no specific records on noise complaints. The emergency line for contacting the police station is used for reporting accidents or crimes. Similarly, some participants noted that inspections were not conducted by police officers, but immigration officers; and they were not reports on noise, but illegality suspicion. Although neighbors intimidated to report to the police officers, participants confided that they were not afraid. It was not only because they thought the reports were subjective, but also because they have valid visas. It adds up to the reasons why visa (and predominantly Nikkei visa) is regarded as privilege by NiMO. Accusing migrants as being undocumented or "overstayed" is a legitimate reason for immigration officers to do an inspection, even when they do not commit any crime or disturbance. They could be arrested, detained and deported. At the same time, it is a hegemonic way to get rid of the "unwanted sound."

Noise is what people perceive from the sound we produce, and even from our body presence. Noise perceived by the local neighbors[102] who feel disturbed by the presence of the migrants is both concrete and abstract. The foreignness of the body, resembling the newness of the sound of migrants, is perceived as "noise"—which is the perception of the listeners of the unwanted body presence of migrants, similar to perceiving noise as an unwanted sound,

[102] Because of some limitations, this study could not attempt to seek the perspective of the Japanese neighbors. It would be a recommendation for future research.

with or without the presence of visual or auditory aspects at all. “Noise” in this concept is embodied in migrants as a by-product of the psychological noise and corporeal tension of the hearers. This noise is perceived as a result of the projection of the body attribution as foreign beings, with or without the presence of visual or auditory aspects at all. Whether people decide to make a complaint about the perceived noise depends on their social power and domination. Although the body has a distinct physical boundary, its subjective expansion and contraction is a process that continuously renegotiates various psychological boundaries (Duschinsky, Schnall and Weiss 2016).

The body and sound of migrants could forever be noise for those who feel disgusted, with unreasoned emotion. Little can be done to change the feeling once it is there, as also mentioned by Leo. Therefore, in line with Giner-Sorolla and Sabo (2016), Japanese people may not only condemn specific noisy behaviors; instead, they stigmatize the whole person engaging in such behaviors, or even more broadly, entire social groups, such as Indonesian migrants. Similar to disgust, feelings disturbed by sound are emotions that can influence permanently: once something or someone is considered disgusting or noisy, the feelings remain “as if underlying processes are more akin to laws of magic rather than laws of physics” (Schnall 2016, 389-390).

Noise is, “marginalized sound and [the] sound of power and resistance” (Chandola 2012, 402) that, like dirt, is used in a dialogue of claims and counter-claims to status. Whether people make a complaint or not about the perceived noise depends on their hegemonic power and social domination. Therefore, noise is a critical tool in our lexicon of ways of describing and defining categories of sound (Chandola 2012). Although one may encounter these categories as apolitical and objective, they are “socially, culturally and morally informed and motivated,” and because of their subjectivity, can be considered “essentially political in nature” (Chandola 2012, 391). The more preponderance people have in the society, the more they can

exercise their power to make noise attribution, complain to and report the marginalized group to the authorities.

7.5 Conclusions

Home and the neighborhood are where the boundaries between public, communal, and domestic areas are increasingly contested, which remains a crucial issue, especially for minority groups such as immigrant and ethnic communities (Boccagni and Brighenti 2017). The neighborhood area in Oarai reflects a depiction of *kampung*, where people live side by side, with narrow streets and close proximity to each other. Houses are mostly fenceless and gateless that is supposed to foster access and connection with neighbors. The neighborly tension on noise elucidates the relationship between home as a physical structure and "home" as an imaginative perception of a space. Noise complaints stand in the conflation of three functions of home and the neighborhood with the other spaces, church, and kaisha: first as a transition and liminal space between the kaisha and the church; second, as a place where liturgy is conducted on weekdays, and thus affects how participants set up the layout, setting and properties; and third as space where paternalistic relation enacts, which can be clearly seen through how power manifest in the noise complaints escalation. Therefore, home and the neighborhood for participants associate with neighbor complaints, noise, territory domination, and paternalistic practices, leveraging their homemaking.

Behind the closed door, during the liturgy, there is always both the contradictory nature of noise and silence, as there is enthusiasm, and peace when migrants gather for the liturgy. Recreating home is executed by rearranging the layout of the house, the furniture, the decoration, and so on for the weekday liturgy. Renovation, decoration, and furnishing, like Bella did to the house she rented, help transform houses from generic familiar forms into places

that tell the story of distinct, personal lives and relationships. Home is supposed to have the idea of a space with freedom and control (Darke, 1994) and security (Dovey, 1985), as "differentiated from public space and removed from public scrutiny and surveillance" (Mallett 2004). However, although home always represents a comfortable, secure, and safe space (Dovey, 1985), for the participants, it is not a place where they have fully secure feelings and privacy. Anytime they can be inspected by policemen if their neighbors report them; also, neighbors can set trespassing and arriving at their doors to yell at them, whenever they want to. Neighbor conflicts on noise may have become the only thing inhibiting them from feeling fully home.

In fact, home and the neighborhood are the main sites for transition and transformation, where the body is purified and impurified performatively to support the performative accomplishment in the church and factory. Home is the liminal space and boundary to separate kaisha and church through bodily control that is constantly being reworked, maintained, rearranged, and reproduced. Therefore, the boundaries can be subtle, permeable, and unstable for each individual as the identity and meaning of a place are constructed and negotiated daily. Finally, this chapter underscores the interface between migrant workers, factory owners, and the neighbors in the construction of everyday boundaries in the contesting space in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER 8 PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

8.1 Overview

In the last three chapters, I have discussed everyday practices in each domain in details. However, everyday transnational practices are not neatly compartmentalized, nor are their consequences (Guarnizo 2003). In this last chapter, I will converge all domains into one piece of reality and discuss their interconnection and interplay in NiMO's everyday lives. This chapter consists of four parts. The first part will map out the classification system of purity-impurity in each domain that has been predominant in boundary work. The discussion will be elaborated in three time-periods of the participants' life history: The historical period (before migration - 1998), the transition-adjustment period (1998-2008), and the transformation period (2009-2018).[103] It is important to note that, in reality, the time frame is not exhaustive and clear-cut. Some activities observed can be overlapped from one period to another in individual situations. The second part will explicitly answer the research questions to come as a perfect loop from the questions I formulated in Chapter 1. The third part of this chapter will state areas of contribution of this study, by re-addressing some questions from the existing literary that can be answered by the findings of this study. Finally, the last part will be the conclusions and recommendations for the future research of NiMO.

[103] The "2018" is the last year of my fieldwork and does not necessarily signify the discontinuation of the discussed activities.

8.2 Purity-impurity in Everyday Domains

8.2.1 Kaisha: Performing docility and dirtiness

Through sorting, cleaning and packaging Japanese food in the kaisha, NiMO acquire and employ Japanese dirt logic towards food, under the hierarchical system and politics of seniority. They *perform* docility to comply with the hierarchy and practice seniority towards the junior workers. For more than a decade, they deal with dirt, disgust, and competition on an everyday basis and undergo the process of learning and unlearning the concepts of dirt in handling Japanese seafood products. The kaisha "stage" requires NiMO to embody dirtiness and taint through the spoiled products and foul stench they handle. However, in reality, there is disagreement and refusal towards the seniority system and disgust towards the Japanese food, expressed more blatantly outside the kaisha. Therefore, in the kaisha, they do not mind nibbling a specific kind of imo, while outside the kaisha, they object it. It exemplifies the separation of activated sensory perception at work and the non-work domains. In short, the docility and dirtiness embodiment in the 'kaisha' stage is part of their *performance* for the dramaturgical enactment.

Therefore, one of the reasons of why kaisha job is considered as dirty is because their bodies are forced to interact and adapt sensorially with the food of others in which it causes disgust. The disgust is triggered when their bodies touch, smell, inhale and taste the spoiled food products. The revulsion migrants felt in handling the food in kaisha states their logic of purity on food hygiene and processing. Not only food products that they are reluctant to eat, but the smell of their uniform after work is something participants are ashamed of and want to hide from the world. Scholars (e.g., Rozin & Royzman 2001; Rachman, 2004) have shown that feelings of contamination not only drive people to clean themselves, but they are also associated with negative emotions, such as fear, disgust, and shame (Speltini and Passini 2016). They are aware of the smell and dirt despite their continuous allegiance to the job for over two

decades. Outside the kaisha, the white uniform (although it is not worn) causes them to apologize for its existence, even before other people see or smell anything at all. It is in line with some qualitative research indicating that people performing dirty work tend to be acutely aware of the stigma that is attached to their work (Davis 1984; Rollins 1985; Thompson and Harred 1992).

During migration, they learn particular sensorial and cultural perceptions of dirt to perform in the kaisha, and activate (and inactivate) them based on the domains. Table 8-1 shows the changes of notions on purity-impurity concerning disgust, dirt, and power relation that participants negotiate in the kaisha over the years.

Table 8-1 Changes of meaning in kaisha

	Before migration	**1998 – 2008**	**2009 - 2018**
Handling dirty job	Participants avoided dirty jobs. In Manado, people doing the dirty job are mostly muslim migrants from Java or Gorontalo. They are regarded as *Sabla Aer* (the Other).	In Oarai, NiMO do the dirty job they shunned back home. NiMO struggled to accept the type of work in the kaisha in their first years of migration. They were disgusted with the job they handled. In addition, the seniority and competition (with the undocumented migrant workers) were strenuous as they were newcomers. They wanted to return home as soon as they save much money. They made two categories of jobs in the kaisha: dry and wet. A dry job is considered as a higher level than the wet one. However, in the initial period of time, they were still junior workers, so they could not choose the type of work they preferred.	They started to be the senior and trusted persons in kaisha. They learned the power and privilege of being Nikkeijin compared to the undocumented workers, so they keep doing the dirty job. Whenever possible, NiMO primarily choose to handle the dry ones, and the wet job is left for the non-Nikkei workers.

Dirt and disgust (Food-related)	North Sulawesi people are notorious for omnivorous, eating any kind of extreme meat such as snake, dog, bat, and so on.	Sorting spoiled Japanese food product affect NiMO's foodways. Because of the disgust, they avoid eating a raw form of food they handle in kaisha and most Japanese food.	They avoid eating a raw form of food they handle in kaisha and most Japanese food. However, they negotiate the products by cooking and processing them using ethnic ingredients for commensality in the church.

Few participants (mostly men) "refusing" to perform docility and dirtiness usually resign from the processing factories when possible and move to construction companies outside Oarai. Although construction work also requires onerous physical labor, there is more independency in the work and less hierarchy in the seniority system. It enables them to travel to various places and sites out of town, which is considered preferable to set boundaries between home (Oarai) and work (not-Oarai) as every other activity takes place in that small town. What about the majority of them? As Nikkeijin who have been living for more than a decade, they have more flexibility in terms of visa status, to find better opportunities in other places. Why don't they just move out from Oarai?

8.2.2 Church

"Church" in Oarai is more than just a religious place to pray and practice deity. The existence of many Manadonese churches in Oarai is one of the identities constructed by NiMO and Manadonese diaspora for the town known as *Kampung Manado*. The existence of these churches as social support system motivates more Manadonese people to come to work in Oarai. The third generation of NiMO are the founders of these churches. Their strong ties to the churches and the growing Manadonese community in Oarai make them stay in the small town. What have and have not been changed in the churches in Oarai compared to the ones in North Sulawesi?

Table 8-2 Church and its practices before and during migration

	Before Nikkei migration	**1998 - 2008**	**2009-2018**
Church	Nikkei Manadonese belong to various sects, religious groups and churches 1993: Church A was officially established by undocumented Indonesian migrants, with the support from an Indonesian church in Tokyo (established in 1989 by Indonesian migrants) There is one Japanese church in Oarai, which unknown for its establishment year, but it is arguably from the period of the arrival of Filipino migrant workers and the Brazilian, which is between the late of 1980s to early 1990s (see Meguro 2005)	1998-1999: NiMO could only choose between two churches (a migrant church and a Japanese church) in the first year of their arrival. October 1999: A subethnic migrant church was initiated. Few more churches were established since then. 1998-2007 There were four migrant churches established by Manadonese. In 2007 Church B was split up, so there were five migrant churches in total.	Migrant workers could choose more migrant churches. 2011 Pentecostal church was established 2018 Church B experienced another split. There are seven migrant churches in Oarai (per 2018). Three of them are subethnic migrant churches with a main synod in North Sulawesi.
***Pelsus* (Bishop)**	Pelsus served a church for two years and the position was competitive. Pelsus was a prominent figure, usually those who had a well-respected job.	Pelsus served a church for two years. Irrespective of their visa status (undocumented or documented), anyone could be Pelsus if appointed by the congregation. As there were still few churches until 2007, the Pelsus positions were still regarded as competitive.	Pelsus serve for three years due to fewer people who are available and willing to be Pelsus. The positions are less competitive. During the fieldwork, one person even refused to be nominated and appointed. Nikkeijin are most often appointed to be Pelsus due to their seniority, wealth, and superior visa status compared to other migrants workers in Oarai. Sometimes in the family, both spouses are Pelsus.
Holiness	Holiness in the church is wholeness. It includes the respectable moral and social background, i.e. marriage record (no divorce history or infidelity is allowed),	From the fact that undocumented migrants can be Pelsus and even pastors, the wholeness of being holy was less strict.	Although there have been more documented migrants, because of the lack of people who are willing to be Pelsus, few people are still voted as Pelsus.

	social status, and occupation.	Divorce and infidelity background is disregarded.	In few churches, there are still Pelsus with a divorce background. Holiness is as thin as the skin and clothing negotiated physically through body rituals, symbolic stole, and robe.

This study finds that the strictness of holiness-dirtiness in migrant churches shifts to be more flexible than in the homeland. In North Sulawesi, moral and social bearing profoundly determine the qualification and decision of the congregation in choosing the bishops/ Pelsus. A person who has a divorce history and is doing a dirty job would not likely be chosen as Pelsus, because Pelsus represents the whole holiness. However, in the migration context, the holiness of being Pelsus has been negotiated and reconceptualized by enacting numerous body-care rituals for *purification rites*—dramatic cleansing rituals for symbolic purposes for being hygienic (Waskul and Vannini 2013). Moreover, purifying oneself does not only mean physical cleansing but also maintaining virtue and social standing. High social status is sensorially signified by good visual appearance, pleasant smell, and good taste. Body odors, for instance, are routinely evaluated "as positive or negative, good or bad, and these evaluations are not neutral: what smells good is good, what smells bad is bad" (Waskul and Vannini 2008, 63). It includes separating domains *outside* the church. As long as migrant workers keep their social bearing well, people can choose them as Pelsus. In short, holiness-dirtiness in the church in Oarai becomes flexible and constructible via purification rites and attributes on the body and the visual appearance of the church.

There are at least two layers of purity-impurity categorization and boundaries constructed by NiMO during migration pertaining to their church life: institution and body. The institutional system starts from the principle that a person should only commit to one church affiliation and fellowship in Oarai. This system was not operated earlier, but just started

after there are many churches established in the town. Before that, any workers can attend in the Sunday mass either at the Indonesian and Japanese church based on their time availability. As explained by a pastor in Church A, if there are any members moving back and forth between churches, they can stir up the flock of both churches. For example, if one person attends the liturgy and receives the teaching from Church A this week, and from Church B in another week, the person potentially disturbs the harmony of values internalized in each of churches. The act of separation and polarization of churches in Oarai with their autonomies to lead the congregants is the politics of purity. It is based on the idea of separation between we-ness/ purity and Other-ness/ impurity. This is also exemplified by the use of term *gereja sabla* (next door church). Calling the other church as “gereja sabla” strengthens otherness's construction among Manadonese compatriots. Naming is among the most powerful boundaries-making practices, and every group set “us” off from “them” as a basic attribute of groupness (Conversi 1999).

8.2.3 Home and the Neighborhood

For NiMO, home is the melting pot, where they gather with their family to express their emotions, uncertainty and regain energy, and where liturgies and small events like birthday celebrations are held. Home is also a place to neutralize smell after working in the kaisha and to remake the appearance and purify the body before the church. Borrowing the front-stage concept by Goffman (1959), home is the backstage where transitions and preparation between kaisha and church are made. In other words, home and the neighborhood are the transitory dwelling step into the subsequent domain. Home is unavoidably full of everyday sounds (cooking sound, footsteps, foreign words, and many more), as it is a place where migrant workers prepare and transition to make a stable performance in their two main fronts: church and kaisha.

Due to the proximity of the houses and the foreign existence of migrants through sound and body, home and the neighborhood are heightened with conflicts with the Japanese neighbors which are escalated to space control. Space control includes private and public spaces domination violating the privacy of others. Physical boundaries (walls, wires and fences) set up by Japanese neighbors in Oarai for migrants are the characters of the urban area, serving for separations. It shows that in some extents rural area may become urbanized with the presence of international migrants and the neighborly conflicts. Based on the participants' narratives, conflicts have been developed with the earlier migrants, even before there were any Indonesian migrants and NiMO in Oarai (see Table 8-3).

Table 8-3 Home and neighborhood before and during migration

	Before migration	**1998-2008**	**2008-2018**
Home and neighborhood	Most of them lived in their own houses, in a bigger city or town (Manado, Bitung, Tomohon).	They experienced downgraded mobility, living in a secluded small town, sleeping on the floor in "Asa Aparto" and working in a factory.	They still live in the secluded small town, but they own a car (some of them own luxury cars), and live in a more spacious place house/ apaato/ juutaku.
Neighbor relations	In their homeland, neighbors greet each other.	There have been conflicts between the earlier migrants and neighbors even before they arrived. The conflicts are related to carelessness and violations by undocumented migrants.	Noise complaints by neighbors escalate into noise conflicts and space control.
Noise	Urusai (noisy) is related to making disturbances with high decibel sound. There were a lot of violations and noise in the neighborhood committed by undocumented migrants.	Migrants and NiMO are attributed as urusai. There are home liturgies conducted in the evening which may have disturbed the neighbors.	Migrants and NiMO still have noise conflicts with their neighbors and are attributed as urusai. NiMO started confronting and addressing neighbors as "urusai" due to continuous complaints and threats.

			NiMO realized that some Japanese neighbors will always consider them as noise, even when they live far away from them, even when there is no sound.

NiMO's home liturgies/gatherings serve as their oasis to feel alive even on the working days. However, the particular sounds chattering and singing in foreign languages and tones may sound like cacophony for Japanese people, especially the elderly people who get used to live in solitude. Being noisy is not merely about foreign sound but also body presence that is considered as "out of place." It is problematic to claim that noise and effects on noise are due solely to sound only. The attribution of noise is therefore not a neutral category (Stokoe & Hepburn 2005, 648). NiMO realized that some Japanese neighbors never accept them in the society, no matter how hard they try to behave well. Some Japanese neighbors always consider migrants as noise/ dirt, even when they live far away from them, and even when there is no sound.

NiMO started to reverse the "urusai" attribution to the Japanese neighbors when noise complaints are more frequent and irrational. Urusai has an expressive meaning when people are tired or annoyed by somebody's continuous behavior, not merely on sound. De Mente's (2004) defines urusai as something or somebody who is "persistently annoying," or "troublesome," which results in people getting tired of it (Lunsing 2001). For them, the neighbors' fussiness has started to become disturbance in their private space and the backstage of the other domains: home. The naming of "urusai oma/ opa" by migrant workers denotes the construction of NiMO themselves as victims and stigmatized which contrast sharply with the neighbors. This is one of the important findings in this study. Although migrants are often represented as noisy, NiMO reversed the label to their Japanese neighbors in their narratives

when describing the noise conflict in the neighborhood. While in most studies the dominant groups are the ones who put attributes to migrants, this study exemplifies that migrants can exert their agency and reverse the logic of purity towards the dominant group in everyday interactions. Arguably, they express their negative emotions towards their neighbors during the interview due to my relational position to them.[104] In front of the Japanese neighbors, the attribution is often silenced.

8.3 Boundary Work of All Domains

8.3.1 Body Purification and Impurification Rites

Body care is a common daily practice for anyone, even in a non-migration context. So, what is the difference between body washing conducted by migrant workers and people in general? First of all, when looking at the “self,” one sees one’s self, wants to be seen by others and regarded by others (Rudnick 2009). In migrants’ identification, there are stereotypes that their body is metaphorized as foreign, and their existence as pollution and epidemic (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Thus, the dirt system imposed on migrants includes metaphorical/ symbolic dimensions of prejudice. As they are aware of the stigma, it changes how they perceive dirt and themselves. Moreover, in migration contexts, it renders different embodied sensations, the intentions to purify, and the wholeness in the purification acts. Therefore, body care in a non-migration context, is often internalized as a quotidian routine, while in migration contexts as a routine and a purification rite. In other words, the difference lies in the dirtiness one embodies and wants to remove, and holiness to construct in the self-identification.

For example, Pelsus elected in Manado most likely do not work in a dirty job, while Pelsus in Oarai are migrant workers doing dirty jobs. This awareness induces the senses of

[104] Urusai is a subjective term that may not likely be uttered by migrant workers to researchers with higher relational power.

physical and moral taints. In consequence, physical cleansing and cloth separation for Pelsus in Oarai is more than a cleaning routine, but more a purification rite to remove the taints and stigma they embody outside the church. It is because physical cleansing can serve as a "psychological reset button," returning the body and the mind to a clean state (Schnall 2016). Therefore, although it primarily serves to remove both visible and invisible dirt and pollutants, washing oneself with water also has a symbolic, ritualistic function (Schnall 2016). Felix's story about wearing a stole exemplifies that being a Pelsus and factory labor renders the weight sense of "heaviness" on his nape and shoulders. I would argue that the more defiled and unholy someone feels, the heavier or more intense the body feels when doing purification rituals, such as when putting the stole on the shoulders. This is what makes the sensory performativity by migrant workers different from the non-migrant groups.

Another point to conclude is that, as the body can be purified, it can also be impurified, by not washing parts of or the whole body. When a social actor does not perform body care, the body is abandoned and dirty or anomalous by itself. With a lack of bathing, "the body slowly acquires a musty odor and the clothes become offensive" (Woodhull 1906, 131). That is when a person's body is impure. Impurification is shown by Dena's husband when leaving home for work, without grooming, not even washing his face or combing his hair. Nevertheless, this ritual of uncleanliness is not always very extreme, as purity-impurity conception is a continuum rather than a binary. Yet, it explains that workers do not have to modify their look or take a shower to go to the kaisha.

But, why does a social actor need to impurify the body? Goffman's dramaturgical theory can help to answer this. Based on the theory, individuals actively alter their appearance, manner and set to receive a favorable review by their audience. Entering the kaisha is not only about the impression one gives deliberately but also those they give off to have their roles "accepted." In the domain where impurity is required, such as in the factory, having a fragrant

and stylish look will not be conforming to the roles and settings. It will be strange to enter the factory in fresh-looking with fragrant smell. That kind of appearance does not belong to the factory setting. It is the opposite of the body care before going to the church (Home-Church transition), such as taking a bath and changing clothes at home. Therefore, workers have to abandon body control and self-presentation. The “abandonment of bodily control” (Douglas 1973, 98-100) includes non-bathing, non-grooming, non-using of deodorizer, and letting bodies be impure when it is required. The act of not doing body care when going out from the house can be seen as a ritual of dirtiness or impurification.

8.3.2 Liminal Space: Space of Power and Freedom

Each domain requires social actors to act and talk bounded by rules and roles. However, the creation of a domain cannot be understood in isolation. In this section, they are brought together to highlight the interconnection. This study finds that the imaginary line (or “mental fences” in Zerubavel’s word) can manifest into some transitional space or the *liminal space*. Van Gennep (1960 [1909]) describes liminal spaces in a physical sense. Yet, not only physical, liminal space can also be the in-between moment where social actors transition to connect one domain, performance, role and identity. It is the “betwixt and between” two conflicting identities (Newman 1999, 91). Liminal space serves as a boundary between domains that can also be physical, e.g., a place, street, car, and perceptive, e.g., the body sensation through body rituals. In the liminal space, migrant workers are less bounded by rules and likely to have more freedom to express their narratives, behavior, and self-presentation.

Table 8-4. Attitudes towards church-kaisha topics by the domains

Topics/ domains	**Church**	**Liminal space**	**Kaisha**
Products from kaisha	Imo products are rarely (if not never) served in the church. Fish products are cooked with ethnic ingredients and served at church events.	They do not consume the products. They talk about dirt and disgust with handling the products.	They eat a particular type of imo during working.
People	They are friendly and warm with big smiles to everyone. No conflict at the kaisha goes to the church. Pelsus and pastors are the most respectable persons	They talk about each other behind their backs, no exception.	They practice seniority, territoriality, and *baku cungkel.* Positions in the church do not interfere in the hierarchical system in the kaisha—only seniority rules.

Liminal space is where participants can rest their masks and have the freedom to express what they dislike: that the fish in the kaisha has maggots and is disgusting; the neighbors are urusai, and the high heels worn at the church hurt their feet. In the liminal space, participants choose to take up space to "make noise" by means of telling the truth. When Tara mentioned preservatives of the products she handled during the interview in the church, it was a slip of the tongue that she quickly corrected. She did not want to expose the negative side of her job in the church to prevent identity taint. However, in the car, on the way home, she could throw the truth joke: "The crabs in kaisha die longer than they have lived." Eve, did the same, when she talked bluntly about a particular fish in the kaisha she finds disgusting. Driving along the way is the escape and moment to detach herself from set-up roles in the kaisha. This example shows how migrants regulate their narratives based on the space where the conversation is conducted. Space, where they are free from any characters, is the liminal space, the in-between domain of where the transitions happen.

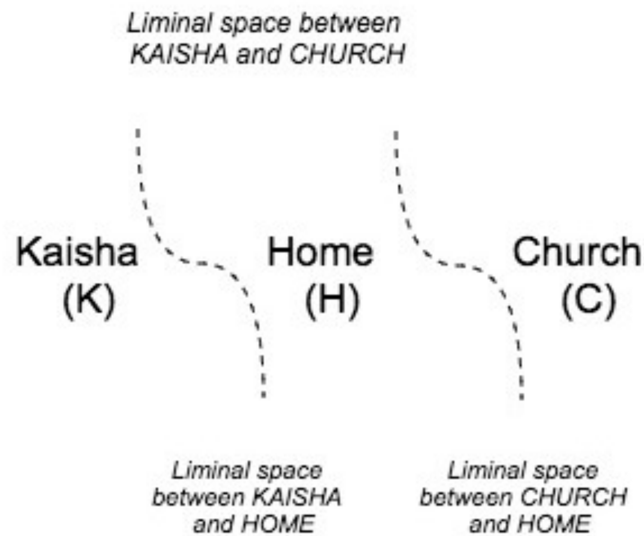

Figure 8-2 Liminal space between domains

I conclude that there are at least six combinations of transitions among the three domains: from Kaisha to Church (KC), from Church to Kaisha (CK), from Kaisha to Home (KH), from Home to Kaisha (HK), from Church to Home (CH) and from Home to Church (HC) (see Figure 8-2). From my observation, CK is the least possible transition to exist because participants go to the church either on the day off or *after* work, not the other way around. Going home either from the church (CH) or from kaisha (KH) shows minimal rituals, compared to Home-Church (HC) and Home-Kaisha (HK).[105] While kaisha-home transition (KH) is a routine that seems usual, the home-church transition (HC) could be unusual for their Japanese neighbors. For their neighbors, NiMO's outfits to the church may be seen as too neat and tidy for migrant workers. It is important to note that the figure is shown as fluidly separated by dashes to depict that the domains and liminal space can be fluid and overlapped one way to another depending on the individual's needs. As Zerubavel asserts, the reality is not

[105] The most frequent transitions are kaisha-house-church (KHC) rather than church-house-kaisha (CHK) because church time mainly exists after work.

unambiguously separated from one another by sharp divides, but, rather, of vague, blurred-edge essences that often "spillover" into one another (1991, 62).

Home connects both church and kaisha with its respective habitual practices, including the washing rituals, body care, and transitioning acts. Hence, home and neighborhood can be viewed as the liminal space for transitions between church and kaisha. It is where participants can hide and wash their white uniform in the buckets separated from the other clothes. Home as a structure is where participants come from kaisha or church with minimal pre-entering rituals, without changing their clothes or making a significant transformation. The home serves as the liminal space where their performative acts between kaisha and church are conflated. Therefore, while the construction of identities in each domain is *performance*, the boundaries and liminal space created is sensorially *performative.* Sensory performativity in this boundary work is the result of the everyday habitual practices and routines for years. Thus, the social actors may not be conscious of the liminal-space-making (please see Chapter 2 as for the differences between performance and performativity).

Although the home is regarded as the physical liminal space, it does not hold the characters of safety and privacy. The Japanese neighbors' actions —putting stones in a public place to prevent migrants from trespassing, throwing dirt in the private outdoor space (POS) of others, claiming trees inside one's garden, writing the sign in front of the entrance door for years where Priscilla and her family live—indicate the establishment of power in controlling private-public spaces (see Figure 8-3).

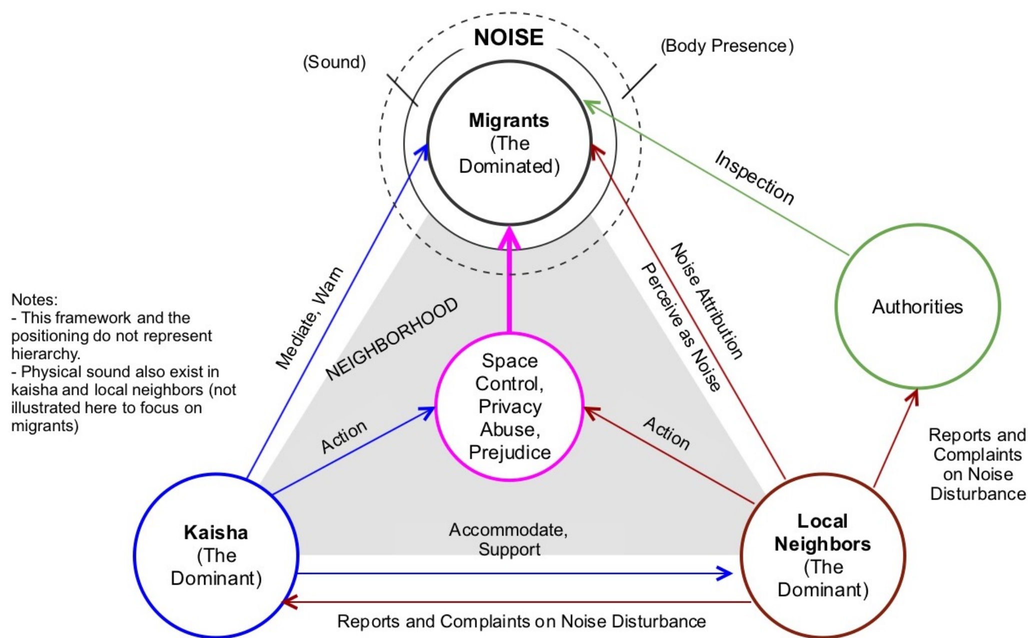

Figure 8-3 Complex interactions among actors in noise conflicts in Oarai

Monopolizing privileges and dominating spaces (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 31) are some of the practices indicated by existing studies on the relationship between migrants and local neighbors. In NiMO's case, there are three main actors in the neighborhood involving in noise complaints: local neighbors, migrants, and the kaisha (including owners and their family members). This is to show that home as the liminal space is influenced by another domain. In Japanese contexts, the combination of "ie" (home and family) concepts in the kaisha and paternalism in the rural neighborhood evidently insinuate in migrants' everyday lives.

8.3.3 Why Constructing Boundaries in the Everyday Domains

Based on the discussion above, there are at least three reasons underlying their boundary work strategies. First reason is *to construct and maintain identity in each domain*. Before migration, the church life is integrated into all areas of everyday life and regarded as an important supporter and stabilizer of social identity in the society as mentioned by Buchholt and Mai (1994). In Oarai, while church is still a very important supporter in the Manadonese

community and all everyday domains (as based on Buchholt and Mai's research), church life is no longer "strongly integrated into all areas of everyday life" (1994, 32). Church life is still an important supporter for social identity in the society, but church domain is set as separated from the kaisha. From the narratives and sensory observation, the interplay between church-kaisha is treated by the participants as opposing poles due to "a potential collision of values, ideas and roles" (Felstead and Jewson 2000, 115). Managing two opposing domains equals constructing two opposing identities, with a great extent of bodywork that will keep their identities in each domain, which has become more-or-less "solidified and accepted" (Lamont 2000). The figure below illustrates how NiMO create two opposing identities between kaisha and church on an everyday basis.

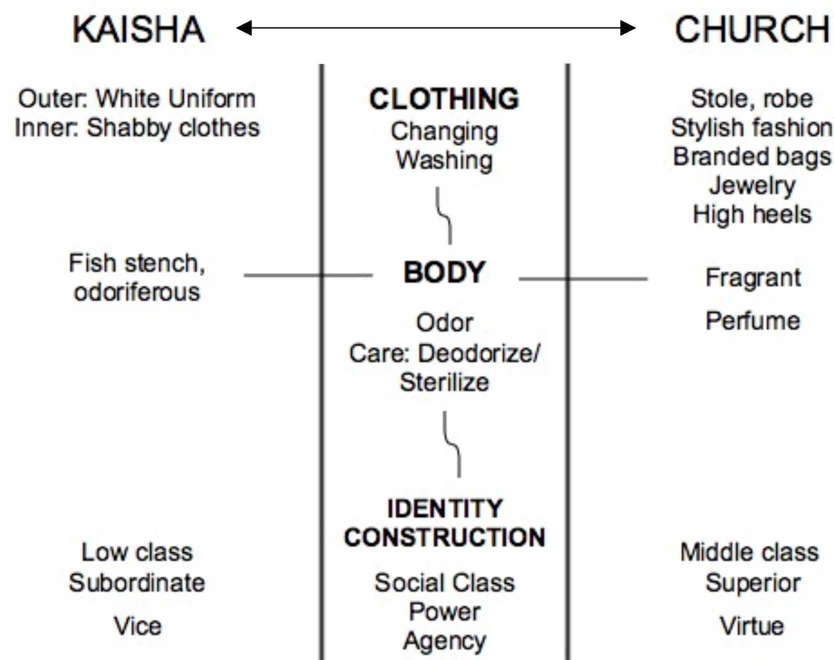

Figure 8-4 Identity construction in kaisha and church

The roles of being the factory workers and holy bishops oscillate in NiMO's lives. The transition is not only from being the "marginalized" and "tainted" to "powerful" and "holy," but also the vice versa. They do purification acts when going to the church, and the

impurification acts when going to the kaisha. The transitioning between work and church is managed as segmented via the body by neutralizing the smells through bathing and hair washing and enhancing the visual presentation by stylish clothing and symbolic attributes.[106] It shows how clothing communicates the social identity symbolically and how a person seeks to appear in society (F. Davis 1985) and operates in conjunction with the body (Twigg 2009). Removing body odor by using deodorant, for example, enacts a corporeal sense-making or sensuous making of meaning (Kupers 2013; Waskul and Vanini 2008). In Butler's words: "The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene" (1997/2013, 468).

This process of transitioning before-after arriving in the domain has not much been discussed in dramaturgical and boundary-crossing studies. In addition, the overlapping concepts of boundary management styles (Kossek 2016), the olfactory classification from sensory studies (Aspria 2008), and the concept of clothing and body (Twigg 2009) have been discussed in isolation in existing studies. Boundary is not predicated on the visual alone, but also transpires via the olfactory throughout the body, arising from an individual's expectations of others and their smells (Harris 2007). The wet and smelly work in the factory, for example, is deemed tainted, as it contradicts the noble characteristics of what society views as good or proper work (Hughes 1958). NiMO do not want to be defined by the work they do in the kaisha. This is why the kaisha seemed like the hidden "underworld" as noted in my fieldwork journal as being my first impression how NiMO manage their everyday lives. Hence, boundaries between kaisha and church domains are crucial for them.

[106] Bodily care through the acts of deodorizing and neutralizing smells is a one-way direction from the kaisha to the church and not the other way around. It is because the church is only conducted in the evening for workdays and on Sundays. Since getting permission from the kaisha to have a day off every Sunday, the Church-Kaisha transition is rare.

The second reason is *to exert power and agency in the everyday domains/ micro-level.* Discussing about migrants and disgust means talking about "everyday politics of emotions" (Zembylas 2007). It examines who gets to express emotions, what emotions are perceived as legitimate or desirable (and conversely which should be repressed or are illegitimate), how emotions are circulated and under what circumstances (Zembylas 2007). For migrants, being able to express and validate disgust about the food consumed by natives gives the sense of power, even when it is only done among the other migrants. Although in fact they have limited power in each domain, they assert their (limited) agency by setting boundaries among domains via the performative body.[107] Through the creation of boundaries, they try to establish a sense of control and power in the everyday domains. Nevertheless, while body control is vital in the boundary-making, the neighborhood—where the workplace and houses are located—also has a prominent influence on how migrants negotiate their self-presentation in the transition/ domain-crossing.

The third reason is *to destigmatize the spoiled identities.* By neutralizing the smell embodied in the kaisha and enhancing the visual presentation outside the kaisha, NiMO compartmentalize the stigmatized identity in the kaisha and create and protect another identity in a different domain. Creating boundaries between church and kaisha through body control is the way participants eliminating shame and disgust of being factory workers. The identity in the kaisha seems to be hidden from the outsiders as indicated through my first encounter with Edo, who picked me up after work. He apologized several times and refused to give a handshake due to his awareness of his body smell (although I had not smelled anything at all). Apologizing and refusing to shake hands signify his shame to embody the fishy smell in the white uniform. It is because the body odor transforms to be a social skin when interacting with

[107] In this study, the performance and performative between church and factory include body rituals, washing separation, and expressing self with more sense of freedom in the created liminal-space.

people. Without proper transitioning, the act of creating and maintaining boundaries can complicate the act of crossing from one domain into another (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate 2000).

The reasons above are influenced by some leading factors. First, their being Manadonese. The stylish appearance at the church was part of the migrants' characteristics even prior to migration. They are well-aware of self-presentation, including the sense of visibility. The Minahasan maxim explains it well that it is important to perform on a stylish and fancy level (see Chapter 6). The personas that the migrants show at church somehow reflect their values before migration. Consequently, the boundaries between factory work and church are located and managed by emphasizing the visibility of fashion and branding at the church. Second, their historical background as being Japanese descendants renders their particular migration trajectory, which is semi-force, instead of voluntary migration. Unlike other workers who mostly have dominant economic motivation to migrate, Nikkei Manadonese first came to Japan mainly to fulfil their parents' wishes and longingness of Japan. This semi-voluntary drive of migration affects the way they perceive the dirty job in the kaisha.

Third, the particular strategies in managing boundaries are related to the characteristics of Oarai, or *Oarainess*: small, dense, and geographically secluded from the other town or cities; every activity is mostly merged in the town: people live, work, go to school, the market, the recreational area, and the church in the same small area. It means a person has a high chance to engage in the same activities with the same people in various everyday domains. Oarainess makes it possible for an ethnic community to create a concentration with intense daily engagement. Therefore, boundary making in a small area like Oarai requires unique bodily work and efforts compared to a bigger town or city where space, gate and fences are prevalent.

8.4 Contributions of this Study

8.4.1 On Boundary Theory

This study provides empirical evidence in details to boundary theory on segmented roles of in real lived everyday experience of migrants, in which the examples are believed to be relatively rare (Epstein 1996). I observed three domains, with work and church domains serving as equally influential in their daily basis, but with extreme opposition in nature. The way participants separate a factory role to church role requires a degree of purification rites which can be as *thin* as changing clothes, as *instant* as once body-wash, and as *perceptible* as wearing a stole on the nape. However, in closer attention these rites are systematically layered, in corporeal, psychological and spatial levels. The more intense the dirtiness one embodies outside the church, the more palpable the *sense of heaviness* is perceived when wearing church props and symbols. As Ashforth and colleagues mention when referring to highly segmented roles, "it takes substantial psychological and perhaps physical effort to move from one role to another" (2000, 477).

Home, as often defined as a safe space, serves as another front stage to play where the religious gatherings are conducted, and where they have to silently perform in front of the observing native neighbors. Home holds multivocality: it functions as a liminal space, where participants make transitions and keep the secret behind their situated identity in the neighborhood. In my understanding, Goffman's front-back analogy should not be seen as a relatively static sense of spatiality. Social actors indeed have multiple, dynamic front-back stages to manage. Yet the analogy may have missed to include the transitioning acts among them. Everyday domains are multifaceted, which can be, at least, physical and perceptive, with dynamic liminal space for transitioning.

8.4.2 Migrants' Logic of Purity

While public discourse and research work often explain how migrants are stigmatized and defined with negative stereotypical metaphors, very few discusses how migrants' logic of purity towards the natives or dominant groups. This study sheds light on the logic of purity-impurity of migrants in everyday domains which are often hidden and silenced. Although they do not intend to change the longstanding discourse and representation of migrants in macro levels, but the results of this study wish to voice up the *existence* of logic of purity and self-othering process of migrants. Migrants' voice is often weak in the front stages, such as in the factory and the neighbourhood, but it is usually out loud in the liminal space. The example of the logic of purity is when NiMO defines what noise is, and rejects the labelling of "urusai" by Japanese neighbors. Moreover, the rejection to taste the spoiled imo, eat imo outside the kaisha and consume most Japanese cuisine, signify their disgust and othering to Japanese food.

The way NiMO separate kaisha and church and maintain the identities in each domain show how impurity (not only purity) is performatively constructed. In responding to Douglas' study, the idea of purity-impurity as two opposing pole cannot entirely explain the phenomena in Oarai. Purity-impurity needs to be understood in continuum, where the degree of strictness in defining holiness and dirtiness may change in migration. In NiMO's case, the preconceived notions of purity-impurity are negotiated with the basis of needs and scarce resources, for example in the less-strict recruitment of Pelsus. In addition, this study exhibits the application of purity-impurity in the everyday domains to serve as a reference applied in lived realities in Asian contexts, where in previous studies, many research work on literary work and biblical texts, within the framework of Western cultures.

Moreover, while existing studies mainly discuss purification, little does on impurification. One of the primary empirical evidence of this research shows that impurity is also constructed. Constructing dirtiness is conducted through the rituals of impurification

during transitioning. Impurification is the act of abandonment of body cleanliness, by letting the body dirty or impure, as part of the construction of characters, roles, and interaction in a domain. One of the rites is by deliberately not washing the body and not changing the clothes. Impurification can be seen as messy and with fewer efforts than purification, and the participant may not have to undergo complex rites to construct dirtiness. It is exemplified as when Dena's husband shows a “ritual of uncleanliness” in the Kaisha-Home transition. To some extent, purification and impurification rites also act as resistance towards logic of purity in the everyday domains, where migrants assert their agency over their bodies to refuse the projection of impurity and stigma on them as migrants doing dirty jobs. How they act and rationalize their activities in the three domains is prominent in their self-othering process during migration.

8.4.3 On Methodology: Sensory Ethnography and Liminal Space

This study exemplifies how sensory ethnography as a methodology is applied in migration studies. This methodology is still emerging and not yet common in migration research. The multisensory approach in a migrant community also becomes the uniqueness of this exploration in the lived realities of migrants. In this research, it is shown that this methodology is not used to make value judgments about cultural differences on dirt rather understand and explain how migrants perceive the world through their sensory perceptions. The perception of dirt, for example, can be “conditioned by culture” (Classen 1993), and be learned through recurring sensory practices and meaning-making processes. Thuse, this study upholds cultural relativism in which it encourages the understanding of logic of purity of migrants, despite being overshadowed by the logic of purity of the dominant groups. One is not truer than the others, just because it is more well-accentuated in the public discourse. However, this study also shows that sensory perception is not only socially or culturally

preconceived but can also be reflective and adaptive to the space, roles and domains, mediated by the conventions of other social actors.

Through sensory ethnography, my sensory perception acts as a bridge to experience and convey to readers what could be sensed and embodied by the participants and how their reactions may be distinguishable from mine. The multisensory categorization in sorting is what I learned from the other workers. I found that the significant issue in sorting is assessing food products based on the sensory perception relying on prior experience. Prior experience plays a vital role in how things are perceived, due to the moderating effect of knowledge on how stimuli are interpreted and evaluated (Banovic, Fontes, Barreira, and Grunert 2012; Olson 1978; Peracchio and Tybout 1996; Steenkamp 1990). An attention to sensory experiences allows researchers to reconsider the sensory perceptions of migrants, and particularly the power relationship in everyday domains and initial perspectives to the post-colonial sensory experiences. From a wider perspective, this food sorting by NiMO allows me to understand the roles and dangers of migrant workers in the global food system, as well as how global food security issues affect the day-to-day lives of individuals migrating far away from home, with a task to separate the dirt from the food of Others. Thus, sensory perception in the daily routines of migrants becomes the underlying ground of the self-othering process, disclosing the micro-politics of senses in boundary work.

Through applying for scholarships on bodies and space to my research methods, I allow primary aspects of body-space relations, such as smells, tastes, gestures, reactions, clothing, glances, and touches, to inform the analysis of social interactions (Longhurst, Ho and Johnston 2008). Thereby, I am confident to claim that sensory ethnography can help researchers to "reveal new ways of knowing, making original contributions to scholarly knowledge" (Jackson 2018). These corporeal sensations critically underpin migrants' ongoing process of cultivating home in the contested nature and power relations in everyday spaces. Sensory ethnography

enriches the data when classic ethnography cannot satisfactorily explore it and when a researcher needs a bridge to solve research challenges.

Another point I would suggest in methodological aspect is about the importance of liminal space in field research. Liminal space is where participants feel more power and freedom to speak up. This research shows that migrants exercise their agency through drawing the lines, and setting boundaries among domains. In the liminal space created, migrants attempt to operate their logic of dirt and situate natives as "the others." Methodologically speaking, the transitional/liminal space is the ideal space to interview the participants and talk more objectively about what they feel and do in-between domains. In liminal space, the social actor is less determined and controlled; as there are minimal constrained expectations and obligations towards their roles. If researchers can identify the liminal space among everyday domains during the fieldwork and conduct interviews, or sensory observation, they may let participants convey their perspectives with more power and freedom. Moreover, it is also important to evaluate and reevaluate the relational power between the researcher and participants. Participants feel more empowered when the researcher is in the asymmetrical position, lower than the migrants in status.

8.4.4 On Nikkei Studies: NiMO

What sets aside this study from other Nikkei studies is, Nikkeijin are investigated at the sub-ethnic level, while many others focus on the ethnic-national of Nikkeijin. Being Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi, historically means they are Nikkeijin with colonial historical background. Their Japanese ancestors are potentially Japanese spies in navy, as to how the administrative division was distinguishably made in Dutch East Indies' territory during the Japanese occupation. Furthermore, the Manadonese people maintain their cultural markers, distinguishing them from the majority Indonesians, including their cultural ties with the Dutch,

the robust influences of Presbyterianism in the churches, and their consumption of extreme meat, even outside their homeland. By researching the everyday boundary-making process, their intergroup dynamics, representations and cultural system can be collectively disclosed.

Table 8-5 Nikkei identity

	Before migration	**1998-2008**	**2009-2018**
Nikkei identity	*Being* Nikkei: Nikkei is an inherited identity, that they heard from their parents and grandparents.	Nikkei status is “kankeinai” (for Japanese) or subject to no privileges in the kaisha. *Becoming* Nikkei: Nikkei status was projected as luxury by the undocumented migrants. NiMO started valuing their being Nikkeijin.	*Becoming* Nikkei: NiMO perceive the luxury and distinction of being Nikkeijin, as compared to the other non-Nikkei migrants (e.g. refugees, students, trainees).

Nikkeiness becomes a symbol of luxury and social distinction. This value is what makes NiMO prolong their stay in Japan and invite their children to live with them until now. This motivation exists not only because of push-pull factors but also because of the cultural-historical embeddedness as this sub-ethnic group has a tradition of searching for ways to display their prestige and power (Borkenhagen 2004). For NiMO, the initial migration drive was not merely for money-making for a long-term period, but more of the emotional and kinship obligation to their parents (the second generation). Before migration, Nikkei's identity for the third generation was a projection of parents' longingness towards their Japanese ancestry. During migration, Nikkei identity turns into a 'privilege' as reconstructed through the interaction with non-Nikkei migrants, e.g. the undocumented migrants, refugees, students and trainees. Hence, there is no fixed, single and straightforward way to define Nikkeijin.

The term NiMO in this study is, therefore, not an abbreviation meant for labelling or practicality. With the distinct cultural and historical background, and the uniqueness of Oarai as the migration settlement, NiMO accentuates the dynamic, as well as, authentic identity of

this specific migrant group, differentiating them to other migrants, including the Indonesian migrants, Manadonese diaspora, Nikkeijin, and Nikkei Manadonese in other parts of Japan. This term is also an invitation for other researchers to revisit the account of Nikkeijin identity and look beyond the hyphens. Nikkei identity is complex, intricate and fluid with different layers of ethnicity and socio-historical backgrounds. It does not have to be related with their *being* Japanese descendants. It is more related to how and who they choose to *become* from it through the self-othering process in everyday lives. In other words, I suggest the future research on Nikkeijin to shed more lights on the ways Nikkeijin establish boundaries, negotiate the logic of purity-impurity and distinguish themselves from the others in everyday lives.

8.4.5 On Migration Studies: Migrants' Adaptation in Rural Settings

Migration research is always dynamic, diverse and multi-sited, requiring methodological innovations and development. Single-modality research, such as visual or olfactory ethnography, has been more popular to conduct, in attending to sensory perceptions of migrants. However, to my limited reading, sensory ethnography as a methodology involving multisensory perceptions is still not commonly conducted to explore the everyday lived realities of migrants. This study contributes to the methodology in migration studies to explain various boundaries and perceptions in everyday lives, which are often hidden, salient, vulnerable, and private in the migration journey.

International migration often takes place more in urban areas than in rural settings. This study shows how Oarai, with a growing population of international migrants, is gradually changing from traditional rural to more urbanized, with multicultural neighborhoods, fences, churches, changes in the factories, signs in foreign languages on the street and in shops, and so on. For the participants, Oarai is depicted as a district in an urban area (or *kampung*) due to its compactness, dense, remote but active area, where international migration also takes place.

Oarai and its features are similar to the Boa district in the East End in London, as observed by Wallman (1986): it is marked by dichotomization between traditional (aging) residents and immigrants; the social networks tended to be dense and closed, where people interacted with the same people in many different contexts; they also worked at mostly similar factories (Wallman 1986). These characteristics result in different adaptation and everyday struggles to other Nikkei Manadonese communities in the bigger city like Suzuka in Mie prefecture and Kariya in Aichi prefecture. Oarai becomes an example of how rural Japan affects and is affected by international migration.

The strategies of integration for migrants in rural society are shaped by all the characteristics of place and the social actors. Integration process is often imagined as a success end story of migration, determined by being fluent in the host language and cultures, with the equation of one plus one equals two. In fact, adaptation and integration come in many forms. It does not always look like being able to speak the same language, eating the same food, or thinking the same way as the larger society. It rather consists of never-ending messy trials and errors, inclusion-exclusion, embodied and disembodied experiences, agreement-disagreement, and meaning-making of everyday concepts and perceptions with other social actors. In this study, NiMO demonstrates how they create their own integration strategies by reconstructing the purity-impurity system and boundaries in the everyday domains. NiMO 'integrate' to Japanese society by creating the robust church association as a support system and being inclusive to it. Social inclusion towards their community is negotiated through the acts of resistance: by negotiating the Sunday day-off, speaking broken Japanese, negotiating docility in the kaisha, avoiding the food they handle in the kaisha, labeling their neighbors as urusai, and creating liminal space among domains where they can talk more freely. This should not be seen as separation, nor is it negative. Although they may not integrate into the society in its conventional way, but they are socially inclusive to the migrant groups and churches. Two

decades after their first arrival to Oarai, they still work as food workers and have become a part of the global food chain. Moreover, Manadonese is still the most dominant ethnic group with seven supporting migrant churches in the town. This social inclusion has demonstrated to make them not only survive but grow and contribute significant changes to modernization and the local economy in Oarai.

8.5 Conclusion

Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai (NiMO) come from the northern part of Sulawesi island, with their unique historical, cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds. Their backgrounds and migration trajectory to a small home-industry town, Oarai in 1998, makes the story idiosyncratic. Although the case of other Nikkeijin from different nationalities offers similar tones as NiMO's in terms of their downward mobility, NiMO's case shows particular complexities in the characteristics of the settlement, religious attachment, sub-culture consciousness and post-colonial identities. These complexities contribute and influence the way they manage domains in everyday lives.

One of the important factors of this study posits in the rurality of Oarai: secluded, *kampung*-like, packed with home industries, borderless among residences, quiet, and aging. In addition, most factories in Oarai are paternalistic and run with familial traditions that do not apply the division of labor. The highly-contested-site Oarai is illustrative of how power relationships between migrant-native are negotiated in a rural space, manifested in the purity-impurity conception-making. Purity-impurity as a cultural classification system leads to self-other conceptualization and boundary work. As Speltini and Passini (2016) mention, purity-impurity underlies social categorization, forming the generation of stereotypes and prejudices.

This study explores a detailed grasp of the complex dynamics of micro-practices on the everyday lives of migrants. By analyzing the strategies they adopted to navigate the everyday domains and boundaries, it demonstrates how transitions are negotiated and constructed by migrants in the wider social structure in rural setting. The finding shows the ways the third generations of Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi manage domains through daily rituals to establish boundaries and recreate home in the land of others. It also exhibits their everyday encounters in negotiating their roles, performatives and performances in the three domains. NiMO manage their everyday domains by situating kaisha and church in the two opposing poles through the creation of liminal space in the body and spatial levels. This boundary work is conducted through sensory performativity in the purification and impurification rites. Boundary-work strategies are prerequisite for them to destigmatize the spoiled identities, have a sense of control and power of their everyday domains and create, re-create and negotiate their identities in each domain.

In addition, the particular strategies of managing domains evidently play important roles in maintaining the multiple identities in the everyday domains over the years and constructing the collective identity of Nikkei Manadonese in Oarai (NiMO) as a distinct community until today. The whole orchestration of boundary work of everyday domains requires power; and exploring the logic of purity-impurity exposes how migrants exercise their agency to propagate their belongingness and inclusion in the community.

Through sensory ethnography, this study revealed multilayered purity-impurity conceptions of NiMO that explain their behaviors *within* and *across* everyday spaces. The sensory embodiments of purity-impurity allow participants to conceptualize both self-other in everyday spatiality and boundaries. Throughout the years, they have been adjusting and amending their concepts of purity and impurity in their rituals. Their logic of purity has challenged the politics of everyday lives in micro and meso levels, e.g. the change of Sunday

as a day-off. This study hopes to extend its contributions in the domain of Nikkeijin of other nationalities, and from different parts of Indonesia, living in other parts of Japan, also Manadonese communities in other countries.

This study, however, has many limitations, specifically as it focuses on the third generation of Nikkeijin, without covering the sides of the Japanese people and the fourth generation. In addition, the scope of everyday lives and the agency of migrants explored in this study is in the micro- and meso-level. It will come in a full circle if the analysis of NiMO can be extended to the macro level. I hope this study may lead other researchers to conduct more comprehensive studies to understand the social landscape of migration in rural Japan, especially the future of NiMO.

Future of NiMO: Negotiating Dirt in the COVID Age

The future of NiMO rests on the fourth generation. Children (the fourth generation) have intriguing perspectives on their historical roots and behaviors in everyday encounters. They learn and develop their preconceived ideas of purity-impurity through their parents' daily rituals and boundary-making. They have also become the most prominent critics of their parents' identity construction and boundary-making. The future success of the third generation of NiMO as parents situates in the success of their children in navigating their education and career, but most importantly, in developing and strengthening the Christianity faith and deity as growing in the secular society. Would the children be able to continue the legacy of the churches in Oarai in the future?

Two years after my last visit to Oarai, the pandemic started. The 'new-normal' protocols have utterly changed the previous rituals of domain creation and boundary-crossing of everyone, including NiMO. The logic of dirt has been adjusted to the new cleaning procedures,

as the world is dealing with the invisible 0.125 microns of substance/ virus. The hand without smell, the sight of, and texture of dirt can be considered as dirty. The gap between "us and them" is even steeper than before, with the "physical/ social distancing" order. *Becoming* dirty is when one touches the others' skin or things; and everything can be categorized as 'dirty' even without having any sensory properties of dirt.

While other office workers can work from home, dirty workers, like factory workers, continue to be needed for their sensory performances to sort the food products. Yet, the church has been conducted online, that has created different dimensions of physical boundaries. With online liturgy at home, no food sharing is possible; no branded bag is visible; no high heels are necessary. What has not changed is that they take a thorough washing and bath after work. However, these washing and cleaning rituals have now been universalized in stringent ways, for one main purpose: to be purified from the invisible dirt. The pre-conceived dirt system is totally disrupted. Cleaning rituals conducted by migrants and non-migrants around the world may no longer be distinguishable, as we are forced to no longer identify dirt by *sensing but imagining* it.

Only until there is a technology that can substitute human sensory modes in sorting, factory workers will keep interacting with the dirt. However, the future of NiMO and the children is even more uncertain when the advanced technology can replace migrant workers in sorting food products. Due to the pandemic, the daily rituals may never be the same again. There are even more intriguing questions on NiMO and migrants in general that can be covered in the future research, namely: How does the virtual religious gathering impact the emotions and life of migrants in their everyday struggles? How does this pandemic influence the migration decision in staying and leaving, especially for Japanese descendants, when they are retired? This study hopes to become the point of departure as well as the documentation of everyday lives of NiMO right before the COVID age.

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