Transforming Lost Time into Migration Capital: Hazara Refugee Social and Cultural Capital Development in Indonesia.

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Abstract

Refugees spend an average of 17 years living in limbo. This time is usually seen by refugees and scholars as 'lost' or 'wasted' time. Pierre Bourdieu theorised time as critical in accumulating social and cultural capital; foundations of socio-economic status. Families with greater economic capital can provide their offspring with more 'time free from economic necessity', enabling activities that will enhance their status (Bourdieu 1986, 246). Time and economic capital are often de-linked by refugee journeys, stripping refugees of economic capital, but leaving an over-abundance of time. This paper uses Bourdieu's work on time and capital to examine how refugees in one community use time during multi-year transit. Based on fieldwork with a single community, this paper argues that, rather than 'wasting' time, members of this community are using refugee time to accumulate social and cultural capital, which some then convert to migration capital and hasten their refugee journeys.

Introduction

A few days before Tahira, a widowed Hazara refugee and mother of two young children, was due to depart Indonesia for Canada she invited me to go shopping with her and some friends. Tahira expected most things to be more expensive in Canada and wanted to buy some clothes before leaving. A group of around 12 or 15 of us set off for Bogor, the regional capital, and one of its fluoro-lit shopping malls. Tahira tried on a seemingly endless range of outfits. Each time she emerged from the fitting rooms she accepted the complements of the posse of fashionable young Hazara women before making her way towards me and asking me how she looks in that outfit. I, in my not-at-all-fashionable pants and shirt replied with asinine complements; 'You look great', 'Lovely' … After an hour or more of this I asked Tahira why she kept seeking my opinion, indicating my plain, practical clothing and pointed out the *fashionistas* she had at her disposal. Tahira took my shoulders in her hands, looked me in the eye and said, 'Would a modern, educated woman in the west wear this?' (Author fieldnotes 4 February 2017)

This shopping trip let me know that I was not the only person conducting research and attempting to understand a social world different to my own. Tahira and the Hazara refugee community in Indonesia were studying me and other western visitors every bit as much as I was studying them. Through their interactions with westerners, they are learning language, clothing, mannerisms, humour and more. They are building both social and cultural capital that they hope will help them succeed in a western country[1]. All members of the community are part way through a journey that they hope will end in permanent residency in a western country such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand or the USA. This journey will entail a minimum of four or five years in Indonesia, and more likely a decade or more – if they are lucky enough to reach their destination at all.

The time spent in search of refuge, in a place outside one's country of origin, but not yet in a country of settlement, is often conceived as 'lost time', both by researchers and by refugees (Drangsland 2020; Simonsen 2018; Jacobsen and Karlsen 2020). Many informants in this study referred to their time in Indonesia as 'waiting', 'stuck', 'wasted' or 'lost time'. The concept of time is a growing focus of forced migration scholarship (Jacobsen and Karlsen 2020; Simonsen 2018; Mitchell 2023). Much of this scholarship addresses the ways in which states use time as a form of migration control – to slow and frustrate refugee mobility, 'stealing' years of their lives (Khosravi 2018; Mitchell 2023, 2; Jacobsen and Karlsen 2020; McNevin and Missbach 2018). Through protracted bureaucratic processes, prolonged or indefinite detention, extended temporary protection, third-country processing, and enforced poverty, states attempt to slow the movement of refugees such that waiting has become a 'fundamental element' of the refugee journey (Rozakou 2020, 25). The risk of conceiving of time in this way, is that refugee lives are viewed as 'simply put on hold', and therefore of little sociological or anthropological interest (Jacobsen and Karlsen 2020, 12).

In this paper I contend that, at least for one community of refugees in Indonesia, the time spent in-between departure and arrival, while certainly marked by hardship, limitation and obstruction, can also be productive time enabling both personal and collective transformation and growth. Members of this community are using their time in displacement to build social and cultural capital, which some are then able to convert to migration capital enhancing their opportunities for resettlement both indirectly (such as through UNHCR resettlement programs) and directly (through sponsored refugee and labour programs). This paper uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and his meditations on time to examine the ways in which

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[1] I use 'western' and 'the west' throughout this article when referring to refugee community members. I am aware that the term is imprecise and comes with a colonial legacy. I use the term however, as it is the term used by members of the community. Community members use the term generally to refer to the countries that they might be resettled to (Canada, Australia, USA and New Zealand). 'The west', when used by members of the community is imprecise, and reflective of the imprecise and 'Nirvana-like' status of 'the west' in the community's imagination. I use 'Global North' when referring to theory and policy work, in line with contemporary scholarship.

refugees in one community bring with them, develop, and mobilise social and cultural capital[2] during extended and uncertain time as refugees in Indonesia in order to both transform this 'lost' time into a resource and to achieve their migration goals. In doing so, I hope to contribute to the understanding of time in refugee studies and problematise the notion that refugee time is necessarily 'lost' or 'wasted'. I hope also to contribute to the already substantial body of work adapting Bourdieu's theory of practice to migration research, with a particular focus on refugee journeys.

The community and method

Indonesia hosts around 13,000 refugees, more than half of whom are from Afghanistan, with smaller numbers from Myanmar, Somalia, Iraq, Sudan, Pakistan and other countries (UNHCR 2022). Indonesia is not a signatory to the *Refugees Convention* and while it typically does not *refoule* refugees if registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), it does not offer any support or status to refugees. Indonesia does not have any domestic mechanisms for processing refugees or responding to their needs, deferring status determination, management and 'care' to the UNHCR, International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) (Missbach 2013). Refugees in Indonesia cannot work or engage in any livelihood activities, and access to education is extremely limited (Sadjad 2022; Brown and Missbach 2016). The UNHCR has little funding to assist refugees in hardship, providing financial assistance to 459 households (UNHCR 2022, 4). Refugees can access community health centres but must pay for medication and can access more advanced health care only if they can pay privately for it. In 2017 the UNHCR advised all refugees in Indonesia that resettlement was not possible for the majority of the population and that, due to funding constraints, Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) was the only assistance refugees could reliably access (Audio recording of community meeting on file with author, 8 March 2017). While a small number of refugees opted for return to Afghanistan in previous years, since the Taliban take-over in August 2021, it is not a viable for option for any Hazara refugees. Refugees in Indonesia are, in the UNHCR's words, '…not able to live a meaningful life until they are resettled, although only a small number will be able to benefit from resettlement' (UNHCR 2022, 5).

Refugees are dispersed across many locations in Indonesia. This study focuses on a community of approximately 3000 Hazara refugees mostly from Afghanistan and a minority from Pakistan living in the Cisarua-Bogor region – approximately 70km south of Indonesia's capital city, Jakarta. I first visited the community in 2013 and have visited once or twice per year since then until the coronavirus pandemic closed restricted travel in early 2020. Between visits and throughout the pandemic, I have maintained frequent contact with many members

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[2] Social capital refers to the relationships and networks that an individual has access to and can mobilise resources through when needed. Cultural capital refers to knowledges and attributes that an individual holds and that may be deployed to their advantage in particular circumstances. The concepts will be explained more thoroughly in the theory section of this paper.

of the community through Zoom, Skype, WhatsApp and Messenger, both calls and text messages. This paper draws on these calls and messages, and on interviews, focus group discussions and ethnographic fieldwork notes made during visits. Pseudonyms are used where the individual preferred that or where they are under 18 years age. Where real names are used, the individual has given consent for this and has seen the paper.

Until Australia launched Operation Sovereign Borders in 2013, Indonesia was a country that refugees would pass through *en route* to Australia by boat (Missbach 2015). The enactment of impenetrable border protection policies by Australia meant a fundamental change in how refugees live in Indonesia. Instead of transiting, refugees now stay in Indonesia for many years (Missbach 2018). In response to this, refugees formed a community and, in 2014, established a school so that their children would receive an education while waiting. At first the community was apprehensive about starting a school, fearing it could jeopardise their refugee applications or breach the delicate toleration of Indonesian authorities (Ali et al 2016). When there were no negative consequences for the group involved in the first school, another soon opened and today there are twelve refugee-run schools in West Java. There are also sporting clubs (football and karate), a women's handicraft group, art classes, a writers' collective and other organised activities. The schools draw on elementary and junior high school curricula from Australia, the UK Singapore and elsewhere usually depending on the location of their primary outside support networks and access to resources. Many of the schools and organisations act as hubs for the community and have attracted significant international attention (see for example Brown 2018, Gelmi and Akhlaqi 2023; Ali et al 2022). Refugees in the community volunteer in a range of roles including as teachers, coaches, managers, finance officers, and social media managers. The schools host meetings with UNHCR, IOM and Indonesian authorities when these organisations want to disseminate information to the community (Fiske 2020). They also host international visitors from Australia, Singapore, Thailand, Canada, USA, UK and more. Most visitors are teachers, researchers, university students, journalists, photographers, musicians and even a professional boxer, who have discovered the schools through their strong social media presence. These organisations, as will be discussed, not only help refugees cope with the uncertainty of in-betweenness, but are critical in the transformation of time to a productive resource in the development of migration-oriented social and cultural capital.

Bourdieu's theory of practice
While Bourdieu's work spanned a broad range of themes and disciplines, it was cohered by his 'theory of practice' in which he outlined a series of related concepts that help explain both individual action (practice) and social structures: field, cultural and social capital, and habitus. These concepts have proved useful in understanding how refugees in Indonesia have transformed time into a resource for the acquisition of greater capital and how their dispositions have changed. Bourdieu (1986) distinguished between social and cultural *resources* and social and cultural *capital* – those relationships, networks, attributes,

demeanours, skills and markers of status that can be converted into advantage; that can assist the holder of capital improve their status. Framing Bourdieu's work on different forms of capital, is his concept of the 'field'; a social world constituted by individuals, groups, institutions and things, and imbued with meaning by its constituents (Wacquant 1989, 44). Each field has its own norms, values and 'rules of the game', that act upon each of us and structure the field itself. While the rules of the game will vary in different fields, every field has a structure of meaning, attaches value to different dispositions and goods, and has norms or rules that guide action. In this way, certain attributes, skills, tastes or relationships may be transformed from 'mere' cultural or social resources in one field, to cultural or social capital in another. Equally, what was a form of social or cultural capital in one field may be reduced in value in another (Erel 2010, 646).

Power is unequally distributed within the field and there are relations of domination and subordination, and struggles for higher status or greater power between individuals and between groups, as well as struggles to preserve or transform the field itself (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 103). Bourdieu's concepts of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital sought to make visible the basis of power inequalities within a field, and the ways in which an individual's status position in the field may change. Individuals, he contended, each have a present position and a potential position and will seek to accumulate and mobilise various forms of capital (power) to attain one's desired position (Wacquant 1989, 40).

Individuals and groups within the field will succeed more or less well depending on their habitus – the degree to which they have internalised and naturalised the rules of the game, the norms, values and mechanisms of that particular field, and the particular composition of their various capitals. Capital and habitus are intimately related to the field and so changing fields, moving into a new field, can mean a devaluing of one's capital and dissonance for one's habitus. As Bourdieu put it, 'when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself "as fish in water", it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted' (Wacquant 1989, 43). Habitus is built through practice (experience), it works below the level of cognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 128). It is encoded within us through our membership (usually inherited) in a particular social world and is finely attuned to, and a product of, the logic, structure and values of that world. Because habitus is the product of a social world, it is not universal. The habitus that makes one feel at home at a football game may not adapt well to a museum or university seminar. Similarly, the habitus developed in Ghazni, Afghanistan, may not be as effective in Cisarua, Indonesia or Toronto, Canada.

Bourdieu's theory assumes a hierarchy, and that members of a social world wish to distinguish themselves from others in their field. His theory is discursively constructed within an economic model and is articulated in terms of 'competition', 'profits', 'capital', 'market', 'yields' and so on. Bourdieu (1986, 244) argues that an individual's habitus is intimately

entwined with the social situation of their birth; habitus is produced first and foremost within the family of origin. Reay (2004, 434-5) explains that when habitus encounters circumstances that replicate existing dispositions, the existing habitus is reinforced. However, when it encounters different dispositions, ones that either raise or lower one's expectations, one's habitus and the dispositions it encompasses are restructured. In this way a 'social trajectory' is manifested and one's social trajectory may enable a very different life to one's current conditions. The notion of social trajectory and strategic position-taking was explored by Bourdieu (1986) primarily within the framework of class analysis and education. People's desire for an improved position within an established class hierarchy guides decisions about what sort of social and cultural capital they seek to acquire, and how they will 'invest' their time (Bourdieu 2000, 208).

While Bourdieu's concepts of social and cultural capital, habitus and social trajectories produce valuable insights to understanding refugee practices between departure and arrival, the desire for economic gain is secondary to the desire for migration and legal status in refugee communities. The forms of capital needed for each (economic or migration gain) likely have significant convergence, but the value refugees place on different types of capital will rest primarily on the capacity for conversion to migration, rather than economic, capital.

Cisarua refugee-run schools as field
The Hazara refugee community in Cisarua, Indonesia may be described as a field of very low power – its core constituents have no legal status, little or no economic capital and bring with them social and cultural resources developed as a persecuted minority in one of the least powerful nations on earth (Barfield 2010, 29; Ibrahimi 2017). Refugees are discursively stripped of agency by the label 'refugee'. Expelled from the nation-state system, refugees are rendered 'speechless emissaries' (Malkki 1996), not because they cannot speak, but because their status means that 'nothing they say matters anyway' (Arendt 1976, 296). Indeed, this is visible in Indonesia where refugees have intermittently protested outside UNHCR offices for several years, with little or no effect so far (Mas'udah and Syafii 2022, 146; Mohammadi and Askary 2022; Joniad 2021). In terms of geopolitics, refugees objectively lack power – wealthy nations of the Global North spend vast sums on ensuring such 'undesirables' are kept out and global refugee policy reflects the concerns and interests of the Global North far more than protection needs of refugees (Agier 2011; Fassin 2012; Oelgemöller 2011). Within Indonesia, the refugees are also in a subordinate position to the Indonesian state, the UNHCR, IOM, and their local hosts.

A powerful thread of refugee studies conceptualises refugees as being reduced to 'bare life' (Agamben 1998, 185) or 'raw humanity', which Arendt (1976, 299) saw as no basis from which to claim rights; 'the world found nothing sacred in the abstract nakedness of being human'. To see refugees as powerless however, would be a mistake. Refugees have been stripped of their symbolic and economic capital (and of the opportunity to rebuild wealth, at least for

now), but they retain social and cultural capacities, different configurations of which will be capital in different fields. Importantly, they retain the capacity and time needed to develop new forms of social and cultural capital throughout the migration process.

All refugees in Cisarua hope for resettlement in Australia, Canada, New Zealand or USA. Their journeys have taken them as far as Indonesia, where they must wait and re-evaluate their options for reaching a resettlement country. Refugees in Cisarua have twin goals: to survive a temporary, even if prolonged, stay in Indonesia despite their rightlessness; and, to achieve resettlement with permanent residence in a third country. This places them awkwardly in their current field and makes the task of successful adjustment to Indonesia more complex than that of a migrant or refugee arriving in a destination country. Members of the refugee community in Cisarua are (generally) resistant to adapting to Indonesian culture and society beyond the minimum required for safety and survival (Masardi 2021, Mohammadi and Askary 2022)[3]. And indeed, they are prohibited from deeper immersion by Indonesian laws which have no pathway to residence or citizenship for refugees and which compel refugees to live on the margins of Indonesian society (Tan 2016; Sadjad 2022). This ambivalence can be seen in both social networks; which relationships refugees seek to establish and nurture, and cultural capital; what attributes, mannerisms and credentials refugees seek to develop while in Indonesia. Refugees in Cisarua, rather than adapting to their current field, prioritise building and constituting their social and cultural capital towards 'the west'. This means that opportunities for social networks with people living in the west are highly valued and sought after, both for the potential to aid in resettlement to that country, and for the opportunity to develop western cultural capital. Few, if any, members of the community have any direct experience of 'the west' and so must model their cultural capital on their imagination of the west – an imaginary built through Hollywood movies, popular culture, news, engagement with international NGOs in Afghanistan pre-migration and through opportunities to engage with westerners while in Indonesia.

Bourdieu (1986, 243) specified that for a social or cultural resource to become capital, it must be convertible in certain circumstances to economic capital. Members of the refugee community in Indonesia may ultimately desire greater economic capital, but that is not their primary driver, rather it is legal or migration capital that they seek – the opportunity to secure lawful permanent residence in a *Refugees Convention* signatory country. They seek to develop social and cultural capital that will aid both in their migration and successful settlement in the west. The social processes enabling and constraining aspiration that Bourdieu described remain astutely relevant, but the status sought is distinct, and influences the value the community ascribes to various relationships and opportunities. Economic wealth, perhaps

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[3] While this reluctance to integrate may be common, there are also examples of deeper integration to Indonesian society such as through marriage (Allagan et al 2020) primarily among Rohingya refugees who share similar religious beliefs and have a connection through cultural heritage as fisher people (McNevin and Missbach 2018).

held by a people smuggler, is generally not desired or envied – if anything, signs of greater wealth among the Hazara community can be viewed with suspicion and function to lower one's status in the community. Similarly, higher status in the local area (such as a landlord, or the leader of a local area) earns some respect, perhaps as a safety and survival mechanism during the time spent in-between, but is not desired by refugees (nor available to them) and they do not model their behaviour or demeanour on them. Whereas a visitor from 'the west', regardless of age or status in their country of origin, is valued for their potential networks and insight into western culture and norms. This is not to say that refugees do not discern between different western visitors, and which relationships are likely to be of greater and lesser value, but all represent an opportunity for exposure to language, culture and exchange.

Friendships with westerners are likely valued by refugees for broader and more complex reasons than I focus on here. It is possible that friendship with westerners carries certain markers of status within the community, and this status echoes colonial legacies as well as Afghanistan's more recent neo-colonial experience and the social and political economy that developed during the period of huge western involvement between 2002 and 2021. Hospitality is a core value among Hazara people and so welcoming outsiders into one's home is in keeping with cultural norms (Marsden 2012). Some friendships may also be based, as they are in many spheres of life, on the simple fact of enjoying one another's company. Bourdieu's work has been criticised as foregrounding self-interest as a driver in action and risking reducing social relationships to transactional exchanges (cf Reay 2004). The relationships between refugees and non-refugees are presented here through the lens of Bourdieu's model of capital, which necessarily foregrounds refugees' migration interests with the result that the potential social and cultural capital acquisition of relationships is emphasised, at the expense of a more holistic account of friendship.

Cultural capital, migration and time
Bourdieu (1986) theorised three different types of cultural capital: embodied, institutional and objectified. Embodied cultural capital is the way in which our status is inscribed in our bodies. It includes our language and accent, our posture and mannerisms, how loudly we laugh and indeed, what makes us laugh. It can be seen in one's confident stride into a formal meeting, or one's awkward, tentative movements in an unfamiliar environment. Bourdieu postulated that embodied cultural capital more commonly works to maintain the status quo; those born into a particular status will be socialised into the norms and behaviours expected from birth onwards, whereas newcomers must observe and learn (Bourdieu 1986, 246). This means that time is a critical factor in accumulating embodied cultural capital. Those born into high status begin the process of socialisation from birth and are guided daily in the development of mannerisms and behaviour. In studying class relations in a non-migrant society, time is directly linked to economic capital and favours wealthier families. Families with greater economic capital can provide their offspring with more 'time free from economic necessity, which is the precondition for the initial accumulation' (Bourdieu 1986, 246); time

that can be spent travelling, studying at university, or undertaking an internship. This is a key difference in refugee communities where time and economic capital have been de-linked.

While most refugees do not have economic capital, they have an over-abundance of time. The fear of 'wasting' time is one of the more corrosive effects of refugeehood, and one of the reasons that time has become a powerful tool of migration management (McNevin and Missbach 2018). Bourdieu (2000, 222) recognised that time is qualitatively different for the 'subproletariat', those people rendered superfluous to capitalist societies' needs; Agier's 'Remnants' (2011, 4). Unlike the creative 'free time' of the artist, or the busy person's 'empty time that has to be "killed"', for members of the subproletariat 'free time' is 'dead time, purposeless and meaningless' (Bourdieu 2000, 222-224). The experience of time and the willingness to invest time in something today, is grounded in the expectation of a causally linked future. Time as a technique of migration management seeks to sever the connection between present and future in the lives of refugees, to make the future so precarious, so unassured that a refugee can no longer see the value of continuing their investment of time in the asylum journey. Refugees may be likened to Bourdieu's subproletariat, who experience 'alienated time' in which they 'are obliged to wait for everything to come from others, the holders of power over the game' (Bourdieu 2000, 237). To make someone wait or haste (Rozakou 2020) 'is an integral part of the exercise of power' (Bourdieu 2000, 228). Scholars have covered the ways in which imposed waiting eviscerates refugee agency, compelling those previously on the move to stop and passively wait for some action from the UNHCR or a government (Drangsland 2020; McNevin and Missbach 2018; Rozaku 2020).

Jacobsen and Karlsen (2020, 8, 12) caution against this view of time, arguing that if migration scholars view time through a means-ends lens, then the time between departure and arrival (or return) 'is condemned to be empty or dead time' and risks reducing migrants to 'passive and powerless victims … whose lives are simply put on hold.' Refugees' lives however, are not on hold during this time. Simonsen (2018, 116), working with Somalis in various locations hoping to reach Europe, argues that 'most people find a way to make that time count, or imbue it with meaning'. For Simonsen's interlocutors, that meaning was 'hope.' For some refugees, those fortunate to be selected for resettlement, this waiting can be an act of heroic defiance, to 'out-wait' the global refugee system, to endure the poverty, hardships and anxiety of immobility (Hage 2009, 4). Refugees seek ways to resist the killing of their time, whether through developing skills of endurance (such as sleeping or exercising), reframing the potentially lost time as a stage on a pathway to achievement, imbued with hope and fear, or, as in this study, through building structures and institutions that transform this potentially 'wasted' or 'lost' time into a resource that enables the development and accumulation of forms of social and cultural capital and knowledge to hasten their journeys.

The refugee-run schools have attracted a considerable flow of western visitors. Some visit just for a day, while others stay for a few days or weeks. A number of university students have

stayed for three months, living with a refugee family and immersing themselves in the community. These visits, whether long or short, encourage community members to develop their English language skills and provide an opportunity to expand their vocabulary and improve their pronunciation and accent. Some individuals have made a particular study of perfecting either a North American or an Australian accent and the vernacular language that goes with it. The learning from these visits go beyond language, to cultural norms and tastes. A 16-year-old boy at one of the schools told me that he 'friends' most visitors on social media, especially university students. He can then continue chatting with them after they have gone, but as importantly, he sees what they post and learns about popular music, television shows and humour. When I asked him why he does this, he said that he imagines himself going to school in a western country and wants a familiarity with other students' cultural reference points, to not know what was trending in the west 'would be so embarrassing' (Interviewed 17 January 2018).

Another young man, Khadim, was resettled to the US in 2017 and won a scholarship to attend a prestigious film school in Los Angeles. He had befriended an Australian film maker while in Indonesia who had mentored him in film narrative and techniques. Khadim made several short films about refugee life in Indonesia aimed specifically at western audiences (see Ghani and Fiske 2019). Upon arrival at the film school, Khadim quickly realised how little he knew about western film history and popular culture. He spent every night for the first several months watching classic cinema such as Hitchcock, Orson Welles and the Wizard of Oz in addition to his class work (Pers. Comm 19 October 2019). He also mentored refugees still in Indonesia about what sort of knowledge they should be developing while there.

Tahira, from the shopping expedition related at the opening of this paper, also passes on her cultural learning since being in Canada. Tahira left Indonesia with several bulging suitcases, five years later when Nusrat was preparing to leave (having been sponsored by a group organised by Tahira), she advised him to bring traditional Hazara and Indonesian 'ethnic' gifts for his white middle-class Canadian sponsors, but to otherwise not shop before leaving as the clothes would not be 'right' for Canada. Bourdieu (1986, 247) theorised that embodied cultural capital was a precondition for obtaining objectified cultural capital – the objects that display one's cultural capital. Economic capital is clearly needed, but knowing *how* to spend one's economic capital, what items to buy to indicate prestige (in Bourdieu's studies) or acculturation and belonging (a greater immediate concern for migrating refugees), relies on an intimate knowledge of the destination culture. Nusrat's limited economic capital may mean he has fewer clothes due to purchasing them in Toronto, but he will have the 'right' clothes to match his middle-class aspirations. He was able to borrow from Tahira's greater cultural capital to know how to spend his limited money to perform well in a western gift economy and in his own successful integration to Canada.

The final form of cultural capital is institutionalised. This is the cultural capital that is underwritten by formal systems, principally the state. Institutionalised cultural capital is the credentials and qualifications such as university degrees or titles that symbolise cultural competence and authority. Institutionalisation of cultural capital bestows a stability and durability that extends beyond the individual. As Bourdieu stated, 'the capital of the autodidact … may be called into question at any time' (1986, 247). A degree from an accredited, recognised institution overcomes this precarity.

This is another point where the ambivalence of refugees to their current Indonesian field comes to the fore. In 2016 Indonesia's President Joko Widodo passed a decree enabling primary school aged refugees to enrol in Indonesian schools (Missbach et al 2018)[4]. Despite this decree, several barriers to refugee children enrolling in Indonesian schools remain, including a lack of support to learn Bahasa language, that the decision to allow children to access schools was made centrally, but the cost of this is devolved to the local government level, and resistance from schools in many areas beyond Jakarta to enrol children (UNHCR 2016; Lau 2021, 22). Enrolment of refugee children in Indonesian schools has been slow. In the six years since the Presidential Decree, and with strong encouragement from the UNHCR, 809 refugee children have enrolled. By contrast, an estimated 1600 refugee children attend unaccredited refugee-run schools (UNHCR 2023; Gelmi and Akhlaqi 2023). I am not aware of any refugee child attending an Indonesian school in the Cisarua-Bogor area.

In discussing education decisions with parents and young people, members of the community have expressed a strong preference for refugee-run schools, despite the formal accreditation that Indonesian education would bring. This has been explained to me by parents as being based in part on a fear that if they integrate too much into Indonesian society, the UNHCR may see them as less vulnerable and this may harm their slim chances for resettlement. The greater reason however, is their reading of geopolitics and their assessment of the value of Indonesian qualifications compared to English language proficiency.

The refugee-run schools are not accredited by any authority, nor are they recognised by any of the destination countries. However, the schools all teach primarily in English, using Hazaragi or other languages only when necessary. English is the language of the most likely resettlement countries and is, as 15-year-old Ali said, 'an international language' (Pers. Comm 17 January 2018) that is more transportable than his native Hazaragi or Bahasa Indonesian. When the refugee schools first started, some parents were unsure of the quality of teaching, but sufficient feedback from families resettled in English-speaking countries, and from

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[4] Presidential Decree 125/2016 addresses refugees' protection needs beyond education, including provisions for the reception of refugees in emergency situations and a framework for the involvement of Indonesian state bodies in the management of refugee populations. It also re-affirms that Indonesia sees itself as a transit country and will not permit refugees free movement, work rights or local integration. For more see: Putri 2022; Kneebone et al 2021; Missbach et al 2018.

interactions with English-speaking visitors or officials, has confirmed the schools' efficacy (Pers. Comm 16 June 2020). The opportunity for their children to learn English is highly valued by parents and potentially overrides other considerations (Pers. Comm 16 January 2018).

In addition to learning English, the schools also provide opportunities for volunteer staff, who are mostly young adults under 30 years, to develop a broad range of cultural competencies and leadership skills[5]. The schools offer roles in finance, administration, public speaking, social media management, sports coaching and more. Again, these roles are not accredited, but they are forms of cultural capital that the community consider will be useful and convertible when they reach a resettlement country.

While the community is largely uninterested in accumulating Indonesian institutionalised cultural capital, they are seeking cultural capital institutionalised by western countries. In the last two years a growing number of refugees are preparing for and taking the US General Education Diploma (GED) tests. Most refugee-run schools now offer GED preparation classes where students support one another, often with assistance from an accredited Australia-based teacher via Zoom, to prepare for the GED tests in English, maths and science (Donohue 2020; Gelmi and Akhlaqi 2023)[6]. The GED test can be taken remotely and at a low cost. Many schools now include the cost of GED tests in their fundraising budgets and pay for their teachers' and older students' testing fees. Their teachers and older students are spending many hours every day, sustained over at least one year, to study for the tests.

The refugee community is making informed and conscious decisions about which sorts of cultural capital they invest their time to accumulate. Refugee parents are opting for the embodied cultural capital of English language proficiency over Indonesian institutional cultural capital of accredited education for their children, while young adults, already proficient in English, are now acquiring US institutionalised cultural capital through the GED. These decisions are made *in-situ* (I am sure no-one in the community was weighing up education options when fleeing Afghanistan for Indonesia) in respect of their own migration desires and a reading of global power relations.

Social capital
Social capital refers to the resources potentially available to an individual through the network of relationships that they have (Bourdieu 1986, 248). The resources need to be mobilisable by the individual in order to become capital, which introduces qualitative elements to the relationship. The relationship needs to be one of mutual recognition, so that, if asked, one will mobilise their resources for the individual (Bourdieu 1986; D'Angelo 2021).

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[5] For more on the range of roles available through schools and the individually and collectively transformative effect this can have see Fiske 2020.
[6] For examples of refugee school GED programs see: https://www.roshanlearning.org/our-stories/ged-support-program or https://www.cisarualearning.com/new-page-2

Social capital, like cultural capital, requires an investment of time. One must put time into maintaining existing relationships as well as into developing an understanding of which prospective relationships might assist one on their social trajectory, or in this case, migration journey (Masardi 2021; Missbach 2015). Bourdieu emphasised the importance of genealogical knowledge for those wishing to climb the French social ladder. Such genealogical knowledge is of little use to refugees in Indonesia, but their depth of cultural capital becomes important in discerning in which relationships to most heavily invest their time.

Refugees are typically analysed as displaced from social networks as much as from place (D'Angelo 2021, 489). While some ties are undoubtedly disrupted or even severed through forced displacement, refugees retain strong relationships and social networks throughout the time in refugeehood (D'Angelo 2021; Kindler 2015). They will also form new relationships and acquire new networks throughout their journeys, with fellow country people, with refugees from other countries and with non-refugees. The development of these social networks is dynamically linked to an individual's cultural capital and can have a profound (even determining) effect on their migration pathway and experiences.

Social capital is crucial throughout refugee journeys. Travel, especially using people smuggling networks, is expensive. Being able to draw on sufficient economic capital through one's social network is enabling of the initial migration. These social networks also often play a role in determining where a refugee will go. Having a little knowledge of the destination, such as knowing there is a Hazara community there already, perhaps having kin, a friend or family member who has already used that route, will influence the decision of where to go (Kuschminder 2017). Sometimes there isn't really a decision to be made, but it is through social networks that the individual found the smuggler, and the refugee simply went where the smuggler could take them. Once in Indonesia, many people have told me the smuggler took them to Cisarua and dropped them on the street. Many Hazaras live in Cisarua and help one another on the basis of ethnic solidarity. Ali, an unaccompanied minor at the time, was living with several other young men and boys in a three bedroom villa when they found a young woman and her brother lost on the street, having just been dropped off by smugglers. They brought the newcomers to their home, fed them and cleared a bedroom for the siblings to share. Ali and his friends helped the newcomers register with the UNHCR, find accommodation and get oriented in Cisarua (Pers. Comm 3 March 2015). Stories such as this are commonplace. The refugee community in Cisarua has strong ties and community members share information with one another about UNHCR or resettlement states' policies and processes, about sponsorships or work or education opportunities. The refugee-run schools, which now function as community hubs, were started by community members coming together and deciding to develop their own initiatives rather than waiting for the UNHCR or another body to provide services to them (Ali et al 2016). These schools in turn, facilitate the development of stronger social ties as people interact on a daily basis, exchanging ideas, skills and recognition.

The schools also enable community members to accumulate social capital beyond ethnic networks. As well as enabling the accumulation of cultural capital, these networks are translatable into economic capital and legal capital. The schools are sustained principally through crowdfunding, drawing almost entirely on the social networks of those who have visited the schools, follow their social media or, have attended talks or film screenings put on by resettled refugees. Many former visitors to Cisarua maintain friendships with members of the community and provide a range of supports to their friends, including money either for unplanned expenses (such as medical costs) or sometimes for ongoing financial support. These social networks have also proved reliable capital when a refugee is resettled and welcomed into a network that assists with education, work, orientation and belonging. Both refugee and non-refugee social networks are now being more directly converted into the community's desired migration capital.

Final conversion to Migration Capital

The accumulated social and cultural capital must ultimately be convertible to migration capital. For the most part, refugees' expanded capitals do not create greater opportunities to access UNHCR resettlement programs. The UNHCR deals with refugees at a population scale (Fassin 2012; Scheel and Ratfisch 2014) and is generally not aware of which individuals within the refugee community are developing migration-oriented social and cultural capital. Embassies capture some of this information at a crude level, through forms that include fields designed to assess a refugee's capacity to settle (language ability, relatives in the place of settlement, work skills), but only *after* a referral from UNHCR (Karlsen 2016). Anecdotal evidence from resettled members of this community indicate that the language, cultural knowledge, skills and social relationships developed in Indonesia are useful upon resettlement, and so are convertible indirectly to migration capital through accelerated integration upon arrival. In earlier years, it was this future utility of knowledge and skills, after resettlement, that drove people. Farij, a student at one of the refugee schools, explained, 'Because we will not stay in this country. Because as soon as we go to the next country, we are going to school, communicate with people and we should speak English. We should not be wasting our time by learning English in a third country' (Pers Comm 17 January 2017). In recent years however, the community has become aware of opportunities to directly convert their social and cultural capital into migration capital through private sponsorship programs to Australia (through sponsored labour migration) and Canada (through its Private Sponsorship of Refugees program).

Canada's Private Sponsorship of Refugees program requires five Canadian citizens or permanent residents to agree to provide orientation and social, cultural and financial support to the sponsored refugee/s for 12 months. The financial requirement, beginning at $16,500 for an individual, and higher for families, is substantial (Cameron and Labman 2020, 10). To sponsor refugees requires a significant social, emotional, time and economic commitment.

The following case study shows how the social and cultural capital acquired through the refugee-run schools in Indonesia is now being converted directly into migration capital.

Amina has been a refugee since she was about 5 years old when she and her family were displaced from Afghanistan to Pakistan. She arrived in Indonesia with her mother and 4 sisters as a 16-year-old in 2015. Amina's maternal aunt and cousins live in Australia, and the family hoped to make it there. However, Australian policy prohibits any refugees arriving in Indonesia after June 2014 from being resettled to Australia (Tan 2016). In 2018, despite having experienced a number of attacks and persistent sexual harassment in Indonesia, the family received a letter from the UNHCR advising them they are not being considered for resettlement and that they should adjust to life in Indonesia or take Assisted Voluntary Return. Amina and three of her sisters were actively engaged in two refugee-run schools as teachers and as students. Through this involvement they had extensive networks both among the refugee community and among visitors. Amina was able to mobilise her social networks to both raise the funds required for sponsorship (over $60,000AUD) and find a group of five middle-class established Canadian families with significant experience sponsoring refugees. Amina and her family now had both the funds and eligible sponsors. They departed for Canada at the end of 2022 and brought a lifetime of refugeehood to a close.

Amina's cultural capital (the ability to speak English, her position as a teacher at a refugee-run school, knowledge of potential migration pathways and confidence to initiate the process) combined with her social capital (knowing people in Canada and Australia and having sufficiently strong relationships with both) enabled her to convert these relationships into economic capital, and ultimately, to migration capital. This has also opened the possibility for others, with many private sponsorships being organised through the collaboration of refugees, Canadians and Australians. Members of the community who have sponsorship and are waiting for their case to be assessed by Canada, then assist others with knowledge about the process, making connections, and completing legal paperwork.

A smaller and newer pathway through a sponsored Labour Mobility Scheme coordinated by Talent Beyond Boundaries is beginning to gain traction in Indonesia (Cousins et al 2019). Refugees can register their resumes to a website that prospective employers in Australia, Canada, the UK and other states can search when looking to hire staff. The program has been granted a number of concessions by states such as waiving labour market testing requirements and provision of travel documents. Employers must guarantee two years full time employment to the refugee and fund resettlement costs.

The rate of resettlement from Indonesia through private sponsorship is accelerating, from around 6% (27 people) in 2020 to 32% (301 people) in 2022 (UNHCR 2022; 2023). While more people finding pathways to safety is undoubtedly a good thing, private sponsorship raises ethical questions about who can access such programs and the degree to which they respond

to the protection needs of refugees, the economic interests of states or act as privately funded alternatives to family reunification (Lehr and Dyck 2020).

Access to refugee migration sponsorship programs rely heavily on social capital – one needs to know people in destination countries who are willing to undertake the significant work required of sponsors. Those social networks are more readily available to those refugees who speak English and have learned enough 'western' culture to build meaningful relationships with westerners. The opportunities to both learn English and meet westerners are concentrated in the refugee-run schools, and so refugees who volunteer in the schools are more able to build the necessary capital and convert this to migration capital. Bourdieu demonstrated that habitus most commonly functions as a form of social closure; '…the structural affinity of habituses belonging to the same class is capable of generating practices that are convergent' and that function to exclude others without 'any collective "conspiracy" or consciousness' (Wacquant 1989, 44). In this way social structures and individuals within these structures tend to reproduce existing hierarchies; relationships of advantage and disadvantage, privilege and exclusion. What school one's children attend, what suburb one lives in, professions and recreations one undertakes all function to draw those from similar social backgrounds together. From the inside, this may feel like 'community', but from the outside it may appear more as exclusion.

This advantaged position draws on pre-migration social locations as refugees with English language capacity and higher levels of education themselves, are more easily able to secure roles in the schools. Conversely, those who were the most disadvantaged within the Hazara community pre-migration, are further disadvantaged in accessing private sponsorship opportunities. Many families in need of international protection have been separated during the migration process. It is expensive (often $5000USD or more per person) to travel from Kabul or Quetta to Indonesia using a people smuggler. Many families cannot afford for the whole family to go and so they send one member of the family, usually the husband/father or eldest son, to make the journey. That man must then seek to reunite the family once he reaches a *Refugees Convention* signatory country. These men are classified by the UNHCR in Indonesia as 'single men' (regardless that most have wives and children in Afghanistan or Pakistan) and are consequently a low priority for resettlement. 'Single' men are also under-represented in refugee-run schools as education activities are primarily designed for children or young adults. If the man has a low education himself and does not speak English, then he is unlikely to find a role as a volunteer in the schools. In this way, without any conscious intention or 'conspiracy', the opportunities to acquire social and cultural capital, and through these, migration capital, are largely closed to this group.

This was not the intention when opening schools (Ali et al 2016). The aim was to provide structure and education for refugee children, but opportunities for private sponsorship have developed organically through the schools and through transnational diaspora networks as

community members get resettled and through transnational non-refugee supporters, in conjunction with the development of greater social and cultural capital. The emerging sponsored labour-migration program ameliorates this to some degree, but the numbers here are small – the UNHCR reports that two refugees have secured employment in Australia and one in Canada (UNHCR 2023). While the initiative of refugees accessing private or complementary pathways out of refugeehood is admirable, such schemes raise substantive ethical questions about the privatisation of refugee protection, vulnerability, and access to resettlement (Lehr and Dyck 2020).

Conclusion

Refugees at all stages of displacement through to permanent resettlement are too often approached as objects of policy and research, viewed as a 'problem' to be 'solved', as passive victims awaiting rescue or as threats to sovereignty to be 'managed' and contained. There is a growing body of work examining refugee agency (cf Brown 2018; Betts et al 2020; Oliff 2022), which is leading to greater academic interest in refugee journeys – the time between departure and arrival. The time spent in-between is a time of hardship, rightlessness and exclusion, but it is also an important time in refugee lives and worthy of greater attention. The case study presented here shows that refugees are not passively allowing time to simply pass them by, but are seeking ways to transform this potentially 'lost time' into something more productive. In transforming time, individuals are transforming themselves and the community as people acquire migration-oriented social and cultural capital, and model their habitus and dispositions towards the imagined 'west'. Members of this refugee community (and I am sure of many more) are 'significant but often invisible actors in the provision of protection and support' (Oliff 2022, 178) for themselves and others in the face of a global refugee system that offers limited protection.

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