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THE RESILIENCE OF URBAN REFUGEES THROUGH A LIVELIHOOD PROGRAM AT THE JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICE

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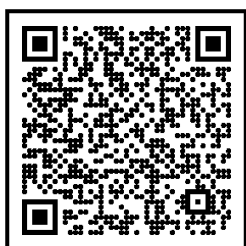
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Abstract. Asian countries have often been the targets of the mobilization of refugees who migrate to seek protection, including Indonesia. Most refugees live independently in populated areas and alongside local urban residents in the country. These urban refugees who come to Indonesia experience serious difficulties, especially from the limited work opportunity that affects their resilience. Their existence encourages a non-profit community organization, Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), located in Bogor, Indonesia, with its livelihood program to help refugees support their life survival. This study aims to explore and understand how a livelihood program supports the resiliency of urban refugees. The subjects in this study were four urban refugees who lived independently and participated in the livelihood program. The research is descriptive qualitative research. Data collection techniques in this study consist of interviews, observation, and documentation studies. The research results conclude that the four urban refugees have better resilience obtained from the support and benefits of the livelihood program. The four urban refugees have resilient individual traits ranging from social competence, autonomy, problem-solving skills, and awareness of goals and the future that are obtained through the stages of resilience (*succumbing, surviving, recovering, thriving*) and the supporting factors of resilience (*I Am, I Have, and I Can*).

Keywords: Resilience; Urban Refugees; Livelihood Program.

Abstrak. Negara-negara Asia sering menjadi sasaran mobilisasi para pengungsi yang bermigrasi untuk mencari perlindungan, termasuk Indonesia. Sebagian besar pengungsi tinggal secara mandiri di daerah berpenduduk dan bersama penduduk perkotaan lokal di negara ini. Pengungsi perkotaan yang datang ke Indonesia ini mengalami kesulitan yang serius, terutama dari terbatasnya kesempatan kerja yang mempengaruhi ketahanan mereka. Keberadaan mereka mendorong sebuah organisasi masyarakat nirlaba, Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), yang berlokasi di Bogor, Indonesia, dengan program mata pencaharian untuk membantu para pengungsi mendukung kelangsungan hidup mereka. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali dan memahami bagaimana program mata pencaharian mendukung ketahanan pengungsi perkotaan. Subjek dalam penelitian ini adalah empat pengungsi perkotaan yang hidup mandiri dan mengikuti program mata pencaharian. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Teknik pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini terdiri dari wawancara, observasi, dan studi dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa keempat pengungsi perkotaan memiliki ketahanan yang lebih baik yang diperoleh dari dukungan dan manfaat dari program mata pencaharian. Keempat pengungsi perkotaan memiliki ciri-ciri individu resilien mulai dari kompetensi sosial, otonomi, keterampilan memecahkan masalah, dan kesadaran akan tujuan dan masa depan yang diperoleh melalui tahapan resiliensi (*succumbing, survival, recovery, thriving*) dan faktor pendukung resiliensi. (Saya Ada, Saya Punya, dan Saya Bisa).

Kata kunci: Resiliensi; Urban Refugees; Program Livelihood.



INTRODUCTION

In the background of increasing conflicts and human rights violations, the flow of refugees fills countries in not only Europe and America but also countries in Asia that are often in the spotlight of the migration mobility of refugees to stop over. Developing countries host 86% of refugees worldwide, including Indonesia (Jesuit Refugee Service Indonesia, 2014). Indonesia is one of the refugee shelters that aims to seek asylum and transit purposes. Indonesia's strategic geographical location makes it one of the countries with refugee mobility. Currently, the total number of refugees and asylum seekers registered in UNHCR Indonesia is 13,459 as of April 2021; cumulatively, they are 57% from Afghanistan, 10% from Somalia, and 5% from Iraq (UNHCR Indonesia, 2021). According to The UN Refugee Agency, 60% of refugees live independently and mingle with the community. They are commonly referred to as Urban Refugees.

To date, Indonesia has not ratified and become a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention, resulting in the country having no obligatory principle. However, the country has its policy of handling the refugees and asylum seekers in the territory based on Presidential Regulation No. 125 / 2016 concerning Handling of Refugees from Overseas (Presidential Regulation, 2016). One of the biggest dynamics of refugees in this country is not having the opportunity to work, which depends on them for aid. As a new inhabitant, living in a foreign country with uncertainty and minimal resources to support refugees for daily living with their families significantly affects the resilience of refugees.

Resilience is a system's ability or capacity to survive, adapt, and develop better when faced with difficulties or uncertain situations (Carlson et al., 2012). According to De Vries (1994), difficulties in meeting the basic needs of life make them vulnerable to illness and disease, and difficulties in accessing education make them uneducated and cognitively weak. Language difficulties make them vulnerable to discrimination by society, plus the stigma of Xenophobia (fear or hatred of strangers) which is denied, is always there. The vulnerability threatens the resilience of the refugees' lives living here (Ameen & Cinkara, 2018).

Jesuit Refugee Service Indonesia, A non-profit community organization (NGO) engaged in the social sector, helps distribute aid to refugees in their needs regarding the limitations of government and international organizations to fulfilling the needs of some refugees living in urban cities, among them is Bogor, Indonesia. This research focuses on the livelihood program that the NGO is running. According to Chamber et al. (1998), livelihood is

defined as how a person fulfills his life needs or improves his life. Another definition stated by Ellis (2000) is that livelihood includes income or payments, as well as in other forms such as institutions (relatives, relatives, neighbors, villages), gender relations, and property rights needed to support survival with existing standards. (Dharmawan, 2007).

The Livelihood program in Jesuit Refugee Service Indonesia involves refugee communities honing their potential in various skill areas (cooking, hand-crafting, and independent initiatives). In addition, this program aims to build good relations between refugees and residents to create strong social connections usually associated with improving health and welfare (Diwan & Jonnalagadda, 2008). It also involves residents as tutors, co-partners, and advocates to support the program's running, which creates a connection with refugees. Social relation in the program gives inner power to refugees for their life survival and in connection to better resilience. In the previous research, residents can be a support to help refugees whenever they are in trouble—for example, sharing land with refugees for planting the results together. This support can improve the livelihood that is being carried out so that no party feels left out regarding economic opportunities (Kokotsaki et al., 2014). Based on this background, the researchers want to see how the resilience of urban refugees is obtained from the livelihood program at the Jesuit Refugee Service. In purpose, how the livelihood program contributes to their resilience.

The researcher describes the resilience of urban refugees obtained from the livelihood program based on the resilience and resilience supporting factors stages. According to O'Leary and Ickovis (2006), the stages of resilience include a) succumbing, where individuals succumb or give up in the living conditions they experience b) survival, where individuals have not been able to accept the conditions that befell them but individuals survive with the conditions they face c) recovery, individuals can move, as usual, even able to show as a resilient individual d) thriving, where individuals can not only move as before but can go beyond individual conditions that are even better than before. On the other side, the resilience supporting factors coming from the theory of Grotberg (1995) include a) I am, a strength that comes from within the individual, such as behavior, feelings, and beliefs contained within a person, b) I have, a source of resilience that comes from outside support c) I can, a factor that indicates what they do, for instance, manage feelings, good relations, problem-solving ability.

In conclusion, the stages and supporting factors of resilience will be the aspects that value

how resilient urban refugees are. Therefore they have a better resilience even to the point of meeting the characteristics of a resilient individual, according to Bernard (1991), including social competence, problem-solving skills, autonomy, and a sense of purpose and future. The researchers believe resilience will support life despite the many ups and downs. It enables us to adjust to situations from the significant circumstances every one of us has.

Table 1. Purpose based-Framework

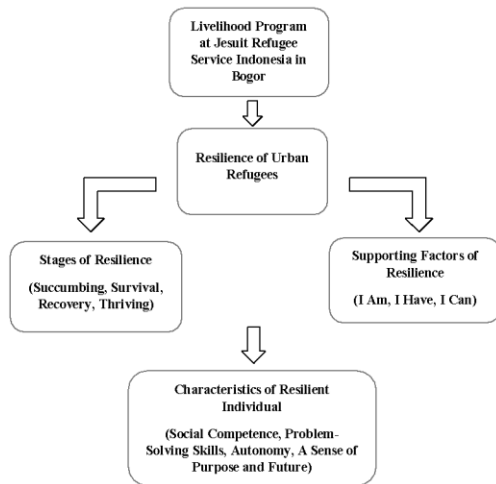


Table 2. Livelihood Program Activities Provided by JRS Indonesia in Bogor

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Number	Livelihood Activities 2021	Description	Category
1.	Crochet	An activity to hone knitting skills and produce handmade products made of knitting, embroidery and beads.	Collective
2.	Cooking	An activity to hone cooking skills, especially Indonesian cuisine.	Collective
3.	Refutera	A Platform for selling hand-made products online through a website called Refutera. Refutera is run by the Refugee led organization in collaboration with JRS.	Collective
4.	Independent Project	Refugees can initiate a project relevant to livelihood activities for their living and ask JRS to support them.	Independent

METHOD

As refugees deal with daily life challenges, mainly in participation and opportunities, empowerment-based innovation in the livelihood program may alter their life situation better. To look at certain evidence dealing with resiliency gained from the program, we used a qualitative descriptive method in which the data collection was produced in the form of writings by the informants and objects being observed (Salam & Aripin, 2006). In addition, the process aimed to make a systematic description, picture, and relationship between the empirical evidence (Nazir, 2011).

The researchers used various data collection techniques, including interviews, observation, and documentation studies, to confirm the evidence found. The analysis focused on the Miles and Huberman (1992) technique. Firstly, gather the information gained from all data collection techniques. Following the process, the researcher used data reduction to analyze the pattern and search for the main ideas to filter the main information and supporting details. Afterwards, the data is displayed structurally to understand the evidence, called data presentations. Lastly, conclusion and verification to look for the results of the research. In addition, The validity of the data technique used in this study is the triangulation technique by checking the validity of data that utilizes something other than the data for checking purposes or as a comparison against the data (Moleong, 2009).

The informant selection technique used in this study is purposive sampling which prioritizes certain characteristics of the research subjects (Moleong, 2009).

Table 3. Name of Informant

Name of Informant	Description	Description
Gading Gumitang Putra	National Information and Advocacy Officer of JRS Indonesia	Program Organizers
Elsa Fitriana	Information and Advocacy Officer of JRS Jakarta	Program Organizers
Roswita	Program Coordinator of JRS Jakarta	Program Organizers
Mariana Rosiana	Livelihood Program Officer of JRS Bogor	Program Organizers
Sohaila	Refugee from Pakistan	Beneficiaries from Livelihood namely Refutera
Camilla	Refugee from Afghanistan	Beneficiaries from Livelihood namely Cooking Class
Umul Banin	Refugee from Afghanistan	Beneficiaries from Livelihood namely Crafting Class
Roger Gere Nzapa	Refugee from Kongo	Beneficiaries from Livelihood namely Community Project

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

An Overview of Condition of Urban Refugees in Bogor, Indonesia

At the beginning of their stay in Indonesia, they encountered difficulties with language barriers, housing, and meeting the necessities of life. The early years in Indonesia were not easy to live in because they needed adaptation to the surrounding environment. Besides, the four refugees have no steady income even until now. Refugees do not have a clear certainty of life starting from resettlement to other countries, as well as the rights and obligations they get in Indonesia.

They depend much on the government and its people due to restrictions on work activities they are not legally allowed to do. Having a job is one of the things that can be done to make a living for every human being. However, refugees living in Indonesia have limited opportunities to work. As a result, this makes the refugees' condition even worse while the waiting period for moving to another country is also uncertain. Many of the refugees brought their entire families so that the responsibilities of living would increase. Indonesia's openness to accommodate refugees living is a good thing, but other steps are also needed to reduce the risk of life dependence and provide life expectancy for them.

Refugees who migrate to Indonesia stay for many years because they lack opportunities to transfer or resettle to other countries. Most of the time, they only have a 0.1% chance of being transferred to a third country yearly out of 13,600 registered people at the UNHCR Indonesia office (UNHCR Indonesia, 2021). As a result, they need to survive amid a crisis of human rights that they get. Although refugees can migrate to any country, the decision to move to the third country is entirely the right of the third country to accept or not allow the refugees to enter their country. Providing massive and concrete empowerment opportunities is something that can be implemented and will not harm but be profitable from the prohibition of work problems. An empowerment opportunity is a form of independent employment that refugees can carry out with the help of other parties who support them so that refugees have a more dignified life by carrying out empowerment activities while waiting for resettlement.

Stages and Supporting Factors of Resilience Gained from The Livelihood Program

In the interviews and observations, the researcher observed and interacted directly with refugees who participated in the livelihood program in various activities. The researchers were trying to dig up information from refugees directly to get real credibility of information. The researchers get several answers to several questions related to the stages of resilience when refugees face significant adversity with the following details according to O'Leary and Ickovis (2006).

Firstly, Stage of Succumbing. At the succumbing stage, the individual realizes that the misfortune that befell them is too severe, and the outcome of this misfortune is depression which can lead to suicide. The researchers found that refugees are fully aware of the misfortunes and difficulties they face both in their country of origin and in Indonesia. They also experience severe stress and

depression due to the uncertainty of life. Each gives a different statement with various main difficulties that the researchers summarize, including financial, language, and health (physical and mental). These three difficulties form from the vulnerability of their lives in Indonesia.

Secondly, the Stage of Survival, this stage is where the individual has not been able to restore the psychological function and positive emotions fully. Individuals have not been able to accept the conditions that befell them, but individuals survive with the conditions they face. The researcher found that each refugee has a similar reason for surviving the adversity, the family. Four of them, beyond the gender and age roles, are the main income seeker for the family. In order to support their family members mentally and physically, they need to be seen as productive every day. They showed consistency in work and participation in the program. Sometimes, they shared stories in tears to gain the community's support and hid the tears when going home. The program gives a natural support group for the refugees in which they can share feelings and come back stable to face the world. Therefore, the survival process they go through in life might be different, but the consistency towards surviving in the livelihood program and carrying out its activities provides positive emotions.

Thirdly, the Stage of Recovery is the condition of the individual who can control his psychological and emotional conditions properly and adapt to stressful situations even though they still set aside the effects of the negative feelings they experience. At this stage, individuals can move as usual and even show as resilient individuals. In this stage, the researcher focused on the ability of refugees to control negative emotions from the difficulties they face into a form of struggle that they prove through the livelihood program. The four refugees showed good emotional regulation skills when running the program. They can control feelings of sadness, anxiety, or anger when participating in the program and be professional in their behaviour. They have a calm and focused attitude when doing livelihood activities, in line with Reivich and Shatte's (2002) opinion about the aspect of reaching out or the ability to achieve what is desired. The program provides space to be optimistic and find a better life to recover from the situation that befell them through positive activities.

Finally, the Stage of Thriving is the stage where individuals can not only move as before but can go beyond individual conditions that are even better than before. This program clearly shows that refugees are a group that can develop, interpret things well, and try to rise from the difficulties they face. However, they try to act normal and slowly

grow independent. The researcher analyzes that this program allows refugees to learn not only from what JRS provides but also to bring out their abilities to become individuals who develop over time. Refugees who participate in this program have hopes for a better future, and their difficulties now require them to try to do better.

In line with stages of resilience, the researcher also analyzes the inputs from the refugee's side through the supporting factors of resilience, according to Grotberg (1995). a) I Am, is a strength that comes from within the individual, such as behaviour, feelings, and beliefs contained within a person. It is also an attitude of self-esteem, pride in oneself, optimism, creativity, self-autonomy, love, and empathy. The ability is characterized by an individual's effort to love and behave so that others love him. Apart from that, this individual has pride in himself that will not allow others to insult and belittle him. This individual also has good relationships with others because of his caring and empathy.

From the above definition, the four refugees showed better resilience through self-confidence in their skills, empathy to help others, the commitment to hone themselves, regularly joining the activity, feeling satisfied and proud of what they are doing so that they can contribute to themselves, their families, and others. b) I Have, is a source of resilience from outside support. It can be the form of support, love, attention, and acceptance from close people such as parents, other family members, teachers, and friends. It shows a healthy relationship between the individual and the surrounding environment. This support is meaningful in building independence, self-confidence, responsibility, and the desire to understand and empathize with others.

The researchers found that refugees received a good reception from the organization JRS during the livelihood program, which plays a vital support group to the community. One of the missions of JRS is to "accompany," which means to make refugees friends so that the I Have JRS implements a factor in any program. In addition, another support they have comes from their families (husband, father, mother, children), residents, and other fellow refugees. c) I Can, is a factor that indicates what they do. I Can is the ability to manage feelings and impulses from within, build healthy relationships with others, recognize the emotions of self and others, and most importantly, the ability to solve problems. Problem-solving is the basic ability to identify a problem and then determine the next steps so that the problem can be solved (Kim and Choi, 2014). This factor includes the individual's social and interpersonal

skills. Social skills are the individual's ability to communicate effectively with others, both verbally and nonverbally, which are adapted to the situation and conditions they face (Merrell & Gimpell, 1998), which is in line with the form of social skills according to Beaty in Lismayanti (2008) including empathy, generosity, cooperation, and willing to help others. Meanwhile, interpersonal skills are the characteristics that a person uses to interact with others (Henninger, 2009). From these opinions, the researcher concludes that a person's interpersonal skills are the ability to communicate, understand others, sensitivity, conflict management, positive attitude, and politeness.

In this case, the researcher observed that each refugee's social and interpersonal skills were relevant. Regarding social skills, refugees can communicate well with fellow refugees and JRS in program implementation and natural interactions. They use English and Yarsi (mother tongue), so communication is sometimes hampered due to language barriers. However, their delivery method was good enough to communicate what they wanted to convey during program implementation. Regarding helping and empathizing, the four refugees are happy to help their fellow refugees and are willing to help when others have difficulties. They prefer spreading happiness to colleagues rather than expressing their sadness for a long time.

Meanwhile, the interpersonal skills that the researchers focus on are in terms of politeness, positive attitude, and understanding of other people. The four refugees have good manners, such as greeting, thanking, and asking for help. The ability to understand other people that the researcher observed was present during the program implementation, where refugees were concerned about their fellow refugees, for example, making drinks and helping to clean the classroom after activities.

The last, most important factor in the I Can factor is that they are all trying to escape the difficulties they face by joining the program. The factor allows them to understand what they should do about the prohibition of work problems. Therefore, researchers can see the aspect of self-efficacy in this factor, which is facing and solving problems.

Characteristics of Resilient Individual

From the stages and factors of resilience, the researchers also found the individual traits of resilience found in the four refugees studied. A resilient individual usually has four general traits:

social competence, problem-solving skills, autonomy, and a sense of purpose and future (Bernard, 1991). In line with Chen Li, Li, Li, and Liu's (2000) argument, social competence is one form of social skill that acts appropriately in various social situations. Individuals with high social competence tend to display effective and acceptable behaviour (Santoso, 2015). Leahly confirms this statement in Adams (1983) that social competence is a form of skills and knowledge to interact positively with others.

Aspects of social competence, according to Rydell et al., (1997), are a) prosocial orientation (helpful, generous), b) empathy (understanding others), c) conflict handling, and d) social initiative (initiative in situations of social interaction). The aspects of social competence were also proposed by Marlowe (1996), namely a) social sensitivity, b) empathy, c) self-confidence, and d) interpersonal problem-solving. Based on the experts' opinions above, social competence's aspects include social sensitivity, empathy, self-confidence, and interpersonal problem solving (Wardani, 2010).

This condition requires individuals who can use skills and knowledge to build positive relationships with others. In this case, the four refugees have these aspects of social competence. In addition, social sensitivity and empathy are obtained from good relations and concern for helping fellow refugees by doing the livelihood program together. Specifically, in a gardening project a refugee initiates, the harvest is shared with fellow refugees and their families. The aspect of self-confidence can be described through the refugees' belief and commitment to participating in the livelihood program. To be able to pursue the program in the first place is a good initiative. Not only that, but they can also actualize their potential in different ways and gain expertise in their respective fields.

The last aspect is solving interpersonal problems, which is more described in the ability of the four refugees to communicate and emotional control in attitude. They can communicate and express things well. Therefore they do not cause interpersonal problems with other refugees, although, sometimes, the language barrier makes the interaction process take longer.

Resilient individual characteristics are also demonstrated through problem-solving skills—a skill where the four refugees can control themselves and use their common sense to solve problems. According to Polya in Mayer (1983), problem-solving is the ability to find a way out of difficulties through cognitive processes and overcome obstacles (Pamungkas et al., 2021). Despite the difficulty of the refugees getting jobs in Indonesia, the four refugees could take advantage of their opportunities at JRS to

prosper independently by participating in the program as a means of livelihood from the difficulties in meeting the needs of life. The advantage also applies to other refugees who find themselves more productive and mentally healthy by participating in the program to solve mental health and productivity problems.

The third characteristic of resilient individuals is autonomy, which is the individual's ability to act independently, which makes refugees take responsibility for their actions. Independent individuals can manage themselves (Steinberg, 2002). According to Chaplin in Desmita (2006), autonomy is someone free to choose and becomes a human being who can rule, control, and determine himself. According to Sutari's opinion in Fatimah (2006), independence includes taking the initiative, overcoming the problems encountered, having self-confidence, and doing everything independently without depending on others (Wicaksono, 2015).

In the findings of this study, the four refugees can control their feelings, thoughts, and actions in dealing with the problems they face. They are completely in control of themselves. The implication can be seen through their commitment during activities related to self-confidence. They are also responsible for fulfilling their duties within the family's scope (as mothers, wives, and children) and responsibility in the program. Individually, they have the potential to organize their lives, take the initiative, and make changes. However, refugees cannot be said to be completely independent of others because they still need assistance from various parties to support their daily needs. Refugees, in the first place, are a vulnerable group for welfare.

The last characteristic of a resilient individual is an awareness of purpose and the future. It includes a) showing intention toward long-term goals, b) Internal motivation to be active in pursuing personally meaningful goals (Bronk, 2008; Bronk et al., 2010; Damon et al., 2003; Moran, 2008) 2009). Damon et al. (2003) also added a third aspect: goals that lead to positive societal contributions (Blattner et al., 2013). All four refugees share it, but not all of them have long-term goals. Even if they had one, they did not lay out a strategic plan of what they would do. The four have hopes of a better life but are still realistic about what they face. They understand very well that the main purpose of participating in the program is to keep themselves busy with positive activities, learn new things, interact, and generate income to cover the needs of family life. However, in the aspect of having long-term goals, it is well realized by most of them that having a dream that is too big is impossible to achieve—moving to other countries, only 0.1% of the 13,600 people registered

at the UNHCR Indonesia office (UNHCR Indonesia, 2021). Circumstances make them more focused on survival for today and tomorrow. Meanwhile, the aspect of contributing to others and making life meaningful, the majority of the four already have that intention. Not a few refugees build initiatives and empowerment groups for fellow refugees to mutually support and strengthen each other.

In this study, the researchers found interesting findings. The four refugees have significant adversity, which is not much different in their reasons before and after moving to Indonesia, especially in terms of fulfilling the necessities of life. Barriers to finding work in Indonesia do not make them completely surrender to the situation. With the opportunities in the livelihood program, the four have shown positive aspects in running it and continue to show good progress during its implementation.

The researcher believes that whomever the refugee is, the trauma and difficulties they face can be categorized as severe as what the researcher discussed in the previous discussion. Their resilience cannot be equated with the resilience of people who have never experienced such significant adversity because they are still in the uncertainty of life caused by the system and external factors. However, the program can give them the ability to survive like other people who work hard to live. The resilience that the researcher saw during the program was not aimed at restoring their condition to its original state but enabling them to accept and try to face it as a means of positive adaptation that makes them focus on their strengths rather than just lamenting about their difficulties.

During the program, they could show the best version by not discussing the pressures and difficulties but focusing on the strengths. Therefore, refugees can have impulse control in controlling the pressure that arises. The feelings of anxiety, sadness, and anger kept to themselves to protect the self from spreading sadness. This program, in many aspects, tries to focus on the potential of refugees, reveal their strengths, and facilitate them with friendly companionship. Therefore, the researcher concludes that this program can provide a survival effect for urban refugees in Bogor, seen from the many positive aspects obtained, and presents an opportunity for them to be empowered independently in fulfilling their livelihoods.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results, it can be concluded that the resilience of refugees is going well. Each

individual can get positive aspects while participating in the livelihood program, which gives them better survival than the conditions when they first lived in Indonesia. The success of better resilience cannot be separated from the support of family, residents, fellow refugees, and JRS Indonesia in Bogor in their initiative to the program. It is useful for providing self-empowerment from barriers to finding work in Indonesia which can also be applied by other organizations, social institutions, and initiative groups. Up until now, refugees cannot stand alone without social assistance. However, this program proves they can be independent and develop a dignified life.

As an international organization and the government has limited support, this program can be a win-win solution for the Indonesian government in handling refugees to provide economic benefits for refugees and residents. The relationship between refugees and residents from this program also provides a better economic opportunity for both. Therefore, the program implemented by JRS Bogor can be a reference for the government and other international organizations in providing prolonged and sustainable assistance for the survival of refugees in Indonesia during the waiting period for their transfer to other countries.

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