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Independent refugee youth in waiting

Social navigations while in transit in Indonesia

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Conclusions

This study has sought to answer the question of how independent refugee youth exercise their active waiting while transiting in Indonesia. By looking at the social navigations of the independent young men and women while maneuvering precarity and uncertainty during a long period of waiting, this dissertation illustrates how their agency is always in conversation and in constant negotiation with their social environment and structural conditions. Through rich ethnographic data, the study contributes to two pivotal yet overlooked discourses: first, it contributes to the discussion of young refugees in transit in Indonesia, in a way that does not locate them as victims but instead highlights their agentic capacities and actions while negotiating their social environment; second, it contributes to the study of Indonesia as a transit country – the independent youths' social environment – in a way that does not only focus on the legal and formal structures, but also highlights its social characteristics and flexibility, which in many ways facilitate youths' social navigations. In a global context where refugees face reduced chances for resettlement and longer waiting periods in transit, in-depth understanding of if and how young refugees are able to implement their ideas and perform agentic actions while waiting is crucial. By employing various research methods, this study illustrates the complex and comprehensive movements of young refugee men and women as they try to survive and make the best of the restricted conditions in which they find themselves.

Throughout the dissertation, I have demonstrated the social navigations performed by independent refugee youth in four arenas: refugee status determination and humanitarian assistance;

livelihood and economic opportunities; social networks; and global youth culture. Through the presentation of extensive ethnographic data, I have argued that despite all the precarity they face, independent youth continue to exercise "agency-in-waiting" (Brun 2015). Furthermore, they do not only navigate in a single direction, but rather engage in various and multi-directional navigations in a multilayered social environment, while dealing with multiple actors. This is unsurprising, given the fact that young refugees are waiting for many things at the same time (see Hage 2018; Khosravi 2021, 203). This study zooms in on the diversity of young people's actions and maneuvers while responding to the multiplicity of waiting, including their attempts to shorten the waiting period.

In this study, I elaborate on how young refugee men and women do not only perform social navigations in different arenas simultaneously, but also how they navigate complex and multilayered situations in each individual arena. To use the analogy of a game, the young people can be seen as playing four different games against multiple opponents at the same time. They may play their "vulnerability cards" and perform representational strategies in their contacts with the UNHCR in an attempt to be prioritized or given access to humanitarian aid. They may play "cat and mouse games" with the Indonesian authorities when generating an income, or while managing money and building solidarity networks with their refugee community. In navigating social relationships with different groups of Indonesian locals, they may engage in acts of "impersonation" in order to hold on to their own socio-cultural values while avoiding conflict and/ or complicated close encounters. Finally, they may also carry out "freestyle navigations" when performing and experiencing global youth culture in order to actualize their potential.

The young people's social navigations around difficulties and towards more freedom show typical characteristics of movements while in transit, which nevertheless receive little attention in the literature about transit migration in Indonesia. Young people do not focus on one possibility or life trajectory, but on many possibilities: their moves are both intended to enable them to make their way in Indonesia, as well as to establish social networks and anticipate opportunities in a potential country of resettlement.

The youths perform various movements in transit because they do not know where they will be in the future, so they want to secure all available options. Young people's in-transit movements are more focused, however, on their future dreams in a country of resettlement, than on preparing themselves for the possibility of returning to their country of origin. Although some do maintain relationships back home, many have burnt their bridges, which means that going back is not an option and thus their hopes are focused on accelerating their path towards resettlement. Furthermore, although the idea of staying in Indonesia for life was initially not seen as an option, many young people build strong social networks in Indonesia in anticipation of a prolonged transit period; and as their chances of resettlement grow smaller due to the global socio-political refugee context, their time in Indonesia seems increasingly likely to become permanent.

By utilizing the concept of social navigation, which explains agents' movements in a moving environment (Vigh 2006; 2009), I have explained how independent refugee youth "seek to move within the social terrain and are moved by the social terrain" (2006, 238). In the course of this study, it became clear that a number of crucial concepts in the scholarly literature, particularly about young refugees' agency-in-waiting and the transit country of Indonesia as a social terrain, need to be nuanced. This conclusion discusses two key concepts: (1) social navigation as youths' agency in context, including revisiting the agency-vulnerability spectrum; and (2) the concept of a "good" transit country that functions as an enabling social context.

SOCIAL NAVIGATION: YOUNG PEOPLE'S AGENCY IN CONTEXT

In this dissertation, I have provided a comprehensive study of young refugees' active waiting while transiting in Indonesia, something that is rarely discussed by scholars. Previous studies have only discussed partial aspects of refugees' agentic actions when dealing with economic issues and self-organized education while transiting in Indonesia. This dissertation thus contributes to filling the gaps by paying special attention to refugees' agency-in-waiting, particularly the agency of young people who travel

independently. It contributes towards a balanced understanding of resilience and hardship, and adds nuance to academic and activism discourses about refugees transiting in Indonesia. So far, these debates tend to depict migrants as "stuck" in limbo-like conditions, and refugees are often depicted in a victimizing tone rather than an empowering one. Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, I have shown many forms of youth agency: thick and thin agency; the agency of "waiting for" and "waiting to" (Appadurai 2013, 14); and keeping busy and active while waiting. It is important to emphasize that their maneuvers, negotiations, and mapmaking as part of the implementation of their agency is constantly in the making.

The concept of social navigation focuses on the interface and the inseparability of agency and social forces (Vigh 2006, 14). Given that the relations between agency and social structure are at the heart of this study, I use the term social navigation, which is not a metaphor for agency, to describe young people's movements, and do not employ the term "agency" too often, except when discussing back and forth dynamics in relation to the social environment. Drawing on the interrelation between agency and social forces, this study illustrates that young people's agency is not outside of the social environments or the arenas that they navigate, because both elements are "constantly shaped and attuned to each other" (Vigh 2009, 429). On the one hand, young people's ability to maneuver in the four arenas in Indonesia – refugee status determination and humanitarian assistance, livelihood and economic opportunities, social networks, and global youth culture – depends on the opportunities as well as the obstacles they encounter. On the other hand, as movable social terrains, these four arenas are continuously reshaped and adjusted due to the negotiations and moves of the youth and other refugee populations themselves. The ethnographic data presented here illustrates the multiple ways in which youths resist, negotiate, and enact discourses and counter-discourses (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh 2010, 295; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2016, 490), and how often they succeed in influencing the implementation of regulations regarding refugees in Indonesia.

Youths' agency-in-waiting is thus very much alive, particularly because they continue to "create knowledge about and give meaning to their own situation" (Horst 2006, 144), including their

prolonged transit situation. The long waiting period can trigger in some a sense of stagnation, but it must be noted that a person's sense of stagnation and his or her ability to cope are perceptions based on individual and collective experiences (Masardi 2020). "Human perception is saturated with memories" (Bandak and Janeja 2018, 18), but independent refugee youth show that their social navigations can alter their sense of stagnation of sticky and suspended time (see Griffiths 2014, 1994) into experimenting and exploring time. In this dissertation, I have demonstrated that youth do not only engage in a "politics of waiting" (Bandak and Janeja 2018) while maneuvering systemic obstacles in order to be able to access services and claim their place and position in society; they also experience the "poetics of waiting" (ibid) when they actualize their potential and determination to be recognized for their skills and not only for their refugee status.

Advancing the Debate on the Agency-Vulnerability Spectrum

This dissertation highlights the "production of vulnerability" as one of independent refugee youths' social navigations while in transit in Indonesia, an important practice of agency when the social terrain is more difficult to maneuver. I have demonstrated that the perspective that locates agency and vulnerability as polar opposites needs to be revisited, because vulnerability can be utilized as capital to fuel one's manifestation of agency. This dissertation demonstrates not only that agency and vulnerability are not mutually exclusive (see Ensor 2010; O'Higgins 2012), but also shows that being in a condition associated with risk/vulnerability does not necessarily weaken one's agency. Young people can transform their vulnerable condition into an opportunity to survive and make the best of a difficult situation.

This dissertation elaborates on how a "vulnerability discourse" is employed by young refugees in transit in order to ease their troubles. Although the "production of vulnerability" is not a completely new insight, this dissertation comprehensively discusses the acts that are performed by young people in diverse arenas. The production of vulnerability is not only performed to conform to criteria set by international frameworks for refugee protection, but often also to criteria set by social and cultural norms in broader society. In the thesis, I discuss four different aspects of young people's production

of vulnerability: (1) centralizing their risk or minority status and/or vulnerable condition; (2) engaging in "victimcy" by creating a social and bodily condition of being vulnerable; (3) performing a representational strategy by mimicking the condition of vulnerable people; and (4) utilizing their stigmatized identity to raise a sense of solidarity from the broader society. I have argued that youth do not only *have* vulnerability, but also have the capacity to *produce* vulnerability, an essential strategy when maneuvering a situation in which there are no other options or sufficient resources.

First, I have shown that youth centralize their risk or minority status by utilizing their bodily condition, such as their age, gender, physical challenges, and socio-cultural-political conditions in order to navigate access to obtain certain services. They use narrations that focus only on their weaknesses and hide their strengths in order to accentuate that they are deserving of assistance.

Secondly, I have elaborated on the young people's "victimcy": the maneuvers they engage in to place themselves in a risky condition (through self-staging) in order to elevate their chances within the "asylum seeking game" while in transit. Many young people put themselves in a difficult situation in order to fulfill the criteria to be eligible for the protection made available for "vulnerable groups." An example of "victimcy" is when independent youth embody homelessness by sleeping in front of the UNHCR building in order to demonstrate their dire need of humanitarian assistance.

Thirdly, I have explained various forms of maneuvers by independent youth who fall outside of the vulnerability spectrum, who perform representational strategies of mimicking the condition of vulnerability. These acts, such as claiming to be underaged, can be successful, but many also fail. The maneuver of trying to fit oneself into the "deserving criteria" is a move to negotiate the rules and compete with other actors within the arena. Representational strategies are varied, and producing one's vulnerability is not only done with humanitarian organizations but also in other arenas.

Fourthly, I have illustrated how youth play with the identity politics of being a refugee in order to access financial support from international donors and to elicit solidarity from Indonesian locals. Being a "refugee" is a very distinctive category; it means being considered one of the most vulnerable groups in society.

Therefore, even those considered the "least vulnerable" within the population of refugees, namely "single men," can still be perceived as vulnerable and obtain sympathy and assistance from both the global and the local society.

Discussing young people's production of vulnerability as part of their exercise of agency-in-waiting advances our knowledge on the agency-vulnerability spectrum. This dissertation has shown that young people's production of vulnerability is possible because there is a "productivity of vulnerability" established by international organizations, activists, journalists, and academics, as well as by social norms. Vulnerability is often seen as a problem that demands a solution, and this study has shown how youth negotiate their position and opportunities by producing vulnerabilities, and in this way they "maintain" the vulnerable population's existence.

This approach of analyzing the production of vulnerability can also be applied to other studies, such as gender studies, citizenship studies – particularly in the area of public services – development studies, and also studies that focus on stigmatized communities. Similar to the way in which refugees navigate stigma and identity in order to develop solidarity with the broader society, it would be very interesting to investigate how members of other stigmatized communities deal with the discourse of the "productivity of vulnerability" as they navigate their challenges in daily life. By putting this discourse in the spotlight, one could uncover the fact that the emergence of academics, activists, and social scientists trying to challenge or break existing stigma can also create an arena for those within the "target group" to maneuver their stigmatized identity. This is not to argue that efforts should not be made to fight stigma. On the contrary, inclusivity and equality must always be on the agenda in order to assure space for marginal groups to exercise social navigations. Therefore, this study also brings us to the study of power relations, specifically in regard to "positive discrimination." This thesis has questioned how we understand the framework of humanitarian assistance that is available for those who structurally and conditionally have been constructed as marginal.

This dissertation has also highlighted the fact that the movements of independent refugee youth to produce vulnerability are a normal

and ordinary form of social navigation that is performed by *all* people in various situations. In understanding this, the discourse of "refugee cheating" and "manipulation," or the assumption that these strategies and tactics are specific to refugees, must be rejected, because "playing vulnerable" is part of many people's daily maneuvers.

Mitigating the Pitfalls of Over-Romanticizing Agency

By investigating young refugees' agency-in-waiting in Indonesia, my aim has not been to romanticize their capabilities. The decision to employ the concept of social navigation reflects the fact that the young people's agency discussed here is considered as being in constant interplay with the social environment. Additionally, I acknowledge young people's precarity throughout the dissertation, by discussing the barriers and restrictions they face while in transit in Indonesia. I have explained that there are significant elements of uncertainty and precarity in the limited protection mechanisms available for refugees in Indonesia. I understand that not all independent refugee youth transiting in Indonesia have equal opportunities to perform social navigations in the four arenas I have outlined. Therefore, in no way do I intend to blame independent refugee youth who cannot or choose not to perform social navigations in multiple arenas. I have identified several factors that contribute to the diversity in the identified navigation strategies, and to their scope and success, such as the geographical characteristics of the transit country, the ethnic community to which the refugees belong, individual skills, knowledge, and resources, economic and social capital, gender, race, and religion, and previous experiences of being a migrant or refugee. The young people's transit location of Indonesia certainly affects the variety of options available to them, and thus their movements.

Those who are self-settled have relatively more freedom of movement and more opportunity to acquire social and cultural capital from their peers and ethnic community, in order to form strategies for social navigation. Thus, the thesis also highlights the importance of being together with members of one's ethnic community in the transit country, for one's individual as well as collective navigation options. The Hazara youth I met, for instance, found it easier to gather crucial information, to seek help, or to

raise a collective demand or complaint, compared to independent youth from Yemen or Sri Lanka, whose community members were few and scattered across Indonesia. The established social support network for Hazaras thus contributed to their capacity to negotiate structures and constraints.

This study also has elaborated on the fact that economic and social capital crucially affect the opportunities for young people to conduct certain movements. Additionally, previous experience of being a transit migrant or a refugee in another country is important: young people may easily identify what is lacking in Indonesia compared to in previous transit countries and thus develop strategies to mitigate it. Aside from this, young people's gender and religion are two factors that play a significant role in their survival in Indonesia. In regards to gender, different kinds of navigations have been identified between refugee young men and young women. Particularly when navigating the international refugee management system, young people's navigations are highly influenced by the vulnerability criteria set up by humanitarian organizations, which will determine whether they can potentially receive assistance with care services and the resettlement process. Young women who are seen as most in need of protection tend to be prioritized to receive assistance and resettlement over young men; thus they engage in movements of "producing vulnerability" in a way that is different from young men. For example, independent young men might decide to marry and establish a family while in transit in order to raise their vulnerability status, while independent young women can remain alone and elicit their own "inherent" vulnerable condition. Moreover, when navigating social relationships with Indonesian locals, young refugee women tend to be welcomed more easily than young refugee men, given that the young women are perceived as less of a threat compared to their male counterparts, who are labeled as "daughter thieves" and "home-wreckers" by the local media and Indonesian locals in general. This allows the young women to build relationships with locals more smoothly. However, young refugee women, particularly Hazara girls, encounter more surveillance from their refugee community when they want to build relationships with locals (particularly Indonesian men) and when they actualize their potential and display it publicly to a global audience (via Facebook,

for example). Therefore, independent Hazara young women need to perform more complex social navigations, not only in the arena of social relations with Indonesian locals, but also in their own community, as part of their daily life in transit.

Aside from the gender aspect, religion is a significant aspect of young people's navigations, particularly in the context of Indonesia. This dissertation has elaborated how the social and cultural conditions in Indonesian, with its Sunni Muslim majority, influence the navigations of youths from different religious backgrounds. Refugee youth comprehend that the social and cultural norms of local people in Indonesia constitute a social arena that is easier to navigate if they share some similarities or a sense of sameness with the local people. For example, Hazara refugee youth who are Shia Muslim find themselves in a more challenging situation when building rapport and a good relationship with Sunni Muslim Indonesian locals in daily life compared to young Somali or Yemeni refugees, the majority of whom are also Sunni Muslim. Young people's religious-based navigations highlight an interesting fact of social dynamics in Indonesia, namely that actions and representations are based on assumed general views on how Muslim locals perceive people of other religions. In this dissertation, I have elaborated on the fact that despite many young people's individual skepticism toward religion, a significant number of young refugees in Indonesia include religious identity as a crucial factor in their navigation of social relationships with Indonesian locals.

By highlighting young people's multidirectional movements in the four arenas as they exercise agentic forms of navigation, and produce acts to respond to the productivity of vulnerability, this dissertation has shown that young people's "being" and "becoming" strengthens their agency. Furthermore, if they do have certain conditions of vulnerability, this does not reduce but rather elevates their agency (Uprichard 2008). Considering youth as both being and becoming, this study highlights that their imagination of the future is not (only) about becoming an adult, but also about being able to actualize other forms of a youthful life, such as being an artist, a football player, a well-educated person, someone who is globally recognized, or an inspiration for the future generation.

TRANSIT COUNTRY INDONESIA: AN ENABLING SOCIAL TERRAIN

As shown above, the discussion of social navigation recognizes the interface and the inseparability of agency and social forces (Vigh 2006, 14). This dissertation has demonstrated that Indonesia offers a very flexible social terrain that enables independent refugee youth to engage in multidirectional navigations while in transit. I have explained that the existing legal, social, and economic regulations regarding the refugee population in Indonesia allow youth to smoothly perform various social navigations. In particular, I have elaborated on how Indonesia's deliberate practice of non-recording – a "conscious strategy for disowning certain populations" (Kalir and van Schendel 2017, 6) – at several levels allows more room for independent refugee youth to maneuver, and is thus perceived positively by them.

This study has shown that from young people's perspectives, Indonesia is a "better" transit country compared to most other transit countries in both the Global South and Global North. The positive sides of transiting in Indonesia are easier, safer, and cheaper journeys from their country of origin to Indonesia; Indonesia's unclear – and thus more easily maneuverable – regulations regarding the handling of refugees; its deliberate practices of non-recording; and its better services for humanitarian assistance for independent refugee youth. There are also other situations that contribute to making Indonesia maneuverable, such as its social characteristics, with its distinct religious dynamics, its diverse ethnic groups, its large territory and massive population, and its relatively "new" role as a transit country. These conditions have created a favorable arena for youths to navigate and negotiate while in transit.

The enabling social terrain of Indonesia provides freedom of movement for independent refugee youth, both in terms of the movements of their physical bodies and of their ideas and aspirations. Indonesia's large population and its vast territory, coupled with the reluctance of Indonesian immigration officers to deal directly with the refugee population, make it easier for youths to make their way through society. Aside from this, the fact that Indonesia is a relatively "young" transit country means that a firm

social and cultural system within the refugee community has not yet been established, thus strict cultural norms are not yet in place. This condition in particular allows youth to experiment with new things while in Indonesia. This dissertation illustrates how the experience of young people of being in transit in Indonesia is also an opportunity for them to metamorphose and progress in their individual development.

This dissertation therefore contributes to the discussion of what constitutes "good" transit conditions for refugees. A "good" transit country is not necessarily one with a full legal framework to protect refugee rights, but could be a place where the lack of such a framework allows refugees to exercise significant degrees of freedom. This is not to suggest that there is no need for improvement in terms of national regulations in Indonesia, in order to comprehensively protect the refugee population. The absence of a legal framework in regard to refugee rights, such as the rights to work and education, as well as political rights, is very alarming, as it leaves the refugee population unprotected. Moreover, relying on the ad hoc implementation of immigration and police officers' discretionary treatment could potentially lead to exploitation and abuse. However, it needs to be acknowledged that the existing ambiguity is seen rather favorably by young refugees, specifically because it gives them more room to maneuver and thus to survive while transiting in Indonesia.

This thesis adds a rather "happy note" to the many stories of transit migration in the Global South. It invites readers to remember that a "transit country" is a technical categorization, and that various countries with very different characteristics and diverse refugee protection mechanisms fall under this category. This study challenges the "transit country" label as a uniform category that is often associated with intense precarity and limbo-like conditions. Transit conditions in Indonesia are very different from transit situations in Turkey, Morocco, Greece, or Kenya. By focusing on young people's social navigations, this dissertation offers a perspective that transiting in Indonesia may in fact be a positive "training center" for those who want to – or who can – take the opportunity to exercise their freedom and learn and experience new things which were not possible in their country of origin. Therefore, despite their limited chances of resettlement,

Indonesia is seen as a good waiting spot for those seeking asylum protection.

POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE STUDY

In regard to future research focusing on the issues of young migrants' agency related to coping mechanisms and survival strategies, I found the concept of social navigation to be particularly helpful in understanding and analyzing the agentic actions performed by young people. The key characteristic of the social navigation approach, which emphasizes the interplay between agency and social forces, proved to be productive in my study in terms of mitigating the danger of over-romanticizing the discourse of agency in a way that overlooks structural challenges. Given that young refugees' or young migrants' decision-making processes are often taken collectively with their parents, relatives, or friends, the concept of social navigation leaves more room to accommodate their diverse actions and agency, both individual and collective. Moreover, the concept of social navigation also offers a solution to the potential problem of reproducing the power relations between the migration regime and migrants through the polarized terms "strategy" – assumed to be exercised by the former powerful actors – and "tactics" – performed by migrants as powerless actors. Social navigations accommodate both concepts of strategy and tactics as actions that can be performed by the migrant population. The concept also reflects the process of mapmaking by migrants in order to understand the logic and directions of their actions. Beyond this, I would recommend that researchers pay more attention to the concept of multidirectional movements when investigating migrants' survival strategies, given that it is frequently the case that people perform various actions and movements in their daily struggles to survive.

In terms of methodology when it comes to conducting research with young asylum seekers and refugees, I learned that it is productive to employ a mix of distinct methods in different sites, all of which should be suitable to the conditions of the particular young people in a particular place. With some independent young men and women, I was able to follow their daily routines

and movements intensively, and was able to reconstruct their migration journeys in different cities in Indonesia from their stories. With these youth, I was also able to observe their "current" navigations, as I joined them during their daily activities. With other youths, due to the restrictive nature of their living situation (such as inside detention centers or interception accommodation), I was only able to meet them once or twice to collect their stories and experiences. Moreover, I found that conducting multi-sited ethnography helped me to collect comprehensive data on past mobility from a group of people who, during the research period, were experiencing restricted movement. Through multi-sited ethnography, I was able to collect a diversity of stories and experiences of movements and trace or reconstruct their journey patterns. This approach is highly recommended for researchers who want to study the refugee community in Indonesia, given the fact that refugees are spread across what is a big country.

One very crucial insight that I think is important to share is the need to speak a common language with the youth; not necessarily their ethnic or national languages, but perhaps more importantly the language of their "youth culture," because this relates to their desires, their worldview, and how they want to be positioned or addressed in daily interactions. Given that the youth I met were engaged in a constant search for feelings of sameness and relatable ideas when building social connections, I found that my willingness to speak "their" language was much appreciated and catalyzed rapport-building. Using participant observation in ethnographic research in order to be closer to and relate more deeply with research participants is not a new approach. However, specifically in terms of doing research with young people, I admit that the use of additional methods that represent "modernity," "technology," and "new skills" – such as the photography workshops Henri Ismail and I organized with groups of young people, and arranging a photo exhibition – really spoke to their interests, as these activities were part of a language through which they were already expressing themselves and with which they were familiar. I therefore recommend future researchers who are interested in doing research on young refugees to explore various forms of creative methods in order to be able to make connections with the young people in a more collaborative way.

Aside from my two cents for future researchers who plan to study young refugees' mobility in Indonesia, there are some other potential topics related to refugee issues in Indonesia that are still understudied. During both the field research and the dissertation writing phase, I frequently came across academic literature discussing the lack of human rights and the poor protection of refugees in Indonesia, including the Indonesian state's rationale for how it manages the refugee population, based on arguments such as sovereignty and humanitarianism (Prabandari and Adiputera 2019). In continuing my mission to give more voice to and add multiple perspectives on refugees transiting in Indonesia in academic discourse, in future research it would be interesting to investigate issues of citizenship and the concept of "rights," according to refugees' social and cultural backgrounds, which they hope to obtain from/in a transit country. Furthermore, an in-depth study on the protection mechanisms for refugees in Indonesia, that would be suitable to the norms and values of both the refugee community and Indonesian locals, needs to be pursued. I found that the perception of "rights" in Indonesia's polity is quite different from the ideas and principles of universal human rights. Although I found several cases where gaps in social perceptions of the concept of rights influenced the treatments of immigration officers towards refugee populations, more studies need to be done.

Aside from this, in an attempt to advance the study of the anthropology of migration in Indonesia, another future study could investigate the "spectrum of otherness" developed by Indonesian local communities from the viewpoints of different ethnic groups, communities, religions, and social classes. Given the national slogan "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" (Unity in Diversity), Indonesian people always "celebrate" the country's diversity of ethnic cultures and religions. But only recently have they actually experienced international migration waves into the country, consisting of refugees from diverse social classes and cultural backgrounds. Comprehensive research on this matter will be valuable to pave the way for migration studies in Indonesia.