

**International
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Social Studies**

The Erasmus logo, featuring a stylized, handwritten-style script of the word "Erasmus" in a dark blue or black color.

**“Having fun must be a part of our lives too”:
An exploration of leisure in the liminal context of young
refugees in Jakarta, Indonesia**

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Disclaimer:

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

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List of Acronyms

CWS	Church World Service
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
IDC	Immigration Detention Centre
IOM	International Organization of Migration
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
UN	United Nations
UN CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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Abstract

This research wishes to comprehend the notion of how young refugees spend their abundant waiting time in Jakarta with leisure activities. By setting this research under the concept of liminality, I also examine how they perceive the meaning of these leisure activities in facing numerous socio-economic challenges they experience. Further, I discuss more the policy and program perspective related to leisure, provided by some stakeholders.

In the end, by using the critical ethnographic approach, this study attempts to draw together some perspective in comprehending the notion of leisure for these young refugees and explore the diverse form of their leisure activities, while at the same time dealing with the unexplored perspectives of these youths. These young refugees' perspectives are analyzed by using some concepts varied from social navigation, identity, and gender. The results of this research narrate the notion of freedom to choose leisure activities, companions, locations, and funding resources, which are much more complex and complicated, let alone within their liminal context as refugees. It also tells us that their leisure activities can be meaningful to structuralize, navigate and contribute some positive aspects to their liminal lives.

Relevance to Development Studies

This contribution of this research to development studies is situated under the idea of adding a comprehensive perspective in examining young refugees' lives in Jakarta, Indonesia. Youth, as one of the subjects of developments has their own agency in determining their lives and shaping their future even in their current identity as a refugee. The issue of migration and refugee also become a main domain of today's societies and the development of the world, in a sense that this issue transforms the world we live in today in many levels, including both national and global. This research also discusses the issue of leisure, as it is valuable in improving individual well-being and development. Furthermore, within the liminal context of being 'stuck' in Indonesia, this research also adds some valuable and critical framework on leisure perspectives and the dynamics of migration issues. By using ethnography as an approach, this research allows these youths to voice their thoughts freely regarding their leisure activities. In the end, the results of this research provide a crucial consideration for the related international actors, let alone the government, in regard to commence the making of policy and programs related to leisure for these young refugees.

Keywords

Youth, refugees, leisure, free time, sports, liminality, identity, social navigation, gender, ethnographic approach.

Part One: Situating the Research Context

Chapter 1 Introducing the Issues

1.1 Nature of the problems

As a “quintessential transit migration country” (Hugo et al. 2014: 170), the condition of refugees who currently reside in Indonesia can be very complex, which affects children and young refugees as well. For those children and young refugees who are not recognized as the vulnerable one¹, they cannot get access to shelters that are mostly provided by UNHCR and IOM. In this liminal condition, access to education and healthcare is minimal and waiting often comprises a good part of their days.

Given the abundance of free time, it becomes relevant to ask what ‘leisure’ means to young refugees in transit. The idea came up during my fieldwork, seeing that these young refugees do not have any structured activities while waiting for their processes. Leisure can be very essential and “is personally relevant, as it allows migrants to have a sense of self in a world of flux and uncertainty” (Mata-Codesal et al. 2015: 2). Leisure also said to establish a (re)appropriation of “self-awareness, attachment, and embeddedness develop in the interaction with (public) places, and space” (2015: 2).

Leisure is an important topic in the context of migration because it can be seen as “the realm where emotional closeness or distance to people from the host society as well as to people and places left behind can be created” (2015: 1). This realm is a key to look for the continuities and the dynamic change of refugees’ lives, which can be achieved by seeing how meaningful their free time is and how it can go beyond the notion of coping and adapting to their new environment, but more to involve the idea of self-expression and self-realization.

Also, leisure can be very important to youth development. Youth can be considered as a critical span of life to the development of a person in all senses. The dynamics around youth varied from the vulnerability of “conflicts with parents, resistance to adult authority, mood disruptions, and engagement in risky behaviour” (Beniwal 2018: 99). Thus, free time, with their leisure activities, can be one of many important ways for youth in finding their opportunities to foster their psychological and physical health benefits (2018: 97). Furthermore, Hendry et al. in 1993 argued that as a researcher, it is crucial to acknowledge more and try to understand how these young people perceive their leisure, as well as their belief and attitude towards it. Besides, it is crucial as well to know how leisure gives meaning to them and other factors influence their involvement in the leisure pursuits (2018: 100). In the context of these young refugees, Furusten in 1999 also stated that leisure is also great importance “for both youth-cultural reasons and wider social inclusion” (Harinen et al. 2012: 179).

The uncertainty of being stuck and in the state of liminality² in Indonesia can be considered as one of the stressors they experience during their adaptation, which contributes more challenges to their lives. Being stuck means that these young refugees cannot move forward to settle in a new

¹ UNHCR divides categories of the asylum seekers and refugees based on their level of vulnerability or special needs, which are 1. Child at risk, 2. Unaccompanied or separated child, 3. Woman at risk, 4. Elder person at risk, 5. Single parents or caregiver, 6. Disability, 7. Serious Medical Condition, 8. Family Unity, 9. Specific Legal and Physical Protection Needs, 10. Torture, 11. Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) (UNHCR 2017).

² It means that they are “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremony” (Turner 1969: 95).

country they wish to go while at the same time also not being able to go back to their country of origin due to the remaining conflicts as well as fear of persecution. Adapting to the new environment can have their implications related to psychological, social, and cultural, which is stressful and demanding for specific groups/cohorts, specifically these children and young refugees. Therefore, leisure activities can play a significant role in addressing those problems above faced by these refugees.

Using intersectionality as a lens will help the process of digging deeper into intersected implications of the challenges and struggles faced by young refugees by researching their leisure activities while also giving meaning to those activities. It will further assist me to formulate the fundamentality of gender, refugee identity, and age, related to process and result of 'settlements' in Indonesia as the host country by not denying the dynamic of society within. I would also like to explore other factors that can be intertwined with spending their free time, for instance on how leisure is experienced with relative freedom to choose leisure locations, companions, activities, etc.

Thus, I came up with the main research question as follows:

How do young refugees occupy themselves with leisure activities within the context of liminality, socio-economic challenges, and prolonged involuntary transit in Indonesia?

This main question is followed by three sub-questions:

1. What is the current condition of the refugee policy framework in Indonesia related to their leisure and how does the policy framework shape their aspiration for their leisure qualities in the future?
2. How do these young refugees perceive the meaning of their leisure activities in their free time within the context of liminality?
3. How does their identity as a young refugee, within their current socio-economic challenges in Indonesia speak to, shape, and (re)negotiate the notions of relative freedom to choose the leisure activities, locations, and companionship?

In the past decades, numerous scholars in migration studies, as well as feminist scholars, have made great efforts to observe the connection between migration and gender as well as the generational dimension. This research will contribute to the untouched Indonesian academic sphere of the interrelatedness between gender, migration, and leisure. Abovementioned objectives are expected to go beyond the general debate and discussion regarding the refugee crisis in Indonesia, which is mostly political and will go more in-depth on the struggle and situation of those young refugees in Indonesia as well as an attempt to talk with refugees, rather than talking about refugees in the umbrella of ethnographic research.

There are two important things that need to be clarified in my research; the term use of 'youth' and 'leisure time'. First, there will be a change of term to acknowledge my study participants from 'children' to 'young refugees' (which I hereinafter refer as youth). I argued by looking at their self-identification information collected during the interview. All of my participants perceive themselves as a 'youth' rather than a 'child' anymore. Besides, their leisure activities can be categorized as 'youthful' leisure activities, rather than 'childlike'.

Second, the idea of using the term 'leisure time' in the context of these young refugees might seem inappropriate. It may convey the idea that these young refugees have their own leisure time, provided to them as refugees in Indonesia. This is definitely not the case. Rather, young refugees have an abundance of time available during their 'waiting' period in which they try to figure themselves out and spend their time engaging with some activities that will give them leisure

satisfaction, while at the same time keeping themselves busy within their liminal condition. For this reason, I will continue to use the term 'leisure' but then will replace 'leisure time' to 'free time'. I still use 'leisure' as the main idea of this research because the findings indicate that the activities done by these young refugees can be categorized as leisure, meaning that the activities give a sense of positive emotion and meaning of life, while at the same time help in remedying the negative life events in the past (Iwasaki 2007: 251-257). Then, the use of 'free time' will show the temporality and the embeddedness of leisure in a temporal context of contingents, which strongly influences the degree of how these young refugees are included in the identity work (Mata-Codesal et al. 2015: 2). I argue that by showing the temporality of leisure, it can show how limited activities for leisure satisfaction can be done in a certain period.

1.2 How was this research started?

1.2.1 Organizing the fieldwork

When I started this research, I was committed to be a researcher who gives a good impact to my research participants, meaning that I can give something in return to my participants. Thus, I decided to volunteer while collecting the data. A month before I went back to Indonesia, I tried to contact several NGOs who work with refugees. Roshan Learning Centre is the one whose student demographic fits this research as well as actively replied my mail, and that was how it all started. As I arrived in Jakarta, I set up a meeting with Brandon Baughn, the Director of Roshan Learning Centre. He explained that I will be in charge of the English conversation class, where I have to think on a weekly basis on how to 'integrate' my research interest and the topic in class, while still being aware not to impose more of the research interest compared to my responsibility in teaching the students.

The methodological approach conducted during my fieldwork was situated under a critical ethnographic approach. This idea lies under the justification in disrupting the status quo, unsettling "both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control" (Madison 2005: 5). It means that this approach allows me to empower my study participants by making their voices, stories and experiences become more accessible than before, when they are restrained and out of reach and enabled them to be heard within the society. It allows me to "contribute to emancipatory knowledge and discourses of social justice" (2005: 6).

This approach is in line with this research in the sense of providing these young refugees with the opportunity to share their stories and experiences during their liminal situation in Indonesia. I could then acknowledge and validate participants' accounts to convey that their voices were being heard and respected. Being 'critical' means that I have to be aware of my positionality in doing my research where I cannot submit my judgment, subjectivity, and political perspective into my study without any theoretical and empirical linkage; thus, it will avoid the gratuitous self-centeredness of this research (2005:9). I am aware that by using this critical ethnographic approach, there will be several inevitable limitations, for instance, an obstacle of research generalization due to its non-representativeness of the young refugees in Indonesia and the possibility of excluding certain groups and pieces of knowledge into this research since the setting will be only around a refugee learning centre.

Two methods can be highlighted from this research: semi-structured qualitative interview and participant observation. The semi-structured interview ranged from one to one-and-a-half hour each. I asked them before doing interviews to choose the place based on their consideration, for

instance distance, crowd, and price. I thought it is essential for me to make them feel most comfortable to be interviewed since it took some time to do that. In addition, giving such freedom to my study participants in choosing a place to conduct the interview can give my study participants a sense of 'empowerment', and as a researcher I have "an opportunity to examine participants' choices for clues about the social geographies of the places where research is being carried out" (Elwood and Martin 2000: 656). Moreover, choosing the locations for the interview gives a chance for my study participants as they are the one who has the valuable knowledge to contribute to my research, and avoids myself from becoming the one with expert knowledge.

All the interviews were conducted in English, since all of my participants speak English. However, their command of English was sometimes limited. For this reason, I had to adjust the way I formulated the questions. With the permission of my respondents, I recorded all interviews with my phone. I listened to the recording and transcribed all of them so that I can be familiarized with my data.

The use of participant observation, known as one of the data collection methods in ethnography, is beneficial for me to comprehend the behaviour of the people I research with. Participant observation helped me to learn their culture and subculture, as well as having the same perspective on interpreting the world more or less the same way that the participants do (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 8). I did this method by observing their behaviour during my class where I tried to map out and analyze which students can be approached to be my study participants, based on how they react in my class. Some of them also contacted me and were being curious regarding my study in the Netherlands. Outside the classroom, I tried to observe and join some leisure activities that they do on a daily basis, for instance futsal and hanging out in a café, in order to comprehend the details of what they actually do during their free time.

During my fieldwork, the multi-sited ethnographic approach also emerged from my research. As I have already explained earlier, Roshan provided me the primary access to my study participants. However, I did all of the interviews with my study participants outside the location of Roshan. There are two places I conducted the interviews with them, all of them being within shopping centres or malls. Five interviews were done in Kalibata City Square, and the rest were in Kemang Village, both of them are located in South Jakarta. The option of Kalibata City Square was chosen by five of my study participants since it fits to the categories of 'nearby' and 'cheap', as well as being a place they liked to frequent, either just to go out with friends (as mentioned by Jaka, Febriyanti and Dila), buy some specific ingredients for cooking (as mentioned by Sabar), or just to buy their favourite doughnuts (as mentioned by Nara). The other two chose Kemang Village, which is quite far from where they live, but they 'love' to spend their free time there with their friends. Multi-sited ethnographic approach taught me on how knowledge production during my fieldwork did not rigidly happen in one site but was emerged on various sites.

The idea of conducting all of the interviews outside of Roshan is related to the notion of power and places. Elwood and Martin (2000) discussed the concept of "micro geographies of interview locations" and the relation to how it will shape the quality of data from the interviewees. They argue that micro-geographies of interview locations can assist the researcher in knowing and situating multiple identities that an interviewee can possess. By considering this, it will influence the information the researcher can attain, as well as the power dynamics and relations during the interview itself, consciously or unconsciously. The construction of power and expertise can be influenced by the different location the interviewee chooses, because "different locations might situate participants differently regarding their power in the research process and their sense of the contribution they might make to questions being asked" (2000: 654).

Avoiding to conduct the interviews within the area of Roshan means that I tried not to impose the greater power relations within the sphere of the ‘school’ and ‘classroom’, between the role of a teacher and the students. I believe that it can shift my study participants’ identity and role as students once they talked to me outside of Roshan. Moreover, the micro geographies will help the researcher to “generate richer and more detailed information that can be gleaned from the interview content alone” (2000: 653).

1.2.2 Approaching the study participants

When we talk about approaching the study participants, it will be relevant to the whole idea of teaching these students. I started to teach my students on 6th of August 2018 with 11 students in my class, most of them being Afghans. I introduced myself and explained that my presence at Roshan was not only for the teaching but also for the research. After that, I told them about the topic for the class that day; introduction and politics. The introduction session started, and they shared to the class about themselves one by one.

From this first class, I tried to be as social as possible with them, approaching them each personally. It helped me get to know them better so that I can ask them kindly to help me with my research. Understanding them better as a researcher will help them to notice my positionality not mainly as a teacher but as a researcher. It will help me to avoid manipulative situations that may happen during the fieldwork and interview, as they only answered the questions that I wanted to hear. I tried not to use my position as a teacher there to make them feel uncomfortable, vulnerable, and exposed. In the end, the study participants for my research consist of seven young refugees who came from different countries, with a variety of age and consisting of both boy and girl. The details of my study participants are as follow:

Table 1.1 Description of the study participants

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Country of Origin	Accompanied or Unaccompanied?	Live with/in?	Length of stay in Indonesia
1.	Jaka	Male	15	Afghanistan	Accompanied refugee	With his family in Kalibata area	2 years
2.	Dila	Female	16	Egypt	Accompanied refugee	With her family in Kalibata area	3 years
3.	Febriyanti	Female	18	Afghanistan	Accompanied refugee	With her family in Tebet area	3 years
4.	Sandi	Male	14	Afghanistan	Unaccompanied refugee	In shelter	1.5 years
5.	Jaya	Male	17	Afghanistan	Unaccompanied refugee	In shelter	2.5 years
6.	Nara	Female	15	Eritrea	Accompanied refugee	With her family in Tebet area	6 months
7.	Sabar	Male	17	Yemen	Unaccompanied refugee	In shelter	3 years

Source: Fieldwork 2018

1.3 Positionality and reflectivity: Being a researcher or a teacher?

Positionality is a crucial thing to be acknowledged and incorporated into this research. It will be related to my position as a volunteer teacher at Roshan and as a researcher. This will reflect on how these young refugees perceive me as well as I perceive them. Lamb and Huttingler (1989 in O’Mahony 2012: 739) said that reflexivity considers two points which are a) the researcher will influence or be influenced by the research itself and b) this reciprocal effect is an essential issue of the research process. My role as a volunteer teacher can affect their expectation towards this research as a way of advocacy regarding their claim of asylum or assistance. However, the other

complex issue regarding my positionalities is how to position myself in my research, as a teacher within an institution, as well as a researcher who suddenly comes to this institution and tries to explore more information about what happens there. In a sense, my positionality can be considered as a dynamic of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, in which I possessed both of those roles. During my fieldwork, I sometimes found it hard to reflect on my positionality. For instances, I experienced this when I had to sit together with two of my study participants in a café, and they ordered a beer in front of me. I felt at that time that I had a responsibility as their ‘teacher’ at Roshan, but as a researcher, I should observe their leisure activities and free time, without any intervention even though they are not legally allowed to drink beer in Indonesia.

The notion of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ that I have mentioned earlier are contextually related more within the institutional setting. Insider means that as a teacher, I became the member of Roshan, same as my study participants do. It helps to understand them in a classroom setting, but not related deeply to their leisure activities outside of Roshan. Aggravated by having this power asymmetry within this teacher-and-student relationship, being an ‘insider’ did not help me much in gaining valuable information about their leisure. On the other hand, my attempt to expose my positionality as an ‘outsider’ helped me in trying decrease the power asymmetries happening during class every week. I felt the decreasing power outside the classroom setting when we talked during the interview and when some of my study participants went out with me to watch a movie, as a farewell celebration. At that point, they could laugh with me, threw jokes to each other, and asked everything about each other as if I was their friend, not their teacher.

Exposing my social behaviour to them as a researcher helped me realize that my study participants have their own power in this research, that they have the ability “to shape and control the ethnographer and ethnographic encounter” (Kondo 1986: 80). Since they are the ones who own the story, they can pick which story they want to narrate and which other parts they don’t wish to reveal. The other experience I encountered during the fieldwork which told me that the study participants are not always powerless emerged when I negotiated the schedule to meet and interview them. I felt that I fell into a “non-authoritative or even a disadvantageous position” (Enguix 2014: 82) in this researcher-study participant relationship. For instances, on one interview, I had already set a schedule with one of my study participants at 11 AM. I arrived there at 10:30 AM and sent her a message, but it was not delivered. At 11 AM I tried to contact her, but her phone was unreachable; meanwhile, I had another interview at 12:30 PM. Then at 12 she messaged me and called me later that she forgot that she had to meet me. In this situation, my study participant practiced her power over me since she was aware that she had the power to delay it, even when it was essential to me.

1.4 Ethical consideration

The consent of the refugees in sharing their story voluntarily can be one of the constraints in conducting this research, let alone for the young one, that what I have explained earlier, are being perceived as individuals that should be protected in any circumstances. This matter will be bolstered by complicated, deep-rooted bureaucratic culture in Indonesia; thus, the access to these young refugees can be possibly hampered. However, I have tried to ensure that the research go in a proper manner by becoming a volunteer at Roshan, which brought some other ethical challenges.

My study participants have been through many procedures regarding their arrival in Indonesia from the immigration offices, government bodies, and UN agencies, meaning that they have already contacted directly with the related stakeholders, for instances immigration officers, police officers, social workers, and UNHCR officers, and they shared their information and had been

interviewed regarding their migratory journey. By conducting this research, there should be a suspicion from these young refugees that probably the information they share will affect the results of their asylum claim or resettlement decision. Thus, a clear explanation of the research was primarily needed to avoid this issue. I faced this issue when I tried to ask one of my study participants to be interviewed. At first, she looked hesitant to agree and asked me whether she can ask another student in my class to be interviewed together. I told her it depended on how comfortable she was. However, after explaining more details of my research, she became certain with saying yes to help me with my research.

However, in an attempt to hold the notion of confidentiality, I questioned myself whether I had to use pseudonyms for these young refugees' names and therefore reduce the possibility of their being easily identified. It means that I preferred not to convey their specific details, i.e. ages and countries of origin or any other countries they passed before arriving in Indonesia. The reality I faced during my fieldwork told me otherwise. I asked each of my participants regarding this issue multiple times, and surprisingly, all of them were fine with exposing their nickname instead of their real name. Nevertheless, in the end, I decided not to use their name in my research since I have already shared all the specific information that I initially tried to avoid through designing my research, which turned out that the specific information from them is needed. Although I realized how important it is considering their voices as my participants, their decision can be influenced by the power relations that we experienced during the fieldwork in a teacher-student relationship. Thus, their decision-making cannot be considered as valid. Besides, I didn't ask their parents' permission on this for those who live with their family, that would result in impossibility for unaccompanied participants with uncontactable family members. I decided to do this to "avoid disclosing information that would harm participants" by using "composite stories so that individuals cannot be identified" (Creswell 2013: 59). The notion of harm in this context means that there are possible consequences in the future regarding their RSD procedures or even resettlement process. In choosing the name, I decided common Indonesian names as their pseudonyms so that it will not reflect their culture and ethnonational background. This decision was made due to the scantiness of their population within Roshan, specifically in my class.

Chapter 2 Overviewing the Literatures in the Context of Refugees in Transit

2.1 Acknowledging the issue: Emerging refugee problem in Indonesia

Nowadays, based on UNHCR Indonesia, there are around 13,829 refugees registered within their office. However, the condition becomes more complicated by the fact that Indonesia is not a signatory country of the 1951 Refugee Convention, which sought to ensure the adequate protection for asylum seekers and refugees in a matter of legal status and consequences, meaning that the asylum seekers and refugees are exempt to be deported and respected to the principle of *non-refoulement*. Since there is no specific framework and international convention ratified by Indonesia regarding this issue, the government insists on imposing the other ‘related’ national law, for instance the immigration law, to treat asylum seekers and refugees.³ These regulations are not strong enough to make a fundamental provision to the asylum seekers and refugees. Moreover, some of the asylum seekers are even rejected by immigration in the entry point like at the airport in Jakarta, and they are forced to go back and have a return flight to their home country, which violates the principle of *non-refoulement* (Sainz-Pardo 2002: 26-27).

The inadequacy of involvement by the government in addressing refugee issue has caused the suffering experienced by these refugees. Ferris (2008: 86) argued that refugees, in general, have already suffered a lot from human rights violation back at their home country, and even when they try to seek protection under international law, they still face further violations towards them. They cannot recognize their “human rights and fundamental freedoms”, which make them leave their place by force and attempt to find a more secure places to live and develop themselves (Irvine 2007: 2). Arriving in Indonesia does not necessarily mean they will find a better place to develop themselves. Most of the refugees who are currently in Indonesia now have to deal with difficulties in continuing their lives. Since the government does not take into consideration their existence from a legal perspective, their basic needs in accessing healthcare and school are obstructed (Missbach 2015: 96). They also cannot find a job since they are prohibited from working and that leads to their dependency on the remittances sent from their family and/or their saving or allowance (2015:101).

From the aforementioned statistics of refugees around the world, half of them are categorized as child refugees, meaning that most of the population displaced are currently under the age of 18 (UNHCR 2018)⁴. UNICEF calculates the number of children who migrate across the border accounted for nearly 50 million children, their reasons being either voluntary or forcibly displaced (UNICEF 2016). In Indonesia, there are approximately 3196 children who are registered with UNHCR, 903 from them being unaccompanied children with the detail of 152 refugees, and the

³ President Joko Widodo on 31 December 2016 (Indonesian State Secretariat 2017) signed a recent presidential to respond to the need for the refugee on a legal basis. It points out the problem of co-operation between the Indonesian government and the UNHCR in handling refugees (Gordyn 2017). Since this presidential decree is very recent, there is a lack of comprehensive signs of progress, news, report and academic article regarding its.

⁴ Similar with Article 1 of UN CRC (UN General Assembly 1989: 2).

remaining as asylum seekers. Afghan, Somali and Myanmarese dominate the population of child refugees and asylum seekers (Missbach and Tanu 2016: 302).

2.2 Preceding studies on refugee and leisure

As OECD 2017 stated that in recent years, world's human migration reached its peak and affected the global North and South countries, more studies have been conducted related to the 'resettlement' issue and how leisure can influence it in more positive ways (OECD 2017). For instance, Stack and Iwasaki argued how leisure can help Afghan immigrant women to adapt to their new life within their new environment in Winnipeg, Canada. This notion of adapting means that they can establish a meaningful network with their Afghan and Canadian friends and communities to cope with the challenges and stress they experience in there. Besides, leisure can enhance their sense of "problem-solving, learning, and development (including cross-cultural interaction, learning, and sharing)" (2009: 239). This type of literature that analyzes the meaning and significant effect of leisure to immigrants (which is not limited to refugees and asylum seekers) in particular countries, has already further emanated from the academics, for instance Klock et al. in 2017, who did their research in the Netherlands and Hasmi et al. in 2014 for their study in Australia as well as Lovelock et al. in 2011 in New Zealand. Moreover, Hasmi et al. in 2014 also explained how leisure could be beneficial in stress coping, and Kleiber et al. in 2002 argued that leisure could help individuals to surpass the negative events that have happened in their lives.

Furthermore, in 2004, Farrer wrote about his ethnographic study in Japan to discuss how Chinese immigrants do their social dance party to adapt with their new environment, specifically in Tokyo. This adaptation was made by establishing their own 'immigrant leisure subculture' (2004: 651) so that they can facilitate their individual and collective identity as well as social cohesion. Besides, Sabar in 2002 also researched about Israeli immigrants in Los Angeles and how these immigrants established their own 'shared leisure activities' as well as set up a social network characterized by intensive multiple ties providing practical and emotional support (2002: 68).

Related to young immigrants, Stodolska and Yi in 2003 explored the formation of ethnic identity of adolescent immigrants from Korea, Mexico, and Poland in United States and found out that the formation is differentiated in three processes, how these immigrants discover their cultural differences with the American mainstream and another group of society and compare their identity with other members of their ethnic group as well as how the society labels them as a particular ethnic group with their ethnic consciousness, which will affect how they engage with their leisure

Literature, as mentioned above, will assist me in acknowledging that the notion of leisure can be a potential strategy for these young refugees to adapt to their new environment, meaning that they can cope themselves with the challenges they experience during their condition of getting stuck in Indonesia. Departing from this literature review, the exploration of issues regarding the meaning of leisure for young refugees in the state of their liminality in the transit country remains untouched. Nevertheless, the literature also states some forms of leisure that are in line to what I have found in my fieldwork, related to these young refugees' cultural and social orientation towards their lives. These forms of leisure can be 'partially' beneficial for them in navigating their daily challenges and stress.

2.3 Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

2.3.1. Identity

Identity can be defined as a product of reflection from society towards an individual, as well as individuals towards themselves, meaning that the construction of identity will remain active as long as an individual live within the society, which is combined with the internal factors (Woodward 2004: 7). The multifaceted nature of identity will result in the possibility of an individual possessing multiple identities intersecting or conflictual to each other, for instance, social identity, gender identity, cultural identity, political identity, religious identity, etc. (Hogg et al. 1995: 256). Related to the field of leisure studies, Horolets stated that leisure activities could be considered as “micro-practices of negotiating and reconstructing one’s identity in a new environment” (2015: 6). Burdsey supports this argument that leisure pursuit is one of many cultural practices in refugee life that is embodied and spatialized, meaning that it is inseparable with their relationship with the society they live in as well as their location. Identity and leisure time can be co-constitutive, meaning that “spaces and places underpin and influence their leisure activities and identities; and their leisure pursuits facilitate an ontological engagement and embeddedness with the locations in which they occur” (Burdsey 2017: 773). I will attempt to explain more on how this identity is a very crucial factor for young refugees to struggle through and navigate their lives in Indonesia related to the way they spend their leisure time in Indonesia.

2.3.2 Social navigation

Social navigation is a concept developed by Henrik Vigh from his research on youth in Guinea-Bissau. He observed the practices of these young men in achieving social possibilities within the context of conflict and poverty. This concept is defined as the way to apprehend “how people move and manage within situations of social flux and change” (Vigh 2009: 420) and mostly used to analyze the circumstances when the individuals are moved in or even moved by the unpredictable condition they face. This relates to refugee resettlement, where the host country’s socio-political situation is fluid and dynamic and greatly influences the refugees’ possibilities in any circumstances. I use this concept in considering how these young refugees deal with their struggle as well as an attempt to position themselves to pursue their long-term aspirations in Indonesia, meaning that the concept of social navigation offers a way in framing asylum seekers’ stay in Indonesia not as the end of their journey, but as a continuous ongoing negotiation within the unstable socio-political situation in striving forward feasible future ahead.

Vigh also emphasizes the application of social navigation by arguing that:

we all navigate, but the intensity and visibility of our navigational efforts depend on the speed and/or opacity of social change and our ability to control oncoming movement. In other words, we all constantly struggle to gain the element of control that will allow for escape or positive engagement (2009: 430-1).

The rapid changes of the host country (or ‘transit country’) can happen in the different settings ranging from “micro, meso and macro level” (2009: 430). These changes are influenced by the perception of the host country to refugees, immigration policy, the notion of citizenship and any other factors. However, asylum seekers can have stability in some aspects of their lives, and uncertainty in others at the same time (2009: 430).

Social navigation serves a proper conceptual framework in seeing their condition and aspiration within the context of asylum seekers living in host country by “encompass(ing) both the assessment of the dangers and possibilities of one’s present position as well as the process of plotting and attempting to actualize routes into an uncertain and changeable future” (2009: 425). Importantly, it facilitates consideration of settlers’ aspirations and how these mediate and are mediated by present circumstances. By using this concept, I will then argue on how leisure activities in these young refugees’ free time in Indonesia can be used as their way to navigate their lives within their current condition now.

2.3.3 Youth

The common understanding of youth is mostly limited to the age category ranged from 13-25 years old. This conception is basically used for the interest of policy makers and institutional purpose (Wyn and White 1997: 1). However, the definition of youth is far more complex, which can be relational to the notion of adulthood, conceptualizing it as the period of ‘becoming’ which ‘adulthood’ is the arrival of this period. But youth, in the relational approach, is perceived as the “deficit of adult state”, which means that they are not adults and can produce the power relations leading to the establishment of perception of youth as “threat to law and order” (1997:11-12). Related to identity, youth is seen as the particular time for young people to construct their own identity and develop themselves by establishing social interactions and relationship, away from their families and home (Jones 2009:58). These conceptions assist me in conceptualizing how youth can be really impactful in determining the leisure pursuits of these young refugees as well as to formulate what it means to be youth with their own leisure activities which can be compared to their experience back in their country and in Indonesia.

2.3.4 Liminality and the notion of ‘waiting’

The concept of liminality was first coined by Arnold van Gennep (1909) who stated the ‘liminal phase’ in the concept of *rites de passage*. He defined *rites de passage* as “rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position, and age” (Turner 1969: 94), and within this condition, there is always a phase of liminality where the individual even feel ambivalent about themselves since this person “passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state” (1969:94). This idea was then developed later by Victor Turner.

The issue of migration can be understood as a performance, as what Turner’s said, rather than seeing this as a set of rules. He prefers to use the word ‘ritual’ in referring to the occurring phenomenon, which in this context is a ‘migration ritual’. He stated that “rules may frame the performance, but the flow of action and into action within that frame may produce hitherto unprecedented insights and even generate new symbols and meanings” and “rules frame the ritual process, but the ritual process transcends its frame” (Turner 1980: 160). I set the context of these young refugees to Indonesia as a part of their coming of age, when they have their agency to live their lives, but then at the same time are structured by their condition now. Then I can relate their condition of being stuck in Indonesia as their ‘liminal phase’ of migration which “is quintessentially, a time and place lodged between all times and spaces defined and govern in any specific bicultural ecosystem by the rules of law, politics, and religion and by economic necessity” (Turner 1980: 165).

Those aforementioned explanations about liminality and rite of passage are interesting if it can be connected to the notion of ‘waiting’ from these young refugees. Cathrine Brun is the one who suggested the idea of ‘agency-in-waiting’ to understand more the perspective of time in the area of displacement. The concept of ‘agency-in-waiting’ denotes the capacity to act in the present, in

everyday time, based on the experience of displacement from the subject's history and a critical reflection of the future possibilities framed as waiting and hope (Brun 2015: 24).

However, this concept does not mean that these refugees have the power over their future, which can be linked to their 'agency-in waiting'. For these young refugees, even they do not have any ability to control what they will experience in the future. They still try to "anticipate the possibility of alternative futures and waiting becomes a particular way of experiencing this link between time and power" (2015: 24). This concept will contribute to setting the context of these young refugees' leisure pursuits in Indonesia, in the sense of determining their leisure activities within their condition of 'stuck' in Indonesia and what the factors which predispose those considerations are.

Part Two: Explore the Unexplored: Leisure Activities of Young Refugees

Chapter 3 Leisure policy and program for young refugees

This chapter will discuss the various understandings of policy related to leisure for these young refugees. Listening to both perspectives from the one who made the policy and the other who experience it provides broader comprehension and analysis about leisure so that it can help in identifying gaps within current policy. It will then become evidence that can be used to support policy development for these young refugees so that they can experience better service as well as enhancing their participation in leisure activities. This chapter will also answer the first sub-question of the research.

3.1 Current leisure policy and program

I divided this section into two parts, the first one looking more into the policy from the related stakeholders and organizations, which in this context are UNHCR, IOM, and Roshan Learning Centre. Then, I put these young refugees' perspective upon seeing the policies, programs, or activities which are provided, or not, by those stakeholders.

Firstly, I will convey Roshan's perception on leisure and the related policy. Based on the interview with Brandon, he perceived that it is important to understand how these young refugees use their free time, since they have a lot of free time specifically, for the refugees who are not registered in Roshan. He said that joining Roshan is a way to spend the abundance of time they have. Brandon then explained more about his perception and understanding of leisure and free time of these young refugees.

The big problem is they have a lot of free time, that contributes to higher levels of anxiety and the pressure because they not always engage, and to wait what happens but it's out of their control, there's nothing they can do. So, it's better for them to find activities where they have control or goals (Brandon, 30 August 2018).

Regarding the policy or program related to leisure, he refers to some extracurricular activities outside the classroom setting. He said that Roshan tried to provide and do everything they can regarding some leisure activities, supported by other partners, for instance international private schools in Jakarta. He stated that:

On Tuesdays, they did football last term, this term they are going to do rock climbing and robotics. And so, it's good you can tell this time, with all their free time and those activities they can do, and one thing that students can value was also, Roshan is a place to wait too but you can do some extracurricular activities that we provide and brought the community that they can connect to (Brandon, 30 August 2018).

Secondly, since IOM Indonesia plays a significant role in providing humanitarian assistance for more than 8,500 refugees and asylum seekers in different places across the country (IOM 2018), I believe it is beneficial to know about the IOM's perspective in understanding the issue of leisure and free time of young refugees in Indonesia. I conducted the interview with Ms. Anastasia

Wijayanti, Psychosocial Support Coordinator at IOM Indonesia. She stated that the main focus of IOM Indonesia recently related to asylum seekers and refugees' policy, especially for children, is to assist children and young refugees in the detention center to be 'released' and move to the IOM accommodation. There are nine unaccompanied refugee children who are still being detained in various IDC in Indonesia.

Related to leisure activities and free time, she perceives leisure, or she prefers to call it as recreational activities, as a way to give these refugees a meaningful life to live in Indonesia. She explained that:

Leisure means how they structure their time. We endorse them on how they can get a sense of regularity to structure their day otherwise they are lost. That is what we are emphasizing, we imagine how important for them to have like a short-term goal so that they can manage their time effectively, meaningfully otherwise if they don't have the structured activities during the day, they are just wondering all day, no purpose (Ms. Anas, 18 October 2018).

She then conveyed more about the idea of policy, program, or leisure activities in Indonesia. At first, she explained that Indonesian government has no kind of leisure policy, but IOM has their own internal policy regarding that. She said that most of the leisure activities are targeting children and young refugees in the detention center or in the government accommodation, cooperated with the provincial social services. She said that:

We are facilitating non-formal learning activities by having the on-call teachers and service providers for instances a course institution and other recreational activities for instance sports, computers, English, handicraft, arts and others. Some activities that we endorse and provide to them is to push them to structure their day, so that their self-esteem is not being disturbed and they have their own perception about themselves, and what capability they can endorse to be a better person in the future (Ms. Anas, 18 October 2018).

Lastly, I dug deeper into UNHCR's policy in leisure. UNHCR realizes how important sport programs are to young refugees with their post-war and conflict condition; thus, they establish some partnership and cooperation with sports organizations and federations (UNHCR n.d.). They said that "sport is much more than a leisure activity. It is an opportunity to be included and protected—a chance to heal, develop, and grow" (UNHCR n.d.). UNHCR argues that by having these sports activities and programs will be beneficial for the refugees in developing their skill for the future and become a media for the refugees to advocate and raise awareness regarding their presence in the host country as well as "to share a common experience and break down barriers and stereotypes" (UNHCR n.d.).

Then we move on to the second part of this chapter about my study participants' perspective regarding the policy issue. I asked them about how much they know relating to the programs or activities made by UNHCR, IOM, CWS or other related stakeholders. Generally, the conclusion I can take from our conversations is that they do not think that those stakeholders have such a program for these young refugees to spend their free time in Indonesia.

Jaya described that besides the classes in shelter, there is no other activities specifically targeting the young refugees, even those who stay in the shelter. He said that for him personally, he needs other programs that will be beneficial for job-seeking. However, he said that it is hard to

find a job where the environment does not support them enough, since initially they are not allowed to work by law. For example, he described that one of his friends got a job in a ‘sewing place’ and when the employer asked their identity from his friend, the employer got angry and worried that this friend will cause trouble if the employer hired him.

Someone can be so nice, but after knowing that we are refugees, everything is different (Jaya, 29 August 2018).

In addition to what Jaya said, Sandi claimed that CWS and UNHCR do not have any specific activities for them, only classes like English, Math, and Computers. There is one woman who made the program for boys in the shelter like sewing, drawing, and painting classes, but she is not from the UNHCR. He said that it is important for the UNHCR to make such a program so that the boys in the shelter can learn more.

Febriyanti boldly stated that there is nothing like that since they (UNHCR and IOM) are not supporting her and her family. She then referred to the activities that were offered by Roshan. She said that in the end of the terms, Roshan will always have some parties or activities for its students. For instance, last term, Roshan had a party and a picnic in a park and she had to pay IDR 10,000. She described that the activities were so fun and so good. She enjoyed it since she got a chance to interact more with her teachers and classmates. She also stated that the sewing class in Roshan can be one of the fun activities, while also being useful for her since she is taught how to make bags and some other crafts that she can sell in the future.

Figure 3.1 Dila and Febriyanti’s sewing class



Source: Fieldwork 2018.

3.2 Young refugees’ aspirations towards the policy: “We need more activities to do”

Jaya said that UNCHR or any other stakeholders should listen to them more as young people and make more opportunities for the young refugees to learn new things. He personally loves to learn about engineering and mechanical stuff, he said that he really wants to be able to fix cars and

become a mechanic. He really expects that in the future he can make a living out of that. He stated that:

We need some other program, anything. It can be anything to join and to learn. To make busy ourselves, to work and to forget our problems (Jaya, 29 August 2018)

In Febriyanti's opinion, the activities are only for the boys in the shelter, agriculture being one of the classes she mentioned. Since she is not in the shelter, she said that she cannot join those activities, though she very much wishes to. She said that it is really important for her, since she likes to learn new things and how useful it will be for her in the future. She emphasized that they (UNHCR, IOM) should take care of them and make some beneficial activities for young refugees. Dila responded and added something from what Febriyanti said that the activities and programs for young refugees are important as well. Even if IOM does not give money to them, at least they have to do something both fun and useful for the young refugees like them who do not stay in the shelter.

After acknowledging both perspectives from related stakeholders and these young refugees, I found out that there are dissonances between what is provided (or not provided) by the stakeholders and the aspirations of these young refugees. Regarding the understanding of leisure, both Roshan and IOM have quite a similar argument about this. They explicitly stated that leisure for these refugees is a big part of how they can spend their time meaningfully and structuralize their activities so that they don't just do nothing while waiting for the process. They also acknowledge how important these leisure activities are to the development issue of these young refugees.

However, there are other things that emerge from this research regarding the nuanced differences from the aspirations of these young refugees and the existing policy that can be caused by the lack of practice in listening young refugees' voices. These stakeholders as policy makers perceive that it is important to have a leisure activity, but up until now they do not have the rigid policies and programs about that. They admit that these activities are not conducted on a regular basis.

How policy makers perceive the lives of these young refugees will also affect them in making a policy intervention in the future. These stakeholders should focus more on the positive aspects of these young refugees' lives, as well as their future possibilities and aspiration, so that it will establish a holistic perspective of intervention to foster their resilience in their liminality and goes beyond just providing their basic needs. It means that there has to be a "shift of emphasis from crisis intervention to primary protection" (Schoon and Bynner 2003: 26).

It is proved at some point in this research that the satisfaction of leisure needs can affect the satisfaction of their basic needs, for example, Sabar's case within this research. This satisfaction happens with the moving-down benefits, meaning that satisfaction of their 'higher-order' needs, like leisure, will potentially create and establish the notion of esteem, love, and belonging in their current condition, as well as affecting their physiological needs. Those positive feelings will help them in dealing with the liminal situation confidently, so that they can prepare for their future. The policy-making process as well as their interventions should be in line with the interest of these young refugees, even more so their aspirations and passions. It will enhance their 'sense of belonging' towards the policies and programs, as well as the leisure activities that will be conducted. Moreover, as I have explained in the beginning of this research, policies and programs related to leisure should also take into account as well as foster these young refugees' agency.

I realize that there are a lot of issues that should be addressed by the policy makers and related stakeholders, let alone IOM and UNHCR, in providing “culturally sensitive policymaking and service-provision” (Stack and Iwasaki 2009: 240) which will fit into these young refugees’ needs. Next chapter will bring more explanations about the details of leisure activities that these young refugees usually do in Indonesia, in a sense that it will answer some questions from this chapter about why actually there is some sort of nuanced dissonance between what has been provided to these refugees, and what to expect.

Chapter 4 Diverse forms of leisure

This chapter discusses the variety of activities of these young refugees in their free time to have their leisure satisfaction. This classification emerged from my fieldwork, and I tried to map it out based on their similar activities.

4.1 Sports activities

Sport is the typical activity enjoyed by half of my study participants. There are three sports categories in this research: football/soccer, futsal, and basketball. For football, Sabar is one of its fans. He joined a football club based in Ragunan area, South Jakarta. He practices on a weekly basis, for three times a week, i.e. Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday. On Wednesdays he always goes to practice after finishing his classes at Roshan, then he eats his lunch while waiting for the *Grab* (online motorcycle taxi) to go to Ragunan, specifically nearby the Ragunan Zoo. After the practice, around five or six, he goes back to the shelter by bus, because it is cheaper for him. On Saturday, the practice starts in the morning. He claimed that he loves ‘morning practice’ and that he usually wakes up at 6 AM then jogs to the place because the practice starts at 8 AM. He likes to run because the weather is ‘so cold’ in the morning.

For Jaka, he uses the term ‘soccer’ to define what he does during his free time. He plays soccer in Pancoran area, South Jakarta, but not on a regular basis. He said that:

I play soccer, sometimes, not always, when I am free and don’t have school, I play soccer in Pancoran and a lot of people from Iran, Afghanistan they are like come together and they play (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

He loves soccer a lot and tries to play more intensively but thinks that it will not be possible, considering his busy routine, and the lousy weather in Jakarta can be one of the challenges as well. He concluded that he plays soccer twice a week.

Figure 4.1 Jaka’s soccer place (taken by me)



Source: Fieldwork 2018.

Different from Sabar and Jaka, Jaya spends his free time playing futsal. He stated that he plays futsal at least once a week. He usually likes to play futsal on the day when he does not have any class at Roshan. He plays futsal mostly at Planet Futsal in Kuningan Area, South Jakarta. He plays with his friends from the shelter, but sometimes they mix the players from other shelters as well. Mostly, he plays futsal every Thursday. He described that he has a lot of Indonesian friends. Even at that day of the interview, he played futsal with his Indonesian friends, and he has a routine schedule for doing futsal with them every Wednesday.

For Febriyanti, she enjoys playing basketball a lot in Jakarta. She also said that she loves to play basketball; thus, she joined a club where all of them are Indonesians. She played basketball for free every weekend in National Monument area, Central Jakarta or Tebet, South Jakarta.

4.2 ‘Home-based’ activities

‘Home-based’ activities can be defined as a type of leisure activities that is spent by these young refugees in their house.

4.2.1 Cooking

For all the girls in my research, cooking is considered as one way to do leisure. Cooking and cleaning their houses are the ‘housework’ that they define as a way to enjoy their free time. For Nara, she loves to cook Arabic food as well as Italian. She saw my surprise and explained that:

I usually cook like Arabic food or Italian food, because my grandfather when he was in Eritrea, he was having Italian friends and that’s why he knows Italian cooking (Nara, 28 August 2018).

Similar with Dila, she described as well that her family buy and do grocery shopping and cook Egyptian food most of the time, but also Indonesian food. She always cooks *Koshari*, an Egyptian food made with rice and lentil or *eads* in Arabic. She added that she got the ingredients mostly from *Pasar Arab* (Arabic Market), the place her father always goes to for buying ingredients, thus she does not know the location of this market. Her mother has the role of cooking in the family every day. For Febriyanti, she usually eats and cooks rice with lentils, same with what Dila has. Febriyanti said that mostly her mom is the one who cooks, but she sometimes cooks as well. In her family, they never try to cook Indonesian food, and even Febriyanti only ate once cuisine from Indonesia, which was grilled rice or *nasi bakar*, when her American teacher brought it to her.

For house cleaning, Febriyanti usually spends her time helping her mom and sisters to do housework, like cleaning and tidying up the house. Dila also added that she loves to help her mom with cleaning the house.

4.2.2 Reading books

All of the girl participants admitted that they love to spend their time reading some books. Dila, for instance, loves to spend her time reading books like Arabic books and storybooks, like Cinderella. For Febriyanti, she loves to read books, and her favourite is the book about Malala Yousafzai. She said so because she is inspired by Malala’s struggle to fight for injustice. She also likes to read a book titled ‘Kite Runner’ as well. All of the books she reads are in English, and she

got them free from the internet. For Nara, she reads some books to have better vocabularies. She said that:

I read a lot of books, sometimes English books, like stories, and English I like the book stuff (Nara, 28 August 2018).

4.2.3 Family time and chit-chat

Since four of seven participants in my research live with their family, this section will discuss more about their activities with their family. Dila explained that she spends a lot of her free time with her mom and does some activities together, for example practicing English or Egyptian Arabic so that they will not forget it. Also, she sometimes has a little talk with her mom about the future and what she wants to be when she is older, saying that she wants to be a police officer or a teacher in the future.

Similar with Dila, Febriyanti spends most of her time with her mom and her sisters. They often sit together and converse about many things. In Afghanistan, she would be drinking tea or the likes during this kind of talk. During the conversation, she mostly would ask about what has recently happened in Afghanistan and the history stuff since she does not know much. She said that the war began when she was born, and she was perplexed about why this war could happen in the first place.

Personally, for Jaka, he enjoys his free time in his apartment with his family as well. He said that they usually go and eat together.

Yeah, sometimes we go shopping together. Sometimes we eat together, so yeah. And then we go to shopping we are like spending time a lot (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

He added that family means a lot to him, especially after knowing his friends' condition in the shelter. He realizes that he is fortunate to have his family in Indonesia.

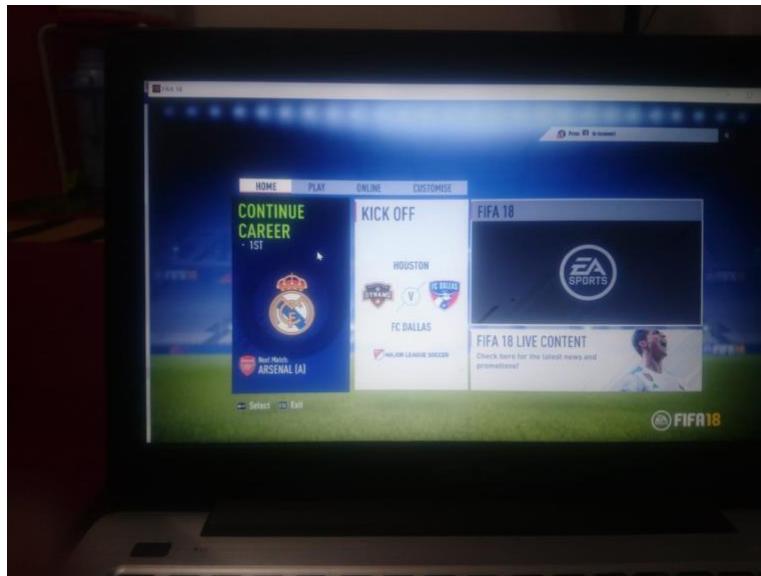
I guess I would prefer my family. Family is like, you can find friends anywhere, but you cannot find a family. A lot of time I spend more with my family (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

4.2.4 Digital leisure activities

There are some digital leisure activities that are common for my study participants. I can divide it into three activities: online gaming, movies, and TV serial binge-watching and social media updating. For online gaming, Jaka spends his time playing FIFA on a daily basis and likes to play other games in his laptop as a way to learn new things.

I go to my friend's house to play a game like FIFA, and then just talk (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

Figure 4.2 Jaka's photo of his FIFA games



Source: Fieldwork 2018.

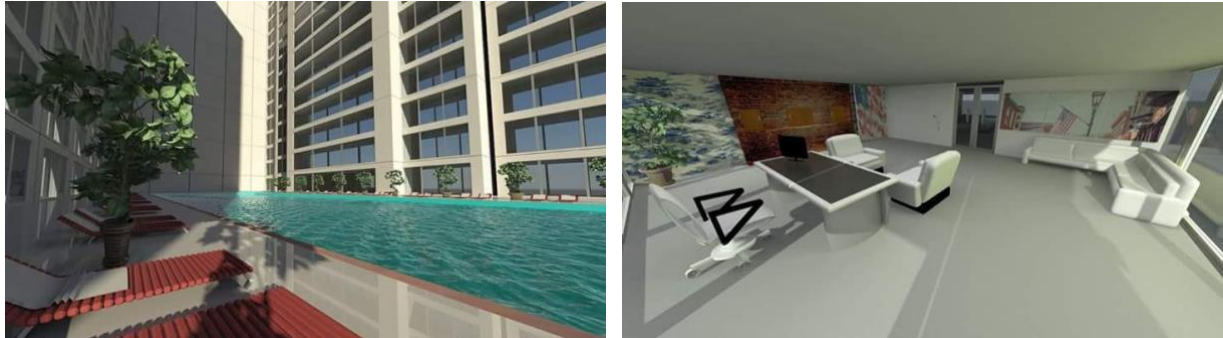
Jaya usually watches some movies on his phone, but most of the time, he tries to find some new knowledge and information that he can learn from, such as YouTube. He does not enjoy social media that much and even deleted his Facebook account. Similar to Jaya, Sandi loves his laptop that much. He watches some TV serials on his laptop before going to sleep, along with a cup of coffee. The TV serial that he watches is an Iranian serial, a romantic yet religious show. He described that this film is excellent and romantic at some points. He told me that since the internet in the shelter is terrible, he tried to download it in his friend's house where the connection is 'very fast'.

For Febriyanti, she admitted that she does not like social media and prefers to spend her time reading books and do assignments from the teachers in Roshan. However, she also likes to watch Indian and Turkish movies at home. Dila also added that she loves to watch Indian movies on television.

Sabar spends his free time watching videos about architecture. Before his laptop was damaged, he always spent his free time with making and 'experimenting' some designs in the architecture software. He explained how important this is activity to him.

I just sit with my phone and see something new about architecture, and I just see videos how they made, it gives hope you know, like I will be like them and then improve with a little bit. Just see what program that works and make like professionals, what type of program to make a building and make 'people' walk and 'people' sit (Sabar, 30 August 2018).

Figure 4.3 Sabar's design



Source: Fieldwork 2018.

Nara prefers to use her time watching some videos on Instagram and YouTube. She loves to watch cooking and comedy videos. She spends mostly two until three hours a day to check on her phone and open those medias.

4.3 ‘Hanging out’

Another way to spend free time for these young refugees is by going out of their house or shelter and hang out with their friends. For instances, Jaya usually spends his time hanging out with his friends, explaining that he meets his friends almost every day. His friends usually call him and ask him where he is, and they just suddenly come to the area of his shelter. He spends his free time drinking beers at his favourite beer place; an old place which name he does not know, but sells cheap beers, thus his love for the place. He described that most of his female friends in Indonesia, or even his girlfriend, love to hang out and find out what refugees actually do here. However, sometimes he and his friends go to the cinema to watch a movie, bars, cafés, or other places, too.

Similar with Jaya, Sandi likes to hang out, since it bores him to just stay at the shelter. He loves to go to bars and clubs. Since he loves coffee as well, he enjoys exploring traditional coffee shops in Jakarta. He also has a friend who works for a Chinese company in Indonesia, who sometimes casually teaches him a bit of Chinese. As I've mentioned earlier, he downloaded some movies and serials in this friend's house. Specifically, this friend works for a property and investment company. His friend also sometimes invites him to come over just for having beers and food. He considers that his friend is kind, hence he likes him a lot. Sandi usually hangs out with his friend on the weekend, and sometimes swims in the apartment of his friend, located in West Jakarta.

Figure 4.4 Sandi's photo of 'hang out'



Source: Fieldwork 2018.

In this sense, hanging out does not mean that they have to go somewhere like shopping malls, cafés, or bars. For Jaka, he enjoys spending his time hanging out with his friend, whether at his house or at his friend's house to talk and play some games in the computer.

I usually play games and then I spend my time with my friends. I have some Afghani friends in Kalibata (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

In contrast to the three boys mentioned above, Febriyanti and Dila does not like to go and hang out with their friends. Febriyanti, for example, never hangs out with her Indonesian friends in basketball club and stated that they are nothing more than basketball friends. She does not like to go out and spend time in malls, that is why she never tries to hang out. For Dila, since she has only three Indonesian female friends, she does not go out or hang out a lot with them. She described that one of her friends is a security officer who works nearby, and the rest are already married. Most of her Indonesian friends are older than her and she does not have friends her age; thus, she tries not to hang out.

4.4 'School' as a leisure

Roshan has been perceived as a 'school' for these young refugees, since all of them are enrolled as students at Roshan. Jaya is one of the newest students at Roshan and he just gets enrolled at this term, which started on the late July. He said that there are actually some classes in the shelter, provided by CWS, for example, Bahasa Indonesia, English, Computer and Math. However, he

decided to go to Roshan since he thought that the classes in the shelter are not extensive enough for him. The classes, like computer class, are maximum twice a week or even once a week and still going on since some boys in the shelter need it. He goes to Roshan same as other students, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. He is thrilled that he can join Roshan and that he wants to improve the language skill he already got at the shelter. He said he does not have anything to do if he is not at Roshan.

I come to Roshan for fun, for learning, for laughing, for joking, for anything! It makes me happy every time I come to Roshan (Jaya, 29 August 2018).

Sandi brought up an interesting statement when he said:

If I don't go out or I don't go to Roshan, I think I will die, really. (Sandi, 29 August 2018).

He explained how important the classes in Roshan are and how the time he spends in Roshan is worth it. He has joined Roshan for ten months now. He loves Roshan so much since he met a lot of good and kind people at Roshan. He had been a junior high school student in Afghanistan, so now he wants to continue what he has learned back then. I asked him whether he likes the classes or meeting the friends at Roshan. He then replied that he prefers to like the classes more since it is essential for him.

Dila thinks that Roshan is a perfect place for her and refugees in general. The first time she came to Roshan, she was afraid and shy to talk to other refugees. Then she started to find a new friend. After that, she saw Febriyanti and became friends with her. She feels and refers to Roshan as her 'home'. She stated that loves Roshan, and that when she said that when she got sick and cannot go to Roshan, she will feel very sad about it. She even insisted at some points to her mom that she wanted to go, but her mom didn't permit her.

At Roshan, Dila is considered as a new student as well since she just joined Roshan 7-8 weeks ago. She decided to go to Roshan because at first, she didn't know that there is a school like Roshan, and she joined the IOM school in the area of her housing. IOM pays the teacher to teach the refugees under their support. She then explained that the quality of the teacher is really bad, for example having an English teacher who does not even speak English fluently. The teacher, being Indonesian, switches to Bahasa Indonesia a lot when she teaches Dila and other refugees, thus Dila gets confused during the class.

She said that Roshan is like a family. That the people are very kind and the community is 'outstanding'. Roshan always takes care of her and the other students. She even emphasized that she has to be in Roshan and does not want to leave Roshan, no matter what, hoping that Roshan will not 'kick' her out. Before joining Roshan, she does not know anything related to the school's subjects, further saying that education is a significant thing in her life.

Roshan is our second home, and I love to spend my time in Roshan. I feel free and comfortable like in my own house (Febriyanti, 28 August 2018).

Jaka also agreed on how Roshan is vital for his life, saying that Roshan plays a crucial role in refugees' lives since Roshan attempts to open the school for him and other refugees so that they can go to school and continue their education. He added that it helps them keep themselves busy.

4.5 Maximizing the limit: financial issue of leisure

After acknowledging the details these young refugees' free time, there comes a big question of: 'how will they pay, finance, and sustain those activities?'. I categorized the sources of finance based on their condition into three categories: family support, institutional support and the support of 'local network'.

First, family support. Three participants of my research sustain and finance their lives from the money sent by their family. Jaka and his family, for example, fund his life from the money sent by his father who currently lives and works in Australia.

My father sends us money, so we just spend his money. My father left Pakistan and he came and travel to Australia. So, like my father came here first in Indonesia. He came I guess by airplane until Indonesia and went by boat to Australia (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

In another case, like Febriyanti, her grandfather plays a big role in financing her stay in Jakarta, explaining that her mom gets money from her grandfather. She does not have any relatives to rely on, with her father being an only child. Her grandfather sends the money every six months and her mom has to manage the money. She does not know much about how the money is sent. She usually gets the money from her mom on a weekly basis and uses it mostly for transportation. Related to her leisure activities, since the basketball club is free, she only needs the money to pay the bus to go there, costing IDR 3500 for one way.

For Sabar, sometimes when he runs out of money, his mom will send him from Yemen USD 50 or USD 100. However, he does not receive the money on a regular basis. I asked him whether his mom sent him the money on a monthly basis and he replied:

No, not every month. But she sends some time, when she has extra money, they give her from *lebaran* (Eid al-Fitr) you know like Mubarak. But one month or two months, or three months ago she stopped sending me the money. (Sabar, 30 August 2018).

Second, the institutional support. I define the institutional support as an allowance, in the form of money, given from IOM, UNCHR, or CWS. For Dila, since IOM supports her, she always gives her IDR 500,000 monthly allowance to her mother for safekeeping. Then I asked her, on what basis does her mother give money to her, whether it is daily, weekly or monthly. She said that there is no such basis and that she would ask some money from her mother when she needs it.

For the boys in the shelter, Sandi got the money from the shelter with the amount of IDR 200,000 per week. I directly responded with, "You can live with that money?" He laughed and said, "Of course not.". He got this money in the form of cash, distributed by social workers in the shelter every Wednesday with no exact time on that day. In this case, Sabar and Jaya get the same amount of money from the shelter.

The third one is the support of 'local network'. The local network here means that they get financial support from their Indonesian friends. In this context, Sandi and Jaya talked to me about how their friends are kind to pay for them if they want to hang out and spend their free time. Besides the allowance they get from the shelter, they get another source of money to finance their leisure activities.

For Sandi, his girlfriend plays a significant role in providing many things he needs in Jakarta. The conversation about how his girlfriend pay for him started when I was curious about how he bought his laptop in Indonesia since he said earlier that he loves it so much. He then confessed that his girlfriend bought it for him on his birthday. He met this girl in one of the private schools in Jakarta, when there was an activity with Roshan. His girlfriend is a 19 years old Chinese-Indonesian girl. She texted him first and wanted to meet him. He described that they fell in love and decided to have a relationship six months ago. She then moved to China and then to Dubai to follow her dad who works in Dubai.

He said that by seeing his condition in the shelter, his girlfriend even asked him to go out from the shelter and live with her or to rent a room for him, give him money and everything he needs, motorbike, and other stuff. However, he rejects her offers since he realized that one day they would break up and he will have to pay everything he gets from his girlfriend. His girlfriend will move back to Indonesia and talked to her about marriage over the phone. His girlfriend does not like to get married in Indonesia and asked him to get married in another country. By marrying her, he will get an Indonesian citizenship and give more opportunities to him.

His girlfriend helps him a lot even when she is not in Jakarta and does everything to help him. For example, when he has problems, he stated the following:

Nobody will help me here. UNHCR doesn't care. I got a really bad allergy last time since I eat a lot of eggs. It feels so bad and itchy. UNHCR, CWS did not respond. Even social workers, they just report my condition, but nothing to do later. My girlfriend called a friend of her, and her friend took me to the hospital and took care of me. She paid for everything. My girlfriend helps me more than UNHCR (Sandi, 29 August 2018).

His girlfriend even bought him a new mobile phone when he broke his months ago. They do not chat every day since there is a time difference between Indonesia and Dubai. His girlfriend sends some money if he needs something to buy, but not on a regular basis, for example when his phone was broken, or when he has to pay the Roshan and he didn't have any money to pay. He argued that with the limited amount of money he spends his money carefully. However, when it comes to hanging out with his friends at bars, cafés, or shisha cafés, they would pay for him.

Quite similar with Sandi, Jaya gets another support from his Indonesian friends, but the most intriguing part was when he confessed about having his own 'mommy' in Jakarta. He came up with this conversation when I tried to ask him how he manages his money on a daily basis. He described her as more of a 'step mom'. She helps him by giving some money, which sometimes he does not want to receive. He told her not to give it to him since she has her own family and how her children are more important than him. He met her two years ago in one of the shopping centers in the Kuningan area, South Jakarta since he lived nearby that area before coming to the shelter. Since shelter 3 is a new building, before that CWS supported him with a rented room or *kos-kosan*.

This 'mom' sometimes gives him around IDR 600,000–700,000 of cash and even asks if he needs more. At some points, she forced him to accept the money by putting it in his bag without

his knowing. She also never asks anything in return, thus he described her as a very kind and empathetic woman with his situation now since he told her everything.

Part Three: Applying the Perspectives: Critical Examination of the Leisure in Liminal Context

Chapter 5 Liminal leisure qualities: how do they perceive this?

In this section, I will convey more the meaning of leisure from the perspective of my study participants. It turns out that leisure activities are not just bringing some benefits to these young refugees, but at some point, they can feel burdened by how they should spend their free time in Indonesia.

5.1 Leisure activities as a ‘good’ distraction

Leisure is “a state of mind, a mental or possibly even spiritual place where one escapes from the stresses of life” (Beniwal 2018: 111). With their current condition of uncertain waiting time in Indonesia, leisure activities in their free time can be very beneficial for them to cope with the challenges they experience daily. Sandi explained that sometimes he can have fun with his friends and forget things that happened in the past and be happy. He also stated that doing leisure activities helps him a lot to adapt and integrate with Indonesian society, doing that by having a lot of Indonesian friends.

For Jaka, he admitted that when he plays soccer, he finds himself busy. He then explained that when he is busy, he will not think and worry about the resettlement process to another country. He said that:

I will not worry when I will go and when I will have a better future. So, like, a lot of refugees here, they like to keep themselves busy. Since like these activities are the ways, the keys of happiness (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

Quite similar to Jaka, Dila claimed that free time is important for her because without leisure activities, she does not have anything to do and just sits in her house. She needs the music class and the *mutiara*-crafting class, or to just help her mom do some house-works. These activities also help her to forget what happened in her country back in Egypt, addressing the conflicts and wars. She admitted that she will do anything to forget her memories and experiences in Egypt. She has to keep herself busy.

Statements, as mentioned above, indicate that leisure activities can be perceived as a way to keep themselves busy, whether with their current or even the past conditions. Literature, for instances Kleiber et al. (2002) and Iwasaki (2007) pointed out how essential leisure activities are to overstep trauma the refugees had in the past. This is related to how they can get distracted from what had happened in their lives and what they currently experience. Kleiber et al. pointed out how leisure activities, regardless they are considered as a positive or negative one, can be their “emotion-focused strategies used to keep one’s mind off the problem and reduce the negative feelings that are associated with negative life events and resulting stressors” (2002: 225). Their negative life events are not just from their past traumatic experiences, for instance, fear of persecution, conflict, and wars, but it can be their difficulties to survive and live their lives in Indonesia now.

Related to keeping themselves busy, other sources of their ‘good distraction’ can emerge from ‘a leisure reading’. As I have explained earlier, reading books is considered a leisure activity by three

of my study participants. Two main points can be highlighted from this activity. First, it can be beneficial for them to learn new information, specifically new language, and second, many books can be their 'inspirational resource' so that they can be motivated in their current challenges. Literature pointed out generally that reading can be beneficial for stress reduction, yet it does not need much money to invest in. The obtainable value from reading depends on the reading materials, as well as the individuals who read that. Nevertheless, the benefit can "peak through linguistic, psychological, and cultural familiarity alone" (Dali 2013: 273).

The notion of 'escape' and distraction can emerge from their online activities. For instances, Nara sometimes perceives that her online activity can be a good escape towards negative issues talked about in their family. She explained that:

Sometimes I feel nothing to do, you try to speak to the family they will tell you what they did, but sometimes when you don't want to hear, the first 2 months my dad was afraid ... and he talked about UN too much and I try to avoid, so I spent my time online (Nara, 28 August 2018).

Besides, FIFA, an online game that plays a significant role in Jaka's free time, can be considered as a tool to regulate his emotion, meaning that the game keeps him relaxed and distracted from the problems he experiences, as well as being useful for anger management (Olson et al. 2007: 82).

As we have already seen in the previous chapter, sport is one of the crucial activities in occupying these young refugees' free time. Related to the meaning of sport to them, Sabar perceives sport, specifically football, as a valuable activity. He believes that football, as one of the activities in his free time, brings positive thinking to him, that meeting people that are respectful to him will help him live positively in Jakarta. He said that:

You know your time is walking like so slow you need to do something fast to forget about your time so that it will not make you lazy, but the most thing I think is when I get reach out what I can do (Sabar, 30 August 2018).

From the statement above, he meant that football could make himself perceive that he is moving fast and 'running' from the reality that he perceived as a slow process, which can be related to the refugee-related procedures. In this time of waiting, they experience an omnipresence of boredom. They need some activities to give a sense to their every-day life and fill their time. Sport is one of those activities that can give their lives meaning by interacting with others and be respected, as what Sabar told me during the interview. This will create a positive atmosphere as well that he always feels during the practices. Sport can help youth to "express themselves through bodily practices, construct and perform social identities, and craft emotional closeness to, or distance from, other people" (Spaaij 2015: 303). Being good in his football club can be perceived as well as a way "to 'make it' in a new country, especially in host societies where a sport is a key site of cultural production and social prestige" (Spaaij 2015: 303). It will contribute to producing a sense of 'acceptance' within society. In other words, sport can also be an influence for these young refugees about their experiences with inclusionary and exclusionary practices within the host society (Burrmann et al. 2017).

Another interesting thing that can be highlighted is regarding how Sabar tries to perform and dresses 'good' when he wants to go to football practice, everyone even said that he looks like he is to go to the mall (which is perceived as a prestigious place to go). How valuable football to Sabar's

life is currently can be seen as well on how he chooses to sacrifice his food over football. He explained that:

When we need to pay something, like for me I have to pay football, I choose not to eat a lot of things, like I like fruit, I don't eat fruit. I eat from the outside, like *warung, nasi ayam*. It's very cheap. For the week they give us a week like IDR 200,000, I need to save the money, sometimes I eat sometimes I don't, sometime just fruit, just to keep money (Sabar, 30 August 2018).

This decision can be linked to his agency within his liminal context and how he navigates life by choosing some priorities over another. Liminality represents, "a state or process which is betwixt-and-between the normal day-to-day cultural and social states and processes..." (Turner 1979, 465). Liminality also provides an understanding of the agency of these young refugees in which their time as a refugee in Indonesia is situated. Their liminal condition produces a cultural framework where they can develop their agency in choosing what they do with their lives, even in a limited context. Besides, drawing on these young refugees' agency is also one of the concerns from social navigation concept. This concept attempt to focus on "the interface between agency and social forces" (Vigh 2006: 13) which means that recognizing these young refugees as active social actors, while at the same time considering the social forces around them. The social forces here indicate that they have to react and behave based on what the society thinks they should do.

Vigh argued as well that social navigation "is constantly attuned to the way we move in the here and now as well as to the way we move in relation to social goals and prospective positions" (2009: 425).

The intensity and visibility of our navigational efforts depend on the speed and/or opacity of social change and our ability to control oncoming movement. In other words, we all constantly struggle to gain the element of control that will allow for escape or positive engagement (Vigh 2009: 430-431).

Applying social navigation within this research fits with the context of these refugees' current socio-political situation, which is full of unpredictability and risks. It will then try to reframe the notion of a 'settlement' of these young refugees as one that includes "detours, unwilling displacement, losing [one's] way and ... redrawing trajectories and tactics" (Vigh 2006: 14) which at the same time will reframe these young refugees as the ones developing their knowledge and skills to navigate their lives throughout the dynamic of their precariousness in Indonesia. Vigh relates this idea of gaining more skill and knowledge to the notion of 'skilled navigator'. He explained that:

A skilled navigator, social or otherwise, is able to adjust his [or her] knowledge of map, position and plot to a multiplicity of experienced and anticipated influences and forces (Vigh 2009: 439).

These young refugees' attempts to continuing their education at Roshan can be considered as a platform in supporting them in becoming this 'skilled navigator', especially when it comes to learning Bahasa Indonesia. Initially, the main goal of Roshan is establishing "a safe and engaging learning environment for children and youth—in English and Farsi—and English classes and other enriching activities for adults" (Roshan Learning Center 2018). However, it has been developed so

that these young refugees learn other subjects they used to learn in school. One of them is Bahasa Indonesia. For Sandi, he perceives the classes in Roshan as fundamental and that he wishes to continue his studies at Roshan. He wants to learn a new language like Bahasa and learn more about English. He believes that learning Bahasa that much in Roshan will help them to ‘integrate’ within Indonesian society.

Another way of social navigating can be visible through their ‘hang-out’ activities and making friends, in a sense that they are establishing the social connections. Landau (2018: 514) highlighted that social connection is important for being the support which will help individuals to survive as well as explore the idea of intentionally fleeting friendship as ‘tactical cosmopolitanism’. In the setting of a society, where other (in this context, a refugee) is perceived as unusual or even untrustworthy, making friends with people can be “a powerful means to unsettling the dichotomous and normalized practice of othering” (Ghorashi 2018: 659). It means that by hanging out with Indonesian friends, these young refugees can produce their power to unsettle the notion of being ‘different’ in the host society.

Establishing a relationship with Indonesian girls, as highlighted in the preceding chapter, can be perceived as both a distraction and a way to navigate their economic precariousness. At one point, having a girlfriend in Indonesia can help them in coping with their loneliness as they travel and live without their family. On the other hand, this behavior can be considered as their “sexual libertinage” (Missbach and Tanu 2016: 303), meaning that they can have their freedom in establishing a romantic relationship with the opposite gender, as well as having an intimate (or probably sexual) interaction with their partner, which is still considered ‘taboo’ in Afghan culture as what Sandi told me:

I have a girlfriend in Afghanistan. You can be slapped by any strangers there if you hold your girlfriend’s hand or even stayed close to her. They said like, “what’s wrong with you brother?” and they slapped you (Sandi, 29 August 2018).

5.2 Stressing more on ‘time’, contemplating more for the future

After acknowledging the meaning of leisure for these young refugees, it turns out that their free time and how they think about what leisure activities to do can also become a burden to them. For instances, Jaya said that sometimes, after he got called by his family, spending time in Jakarta will make him more ‘worried and afraid’ about his condition. He explained that:

Having fun must be a part of our lives too. But we have to be sometimes worried about the future and my family back then in Afghanistan, do you know how it feels? (Jaya, 29 August 2018).

For Sandi, he explained that if he drinks alcohol, it just makes him quiet, meaning that it makes him think more about the future, which I assume makes him ‘contemplating’ more about what will happen next. He then further explained that at some points, he feels sad to think about his free time and his inability to fill it. He likes to work in Indonesia, not just for money, but to do something meaningful in his life.

Febriyanti also emphasized that there are many problems for refugees, that even when she has free time, she does not have money to afford it. It makes more problems on how they should think to spend their time, without wasting their money. It triggers her to also think more about the future

and how her life will continue in Jakarta. Febriyanti's statement is also linked to the financial issue related to these leisure activities. I found out that during this research, they have some leisure activities that are not free but can contribute a tremendous potential to engage and empower these young refugees within their current liminal context. Thus, providing them with a contextual leisure activity will provide them with an indispensable conduit to other related and beneficial developmental activities.

All the concern of these young refugees about their time in Indonesia can be analyzed on how liminality influences their lives in Indonesia. As a transit country and a place of being stuck, Indonesia can be perceived as a liminal space, which is defined as a space that is "at the boundary of two dominant spaces, which is not fully part of either" (Dale and Burrell 2008: 238). It means that these refugees are no longer a part of their country of origin, but also, they are not yet legally accepted in the 'host' country (Sutton et al. 2011: 32). Related to the temporal aspects of liminality, this process of liminality is always commenced by the 'triggering events', which after that the liminal phase starts (Beech 2011: 287). The triggering events of these young refugees are mostly related to the fear of war and crime, persecution, and their insecurity they will experience if they stay in their country of origin. This event was the starting point when their liminal identity emerged, as a refugee.

Their liminal identity is the main idea that influences their freedom to do leisure activities in their free time, as well as producing an abundance of waiting time in Indonesia. Their current identity will affect the establishing of feelings and perception of marginalization, where they experience boredom and the limit of participation within the society, as well as losing confidence. This situation can be linked to what Sutton et al. described as "a mixture of hope and despair" (2011:30). There is a hope of the end of their situation now, with the new identity and status somewhere, in other resettlement countries (2011: 30). This can be perceived as a positive motivation for them, as a 'weapon of the weak' (2011: 36). It means that their hope can be their trigger to survive in Indonesia and project themselves to be situated in a viable future. For instance, Jaka still hopes him to reunite with his father and get resettled as soon as possible. He said that:

Actually, sometimes I could go to Australia. If I don't know actually when. So maybe I can go to Australia and I can study there and then I can maybe become a pilot. I really want to become a pilot (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

In relation to social navigation, their condition above can be understood as a way for these young refugees to "simultaneously negotiate the immediate and the imagined" (Vigh 2006: 13), meaning that they have to provide their own needs in a short-term period, as well as situate themselves in pursuing their long-term aspirations. However, their despair is inseparable from this condition, where they do not know what will come at the end of their waiting period, and at some point, there is a fear of being powerless, helpless and vulnerable which they do not expect to happen at the end of the day (2011: 30). This condition is portrayed as well in their day-to-day basis. The emotional negativity of being stuck and waiting is one of the triggers of why these young refugees try to spend their time in a meaningful way. Sutton et al. argued that:

Waiting has something to do with straight forward mathematical clock time; but is also a highly subjective emotion linked to endurance, hope, impatience and, for refugees facing the considerable threat of being an illegal immigrant who can be thrown out of the country, outright anger, fear and dread (2011: 32).

The burden to find more activities and to interact with locals in the neighbourhood can be seen from the language barrier from these young refugees. As they are still learning Bahasa Indonesia, some of these young refugees still face difficulties in finding Indonesian friends to do leisure together in their free time. This fact can be seen from Jaka's statement when I asked whether it is hard to find an Indonesian friend to interact and spend free time with. He then replied:

It's not hard actually. The language is hard. I can't speak Bahasa very well. So, I can't talk to them easily, so I just don't talk with them (Jaka, 21 August 2018).

The same case happens to Febriyanti when she admitted that she does not have a lot of Indonesian friends, due to her inability to speak Bahasa Indonesia. When I asked her whether her friends in this basketball club are 'friends' or not, she refuses to claim them as a friend, since they only play basketball together and seldom anything else. In both cases, we can see how language plays a significant role in their interaction with their Indonesian friends. Language as an identity brings some impacts to their attempts of assimilation with Indonesian society. Literature argues when people are coming from different ethnic backgrounds and speak different languages, there will be a chance of not being comfortable in organizing any social activities or even interacting with each other. Especially in the liminal context, as Eriksen et al. (2010: 11) argue that "people who encounter one another in this kind of field are much less secure as to whom they are dealing with and, as a result, they are less sure as to who they are looking at in the mirror". Thus, this language barrier perpetuates the hesitance from people surround them to interact and start the relationship as well as spending leisure activities together.

Another concern of these young refugees in spending their time can be related to other factors, for example, gender. We can see from looking at Nara's case. She stated that she loves to play football, but it is limited to her role as a girl; thus, she cannot play football freely. She stated the following regarding her interest in playing football:

I want but I can't because I'm a girl, if it's for girls yes, I want to (Nara, 28 August 2018).

In analysing this case, it is better to also look at other factors that can be intersected with Nara constraints in doing her leisure activities, for instances her religion and Arabic culture. Kay (2005 in Arab-Moghaddam et al. 2007: 114) stated that Islam does not actually forbid women to do sport, but then at some point, Islam rules women to conform to some degree of modesty. Since Nara always wears veil and long skirts in the day-to-day basis, it can be perceived as 'performing modesty' as well as complying with the rules themselves. Nara's constraint in participating in leisure activities can be linked to the idea of social ecology. Stokols (1992) came up with this term and linked it with the individual well-being. He stated that the main idea of social ecology is about "multiple facets of both physical environment (e.g. geography, architecture, and technology) and social environment (e.g. culture, economics, and politics)" (Stokols 1992: 7), meaning that environment can play a significant role in promoting or even prohibit some sort of action from individuals. In Nara's case, since she is very close to her family, it is possible for her family to not support her idea of doing this sport since she is a girl and a Muslim, thus she feels discouraged to do so.

Regarding the 'home-based activities', their identity and gender can be seen as two factors influencing their willingness to spend more time at home. I acknowledge that these young refugees

carry multiple identities that can be corresponded with their roles within the society, for instances being a student, a youth, a child, etc. Stets (1995: 132) argued that somehow individual should have a mastery identity, meaning that this identity shares a meaning of “control” with other identities within a person. Mastery here defined as “the extent to which people see themselves as being in control of the forces that importantly affect their lives” (1995: 132). In this context, their refugee status can be perceived as this ‘mastery identity’. Their master identity pushes them to do some responsibilities at home, helping their family to do some house works for example since these young refugees have nothing more to do like having a ‘proper’ school time and regular extracurricular activities outside of school. Their limited sources, as what I have explained related to the financial issues, to participate in a leisure activity can also affect their willingness to go outside their house in this case, I do not deny that gender can be relevant to analyze this issue, since they possibly still have a strong perception of having no power to contribute to ‘public life’ (Arab-Moghaddam et al. 2007: 114). It may also cause them to have a constraint in participating to leisure activities outside their house and having the opportunity to participate in other community activities. However, I argue that their ‘mastery identity’ as a refugee dominates their decision to just stay home and do the house works.

In other circumstances, related to the notion of ‘home’, families can be a great source of support for these young refugees within their liminal context. It is important to highlight this issue since four out of seven study participants currently live with their family. As what I have conveyed earlier, these young refugees value their time with their family and perceive family as an important support system to their condition now. As what Jaka said, compared to his friends at the shelter, he feels fortunate to have his mother and brother with him and how he can eat her mom’s food every day. The existence of their family brings another sense of hope to survive within their struggling condition now. Since all of these young refugees are Muslim, related to Islamic value, Kay (2005 in Arab-Moghaddam et al. 2007: 123) highlighted the importance of family to their lives. Many Muslims believe that family associations can be a source of relaxation and calm as well as to help them to live longer. The value also comes from the family gatherings perceived as a leisure activity.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: What's next?

The condition of being stuck in Indonesia and unable to move forward to other countries or even 'backward' to the country of origin, perpetuates the notion of liminality for these young refugees who currently live in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia. The exploration of how they spend their abundant waiting time by enjoying various leisure activities, as well as giving meaning to those activities, is one of the interesting points that can be highlighted from this research. This research used a critical ethnographic approach, giving voice to young refugees' and allowing us to understand their perspectives and experiences. There are three main topics emerged for the discussion, that directly answer to all the research questions.

First, the detailed explanation of leisure activities enjoyed by these young refugees. During the fieldwork, I found out that some exciting leisure activities enjoyed by these refugees, varied from sports, hanging out with friends, until the home-based ones. By exploring these activities, I try to explore the diverse form of leisure activities that they do, as well as answering the main question of how these young refugees spend their abundance waiting time in the attempt to structuralize their everyday lives.

Second, the discussion of policies and programs related to leisure. This issue seems problematic, since there are some dominant aspirations and expectations from these young refugees regarding how they wish to engage more with leisure activities, while at the same time the activities provided by related stakeholders are not enough in addressing this problem. Moreover, there should also be some idea in listening to these young refugees' voices in the policy-making process, since they are the targeted group from the concerned policy. It is proved that by appreciating these young refugees' voices regarding their leisure activities and how they spend it, contributes to the establishment of wealthy information about other factors that can be intersected related to their freedom in choosing leisure activities so that the policy will be more sensitive to their complexity of everyday life.

Third, various perspectives in seeing the meaning of leisure to these young refugees within their liminal context. After knowing their leisure activities, this research discovered the meaning generated from those activities and further provide a comprehensive analysis of the findings, using some concepts that I have portrayed in an earlier chapter. By doing this, this research offers the acknowledgement that the 'simple' leisure activities can contribute positively and give meaning to their lives, from keeping them busy, assist them to forget their negative life experiences in the past, until support them to navigate their present liminal lives so that they can survive from various socio-economic challenges that they face. Unfortunately, some other factors can hinder their ability to enjoy their leisure activities related to their culture, gender, identity, and liminality.

One lesson from this research thus might be that—while all of the related actors with-in this research agree on how essential and crucial leisure activities are, the notion of choosing leisure activities, companions, locations, and funding resources, are much more complex and complicated, let alone within their liminal context—with all its protracted precariousness and uncertainty in day-to-day basis.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Description of the study participants

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Country of Origin	General Description
1.	Jaka	Male	15	Afghanistan	Jaka is a young Afghan refugee who has been living in Jakarta for about two years. He lives with his family which consist of her mother and his older brother. He lives in Kalibata area, South Jakarta. His father now lives in Australia. As what he knows, about eight years ago, his father left Pakistan and he came and travel to Australia, because of terrors in Pakistan. His father came to Indonesia first and he continued the journey by boat to Australia.
2.	Dila	Female	16	Egypt	Dila has already stayed in Jakarta for three years. Her parents stayed longer than her. Her dad came first to Indonesia five years ago, and he landed in Tanjung Pinang for the refugee camps there. One year after, her mom and her siblings came to Indonesia and arrived in Batam, which then her father moved there as well. One year after, Dila and her cousin came to Jakarta, where her family has already moved to Jakarta and get the support from the IOM.
3.	Febriyanti	Female	18	Afghanistan	Febriyanti is an asylum seeker who already been in Indonesia for three years. She lives in Tebet, South Jakarta, with her mom and two sisters, one younger and one older. The older sister is 26 years old, while the older one is 16 years old. Her father died in Afghanistan because of the numerous bombings happened before she left. She travelled from Afghanistan to India by plane, then continued from India to Malaysia. She then took a boat from Malaysia to Jakarta. She does not get any support from UNHCR, CWS or even IOM. Because of this issue, she spent four months living in the street, in front of the Kalideres Detention Center.
4.	Sandi	Male	14	Afghanistan	Sandi is an unaccompanied young Afghan male asylum seeker. Sandi comes from Afghanistan, specifically from Ghazni. He admitted that he loves to be in Indonesia since in Afghanistan, there are a lot of problems going on. He has been in Indonesia for 1.5 years. He travelled from Kabul, Afghanistan to India, then he continued his journey to Malaysia with the airplane. He then continued his journey to Indonesia by boat and arrived in Medan, North Sumatra where he took another airplane to Jakarta then directly went to UNHCR. He now lives in the shelter 1, supported by UNHCR and run by CWS.
5.	Jaya	Male	17	Afghanistan	Jaya is an unaccompanied young Afghan male asylum seeker in Indonesia. He comes from Ghazni, Afghanistan. He has been in Indonesia for 2.5 years. He went from Kabul, Afghanistan by airplane to India then he continued the journey to Malaysia. After Malaysia, he had a direct flight to Jakarta. After arriving in Jakarta, he directly went to UNCHR to register himself and prepare his case. He is now living in the shelter 3, located in Tebet area, South Jakarta.
6.	Nara	Female	15	Eritrea	Nara is an Eritrean girl, but she spent most of her time in Saudi Arabia. She arrived in Indonesia since six months ago. She lives with her family in Tebet area, South Jakarta. Her family consists of

					her parents, two sisters and four brothers, which Nara herself is the fourth child.
7.	Sabar	Male	17	Yemen	Sabar is an unaccompanied refugee from Yemen. He has been living in Indonesia for three years. He lives in shelter 2, in Mampang Prapatan area, South Jakarta. Sabar loves to draw and doing some activities related to architecture. He will be resettled soon the USA since he has already gone through some interviews regarding the resettlement process.

Source: Fieldwork 2018

Appendix 2 Interview questions

No.	Research Questions	Concept	Question
1.	How do young refugees occupy themselves with leisure activities within the context of liminal-ity, socio-economic challenges and prolonged involuntary transit in Indonesia?	Meaning of Leisure Time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the meaning of leisure time/free time during your stay in Indonesia? - How do you feel about your leisure time? - Do you feel that there are benefits or meaningful effect from your leisure time? If yes, what do you think the benefits of leisure are? Give me some examples. If no, why? - Based on your experiences during your stay in Indonesia, what role, if any, has leisure activities helped or not helped you to adapt some challenges in your life during your refugee/asylum seeking processes.
2.		Description of the leisure time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you tell me about the activities that you enjoy doing in your free time? Please tell me in detail. - Are those activities that you doing here now has differences from those when you were in the home country and from those when you first arrived in Indonesia? How different or similar? - Is it different because you are now older and your interests have changed or is it because of the location? Or well, because of both? - What is the interesting or appealing part from your leisure time? - How do you do the integration with Indonesian society through your leisure activities?
3.		Finance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As you have already explained, most of your activities are seldom 'for free', how do you sustain it? - How you finance your leisure time? - In case of a family, how does your family help you to finance your leisure time? - How do you get access to the money? - Are all the financial needs for leisure time satisfied this way or not all? - Is there any financial limitation for your leisure time? <p>IF THE LEISURE TIME IS FREE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you find a cheap or free leisure time?
4.		Gender and communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you have any friends or relative in Indonesia? - Do you have any girlfriend or boyfriend in Indonesia? - Is there any group of Afghans/Yemeni in Indonesia? - Do you think all of this are helpful for you?

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is there any specific leisure time that you do and enjoy during your stay here, based on your gender? Means that you specifically doing these things because you are a boy/girl.
5.		Cultural value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - During your experience here, is there any influence of Indonesian culture of sport and leisure on your leisure needs and practices? For example, you do more leisure time in Indonesian way. - Do you learn new culture when you do your leisure time? - Is there any cultural tradition that you still do in Indonesia?
6.		Physicality and places of the Leisure time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who do you usually spend your leisure time with (for example: family, friends, teachers, alone)? - Do you think that there are changes of people you spend your time with in the leisure time? For example, you spend more time with the family, but couple years ago you spent your leisure time with your friends. If so, how? If not, why? - Do you experience any spatial constraint of your leisure time? Means that you cannot enjoy your leisure time because you are not allowed to do so in particular places?
7.		Roshan and School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think about Roshan? - Do you think the class in Roshan is important to you? - How do you see the importance of education and Roshan particularly in your life? - Do you think that Roshan is one of your leisure activities? - What do you think more important in Roshan: learning new things or meeting your friend there?
8.		Online Leisure time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you enjoy a lot leisure time online? - If yes what kinds of activities, you do enjoy? If no, why?
9.	What is the current condition of the refugee policy framework in Indonesia related to their leisure and how does the policy framework shape their aspiration for their leisure qualities in the future?	Policy Issue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you know about refugee policy in Indonesia? - Specifically, do you think that the policy helps you as a young asylum seeker in Indonesia? - What kind of assistance that you got since you got here in Indonesia? - Is there any youth-oriented policy that you know so far? - Is there any policy or program that provide you with some activities in your leisure time? - Do you think it is important to have this youth-oriented policy for young refugees? - What kind of assistance or protection that you think is the importance for young refugees in Indonesia?

Source: Fieldwork 2018

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