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Placemaking as a Catalyst for Refugee Social Integration: Insights from an Action Research Project in Makassar, Indonesia

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Abstract

There is a rising global number of forced displacements in urban settings, making social integration one of the durable solutions to fend off undesired impacts. This paper discusses insights from the 2019 action research project on social integration between refugees and local youths in Makassar, Indonesia's third-largest refugee host city. Indonesia is a transit country that refugees often use as part of their migration routes. They live for years in cities while waiting to be resettled, without the right to work, with limited access to basic services, and alienated from the local communities. Aiming to tackle social integration concerns, this action research project employed a placemaking methodology to catalyse social integration between youth refugees and the locals. Placemaking facilitates the co-creation of meaningful shared living spaces and encourages positive interactions. This action research used three primary experimental methods: *Kikigaki* (listen-and-write), *Machiaruki* (town walking), and organising a 'Mini Festival'. These methods successfully stimulated positive interactions and collaborations. However, the aim to 're-make places' in the long term to foster new shared identities could not occur due to the temporary nature of refugees' living space. The insights discussed in this paper are based on four significant aspects during research alteration and activity design: spatial features, participant profiles, group dynamics, and facilitators. The study highlighted the significance of shared spaces near refugee shelters in fostering interaction between refugees and host communities.

Keywords: placemaking, refugees, action research, social integration

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1. Introduction

By the end of 2019, there were 79.5 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, of which around 30 million were refugees and asylum-seekers (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2020). Only 107,800 were resettled to ‘third countries’; the rest were repatriated, living in camps or urban areas (UNHCR, 2020). Among these internationally displaced persons, Indonesia hosts 13,653 people who fit the UNHCR’s criteria. These people include refugees, asylum-seekers, and stateless persons (UNHCR, 2020), primarily coming from Afghanistan and Somalia. As a non-signatory country to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, Indonesia has become a transit country, where refugees largely live in several cities, waiting to be resettled for years. During these terms, refugees are not legally permitted to work and have limited access to shelter, healthcare, education, and other social services.

The 2016 New Urban Agenda, the 2018 Global Compact for Migration, and the Global Compact on Refugees state cities' role in migration management. These treaties recognise the need to support local authorities and find new local engagement mechanisms. They also acknowledge the importance of looking at local integration as a durable solution to forced displacement. Despite issuing the first legal framework on refugee protection in Indonesia in 2016—the Presidential Decree No. 125 on Refugee Management—local governments still face challenges in operationalising this mandate. There is also a limited public discourse on the role of local government and communities in refugee management. Consequently, public support for better refugee management is virtually nonexistent.

The social relationships formed between refugees and their host communities are an essential part of refugee integration, as discussed by Beresneviėiûtė (2003), Ager and Strang (2008), and Strang and Quinn (2019). However, these studies are based on ‘third country’ resettlement cases, so particular suggestions are irrelevant for transit countries such as Indonesia. Studies in transitory contexts are limited, highlighting the need to expand the existing social integration concept for refugee management in transit countries.

This paper is based on a research project that explores the possibility of social integration between refugees and host community youth in Indonesia as a transit country, primarily through placemaking activities. This paper follows previous studies that have suggested the place's significance in social integration (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015; Huizinga & van Hoven, 2018; OECD, 2018; Oduntan & Ruthven, 2020). The project activities were conducted over a seven-month period in 2019. The goal of introducing placemaking was to create a meaningful, shared living space that encourages positive interactions between refugees and host communities. In the long term, this placemaking process is expected to help shape a new shared identity among the youth, fostering a more tolerant and cohesive community. This paper discusses insights gained through the development of the study’s methodology, which utilised action research as its primary approach.

2. Placemaking for Social Integration

Placemaking is a collaborative process that reinvents public spaces into shared places (Project for Public Spaces, 2018). It initially emerged in the 1960s as a new method aimed at transforming public spaces in response to changes catalysed by industrialisation, suburbanisation, and urban renewal; the impacts of these changes included a focus on efficiency and aesthetics as well as auto-centric planning. Placemaking advances a human-centred approach, where the interactions between people, place, and their identities define the research program and design of public places. It aims to connect communities and

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neighbourhoods, support health, safety, and economic revitalisation, promote environmental sustainability, improve social justice, and, at its most basic, improve the community's quality of life (Silberberg, 2013). However, many placemaking practices limit public interaction to the early stages of the process while implementing top-down developments afterwards, making the initial purposes unattainable.

In recent placemaking method implementation, community engagement is key to the most successful initiatives. This engagement method aims to focus on the participants' perceptions during the collaborative process rather than on creating the space itself. It is a continuous process that allows reciprocal relationships between the space being reshaped and the people involved (Silberberg, 2013; Guma et al., 2019). It aims to reshape a place in ways that reflect the participants' values, while encouraging community interaction. This recursive process promotes social integration in diverse communities (Ward-Lambert, 2014; Phillimore & Pemberton, 2016; Tsakalakidou, 2017; Guma et al., 2019).

Urban refugee studies highlight the notion of place and its importance in refugees' experiences. Such studies have highlighted the role of negotiation between the strong connection and associated traumas to the places refugees have left behind, as well as the possibilities of constructing new meanings for their current living place (Brun, 2001, in Sampson and Gifford, 2010). In this liminal state, Gill (2010) describes four stages of the ideal placemaking process for migrants: (1) A common agreement of migrants to project a common identity within a 'place'; (2) The creation of migrants' representative places; (3) The positive reception of the receiving community organisation; (4) A feeling of affinity between new migrants and existing migrant spaces. These four stages are conducted in a continuous loop rather than a linear process. However, this framework does not mention the interactions between refugees and host communities that foster common values in a shared place, where placemaking could play a critical role as a trigger for improved social integration between the two communities.

Refugee studies have discussed 'Placemaking' as an approach which helps understand the relationship between place and well-being (Sampson & Gifford, 2010); the interaction between environmental and social spheres (Ward-Lambert, 2014; Strunk & Richardson, 2017); the local responses to refugees and migrants (Guma et al., 2019; Phillimore & Pemberton, 2016); the cultivation of identity and belonging (Alwan, 2016; Denov & Akesson, 2013); and as a method in practices to create an inclusive public space in a diverse neighbourhood (Tsakalakidou, 2017). However, most Placemaking studies and practices have taken place in refugee camps and 'third countries', while their use in the context of refugees in transit countries has been limited. Moreover, the methodology, required skill set, and expertise to succeed in placemaking are rarely discussed.

3. Site Selection and Recruitment

The research took place in Makassar, the third-largest refugee host city after Jakarta and Medan, in 2019. As of June 2019, there were 1,813 refugees living in Makassar (International Organization for Migration [IOM] Interview, 21 June 2019). The majority of refugees in Makassar received assistance from the IOM, except for a small number (37 people in June 2019) who were not eligible for any assistance and were living independently, with limited support from local organisations and individuals. In 2019, individuals under IOM assistance resided in approximately 26 community houses in 8 out of 15 districts. Buildings are mostly two stories or higher, located within residential or small-scale business areas. All of those community houses have reasonable access to local markets, health facilities, and schools.

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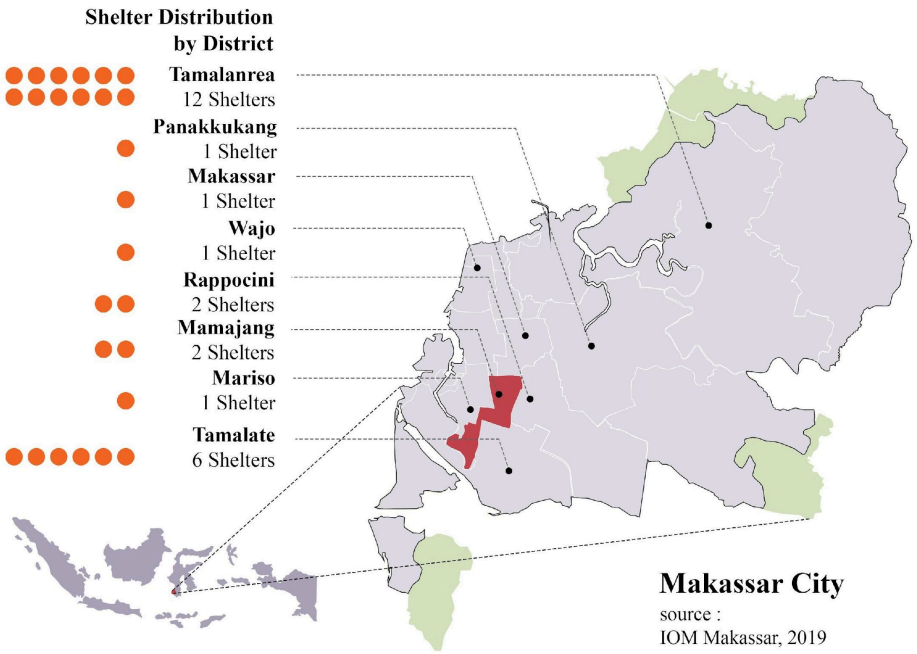

Figure 1. Shelter Distribution by District in Makassar City

Source: Adapted from IOM Makassar, 2019

Of the eight districts where the community houses are located, two districts (13 shelters) were excluded from the initial selection due to their peri-urban characteristics, meaning there was less proximity between the refugee and host communities. The other 13 community houses were chosen using following criteria employed for the final selection: 1) availability of eligible participants in both refugee and host communities, 2) the built environment, which should allow for some form of interaction between refugees and host communities, 3) the availability of public space, and 4) potential to obtain permits from the sub-district office and community leaders to conduct research. Considering these criteria, Mamajang Dalam Ward, which hosts a refugee community housing, Wisma Maysara, was selected as the research site.

Mamajang Dalam Ward covers an area of 0.19 km^2, with a density of 17.6 people/km^2 and a population of 3,300 in 2019, 21% of which are youth between 13 and 24 years old (Badan Pusat Statistik [BPS], 2019). The ward is divided by a major road, with one cluster being a more affluent area than the other, located by a small canal comprising semi-permanent housing structures. Wisma Maysara, an IOM-designated community house for family and single male refugees, was in a residential area on the canal's side. The two different groups of refugees were placed in separate buildings connected by a small play area for children. The shelter accommodated around 110 refugees in January 2019, of which over 65% were between 13 and 24 years old. The gated house was guarded 24 hours by security staff employed by the Makassar Detention Centre, with the gate open for visitors between 6 am and 10 pm every day. Mamajang Dalam Ward Office is in the centre of the neighbourhood where Wisma Maysara is located and was assessed as potentially having an appropriate space for public interaction between refugees and the local community.

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Figure 2. Mamajang Dalam Ward and Wisma Maysara

This research targeted female and male youth participants aged 15 to 24, based on the assumption that they are at a critical stage of identity development where they explore roles, abilities, beliefs, and values (Khanna, 2014). Participants were recruited through open recruitment calls and the distribution of pamphlets and flyers posted on announcement boards at the selected community house and neighbourhood public spaces. Meanwhile, the field facilitators and volunteers were recruited through open recruitment calls, distributed through our network, social media, and word of mouth.

4. Developing the Methodology

This study develops an experimental methodology that contributes to the limited literature on placemaking in the context of refugees in transit countries. We identified youth as a useful bridge between refugees and host communities. The project methodology enables us to observe youth interactions while closely examining the main elements involved in our framework: identity and place. Using action research, we introduce two main experimental methods as part of the methodology: *Kikigaki*, or Listen-and-Write, and *Machiaruki*, or Town Walking.

4.1. Action research as an approach to social inquiry

Action research is a methodology that aims to integrate research with participants' actions. The central purpose is to catalyse change by researching and taking action simultaneously. Lewin (1946, in Kemmis et al., 2014) described action research in terms of a cycle of steps that involves planning changes, implementing these plans, observing their effects, and re-formulating research plans in light of these changes.

Somekh (2006) provides eight methodological principles for action research. Included within these principles is the implementation of a collaborative partnership between researchers and participants, which enables each individual to engage and contribute meaningfully to the whole process. Therefore, participants are empowered rather than left powerless. These empowered participants can provide access to knowledge and understanding that are not usually accessible to traditional researchers. According to Somekh, "action research is not value-neutral; researchers aim to act morally and promote social justice through research that

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is politically informed and personally engaged". Kemmis et al. (2014) agree, further stating that instead of claims of objectivity, action research is "in favour of a very active and proactive notion of critical self-reflection". As such, action research often provides more flexibility in research design and a higher degree of self-reflection, providing a better understanding of the subject and the broader context in which the subject operates.

4.2. *Kikigaki* and *Machiaruki* as the Methods

4.2.1. Kikigaki: Exploring Identity Through Culture and Heritage

Kikigaki comes from two Japanese words: *kiki,* meaning "to listen", and *gaki,* "to write". It was first developed by a famous Japanese ethnologist in 1960 as a method to document stories from around 4,000 villages. In 2002, the method was adopted in Japan for high school environmental education. *Kikigaki* is an inquiry and record of stories of a person's life and values conducted through one-on-one dialogue (Yoshino, 2016). Although similar to an interview using the qualitative research method, *Kikigaki* differs fundamentally (Effendi, 2019). Firstly, it has a social-cultural function in preserving local wisdom as told by a source person or *meijin*. Secondly, *kikigaki* stresses intergenerational relations in the transfer of knowledge, as it involves young people as the interviewers and older people as the *meijin*. The intergenerational focus is why the *meijin* selection must meet several conditions; for example, participants must fall within particular age ranges and have relevant experience, amongst other conditions. The *Kikigaki* method places more of an emphasis on the conversation between the interviewer and the *meijin*. Through the back-and-forth process of questioning, listening, and further questioning, the interviewer can draw out the thoughts of the *meijin*. It is expected that insights into the *meijin*'s character can be gleaned, alongside stories of their life experience, wisdom, way of thinking, and personal values. *Meijin* stories are then carefully recorded, transcribed, and summarised in a report that preserves the interviewees' way of speaking.

This research uses *Kikigaki* as part of the process to identify important values that individuals hold. The process also allows participants to explore their culture and heritage through interaction with older, respected figures in their communities. It encourages them to reflect on their values. As native cultural identity influences the shaping of personal values in individuals (Guler, 2019), the research worked under the assumption that one's understanding of their native cultural identity can help facilitate the formation of common values. This approach could lead to more positive interactions and integration between different groups, in this case, refugees and host communities. The researchers' role was to guide participants throughout the process and facilitate discussion among different groups.

4.2.2. Machiaruki: Exploring Places of Importance

Machiaruki is also a term borrowed from the Japanese language. *Machi* means town, and *aruki* means to walk. Town walking, or as it is commonly referred to in Japan, 'town watching', is a participatory technique employed to help participants gain a deeper understanding of the current conditions of an area, usually their own neighbourhoods, by collecting and mapping information through observation and firsthand experience. In some cases, participants also listen to locals narrate histories of place and environment during the walk. Machiaruki is seen as a practice that unproblematically encourages 'social mixing', 'community cohesion', and 'social interaction' in urban areas (Middleton, 2016). Commonly utilised in community planning, it has also been adapted for community-level disaster risk management training and planning (Ogawa et al., 2005; Shaw & Takeuchi, 2009).

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Previous research (Twigger-ross & Uzzell, 1996; Kebede, 2010; Denov & Akesson, 2013) show that places hold specific meanings in one's life and, to some extent, contribute to one's identity building. The research employed the Machiaruki method to get participants to walk and explore their neighbourhoods, finding meaningful places and objects based on their personal memories and experiences. Through the sharing and discussion sessions based on their findings, the participants were expected to reflect on their shared values and develop a common understanding of how to transform the existing space into a meaningful shared place that could spark positive interactions for all.

4.3. Initial Research Design

The initial research design involved the following steps, with enough room for adjustment, as constant changes were expected throughout the process based on field conditions.

Step 1. Preparation

The aim was to collect basic information on refugee management in the selected city and to observe first-hand the social integration challenges faced by refugees and host communities. Data collection relied primarily on a desk review process, interviews, and field observations. The initial visits also aimed to decide the study site and recruit participants and field facilitators. Recruited participants received a briefing about the expected commitments and possible forms of activities within the planned engagement period at an onboarding workshop. The preparation activities also included outbound activities to facilitate introductions between participants and researchers and to obtain parents' consent during this period.

Step 2. Kikigaki Activity

Kikigaki was designed to encourage participants to think about important values in their lives by exploring their culture and heritage through interaction with older, respected figures in their communities. These activities include:

- A workshop to introduce Kikigaki tools and practices (i.e., preparation, chat time, recording and notation, transcription, writing and re-writing). The workshop was expected to encourage information exchange between participants, including similarities and differences between the two groups, as well as how various aspects contribute to participants' identity building.
- A community presentation to share findings with broader communities, both host and refugee communities. The activity was a knowledge-sharing and learning space that encouraged discussion on personal and group identity building at the community level. The activity also bridges communication and generational gaps between participants and the wider communities.

Step 3. Machiaruki Activity

This research used the Machiaruki method to introduce an awareness of living space and important places in the neighbourhood, and further trigger discussion on the meaning of place in participants' lives. The Machiaruki activity included:

- A workshop to introduce a simplified concept of placemaking and Machiaruki tools to guide the process, such as a neighbourhood map, a set of guiding questions for interviews, and a set of guidelines for observing the surroundings.
- A Machiaruki exercise, in which participants walk around their neighbourhood in groups, aims to identify meaningful places or objects. Following the exercise, participants share

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and discuss their findings, focusing on their personal accounts of the walking experiences and how they contribute to their understanding of the connection between places and identity.

Step 4. Action Planning Activity

The research used a desk-based Action Planning exercise for participants to discuss their imagined shared space. The exercise would allow participants to reflect on personal values that became apparent during the Kikigaki activity and aspirations for a shared living space that emerged from the Machiaruki activity. The process would consider the shared values and the physical, cultural, and social identities of the space formed by the presence of both refugee and host communities. The expected output was a set of action plans they could employ to improve their shared space. The best scenario was that the youth would follow up on the action plan by collecting resources, doing social experiments, and evaluating and improving in continuous iterations of the placemaking process.

In addition to the four major steps, we conducted a baseline survey and an online survey to measure participants' change throughout the research period. The surveys assessed participants' perceptions, positioning, and attitudes toward themselves, friends, family, people from different groups and cultures, and the place they live. **Figure 3** illustrates the initial research design.

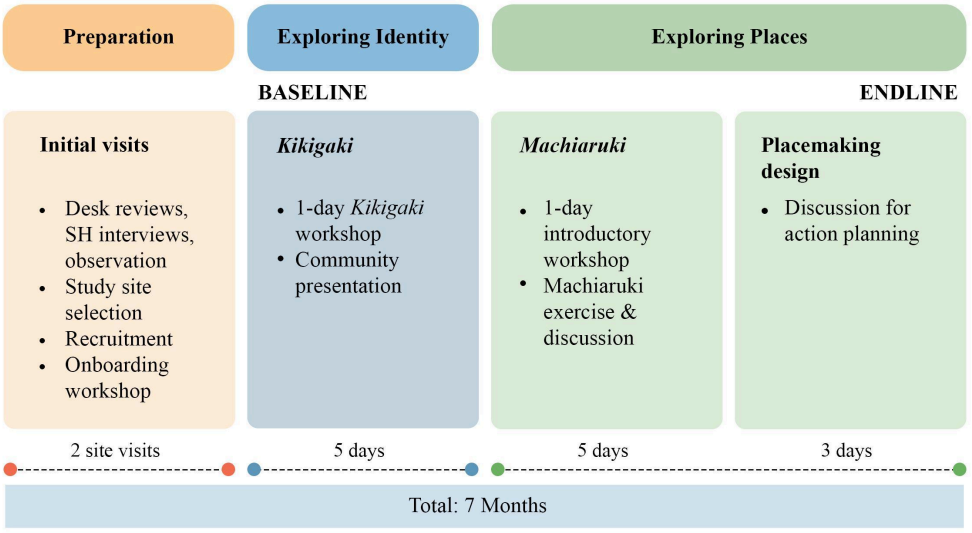

Figure 3. Initial Research Design

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5. Implementing Action Research: Insights from the Field

5.1. Shifts in Research Design

The action research approach in the Placemaking enabled changes throughout the process. The major factors influencing change were the participants' profiles. At the beginning of the field engagements, challenges were recognised in recruiting participants and conducting youth-related activities. Refugee youth living in Wisma Maysara were rarely exposed to empowerment activities. Based on interviews with several refugees, past educational activities they had engaged in were unsatisfactory, often dissuading them from re-engagement. Moreover, female youth from a particular cultural background were not allowed to leave the shelter unless they were guarded by a family member. Female youth and adults were rarely seen outside of their rooms during the site selection visits, even in the shelters' common areas.

Recruitment of local youth posed another challenge. Some schools that the local youth were attending had morning and afternoon classes to make up for the lack of classrooms. The situation forced the workshops to be held for two consecutive days on weekends to ensure everyone was engaged. Also, as suggested by several consulted community leaders at the beginning of the project, it is normal for older male youth in the community to work after school hours, even skipping or quitting school if necessary, to help their parents meet daily needs. Hence, it was assessed to be challenging to recruit male participants because there were no financial incentives available for them.

As such, there was an immediate need to change the parameters for participant selection. The adjustments included more flexibility with age and gender proportions, accepting the above considerations as the community context in which the research took place. Ultimately, received applications reflected gender issues – refugee youth were dominated by males, whereas local youth of the host community were dominated by female applicants. To address the imbalance, participants' recruitment required a few rounds of open recruitment calls, flyer distributions, door-to-door recruitment efforts in the neighbourhood, and word-of-mouth or referral systems. Three information sessions were conducted to enable direct engagement with potential participants from both groups, resulting in 36 successful applications, with gender balance (17 females, 19 males), between 13 and 24 years old. Moreover, to gain a positive first impression from research participants and maintain their engagement, three outbound activities were held with participants – one for each group and another altogether.

The second major shift was due to participants' low literacy levels, as found in the preparation activities. It became clear that many participants needed more time during the baseline study than expected to understand and complete the survey. On the first day of the Kikigaki workshop, similar issues with literacy were encountered. Kikigaki tasks require a good literacy level, as they involve listening, taking notes, writing, and presenting the results. A mock exercise on the first day of the workshop, where paired participants practised self-introduction, interview sessions, transcription, and summarising information, revealed that completing a Kikigaki task was relatively difficult for almost half of the participants.

The challenge above called for an immediate shift in the design of the Kikigaki activity to enable participants to complete the actual Kikigaki work with their Meijin and present it to the wider community. We modified the initial plan, which included a five-day activity and a community presentation event. Finally, we split the Kikigaki activity into several parts, in the following sequence:

1. A one-day workshop to introduce the tools and options of topics that participants can choose to explore in their Kikigaki works.

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2. A week-long Kikigaki exercise period, where participants interviewed their Meijin, transcribed and summarised the interview content, and submitted the interim results. During the week, participants could seek assistance from the facilitators, who made daily visits to the neighbourhood.
3. A one-day workshop to present the initial Kikigaki results. The workshop included several debriefing sessions to allow participants to share and discuss their experiences, exchange information and points of view, explore similarities and differences between different groups and how various aspects contribute to personal identity building.
4. A month-long Kikigaki revision period to provide participants with a longer time to revise and complete their works. The revised works were submitted to and reviewed by facilitators. After another round of revisions that occurred simultaneously with Machiaruki, the participants completed the final Kikigaki works, which were ready for public display.

The guiding questions were simplified into basic topics that participants could explore when interviewing their Meijin. In addition, considering the participants' characteristics, the timing of the planned community presentation was shifted to after the Machiaruki session to allow participants to further their skills and build better rapport with each other before presenting their works to a wider audience.

An unexpected circumstance led to the third major shift in the research design. During the Kikigaki activity, news was received that the authority would soon close Wisma Maysara due to the shelter's substandard condition, and that refugees would be dispersed to several shelters. Consequently, the initial design to build positive interactions through a place-based approach was disrupted, primarily because the refugee youth would no longer live in the neighbourhood.

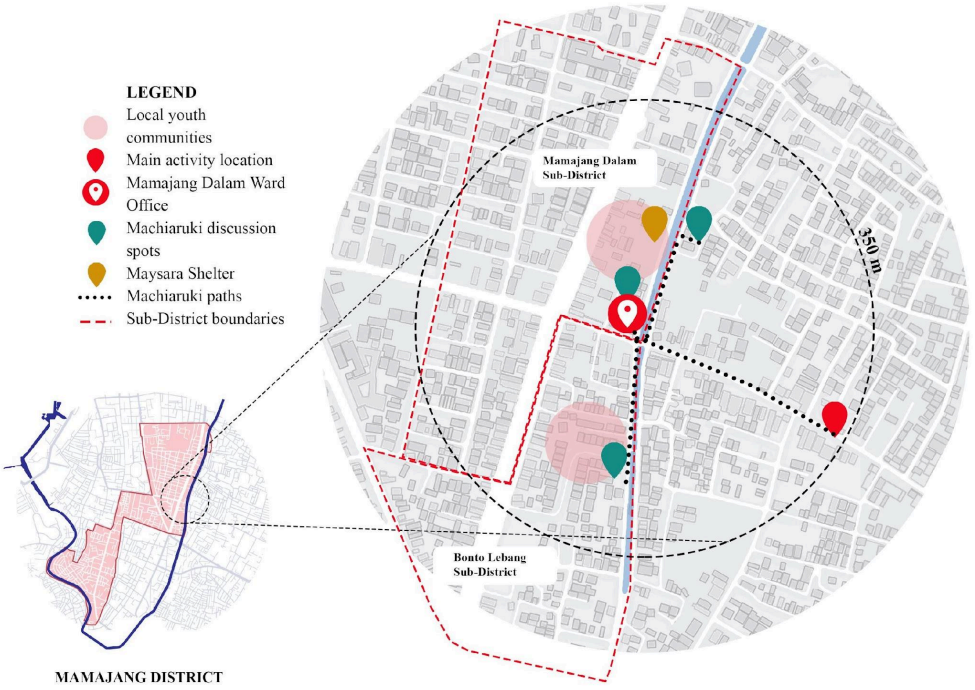

Figure 4. Research Area

Following a careful reflection on the whole process thus far, the research proceeded in a

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slightly different direction by simplifying the Machiaruki activity. The initial eight-day workshop and the Machiaruki activity were maintained, but the Action Planning was eliminated. Then, the project's focus was redirected towards an upgraded version of the planned community presentation into a Mini Festival. A continuous and iterative placemaking activity in the initial design was shifted into a temporal placemaking activity through the Mini Festival. The Machiaruki activity was also modified as follows:

1. The objective was shifted to explore user experiences and ideas for transforming selected public spaces to make them more meaningful for all users in the neighbourhood.
2. The Machiaruki activity included a one-day introductory workshop and an exercise designed to explore places. It involved debriefing sessions, where participants discussed the results of the exercise and how the neighbourhood's physical environment could be transformed to reflect their aspirations. To replace the eliminated placemaking Action Planning session, a session was included in which participants discussed their visions for ideal shared places. Each group visualised their ideas by developing a scale model for public display.
3. Following the workshop, participants had five days to revise and complete their scale models and do a mock presentation. They used scale models as a tool to help explain their ideas of change to a wider public. At the same time, participants also prepared for the Mini Festival.

Figure 5. Result of Activities Following Modification in Research Design

Left: Kikigaki result. Middle: Participants presenting the Machiaruki model.
Right: Participants explaining their vision of shared spaces to the Mayor of Makassar at the Mini Festival

The 'Mini Festival' was a forum which brought together refugees and host communities in the neighbourhood. It was also a forum where participants could share the process and output of their activities with the wider public. The Mini Festival should be able to convey participants' ideas of a shared living space, encouraging discussions among attendees about personal and group identity building, generational gaps, and fostering a more inclusive culture among different groups. The overall Mini Festival preparation and activities included:

1. A brief session to introduce the objectives of the Mini Festival. In the session, participants could choose to join one of five activities: food crafts, textiles, other craft-making, dance performances, or drama performance groups. Each group discussed and agreed on how to prepare for the performances. Each participant would also have one or two other roles in the event.
2. Participants were given approximately one month for individual and group preparation. A five-day intensive preparation with the support of facilitators was conducted in parallel with the Machiaruki scale model development and finalisation of Kikigaki works, including the translation of the works into English and Bahasa Indonesia by volunteers.
3. A rehearsal one day ahead of the Mini Festival day for all types of performances.

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4. A ‘Mini Festival’ day includes all the performances, group activities, a Kikigaki works exhibition, a Machiaruki model display and presentation, and a stamp rally activity for festival attendees. At the festival, the Mayor of Makassar and a Representative of IOM Makassar gave opening speeches to address the parents, community leaders, participants, and the general public in attendance. In total, about 100 people from around the neighbourhood attended.
5. A debrief session allows participants to reflect on their participation in the action research. The engagement of participants in the action research was formally closed in this session.

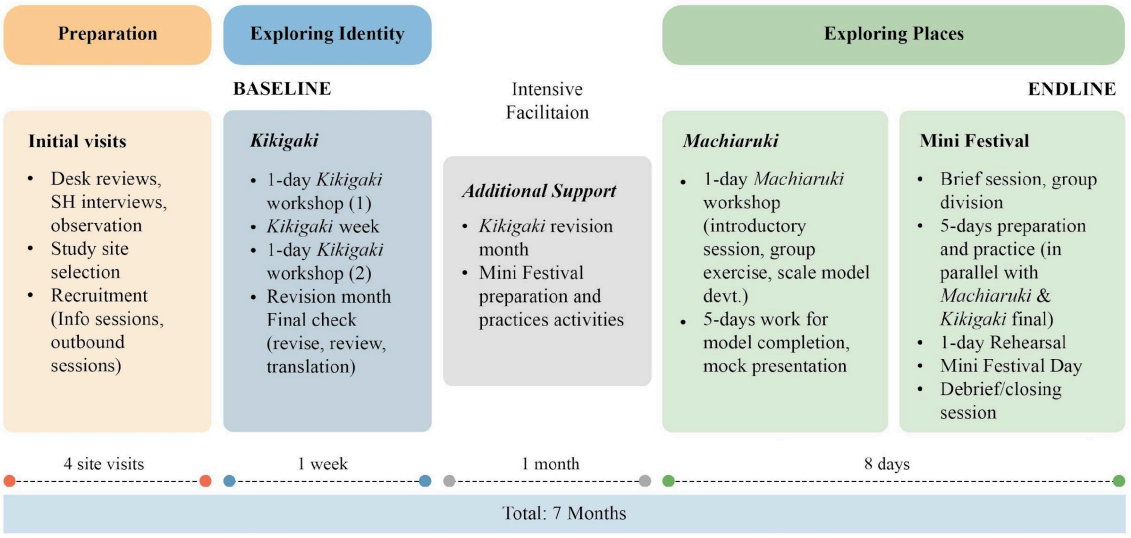

Figure 6. Modified Research Design

5.2. Reflections

This section offers primary insights gained throughout the action research process. We obtained insights from two types of research inputs: observation and reflection notes. We categorised the insights into four groups: spatial features, participant profiles, group dynamics, and facilitators, which are the main elements of the activity design, which also include factors affecting the shifts in methodology.

Spatial Features

Employing placemaking for refugee social integration must be accompanied by consideration of the host city’s general features, urban development agendas, and the refugee management strategies in place within the city. Certain spatial features involved in this action research significantly influence the methods and design of research activities. These features included refugees’ living conditions; in Makassar, refugees live in shelters that are proximal to facilities considered essential by local authorities, such as local markets and medical services. Since placemaking as a practice intends to enable the co-creation of meaningful shared living spaces, public spaces should be available nearby refugee shelters and the neighbourhoods in which the host communities reside. This condition had been one of the basic criteria employed during site selection for this project. Ray Oldenburg, an influential urban sociologist, stressed the importance of public space as a neutral ground where people may gather, in which none are required to play host, and in which all feel at home and comfortable (Silberberg et al., 2013). Without any public space or potential public spaces, placemaking

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for social integration would not be possible. This research revealed that, should placemaking be finally accepted as a catalyst for social integration in transit countries, then public space should also be regarded as essential in providing refugee shelters.

The selected shared space for Machiaruki and Mini Festival was the front yard of the Mamajang Dalam Ward Office. Despite being a public building in a strategic location, the Ward Office was previously an office occupied by only a few people with an underutilised front yard. After establishing a constant rapport building with the local authorities, participants invested a significant amount of time in this space, preparing the festival over a month, ultimately making them less hesitant to use the space while familiarising themselves with the space as if it were their homes. The local authority also fully welcomed the participants. During the Mini Festival, this place was transformed into a melting pot of people from different backgrounds. Participants have proven how an underutilised public space in the neighbourhood could be transformed into a meaningful space for many, if not all, by fostering shared activities and positive interactions. In placemaking processes, places continue to be made and remade by the community, opening opportunities for everyday users to become makers (Silberberg, 2013). In the long term, the process was expected to help develop a further sense of belonging in this diverse community and shape a new shared identity, creating a highly connected community.

It is also important to recognise that refugees had previously moved through different places before they ended up in Makassar. Although many of them have lived in Indonesia for years, Makassar was not the only city they had experience in. In the near future, refugees might move again to a different city or country. Past place attachments also affect identity, belonging, and attitudes toward host communities (Hiruy, 2009). Future research could further explore how constantly changing spatial experiences might influence placemaking processes and outcomes.

Lastly, moving to Makassar may not be refugees' own choice; within Makassar, refugees have no power to determine which part of the city they will reside in. In Makassar, almost all refugees receive living support from the IOM, the Immigration Office, and the local government. They are accommodated in guarded shelters, with definite restriction hours to leave and return to the shelter. The situation differs from that of some refugees in Bogor. Refugees in Bogor often live near fellow refugees of the same ethnicity, background and with shared languages – but they need to rent houses from Indonesian landlords and subsist largely through reliance on personal savings or remittances (Brown, 2017). Regardless, refugees do not have many choices in terms of living space. The fact that refugees in Makassar have less power to determine their place of living also impacted the research design when, unexpectedly, the authorities relocated them to other shelters.

Participant Profiles

Designing a placemaking method for social integration requires a thorough understanding of the participants' profiles, acknowledging the heterogeneity of these participants. Several features that potentially contributed to the participants' profiles were identified, such as how refugees are motivated to interact with the people around them and how host communities have responded to refugees living in the neighbourhoods. In addition to gender and age, ethnicity or country of origin might potentially influence the customs or behaviour practised during the placemaking activities. However, such conclusions could not be drawn from the observations due to the dominance of participants from one country.

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There are slightly different attitudes between those who lived with their families and those without family, or the so-called single male refugees within the refugee youth group. Wisma Maysara used to be a specialised shelter for unaccompanied minors who have now become young adults, accommodating a relatively large proportion of youth compared to other shelters. The single refugees in Wisma Maysara have to take care of their own daily needs, such as preparing meals and managing finances, amongst other things. They seemed to be more independent than the average youth, but, as suggested by Carlson et al. (2012), in a third country context, at the same time, single young refugees often have fragile characteristics as they have to rely largely on individual coping strategies, unlike other youth who have a family as a protective factor. In this case, a structured set of activities with adults providing mentorship was vital for them.

Unlike the typical participants in youth leadership programs, such as privileged youth who have had access to good educational opportunities, the local youth participating in this project came from an underprivileged background. To join the placemaking project, participants were not selected based on their achievements or leadership skills, but rather according to their spatial proximity to the selected refugee shelter. Wisma Maysara is located near squatter settlements, where families live in substandard housing, have low incomes, and minimal access to quality education – hence the literacy challenge. Indonesia, in general, continues to experience social and economic inequality. To illustrate, 18.5% of the Makassar population aged 15 and above have not graduated from primary school (BPS, 2018). Local culture and ethnicity also add to the variability of host communities in Indonesia. The diverse nature of Indonesian society plays a key role in the challenge of refugee social integration programs, where refugees could be accommodated within host communities of varied sociocultural backgrounds.

Being marginalised and underrepresented could have been a starting point to build empathy between groups. Regardless, the project did not have a chance to elaborate on the empathy construction within the methodology. Hence, this paper suggests that future action research should employ a comprehensive introduction within each group about the other group at an early stage of the placemaking activity.

Group Dynamics

Throughout the process, changes were observed in the attitudes of the participants and the dynamics within both groups. Observation of the group dynamics helped influence the design and group setting of upcoming activities.

Despite challenges in recruiting participants linked with a lack of motivation, 20 participants (9 refugees, 11 locals) remained as participants throughout the project. Two local male youth had to work to support their families, and therefore, they could not fully participate. One refugee who was quite active during the session had to drop out in the middle of the project as he moved out of town. Interestingly, a few local participants joined in the middle of the Kikigaki activity after hearing their friends' experiences. Direction and motivation from community leaders, parents, and peers seemed to be quite effective in encouraging local youth engagement. This is because local youth were always in groups, and one person's presence in our session could affect others belonging to the same peer group.

The outbound activity, which hosted both locals and refugees, was the first chance to observe how one group acts towards the other group. From the beginning, most refugee youth tried to be friendly to locals. On the other hand, local youth were mostly very shy and silent, and few even maintained a quite unwelcoming attitude. Before the grouping of mixed participants, both refugees and locals chose to sit with their close friends. A large language gap was

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identified – almost all local youth could not speak any English; a few spoke in a very strong local accent. Some refugees speak conversational English, a few speak enough Indonesian, and a few speak neither basic English nor Indonesian. This first opportunity to facilitate both groups determined whether participants were still interested in attending the workshop the next day.

During the Kikigaki sessions, participants only interviewed peers and Meijin within the same group (refugees or locals); therefore, meaningful interaction had not yet developed between them. Nevertheless, sharing their Kikigaki results with all the participants helped dissolve some of these boundaries. A few local youth needed company when presenting in front of the class. They found it difficult to think critically and express their opinions throughout the sessions. The issue was caused by their educational background, whereas Kikigaki in its original form generally aims for a high school level of literacy, such as students who are already familiar with writing and doing a simple interview.

Machiaruki sessions were designed to help participants begin working together. The degree of interaction differed between groups, depending on the combination of the group members' characteristics. During the brainstorming and collaboration activities, group dynamics were observed, for example: who was dominant, who did not communicate, who worked alone, who instructed, and who talked more than before, to name a few. In the final stage of the day, each group, consisting of a combination of refugees and locals, displayed group pride and excitement when they presented their works to the other groups. There were even moments when local youth who used to be shy took the microphone to present, explaining to their group and answering questions from other groups. The changes in group combinations from the beginning to the end of the project seemed to work to detach some participants from their close peers, pushing themselves to interact beyond their comfort zone.

The Mini Festival preparation helped further the interaction between refugees and local youth. Each participant was given at least one role for the festival. Teamwork, creativity, persistence, leadership, and tolerance were exercised during the preparation. A more intensive preparation required them to come to the Mamajang Dalam Ward Office every day for a week. The co-creation activities and stage performance rehearsals helped make both refugees and local youth more familiar with each other. They became more excited about their progress after learning that the Mayor and other important figures would come to the festival. At the wrap-up session, just after the festival, participants sat randomly, contrasting with the first time they met at the outbound session. Many of them expressed their gratitude for being part of this project and their sadness, knowing that it was the final session of the research project.

Overall, the change of attitudes towards each group was possible through constant efforts to keep participants engaged with methods or tools for collaborative activities. It was important for facilitators to observe the dynamics from time to time, reflect, and change as needed. Last but not least, these changes in attitude happened only to those who remained engaged until the project's completion. Involving the rest of the youth who did not manage to stay due to personal motivation, cultural, or economic reasons remains a challenge for future work.

Facilitators

Facilitators were key to the realisation of the placemaking process. In this project, the researchers took on the role of facilitators during the sessions and a few designated off-session activities. Beyond that, three local facilitators from Makassar undertook routine visits to the neighbourhoods, maintaining good connections with the participants. The specific capacities and skills of individual facilitators drove the dynamics of the placemaking

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process in a certain way, which means that a different set could lead to different placemaking outcomes.

Familiarity with refugees and refugee management, combined with experience in urban design, community development, or social research, was deemed essential, particularly to the research design, to reflect on and quickly adjust the methodology based on lessons learnt from the field. Communication and facilitation skills, with experience in multicultural settings, were also a basic requirement to create a positive and enabling environment for interaction between the two youth groups, who came from very different backgrounds and did not know each other.

A number of specific skills were identified from the research process, the setting in Maysara, and its surrounding neighbourhoods. At the beginning of the project, facilitators took on the role of approaching the candidate participants. One of the most frequently asked questions by the youth at the project opening was how they would benefit from participation, which demonstrated a low level of trust in the facilitators. The facilitators are outsiders to the communities; hence, they must be able to earn the trust of the candidates, their guardians, and community leaders.

Informal meetings between workshop sessions often helped break down boundaries between participants from both groups and the research team. During the Kikigaki task week, facilitators visited their homes every other day and provided half-day assistance within the neighbourhood. A number of refugees came and talked with the facilitators for hours, not only about the task but also about their lives. Rapport was built through these activities, which might not have been attained by only holding formal sessions. During the neighbourhood visits in the Kikigaki task week, the mothers gathered and showed their gratitude for these opportunities. According to parents, the youth have demonstrated their positive impressions of the project and pride in participating. When a placemaking process aiming for social integration needs external facilitators, trust towards facilitators must first be gained before everything else, as it is an important ‘facilitator’ for integration (Strang and Quinn, 2019).

The paper suggests that the empowering gesture from facilitators, mentor relationships, and friendships developed through the placemaking process contributed to the participants’ interest in continuing to participate in the project. Being marginalised, youth from both groups lacked exposure to quality, structured programs and to mentorship assistance. Mentorship, close attachment to other adults, and prosocial institutions are community protective factors that support increased young refugees’ resilience (Carlson et al., 2012).

Finally, creativity is another skill necessary in placemaking to quickly adapt to the diversity of participants, handling the group dynamics under various constraints while keeping things on track with the ultimate objectives. As an attempt at temporal placemaking, facilitators had to ensure that each participant was given an important role to trigger engagement and interaction of the communities, including refugees, during the festival. Towards that purpose, facilitators had to map participants’ interests and further assist them in preparing, encouraging them to be more confident in presenting, while at the same time managing all resources and choreographing the whole event.

6. Conclusions and Future Directions

This paper provides unique insights gained through the development of an action research

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methodology that employed a placemaking approach for social integration in Makassar, Indonesia. The goal of introducing placemaking was to enable the co-creation of a meaningful, shared living space in which positive interaction was encouraged between refugees and host communities. Participants, namely young refugees and young locals, were voluntarily engaged in this seven-month project.

Significant changes in methods were made after having gained a better understanding of the situation of refugees and local youth. These adjustments influenced recruitment activities, methods, and the design of research activities. Low literacy rates amongst participants prompted a simplification of methods as well as more intensive assistance from facilitators. The initially designed placemaking methodology thus required a longer timespan and more intensive facilitation to be implemented effectively.

Nevertheless, the set of methods comprising Kikigaki, Machiaruki, and Mini Festival for placemaking was able to bridge youth groups and stimulate positive interactions in a collaborative setting. The sequence of methods was able to gradually improve interactions amongst participants. Through these exercises, the participants also learned how to better adapt themselves to changes in their living environment. This adaptive capacity was beneficial, not only as part of this action research, but also as a wider coping strategy for both youth groups in the long term. As a form of temporal placemaking, the Mini Festival has demonstrated how far interaction has been developed. The positive interaction should continue beyond this kickstart of placemaking. As Silberberg (2013) has highlighted, placemaking is a process that does not stop; places continue to be made and remade by the community, and the resulting ‘place' is no more important than community interactions taking place during the placemaking process. However, the intention to wrap up the research project by having all participants grow up in the same neighbourhood, and thus ‘make places’ and form new shared identities, was unable to be realised due to the relocation of Wisma Maysara’s refugees.

This research fostered positive social interactions, which were aimed at as a foundation for social integration. However, it is clear that this process requires longer-term placemaking practices. This process would require effective facilitation, alongside a more robust program design and a grounded understanding of both refugees and host communities. Based on insights obtained from the action research, the following factors can be considered at the early stage of designing 'placemaking' as a method of social integration in transit countries:

- Physical forms of refugee accommodation and host community settlements, how the two connect, and the availability of potential shared spaces (public space)
- Heterogeneity of refugees and host communities, such as ethnicity, socio-economic status, literacy, and language
- Refugees’ weak power to decide where to live
- One group’s level of comprehension of the backgrounds and situations faced by the other group (e.g. refugees towards locals, and vice versa) as a starting point to build empathy and mutual understanding
- Design of activities and strategy to deal with group dynamics
- Facilitation quality for the placemaking process. Facilitators need first to be trusted by refugees and host communities

The methodology explored in this research will need more testing and modification before it can be fully developed from its experimental form into a methodology that can be used in

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other contexts. A plan is underway to test the methodology in other cities in Indonesia in the future. For now, the use of placemaking as a method to foster social integration between refugees and host community youth shows significant promise.

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