Research Paper

SECONDARY CITIES AND FORCED MIGRATION

Accommodating refugees and asylum seeker in Indonesia

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Abstract

Forced migration trend around the world is increasing. UNHCR estimated that more than 65 million people are forcibly displaced in 2015, representing about 26% of all international migrants. In relation to forced migration, secondary cities are also impacted, with many of such cities attract forcibly displaced migrants who view them as more accessible and 'friendly' compared to primary cities. Many secondary cities support the needs of migrants as a first point of entry, shelter, asylum and informal employment. In Indonesia, UNHCR recorded almost 14,000 person-of-concerns in 2015. They are present in about 13 cities, with at least four is considered secondary cities. Although small, the number of forced migrants in Indonesia is expected to increase slowly along with the increasing trend of forced migration around the world. The study explores the capacity of secondary cities in Indonesia in accommodating the influx of refugees and asylum seeker, with Makassar as a case study, using a simplified City Resilience Framework developed by Arup International Development (2015) as a framework. By understanding the system and how it affects displaced people, it is expected that the focus for future improvement that contributes to the city resilience can be identified.

Keywords

Urban refugees, secondary cities, city resilience, Indonesia

1. Global Forced Migration and the Role of Cities

The influx of refugees into countries and cities is an emerging global issue. Doubled over the past two decades. In 2018, there are more than 70.8 million of possibly displaced people worldwide[1], making 1 in every 108 people worldwide forcibly displaced (UNHCR, 2019). Asia and the Pacific alone hosts some 4.2 million refugees mostly from Afghanistan and Myanmar, 2.7 million IDPs and 1.6 million stateless persons. Of this number, two thirds live in urban and suburban areas.

Traditionally, humanitarian actors provide essential services directly to affected population. Working through direct engagement, humanitarian actors often establish parallel structures to deliver their services. However, there is a growing recognition that such approach is no longer appropriate as it can disrupt or undermine existing channels, affect the roles and

responsibilities of local actors, and create tensions with local host communities (IRC, 2017). This needs a change in paradigm, in how humanitarian and development actors work together to support cities to extend their services to the displaced communities.

In 2015 and 2016, countries adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDG) and the New Urban Agenda. More than 40 targets across 15 of the 17 SDGs, including SDG 11 on making cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable, have direct implications to migration. The New Urban Agenda adopts an inclusive urbanization model that considers population movements and promotes and protects the rights of all people, while building on their capacity and responds to humanitarian and development concerns. Meanwhile, in the Global Compact for Migration (GCM) and the Global Compact for Refugees (GCR) adopted by countries in 2018, UN General Assembly acknowledges the role that cities play in migration and refugee management.[2] This includes, for example, a recognition to the need of supporting local authorities, finding new mechanism for local engagement, and identifying new ways of working between humanitarian and development actors.

Cities are responding to these global agreements. Mayors and leaders from around the world gathered at the the 5th Mayoral Forum on Human Mobility, Migration and Development in Marrakech in 2018 to endorse GCM and GCR. Included in the statement is a reaffirmation that "*while acknowledging that immigration is a state prerogative, cities are at the forefront of managing the impact of migration. As first responders, cities constantly innovate and develop pragmatic solutions that can have a positive impact at the national and international levels, and therefore, a structured dialogue with local governments on migration issues at national and international levels is fundamental*" (Marrakech Mayors Declaration, 2018)*.* The endorsement put an emphasis on enabling the economic, social and cultural inclusion of refugees, as well as a non-discriminatory access to services and livelihoods. In many countries, this role is taken on by secondary cities (Cities Alliance, 2017).

Secondary cities will account for the largest share of urban growth in developing Asia in the future (Storey, 2014). Already now, these cities are where 20% of the world's population live (UCLG, 2016). The term is mostly used to describe the second tier in the hierarchy of cities.[3] Countries have different ways in approaching their development, but greater levels of decentralisation, devolution, and autonomy will drive a more competitive, dynamic, and self-sufficient growth (Roberts, 2014). While state policy is important as an enabler, facilitator and competitor, secondary cities are on the frontlines of new urban agendas that drive innovations and new policy initiatives, and this requires a reorientation of research and policy attention (Storey, 2014). However, most are not well-prepared with outdated infrastructure, limited financial capability and institutional capacity posing major challenges. In dealing with the impact of global forced migration, they require support to access technical and financial instruments/assistance from global partners (Cities Alliance, 2018).

With all the aforementioned background, this study intends to understand how cities are responding to the global trend of forced migration. The goal is to explore the capacity of secondary cities in accommodating the influx of refugees[4], with Makassar in Indonesia as a case study. By understanding the urban system and how it affects displaced people, the study is expected to identify the focus for future improvement that contributes to city resilience. This rest of this paper is followed up with the explanation of methodology used, the case of urban refugees in Makassar and how the city provides an example of accommodating urban refugees.

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2. Methodology

This study relies on mix-method approaches. We adopted the city resilience framework developed by ARUP (2015) as it is one of the most comprehensive available frameworks. Makassar was selected because it is a typical secondary city that functions as a major economy and transportation hub in eastern part of Indonesia. The city hosts almost 10% of total refugee population in Indonesia, making it the third biggest refugee-hosting city in Indonesia after Jakarta and Medan.

2.1.   City Resilience Framework

Resilience in this study is used as a concept to understand how different part of the urban systems responds to the impact of forced displacement. Here, resilience refers to "*the ability of the urban system to anticipate, absorb and adapt to shocks and stresses and to respond in ways that preserve, restore or improve its essential functions, structures and identity, while also maintaining the capacity for adaptation and transformation*" (Kirbyshire, et al., 2017)). Urban resilience is a system thinking approach where city is seen as a system or a collection of components that are connected to one another, which may include Built environment, Supply chain and logistics, Basic infrastructure, Mobility, Municipal public services, Social inclusion and protection, Economy, and Ecology (UN Habitat, n.d.).

While several resilience frameworks exist, none explicitly designed for mass displacement, except for a modification of a City Resilience Framework (CRF) originally developed by Arup International Development (2015). CRF outlines 52 indicators under four dimensions of urban resilience: leadership & strategy, health & well-being, infrastructure & ecosystems, and economy & society (*Table 1*). This study is following Kirbyshire, et al. (2017)'s modification of the CRF that clusters the urban system most affected by a rapid influx of displaced people into: Adequate shelter, health care and protection; Basic service provision; Economic development and employment; and Social and political inclusion and community cohesion. As CRF comes with a ready-to-use rapid assessment tool and guideline, we took this advantage by not developing a new assessment tool but instead, making several adjustments that suit and reflect mass displacement context. The final product was used to see how the city fares in each indicator, by giving scores ranging from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high) based on the available data. The result is used to identify the strengths that the city has from resilience point of view and to examine the gaps in welcoming refugees to the city.

2.2.   Data Collection

The study relies largely on qualitative analyses based on desk review, targeted informant interviews and field observations. Desk review and interviews were conducted to understand the implementation of global and national refugee management framework and the role of cities in managing refugees, especially in Makassar. Interviews were conducted to the Mayor of Makassar, Politics and National Unity office (*Bakesbangpol*), Social Affairs Office (*Dinas Sosial/Dinsos*), Education Office (*Dinas Pendidikan/Disdik*), and Health Office (*Dinas Kesehatan/Dinkes*), Local Planning Office (*Bappeda*), Housing Affairs Office, Women and Child Protection Office (*DP3A*), Immigration's Detention House Office (*Rudenim*), IOM Makassar, UNHCR Makassar, Subdistrict Offices, and local NGOs. Observation was conducted at several refugee community houses. At the same time, interviews were conducted to several refugees with different gender, country of origin and duration of stay. The open-ended interviews explore their experience of migration, refugee management and

Health and Wellbeing	Economy and Society
Goal 1. Minimal human vulnerability 1.1 Safe and accessible housing 1.2 Adequate energy supply 1.3 Inclusive access to safe drinking water 1.4 Effective sanitation 1.5 Sufficient food supply	**Goal 7. Reduced exposure and fragility** 7.1 Comprehensive hazard and exposure mapping 7.2 Appropriate codes, standards and enforcement 7.3 Effectively managed protective ecosystems 7.4 Robust protective infrastructure
Goal 2. Diverse livelihood and employment 2.1 Inclusive labour policies 2.2 Relevant skills and training 2.3 Dynamic local business development and innovation 2.4 Supportive financing mechanisms 2.5 Diverse protection of livelihoods following a shock	**Goal 8. Effective provision of critical services** 8.1 Effective stewardship of ecosystems 8.2 Flexible infrastructure 8.3 Retained redundant capacity 8.4 Diligent maintenance and continuity 8.5 Adequate continuity for critical assets and services
Goal 3. Effective safeguards to human life and health 3.1 Robust public health systems 3.2 Adequate access to quality healthcare 3.3 Well-resourced emergency medical facilities 3.4 Effective emergency response services	**Goal 9. Reliable mobility and communications** 9.1 Diverse and affordable transport networks 9.2 Effective transport operation and maintenance 9.3 Reliable communication technology 9.4 Secure technology networks
Economy and Society	Leadership and strategy
Goal 4. Collective identity and community support 4.1 Local community support 4.2 Cohesive communities 4.3 Strong identity and culture 4.4 Actively engaged citizens	**Goal 10. Effective leadership and management** 10.1 Appropriate government decision-making 10.2 Effective coordination with other government bodies 10.3 Proactive multi-stakeholder collaboration 10.4 Comprehensive hazard monitoring and risk assessment 10.5 Comprehensive emergency management
Goal 5. Comprehensive security and rule of law 5.1 Effective systems to deter crime 5.2 Proactive corruption prevention 5.3 Competent policing 5.4 Accessible criminal and civil justice	**Goal 11. Empowered stakeholders** 11.1 Adequate education for all 11.2 Widespread community awareness and preparedness 11.3 Effective mechanisms for communities to engage with the city government
Goal 6. Sustainable economy 6.1 Well-managed public finances 6.2 Comprehensive business continuity planning 6.3 Diverse economic base 6.4 Attractive business environment 6.5 Strong integration with regional and global economies	**Goal 12. Integrated development planning** 12.1 Comprehensive city monitoring and data management 12.2 Consultative planning process 12.3 Appropriate land use and zoning 12.4 Robust planning approval process

Source: Arup International Development, 2015

Table 1. Dimension, Goals, and Indicators of City Resilience Framework

arrangement (e.g. protection, living arrangement, etc), access and use of public and social facilities, economic and social participation, and experience of spaces in Makassar. Special care was given to interviews with minors to ensure consent are given by guardians.

2.3. Limitation of Study

Several limitations were identified during the study. *First*, although the City Resilience Framework by ARUP has been used in many cities around the world as a practical tool to assess city resilience (see for example works by 100 Resilient Cities pioneered by the

Rockefeller Foundation), its use to assess resilience in the context of mass displacement is limited. Kirbyshire, et al. (2017)'s attempt to 'translate' the tool for mass displacement context is limited to conceptual modification and this research is perhaps one of the first attempts to use the modified tool in practice, especially in the Asia and the Pacific region. As such, we acknowledge that the process of experimenting with the tool is still ongoing and there will be more discussions necessary before it can be used more appropriately to assess how cities can be better prepared in the future to deal with mass displacement. Moreover, due to limitation in resources, the assessment in the research was done by researchers, not through collaborative effort of relevant stakeholders as the tool was intended to.

Second, while there has been several papers, reports, and discussions available on urban refugees internationally, such literatures on Indonesia, and Makassar in specific, is very limited. It resulted in heavy reliance to interviews and observation results, and thus, affecting the quality of data triangulation. We acknowledge researcher bias during the study design, data collection, analysis and report writing. Moreover, confirmation bias may happen as the researchers form a hypothesis or belief and uses respondents' information to confirm that belief. To reduce such bias, researchers went through an iterative process of discussion and reflection throughout the research process. *Third*, while the government, international organisations and other relevant stakeholders in Makassar are open to discussion, several key information was not accessible at the time of the research. This includes for example demographic profile of the refugees, guideline for selection of community house or other guidelines related to refugee management by international organisations in-charge. Such information was obtained through interviews and triangulated only by iteration of the same information by different stakeholders and/or local news records.

3. Refugees in Makassar

Indonesia has been hosting refugees from overseas since 1975 with the arrival of Vietnam and Cambodia refugees. While it is a non-signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Refugee Protocol, the Government of Indonesia (GOI) cooperates with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and various organizations to serve and find solutions for international refugees transiting in Indonesia. In 2016, GOI set its first legal framework on refugee protection, a Presidential Decree on Handling of Refugees from Overseas (Perpres No.125/2016). The regulation acknowledges the "refugee" status and stipulates the protection of refugees while they temporarily stay in Indonesia. The policy to separate refugee cases with human trafficking cases and to honour the principle of non-refoulment is regarded as a good approach in refugee management (Ansori, et al., 2017). The regulation also sets that the budget for handling refugee issues is from state budget through relevant ministries and other unbinding sources. The following section describes the current situation of refugees in Makassar and how the city elements responded to the situation, based on field interviews in April and June 2019.

3.1. General overview

Makassar is the capital city of South Sulawesi province with a population of 1,653,386 in 2015 and annual growth rate of 4.11% (Makassar Local Planning Agency, 2015). The city has been a hub since Gowa Kingdom opened its ports for international traders back in the 16-17th century and the port developed to be the main trading gate to eastern part of the

country (Marihandono, 2008). According to the Spatial Plan 2015-2034, the city envisions to be "A liveable world city for all". Makassar was awarded the second most innovative city in Indonesia in 2018 by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Meanwhile, the governor of South Sulawesi was received an award in 2016 from the Minister of Law and Human Rights for superior efforts of the Makassar immigration authorities in "supervising foreigners".

Since 2015, the city government has an annual MOU with International Organisation for Migration (IOM); the first city in Indonesia to do so. The legal framework allows IOM to work with relevant city offices, such as *Bakesbangpol, Dinsos, Disdik,* and *Dinkes*, for provision of services and protection to refugees in the city. The government opens the access to existing services for refugees, especially education and health care. The government also allow linkage to existing system for other public services and infrastructure such as energy, clean water, wastewater and waste management, transportation, public spaces, and others. However, with the absence of the operational guidelines of the Perpres No.125/2016 at the local level, the city is unable to allocate special budget for refugee management, and as such limits the government ability to be more actively involve. Currently, the budget is not separated from budget for pro-poor policy and programs (*Bappeda* Interview, 18 June 2019).

As of June 2019, there are 1,813 refugees living in Makassar (IOM Interview, 21 June 2019). Majority received allowance and assistance from IOM, which include provision of community housing and facilities, support to access health services, basic education for children, and skills building programmes for youth and adults. A small number of refugees (37 people in June 2019) do not receive IOM assistance because they arrived in Makassar after 15 March 2018, which as per IOM internal policy, are not eligible for assistance. They are living independently, with limited support from local organisations or individuals. Meanwhile, UNHCR provides protection-related support while processing their refugee application.

3.2.   Shelter and basic services

There are 26 community houses or shelters in Makassar where refugees live. They were formerly functioned as rented rooms for college students or workers, spreading in 8 out of 15 districts in Makassar. Buildings are mostly two storeys or higher, located within settlements of local communities or small-scale business areas. Each shelter houses refugees from different country of origins. Based on observation, there are two types of community house according to the demography of the building occupants, i.e. female-only and mixed family-and-single male. All shelters are equipped with electricity, water and sanitation systems. Occupants received limited quota for electricity and paid for their excess bill, while other utility fees are paid by IOM through shelter management. Quality of the shelters vary, but all are accessible to local market, health care facilities, schools and. Some shelters are shown decreasing standard of quality services, such as deteriorated water and sanitation quality, bad air circulation, lack of common spaces and open spaces.

The room is usually designed for two people (or more if children), with beds, AC, cupboard and a bathroom. Family with children can have more than one room depending on the number of the children. Some shelters also provide TV in common areas, although some own TV in their room. Most shelters have kitchen for communal use. In the shelter with no communal kitchen, families cook inside their rooms. Washing machine is available in the common area, but some occupants buy their own machine and do laundry inside their room. It is common for refugees to have smartphones to communicate with their families or friends. Some shelter provides internet connection for free, some refugees pool resources to

provide it on their own, while some others use mobile connection. Refugees are not allowed to have a driving license and affordable public transportation in Makassar is lacking. Bicycles and walking are the common mode of transportation, although some reported a sense of insecurity due to accident or crime. Only male refugees use bicycles, female refugees walk or take public transportation. Pedestrian ways are only available in the city centre, so those living in areas with high volume of traffic are prone to accidents.

3.3.   Healthcare and Education

On healthcare service, refugees under IOM protection receive service at the same standard of healthcare service as majority Indonesian, delivered by local community health centre (Puskesmas). Puskesmas also provides vaccines, pregnancy check-up, and regular educational session on health-related topics. Puskesmas will refer refugees with serious medical cases to appointed hospitals depending on the type and complexity of the case after obtaining IOM approval. Healthcare for refugees has not yet linked with public healthcare system under JKN (National Health Insurance) program because it is unclear who will pay for the monthly membership fee and which insurance plan's category the refugees will fall into. However, IOM Makassar created a program parallel to JKN membership scheme, where refugees are provided with basic health services at the same rate as JKN rate with IOM covering the fee. Inpatient treatment is covered under the basic coverage but can be upgraded at the patient's request and own funding. A medical team in IOM is assigned to oversee the overall healthcare activities.

In education sector, Makassar government and IOM now agreed to provide early childhood education and basic education for refugee children, allowing them to go to public school for free subject to available slots in the schools. Several refugees attend private high school with scholarship from the school. Currently there are 17 primary and secondary schools accepting refugees, although there is no accessible data on the number of refugee children attending school. Some students reported dropping out due to bullying, language barrier, or high transportation cost. Responding to the situation, some refugees organized informal classes for children in shelters, including a non-formal school in one shelter. IOM also engage Indonesian volunteers to teach informal classes at some shelters, both for children and adults. Meanwhile, UNHCR accommodates refugees through *Kejar Paket*, an existing non-formal public education system that follows the national curriculum. There is still no solution to the challenge of providing higher education, except through informal vocational trainings provided by *Disdik* and local NGOs who collaborate with UNHCR and IOM. While organized quite regularly, refugees reported that it is not sufficient.

3.4.   Economy and employment

Pertaining to Indonesian regulation, working is strictly forbidden for refugees. All refugees under IOM care received monthly allowance of around $100 USD per adult and $40 USD per child. They use it for daily basic needs, such as food, drinking water, personal hygiene, transportation and communication fees. Some received support from family members abroad, some engaged in informal economic activities, some others utilize technological advance to engage in e-commerce activities. Those not under IOM care are relying on their family members who are already under IOM care, individual donations, or support from local NGOs. Meanwhile, the city government acknowledge that the allowance is below the local salary standard (UMR) and deemed insufficient. In an interview with the Mayor, he stated that Indonesia needs to explore an innovative policy to allow refugees to work as working is

a form of self-actualization and can contribute local economy and social development. However, the Mayor limited the possibility to certain professions such as blue-collar jobs (Mayor Interview, 29 June 2019).

3.5.   Leisure and social life

Based on observation, refugees spent majority of their time at shelters, in their rooms. This is especially true for the elderly, children who are not at school or any other educational activities, and women with family. Interactions among occupants vary depending on the shelter design and homogeneity of country of origin in the shelter. We observed more interaction among occupants in shelters with common spaces and kitchen.

Field observation showed that compared to those living in business or mixed-use area, refugees living in shelters located in residential areas have more chance to interact with locals and generally have better impression of the host communities. Women have more motivation to interact with local housewives or sellers in the market, while children who go to public school made friends with Indonesians. Young, male refugees venture outside of the shelters more often than female refugees, for example to play football with their local friends, go to gym or other sports facilities, parks, malls or local markets. Female refugees usually go out to the local markets or shopping malls, rarely beyond that. Going out for outing, even to nearby beaches, is very rare and some reported negative experience with crime or accident.

Refugees are bound to *Rudenim's* regulation on movement. They can leave the shelter from 5 or 6 am and should be back before 10 pm. Staying overnight requires permit that can only be obtained at the *Rudenim* office in Gowa Regency, about 45 minutes from Makassar city centre by car. Refugees must report once a month to *Rudenim*, which can be done through the shelter management or *Rudenim* staffs placed in several shelters. Political and social association are not allowed. Hence, refugees who staged protest at IOM or UNHCR offices to demand for faster resettlement processes or other demands are at risk of being detained in the Detention Center (IDC) managed by *Rudenim* in Gowa Regency. Moreover, refugees can be detained in the IDC if deemed as causing public disturbance, which can be interpreted in the broadest sense. The length of detention is at the discretionary of the *Rudenim* Head.

4. Discussion

This section provides the results of an assessment on Makassar city resilience in facing refugee issue as a new type of stress to its urban system (Figure 1). In general, the assessment showed that in managing the influx of mass displacement in Makassar, *minimizing human vulnerability* has the highest score among resilience goals. Meanwhile, the lowest score is the goals related to livelihood and employment, security and rule of law, economy, exposure and fragility, critical services, and integrated development planning. The following part provides explanation on these resilience goals within the clusters of urban system most affected by mass displacement as described in Section 2.1.

4.1.   Adequate shelter, health care and protection

The highest scores for minimizing human vulnerability and safeguards to human life and health (Indicator 1.1, 1.5, 3.1-3.3, 5.1) showed that fulfilling basic needs is the first priority for the relevant stakeholders, including the city government, and our research showed that
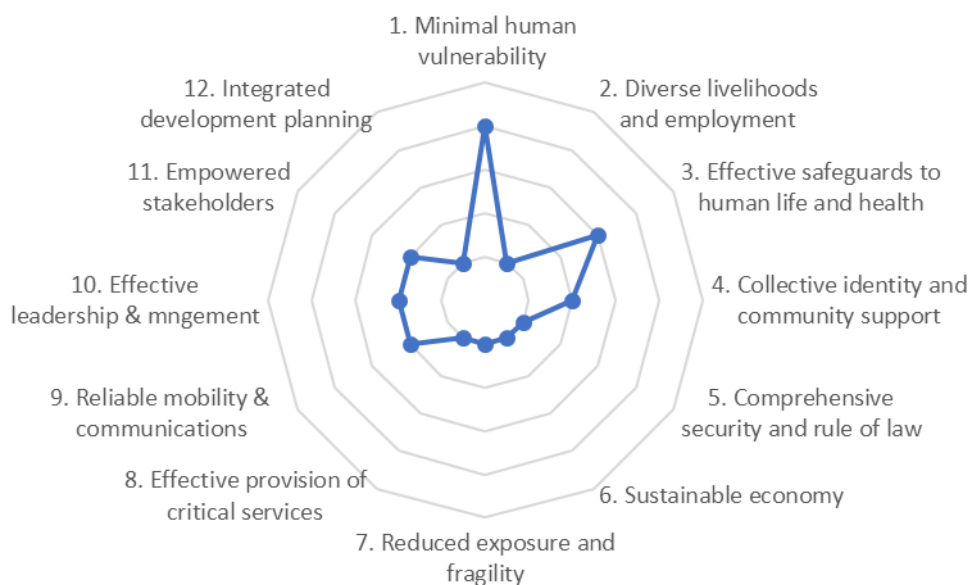
Source: Analysis

Figure 1. Scoring of Makassar City Resilience in Refugee Management based on CRF Indicators

this priority has been met well. It is important to note that this is possible because the government received a high degree of support from IOM that enable the majority of refugees staying in Makassar to afford food, shelter and health care. Linking health care for refugees to existing public system also enables affordable services that will otherwise boost the healthcare cost for the refugees if they were to access private services. Problems are evident for those who are not under IOM care. If the number increases, the city government must find ways to support them.

Related to protection, there are three relevant city resilience indicators: effective systems to deter crime, competent policing, accessible criminal and civil justice (Indicator 5.1-5.3, and 5.4). The scores are lower as security and rule of law in Makassar is somehow understood as a responsibility of *Rudenim. Rudenim* is a part of the national government system, hence city government has no influence over their decision even though related city elements (police, *Bakesbangpol*) are involved. Missbach, et al. (2018) noted that treatment of refugees and asylum seekers in Makassar remains imbued with security and surveillance motives. In the absence of a clear and transparent mechanism to other city stakeholders, the approach to security and rule of law is prone to subjectivity of *Rudenim* officials. This increases the vulnerability of refugees who got caught up in the system. It is to note that one aspect of protection, that is protection to women and children rights is linked to the city's mechanism. The Integrated Service Centre for Women and Child Protection (P2TP2A) will handle cases of, for example, domestic violence, harassment, child abuse before *Rudenim* intervenes.[5]

4.2.   Basic service provision

This cluster includes indicators on basic infrastructure and services, such as water supply, electricity, drainage and sanitation, other utilities, environment, transportation, communication, building codes, green ecosystem, and public finance. The scores are higher for indicators related to physical infrastructure and services (Indicator 1.2-1.4, 7.2-7.3, 8.2,

9.1-9.3), because they are basically provided by IOM who must conform to a certain internal standards and city regulation. Moreover, the infrastructure and services are connected to the city-wide system, with either IOM pays the fees directly to the utility providers or the refugees themselves pay for the cost of transportation and communication which are still affordable. The score is lower for public finance indicator (6.1) as the city do not have financial mechanism to provide budget for infrastructure and services for refugees. This is not a problem for now with IOM supporting the city government but may be a problem in the future should the number of refugees outside IOM care increases.

4.3.   Economic development and employment

All relevant resilience indicators in this cluster (Indicator 2.1-2.4, 6.3-6.5) have the lowest scores because of the Indonesian policy that prohibits refugees to work. Higher scores were given to indicators related to informal economy considering the reality that some refugees are engaged in informal activities among themselves or with local community. This shows that Makassar has, to some degree, rather adaptable economy albeit informal and people can find alternative to engage in livelihood activities. The Mayor's personal view on possibility of work for refugees also showed a positive intention that can encourage economic integration in the future should the national policy direction changes.

4.4.   Social and political inclusion and community cohesion

There are several topics covered under this cluster. Education indicator (11.1) has the highest score because refugees have the same access to basic education as Indonesians, albeit various limitation in practice. Our analysis showed that all stakeholders put education as one of the highest priority services to be made available, and this priority has been met well. Makassar became of the first cities to open its public schools to refugee children. Moreover, international and local organizations also worked to fill the gap through informal or non-formal education, including vocational skills building to those who cannot enter public education system. Indicators related to governance (10.1-3) scores higher considering the overall response of the local government in welcoming refugees in Makassar. The first key decision of the then-mayor to establish a working MOU with IOM and to take collaborative approach, both with internal and external stakeholders, are the main driver behind all the advances behind the city's refugee management approach.

On the other hand, indicators related to community support and social participation (Indicator 4.1-4.4, 11.3) score lower for several reasons. The ability of refugees to build community cohesiveness and social support among them is heavily influenced by shelter design and distribution of occupants in the shelters, as people are more likely to feel supported by others who come from similar background. Although refugees have access to public spaces, sports facilities, and other open spaces in the city and they regularly interact with host communities, their movement is relatively restricted and closely monitored by the authorities. This resulted in limited expression of identity, either individually or in group, and thus limited overall social participation. In this sense, while the city has 'control' over physical spaces in which refugees can utilize for social purposes such as leisure or interaction with others, it barely has influence over the social spaces in which the refugees can actively engage, express opinion and participate in the larger society.

There are several other indicators that are given the lowest score because they were hardly mentioned by any of the stakeholders during the interviews nor showed up in any documents discussing refugees in Makassar. They include indicators related to disaster management preparedness, response and contingency plan (2.5, 3.4, 6.2, 7.1, 7.4, 8.3-5, 9.4, 10.4, 10.5, 11.2) and integrated development planning (8.1, 12.1-4). This indicates that the topics are not considered relevant nor important for the stakeholders when discussing refugees. The current development planning process and output in Makassar has not seen refugees as potentially posing additional stress to the existing urban system.

5. Conclusion

In this study, we have shown how the framework of city resilience can be used to to measure the relevance of urban resilience framework with urban refugee case in Makassar.

The study found that in managing the influx of refugees, Makassar has several strengths that the city can leverage on: 1) the early decision to link public service provision to refugees with existing system in the city; 2) the decision to work with IOM and secure its support on shelter and assistance to refugees; and 3) collaborative approach, good internal coordination, and welcoming culture of the city leaders. These points hold the key to good refugee management in the city, which indicates the ability of the city to adapt and respond to stress. The study also identified gaps that the city can focus on to improve their urban resilience in the context of mass displacement: transparent and accountable mechanism in enforcing security and rule of law, exploring alternatives to livelihood activities for refugees within the boundary of national regulation, financing mechanism for refugee management outside of IOM support, encouraging the creation of social space where refugees can express themselves more freely and participate more in the society, and include refugee management discussion in the city development planning process and outcome. Addressing these gaps, however small, will reduce the vulnerabilities of refugees when transiting in Makassar and help the city to be more resilient in the future.

Furthermore, the exercise that we conducted on Makassar can be extended in other refugee-hosting cities with similar situation. This is especially considering that all around the world, cities are at the forefront of the global response to the increasing impact of forced migration. Thus, developing a methodology that integrates urban resilience framework that is adaptable to urban refugee phenomena will be essential.

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[1] This includes refugees, asylum seekers, and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

[2] While GCR recognizes the important role that cities play, it does not detail how it should work at the local level. For an analysis of key components in GCR that are relevant to cities, see Brandt & Henderson (2017)

[3] Roberts (2014) noted that there are three broad spatial categories of secondary cities: Sub-national cities that are centres of local government, industry, agriculture, tourism and mining; City clusters associated with expanded, satellite and new town cities surrounding large urban metropolitan areas; and Economic trade corridors that are growth centres planned or developing along major transport corridors. The characterization can also be based on its function and integration in a system of cities.

[4] Going forward, the term "refugee" in this research refers to refugees, asylum seekers and stateless persons, and excluding IDPs, illegal migrants, or other people of concern

[5] In Indonesia, Makassar is regarded as an advanced city in programming in child protection system although agencies working at the primary level (prevention) and secondary level (early detection) are still lacking (Save the Children, 2018)