

**International  
Institute of  
Social Studies**

*Erasmus*

**Young Afghan Refugee Men in Indonesia:  
Hope and Agency in Uncertainty**

A Research Paper presented by:

***Putri Emelli***

(Indonesia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies: Social Justice  
Perspectives**

(SJP)

Members of the Examining Committee:

Helen Hintjens

Katarzyna Grabska

The Hague, The Netherlands  
December 2018

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

**Postal address:**

Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

**Location:**

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

# Contents

List of Acronyms	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Abstract	vii
<b>Chapter 1 Why, What, Who, and How: The Research</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Afghan Refugees in Diaspora and in Indonesia	2
1.3 Research Questions	5
1.4 Justification: Why this research	6
1.5 How and Who: Research Methodology and Ethics	7
1.5.1 Research challenges and limitations	7
1.5.2 Contacting and selecting respondents	9
1.5.3 Reflection on positionality	11
1.5.4 Selection of methods for fieldwork	11
1.6 Outline of the paper	13
<b>Chapter 2 Refugees, Policies, and Framework: Context</b>	<b>14</b>
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 Indonesia and Australia's 'Pacific Solution'	14
2.3 Refugee Rights are Human Rights	15
2.3.1 Comprehensive Solutions: Refugees' Self-reliance	15
2.3.2 The Right to Education and Employment: Refugees in Indonesia	16
2.4 Hope and Agency in Uncertainty	18
2.4.1 Hope and aspirations: Theoretical Framework	18
2.4.2 Hope, agency, and uncertainty in refugee studies	18
2.5 Conclusion	20
<b>Chapter 3 Dynamics of Hope &amp; Uncertainty: Findings</b>	<b>22</b>
3.1 Introduction	22
3.2 "The UNHCR holds my future": Living with unpredictability	22
3.3 Changing hopes and survival strategies	26
3.4 Narratives of Hope: Academic and personal goals	27
3.5 Conclusion	30
<b>Chapter 4 Digital Storytelling and Hope</b>	<b>31</b>
4.1 Introduction: 'Following' young Afghan refugees	31

4.2 Adolescence on social media	31
4.3 Hoping through social media	33
4.4 Conclusion	36
<b>Chapter 5 The Journey Forward</b>	<b>37</b>
5.1 Concluding Thoughts	37
5.2 Further research	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	
Appendix 1 List of Participants	39
Appendix 2 Data Collection Techniques	43
Appendix 3 List of guide interview questions	45
Appendix 4 Follow-up questionnaire and responses	46
<b>List of References</b>	<b>55</b>

## **List of Acronyms**

CWS	Church World Service
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
ICRC	International Committee of Red Cross
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
RDF	Resettlement Data Finder
RSD	Refugee Status Determination

## Acknowledgements

I would like to give my utmost gratitude to my family; Papa Emiel, Mama Ellis, Gadis, Dara, Luqman, Dhio, for all the WhatsApp kisses and hugs that had seen me through difficult times.

To my love, Julius, for your unwavering faith in me.

My five kitties back home, Hermione, Leon, Kiwi, Kuki, and Milka; memories of your companionship had remained with me through my time in The Hague.

An endless thank you to my supervisor and mentor, Helen Hintjens, for being a source of strength, faith, and inspiration.

Another big thank you to my second reader, Katarzyna Grabska, for being so generous in sharing your trove of knowledge and experiences with me.

Finally, I would like to extend my deep gratitude to the 11 young people who gave their time to participate in this research. Thank you for sharing your stories with me.

## **Abstract**

The study looks at how young Afghan refugees in Indonesia conceptualise their present and their future in relation to their sense of hope in a state of protracted uncertainty. How far does their sense of hope relate to their sense of agency? How does this translate into their self-representations on social media? The study aims to answer these central questions in order to argue for the importance of understanding hope as a survival strategy through the young men's engagement in everyday storytelling and sensemaking – both offline and online. It is a qualitative study in Jakarta, which involved interviews, focus groups, and observations of eleven young Afghan respondents, aged from 16 to 22. Elements of digital storytelling and visual ethnographic analysis are used to interpret social media posts and how stories in the personal realm migrate into the digital and public realm. Social media was a way to gain more insight into the ranged nuances of their self-representations, which went beyond the passive label of 'refugee'. The researcher is a journalist by background and met these young Afghan men in 2015, which helped to build trust with a particularly marginal community, and facilitated the research on this sensitive topic. The main finding of the study was that despite their feelings of despair, and being side lined by bureaucratic process and mainstream debates about refugees in Indonesia, these young Afghan youths showed considerable persistence in making their daily lives tolerable and in imbuing their situations of uncertainty with meaning. This assigning of meaning is an exercise of sensemaking that the respondents practice through stories, digital or otherwise. A particular finding was that few wished to integrate into Indonesia, and most dreamed of a seemingly unattainable resettlement elsewhere. In addition, they blamed the UNHCR for many of their problems, an interesting finding. Overall, the research concludes that for young Afghan men, the use of storytelling to express their hopes and aspirations are a vital tool to retain a sense of agency, and to feel some control over their own lives.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Compared to a decade ago, the situation of refugees globally is receiving far more attention today. Not all refugees make the news, however. One group who have rarely been profiled are young Afghan minors and youth in developing countries in the global south. Although Indonesia does not officially rank as a refugee-hosting country, it has been playing an increasingly important actor in the asylum and refugee landscape in the Asia Pacific in the light of Australia's astringent refugee policies and the mass outpour of the Rohingyas from Myanmar into neighbouring countries.

## **Keywords**

Afghan refugees; hope; agency; uncertainty; Indonesia; storytelling; social media

# Chapter 1

## Why, What, Who, and How: The Research

### 1.1 Introduction

This study is concerned with how male refugee youths from Afghanistan negotiate their sense of hope and agency while living in a state of protracted uncertainty in Jakarta, Indonesia. More specifically, it deals with how they dynamically express their agency in uncertainty by translating their hopes and aspirations for the future as survival strategies. Does one's level of confidence in the future correspond with how that individual views themselves? Does confidence in the future influence one's perceived ability and capability to be the master of one's own fate? What are their hopes and aspirations? How do they express a sense of agency, and how do they reflect on their sense of self? How does this translate into their self-representations on social media? The study aims to answer these central questions in order to argue for the importance of understanding hope as a survival strategy through the young men's engagement in everyday storytelling and sensemaking – both offline and online. For many Afghan refugees in Indonesia, the question of hope and confidence is intertwined with the unpredictability of life in waiting. Caught between a rock and a hard place of bureaucracy limbo, dreams of leading a 'normal life' remain a distant fantasy as the options of integration, resettlement, and repatriation do not offer genuine solace to refugees who live in a non-1951 Refugee Convention country such as Indonesia.

This research tries to answer concerns related to those above by investigating how male Afghan refugee youths in Indonesia choose to adapt to living a life that is largely governed by uncertainty. By exploring their changing hopes and aspirations, the study explores how such volatility affects these young men's construction of agency. The notion of changing hopes cannot be quantified, but is analysed through how research participants orient themselves towards their present, their future and towards Indonesian society. Coping mechanisms and daily strategies of respondents were of particular interest in revealing answers to how the young men manage to invest in the present and the future when the time spent in waiting grows ever longer and unpredictable.

Furthermore, the research takes into account how despite being formally recognised as refugees by the UNHCR, and thus acquiring legal status, these young Afghans are denied their most basic human rights as they are deprived of access to basic facilities. This includes education, employment, and healthcare. As noted above, the problem is in part due to Indonesia not being a signatory of the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol. This fact deprives Afghan refugees of the most basic services, such as the rights to pursue education and, subsequently, to be able to work legally to become self-reliant individuals. This situation illustrates the liminal position that many refugees find themselves in, one of legal ambiguity, socio-economic marginalisation, and vulnerability to abuse of those aware of their weak position in society.



## 1.2 Afghan Refugees in Diaspora and in Indonesia

Before we go further into the paper, let us first cover (or perhaps uncover) the definition of one of the most important terms in this paper. What or who is a refugee? The UNHCR has it front and centre on their website that the organisation defines a refugee as “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence” (2018). Additionally, the website says, “a refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group” (UNHCR 2018a). The study respondents, all of them from the Hazara ethnic group, would tick almost, if not, all of the above ‘boxes’ of reasons to fear being persecuted.

Once amongst the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan, presently, the Hazara ethnic group is one of the most persecuted minority groups in the world (Minority Rights 2018)<sup>1</sup>. The Hazaras are widely known to have been subject to historical marginalisation by the State for decades. A recent report by the New York Times captures how the Hazaras have largely been sidelined in the national development agenda. According to the report, parts of central Afghanistan, particularly regions populated by Hazaras, such as Bamiyan, “are among the country’s poorest, often lacking basic facilities and electricity”<sup>2</sup> (2018).

Moreover, the Hazaras have reportedly faced societal discrimination due to their ethnic and religious identity (UNHCR 2018b: 93). According to numerous reports from UN agencies, the US Department of State, as well as various news publications, the Hazaras are victims of illegal extrajudicial activities such as, extortion, forced recruitment, forced labour, physical abuse, and detention. As Hazara people are predominantly Shi’ite, they are rendered both an ethnic and religious minority in Sunni and Pashtun majority Afghanistan (UNHCR 2018b: 91). As a result, they have faced wide-ranging acts of discrimination from ‘casual’ bigotry to extremist violence at the hands of the Taliban, and most recently the Islamic State (UNHCR 2018b: 93; Minority Rights 2018; Nowell 2014). The systemic marginalisation and subsequent rise of Sunni extremist groups such as the Taliban, led to a mass exodus of Hazaras out of the country (Brown 2017).

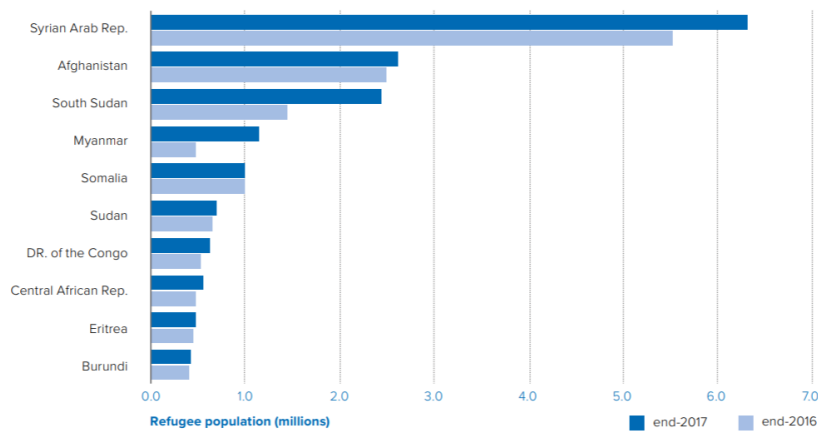
Today, the largest populations of Hazaras can be found in Pakistan and Iran, countries that host more than 650,000 and one million Hazaras, respectively (MacKenzie and Guntarik 2015 in Brown 2017: 35). Other reports indicate that Hazara refugees are one of the largest ethnic groups applying for asylum in Australia (Nowell 2014; SBS 2018). Although there is no definitive data on the ethnic breakdown of Afghan refugees’ population worldwide, it is wide-

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1901, a religiously motivated military incursion by Abdur Rahman Khan (who ruled Afghanistan between 1880 and 1901), was responsible for the murder of nearly half of Shi’ite Hazara population in northern Afghanistan. See more Peter Tomsen’s *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2011: 42); Minority Rights Group International, *Peoples under Threat 2017*, 19 July 2017, <http://minorityrights.org/wpcontent/uploads/2017/07/Peoples-under-Threat-2017.pdf>, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> New York Times, *Hazaras Protest after an ISIS Attack Kills 10 in Kabul*, 9 March 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/09/world/asia/suicide-attack-kabul-hazaras.html>.

ly understood that Hazaras constitute a large portion of Afghans seeking refuge globally (Brown 2017).



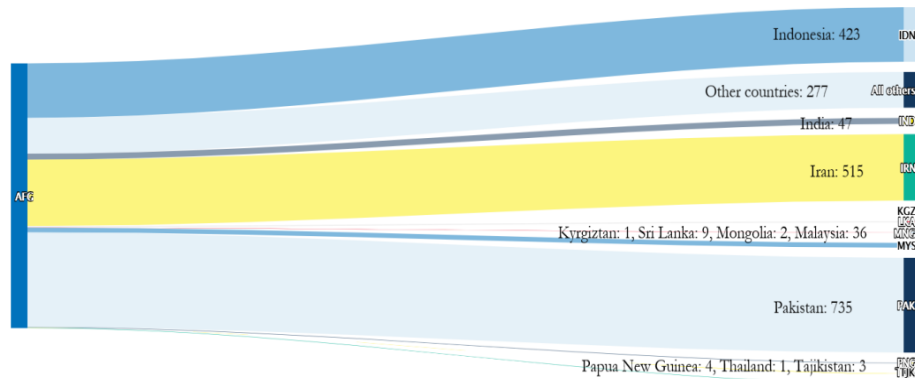
**Figure 1 Major source countries of refugees (UNHCR Global Trends 2017: 15)**

As Figure 1 illustrates, Afghanistan has consistently taken the second place as the world’s biggest contributors of refugees in the world since 2014<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, the Afghan refugee population has steadily increased in recent years. From the end of 2016 to the end of 2017, for instance, it grew by 5% to 2.6 million in total (see, Figure 1). In addition, with 72% of all refugees under 18 years, Afghanistan displayed the largest proportion of children in its overall refugee population (UNHCR 2017a: 59). With respect to common destination countries, the majority of Afghan refugees seek refuge in Pakistan (1,392,600) and Iran (951,000) according to the UNHCR 2017 Global Trends report. These figures are in line with the previous data on the migratory movement of the Hazaras. Overall, refugees from Afghanistan now live in 93 countries, including a relatively small proportion in Europe, mainly in Germany (104,400) and Austria (26,900) (UNHCR 2017a: 14). What this data does not tell us, however, is the breakdown of migratory movements of Afghan refugees, which consist of both asylum and resettlement. Amongst UNHCR’s muddy layers of information dispersed on separate individual webpages is the Resettlement Data Finder (RDF). The site explains the distinction between a country of asylum, “a State in which they [the refugees] have sought protection”, and a country of resettlement, “a third State which has agreed to admit them [the refugees]” (UNHCR 2018c).

In an attempt to gain a more detailed picture of the pattern of migratory movements out of Afghanistan, I consulted both the RDF and UNHCR’s 2017 Global Trends report and found conflicting information regarding the resettlement departures of Afghan refugees. Although the UNHCR’s 2017 Global Trends report clearly lists Germany and Austria as countries, which host a significant number of Afghan refugees, the RDF did not show any data of Afghans being resettled in Germany and Austria. However, the RDF did provide valuable data on the movements of Afghan refugees seeking asylum in

<sup>3</sup> Data taken from UNHCR Global Trends reports of 2014 - 2017

the Asia Pacific region, as shown by Figure 2. The UNHCR data shows that Indonesia was the country with the third largest population of Afghan refugees seeking asylum or immediate protection.



**Figure 2 Destination countries of asylum (not resettlement) in Asia Pacific for Afghan refugees in 2017 (Data and chart from UNHCR Resettlement Data Finder 2018)**

Indeed, of the 13,800 refugees that Indonesia hosted in May 2018, more than half were from Afghanistan (55%) (UNHCR 2018a). Other groups of significant size came from Somalia (11%) and Iraq (6%) (UNHCR 2018a). Moreover, 25% of the total number of refugees registered in Indonesia were children, with 239 of the children arrived without any caretaker, in other words, unaccompanied minors.

For our research participants, the UNHCR’s definition of refugees may prove to be less consequential in determining their life trajectory in Indonesia. Like most countries in Southeast Asia, Indonesia is not a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocols (Pramudatama 2017; Tobing 2017). Despite this fact, Indonesia honours the principle of non-refoulement, making it an unofficial transit point for asylum seekers and refugees who are seeking safe haven through third-country resettlement (Tobing 2017; Pramudatama 2017)<sup>4</sup>. Indonesia’s self-perception as a transit country is reflected in the country’s lack of a clear legal framework for the reception of refugees in Indonesia (Missbach and Tan 2017). Furthermore, due to Indonesia not being party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol, there is no channel to integrate refugees into Indonesian society. With no access to education, work, and healthcare, refugees can only try their best to assimilate but not to stay (Bemba 2018).

However, recent developments on the international political stage suggest that Indonesia might do well to reconsider and to expand its role as a transit point. As anti-immigration sentiment has intensified in the West, traditional resettlement countries such as the United States (US), the United Kingdom, Australia, and Germany are closing their doors to refugees. For instance, US

<sup>4</sup> Indonesia was most renowned for hosting thousands of Indochina refugees in the 1970s during the Vietnam War. This led to the establishment of the UNHCR office and operations in Indonesia. See UNGA, *Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: International Conference on Indo-Chinese Refugees*, UN Doc. A/44/523, 22 September 1989, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3dda17d84.html> (accessed 13 September 2017)

president Donald Trump’s plan to dramatically reduce the US’s refugee resettlement program, from Barack Obama’s 110,000 quota, may worsen the existing backlog in UNHCR’s resettlement process (Hirsch 2018). With such grim prospects, resettlement out of Indonesia is becoming ever less attainable.

The scant resources of the UNHCR in handling the growing number of refugees and the shortage of places for third-country resettlement lead to long waiting times for refugees in Indonesia. The average waiting time for refugees to have their status determined and be received by a third country has risen from between seven and eleven months in 2014 to five years or more in 2017 (Ali et al. 2017). This situation puts refugees in Indonesia in an awkward bureaucratic limbo; integration is out of the picture, resettlement is slipping away, and many Afghan refugees, who are mostly ethnic Hazara, believe that repatriation would amount to a suicide mission with the Taliban still in power. The limbo can also be characterised by being in between multiple dimensions of liminalities – legally, socially, and otherwise (Horst and Grabska 2015).

Prior to the research, the young men had told me that the UNHCR had increasingly encouraged them to settle down and build ‘a life’ in Indonesia despite the lack of legislative framework that would facilitate local integration. During the research interviews, a few of the respondents reiterated this point. Daniel, for instance, was left feeling hopeless as he told me, “[m]y case officer told me to consider getting a job as a cleaner or find a wife here”. Jafar told of the same experience where his case officer advised him to “get used to his situation” in Indonesia. Several news articles that I came across during the writing of this paper report the same experiences (Topsfield 2017; Bemma 2018; Cochrane 2018).

Having kept in touch with most of them, I had observed their journey from afar and watched how they practiced self-reliance and navigated their lives in Jakarta as they grew out of boyhood into manhood. For refugee boys and young men in Jakarta, growing up could also mean to edge out of the protection and care of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Church World Service (CWS), and other UNHCR partners. A term that the young men referred to as “aging out”. These organisations only give shelter and education to refugees under the age of 18. Unfortunately, Indonesia’s case is not unique. When refugees seek asylum in countries that are not signatories of the Refugee Convention, they generally face conditions like these. However, it was interesting to hear that after the fieldwork one of my informants, Justin I., was informed that he would be resettled to the US. His departure came a week after the announcement. This shows that *perhaps* refugees like the ones under study here are, in fact, not entirely forgotten.

### 1.3 Research Questions

This research aims to answer the following research question:

**“How do young Afghan refugee men in Indonesia negotiate their agency and hope in the protracted uncertainty?”**

For further understanding about the issue at hand, the following sub-questions are addressed:

1. How do they manage their hopes and aspirations in the face of changing prospects of resettlement? What level of trust towards the main actor, UNHCR, do they display?
2. How do they communicate their sense of hope and self through stories in their time ‘in waiting’?
3. How does living ‘in-between’ affect their social lives and the portrayal of themselves on social media?

## 1.4 Justification: Why this research

Although the field of refugee studies has grown considerably over the years, the body of work dedicated to the discourses of hope, agency, and uncertainty in migration and refugee studies is still limited. This holds especially for refugees who are in transit and whose legal status is unclear (Mar 2005, Williams & Balaz 2012, Biehl 2015, Brun 2015, Horst & Grabska 2015). The Indonesian case offers an interesting dimension as it is a developing country in the Global South that is not a state party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocols.

Scholars such as Mar (2015), Brun (2005), and Cooper and Pratten (2015) have each written on different notions of hope and confidence among the displaced in protracted uncertainty. Whereas Mar (2005) examines the relationship between the hope and expectation of migrant workers towards social mobility, Brun (2015) investigates the relationship between hope and the conceptualisation of time spent in waiting. Cooper and Pratten investigate the dynamism of hope in uncertainty (2015). Through ethnographic studies in Africa, the latter explore uncertainty as a social resource that could provide a source of productivity to move beyond its notion as a “psychosocial enigma” (Cooper and Pratten 2015: 36).

On that note, the scholarship of protracted uncertainty has commonly defined uncertainty as the inability to predict the future due to imperfect knowledge (Williams and Balaz 2012; Cooper and Pratten 2015; Horst and Grabska 2015). Williams and Balaz (2012) apply economic and sociological theories to explain the relationship between risk, migration, and uncertainty. This study starts out from these authors’ intriguing argumentation about economic theories of human capital and notions of risk tolerance and risk aversion inherent in migration.

Horst and Grabska (2015) put greater focus on the concept of protracted displacement and the inherent uncertainty, something also discussed in detail in other studies (see contributions of various authors in Cooper and Pratten 2015). Horst and Grabska identify the differing dynamics between radical and protracted displacements in conflict situations. Whilst authors such as Horst and Grabska (2015) and Biehl (2015: 59) point to how uncertainty is used as a means to “demobilise”, “contain”, and “govern” refugees, Cooper and Pratten find that the experience of uncertainty can prove to be rewardingly challenging for refugee youths. These two interpretations of uncertainty and its relation to the notion of hope are explored in chapter 3 and 4 as two sides of the same coin. I argue that negative and positive narratives of hope and uncertainty are

equally central in the construction of agency in refugees who are ‘trapped’ in displacement.

Furthermore, these concepts are applied in exploring and highlighting the complexities of the state of ‘double liminalities’ that young refugees may find themselves in (Camino and Krulfeld 1994). As they inhabit the liminal status of being a refugee in transit, they are also at the liminal stage between childhood and adulthood. In that view, uncertainty can arise inwardly from their state of living in adolescence and outwardly from their situation as a refugee. As young refugees’ sense of hope changes through time, this could also be accompanied by their changing sense of self and, to an extent, their sense of agency.

Methodologically, digital storytelling is a useful concept to explore the nuances of these changes within the self, as well as regarding hope and agency beliefs. This holds particularly in the discussion of digital storytelling in the form of social media empowerment where it promotes ideas of social inclusion and self-reliance (Andrade and Doolin 2016). All in all, this paper attempts to move away from the pitfalls of reductionism, while at the same time considering both the vulnerabilities and the opportunities for agency amongst refugees who are living in a state of protracted uncertainty.

## **1.5 How and Who: Research Methodology and Ethics**

### ***1.5.1 Research challenges and limitations***

A first major challenge of this research is its sampling frame young Afghan refugees. Given limited sample size and the specificity and homogeneity of the sample, concerns about the transferability of the findings for larger groups in different circumstances are justified. Specifically, the research investigates a group of refugees which is homogenous regarding their country of origin and ethnicity, their gender (male), age range (16-22), and socio-economic status (families of rural farmers and petty traders). Crucially, the sample was drawn by convenience (see, Brewis 2014). It is non-random also in the sense that nine of the eleven core participants were in contact with me prior to the research. I came to know most of the respondents during my time as a television journalist at MNC Indonesia, one of the main national broadcasting companies. Beyond that, the participants entertain relationships as friends and acquaintances among each other. Though this reinforces the non-random character of the sample, it also enables this research to make the social relationships of this group of refugees a focal point of the study.

Doing research with this specific age bracket of young men and boys under 18 poses its own set of challenges. One challenge that became apparent early on was to tackle the obscure terminology between adolescence, youth, and young people. Several organisations use similar definitions of adolescents and youth as social categories, albeit the terms are often used interchangeably without much reflection. The UNFPA explains, “there are no universally accepted definitions of adolescence and youth”, whilst for statistical purposes the UN categorise adolescents as persons aged 10 – 19 years and youth as those between 15 – 24 years. Adolescents and youth are then grouped together as young people (UNFPA n.d.). Beyond this conceptualisation of adolescents and youths as a social category, adolescence and youth can also be defined as a

phase of life. In this context The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs refers to youth as a period between childhood and adulthood (2010). Similarly, the European Commission defines youth as the “the passage from a dependant childhood to independent adulthood” (Eurostat 2009: 17). Ledford applies a similar definition onto adolescence, which she explains as nestled in transition between the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood – “with malleable borders” (2018: n.d.). This last example makes it clear that the inconsistent use of the terms adolescence and youth persists

Moreover, Ledford’s (2018) “malleable borders” are acknowledged by the UNICEF, which describes the period of adolescence as contingent on the “physical, emotional and cognitive maturation...” (2011: 8). These contingencies are heterogeneous across different cultures; for instance, in Indonesia, the age at which minors are legally permitted to marry becomes the threshold age (UNICEF 2011: 10). Other age thresholds can be defined by “participation in activities considered the preserve of adults”, such as voting, military conscription, and property ownership (UNICEF 2011: 8). These so-called adult activities also indicate a different layer of responsibilities, which are thought to be appropriate only for adults to take on.

Given these inconsistencies and heterogeneity, my respondents’ own perception of their adolescence or adulthood is an important consideration when deciding on how to represent them in this paper. On several occasions during the interviews and focus groups, all of them proclaimed themselves as “*sudah dewasa*”, which indicates “mature age” in Indonesian. For instance, Kevin and Daniel repeatedly told me that they regarded age as “just a number” and that the life events they had to experience, and survive, would speak to the level of their maturity. When Jafar was told that by official standards he may be categorised as underage, he would challenge this by saying that being separated from his family at such a young age and having to learn to be self-reliant were reasons to stop referring to him as a child. In the spirit of Allen (2015), who argue for acknowledging the role of underage participants as active agents of their own narratives, in this research I give priority to the respondents’ own conceptions in categorising them as adolescents or young people.

This is also the case for pseudonyms. I asked each one of the participants for their preference and, for those who wished to remain anonymous, I let the research participants choose their own aliases. Consistent with this, since the respondents are in the age brackets of liminality and in transition to adulthood, this study uses the broad definition of youth by the UN “as persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years...” (UNESCO 2017a).

The second major challenge of this research is the use of sensitive subjects, such as the subjective experience of hope and hopelessness, as well as uncertainty. Crucially, the participants may not feel free to share their true opinions and feelings. This is compounded by the fact that I am of the opposite sex with respect to the respondents, which could make some respondents more hesitant in revealing their perceived weaknesses as young men. It is also important to point out that some of the effects of being in a state of uncertainty may be non-conscious, thus, it would be hard to verbalise and express for the respondents how they view life and themselves. Moreover, because the respondents are friends and acquaintances of mine, concerns regarding *demand characteristics* (Orne 2002) are justified. This can also be manifested in the will-

ingness of the respondents to cooperate, echoing Orne's notion of "the good subject" (Orne 2002 in Sharpe and Welton 2016).

Moreover, I had to ensure that no emotional or psychological harm be inflicted on the respondents during and after the interviews. This could be in the form of resentment, anxiety, embarrassment, and the reliving of unpleasant memories (Mason 2002; O'Leary 2017). This is especially crucial for the respondents who were under 18, where I as the researcher need to be proactive in monitoring for any unforeseen effects of potential psychological distress due to the themes of hopelessness that the research brought up (Neill 2005: 55). To this end, as a measure against "invasive questioning" and the risk of causing grief to underage participants during research, Neill points to the need for a researcher to prepare "information about suitable local sources of help..." (2005: 55). Responding to these concerns, I arranged for mental health support for my respondents in forms of support group with other refugees in Jakarta and an emergency contact of an NGO that had been previously briefed about the research.

### ***1.5.2 Contacting and selecting respondents***

This research is informed by the experiences of 11 respondents and further insights from two additional interviewees, as well as a meeting with staff from the ICRC office in Jakarta. Six of the main respondents were unaccompanied minors aged 16 and 17, while the rest were between 18 and 22 years old. Undeniably, working with those under

To ensure some similarity in the backgrounds of my respondents and their experience of uncertainty, I decided to interview only those refugees who met three inclusion criteria. In July 2018, (1) All the respondents had been granted refugee status by the UNHCR, and thus had the Refugee ID card; (2) all respondents had spent more than two years in Indonesia; and (3) all the respondents had not been notified by UNHCR of any imminent resettlement.<sup>5</sup>

Initially, a previous contact had offered to help me contact at least ten respondents among his friends for interviews. However, when I reached Jakarta, this offer led to just one interview. For the other interviews, I approached previous contacts made during my time as a journalist, and interviewed people already known to me by name. Befriending was a significant aspect of the fieldwork, particularly since I was reconnecting with people I had mostly met before and talked with several years previously. The positive feedback I received was more that of an amicable relationship than that of the typical researcher-respondent relationship. What I noticed was that only one respondent stressed the importance of getting some benefit from the study and, perhaps not coincidentally, this was from the only individual I had not previously befriended as a journalist.

Although doing research with friends has its obvious advantages, there are several ethical considerations to be acknowledged. As I have pointed out in the previous section, Brewis notes that researching existing contacts, or in other

---

<sup>5</sup> During the time of writing, one of the respondents was resettled to the United States after three years of waiting. The UNHCR informed him one week before he was scheduled to depart.



words, “convenience sampling”, may limit generalizability, which she argues to be akin to research issues raised by snowball sampling (2014: 850). Then again, experiences so general as the hopes and survival strategies of refugees who are waiting to be resettled are likely to be generalizable to broader populations irrespective of the friendship status between my respondents and me. Particularly, since being on the same proverbial boat was what banded them together in the first place. This argument is also made by Brewis in her research on the relationships of 30-something professional women in London, in which the author contends that the “sampling approach was based on the fact that the themes I was exploring were ones we chatted about in the normal course of our friendships” (2014: 852).

On a relevant note, this has to do with the question of confidentiality and the blurred line between friends and informants. As explained by Tom and Herbert (2002: 600), the “hard stories” that our friends might have shared in the past in confidence cannot be taken for granted. The likelihood of it being turned into fodder for “juicy” research material would be ‘using’ then-friends-now-also-informants “on the expense of [their] feelings” (McConnell-Henry et al. 2009–2010: 5-6). Having known my research informants since 2015, and in the beginning, the only Indonesian friend that they knew, I learned a lot of sensitive information about them. Similarly, I was faced with the dilemma of delivering an impactful research while at the same time having to tread carefully as to not betray their trust. Ultimately, I made the conscious decision not to include any information that I had learned prior to the research that is unrelated to the topic of uncertainty. I limited the inclusion of my prior observation to the general change of attitudes of the respondents since 2015 and the ensuing changes that I noticed in their social media activities.

In addition to the core refugee respondents, I decided to include other refugee voices of different demographics. I interviewed two teachers from two different refugee learning centres located in Jakarta and Bogor respectively. I found their insights and point-of-views to be highly valuable for my research, not only due to the special access that they have to the state of mind of these refugee youths but also because of their own history as refugees from Afghanistan.

I was able to reach the first instructor, Habib, who manages the Health, Education, and Learning Program (HELP) for Refugees, a refugee learning centre located in Tebet, one of Jakarta’s more central and busy neighbourhoods. HELP focuses on providing productive activities for young refugees to channel their energy and frustration away from destructive psychological states and into productive activities and learning. They offer classes that put more emphasis on life strategies and soft skills training rather than academic lessons. The second instructor that I interviewed was Abdul. He is a teacher in a refugee learning centre in Bogor and a vocal activist of refugee rights amongst the refugee community. I made Habib’s acquaintance during my participant observation with one of the respondents, Zabi, while Abdul was contacted through Facebook based on the recommendation of a journalist friend.

The last interview that I conducted was with several employees of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) who wished to remain anonymous. I approached ICRC Indonesia after learning about their involvement in Indonesia’s crisis response to the Rohingya refugees arrival in Aceh, Sumatra. I hoped to get the viewpoint of an international organisation and to get their

opinion on the idea of building refugees' self-reliance as a more sustainable humanitarian response to the supposed refugee crisis. This discussion was followed by a discussion of Indonesia's present strategy towards refugees.<sup>6</sup>

### ***1.5.3 Reflection on positionality***

Considering the circumstances under which the respondents and I first met, I was very self-conscious of the potentially askew power relationships that might be at play between the respondents and me. This can be explained as the “unrecognised power” of the researcher (O’Leary 2017: 1295). For instance, O’Leary uses herself as an example of a middle-class, educated woman to explain how her social status may illicit undesired power relations between her and the interviewee (2017: 1287). These attributes are characteristics that I also identified with as an educated, 20-year-old something from the capital city of Indonesia. I was aware of the possibility of my status as an Indonesian could give me power over the respondents whose legal statuses were ambiguous.

The imbalance power dynamics between the interviewer and the interviewee can also be argued as inherent in the nature of the interview interaction itself (Mason 2002: 80). Being the researcher, I set the agenda and possessed sole control over the data afterwards. With power comes responsibility. In this case, my responsibility as a researcher to properly conduct this exercise of knowledge production with both ethical and political considerations (O’Leary 2017: 1283). As a precaution against any possibilities of power misuse, I tried to be as transparent as possible with data collection and in assuring my respondents that, they could exit the research at any given time. Although this undoubtedly spurred the feeling of uncertainty in me, I decided that this would be a good way to show my respondents that they have as much as control over the trajectory of things as I do.

Furthermore, element of identification between myself and the research participants may have created bias as I am aware of their personal frustrations and hopes. As someone who has been battling with depression, I know a thing or two about feeling like you have little to no control over your own story.

### ***1.5.4 Selection of methods for fieldwork***

This research was conducted qualitatively and quantitatively, using several different methods to ensure the development of richer sets of data. I chose four qualitative methods my main means to collect data, namely, interviews, focus groups, observations, and digital ethnography. I also distributed a Likert scale questionnaire to the main respondents two weeks after the interviews and focus groups took place. The purpose of this exercise was to compare how the research participants respond to these questions when in personal settings versus how they responded to the research topic under a veil of anonymity (see Appendix 4).

---

<sup>6</sup> I conducted one additional interview with a correspondent of China’s state-owned news channel CGTN. While my initial idea was to diversify the viewpoints in my data, in the end I decided to exclude the interview as the result was irrelevant to the themes of the paper.

My data collection activity began with interviews. I grounded the interviews on a set of guiding questions that were constructed based on particular interests and concerns of the young Afghan refugees, which I learned from our interactions prior to the research project.<sup>7</sup> I also drew a lot of this information from the stories they had told me before. Therefore, the interview style was largely informal and unstructured. Considering my training in journalism, my strategy was to ask general questions from which I build my follow-up questions on. I was open to improvisation depending on how the respondents answer the questions, while at the same time trying to be attuned to the answer's tonality and non-verbal sentiments. Nevertheless, I kept a list of the guiding questions on hand at all times, as I had to be mindful of the risk of inconsistency in the interview trajectory due to the unstructured fashion. The interviews were conducted at malls and cafes in the area close to their shelters and housing. All of the interviews and focus groups were conducted in a mix of Indonesian and English.

Despite the casual set up of the interviews, some of the respondents displayed reservations and discomfort when discussing the notion of an uncertain future. To make it less of an intimidating topic, I asked my respondents to write down their life plans in the near future. I asked them to write down specific life goals, such as being fluent in English, getting a university degree, and their estimation on when they think they will achieve them. The next method that I employed was to conduct focus groups. Focus groups are “[a] planned and guided discussion among a group of participants for the purpose of examining a specific issue or issues” (O’Leary 2017: 8163). The focus group sessions proved to be more revealing than the interviews as the young men seemed to be more confident speaking amongst peers. This was a surprising finding as I assumed a lot of them would feel more reluctant to give their opinions in front of many people. I found that the research participants seemed a lot more relaxed than they were during the 1-on-1 interviews. Particularly in relation to the topic of resettlement hope and their relationship with the UNHCR, it was interesting to see how the respondents learned about each other’s individual experience with the UNHCR.

Furthermore, I conducted a series of observations in both the young men’s real lives and digital lives. According to Mason, an investigation of someone’s psyche can benefit from observations of behaviour, which can open a window “to find out what is going on inside people’s heads” (2002: 36). I tried to do exactly that by following the activities of two of the respondents, Zabi and Kevin. My goal with this method was to understand how they went about planning and living their days, how they made sense of their daily lives, and to see the types of activities they engaged in to pass time.

Lastly, I used the methods of digital ethnography with a focus on the concept of digital storytelling to analyse the young men’s use of social media. Where the interviews and focus groups helped me understand the stories the young refugees tell themselves and how they are projected in personal settings, digital storytelling let me hear the stories they share to the world on social media. Through our discussions, we collaboratively observed and dissected each

---

<sup>7</sup> See background of core respondents in Appendix 1 and list of guiding questions in Appendix 3.

of their own Instagram posts and all the reasoning behind the smallest choices made: the clothes they were wearing in the photo, the poses, the choice of place and photo caption. Using digital storytelling as a method allowed the respondents to explain their larger cosmology; how they perceive themselves, the place they are in, the temporality of waiting, and lastly how they choose to represent themselves. I also used the digital material to better inform the interviews and the focus groups, or in other words, “engaged listening” (Forsey 2010 in Lenette and Boddy 2014: 74).

Methodologically, my use of digital ethnography overlaps with the toolkit of visual ethnography as I draw my analysis partly from visual data. Especially when using sensitive topics, like uncertainty and hope, visual ethnography can help add nuance to the understanding of the intentions and reasonings of the respondent beyond the data gathered from standard interviews. Lenette and Boddy underline its critical usefulness in qualitative empirical research, especially with topics of high complexity (2014: 75).

None of the above steps was taken without first receiving informed consent from each of the respondents. Apart from gaining insights through collecting primary data, I also drew from secondary data, namely academic journal, international organisations’ report (UNHCR and other UN agencies), and online publications (news article, working paper, etc.). To conclude, all the steps followed in this study are summarized in Appendix 1.

Manual data handling techniques were used to analyse the above data. To do this, I transcribed all my in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions, documented all notes from the mapping exercises and noted down reflection from the participant observation sessions. No coding was undertaken; instead I read and re-read the transcripts, looking for points of overlap and for comments that were distinctive and different from those of others. I have also organized both my observation notes (field diary) and the transcripts of interviews, categorising them into specific themes, including short-term and long-term goals and aspirations, current activities, attitudes towards resettlement and integration among others. This helped to connect (triangulate) the different data sources when presenting the key findings of the study.

## **1.6 Outline of the paper**

This research is divided into five chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the legal and international relations frameworks that govern the refugee regime in Indonesia. The framework discussion is followed by an overview of the main concepts used in this paper; hope, agency, and uncertainty. Chapter 3 illustrates different constructions of hope and agency in situations of uncertainty and how these influence the refugees’ life choices. Chapter 3 draws on narratives from interviews to ‘give flesh’ to these concepts. Chapter 4 focuses on social media representations and self-representations by the interviewees. I draw both on relevant academic literature, and on observation, and quotes of narratives from the young Afghan refugees. Chapter 5 presents brief conclusions and suggestions of further research.

## Chapter 2

### Refugees, Policies, and Framework: Context

‘The rights of Man, supposedly inalienable, proved to be unenforceable – even in countries whose constitutions were based on them – whenever people appeared who were no longer citizens of any sovereign state’ (Arendt 1951; 2004; 372).

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the legal frameworks that govern refugees both in the international and Indonesian context, before the next chapter provides a conceptual framework and start to analyse some of the hopes and uncertainties of the young male Afghan refugee informants. The first part shows the critical bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Australia, and the next part explores the nexus between International Refugee Law and Human Rights Law, given that Indonesia is not a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention or 1967 Protocol. Lastly, the Chapter explores the theoretical framework of hope, agency, and uncertainty.

#### 2.2 Indonesia and Australia’s ‘Pacific Solution’

“We will decide who comes here and the manner in which they come”, Australia’s Prime Minister, John Howard infamously declared in one of his pre-election speeches in 2001. Howard was referring to asylum seekers and refugees who would arrive by boat mostly from neighbouring Indonesia. In 2014, Australia announced a new immigration policy, which brought about two major changes. Firstly, no asylum seekers who arrived by boat without documentation would ever be resettled in Australia (Tyrer 2017: 115). Secondly, Australia would also not resettle any refugees who registered with the UNHCR in Indonesia after July 1 2014 (Parkes 2018).

At least half of the research participants told me that their parents and relatives chose Indonesia as their first destination of asylum, with Australia in mind. When they left Afghanistan at the end of 2014 or during 2015, none of them was aware of the changes in Australia’s policy, months before their departure. Their stories are unfortunately not unique; hundreds continued to make unsuccessful sea journeys towards Australia regardless of the policy change in July 2014.<sup>8</sup> They were turned back or detained in one of Australia’s offshore detention centres in Nauru or Papua New Guinea. Others who remained in Indonesia even faced the possibility of detention.

---

<sup>8</sup> See data of boat arrivals and ‘turnbacks’ in Australia since 1976 here (Parliament of Australia 2017) [https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick\\_Guides/BoatTurnbacks#\\_Table\\_4:\\_Boat](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/BoatTurnbacks#_Table_4:_Boat)

Australia's policy change of 2014 goes back to a history of cooperation between the Australian and the Indonesian government in order to restrict entry into Australia. In 2007, the two governments signed the Management and Care of Irregular Immigrants Project (MCIIP) which sought to reinstate existing immigration detention centres in Indonesia to facilitate the "detention of asylum-seekers in Indonesia" (Nethery and Gordyn 2014: 187). Australia is the sole funder of the activities carried out under MCIIP (Nethery and Gordyn 2014). As part of its 'offshore' policy arrangement, Australia aided Indonesia in the construction of 13 detention centres in Indonesia in one year - 2009 (Parkes 2018). The introduction of these strict border security measures severely limit the ability of asylum seekers to reach Australian territory so they can claim protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol. This helps explain how these young Afghan men came to be stuck in Jakarta in the first place.

## **2.3 Refugee Rights are Human Rights**

As the opening quotation to this chapter from Hannah Arendt suggests, when refugees are – like the young Afghan Hazara refugees in this study – unprotected by their home state, and barely recognised by the host state, it is fair to assume that their human rights will be vulnerable to neglect or even abuse. The connection between the 1951 Refugee Convention and Human Rights law is quite apparent if we revisit the facts pertaining to the drafting process of the original 1951 Refugee Convention.

For instance, as the drafting process was being conducted just right after the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), it was not a mere coincidence that later the formulation of the 1951 convention was highly shaped in the spirit of the UDHR – especially with respect to the equality and inalienably of rights of all human beings. Yet, the 1951 Refugee Convention applied only to Europe and later (1967) was extended by the 1967 Protocol to include the rest of the world (Mayblin 2014).

Both the 1967 Protocol to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the UDHR (and the Covenants, which derive from this Declaration) are based on the recognition of the universality of human rights. These are viewed as inherent in being human, and require respect for the protection, fulfilment and enjoyment of rights, including by unaccompanied refugee minors (Pramudatama 2017).

### ***2.3.1 Comprehensive Solutions: Refugees' Self-reliance***

Coined in 2002, the approach of "comprehensive durable solutions" for refugee populations is a UNHCR-led initiative which seeks systemic solutions to provide access to more secure conditions of asylum and assist hosting countries with the capacities necessary (Adelman 2008; Pramudatama 2017). In its original form it encapsulates three systemic solutions to the problem of displacement: 1) voluntary repatriation, 2) local integration, 3) and resettlement. However, in various countries, such as Indonesia, the UNHCR is limited to just two of the three original durable solutions, as local integration in Indonesia is not possible (Taylor and Rafferty-Brown 2010b in Nethery and Gordyn 2014: 185).

Initially comprising the UNHCR's Global Consultation on International Protection and the UNGA's Agenda for Protection, the approach today is deliberated at the level of the UNHCR's Executive Committee's Note on International Protection (UNHCR 2015a: 13). It also features in the UNHCR's Solution Strategies (UNHCR 2015b: 14) and in the New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrant 19 September (UNGA 2016: 15). This is doubtlessly an outcome of the global refugee crises. At later stages, these "comprehensive durable solutions" comprise not only the three traditional measures but also give additional consideration to the fundamental causes of the crises and the living conditions when soliciting asylum.

In 2014, the UNHCR introduced a set of goals for partner governments to end the practice of detention of refugees and asylum seekers, especially concerning displaced children (UNHCR 2017b). Indonesia was one of the its partner countries that participated in the pilot programme to find alternatives to detention. However, as illustrated in the previous section, containment had become one of the primary policies of Indonesia. As displayed by the Presidential Decree 125/2016 on the Treatment of Refugees from Overseas signed in 2016 (hereafter: presidential refugee decree), almost half of its 45 articles stipulate step-by-step provisions of how asylum seekers are to be housed in detention centres. None of the article makes any mention of provisions regarding temporary education, although healthcare is stipulated as an emergency response to those who were found at sea.

Unfortunately, this position of neglect is commonly adopted by asylum hosting states, whereby containment and security angle have more clout than rights-based or needs-based approach to refugee needs (Adelman 2008). Inevitably, these pose challenges, which hinder the fulfilment of self-reliance for refugees (Pramudatama 2017).

As argued by Pramudatama (2017), the world refugee crises have increasingly been approached from a national security angle. Perhaps an alternative approach would be to consider security from the perspective of the refugees' own human security. The question of UNHCR as a 'dream catcher' of the young Afghan men is returned to in the next chapter.

### ***2.3.2 The Right to Education and Employment: Refugees in Indonesia<sup>9</sup>***

Despite Indonesia not being a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, Indonesia has traditionally assumed the role of a temporary host for refugees waiting to be resettled in a third country (UNHCR 2018). Indonesia's significant contribution in hosting Vietnamese refugees in the aftermath of the Vietnam War bears witness to the country's willingness to respect the *non-refoulement* principle (Tobing 2018). However, refugees face great difficulties in Indonesia there are no legal frameworks that could ensure their social protection since the government does not facilitate local integration or naturalisation (US DoS 2016). This results in neglect of basic human rights, such as healthcare and education, as well as language ac-

---

<sup>9</sup> This section contains excerpts from an unpublished essay written for the course People on the Move submitted to ISS on 9 April 2018.

quisition. In the case of education, Indonesia is still legally obliged by the Constitution and its commitments to the UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to provide inclusive education for all children, including refugee children (UNHCR 2013). Although theoretically refugee children have the right to access public education, the lack of synergy between managing institutions results in the *de facto* abandonment of the right to education (UNESCO 2017b).

Administrative barriers became one of the biggest obstacles to the absorption of refugee children in local schools (UNHCR 2013). The absence of language assistance, inadequate funding, and a lack of long-term planning have been documented as factors contributing to the meagre participation of refugee children in formal education (UNHCR 2016a). However, lack of political will and restriction to access may not be the only causes of low enrolment rates. Case in point, low capacity of local schools, lack of teaching resources, physical distance to the school building, and “a plethora of social, cultural and economic factors” are issues that also characterise the refugee education crisis in Indonesia (UNHCR 2016b: 11).

Furthermore, Indonesia’s commitment to the CRC does not cover refugee children, as the country’s Law on Child Protection is limited to citizens (UNHCR 2013: xi). The situation is compounded by the fact that Indonesia is not a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Taken together, these circumstances further challenge the proposition to include the right to education for refugee children into Indonesia’s legal framework and thus hinder practical advances from the outset. An anonymous employee of ICRC in Indonesia interviewed for this research attempts to explain Indonesia’s reluctance in giving meaningful assistance to refugee children: “Indonesia is a developing country, the number of our poor is very high still. There could be social jealousy.”

When I heard the informant’s answer, it is hard not to be reminded of the rather outdated premise of the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA). The CPA was developed for the Asia Pacific region as a response to the influx of asylum seekers and refugees following the Vietnam War (Pramudatama 2017). The initiative directed non-signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention to provide short-term and temporary refugee protection and assistance, while resettlement responsibilities fell on traditional third-country host with large resettlement quota, such as the United States and Australia (UNGA 1989; Pramudatama 2017).

The rationale behind this initiative was to lower the socio-economic burden of hosting refugees and asylum seekers for countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Hong Kong, which at the time were considered as “developing... and in the transition to democracy” (Pramudatama 2017: 30-31). While the Vietnam War had long ended, many countries in Asia Pacific, case in point, Indonesia, continue to adopt this approach in shaping their immigration policies towards refugees (Pramudatama 2017: 31). With resettlement quota presently dwindling down, Indonesia can no longer rely on third country resettlement as the process stretches ever longer. This is another argument to make for Indonesia to reconsider its role as a transit country and its refugee regime which now relies on refugee containment.



## 2.4 Hope and Agency in Uncertainty

### *2.4.1 Hope and aspirations: Theoretical Framework*

Hope and aspirations have been a scholarly concern in various disciplines. Among the many, work from anthropology, psychology, and economics has emerged which is based on the same tradition of thought and the same approach to conceptualise the issue (Appadurai, 2004; Snyder et al. 1991; Snyder 1994, 2002; Ray 2003, 2006). Much like Sen and Nussbaum's Capabilities approach (1999; 2004; 2011), Appadurai conceives of aspirations as a "cultural capacity", shaped by circumstances and living standards, and argues that "strengthening the capacity to aspire" could help the marginalised "find the resources required to contest and alter the sources of their own poverty" (2004: 59).

This is close in its conception to work in psychology on hope (Snyder 1994, 2002; Snyder et al. 1991) and to work in economics on aspirations (Ray 2003, 2006). In the tradition of the literature on aspirations, Snyder's work is based on the notion of hope as a motivational force, which spurs effort (1994, 2002). It lays out three basic pillars of hope: a specific goal, a pathway to achieve the goal, and a belief to possess the agency necessary to pursue it (Snyder 2002: 250-251). Ray's approach to aspirations, while different in terminology, is similar in style. Here, aspirations are seen as goals, which work as reference points to motivate effort towards their fulfilment (Ray 2003, 2006). In the tradition of Appadurai (2004), both Ray (2003, 2006) and Snyder (1994, 2002) thus stress the role of agency. Lybbert and Wydick (2018)'s distinction between aspirational hope, associated with the belief of agency, from wishful hope, which describes a state of hope without the belief to be able to contribute to achieving one's goals, bears similarities to conceptions of hope in refugee studies which will be discussed in the next section.

### *2.4.2 Hope, agency, and uncertainty in refugee studies*

As briefly discussed in Chapter 1, there is a growing body of work within refugee studies, which looks at the concepts of hope, aspirations, and agency. Particularly, in how these ultimately human experiences are observed in a situation of protracted uncertainty. The condition of protracted uncertainty can be characterised by indefinite waiting, imperfect knowledge of the future, and the lack of control one feels over their lives (Biehl 2015; Horst and Grabska 2015: 5). The understanding of waiting in uncertainty is further nuanced by the distinction between "inert waiting" and "active waiting", where the active waiting "implies anticipation and some confidence in the fact that a certain event will occur and thus is closely connected to hope" (Marcel 1967 in Brun 2015: 24). In this sense, hope is understood as a "way of dealing with protracted uncertainty" and a way of "making uncertainty meaningful" (Brun 2015: 25). Thus, echoing Horst and Grabska's contention of hope as a coping mechanism to navigate waiting in an uncertain world (2015).

Inadvertently, hope itself could block displaced people from action. This may be illustrated by the phenomenon of *buufis*, which Horst defines as the hope, longing, desire or dream to go for resettlement (2006: 143). However, in

the case of buufis, the dream is framed as a ‘disease’, and is mostly used to explain occurrences of going ‘mad’, depression, and suicide. In other words, negative resignation associated with the loss of hope for the unattainable dream of resettlement.

On the other hand, in understanding hope as a survival strategy, I looked at several scholars who discuss how uncertainty may lead to (i) productivity; (ii) becomes an unlikely springboard for action, and (iii) how uncertainty may generate feelings of excitement and anticipation (Turner 2015; Archambault 2015; Di Nunzio 2015; Hage 2003; Vigh 2009). For instance, Turner presents the case of Hutu refugees in Burundi and the way in which hope becomes an essential mechanism in navigating daily lives (2015: 174). After enduring dramatic changes of having left a country and a political system, that deprived them the opportunity to dream and a place in the society to maximise their potentials, they found themselves in an uncertain situation, which at least gave them room to hope (Turner 2015).

The circumstances of the Hutu refugees were very similar to the situations borne by the young Afghan men. As Hazara refugees, not only did they escape political oppression but also social discrimination. All of the young men that I interviewed were well aware of their social status back home and how different it is compared to their living conditions in Jakarta. Albeit the inconvenience and frustration that come with living in legal ambiguity, as Chapter 3 discusses in detail, all of the respondents expressed gratitude in their current situation which at least allowed them to dream and hope for a better future (see Chapter 4).

In theorising hope, Turner also makes a distinction between goal-oriented hope and open-ended hope, or in what Lybbert and Wydick term as aspirational hope and wishful hope (2015: 177). Darren Webb defines open-ended hope as “where one hopes that the future will bring good fortune without defining it is one is hoping for” (2007: 69). This understanding relates to Ghassan Hage’s notion of hopefulness, which the author explains as “a disposition to be confident in the face of the future, to be open to it and welcoming to what it will bring, even if one does not know for sure what it will bring” (2003: 24). This act of almost unconditional embrace towards the unknown speaks of the capacity of the individual to “believe in the future despite uncertainties” (Turner 2015: 175). Other scholars such as Mar (2005) and Crapanzano (2003) echo similar definitions of hope where anticipation is foregrounded in the sense of potential of a vague idea of a better future.

This brings us back to the spiritual idea of hope which merit lies in having faith in the unknown, and not just faith but to also believe that the unknown will be better (Turner 2005: 175). Turner (2015), Crapanzano (2003) and Mar (2005) note of Christian theories of hope, which Mar also points to be embedded in the west. As Turner aptly puts it, “[g]ood Christians...must hope for salvation and meanwhile be patient because only God can decide on salvation and define what it is” (2015: 175). The emphasis on patience, on faith in God’s goodwill, and on staying open-minded to whatever path God has laid for us is something that is also shared by Islam. Nearly all the young men mentioned God’s great plan for them when asked about life’s uncertainty.

Both uncertainty and hope could act as double-edged swords depending on how the individual *chooses* to react to conditions of precariousness. The act

of choosing in itself indicates the exercise of one's agency albeit in varying degrees of capacity, and own sense of self-reliance (Horst 2006). Moreover, in choosing to hope that 'things will be better no matter what' may materialise as a form of agency, "enabling refugees to carry on with their everyday lives amid protracted uncertainty" (Biehl 2015: 61). I would suggest that both in passive and active reactions to uncertainty, an individual exercises their agency in making decisions, although at times not actively, on how they make sense of situations of protracted uncertainty and how to cope with it.

These passive and active reactions to uncertainty is a "precarious task of moving back and forth between the future and the present", which is central in exercising one's agency (2015: 174). Similarly, Horst argues that the imagination at play has the potential spark social action and is "central to all forms of agency" (Horst 2006: 146). In this sense, agency can be defined as:

"...a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment)" (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 963)

These capacities to imagine and contextualise are explored in psychological research, and more recently in economics. Perceived agency is conceptualised through the lens of two different but related beliefs: self-efficacy and locus of control (Bandura 1977, 1986; Rotter 1954, 1966). While self-efficacy is the belief to possess the capacities necessary to achieve a desired goal (Bandura 1977, 1986), the locus of control of a person pertains to their sense of control over the outcomes of actions to achieve said goal (Rotter 1954, 1966). In Snyder's view, both together can be seen as constituting a person's belief to have the agency to achieve their goal on a chosen pathway.

In the context of the young men, asking questions about their perceptions of future opportunities shed light on their present survival strategies (Turner 2015). De Certeau describes in relation to strategies and tactics as the very activity of "making do" (1984: 35). The author refers to the "analytical ability" of individuals to select parts from their temporal reality, in his words, trajectory, and to compose new narratives from the everyday.

Therefore, I argue that sensemaking and storytelling are imperative in how the young men communicate sense of hope and, by extension, their agency. This expression of hope turns into a narrative which each of the respondent construct to cope with uncertainty. I categorised their stories into two types. The first is a journey driven by short-term plans as they make the best of the present. The second one is a narrative driven by long-term plans.

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has tried to give a 'bird's eye view' on how refugees are viewed, as it were from above or outside, contrasting this with the concept of self-reliance, hope, and agency. The chapter has shown some of the ways in which different measures to protect refugees, and human rights, may overlap and either diverge or reinforce one another. The discussions on hope and agency

have recognised the diverse potential in the manifestation of hope and agency, which may come in different shapes and forms. The next chapter will look into these varying forms and understand the reasoning behind them.

## Chapter 3

# Dynamics of Hope & Uncertainty: Findings

### 3.1 Introduction

Building on the concepts of hope, self-reliance, and agency presented in the last chapter, the Chapter looks at the young men's decision-making when faced with uncertainty. It seeks to understand particularly the varying degrees to which respondents react to the unpredictable and the choice made in viewing uncertainty as a challenge for the self to create a meaningful ground for action and hope (Di Nunzio 2015; Turner 2015). I start each section with brief biographies of the young men who showed me the opportune possibilities in uncertainty. That in the waiting game of uncertainty, there lays equally the potentials of not only a bleak future but also a brighter one. Unpredictability becomes less of a coin toss and a game of chance as our research participants try to take their fates into their own hands. In this sense, hope is not only about the end objective but also the means to "keep going" and for respondents to retain a sense of agency. In Turner's words, "an ontology of becoming rather than being" (2015: 175). As such, there is a case to be made where hope and agency serve as agentic tools of self-reliance.

### 3.2 "The UNHCR holds my future": Living with unpredictability

Through her research on the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey, Biehl recognises that the nerve-wracking waiting game between each procedural step as one of the biggest sources of uncertainty in displacement (2015: 60). Typically, refugees and asylum seekers are not told how long they are expected to wait for a decision to be made. Biehl calls this "indefinite waiting", an experience that is associated with being in protracted uncertainty (2015: 58). As Gasparini notes, an act of waiting becomes synonymous with having expectations, as waiting is located at the intersection of not only the present and the future but also certainty and uncertainty (1995: 31). The frustration is not only caused by the endless wait, but also in not knowing what one is waiting for, in other words, the inability to imagine what to expect. The lack of control that refugees feel in this situation is made worse by the lack of channels that enable them to inquire about the progress of their applications.

Moreover, just as Biehl discovered with refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey, the young Afghans in this research were also told to simply be patient (2015: 60). Having an imperfect knowledge of the present while simultaneously have to accept the unpredictability of the future brings to mind what Turner describes as the "precarious task of moving back and forth between the present and the future" (2015: 174). Although Turner associates this task with the exercise of one's agency, the presence of an external actor, in this case the UNHCR or the state of asylum, that is perceived to have all the control over your trajectory could be perceived as a loss of control over one's own life. As

discussed previously, perceived agency is conceptualised through the notion of self-efficacy and locus of control. Being in a position where not only one is unable to take action but also having to relinquish control can cause a person to feel powerless (Gasparini 1995). As Horst and Grabska put it:

“Unable to gain the necessary information and knowledge to predict what will happen to them, refugees and IDPs often feel that their future is in the hands of authorities and bureaucracies that they do not understand” (2015: 10)

Similarly, refugees in Indonesia experience indefinite waiting that is worsened by the unpredictability that they have to endure as they wait in between procedures in their resettlement process. One of the institutions that was most associated by the young Afghans with this passive state is UNHCR, who was blamed in interviews for many of the problems faced by the young men. One of the most outspoken about his disappointment was Ali, a 19 year-old from Ghazni. When he arrived in Jakarta in 2016 as an unaccompanied minor, he had to spend the first six months sleeping rough.<sup>10</sup> He received some respite from the insecurity when he was taken into a shelter for underage refugees by CWS, UNHCR’s primary partner for humanitarian delivery in Indonesia. However, precariousness struck again when he turned 18 as he had to move out of the shelter and survive on his own. He was left feeling disillusioned and distrustful towards authorities, especially towards the UNHCR. It can be argued that in Ali’s case, the UNHCR received most of his projection of pessimism and futility due to the very fact that he believed that the UNHCR controls his fate: “They are the only people who could help us but they never did anything”. Through this statement, he showed that His comments are reflective of what Horst and Grabska state regarding the simultaneous feelings of confusion and powerlessness.

“Our future plans belong to the UNHCR. Because we don’t know anything about our future, how many years I will finally be resettled? I don’t know. When I asked them how long, they said, ‘You’re going to be here for a long time. Maybe 20 years’. I heard from other refugees who have been in Indonesia for six years and they also have heard the same thing from UNHCR. What is the difference between me and an animal? They do not respect us as human beings. It only takes them a single call or a single email to alleviate us from this sorrow. I just need to know that my case is progressing, or anything, I just need to know something. Every time I met with a case officer who came to visit the shelter or Cisarua<sup>11</sup>, they always told me ‘I don’t know’, if you don’t know then what is the UNHCR for? They are supposed to help us, the refugees. You get your salary because I am here as a refugee.”

---

<sup>10</sup> For more detailed information about the core respondents, see Appendix 1.

<sup>11</sup> According to my informants, the UNHCR regularly sends a representative to Cisarua, a city outside Jakarta that host a significant number of refugees, to distribute information related to the immigration process. A figure from 2014 suggests that there were at least 4000 refugees living in Cisarua. See more <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/03/afghan-hazaras-new-life-indonesia-201436121639956520.html>

Ali's comments highlight what Horst and Grabska illustrate as "a prolonged subjective experience of disenfranchisement" owing to the young men's ambiguous legal status (2015: 3). In the authors' words, "...while some refugees acquire an official status, many remain in refugee-like situations without access to the limited privileges granted under international refugee law" (2015: 3). In the uncertainty that is borne by the experience of displacement, liminality becomes a byproduct. It was notably invoked by Malkki (1995) in her research on Hutu refugees in Tanzania, as she found that refugees occupy a problematic liminal position in relation to the national order of things. From a legal perspective, Menjivar and Coutin (2014) observe that liminal legality is often generated by the liminal legal status of the migrants themselves, who find themselves at the intersection of national and supranational legal orders. The authors explain, "[a]t the centre of each area lies a tension between the conferral of rights in principle and the difficulty in accessing them in practice" (2014: 325).

Abdul, a teacher at a refugee learning centre in Bogor, expressed the frustration of being in legal limbo and how he noticed the prevalent feeling of helplessness amongst his pupils as a result of UNHCR's perceived lack of will to support and protect refugees in Jakarta. 2018 marked the sixth year of his stay in Indonesia.

"Not being able to work and study legally is to be denied our very basic human rights. We may escape the Taliban but now we are being subjected to another systematic way of being killed. Not allowing someone to support themselves is just as good as pushing them to die a slow death. If we insisted on working, we run the risk of getting caught, but if we just sit around, we will starve to death. At this point, I do not have any faith in UNHCR. Whenever you go to the UNHCR office, they will humiliate you as much as they can. They treat us like animals. Whenever I came back from the UNHCR office, I will have suicidal thoughts. I tried to channel my frustration into writing and other things. But I am worried about the younger refugees. In fact, half of my students are struggling with their mental health. The school had to figure out a way so they can get help. Suicides are not uncommon in the refugee community, especially with young people."

Midway through my interviews, I came to learn that the opinions that Ali and Abdul held were one of the most persistent views that repeatedly surfaced. Almost all of the respondents expressed their disappointment and disillusionment with the UNHCR's resettlement process. The organisation became the main symbol of uncertainty and unpredictability – the bad guy, the malevolent force in their journey. As a result of the opaque bureaucratic procedure, the constant being in the dark, and also lack of faith in UNHCR, I found that the research participants turn to rely on other things. Chiefly on rumours and word of mouth. Horst and Grabska contends that "...informal information and rumours may be looked on as more reliable than formal information if the government is involved in persecution or is not trusted for other reasons. Those who have fled from elsewhere are often important sources of information" (Horst and Grabska 2015: 4). In the context of the young Afghans, it was not so much about those who fled but those who seemed to have good rapport with UNHCR. Jafar was one these individuals. Jafar is a 17 year old youth from

Kunduz, who arrived in Indonesia in 2015. He told me that every time he came back from the UNHCR office, his shelter-mates would hound him for bits of new information, for example for news regarding resettlement quota or which third-country is rumoured to take in more refugees that year. During one of the focus groups, I decided to pick this theme as a topic considering how it seemed to be quite a uniformed experience. I wanted to find out just how much of a shared experience this was. I asked Jafar to start the discussion about how much word-of-mouth affects people's sense of hope regarding resettlement. Jafar explained,

“I always try to share with my friends the things that I heard during my visit at the UNHCR office. They always want to know, always ask me questions about what the case officer said to me during my appointment. When I told them that I heard the US is taking less refugees, I could see the sadness in their faces. In contrast, one time I told them that maybe Australia is resettling more refugees from Indonesia, their faces lit up in happiness. For sure I can say that hearing news like this will affect everyone”

As the other research participants looked on intently, many appeared to be have a question mark on their faces. I cannot tell you what went through their minds as they were listening to Jafar, but in that moment, I was thinking of how much was Jafar's impression was his own projection. Because we need to consider the fact that Jafar's sense of hope and his construction of sensemaking also relied on the general lack of information. Was he looking for confirmation from his peers as he told them the good news about Australia? Before I could finish with my pondering, Justin I., interjected and added an information that I presumed he had gathered from his grapevine.

“Actually, I think it is a matter of age. I think underage boys are very happy because it is easier for them to be resettled. Especially America, they will resettle you if you are underage, unlike Australia that resettle more ‘overage’ people [sic]”

When I asked Justin I. to see if I understood him correctly, he reaffirmed his belief that the US gives priority in resettling underage refugees, whereas Australia and Canada resettle refugees over 18. Justin I. explained,

“All of my friends who had to move out of the shelter after they turned 18 waited for around one year until they were resettled to Australia or Canada. Of course, they are very lucky too”.

Regardless of how accurate these rumours were, sharing news and information informally seemed to be central in order to cope with dearth of information and overwhelming unpredictability. Interestingly, Justin I. did get resettled roughly two months after the research took place.

Nevertheless, while some cope by exchanging stories and sharing their moments of frustration and hopefulness, others cope by keeping mum. Ali



managed his feelings of frustration by avoiding any conversation concerning the resettlement process or the UNHCR.

“I am tired of talking about the UNHCR. When people ask me about the resettlement process...I think the UNHCR likes it better for us [refugees] to have more problem, for us to finally say, ‘I don’t want to be processed anymore, I want to go back to Afghanistan’. “To distract myself from my frustration towards the UNHCR, I focus getting my high school diploma online.”

This presents an interesting dimension of resettlement dreams in the context of *buufis*. As described by Horst, *buufis* is identified as resettlement fever, where individuals are aware of its power in making people ‘mad’ and in inflicting tremendous emotional and psychological disturbance to those who are ‘infected’. These examples above showed that the phenomenon of *buufis* may also be experienced by other refugees who experience both legal liminality and protracted uncertainty. However, Ali’s and Abdul’s accounts also showed that even the most desperate of feelings could be turned into ground for productivity.

Invoking theological theories of hope and the notion of positive resignation (Crapanzano 2003: 27), the young men’s attitude towards the UNHCR displays the inverse where an element of rebellion replaces the resignation. As Ali’s and Abdul’s comments showed, their resistance against the ‘wicked’ torment of uncertainty that the UNHCR had allegedly inflicted upon them fuelled their willpower to overcome it. If God is depicted as a benevolent force with only good things in store for the young men, the UNHCR is sitting on the other side of the table. Turner describes this as “passionate suffering”, wherein their hope “feeds on and is dependent on such suffering...” (2015: 176). Arguably, this could also be seen as transforming suffering into survival skills. By adapting to this suffering, the young Afghans are exercising their agency and self-efficacy. The following section will explore how these grounds are used in the construction of narratives and survival strategies.

### 3.3 Changing hopes and survival strategies

As illustrated in the previous section, the condition of protracted uncertainty can be coloured with vicissitudes, a contrasting image from the perceived stasis of limbo. Let us go back to Jafar. Being the eldest son of six, his parents had long feared that it would be only a matter of time before the Taliban would come to take him away. Since he left home, he has been living in a state of protracted uncertainty in Indonesia since 2015.

“When I first came here, I thought I won’t be here for long, I thought I would be here for less than 2 years, that maybe before the 2<sup>nd</sup> year, I will already be on my way to a third country, to the US or Australia.”

Ever since then, Jafar had to adapt his initial hope to his current realities. Initially, he thought that English would be his priority. Over time, he changed his pivot to learn more Indonesian and to make more connections in his current home. Similarly, Daniel mentioned as he noted to himself that had he

known he would be in Jakarta for this long (4 years), he would learn Indonesian earlier.

Even access to education is mediated by the UNHCR, which looms over the interviews at every point. Thus Ali considers the agency a major blockage on his efforts to imagine and ensure for himself education and a better life. As he expresses this:

“I went to the UNHCR three times. I found one public school where three refugee boys are enrolled in. I asked them, ‘please, give me the permission to go to this school. I will pay for myself’, but they did not do anything for me. They only told me, ‘okay, we will think about it’, but nothing. Nothing has happened since. They said they will give me a call, but two and a half years have passed and still they still have not called me.”

Jafar tells me that he tries to make the best of everyday, so that he can avoid the feeling of wasting his time. As for some of the other young Afghan refugees, his situation is one of almost perpetual waiting, whilst ‘keeping busy’ so time goes by. His situation reminds me of Brun’s notion of protracted displacement, and of,

“how people’s orientation toward the future changes during displacement... and of how people simultaneously move on, feel stuck in the present, and still actively relate to alternative and changing notions of the future during such displacement” (Brun 2015: 21).

Several young men echoes this sense of wasting time, as in this comment that: “I feel sad when I think about my time and my age, my time is wasting away now. I do not have any activity here or the facilities to do anything” (Ali). For Jafar, learning Bahasa Indonesia and fraternising with locals helped him to assign more meaning to his in-between place in Indonesia. This sentiment of not letting time be wasted is echoed by other respondents who often express the need to have productive activities that fill the hours of the day, and preventing them from dwelling on the difficulties they face.

For Zabi, his days are always well planned and structured. Arguably, this allows him to regain sense of control over his life trajectory (Southerton 2006). When I went along with him during my observation, he walked me through his day and brought me to a park that he frequents every afternoon for a jog. Impressed by his discipline, I asked him, why every day? He told me, “I want to be so tired that at night, my mind would not wander to the negative and dark corners of my head”. This displays how Zabi used the construction of the everyday as a coping mechanism against the hopelessness of uncertainty.

Meanwhile, Kevin imbued meaning to his everyday by engaging in risky activities. By risky I mean, by breaking into a private apartment pool, which he later told me as his most favourite pastime. When I asked him if he is not afraid of getting caught, he told me, “life is short, it is okay to do things like this once in a while. It makes life more exciting”.

### **3.4 Narratives of Hope: Academic and personal goals**

According to Devenney, young people with ambiguous legal or immigration status, struggle to “create biographical narratives and could not imagine the future or the past” (2017: 1316). Meanwhile, the ability to construct a narrative

about the self is part and parcel of one's agency conception as suggested by De Certeau (1986). As briefly explained in Chapter 1, the young Afghans showed discomfort when having to imagine what lies ahead. In this exercise of pathway planning, several of the young men reiterated that they were unused to thinking about or talking about their future in this way, but did daydream about what their future might hold.

12 September 2018 at 16:40

plan for next 8 years

Getting at least 5 certificates from 5 different degrees in coursera until 2020

Getting online job with some salaries until 2020

Save money until I reach to the third country 2021\_2023

Buy my life's needs and get marry 2025

Move my family to the third country 2026

**Figure 3** Pathway planning helped the young men to visualize their present and future away from the murkiness of uncertainty. This was written by Armin.

Pathway planning for UYP with uncertain immigration status can be complex as young people struggle to maintain a biographical narrative (Devenney 2017). Figures 3 above and 4 below show that even long-term planning is sometimes done by some of the young men, who wish to envisage their future as they grow up, and have ambitions that can stretch over years, or even decades. Armin's plans are more specific, Jafar is in less of a hurry to get married. All want to see their family, when they move them to a third country. The order may differ, but the dream is the same and involves similar elements – resettlement, education, family reunification and marriage.

Goals	Year
① get resettlement	2019
② continue my school	2020
③ Be a successman	2021
④ meet my family	2026-2027
⑤ get married	2028

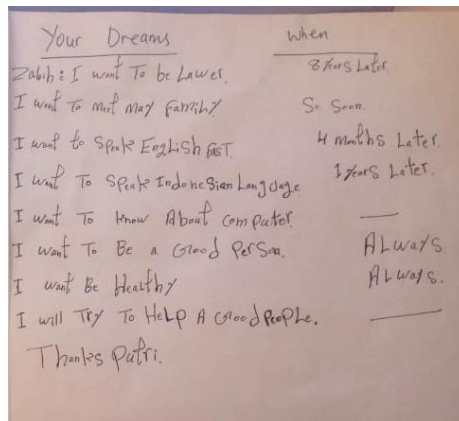
  

Goal	Year
1. GED	1- end of 2019
2. IELTS	3- Half of 2019
3. university/mechanical engineering	3- 2020
4. work - continue Master's	4- 2025
6. Buy home	5- 2028
5. start own business	6- 2029 1/2
7. get married	7- 2030
8. PhD	8- 2031
9. child (2-3)	9- 2035
10. organization for refugees	10- 2040
11. travel around the world (retired)	11- 2055

**Figure 4** Jafar's (left) and Ali's (right) pathway planning

Even whilst expressing frustration at the UNHCR and what they saw as its indifference, the same respondents could express their dreams in a way that did not lack ambition. Ali's career plans were highly aspirational for example:

“When I was a child, when we travelled from the city to my village, Taliban had multiple checkpoints where they especially targeted Hazaras. That was when I knew that I want to be an aircraft designer, so I could save people from Taliban, in my dream I will build a plane so my family and friends can fly over the checkpoints. I want to respect my childhood dream and turn it into reality.”



**Figure 5 Zabi's life goals**

Some plans are much more generalised, like those of Zabi in Figure 5, whose goals as much qualitative as about career and family. Speaking English and being a lawyer are tangible goals, but being a good person is a goal he aims for ‘Always’ as he puts it, as well as being health ‘Always’. Zabi concludes ‘Thanks Putri’, perhaps because he has not been asked before about his dreams and life goals. This is something that Ali had also expressed, that he had never thought of his life in this way. As Ali who we heard from already said, when asked about his hopes and dreams and how he sustains himself, and pushes through the sense of desperation that comes with uncertainty over the future:

“To distract myself from my frustration towards the UNHCR, I focus on doing GED courses from US, to get a high school diploma. I took the first step towards my dream in Indonesia. In Afghanistan I would never be able to build an aircraft model, but here in Indonesia I built my first one. I am doing something for my goal. Although it is just a model plane and not the real one, but in the next country I will build a real airplane.”

This is a dream that was shared by Hamid, whose wish is to be an IT professional. The main incentive for him to pursue a career in IT was his ambiguous legal status. He told me,

“When you work with other people over the internet, they cannot see you, they do not know who you are and what you are, or where you are from. I want to work in IT because it would allow me to work as a refugee, and people would not care about that.”

His dream of being an IT professional helped him cope with his situation of uncertainty, in this case, an uncertain legal status that he viewed could hinder his career prospects in the future.

Similarly for Ali, he answered that: “Having a dream makes you feel hopeful about life. It is the same as when you have another person to motivate you”. Projecting plans and dreams into the future can help to cope with a depressing reality, as Ali also adds: “Whenever I feel sad or depressed here, I just think about my dream and the happiness that it would bring when it comes true.”

### **3.5 Conclusion**

Two recurring themes from interviews and focus groups really captured this Chapter’s analysis. Firstly, to many of them, life only truly begins after resettlement. This brings us to the second theme; resettlement dreams and the UNHCR as dream catcher. Many of the research participants express similar sentiments of having their lives put on hold by UNHCR. The organisation has become both saviour and enemy. Nonetheless, it could also be that it is more manageable for respondents to focus their frustration on one actor, in this case the UNHCR. Secondly, respondents expressed the need to stay active. Several repeatedly pointed to the importance of keeping busy when asked about what they like most about attending classes. Some mentioned the need to have things to do to avoid an idle mind that could lead to stress and depression. The next chapter considers how all of these themes are presented in social media, which becomes another tool for exploring a sense of self and enacting agency of these young men. On social media, they appear more able to make their own rules.

# Chapter 4

## Digital Storytelling and Hope

### 4.1 Introduction: ‘Following’ young Afghan refugees

We have looked at how our respondents navigate uncertainty and explore their sense of agency through hopes, aspirations, and their orientations towards the future. This chapter continues this examination by analysing how the research participants’ hopes and aspirations are translated onto social media, specifically, on the photo and video-sharing social networking service, Instagram. Conversely, I also discuss how social networking sites provide a platform for the respondents to exercise their agency by creating their own rules and style in how they choose to express their identity. Building on the analysis from the previous chapter, I look at the concept of digital storytelling to understand the way the respondents use public sites to firstly, make sense of their lives and journeys, and secondly, how they choose to share their stories with the world. As I was browsing through the young men’s Instagram accounts, my attention always immediately diverted to their short bio.

- “Don't judge my path if you haven't walked my journey”
- “Nobody ever started climbing from the top of the hill, everybody needs to struggle from the summit!
- “People do not hurt us. Our hopes from them hurt us.”
- “My destination is beyond the unattainable. Beyond your imagination. Beyond this world. My immortality will end somewhere in the middle of nowhere.”

As I have ‘followed’ the respondents on social media since 2015, I include my long time observations into the analysis. On top of that, the observations made during my 1-on-1 discussions with respondents have also been incorporated into the analysis in this chapter. During these discussions, each of the respondent and I chose several photos from their feed to be discussed. I asked the participants to reflect on elements of the photo, namely, the pose, the place where the photo was taken, and the decision behind posting the said photo. All the photos discussed have been included in this chapter. Blurring effects are utilised on some of the photos featured in this Chapter to protect the identity of participants who are below 18 years old.

### 4.2 Adolescence on social media

*“In the future, everyone will be world-famous for 15 minutes”* (attributed to Andy Warhol).

The world – including the young men who are the focus of this study – would like to believe that Andy Warhol was right. The arrival of Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, and countless other social media platforms has fulfilled this prophecy, a grandiose quote from a 1960s art world figure who could have had no idea how relevant this could be decades later. If the world is a stage, social media delivers that stage to the touch of our fingertips. Whether that stage is designed to reinvent, rebrand, or represent oneself, social media offers

a platform for individuals to curate and highlight certain aspects of life. Not only to selectively represent ourselves but also to rebuild yourself. As Grabska mentioned, there is the possibility of becoming someone else, "...the use of social media creates images of the potentiality of possible identities as to who one wants to be" (Grabska 2016: 137).

Indeed, the era of Web 2.0 opened the gates to virtual tools that built a participatory culture where the line that separates producers and users is blurred (Bruns 2007; Efimova 2008: 2003). This new breed of producers and users is termed as *produser*, "where usage is necessarily also productive" (Bruns 2007: n.p.). *Produsers* do not engage in a "traditional form of content production, but are instead involved... in the collaborative and continuous building and extending of existing content..." (Bruns 2007: n.p.). One of the first examples of *producing* is blogging.

"All bloggers are both potential users (in the narrow sense of information recipient) as well as potential producers of content and the blogosphere overall is an environment for the massively distributed, collaborative produsage of information and knowledge" (Bruns and Jacobs 2006: 6).

A truncation of the term 'weblog', blogging refers to the practice of *logging in* one's journal to the interwebs for the world (wide web) to see (Nardi, Schiano, Gumbrecht, and Swartz 2004; Efimova 2003). In 2004, authors Nardi, Schiano, Gumbrecht, and Swartz conducted an ethnographic investigation<sup>12</sup> into blogging as a form of personal communication and expression and the underlying motivations that drive individuals to create and maintain blogs. Whether blogging is used to document daily lives, provide commentary and opinions, express feelings and emotions, or to be part of a community, the unifying theme is how all of the above concerns one's identity and how the self is being represented. Particularly the conceptualisation of the self in relation to others; in other words, the social self. For instance, the ethnographic study found that "most bloggers are acutely aware of their readers...calibrating what they should and should not reveal" (Nardi, Schiano, Gumbrecht, and Swartz 2004: 42).

This is in line with what I found with my research participants where a few respondents like to post cryptic romantic messages without addressing anyone in particular. Having Instagram followers of both Indonesians and Afghans in diaspora, it could be that the intended ambiguity is there to protect them from any moral judgments due to the sensitive nature of dating in their rather conventional native culture of Afghanistan. However, since the respondents in question are indeed in a relationship with an Indonesian woman, they feel the need to reciprocate through posting romantic texts on Instagram. This example gives a preview of the kind of navigating that each of the respondents does on Instagram. To balance their content depending on which segment of their audience they intend to interact with in a given moment.

---

<sup>12</sup> See the study here:

<http://web.mit.edu/21w.789/www/spring2014/papers/nardiblog.pdf>

Clearly, a second function which social media posts play in the lives of their young users is their self-affirmative quality of providing messages and likes to each facet revealed of their self. Weber and Mitchell note that “[y]oung people revisit their own web productions, [...]to see what has happened to them in terms of ‘likes’” (2008: 27), but that attention is paid equally to how others present themselves, as well as how these others view them. In a word, “they [the producers] are their own audience” (Weber and Mitchell 2008: 27).

I find vestiges of this reflexivity also among the young men which comprise the sample of this study. Justin M. likes to think of himself as a jack-of-all-trades entertainer. He sings, he plays the guitar, he makes comedy skits, and he would even show you a couple football tricks.

“I know what my followers like to see. They like it when I post funny things. My rule in posting is to make people happy, I want to be someone who is useful for other people, and this is how I do that. Especially being a refugee here, you do not want to be just sad all the time. I want to help others smile”

His reflection upon how people react to his posts motivate him to become the person that he believes himself to be. His sensemaking as someone who is useful for the community helps him navigate uncertainty and to imbue meaning in the ordinary.

### 4.3 Hoping through social media

By its very definition, one’s hopes can exceed one’s expectations. As expounded on in more detail above, research in psychology and economics (Ray 2003, 2006; Lybbert and Wydick 2018) has developed this notion just as has the literature on refugee studies (Turner 2015; Hage 2003). In these acts of wishful hoping and aspiring, the individual may project aspects of other selves, different from their own, onto themselves just as much as they can rid themselves of traits they do not (e.g., Mar 2005: 365). In the pursuit of self-representation, the lack of similarity can indeed inspire, rather than suppress, these wishful hopes and aspirations (Konijn and Hoorn 2005; Jansz 2015: 269).

This is most aptly illustrated by Ronaldo’s choice in curating his Instagram page. Ronaldo is an avid supporter of the Cristiano Ronaldo. On his Instagram page, he posts many pictures of the football player. He mimics the star in poses and in the way he styles his hair.

Examples like this illustrate how autobiographical story-telling can serve the function to both present oneself to others and comprehend this outside world and render identities dynamic in the cultural, social, and political context rather than just static (Holland et al 1998 in Jansz 2015: 269). Specifically, Grabska proposes that this phenomenon is of particular importance for youths who play with different identities to express their aspirations for adulthood, their enactment of different gender roles, or their desire for change, geographically or otherwise (2016).

“The aspirations for mobility (and the actual experience of immobility and waiting) permit us to investigate critical questions of how personhood and identity are transformed and constituted.” (Grabska 2017: 137)

For many of the research participants, social media is more than a platform of self-expression; it is also a place where the frustrating immobility of



time and space cease to matter so much or be so evident. A place where uncertainty and the feeling of being stuck mean little as virtual lives *progress* with no real hurdles. More importantly, to have the sense of progress in itself as progress feels tangible to the research participants as it is measurable by the number of likes and followers that one has over time. Essentially, a place where life seems to go on.

“We all want to have a lot of followers, right? No one will say otherwise. Since roughly a year ago, I posted a funny video on Instagram and I tagged my friend in Iran. Since then, I had many likes from Iran and within a month, I gained 10 thousand followers. All because of that one video. So many people messaged me. My video went viral, there were at least 8,000 views on my page, I saw my video on other people’s accounts too and there were even more views there. I think it is important to always post positive contents on Instagram, if you think your post will have little or no contribution to society, it is better to not post them”.

Jafar’s current Instagram followers are in the 20 thousands, and he knew exactly how many followers he had at that moment, when I coyly asked him to start a conversation. I said, “So currently you have around 10 to 30 thousand followers on Instagram, right?” I could hear the quiet pride in his voice when he clarified it to me, “Yes, I have around 22 thousand followers now on Instagram.”

Not many teenagers would have such a noble goal when it comes to their Instagram posts that when I heard Jafar explained his Instagram code of conduct, I was impressed. However, having followed him for more than a year, I also remember instances where his posts did not look so different from any other posts coming from 17 year olds. For instance, posts with obscure love notes directed to a nameless girlfriend to mundane selfies. These types of posts are not exactly public service. Scepticism aside, producing these types of posts may offer the chance for Jafar to be a teenager, when his life circumstances push him to grow up prematurely.

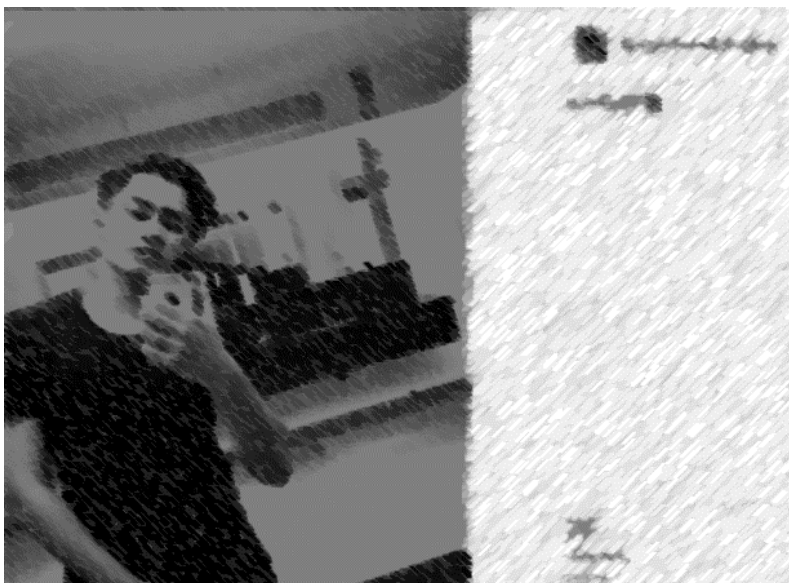


Figure 6 Justin I. taking the popular bathroom mirror *selfies*

Justin I. on the other hand, embraces the antiques of youth as he told me that he always makes it a point to look smart and handsome for the “girls”. He was very aware of his surroundings, the place that he took the photo in, his clothing, and even whether he should wear a watch or not. In the picture above for example, he told me, “I took this selfie because I saw many people do it and it looks very cool. Also you can see that I use an iPhone, which is a nice phone to have.” It seems that for Justin I., Instagram enables him to self-signal and also for him to explore his creativity. In other photos that he showed me, for instance, he was wearing Indonesian traditional shirt, to show that he is cultured and is knowledgeable about many things.



Figure 7 Daniel in the gym

Meanwhile, Daniel likes to portray himself as someone who takes care of his body and as someone who lives a luxurious life. In addition to self-signal, it is important for him that his family sees that he is doing well. Because both of her sister and brother are on Instagram and they would regularly show his posts to their mother. “I take nice pictures in nice places so my mother knows that I’m good”.



Figure 6 Milad in one of his speaking engagements as "voice of refugees" with

## UNHCR Indonesia

“Don't judge my path if you haven't walked my Journey”.

Milad regards himself as an activist and this is exactly how he portrayed himself on his page. He wants to be “voice of refugees”. He has been volunteering for local and international NGOs and also UNHCR as an interpreter. He showed me Instagram photos of him where he was invited to different events hosted by UNHCR and IOM, according to him, to represent Afghan refugees. He also showed me pictures of inspiring refugees who ‘made it’. He mentioned a couple of names, and he also mentioned Malala and said how she is also a refugee and she is a highly inspiring and esteemed individual. Milad showed me another Instagram account of a girl, who came from Iraq to Germany. He seemed to idolize both figures a lot and aspire to be like them. For Milad, Instagram becomes a key feature in his imagining of his desired future. As his idols are there, he is too.

## 4.4 Conclusion

Social media presents a new arena in which hope and sense of self can be explored with much freedom. In real life, our research participants may have to be reminded daily of the things they still yet to achieve. Social media, however, allows them to ‘try on’ different projections of themselves. Not only was this found to be central in building their confidence, but also as something to look forward to everyday. Refugee empowerment through digital storytelling holds a lot of promise, especially for refugee youths. In a stage in their lives where one’s sense of self and sense of identity is most malleable (Holland et al 2006 in Jansz 2015), it is important that young refugee men are able to channel their creativity openly and creatively. The sense of community that social media provides is also crucial in the promotion of social inclusion. This is especially game-changing for refugees who live in countries such as Indonesia, where integration is out of the picture. Lastly, social media has proven to be a valuable source for our research participants to exercise self-reliance and self-efficacy. Having access to information regarding immigration policies of potential resettlement countries gave them the agency to make decisions and informed judgments about where they would like to be resettled, conversely to being chosen or selected.

# Chapter 5

## The Journey Forward

### 5.1 Concluding Thoughts

This research aimed to show how uncertainty is addressed through a diverse range of actions and emotions by Afghan refugee youths in displacement. It demonstrated how the creative re-interpretation of one's self in alternative life narratives finds an outlet on social media platforms through which aspirations and hopes are channeled. As a consequence, feelings of empowerment can emerge in a realm of agency-less waiting and encourage the young refugees to navigate through the uncertainty of displacement and engage with the liminalities of their daily lives.

These constructions of stories were most apparent through the exercise of pathway planning and their undertaking of digital storytelling. All respondents use social media, particularly Instagram and Facebook frequently. They utilise it for various different reasons, as a means to communicate with family abroad, to portray a certain public image, to receive positive reinforcement from friends, and to reach other Hazara communities abroad.

The findings of Chapter 3 focus on two recurring themes. Firstly, their love and hate relationship with the UNHCR became an identifying point in their experience of being a refugee in Indonesia. Many of the young men expressed great frustration at the UNHCR for causing a halt in their lives. The organisation has become both their saviour and enemy. At the same time, many of the participants' started taking countermeasures as they felt determined to reclaim control over their lives. This instance showcases the participants' ability to exercise agency amidst uncertainty; a quality largely unnoticed by the 'agents' themselves.

Secondly, respondents expressed the need to stay active. Several repeatedly pointed to the importance of keeping busy when asked about what they like most about attending classes. Some mentioned the need to avoid having the mind go idle and be vulnerable to stress and depression.

The study, moreover, finds two general categories that characterise the young Afghans' survival strategies, namely short-term plans and long-term plans. Those who focused their energy on living a meaningful day, showed more interest in befriending Indonesians and by the same token, in learning Indonesian. On other hand, the participants who placed a great focus on their long-term plans, did not show much interest in engaging with the locals or their language. These young men are also the ones who designed their day-to-day activities in accordance with their aspirations.

Chapter 4 continues this discussion by introducing the element of digital storytelling, an exercise of narrative construction that our respondents engaged in every day. It finds that Instagram provides a platform for the respondents to exercise their agency by creating their own rules and style in how they choose to express their identity. More importantly, social media allowed them to explore and experiment with their identities. Reflexively, interactions on Insta-

gram helped them make sense of their time and place. Lastly, social media showed to be a valuable source for our research participants to exercise self-reliance and self-efficacy. Having access to information regarding immigration policies of potential resettlement countries gave them the agency to make decisions and informed judgments about where they would like to be resettled, conversely to being chosen or selected.

In conclusion, the research finds that hope and agency are central tools for young Afghan men to cope with uncertainty. The use of storytelling to express their hopes and aspirations is a way for them to explore their sense of self and identity and for them to take their lives into their own hands.

## 5.2 Further research

Upon further reflection on the research findings, there seems to be a hidden world of refugee male escort or in the words of one of the respondents, the world of “sugar mamas” and young Afghans. This is an interesting phenomenon to explore, especially, in the context of refugees in Indonesia, a largely conservative country. It would be valuable to the scholarship of refugee studies to explore this in the context of agentic behaviour in refugees versus refugee exploitation. How would the market system of refugee escorts work? Did the demand come before the supply? Are young refugee men victims or are they capitalising on their ability and assets? Could this be seen as a way for them to exercise self-efficacy and bring control back into their own hands? These are all interesting questions that should be explored in further research. The same phenomenon has been noted among young Afghan men in Europe, especially in Greece.

On that note, further research is also needed to explore non-sexual underground economic activities of refugees who are legally unable to work. Their desire to work is not only coming from economic necessity but also as a way to remain productive and hopeful (psychological payoff). This is a crossroad between liminal legality and socio-economical fulfillment. What is the impact and how does a refugee in such situation measure risk? Although they risk getting themselves caught, the positive seems to outweigh the negative. The need to keep life going seems to be more important as illustrated by the experiences of Jafar, Daniel, and Justin I. For instance, Daniel and Justin I model on the side and their modelling job became an important source of their confidence, and by extension, a way they exercised their agency. Moreover, the part-time job also allowed them the feeling of independence, and that they are spending their time meaningfully and productively. Another example is Jafar and Daniel’s venture in selling Afghan foods. Jafar used his Instagram as a way to promote his business of selling Afghan rice. This is interesting to explore as social media is by public by nature, and in principle could be accessed by anyone.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1 List of Participants

<b>Pseudonyms/Age/City of origin/Arrival in Indonesia (Length of stay in Indonesia as per 2018)</b>	<b>Background</b>
1. Daniel / 22 / Parwan / 2014 (4 years)	After transiting in India and Malaysia, Daniel finally arrived in Jakarta. He chose Indonesia as his asylum destination thinking that the RDS would be faster than other countries. He also thought that the resettlement process would take less time from Indonesia. Upon arriving, he moved around Bogor and Jakarta until he finally had to resort to sleeping on the streets just outside of the UNHCR office. His experience of living the streets taught him the importance of speaking Indonesian. Daniel finally received his refugee ID card after 3 years in 2017. At the time of research, Daniel lives in a small apartment in South Jakarta with other Afghan refugees. He is fluent in Indonesian and is confident about his English. His biggest dream is to be reunited with his family.
2. Justin M / 21 / Bamiyan / 2014 (4 years)	Justin M was introduced to me by Daniel. He is one of Daniel's roommates. He chose to come to Indonesia for asylum because of one of his contacts. He hoped to be resettled in Australia. After waiting for 3 years to get his refugee card, he stopped

	wishing so much about Australia. At the moment, he wishes to fulfil his dreams of becoming a guitar player and footballer.
3. Armin / 20 / Ghazni / 2015 (3 years)	Ali Armin found his way to Indonesia through a smuggler. After finishing high school, he had to leave home as Taliban activities intensified. Life did not get easier for him in Indonesia. After months of living on the streets of Jakarta, and moving around Bogor, he was detained by the immigration. He spent 6 months in detention and was finally released after receiving his refugee status from the UNHCR.
4. Ali / 19 / Ghazni / 2016 (2 years)	I met Ali through Zabi. They are schoolmates at HELP for Refugees. Ali aspires to be an aerospace engineer after dreaming of ways to avoid Taliban checkpoints back in his village. His current favourite pastime is crafting plane models and scale model house from Styrofoam and ice cream sticks. He dreams of being an engineer and academic.
5. Hamid / 18 / Parwan / 2015 (3 years)	Hamid came to Indonesia by his uncle's decision. After living on the streets together with the others for months upon arriving, he was taken by Indonesia's social services. After he turned 18, he had to move out and find another place to stay. He now lives in the same apartment complex as Daniel and Justin M. He wishes to be an IT professional because he does not have to worry about national borders. At the moment, he is preparing for the GED test in the hopes of getting a high

	school diploma.
6. Ronaldo / 17 / Ghazni / 2015 (3 years)	Ronaldo chose to go to Indonesia with the same hopes of him quickly being processed from the status of an asylum seeker to that of a refugee and that he would find his way to a third country within a year. After 6 months of slumming in front of the UNHCR office, he was taken in by Indonesia's social services to a shelter for abandoned and troubled Indonesian children. Not long after, he was moved by the IOM to a shelter for refugee children. He currently takes hairstyling lessons provided by the CWS. He dreams however to be a football player, just like his idol, Cristiano Ronaldo.
7. Zabi / 17 / Helmand / 2015 (3 years)	Zabi came from a family of farmers and told of fond memories of tending cattle animals. However, living in the proximity of a US military base and Taliban's main operations, Zabi also keeps not so fond memories of the sounds of explosions and machine guns. He made his way to Indonesia through a smuggler, without any knowledge of the country prior to the move.
8. Kevin / 17 / Parwan / 2015 (3 years)	Kevin made his way to Indonesia after his family decided "there was no other choice". The rest of his family lives in Iran, where he lived in as well before he was deported and blacklisted. After living on the street of Jakarta for nearly 6 months, he too was taken in by Indonesian social services. He was moved to a shelter for refugee children by the IOM not long after. He dreamt of being a football



	<p>player, however, he broke his leg in Jakarta and had to shelf his dream away. His only wishes are to be reunited with his family and to continue schooling.</p>
9. Jafar / 17 / Kunduz / 2015 (3 years)	<p>Jafar came to Indonesia after his mother decided that it would be the best option for his son. After living on the streets of Jakarta for nearly 6 months, he taught himself how to speak Indonesian and English. He was chosen by the CWS to participate as a volunteer for the Asian Games in August 2018. He wishes to grow up to be someone who helps other people.</p>
10. Milad / 16 / Ghazni / 2015 (3 years)	<p>Milad came to Indonesia by his father's decision. He now lives in a CWS shelter together with Jafar. I met him together with the others in front of the UNHCR office, a small street in Jakarta they called home for almost 6 months. Milad aspires to be a "voice for refugees" where he wants to tell the extraordinary circumstances of ordinary people like him and many others.</p>
11. Justin I / 16 / Ghazni / 2015 (3 years)	<p>Justin I came to Indonesia by his family's decision. Prior to making the big move, he lived in Pakistan and India where he had the opportunity to study. After months of living in a CWS shelter, he was the only one to receive news about resettlement. During fieldwork, he told of the possibility of moving to the US. The day finally came on 13 November 2018.</p>

## Appendix 2 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection activities	Areas of inquiry
<b>Interviews</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capture stories, how they make sense of their life in waiting and uncertainty</li> <li>• Capturing respondents' state of mind and sense of self</li> <li>• To investigate how much trust and confidence they place in themselves versus external factors</li> <li>• To explore respondents' sense of agency and control</li> <li>• How much hope they have in being resettled and about general future</li> </ul> <p>Interview with instructors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understanding aspirations and hope as survival mechanisms</li> </ul>
<b>Life planning exercise</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To explore the respondents' level of confidence in making future plans</li> <li>• To understand the mode of planning the respondents are in e.g. short-term vs. long-term</li> <li>• To see how comfortable the respondents are in orienting towards the future when things are uncertain in the present</li> </ul>
<b>FGD (3 – 4 participants)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UNHCR' transparency in its resettlement process</li> <li>• In understanding the notion of collective hope</li> <li>• How rumours and word-of-mouth in protracted uncertainty influence the respondents' orientation towards the future</li> <li>• How far do the respondents place trust in rumours when there is lack of knowledge</li> </ul>

<p><b>Participatory observation of two respondents' daily lives</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To understand the daily trajectory of the respondents</li> <li>• To see how the respondents structure their daily lives and how the structure connects to their sense of agency and control</li> </ul>
<p><b>In-depth interview with ICRC</b></p>	<p>1<sup>st</sup> interview: Needs assessment on refugee needs</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> interview: Discourse on resilience, mental health wellbeing, responsibility of aid agencies to create a positive experience for refugees, comment on Indonesia's current policy in handling refugees</p>

## Appendix 3 List of guide interview questions

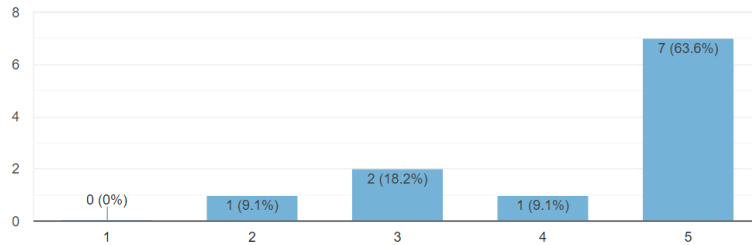
I had largely based the in-depth interviews on the following guiding questions.

- What were your first hopes when you first came to Indonesia? How long did you think you would stay here?
- What have changed?
- What plans are you currently making? Short-term / long-term?
- What did the UNHCR tell you?
- Not knowing what will happen in the future or how long you will stay here, how does that influence your planning / decision-making?
- How do you generally spend your time?
- Do you have many Indonesian friends?
- What are your thoughts on the future? On the possibility of living your life in Indonesia?
- Which country do you wish to be resettled? (How much do you know about the country? Have you started learning the language? / following local trends on social media?)
- What other languages are you currently learning?
- What are your biggest challenges right now?
- What in your life do you value the most?
- What is "home" to you, what does it mean?
- When you are faced with a disappointment, how do you motivate yourself?

## Appendix 4 Follow-up questionnaire and responses

1. I have people whom I look up to as role model / من کسانی را دارم که به طرف آنها به عنوان الگو نگاه میکنم

11 responses



1. A. Who is your role model? Why is he or she your role model? / الگوی شما در زندگی تان که است؟ چرا او یک الگو در زندگی تان است؟

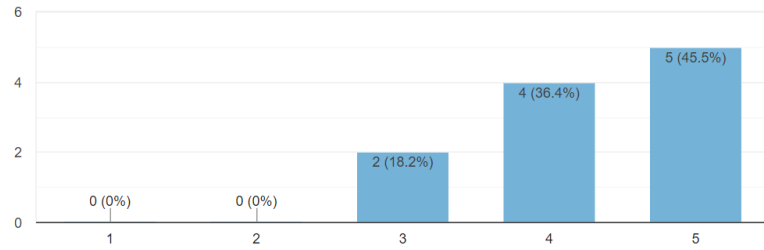
11 responses

- My role model is my father.he is like a hero for me he always lead me to the true way
  - My Imam(Ali), He was really (Kind, honest, generous)
  - My father i learned from my father to be strong just see head
  - may model is may father. because i like hime.
  - Bill Gates, is my role model in my life there are many reasons, why he is my role model. he is successful man I can learn how to study, even you are not in school or university it's depending on you, and he is on of IT man in the world which everyone need his product (Microsoft) And he really humble he is billionaire but he live like common people doing
  - I just following KHLID HUSSAINI because his before the same things like me but the difference one his with her family but I'm alone.so his from Afghanistan he was a refugee France...but he now living in US with her family.so his good will ambassador with UNHCR also and have a normal life also. So if you need more information you can search his name in Gogol for more information.
  - Christiao ronaldo! because i love ronaldo's rule.coz i wanna be like him in the future , a good person , help the people, no matter what the people look like , for me , i wanna be a benefit person like ronaldo.
  - My best friend is my role model, because despite of many difficulties he always tries to hard work and never want to give up.
- 
- No one
  - Hassan yazdani reswling person I would like to pike and he is my role model because i can learn how to hard work to be champion
  - Mr allahyari, because of his knowledge about history and...

2. I cooperate with people around me / من با افراد اطرافم همکاری می کنم



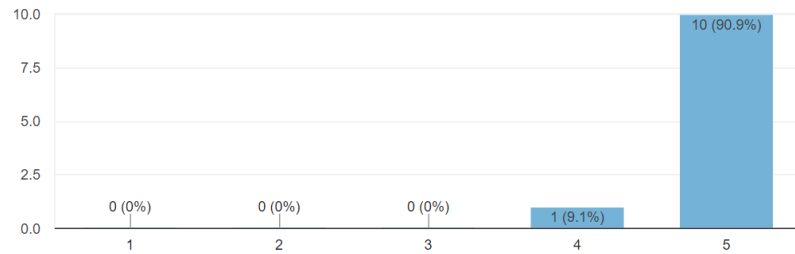
11 responses



3. Getting an education is important to me / تحصیل کردن برایم مهم است



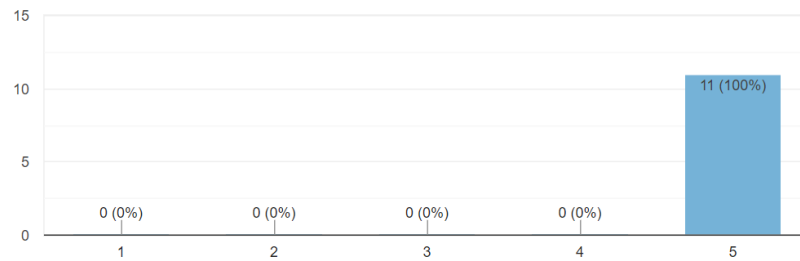
11 responses



4. Learning English is important to me / آموختن زبان انگلیسی برایم مهم است

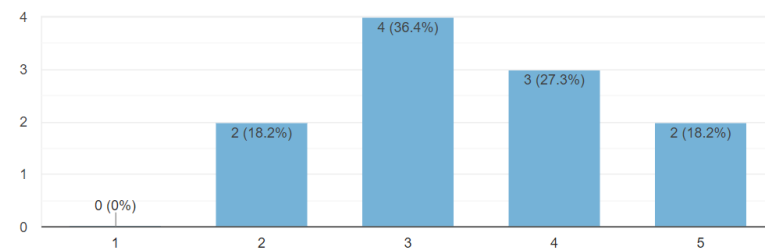


11 responses



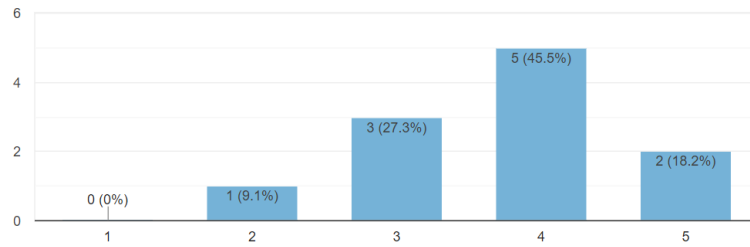
5. Learning Bahasa is as important to me as English / آموختن زبان اندونزیایی برای من مثلی زبان انگلیس مهم است

11 responses



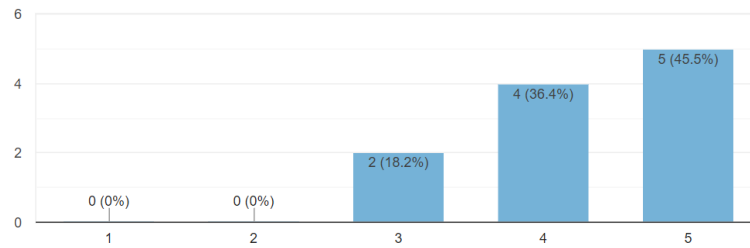
6. I look forward to spend time with my friends / من دوست دارم که برای دوستانم وقت بگذارم

11 responses



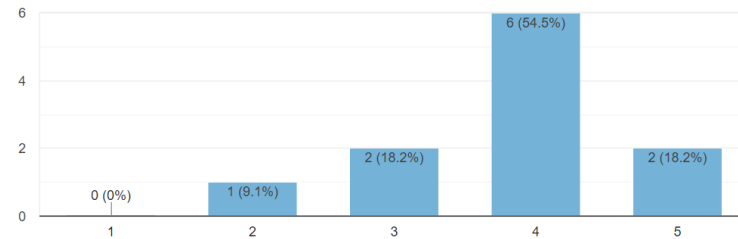
7. I like to meet new people / من دوست دارم که با افراد جدید آشنا شوم

11 responses



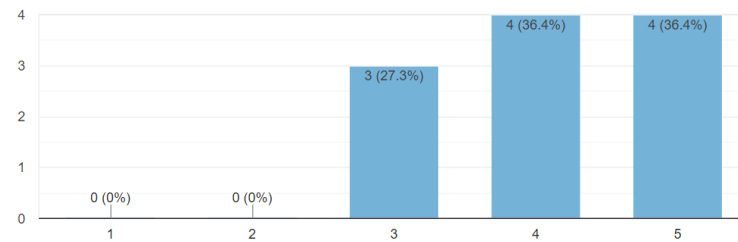
8. It is important for me to make Indonesian friends / داشتن دوستان اندونزیایی برای من مهم است

11 responses



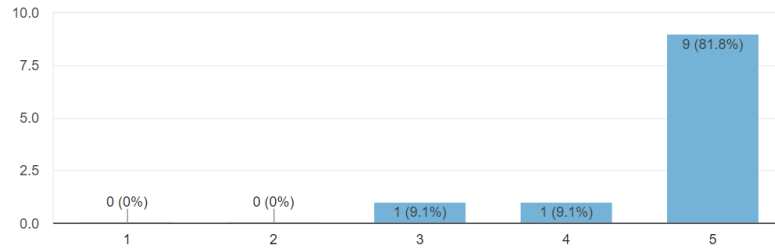
9. It is important for me to make friends outside of Indonesia / داشتن دوستان خارج از کشور اندونزی برای من مهم است

11 responses



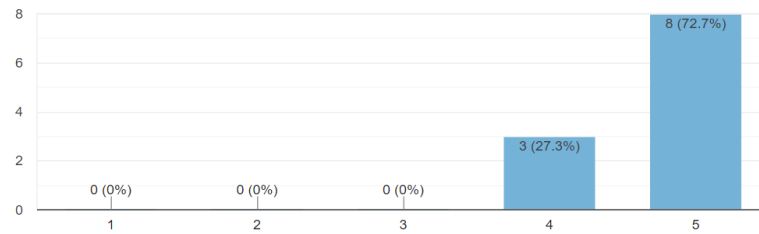
10. God and prayers are a source of comfort and strength to me / خداوند و /  
دوعا کردن منبع آرامش و قدرت برای من هستند

11 responses



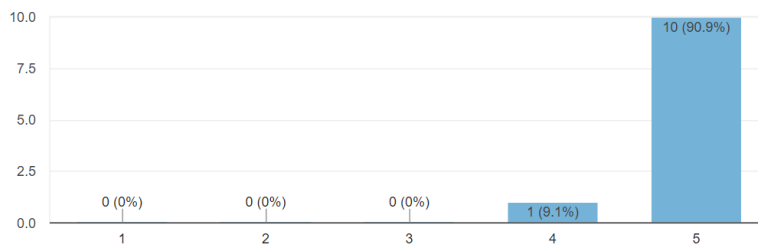
11. Doing sports gives me a sense of accomplishment / انجام دادن ورزش به /  
من یک احساس دست آورد میدهد

11 responses



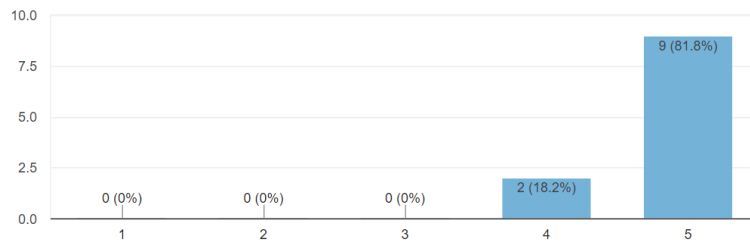
12. My mental health is important to me / سلامت روانی من برای من مهم است /

11 responses



13. It is important for me to fill my time with useful activities. / صبری نمودن /  
وقتتم برای فعالیت های مفید مهم است

11 responses





13. A. What kind of activities do you like to do? / چه نوع فعالیت هایی را دوست دارید / انجام دهید؟

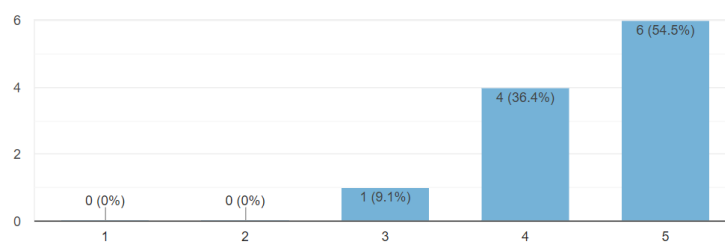
11 responses

I want like normally people go to school and hung out with my friends and doing shopping and sports and have a partner like GF to make me semangat and happy and feel nyaman
Study, aero modeling , run , swimming , cooking ,
Sport study picnic
learning, sport, helping,
I like to study specially about computer and new things and doing sport
Teaching and helping for refugees
Mechanic
Sports, studying, looking for new friends.
Doing sport ...reading books...hang out with my friends
I would like sports and studying
Futsal, guitar, be active in the social media

14. My family and friends care for my well-being / خانواده و دوستانم برای سلامتی من مواظبت میکنند

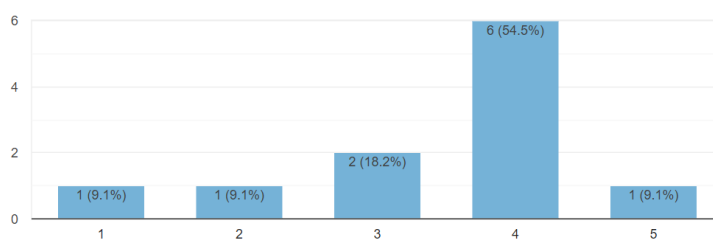
سلامتی من مواظبت میکنند

11 responses



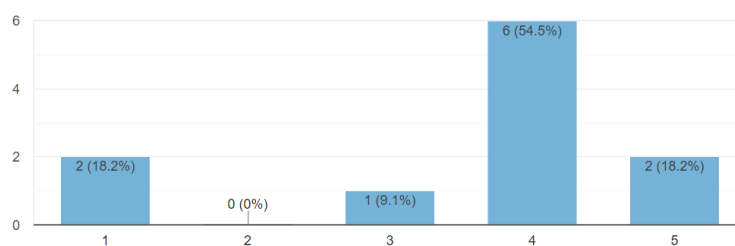
15. If I am hungry, there is enough to eat / من برای رفع گرسنگی خود به اندازه کافی غذا دارم، اگر گرسنه شوم

11 responses



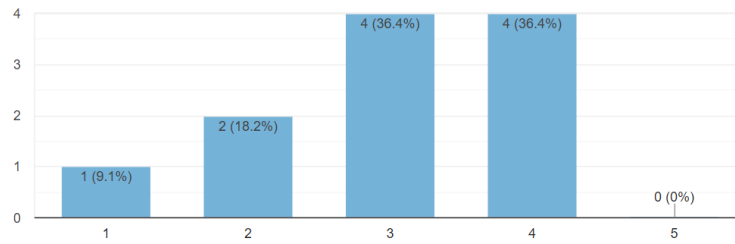
16. My family knows a lot about me / خانواده من در مورد من بسیار میداند

11 responses



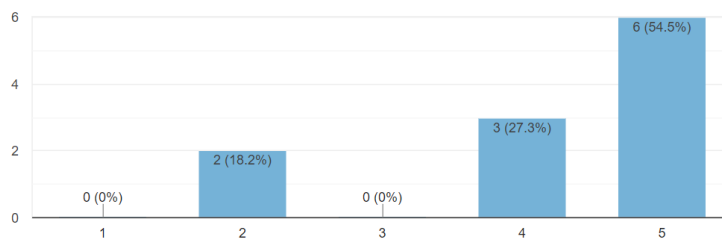
17. My friends (in Indonesia) know a lot about me / دوستان من در اندونزی خیلی زیاد می‌شناسند

11 responses



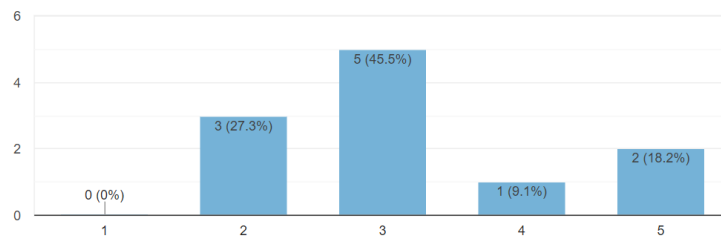
18. I feel supported by my family / من از طرف خانواده خود احساس حمایت میکنم

11 responses



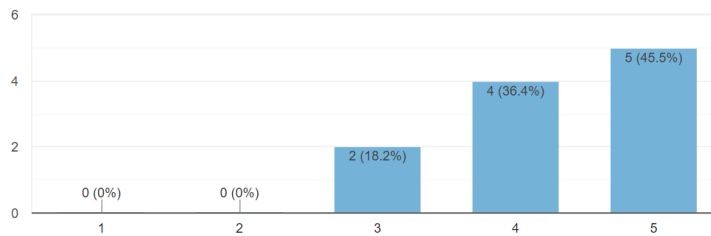
19. I feel supported by my friends (in Indonesia) / من از طرف دوستانم احساس پشتیبانی میکنم

11 responses



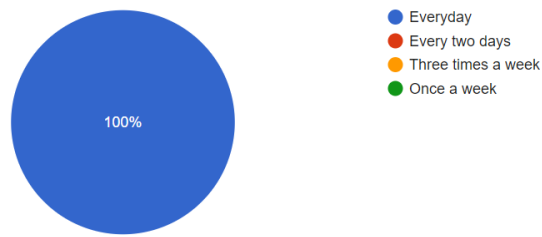
20. Social media (Instagram, Facebook) is important for me to feel connected to the world / استفاده از فضای مجازی، مانند: اینستاگرام، فیس بوک بخاطر وصل شدن به جهان برای من مهم است

11 responses



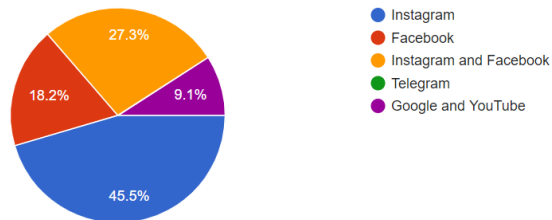
20. A. How often do you use social media?

11 responses



20. B. What is your favorite social media platform?

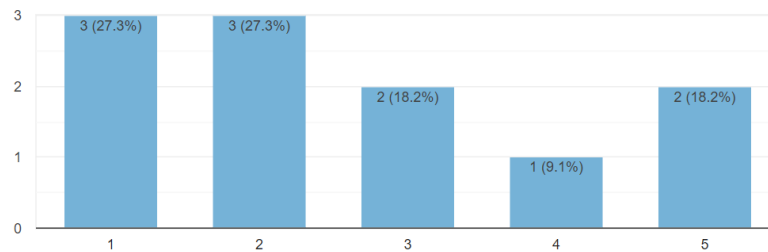
11 responses



21. If something happens, I know where to go to get help / اگر کدام اتفاق /

روح دهد، من میدانم که به کجا برای کمک گرفتن بروم

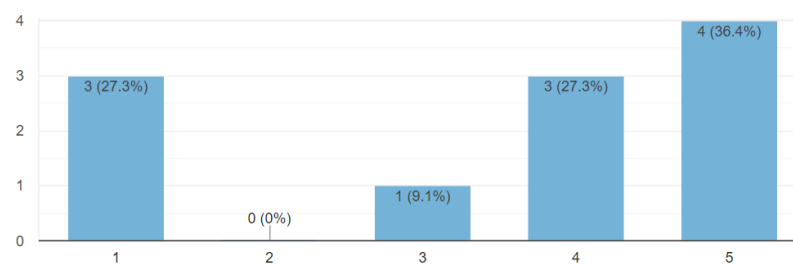
11 responses



22. My family stands by me in difficult times / در دوران مشکلات خانواده ام در /

کنار ام هستند

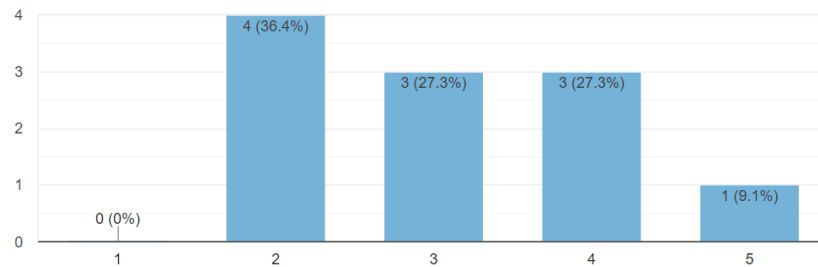
11 responses



23. My friends (in Indonesia) stand by me in difficult times / در دوران

سختی، دوستانم در کنار ام هستند

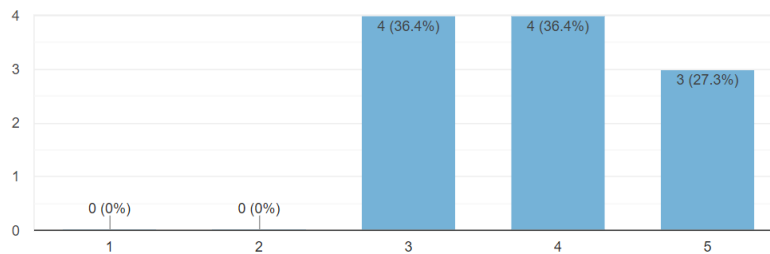
11 responses



24. I know how to solve my own problems / من میدانم که چگونه مشکلات خود را

حل کنم

11 responses

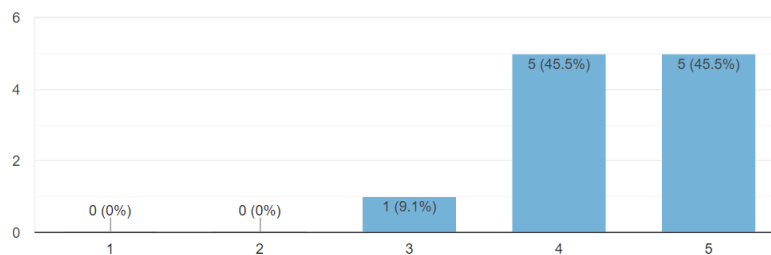


25. I have opportunities to show others that I am becoming an adult and

can act responsibly / من فرصت برای اثبات نمودن اینکه در سند بالوغ رسید و اینکه میتوانم

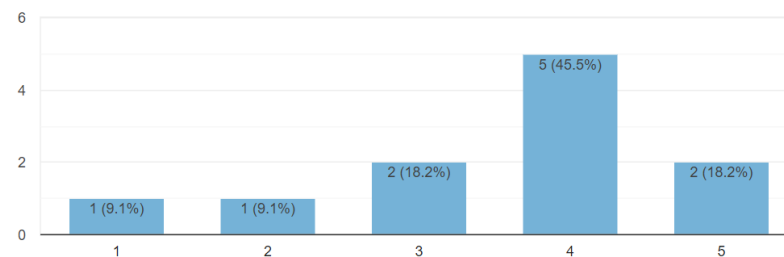
ممسئولانه عمل کنم را دارم

11 responses



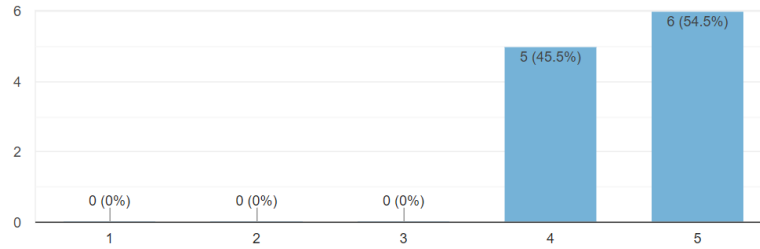
26. I feel I belong at school / من احساس میکنم که تعلق در مکتب دارم

11 responses



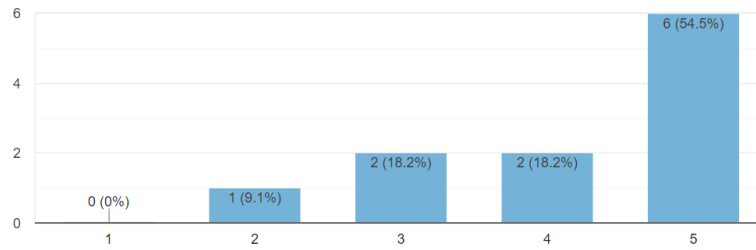
27. I think it is important to contribute positively to my community and the society / من فکر میکنم که فعالیت های مثبت من برای بهبودی جامعه ام مهم است

11 responses



28. At the moment, I have opportunities to develop skills that will be useful later in life (like job skills and life skills) / در حال حاضر؛ من فرصت های کافی برای توسعه دادن مهارت های که در زندگی آیند ام مفید خواهند بود را دارم (مانند مهارت های شغلی و مهارت های زندگی)

11 responses



## List of References

1. Adelman, H. (2008) *Protracted Displacement in Asia: No Place to Call Home*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
2. Ali, M., et al (2016) 'Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Indonesia: Problems and Potentials', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal* 8(2): 4883. <<http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/mcs/article/view/4883/5490>>.
3. Andrade, A.D. and B. Doolin (2016) 'Information and Communication Technology and the Social Inclusion of Refugees', *MisQuarterly* 40(2): 405-416.
4. Appadurai, A. (2004) *The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition*. In V. Rao and M. Walton (eds.), *Culture and Public Action*, Palo Alto, CAL: Stanford University Press, pp. 59-84.
5. Archambault, J.S. (2015) 'Rhythms of Uncertainty and the Pleasures of Anticipation', 'Rhythms of Uncertainty and the Pleasures of Anticipation', *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa*, pp. 129-148. Springer.
6. Bandura, A. (1977) 'Self-efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioral Change', *Psychological Review* 84 (2): 191-215.
7. Bandura, A. (1986) *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
8. Bemma, A. (2017) 'Refugees in Indonesia Told to Assimilate but Not Settle' <<https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2018/02/09/refugees-in-indonesia-told-to-assimilate-but-not-settle>>.
9. Brewis, J. (2014) 'The Ethics of Researching Friends: On Convenience Sampling in Qualitative Management and Organization Studies', *British Journal of Management* 25(4): 849-862.
10. Brown, T. (2017) 'After the Boats Stopped: Refugees Managing a Life of Protracted Limbo in Indonesia', *Antropologi Indonesia* 1.
11. Brun, C. (2015) 'Active Waiting and Changing Hopes: Toward a Time Perspective on Protracted Displacement.', *Social analysis*.
12. Bruns, A. and Jacobs J. (2006) *Uses of Blogs*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

13. Bruns, A. (Last updated 2007) 'Probusage: A Working Definition' <<http://probusage.org/probusage>>.
14. Biehl, K. S. (2015) 'Governing through uncertainty: Experiences of being a refugee in Turkey as a country for temporary asylum', *Social Analysis* 59(1): 57-75.
15. Camino, L.A. and R.M. Krulfeld (1994) *Reconstructing Lives, Recapturing Meaning: Refugee Identity, Gender, and Culture Change*. Australia: Gordon and Breach.
16. Certeau, M. D. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
17. Cochrane, J. (2018) 'Refugees in Indonesia Hoped for Brief Stay. Many may be Stuck for Life.' *The New York Times*,
18. Cooper, E. and D. Pratten (2015) *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
19. Crapanzano, V. (2003) 'Reflections on Hope as a Category of Social and Psychological Analysis', *Cultural Anthropology* 18(1): 3-32.
20. Devenney, K. (2017) 'Pathway Planning with Unaccompanied Young People Leaving Care: Biographical Narratives of Past, Present, and Future.', *Child & Family Social Work* 22(3): 1313-1321.
21. Di Nunzio, M. (2015) 'Embracing Uncertainty: Young People on the Move in Addis Ababa's Inner City', 'Embracing Uncertainty: Young People on the Move in Addis Ababa's Inner City', *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa*, pp. 149-172. Springer.
22. Efimova, L. (2008) 'Bloggers And producers', *New Media & Society* 10(3): 529-535.
23. Emirbayer, M, and Mische, A. (1998) 'What Is Agency?', *American Journal of Sociology* 103(4): 962–1023.
24. Eurostat (2009) 'Youth in Europe: A Statistical Portrait', Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.
25. Gasparini, G. (1995) 'On Waiting', *Time & Society* 4(1): 29-45. Accessed 25 October 2018 <<http://tas.sagepub.com.eur.idm.oclc.org/content/4/1/29.full.pdf+html>>.
26. Grabska, K. (2016) Eritrean Migratory Trajectories of Adolescence in Khartoum: (Im)mobility, Identities, and Social Media. In Hale, Sondra and Ka-

doda, Gada (Eds.), *Networks of Knowledge Production in Sudan: Identities, Motilities, and Technology*. US: Lexington

27. Hage, G. (2003) *Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*. Pluto Press.
28. Hewson, J. (2014) 'Afghan Hazaras' New Life in Indonesia'  
<<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/03/afghan-hazaras-new-life-indonesia-201436121639956520.html>>.
29. Hirsch, A. (2018) 'Refugees in Indonesia Don't Want to Get on Boats. They Want Basic Rights' *The Guardian*.  
< [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/30/refugees-in-indonesia-dont-want-to-get-on-boats-they-want-basic-rights](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/30/refugees-in-indonesia-dont-want-to-get-on-boats-they-want-basic-rights;);>
30. Horst, C. and K. Grabska (2015) 'Flight and Exile: Uncertainty in the Context of Conflict : Induced Displacement.', *Social analysis*.
31. IES (Last updated 2018) 'The Cultural Atlas: Afghanistan'  
<<http://www.theculturalatlas.org>>.
32. Jansz, J. (2015) 'Playing Out Identities and Emotions', *Playful Identities*: 267.
33. Konijn, E.A. and J.F. Hoorn (2005) 'Some Like it Bad: Testing a Model for Perceiving and Experiencing Fictional Characters', *Media Psychology* 7(2): 107-144.
34. Ledford, H. (2018) 'Who Exactly Counts as an Adolescent? ' *Nature: International Journal of Science*.  
< <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-018-02169-w>;>
35. Lenette, C. and J. Boddy (2013) 'Visual Ethnography and Refugee Women: Nuanced Understandings of Lived Experiences', *Qualitative Research Journal* 13(1): 72-89.
36. Lybbert, T. and Wydick, B. (2018) 'Poverty, Aspirations, and the Economics of Hope', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 66 (4): 709-753.
37. Malkki, L.H. (1995) 'Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things', *Annual Reviews Anthropology* 24: 495-523.
38. Mason, J. (2002) *Qualitative Researching*. (2nd [rev. and upd.] ed. edn) London: Sage.
39. Mar, P. (2005) 'Unsettling Potentialities: Topographies of Hope in Transnational Migration', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 26(4): 361-378.



40. Mayblin, L. (2014) 'Colonialism, Decolonisation, and the Right to be Human: Britain and the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 27(3): 423-441.
41. McConnell-Henry, T., A. James, Y. Chapman and K. Francis (2010) 'Researching with People You Know: Issues in Interviewing', *Contemporary Nurse* 34(1): 2-9.
42. Menjívar, C. and S.B. Coutin (2014) '18 Challenges of Recognition, Participation, and Representation for the Legally Liminal: A Comment', '18 Challenges of Recognition, Participation, and Representation for the Legally Liminal: A Comment', *Migration, Gender and Social Justice*, pp. 325-330. Springer.
43. Minority Rights (Last updated 2018) 'Hazaras' <<https://minorityrights.org/minorities/hazaras/>>.
44. Missbach, A. and N. Tan (2017) 'No Durable Solutions ' <<https://www.insideindonesia.org/no-durable-solutions>>.
45. Nardi, B.A., D.J. Schiano, M. Gumbrecht and L. Swartz (2004) 'Why we Blog', *Communications of the ACM* 47(12): 41-46.
46. Neill, S.J. (2005) 'Research with Children: A Critical Review of the Guidelines', *Journal of Child Health Care* 9(1): 46-58.
47. Nethery, A. and C. Gordyn (2014) 'Australia–Indonesia Cooperation on Asylum-Seekers: A Case of 'Incentivised Policy Transfer'', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 68(2): 177-193.
48. Nowell, L. (2014) 'The Hazaras of Dandenong 'The Age. <<https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/the-hazaras-of-dandenong-20140716-3c1gz.html>>
49. Nussbaum, M. (2011) *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
50. Nussbaum, M. (2004) 'Beyond the Social Contract: Capabilities and Global Justice', *Oxford Development Studies* 32(1): 3-18.
51. O'Leary, Z. (2017) *The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project*. (3rd edition. edn, E-book) London: SAGE.
52. Orne, M.T. (2002) 'On the social psychology of the psychological experiment: With particular reference to demand characteristics and their implications.', *American Psychological Association Convention, 1961, NY, US; This paper was presented at the symposium" On the Social Psychology of the Psycholog-*

ical Experiment" at the aforementioned convention. American Psychological Association pp35a.

53. Parkes, Z. (Last updated 2018) 'Australia's Refugee Policy is Creating a Second Class in Indonesia' <<https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/australias-refugee-policy-creating-secondclass-indonesia>>.
54. Parliament of Australia (Last updated 2017) 'Boat Arrivals and Boat 'turn-backs' in Australia since 1976: A Quick Guide to the Statistics' <[https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick\\_Guides/BoatTurnbacks#\\_Table\\_4:\\_Boat](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/BoatTurnbacks#_Table_4:_Boat)>.
55. Pramudatama, R. (2017) 'Refugees and Comprehensive Solutions: Examining the Extent of State's Obligations to Guarantee Rights to Employment and Education Under International Human Rights Law, Study Case Indonesia'. (unpublished) (LL.M in in International Human Rights and Humanitarian Laws). University of Essex.
56. Putranto, C. (2017) 'Hosting Refugees: Beyond a Transit Nation' The Jakarta Post, <<http://annx.asianews.network/content/hosting-refugees-beyond-transit-nation-56907>>.
57. Ray, D. (2003) Aspirations, Poverty and Economic Change. Mimeo.
58. Ray, D. (2006) Aspirations, Poverty, and Economic Change. In A. Banerjee, R. Benabou and D. Mookherjee (eds.), Understanding Poverty, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 409-422.
59. Rotter, J. B. (1954) Social Learning and Clinical Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
60. Rotter, J. B. (1966) 'Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement' Psychological Monographs', General and Applied 80 (1): 1-28.
61. Sen, A. (1999) 'Freedom as Development'. Oxford: Oxford University Press
62. Sharpe, D. and W.J. Whelton (2016) 'Frightened by an Old Scarecrow: The Remarkable Resilience of Demand Characteristics', Review of General Psychology 20(4): 349-368.
63. Snyder, C. R. (1994) The Psychology of Hope: You can get there from here. New York, NY: Free Press.

64. Snyder, C.R. (2002) 'Hope Theory: Rainbows in the Mind', *Psychological Inquiry* 13(4): 249-275.
65. Snyder, C.R. et al. (1991) 'The Will and the Ways: Development and Validation of an Individual differences Measure of Hope', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 60 (4): 570-585.
66. Southerton, D. (2006) 'Analysing the Temporal Organization of Daily Life: Social Constraints, Practices and their Allocation', *Sociology* 40(3): 435-454.
67. The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs (The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs 2010) 'Youth and Youth Policy – a Swedish Perspective'.
68. Tobing, D. (2018) 'A Year of Jokowi's Refugee Decree: What has Changed?' *The Jakarta Post*,  
<<http://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2018/01/12/a-year-of-jokowis-refugee-decree-what-has-changed.html>>.
69. Tobing, D. (2017) 'Indonesia's Refugee Policy – Not Ideal, but a Step in the Right Direction' <<https://theconversation.com/indonesias-refugee-policy-not-ideal-but-a-step-in-the-right-direction-75395>>.
70. Tom, A. and C.P. Herbert (2002) 'The “Near Miss”: A Story of Relationship', *Qualitative inquiry* 8(5): 591-607.
71. Topsfield, J. (2017) 'Most Refugees in Indonesia Will Never be Resettled: UN Refugee Agency' *The Sydney Morning Herald*.  
<<https://www.smh.com.au/world/most-refugees-in-indonesia-will-never-be-resettled-un-refugee-agency-20171031-gzbnzbn.html>>
72. Turner, S. (2015) 'We Wait for Miracles': Ideas of Hope and Future among Clandestine Burundian Refugees in Nairobi', *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa*, pp. 173-191. Springer.
73. Turner, V. (1969) 'Liminality and Communitas', *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure* 94: 130.
74. Tyrer, S. (2017) 'An Australia–Indonesia Arrangement on Refugees: Exploring the Structural, Legal and Diplomatic Dimensions', *Adelaide Law Review* 38(1): 113-147.
75. UNESCO (2017a) 'What do we Mean by “youth”?'  
<<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/youth/youth-definition/>>.

76. UNESCO (2017b) 'Protecting the Right to Education for Refugees', UNESCO Working Papers on Education Policy. France: UNESCO. <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002510/251076E.pdf>>.
77. UNGA (1989) 'Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: International Conference on Indo-Chinese Refugees', UN Doc. A/44/523, 22 September 1989, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3dda17d84.html>
78. UNGA (2016) 'New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly', 3 October 2016, A/RES/71/1, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/57ceb74a4.html>
79. UNHCR (2013) 'Regional Guidelines for Responding to the Rights and Needs of Unaccompanied and Separated Children (UASC)'. <<http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=53883ffd4&skip=0&query=education,%20refugees&coi=IDN>>.
80. UNHCR (2015a) 'Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme', Note on International Protection, 8 June 2015, EC/66/SC/CRP.10
81. UNHCR (2015b) 'Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme', Solutions Strategies, 8 June 2015, EC/66/SC/CRP.15
82. UNHCR (2016a) 'Indonesia Factsheet'. <<http://www.unhcr.org/id/wp-content/uploads/sites/42/2017/05/Indonesia-Fact-Sheet-October-2016.pdf>>.
83. UNHCR (2016b) 'Missing Out: Refugee Education in Crisis'. <[http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/missing-out-refugee-education-in-crisis\\_unhcr\\_2016-en.pdf](http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/missing-out-refugee-education-in-crisis_unhcr_2016-en.pdf)>.
84. UNHCR (2017a) 'Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2017'. <https://www.unhcr.org/5b27be547.pdf>
85. UNHCR (2017b) 'UNHCR Global Strategy - Beyond Detention: National Action Plan - Indonesia' <<https://www.unhcr.org/5666a2ea9.pdf>>.
86. UNHCR (2018a) 'UNHCR Indonesia'. Accessed 5/10 2018 <<http://www.unhcr.org/id/en/>>.
87. UNHCR (2018b) 'Eligibility Guidelines for Assessing the International Protection Needs of Asylum-Seekers from Afghanistan'. HCR/EG/AFG/18/02 <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5b8900109.pdf>

88. UNHCR (2018c) 'Resettlement Data Finder: Afghanistan Asylum Departure to Asia Pacific' <<http://rsq.unhcr.org/en/#9wwS>>.
89. UNICEF (2011) 'Adolescence: An Age of Opportunity'. <[https://www.unicef.org/adolescence/files/SOWC\\_2011\\_Main\\_Report\\_EN\\_02092011.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/adolescence/files/SOWC_2011_Main_Report_EN_02092011.pdf)>
90. United States Department of State (US DoS) (2016) 'Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Indonesia', <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/58ec8a2513.html>>.
91. Vigh, H. (2009) 'Wayward Migration: On Imagined Futures and Technological Voids', *Ethnos* 74(1): 91-109.
92. Webb, D. (2007) 'Modes of Hoping', *History of the Human Sciences* 20(3): 65-83.
93. Weber, S. and C. Mitchell (2008) 'Imaging, Keyboarding, and Posting Identities: Young People and New Media Technologies', *Youth, identity, and digital media*: 25-47.
94. Williams, A.M. and V. Baláz (2012) 'Migration, Risk, and Uncertainty: Theoretical Perspectives', *Population, Space and Place* 18(2): 167-180.