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**Feelings of Home and Belonging amongst Bhutanese
Women and Girls with Refugee Backgrounds who Live in
New Zealand**

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

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by

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the everyday home geographies of Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds in Aotearoa New Zealand. It examines feelings of being at home and belonging for 37 resettled Bhutanese women and girls, and eight men, aged between 12 and 85 years, all living under the third-country resettlement programme in Auckland, Christchurch, Nelson and Palmerston North. Three key informants, who assist with resettlement, are also included in this research. It is argued that everyday experiences of home and belonging are embodied, emotional, and contradictory for Bhutanese women and girls.

Feminist scholarship on gendered feelings of belonging and home informs the framework of the research. Qualitative performative methods are used, comprising 40 semi-structured in-depth interviews; five photo-elicitations; and seven cooking sessions with Bhutanese women. A focus group of five girls aged from 12 to 16 years was also involved in the study. In addition, I adopted a new approach called ‘accidental ethnography’, which comprised stayovers, participant sensing, and cooking sessions in the field. The data gathered was analysed using thematic and discourse analytical approaches.

My findings are organised into three central themes that relate to belonging and home: bodies; households; and communities. First, I pay attention to the corporeal practices of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in everyday life. Clothing, jewellery, norms, values, language and traditions can enable belonging and feeling at home but they can also generate feelings of discomfort, segregation and being outsiders when two extreme cultures confront each other. Second, I focus on day-to-day activities within households. Creating a familiar environment within households, including being with family, having backyard gardens, consuming culturally appropriate food, maintaining one’s religion and having a sturdy house with meaningful material objects, enable resettled Bhutanese to accept their new country as home. Third, my study shows that a sense of community can enable or hinder participants’ feelings of belonging in New Zealand. Living in smaller cities, being able to exercise and observe Bhutanese traditions, living longer in New Zealand, developing satisfaction with the

neighbourhood and feeling safe are all factors that play an important role in forming feelings of community for resettled Bhutanese women and girls.

Feelings of belonging and a sense of being at home are about maintaining, reinforcing and negotiating cultural and gendered identities in New Zealand. This study responds to the lack of critical attention paid to the relationship between home and belonging for resettled Bhutanese women and girls. Considering everyday practices encourages a more critical understanding of belonging and home for women and girls with refugee backgrounds.

Keywords: Refugees, resettlement, Bhutanese, women, girls, performative methods, New Zealand

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Chapter 1

Introduction

My interest in conducting PhD research on resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand emerged from two main incidents and my interest in women's and girls' stories. When I was growing up in Morang, Nepal, I often heard negative stories about Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. I first got to know about Bhutanese refugees in 2002, when a group of young men came to our neighbourhood seeking casual jobs. They were visiting each household asking the residents if they would be interested in employing cheap labourers for seasonal work, such as rice harvesting and ploughing fields. Many local people were hesitant to talk to the Bhutanese and considered them to be criminals. Others thought they were Maoist combatants or army vigilantes, as Nepal was enduring an intense civil war at the time.¹ Some of our local labourers had joined the Maoist combatants, while others had migrated to the Middle East in fear of the militant group. Despite the shortage of workers, none of the residents employed the Bhutanese job seekers. There was a great deal of talk in the neighbourhood about these unknown people, and we, mostly the young women, were warned not to speak to any of these strangers.

As the Maoist insurgency spread in Nepal, the remaining local labourers started demanding pay increases, which left the local residents with a dilemma of whether to hire the Bhutanese refugees or not. 'Tamang dai' who was in his 40s, and married with two children, was the first provisional refugee to be offered a job. He, along with his wife and a toddler, came to Nepal in 1992 after being forced to flee Bhutan. He was, in part, offered a job because one of his legs was partially paralysed from polio. The residents thought that they could quickly identify and arrest him if he became involved in criminal activities. He procured seasonal work but was contracted at almost half the market rate (Gurung, 2005).

¹ The Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist (CPN-M) started the protracted 'People's War' in 1996. However, the long-standing political and socio-economic problems of the country are often cited as the leading causes that strengthened CPN-M's power, which escalated the insurgency throughout the country. The civil war ended in 2006. Approximately 20,000 civilians and armed forces were killed, more than 100,000 people were internally displaced, and hundreds went missing as a result of armed conflict (for more information see Shiffman & Khadka, 2015; Thapa & Sijapati, 2005).

Tamang dai performed tasks on time and would visit his family in the Beldangi refugee camp, returning mostly during plantation and harvest time, and was also employed to assist my family during planting and harvesting. He would help us to plough the field, as it was considered to be men's work. Ploughing carried out by women was believed to bring calamity to the family. Once he finished the work with us, he would work with another family.

Because Tamang dai was sincere, friendly, and hardworking, he immediately became one of the trustworthy and in-demand Bhutanese workers in the neighbourhood. Each household had a close relationship with him. Every time he returned to our place after visiting his family, he would come with groups of people, as requested by the local people. The residents would thank Tamang dai with a small monetary gift or a 'good' dinner for providing a labour supply. The neighbourhood would employ, with full trust, anyone recommended by Tamang dai. Fast forward to sometime in early 2004, when Tamang dai came with far fewer people than were required to meet the demand for labour. He mentioned that their mobility was restricted as they had to get an 'out pass' to leave the camp, which would cost the equivalent of three to four days' wages to bribe the government officials supervising the camp.

Tamang dai and his friends often shared the challenges, such as scarcity of food, poor housing conditions, unemployment, name-calling and much more that they faced in the camp and beyond. Only Bhutanese men came in search of casual jobs, never any women and children because they were performing other duties in or closer to the camp. However, when the men left the camp in search of casual jobs to support their remaining family members in the camp, I wondered about the situation and lives of the women and girls. Later in 2007, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) resettled some of these Bhutanese refugees in eight different countries, including New Zealand.² Knowing Tamang dai personally for approximately five years and hearing his stories, I was always keen to blog or write an article about the Bhutanese refugees' resettlement

² New Zealand is also called Aotearoa, which is the Māori name for the country. However, since the participants refer to this country as New Zealand, I have used New Zealand throughout this thesis, but I want to acknowledge the political context and importance of naming.

experiences someday in the future, but never envisioned it would be my PhD research. As I grew up in a small rural village of approximately 500 residents, where women and girls were discriminated against and marginalised within the family and society, in fact, I never imagined doing a PhD. Most of my female school friends were married by the time I finished my higher secondary education. The situation is different today, as information and communication technologies (ICTs) have positively and drastically changed these negative perceptions towards women and girls, providing information and resources and allowing them to go beyond the village for their betterment.

The second incident that encouraged me to study resettled Bhutanese was when I joined my husband, Jeevan, in Oslo, Norway in 2012, where he was pursuing his PhD. Upon completing my Master's degree, Jeevan encouraged me to continue my higher education. I never thought of doing a PhD until the day I came across a group of three Bhutanese refugee women in Norway at the Oslo Sentralstasjon (Oslo Central Station). They were asking a police officer about a bus route, but the officer was unable to speak Nepali, and the three women had limited English proficiency and no Norsk (Norwegian). They were having a difficult time communicating, and when I approached them, one of the women in her mid-30s asked me, Behenje, kya aap hindee bolte hai? [Sister, do you speak Hindi?]. As I nodded my head, I heard 'no English' 'no English'. Another woman in her early 40s murmured to her friend in Nepali, ke bhanera bujhaune hola? [How can we explain to him [police officer]?].

The women's story, in brief, was that they had recently arrived in Norway under the third-country³ resettlement programme, so they gathered as a group and took a bus to the city. They moved around the city and shopped for groceries, but when they wanted to return to their homes, they were unable to identify the bus station. They were lost as they were unable to read signs and the city was unfamiliar. We talked for a while in Nepali, and I showed them the right station. This difficulty is one of the many challenges that resettled refugees, especially those with no or limited English language skills, encounter in third countries. Upon my return

3 Norway is their third-country because the second country (i.e. Nepal) where these Bhutanese refugees took refuge was unable to provide full protections and rights like citizens.

home, I shared with Jeevan what had happened that day and mentioned that one day while still in Norway I would like to write about Bhutanese refugees. We had a long conversation about why I was interested in Bhutanese with refugee backgrounds. From that time on, Jeevan started to bring home copies of journal articles on Bhutanese refugees and their resettlement experiences. The more I read, the more I wanted to know. The more I knew, the more I wanted to understand their lives and expand my limited knowledge. I finally decided that I wanted to do a PhD about resettled Bhutanese women and girls.

I consciously chose the case of resettled Bhutanese on account of these personal experiences, but gender has always been my interest. This interest led me to focus mainly on the resettled women and girls, as I wanted to know more about their gendered post-resettled lives, the opportunities they gained and the challenges they encountered in third countries. Choosing New Zealand was partly to pursue the dream of living in an English-speaking country, as I had previously lived in non-English-speaking environments. Also, while preparing a PhD proposal application, there was a group of resettled Bhutanese working on a kiwi fruit orchard with my brother-in-law, Lal KC, in the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand, and I thought it would be easy to have initial contact with potential participants in New Zealand. However, finding participants proved difficult as all of them returned to their original resettlement areas, mainly to Christchurch and Palmerston North, before I had even arrived in New Zealand.

This introductory chapter begins by presenting the research topic. It explores some of the fundamental premises of the research, including contexts of home and belonging in relation to refugees. I then briefly discuss the definitions of refugees, introduce the New Zealand resettlement context and trace the journey to resettlement in New Zealand. Finally, I outline the chapters that make up this thesis.

1.1 Geographies of home, belonging and refugee women and girls

This project investigates experiences of home and feelings of (not) belonging amongst Bhutanese⁴ women and girls living in New Zealand under the UNHCR third-country⁵ resettlement programme. In particular, it focuses on the intersection of home and belonging amongst Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. It is difficult to understand the lived experiences of refugee women and girls without considering meanings of home and senses of belonging, as these women and girls are forced to leave their home in search of safety.

The aim of the research, therefore, is to investigate how and in what ways Bhutanese women and girls experience home and feelings of belonging in New Zealand. This project explores three specific research questions to understand the feelings of being ‘at home’

1. What does New Zealand mean to Bhutanese women and girls?
2. Do resettled Bhutanese women and girls consider New Zealand as ‘home’, and, if so, in what ways?
3. What are the factors that prompt feelings of belonging or not belonging amongst these women and girls in New Zealand?

The research asks how a sense of home is negotiated, contested, reconstructed and reshaped through cultural values, traditions, beliefs, religions, objects, wealth, possessions, backyard gardens, cuisine and sensory experiences. It looks at ways in which these women’s and girls’ everyday lived experiences produce emotions in the negotiations of home and homemaking practices in New Zealand. It is important to explore the meaning of home and homemaking practices. In discussing home, participants considered feelings of being ‘at home,’ resulting from emotion and affect as connected to particular places.

⁴ It is important to note that I use the terms ‘Bhutanese’, ‘Nepali-speaking Bhutanese’, ‘Bhutanese-New Zealander’, ‘former refugees’, ‘Bhutanese with refugee backgrounds’, and ‘Lhotsampa’ interchangeably throughout this thesis to refer to the participants.

⁵ Resettlement is called third-country because the second country (i.e. Nepal) where these former refugees took refuge was unable to provide them full protections and rights as citizens.

The aim is not to assert what home is. It is rather to trace the associated meanings of home, how it works as a social, lived experience and is infused with emotions on an everyday basis (Boccagni, 2017). The study has three primary objectives.

1. To explore Bhutanese women's and girls' experiences of living in New Zealand;
2. To analyse whether these women and girls experience New Zealand as 'home', and investigate the ways feelings of being at home or not at home are evoked; and,
3. To understand their feelings of (not) belonging in New Zealand.

I discuss the sense of place primarily in relation to the embodied aspects of how home is made, recreated, maintained and experienced. In contemporary geography, place is integral to identity and belonging because people often define themselves through their attachment to particular places (hooks, 2009; Taylor, 2009). Place induces emotion and feelings. Emotional connections are formed through embodied experiences, both individually and collectively, which represent feelings of belonging (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009). It is equally important to understand how emotions and experiences produce feelings of individual and collective attachment to particular places. Emotion, as an academic subject, has often been situated in the field of social psychology (Wetherell, 2012). Feminist geographers, however, are now interested in the salience of emotion as a theme to understand the embodied geographies of everyday life, feelings and attachment to places, spaces and environments (Bondi, 2009). The developing field of emotional geography contributes to feminist geography and vice versa (Davidson & Bondi, 2007).

Place and locality influences people's opportunities, life course trajectories and everyday experiences. The research participants, mostly adults, were forced to leave their homes because of an ethnic cleansing campaign (Donini, 2008). They have witnessed the destruction of their homes and have left loved ones behind in search of safety. The gendered experiences of being a refugee may continue to be traumatic for some women and girls. Hence, the interactions between people and places evoke emotional experiences (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Hepworth, 2005). Bodies and spaces are central to emotional geographies, thus people and place are

entwined. Emotions are embodied in everyday lives and are shaped by interactions with people, places and politics that, in turn, result in personal and collective geographies. To the best of my knowledge, there is only a small body of literature that links feminist geography to refugee women and focuses on belonging, emotional attachment and feeling 'at home'. This study, therefore, is a response to the lack of attention paid to home, identity and belonging amongst resettled Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds who live in New Zealand.

Arguably, a sense of belonging is becoming increasingly multifaceted and fluid as people move across the globe (Taylor, 2009). Anthias (2016, p.178) conceptualises belonging as "to what" and "with whom" one is part of, and "where and by whom" one feels recognised and attached to. Feelings of belonging are evoked by emotions, which result from everyday experiences of social inclusion and exclusion. Belonging to any social group involves the negotiation of power relations (Taylor, 2009). What is missing in research are the actual narratives of women and girls with refugee backgrounds in relation to their sense of home. For example, the question 'where do I belong?' depends on 'who' and 'where' I am with people at a particular time. It involves questioning what it means to feel at home and what home means when one is forced to flee because of war and persecution.

Like belonging, home is highly contested, polarised, and fluid because it means different things to different people (Andits, 2015; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Peil, 2009). A range of feelings and emotions are prompted by different home spaces, such as physical space, closed/private space; symbolic space; and imagined space (Andits, 2015; Hall, 1990; Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). The concept of home is vital for feelings of belonging. For some, home is a "symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment" (hooks, 2009, p. 213). For others, it is the private space of violence and fear (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010), and a site of domination (Hall, 1990). Home is also multiple, ambiguous, and transnational in relation to various places, attachments and memories among immigrants and second generations (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Similarly, home has become a site

of tension and conflict, especially around food preparation, consumption, smell, and taste among migrants (Philipp & Ho, 2010).

Home is lived, experienced and recreated through everyday practices where people constitute their identities through these lived and ‘imaginative’ experiences (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). To study the lived experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls, a range of performative⁶ approaches, including semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus group interactions, photo-elicitation and ‘accidental ethnography’ (Fujii, 2014; Poulos, 2010) were required. Using a performative approach, I found that Nepali-speaking Bhutanese women and girls have sophisticated and complex feelings of being at home and senses of belonging. In the resettled Bhutanese context, home has masculine notions: the home where they grew up is the home of the father, and after getting married, the husband’s home becomes their new home, which is thought to be permanent.

Studying the everyday lived experiences of refugee life involves consideration of how activities such as eating familiar food, (and using fingers to eat), speaking Nepali, wearing traditional clothing, and maintaining cultural practices, evoke feelings of (not) being at home. Similarly, the resettlement of refugees in New Zealand and the provision of a secure and sturdy house and New Zealand citizenship does not necessarily mean that participants feel at home. Home needs to be understood spatially, socially and politically; its meaning varies widely depending on ‘who’ and ‘where’ one is. Home can be a site of violence, rejection, segregation, confinement and danger. It can also be a place of belonging, identity, liberation, emancipation and hope, or all of the above combined.

It is necessary to analyse what it feels like to resettle in a new country with a distinct language, traditions, practices, environments, settings and expectations. Such analysis is fundamental to contributing to the growing feminist scholarship on geographies of home and belonging among resettled Bhutanese women and girls. It presents a unique approach to understanding the everyday experiences of Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds. This research also makes

⁶ Performative research, also known as performance ethnography, was originally developed in anthropology (Fabian, 1990), where research findings are expressed not just through the discursive text, but also through images and sounds (Haseman, 2006) (see Chapter 4).

an original contribution to the study of refugee integration from a developing to a developed⁷ country, as I concentrate on the micro scale of resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' everyday activities that generate feelings of home and belonging. As this study demonstrates, refugees are not passive victims of circumstances, and in fact, they show great determination and resourcefulness in maintaining a sense of self in making the best they can of their current realities (Dudley, 2010).

Before I move on to discuss the refugee resettlement context in New Zealand, it is essential to define the term 'refugee' to distinguish it from 'migrant'.

1.2 Defining the term 'refugee'

The UNHCR (2017b) reported that approximately 65.6 million people were forced to leave their homes in 2016, of which 22.5 million (17.2 million under UNHCR mandate and 5.3 million Palestinian refugees registered under the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)) were refugees worldwide. Participants in my study are UNHCR mandated refugees. Refugees are persecuted in their own countries because of their political or religious beliefs and their affiliation and do not have any alternative in their lives (UNHCR, 2011a). In contrast, migrants voluntarily leave their country to pursue better opportunities (Boyle, 2009).

The UN Convention relating to the status of refugees is a key international legal document that defines a refugee and sets out their rights and the responsibilities for states that provide refuge (UNHCR, 2010). The most widely used definition is the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees in Article 1 A(2), as amended by the 1967 Protocol, which defines a 'refugee' as someone who:

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [sic] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself [sic] of the protection of that country; or who not having a nationality and being outside

⁷ I understand that 'developing', 'developed' and 'industrialised' are contested terms. Although for many New Zealanders, New Zealand may seem a developing country, I have indicated New Zealand as a developed country in my thesis given the per capita income of the country. Participants also considered this country as developed and Nepal and Bhutan as developing countries.

the country of his [sic] former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UNHCR, 2010, pp. 14–16)

The signatory countries were committed only to people who had become refugees because of World War II in Europe before 1951 (UNHCR, 2017a), and as the definition was mostly focused on Soviet dissidents wanting to seek asylum during the Cold War, it generally ignored issues of gender and sex (Malkki, 1995a). In other words, the social category ‘refugee’ emerged as a Eurocentric and gender-blind concept in the legal and administrative process (Malkki, 1995a). The 1967 Protocol, however, removed geographical and temporal restrictions from the 1951 convention and extended the definition by including displaced people seeking temporary refugee status to escape political and social disruption (UNHCR, 2011b). It defined refugees as people who are outside their country of nationality or habitual residence and have a well-founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion (UNHCR, 2011a).

Since this research is primarily concerned with the ways in which Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds build a sense of home and belonging in New Zealand, it is essential to explore their resettlement environment, nature and context. I now look at the New Zealand refugee resettlement programme, its background and context, and the process by which Bhutanese women and girls come to live in New Zealand.

1.3 The New Zealand refugee resettlement programme

New Zealand has a long history of putting humanitarian efforts into helping refugees. Since the 1930s, New Zealand has accepted thousands of refugees and other people in need of humanitarian assistance (Beaglehole, 2013). During the 1970s and the 1980s, New Zealand’s immigration policy admitted quota refugees as a part of its humanitarian priority (UNHCR, 2016c). In 1987, the Government formally established an annual quota of 800 for UNHCR mandated refugees, then reduced it to 750 (plus or minus 10%) in 1997 (Beaglehole, 2013), but agreed in 2016 to increase this by an additional 250 places in 2018/2019 (UNHCR, 2016c).

New Zealand is a signatory of the 1951 UN Convention Related to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol; the 1984 Convention against Torture (CAT); and, the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (Immigration New Zealand (INZ), 2017a). The Immigration Act 2009 determines to whom it has obligations under the Conventions, CAT and ICCPR (UNHCR, 2016c). The UNHCR has three primary durable solutions for refugees: “voluntary repatriation” to help refugees return to their country of origin; “local integration” within a country of asylum; and “resettlement” in a third-country to help find permanent homes for refugees (UNHCR, 2011a, p. 28). UNHCR favours voluntary repatriation over others and resettlement as the last option as durable solutions (UNHCR, 2011a). The only possible durable solution to enter New Zealand as a refugee is through a resettlement programme. According to UNHCR (2011a, 2018), third-country resettlement involves processing refugee claims abroad and bringing refugees with permanent residence status directly from a refugee camp to a 1951 Convention signatory state with the aim of eventually providing them with citizenship.

Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against *refoulement* and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country. (UNHCR, 2011a, p. 3 italicised in original)

New Zealand takes three main categories of mandated refugees for resettlement: ‘women-at-risk’; ‘medical/disabled’; and ‘UNHCR priority protection’ (UNHCR, 2016c, p. 6). The women-at-risk quota contains a minimum of 75 places for those who are single women and are at-risk in the camp or are in need of protection from gender-related persecutions, such as abduction, sexual abuse and exploitation (see UNHCR, 2016c). Refugees with disabilities or needing medical attention are those who have a disability that requires support, or medical conditions that can be treated in New Zealand (UNHCR, 2016c). It is comprised of up to 75 places, including 20 reserved for those with HIV/AIDS (see UNHCR, 2016c). The UNHCR priority protection includes refugees in need of protection

from an ‘emergency’ situation and family reunification under the refugee quota scheme. The subcategories include up to 300 for family reunification, 100 places for urgent legal or physical protection and 35 places for emergency resettlement (see UNHCR, 2016c).

To be eligible for resettlement in New Zealand, refugees must be on the UNHCR mandate and must fit the UNHCR guidelines and criteria. They must:

- Be recognised as a refugee according to the Refugee Conventions;
- Be submitted for resettlement by UNHCR in accordance with UNHCR resettlement guidelines and priorities;
- Fall within the regional and global priorities of UNHCR;
- Fall within the regional and global priorities of the Government of New Zealand as set out in the agreed three-year Refugee Quota Programme;
- Be assessed as admissible under New Zealand’s immigration policy and procedures; and, be otherwise admissible under New Zealand law. (UNHCR, 2016c, p. 5)

The Refugee Quota Branch (RQB), a subdivision of INZ,⁸ also known as the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS), implements the Refugee Quota Programme (RQP) (UNHCR, 2016c). INZ, in turn, is part of the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE). The quota refugees under the resettlement programme must be mandated refugees and referred by the UNHCR (INZ, 2017b). The quota comprises six intakes, of approximately 125 each, per year (INZ, 2013).

Once INZ receives applications for resettlement, the applicants are checked based on whether they are mandated refugees, their need for resettlement, whether they pose security risks to New Zealand, and the health condition of the claimants and their dependents (UNHCR, 2016c). The application may be refused or deemed inadmissible if the assessment outcomes show that resettlement in New Zealand would not be for the public good (UNHCR, 2016c). Quota refugees receive New

⁸ The INZ works together with the New Zealand Red Cross Refugee Service (NZRCRS), the Ministries of Health, Education and Social Development, Work and Income New Zealand, Housing New Zealand Corporation, the Tertiary Education Commission, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, Careers New Zealand, Police, the Office of Ethnic Affairs and the Department of Internal Affairs for the resettlement of quota refugees (Immigration New Zealand, 2013).

Zealand certificates of identity (COI) with permanent residence (PR) visas and passport exemption letters from INZ upon arrival, allowing them to live in the country permanently (UNHCT, 2016c). Quota refugees are entitled to have access to the public school system, housing, public healthcare, employment and social security like most New Zealanders, and can apply for citizenship after living in New Zealand for five years (UNHCR, 2016c). They spend their first six weeks at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre (MRRC) in Auckland for cultural orientation.

The MRRC works in close collaboration with other government and non-government organisations (INZ, 2017b). The cultural orientation programme focuses on New Zealand life, including information on education and English language classes, laws and expectations, employment and assessment of physical and mental health, focusing on individual needs (INZ, 2017b). New Zealand pays all the associated costs, including costs related to travel from the camp to New Zealand, for accepted quota refugees to resettle in New Zealand (UNHCR, 2016c). Quota refugees also receive suitable furnished house from Housing New Zealand (government subsidised) or private rentals (UNHCR, 2016c). Upon the completion of orientation, the refugees are dispersed to local communities based on a yearly settlement location plan. The NZRCRS assigns a caseworker for refugees to assist them for between six months to a year in settling into their new life in New Zealand (INZ 2013). In addition, a support worker from the government agency Work and Income is assigned to resettled refugees to find appropriate jobs that match their skills.

The resettlement and integration of refugees are implemented through a range of supportive strategies and guidelines in New Zealand. In 2012, the country designed the New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Strategy to help mandated refugees to participate fully, and integrate socially and economically into society, so that they can live independently and enjoy equal rights and responsibilities as New Zealanders (INZ, 2012). These strategies aim to help quota refugees to “have a strong sense of belonging to their own community and to New Zealand” (UNHCR, 2016, p.14). The government of New Zealand has adopted five

outcomes to integrate refugees and their families (UNHCR, 2016c, pp. 14–15 italicised in original):

- *Self-sufficiency*: all working-age refugees are in paid work or are supported by a family member in paid work.
- *Participation*: refugees actively participate in New Zealand life and have a strong sense of belonging to New Zealand.
- *Health and well-being*: refugees and their families enjoy healthy, safe and independent lives.
- *Education*: refugees' English language skills enable them...to participate in daily life.
- *Housing*: refugees live independently of government housing assistance in homes that are safe, secure, healthy and affordable.

It is important for my research to review these official refugee resettlement strategies and outcomes because it enables me to assess how well New Zealand is achieving these objectives locally, in communities and neighbourhoods. Although these efforts, theoretically, allow refugees and their families to live and enjoy equal rights as New Zealanders to make them feel safe and at home (INZ, 2012), my findings illustrate that this is not entirely the case.

I now look at the sociocultural context in which Bhutanese refugees live in New Zealand.

1.4 From nowhere to somewhere: Bhutanese refugees in New Zealand

Bhutanese refugees, who are the descendants of Nepalese, were forced to flee from Bhutan in the early 1990s due to political, ethnic and religious persecution (Hutt, 1996, 2003). Since then, hundreds of thousands of Lhotshampas have been kept in UN refugee camps in Nepal. When repatriation in Bhutan and local integration in Nepal seemed impossible, resettlement in western nations was offered, with the help of UNHCR, in 2007/2008 (Banki, 2008a). New Zealand is one of eight countries that accepted Bhutanese refugees.

The population of New Zealand in 2013 was approximately 4.3 million (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). New Zealand resettled 7872 UNHCR mandated refugees within a decade to the end of January 2017 either through the quota agreement

with the UNHCR resettlement programme or individual claims to refugee status made upon arrival in New Zealand (for more see NZIS, 2017a). Since 2008, New Zealand has accepted Bhutanese refugees for resettlement under the annual refugee quota in the Manawatu, Nelson and Canterbury regions (UNHCR, 2016a). As of March 2017, New Zealand had resettled 1049 Bhutanese refugees under the resettlement programme. Of these, 517 live in Palmerston North; 290 in Nelson and 242 in Christchurch (NZIS, 2017a). More than half of these resettled refugees are assumed to be female (NZIS, 2017b). Although only one resettled Bhutanese family was formally settled in Auckland, around 12-15 families have migrated from the other aforementioned cities to Auckland in search of better opportunities. This study's research sites, therefore, are in four locations: Auckland, Christchurch, Palmerston North and Nelson (see Figure 1.1).

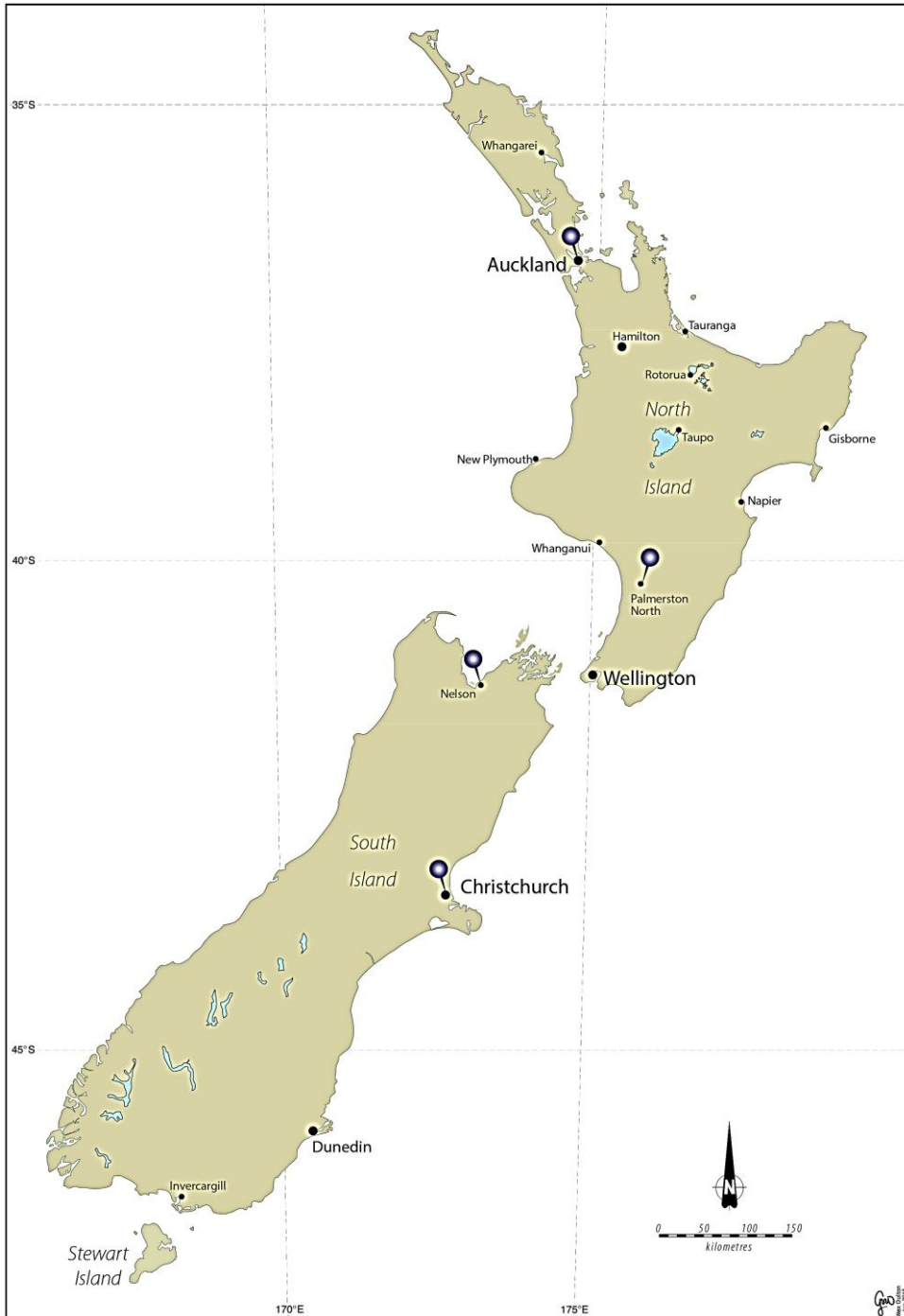


Figure 1.1 Research sites - New Zealand cities where resettled Bhutanese live (Map by Max Oulton, Cartographer, University of Waikato)

The study area population statistics are Auckland, 1,415,550; Christchurch, 341,469; Palmerston North, 80,079; and, Nelson, 46,437 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Auckland is New Zealand’s largest and most multi-cultural city, located in the North Island. The city comprises almost 34% of the country’s population and has more than 180 different cultures (INZ 2015a). In 2013, approximately 40% of

Auckland's residents were born overseas and it has also been home to refugees from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia since the 1980s (INZ 2015a).

Canterbury, the region in which Christchurch is located, is in the South Island. Christchurch has accommodated about 700 former quota refugees since 2004-2005 (INZ 2017a). Palmerston North is in the North Island of New Zealand, and is the central city of the Manawatu-Wanganui region (INZ 2015b). In 2004-2005, Manawatu resettled approximately 800 former quota refugees from the Republic of Congo, Burma and Bhutan (INZ 2017a). Nelson is located in the upper South Island of New Zealand and has a population of 42,000 people, with 19% of the population being born overseas (INZ 2015c). Since the 1970s, Nelson has resettled refugees from Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma and Bhutan (INZ 2017a).

Participants mentioned that when they decided to opt for resettlement, they had some expectations in relation to New Zealand. For the majority, it was about having a better opportunity and a secure life for their children, in particular getting rid of the 'refugee tag' for future generations, while for others it was to have autonomy to practise their religion. Most of these resettled Bhutanese came from an agricultural background, with limited or no experience of the digital world, and limited or no English proficiency. The majority follow Hinduism and have a unique culture, language, practices, traditions, food preferences, expectations, values and symbols. The majority of resettled Bhutanese families adhere to patriarchal norms and other cultural concepts of purity, auspiciousness and marginality. Many of them arrived in New Zealand with very little or no information about New Zealand.

These resettled Bhutanese families typically comprise grandparents, parents, and children. There are increasing numbers of Bhutanese-Kiwi [children born in New Zealand of Bhutanese parents], but this project aims to investigate the everyday lived experiences of home and feelings of (not) belonging among first generation resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. This research focuses on Bhutanese women and girls, resettled either independently or with family under the quota programme, who have been living in New Zealand for a minimum of six months.

The resettled Bhutanese women who arrived in New Zealand as adults appeared to be more traditional with regard to religion, caste, practices, habits and norms than those who came before their teenage years. Older parents, particularly women, were most concerned with the difficulties they foresaw in trying to continue to protect these traditional practices. The meaning of 'traditional' varied in associated content and the values attached to it, which is central to ongoing negotiations of what it means to be Nepali-speaking Bhutanese, its continuity and creating a sense of home in New Zealand (see Dudley, 2010, 2011). All of these aspects are discussed in depth in the later chapters.

This research examines the everyday lives of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. Everyday activities are often taken for granted, but they primarily involve aspects of identity, home and belonging. The empirical data that provides the foundation for this research contributes to the growing body of feminist scholarship on the geography of home, belonging, embodiment and refugees. This study of gendered places, home and belonging of former Bhutanese refugee women and girls in New Zealand is significant because academic literature on these topics remains remarkably scant. More work is most certainly required.

1.5 Thesis outline

This research is dedicated to examining the everyday lived experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls who reside in New Zealand. The thesis consists of eight chapters. Three analysis chapters emerged from data collected from interviews, photo-elicitation, accidental ethnography and focus group interactions. However, before I discuss the findings of the research, I contextualise the parameters of the project, outline the methodological and conceptual foundations of the research, and link the research with the current literature in the social sciences, geography and beyond.

This introductory chapter establishes the need for a more thorough examination of the relationships between refugee women, home and belonging and outlines the research context. This study asks: What does New Zealand mean to resettled Bhutanese women and girls? Do resettled Bhutanese women and girls consider New Zealand as home, and if so, where, when and how are feelings of (not) being

at home evoked? What are the factors that have caused feelings of (not) belonging amongst these women and girls? The objectives of the research are to: examine what New Zealand means to these women and girls; to assess the ways these women and girls experience New Zealand as home, and to highlight the factors that have prompted feelings of belonging or the impossibility of belonging for these women and girls. The overall aim of the research is to investigate how and in what ways these women and girls feel at home, and their sense of belonging in New Zealand.

In Chapter Two, I locate my study within the historical contexts of resettled Bhutanese. I provide a snapshot of the sociocultural, economic and political context of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese in Bhutan, plus the aspects and factors that forced them to flee from what was once considered as home (Bhutan), take refuge in Nepal and then come to New Zealand.

Chapter Three outlines the theoretical perspectives that inform the framing of the research problem and my lens for analysis. The chapter brings together and critically examines four bodies of literature, mainly from refugee studies on gender and home, embodiment, emotion, and belonging. A critical reading of this scholarship creates a space within geography to problematize discursive constructions of home and belonging among refugee women and girls. Much of the chapter is centred on feelings of being at home and on places that underpin the sense of belonging.

The methodological processes used to carry out the research are explained in Chapter Four. This study used performative methods inspired and informed by a feminist approach. I outline the primary methods for empirical data collection and discuss the theoretical background to these approaches, including semi-structured interviews and photo-elicitation for adult participants and a focus group activity for adolescent girls, as well as ‘accidental ethnography’ to gain access to the everyday lived experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. I also situate in the research and critically reflect on the research relationships (Morrison, 2010). In doing so, I aim to guarantee that my researcher position assists rather than undermines the aims and objectives of the project. I

argue that researchers' embodied subjectivities are significant in the construction of geographical knowledge.

Chapter Five, the first of three empirical chapters, explores how Bhutanese women and girls are actively creating a sense of home through their embodied practices in private and public spaces. In particular, this chapter seeks to understand how day-to-day cultural practices, habits and beliefs shape and reshape the everyday lived experiences of former Bhutanese refugee women's and girls' sense of home in New Zealand. I illustrate how traditional ways of life are maintained to create a sense of home through embodiment, including marking bodies as both pure/impure and clean/dirty.

Chapter Six explores some of the ways resettled Bhutanese women and girls undergo and continue to endure everyday life by being with family, eating together, cultivating vegetable gardens in backyards, sharing and practising religious beliefs and valuing material possessions, including sturdy house. All of these play a significant role in creating feelings of being at home and of belonging. In particular, this chapter concentrates on how resettled Bhutanese seek, construct and negotiate to feel at home through being with family, maintaining vegetable gardens, and sustaining their religion and material culture in New Zealand.

Chapter Seven focuses on the ways resettled Bhutanese women and girls are actively involved in rebuilding and restoring multiple yet complex forms of communities. It unmask a series of painful current and past experiences and memories in forging the participants' senses of community that contribute towards feelings of being at home in New Zealand, Nepal and Bhutan. Lived experiences, memory and imagination play an essential part in the regular shift in the meaning of community among participants.

In Chapter Eight, I summarise the thesis, suggest pathways for future research related to this project, and revisit the research questions. I provide policy recommendations at the individual, community and national levels to help create a more favourable environment to enable resettled Bhutanese to feel at home. In looking forward, I indicate how key themes might be developed and adapted to

provide more in-depth geographical knowledge around refugee women, girls, home and belonging.

Chapter 2

Bhutanese refugees' resettlement journey

This chapter provides some contextual background on resettled Bhutanese in order to understand their socio-cultural, economic and political situations. In particular, it provides a description of the journey of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese from Bhutan to refugee camps in Nepal and to resettlement in New Zealand.

This chapter is divided into two parts. I provide a brief history of Bhutan to establish the context for why Nepali-speaking Bhutanese fled their homes. Some of the questions addressed in this section are: Who are the Nepali-speaking Bhutanese? What kind of place did they flee from, and how did Bhutan become a country of forced migration? What are the factors that have contributed to their exile? In the second section, I focus on everyday life in the camps and the factors that led them on the journey to resettlement in New Zealand.

The chapter primarily discusses the historical, socio-cultural, economic and political context of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese and the process of expulsion from Bhutan.

2.1 Nepali-speaking Bhutanese in Bhutan

Bhutan, a small kingdom perched between China and India, is often characterised as a land of happiness, where the country measures its output by its Gross National Happiness index (CIA, 2013). Although the early history of the Kingdom of Bhutan remains obscure (Navyo Nepal, 2015), the nation can be traced back to 1907 when Ugyen Wangchuck became the first hereditary monarch (Druk Asia, 2015). Since then the country has been ruled by the Wangchuck hereditary monarchy (Druk Asia, 2015).

Lhotshampa⁹ are economic migrants who, in the late 1800s, immigrated from Nepal to Southern Bhutan. They cleared the thick Southern forest and established farmland (Bhutan Tourism Corporation, 1997-2013; Hutt, 2003; IOM Damak, 2008; Mathew, 1999). They mainly practised subsistence farming of wheat, rice,

⁹ Many scholars have argued that Drukpa use the term Lhotshampa to refer to the Nepalese people living in Bhutan, distinguishing them from people of Bhutanese origin (Giri, 2005; Hutt, 2005; Mathew, 1999) although the literal translation is 'people of the South' (CORC, 2007).

oranges, lemons, sugar cane, peas, squash, soybeans and lentils, and farmed buffaloes, cows and goats that supplied food for the whole country (Maxym, 2010). The Royal Government granted land tax receipts, which allowed them to acquire citizenship under the 1958 Nationality Law of Bhutan (Gharti, 2011; Hutt, 2005; IOM 2008; Rousselot, 2015) for those who had worked for ten years in Bhutan (Gerber, 2015). They were also allowed to hold government jobs (Cultural Orientation Resource Center (CORC), 2007). The Kingdom has three main ethnic groups: Ngalong primarily in the east; Sharchop in the north and Lhotshampa in the south (Hutt, 2005). The Ngalong and the Sharchop, along with central and western ethnic groups, formed a coalition group, Drukpa, which spoke an identical language, Dzongkha. This divided the country into two main languages - Nepali (Samchi, Chirang, Geylegphug and Samdrup Jonigkhar) and Dzongkha elsewhere (see Figure 2.1)



Figure 2.1 Districts of Bhutan (source: www.mapsopensource.com)

Drukpa followed the practice of Tibetan Buddhism (Gerber, 2015). The vast majority of Lhotshampa, in contrast, were mainly Brahmin and Kshatriya who followed Hinduism and spoke Nepali. The rest were Mongoloid, composed of a variety of castes and ethnic groups: Sherpas, Gurungs, Tamangs and Newars who followed either Hinduism or Buddhism. Lhotshampa followed the complex jati [caste] system based on a feudalistic economic structure (CORC, 2008). Since

Lhotshampa had limited contact with people from other areas, they adhered to their distinct Nepali language, religion, norms and cultural practices.

Ethnic conflict between southern and northern Bhutanese continued from 1953 to 1972 when the then King, Jigme Wangchuck, introduced the first five-year plan related to socio-political and economic changes (Donini, 2008). During the implementation, Lhotshampa were the primary labour force, but their socio-economic rights remained unnoticed. Thus, they started questioning existing power structures (Hutt, 2005; Mathew, 1999). Several reports show that the increasing number of Lhotshampa and their growing political opposition was worrisome to the authorities because they feared assimilation and changes in the political order (Bird, 2012; Donini, 2008; Gharti, 2011; Hutt, 2005; Minorities at Risk Project, 2006; Shrestha, 2011).

To control the Lhotshampa population, the state and leaders adopted a series of ethno-nationalist 'Bhutanization' policies in the late 1970s and 1980s (Minorities at Risk Project, 2006), which aimed at unifying the country under the Druk culture, religion and language (Hutt, 2005). Accordingly, men were required to wear the gho [one-piece tunic] and women the kira [one-piece ankle-length dress]; Buddhism became officially recognised as the national religion (Hutt, 1996; IOM 2008), and Dzongkha became the national language (Gerber, 2015). In 1988, a blatantly discriminatory population census was enacted retroactively (Minorities at Risk Project, 2006), where only the southern people had to produce land tax receipts from 1958 or earlier (Adhikari and Thapa, 2009). The census led to the creation of seven¹⁰ categories of Lhotshampa (Hutt, 1996), where more than 100,000 people, who had lived in Bhutan for several generations, were classified as illegal immigrants and were targeted for exile (Hutt, 2005; Minorities at Risk Project, 2006). Furthermore, the then ruling government imposed various measures that marginalised Lhotshampas.

10 The seven categories were: "F1-genuine Bhutanese [land tax receipts from 1958 and both parents hold Bhutanese citizenship], F2-returned migrants (those who had left Bhutan but returned), F3- dropout cases (those who were not available during the time of the census), F4-A non-national woman married to a Bhutanese man, F5-a non-national man married to a Bhutanese woman, F6-adoption cases (children legally adopted), F7-non-national (immigrants and illegal settlers)" (Adhikari & Thapa, 2009, p. 60). Anyone who fell within categories F2-F7 was considered non-national and was forced to leave the country.

The enforcement of the ‘One Nation, One People’ policy in 1989 limited the ability of Lhotshampa to exercise their customs, values, and language. Despite living for up to five generations in Bhutan, Lhotshampa had retained their distinctive culture, language and religion (Ridderbos, Alan, & Barbara, 2007) but eventually, they were forced to share a collective identity and loyalty to Bhutan. Nepali teachers were sacked; Nepali textbooks in the southern school curriculum were burned and were replaced with Dzongkha. The then government also established new eligibility requirements for Bhutanese citizenship that deprived many Lhotshampa of their citizenship and civil rights (CORC, 2007).¹¹ Traditional Drukpa codes of values, dress and etiquette called ‘driglam namzha’ in public spaces were strictly enforced (Ridderbos et al., 2007) with a monetary fine to discourage Lhotshampas’ unique and distinct culture (Hutt, 2003). The government also introduced a system of ‘individual authorisation’, using a no objection certificate (NOC), from local authorities for school enrolments, employment, business licenses, travel documents and the buying or selling of property and crops (Adhikari & Thapa, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2007). Failing to present NOCs deprived people of all those entitlements (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

In such a context, the ethnic conflicts escalated, and Lhotshampas’ anxiety, fear, insecurity, alienation and resentment were intensified by the census and the policy. Lhotshampa perceived these measures and policies as a direct attack on their linguistic and cultural identity (Human Rights Watch, 2007). It led to growing unrest resulting in mass demonstrations in southern Bhutan, and at times, the use of violence to amplify their voices (Gerber, 2015). The Royal Bhutan Army and police were mobilised, resulting in arbitrary arrests, violent interrogations, disappearances, frequent raids on homes, torture, sexual assault and open firing on protestors to suppress the anti-government actions (Adhikari & Thapa, 2009; see Mishra, 2013 on what happened during and after protests). The protests escalated into incidents of vandalism, attacks on police officers and the burning of Drukpa

¹¹ For instance, a child born after 1958 could only be Bhutanese if both parents were Bhutanese. Those who had either a Bhutanese father or a Bhutanese mother had to demonstrate competency in Dzongkha and reside in the country for 15-20 years to apply for citizenship (Minorities at Risk Project, 2006). Every individual was asked to produce a certificate of origin, including women who were married to someone from another part of Bhutan (Hutt, 2005).

clothing, which the authorities declared as seditious and illegal (Minorities at Risk Project, 2006).¹² Those associated with the protests were listed as ngolops [anti-nationals]. Following demonstrations, the government also closed schools and suspended health services in the south (Ridderbos et al., 2007).

The authorities further accused Lhotshampa of waging war against the government and coerced them into signing a voluntary immigration form (Hutt, 2003; IOM 2008). Before signing the form, the authorities also confiscated documentary proof that could identify them as Bhutanese (Adhikari & Thapa, 2009). They were also given a week to leave the country (Mishra, 2013). These were mostly ethnic Nepalese categorised as non-national under the 1988 census (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Scholars, human rights organisations and activists called this period ‘ethnic cleansing’ (Bird, 2012; Maung, 2016; Minorities at Risk Project, 2003; Navyo Nepal, 2015).

Since the early 1990s, thousands of Lhotshampa have fled across India to Nepal.¹³ Some were forcefully exiled while others felt compelled to leave to avoid arbitrary arrest, detention, repression and persecution (Hutt, 1996; Shrestha, 2011). One of the participants, Radhika, in her late 30s, was a teenager when her family decided to flee from Bhutan. She said, ‘everyone was leaving, so we joined them fearing insecurity and vulnerability’.

2.2 Refugees from Bhutan: The ‘unwanted’ Lhotshampa in Nepal

Nepal offered asylum to thousands of Bhutanese refugees in seven refugee camps in eastern Nepal’s Jhapa and Morang districts, even though the country is not a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol, nor has it adopted national refugee legislation (Ridderbos et al., 2007). Nepal still has an obligation of non-refoulement under customary international law. Several participants in this study mentioned that at first they were stranded on the shoreline of the Mechi and Tmai rivers. They used rivers for toileting, drinking, cooking and cleaning, which means these sites had an appallingly high rate of

12 The protests were also intensified by the political events in neighbouring India, such as the integration of Sikkim into India, the Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal and the process of democratisation in Nepal (Hutt, 2005; Minorities at Risk Project, 2006).

13 These Lhotshampas first took asylum in India, however, the Indian authorities transferred them using trucks to the bordering nation of Nepal (Mishra, 2013; Shrestha, 2011).

dysentery, malaria morbidity and widespread cholera. As a result, 10-15 children and elderly people died every day. The circumstances compelled the government of Nepal to seek assistance from the UNHCR to open the camps. After investigating the situation, the UNHCR assisted in building six refugee camps in Jhapa district and one camp in Morang district in eastern Nepal in 2006 (Bird, 2012; Ridderbos et al., 2007).

Since then, more than 108,000 Bhutanese refugees have taken refuge in seven camps, now consolidated into two camps post-resettlement, for almost two decades under the protection of humanitarian organisations (Shrestha, 2015b). The World Food Programme (WFP) provides food and an income generation programme, while the UNHCR looks after fuel, housing and education (Donini, 2008; Gharti, 2011). Communal standpipes were built for drinking and washing purposes. Of the refugee population in the camp, almost 97% were of Nepalese origin. Religious affiliations consist of Hindu (60%), Buddhist (27%), Kirat, an indigenous religion similar to Animism, (approximately 10%) and Christians (each camp varies from 1% to 7%) (CORC, 2007). The Hindu caste system guides their marriage and social interactions (CORC, 2007). Households typically include four to five generations including grandparents, parents, unmarried children, married sons and their families, and grandchildren (CORC, 2007). Extended family members such as aunts, uncles and their children are considered immediate family, and cousins refer to each other as siblings (CORC, 2007). Gender roles are well-defined, with women being responsible for domestic work and looking after the family (CORC, 2007). Refugees in the camps are involved in making products, such as handwoven bamboo baskets and textiles.

Bhutanese refugees identified closely with Nepalese in social and cultural dimensions but were denied the ability to move freely outside the camp (Himalayan News Service (HNS), 2006). They had inadequate access to education, limited access to healthcare and were prohibited from engaging in income-generating activities. Each time these refugees wanted to leave the camp for more than a day, they needed to get an 'out pass' from the government-appointed

supervisor (HNS, 2006).¹⁴ Although Nepal allows the Bhutanese refugees to remain in its territory, Nepal's policies, such as freedom of movement and the right to work and make a living (CORC, 2007), prevent them from local integration in legal and economic ways (UNHCR, 2005), which are two of three fundamental processes of local integration. Human Rights Watch (2007) reported that these Bhutanese refugees aspired to have their status restored to that of full citizens of a nation-state to attain their political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights. However, the government of Nepal and political leaders, including refugee leaders, opposed local integration in Nepal. A majority of Bhutanese refugees were waiting to return to Bhutan to continue normal life when conditions became safe.

High-level bilateral talks between the governments of Nepal and Bhutan were first held in October 1993 for the repatriation of Bhutanese refugees (Ridderbos et al., 2007). All sixteen rounds of these bilateral talks focused on the return of these refugees to Bhutan; however, they appeared to be ineffectual (Adhikari & Thapa, 2009). After tremendous international pressure, Bhutan agreed to establish the Joint Verification Team (JVT) in 2001 to verify and repatriate Bhutanese refugees, but only around 2.5% were considered for return to Bhutan, leaving the majority stateless (Hutt, 2005; Minorities at Risk Project, 2006).¹⁵ The report suggested that the Bhutanese officials in the verification process demanded the refugees hand over their original documents (Adhikari & Thapa, 2009). At the time of completing this thesis, however, none of the 2.5% considered for return to Bhutan had been allowed to return. The repatriation of these refugees was considered to have the potential to destabilise Bhutan as their properties are now owned and controlled by others (Banki, 2008a).

After several failed attempts to convince Bhutan's government of the need for voluntary repatriation, the government of Nepal accepted that the UNHCR could

14 The HNS reported in 2006 that often these authorities did not care whether Bhutanese refugees were leaving the camps without out passes. It was later strictly enforced after the refugees demonstrated at the Mechi Bridges and outside the camp.

15 The verified Bhutanese refugees were classified into four categories: a. Bonafide Bhutanese; b. Bhutanese who emigrated; c. Non-Bhutanese people; and, d. Bhutanese who have committed criminal acts. The refugees, their leaders and the media rejected these categories for several reasons (see Hutt, 2005; see Ridderbos, Alan, & Barbara, 2007 on repatriation).

resettle Bhutanese refugees in third-countries (Hutt, 2005). Another study shows that resettlement is one of the most preferred options among refugees taking asylum in developing countries like Nepal (Banki, 2008b), as it helps them rebuild not only their lives but also the lives of future generations. The United States of America (USA) was one of the first countries to offer 60,000 Bhutanese refugees homes in 2006 (Ridderbos et al., 2007). In the initial resettlement process, there were sometimes internal tensions within the Bhutanese communities. Therefore, they divided into two groups: one that opted for resettlement and another that wanted to return to Bhutan. Inter-camp differences have sometimes been the reason for some Bhutanese refugees to decide whether to opt in or opt out of the third-country resettlement programmes.

The UNHCR, in coordination with International Organization for Migrations (IOM), formally introduced and practised the third-country resettlement programme, with eight countries as alternatives, in 2007. As of 30 June 2017, 109,841 Bhutanese refugees had found durable homes in eight countries: Australia (6,493), Canada (6,821), Denmark (875), the Netherlands (329), New Zealand (1,076), Norway (570), the United Kingdom (UK) (358) and the USA (93,319) (UNHCR Nepal representative, personal communication, 26 July 2017).

In mid-2017, Bhutanese refugees officially numbered 9,522 in two camps, Beldangi and Sanischare in Nepal (UNHCR Nepal representative, personal communication, 26 July 2017). The remaining refugees, mostly the elderly, are waiting for repatriation to Bhutan where their descendants have lived for many years (McConnell, 2017). Many opted in for resettlement either to join their resettled friends and family or for their children's future. Many participants argued that leaving Nepal was a traumatic experience.

Resettlement of Refugees from Bhutan

Refugee Departure Update

30 June 2017

UNHCR Nepal



Total Departures

109,841

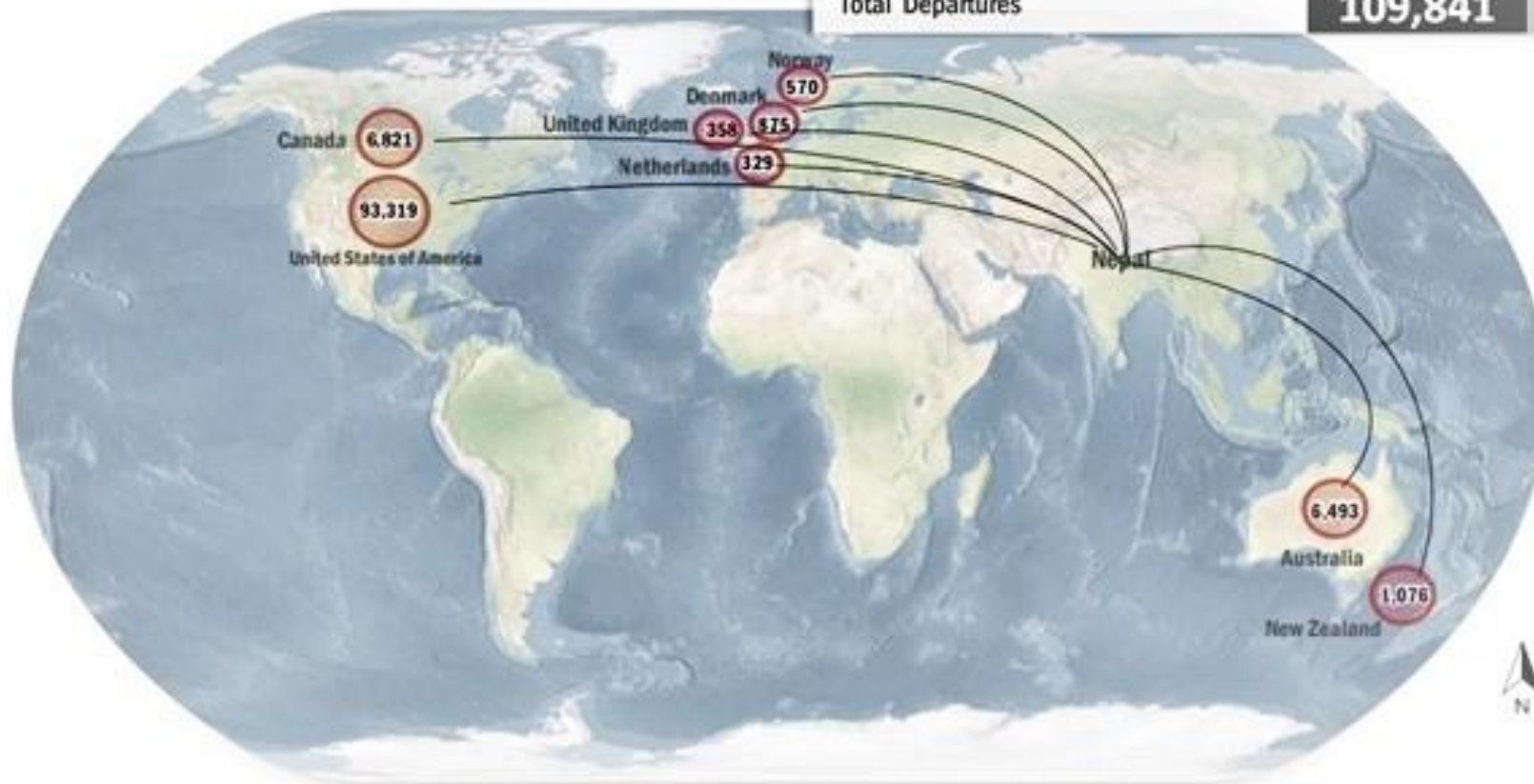


Figure 2.2 Resettlement of refugees from Bhutan (data and map by UNHCR Nepal Office, reproduced with permission)

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have provided a brief historical, sociocultural, economic and political description of Lhotshampa in Bhutan. I have also discussed the process of being refugees, their journey from Bhutan to the refugee camps in Nepal, and their resettlement in various countries.

Reviewing the historical context from which my research participants were forced to flee and their journey for the resettlement is crucial to understanding their feelings of being at home and belonging. This context will help readers to understand how significant home and belonging is to resettled Bhutanese women and girls who live in New Zealand.

In the next chapter, I outline the theoretical perspectives that frame the research problem and my lens for analysis.

Chapter 3

Theorising home and belonging for refugee women and girls

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that guides the arguments put forward in this study. It also describes the key concepts used in the three substantial analysis chapters that follow. This research spans an array of disciplinary fields, drawing on concepts and theories from feminist, emotional, social, and cultural geographies, geographies of race and food, refugee studies, forced migrant studies and Bhutanese scholarship. The interdisciplinary field of feminist geography provides the central framework that supports the entire project, from thinking about the research questions to the analysis and writing (Morrison, 2010).

In this study, I bring together and extend four bodies of literature: refugees, home and gender; embodiment – thinking through the body; emotional geographies; and belonging. This framework provides the theoretical tools for understanding the everyday lived experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand and their sense of home and feelings of belonging. I also acknowledge that scholars use the terms ‘host community’, ‘receiving community’ and ‘resettlement community’ interchangeably, although they have slightly different meanings. ‘Host community’ and ‘receiving community’ are terms that initially referred to communities in which people live temporarily, in another country, but they are expected to return to their country of origin when things get better. Resettlement among refugees is accepted by the UNHCR as an endpoint (UNHCR, 2016c), although refugees might actively construct homes and engage in social support beyond the nation-state. My study and several other research projects (Gerber, 2015; Halley, 2014; Ridderbos et al., 2007) on resettled Bhutanese, illustrate that Bhutanese refugees’ interest in third-country resettlement is similar to the UNHCR approach to durable solutions as a final destination.

I begin by exploring what is known about refugee women’s and girls’ everyday lives and provide an extensive literature review on the relationship between refugees, home and gender. I review the different ways in which geographies of

home are framed in the academic literature and analyse the sense of home and gender in relation to people with refugee backgrounds. The second section examines the different ways feeling at home is embodied by refugees in their everyday lives. This body of work concentrates on refugees, in particular on women and girls, and the way women and girls embody being refugees in everyday ways, which are taken for granted. In the third section, I focus on emotional geographies and show that the gendered politics of knowledge construction has meant that emotions have been marginalised in academic discourses on women and girls with refugee backgrounds. The fourth section looks at the emerging but limited work on feelings of belonging among women and girls with refugee backgrounds and moves beyond the discipline of geography to review other theories on belonging. Geographers have been slow to explore refugee women's and girls' sense of belonging and feelings of being at home.

3.1 Refugees, home and gender

This study has significant implications for the field of feminist geography, as it contributes to feminist scholarship on gendered feelings of home and belonging among women and girls with refugee backgrounds. Feminist geographers explore refugee experiences (Broome & Kindon, 2008; Green & Singleton, 2008; Harte, Childs, & Hastings, 2009; Humpage, 2009; Pain, Panelli, Kindon, & Little, 2010) but the everyday lived experiences of refugee women and girls have remained unnoticed. Scholars argue that studying the everyday lives of people with refugee backgrounds and making gender an integral part of the study allows researchers not only to identify vulnerabilities, but also to emphasize agency for women and girls post-resettlement (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou, & Moussa, 2008a). Therefore, gender theories are important to this research, especially when looking at women's and girls' everyday experiences.

Researchers working with people with refugee backgrounds argue that women and girls are affected disproportionately (Gerard, 2014; Hajdukowski-Ahmed et al., 2008a). The growing research continues to indicate that women of all backgrounds feel more at risk and in danger than men in the course of their everyday lives (Pain, 2001). They are more susceptible to sexual and gender-based violence, even in resettlement. In addition, migrant women, particularly

women with refugee backgrounds, experience a multi-layered form of racism based on skin colour, nationality, cultural identities, 'race' and ethnicity (Green & Singleton, 2008). Furthermore, they often take on additional roles in caring for family members, maintaining the family and the community, leaving less time for paid work (Fiese, 2006).

These vulnerabilities, as discussed by Gozdziaik (2008), do not stem solely from biological differences between men and women, but are also strongly influenced by social and cultural geographies (Johnston, 2009; Longhurst, 2005a). The stories of people with refugee backgrounds are seldom heard (Freund, 2015; Taylor, 2015), particularly stories about their lived experiences, and more particularly the stories of women and girls (Dudley, 2010; Habte, 2017; Hatoss, 2012). Literature that focuses specifically on women and girl refugees, including the work of Dudley (2010), Habte (2017), and Halley (2014) has been useful in informing this research. There is also increasing research on the post-resettlement experiences of Bhutanese in New Zealand and beyond (Acharya, 2008; Banki, 2008a; Department of Labour, 2012; Donini, 2008; Gharti, 2011), but little work has been conducted specifically on resettled Bhutanese women and girls that focuses on home and feelings of belonging. Other studies on resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand have been carried out on the older Bhutanese sense of belonging (Slade & Borovnik, 2018), online identities of young women (Halley, 2014), the overall resettlement of this group (Ferguson, 2011) and their mental health and well-being (Krishnan, Plumridge, & Ferguson, 2011). A gap therefore exists on how everyday experiences prompt feelings of being at home and a sense of belonging in resettled Bhutanese women and girls, in the New Zealand context.

The question then remains: how is home understood, defined and described in the relevant theoretical and empirical literature? Geographies of home focus on a range of scales from domestic to transnational (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Home is a broad and contested concept with multiple meanings (Black, 2002; Malkki, 1995b), from being "a shelter", to "a matrix of social relations" to "symbolic and ideological" (Valentine, 2001, p.63). It "can be made, remade, imagined, remembered, or desired" depending on time and context (Black, 2002, p. 126).

Studies of home and domesticity are now firmly on the agenda within and beyond geography. Indeed, transdisciplinary research on home as a material and symbolic space is evidenced and well established (Ahmed, 1999; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012; Dudley, 2010). All of these works have questioned the complexities and ambiguities, and recognised the significance of home, belonging and domesticity in everyday life.

The home spaces can be concurrently liberating and disempowering, as they are sites of comfort, privacy and security as well as sites of fear, conflict and withdrawal (Brickell, 2012, 2014). Traditionally, home is considered a private space, idealised “as a safe, loving and positive space” (Valentine, 2001, p.63), where women are in charge of making and maintaining the home. Home spaces, in particular kitchen spaces, are categorised as women’s space. The dichotomy of ‘public’ and ‘private’ has different meanings for women of colour than for ‘white’ women (Collins, 1990). Feminists have challenged this traditional notion of home by illustrating some women’s experiences of domestic violence, abuse and oppression within a family home (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Rose, 1993). In contrast, feminists of colour argue that home can be a site of resistance in the face of white hegemony (hooks, 1989, 1990, 2009). It has often been an object of profound distrust for scholars such as Rose (1993), for example, who considers a sense of home as place-based but finds the way humanistic geographers discuss it problematic. She argues that often homes can be stifling places of drudgery, abuse and neglect for women and others who have been victims of abuse (Rose, 1993).

Rose (1993, p. 56) claims that many women would not recognise home as a place that is “conflict-free, caring, nurturing and almost mystically venerated by the humanists”. Indeed, home can be a site of oppression and patriarchal domination of women when daily domestic activities are only carried out by women and girls (Mallett, 2004). However, these homemaking practices also represent the ways houses turn into homes (Basnet, 2016a; Blunt & Dowling, 2006). In other words, feeling ‘at home’ can be achieved through everyday homemaking practices (see Mallett, 2004). If home spaces become the site of suffering and adversity, they can create difficulties in resettled Bhutanese women’s and girls’ day-to-day activities, which may produce conflicting self-constructed identities and emotional turmoil (see Baxter & Brickell, 2014). In a study of globalisation,

marriage and masculinities, Kabeer (2007) illustrates a range of resistances by men who are reluctant to give up their male privileges. Harcourt (2009) argues that men feel intimidated and may feel their masculine identity is threatened when they are involved in domestic chores. Hegemonic models of masculinity uphold men as the providers and household heads, but not the carers of society (Kabeer, 2007).

Other research conducted by African-American scholars, however, argues that when women's embodiment, including skin colour, highlights differences in the neighbourhood in which they live, home spaces can be an expression of love, nurturance and caring, allowing them to escape the painful realities of racist oppression (hooks, 1990). In her book, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, hooks (1990) finds home spaces empowering, as spaces of safety and as sites of resistance. She experienced home as a site of care and relative freedom from oppression in the face of white hegemony. As a black girl growing up in a starkly segregated society, she documented her observations and experiences of black people suffering in public spaces, especially in the homes of white people where they worked as domestic servants. In this sense, home for hooks is a place of resistance and escape from oppressive white supremacy (hooks, 1990).

Literature on resettled refugees in third countries has usually focused on how their sense of home is maintained in the new country (Dudley, 2011; Habte, 2017; Taylor, 2015). For people with refugee backgrounds, including Bhutanese women and girls, what constitutes or defines home is not necessarily safety and security at all. It is experienced on multiple scales: the individual home; community; and the nation (see Valentine 2001). Resettled Bhutanese were forced to flee from what they considered to be home, making security their top priority in the flight to Nepal and then to New Zealand. Malkki (1995a, p. 509) argues that it is impossible to feel at home in a place from which one has fled; therefore, 'going home', returning to Bhutan, may mean returning to a dangerous place. In her research on encamped Karenni refugees from Myanmar (formerly known as Burma) in Thailand, Dudley (2010, p. 156) argues that linking 'security' and home "to assume a synonymy between it and what makes somewhere home" is a categorical mistake, although refugees do work for well-being, safety, security and some degree of contentment. She illustrates this through her study of Karenni

refugees in the Thai borderland and asserts that refugees will persistently seek, actively become involved in, and spend considerable effort trying to recreate pre-exile life in their current home. These activities are to create their current environment as ‘familiar’, ‘idealised’ and to replicate their way of life in the place they have fled from to maintain a sense of continuity with the past (Dudley, 2010). She inquires:

Why would they [refugees] do this if it were not important to them? And by what right do we outsiders claim that the life and place for which they long and/or which they seek to reestablish, do not really constitute ‘home’ (or even exist, in the forms in which they are imagined)? (Dudley, 2010, p. 156)

If it is not security, as Dudley (2010) points out, then what does feeling ‘at home’ consist of? Home can be, as Blunt and Varley (2004, p. 3) claim, a “space of belonging and alienation, intimacy and violence, desire and fear”. Feelings of being ‘at home’, in this research, are synonymous with what Entrikin (1991, p. 134) calls the feeling of being ‘in a place’. It often includes complex and multi-layered tensions of everyday experiences for refugee women, such as the resettled Bhutanese women and girls, which are dynamic and varied (Halley, 2014). Indeed, feelings of being ‘at home’ are viewed amid their link to, and relationship with, what women and girls do beyond the domestic space (Baxter & Brickell, 2014). Feelings of being ‘at home’ are, therefore, continually being negotiated, created and constructed, so Bhutanese women and girls may develop meaningful lives, emotional bonds and can feel a sense of belonging to heal the sudden and often traumatic uprooting from their original home.

One approach to thinking about the construction of home in a refugee context is to draw, for example, on Dudley’s (2010) and Turton’s (2005) expanding geographical, anthropological, archaeological and psychological literature that theorises and problematizes ‘place.’ As I point out, the approach to ‘place,’ which I have been discussing as home, is neither ‘here’ nor ‘there’. In much of the geographical literature on forced migration, this discussion is limited. Therefore, later in this chapter, I need to go beyond geography.

Some scholars have shown that gender is crucial while researching home as a lived experience and imagination (Dudley, 2010; Habte, 2017; Johnston &

Longhurst, 2013; Salih, 2003) and this has normalised gendered roles within home spaces (Morrison, 2010). Geographies of home and homemaking practices explore a range of topics, including women's remaking of home through food (Christie, 2006; Johnson, 2006; Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Longhurst, Johnston, & Ho, 2009); their relationship with photographs (Chambers, 2003; Rose, 2003, 2010) and/or objects (Dudley, 2011; Tolia-Kelly, 2004a, 2004b), and identities (Habte, 2017; Hall, 1990; Halley, 2014). Social, cultural and feminist geographers provide ways to understand how migrant women feel at home through family, food religion and material culture (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Longhurst et al., 2009; Philipp & Ho, 2010). Despite feminist intervention in geographical studies over recent decades, geography remains mostly 'invisible' in and does not remark upon the everyday lives of women and girls with refugee backgrounds.

In the home-themed issue of *Cultural Geographies*, Blunt and Varley (2004) emphasise that home space is often about gendered performances of domesticity. Women with refugee backgrounds tend to be responsible for the cultivation and preservation of home through private acts of nurturing and care, maintaining family, religion, embodiments and material objects, including food production and consumption (Dudley, 2010). These women are most likely to inhabit home spaces for extended periods (Hajdukowski-Ahmed et al., 2008a) through the repetitive everyday domestic activities needed to create family orderliness, cleanliness and care. This means they can be isolated and hidden from broader societal surveillance and scrutiny. Bhutanese women's and girls' homemaking practices are gendered and mostly performed by daughters-in-law, daughters, mothers and grandmothers. The performance of daily cooking and practices permit both "re-membling and re-thinking" of the life they had before they were forced to flee (Lloyd, 2001, p. 151). These domestic activities, including cooking and eating in home spaces, are central to the construction of their ethnic and gendered identities and hence, can be a space of empowerment (Meah & Jackson, 2013). The physical processes of undertaking everyday preparation of food, cooking, seeing, tasting, smelling and sharing food, house chores and taking care of family are fundamental in constructing memories of home (Longhurst et al., 2009).

Place plays a vital role in evoking visceral feelings, constructed through embodied experiences, which can further produce feelings of being in and out of place. Past experiences and memories are significant in feelings of belonging (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004). The place where a person grew up remains a central place in the life of that individual. hooks (2009), for instance, feels a sense of belonging in the Kentucky Hills, a place in her life filled with childhood memories, experiences and emotion. Dudley (2010, p. 56) describes the importance of social life for the Karenni refugees in the Thai borderland in relation to “myths and rituals”, “traditional approaches to health and illness” and “general conversation”. Dudley (2010, p. 148) argues that “[d]oing it [familiar pre-exile practices and activities] and seeing it being done alike allow refugees to recall and feel a sense of continuity with a familiar way of life that has been unwillingly left behind”.

Falicov (2005, p. 399) asks: “If home is where the heart is, and one’s heart is with one’s family, language, and country, what happens when your family, language and culture occupy two different worlds?” This is the plight of resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand, whether it was fleeing from Bhutan, or opting-in for third-country resettlement. The challenges of maintaining cultural practices, religion, social bonds and family relations may generate feelings of being alienated or marginalised in these women and girls (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). In the same way, for people with refugee backgrounds, the presence of household members, freedom of cultural expression and practices, equal opportunities, a sense of respect and having important material possessions may generate feelings of attachment to their current home (Ager & Strang, 2004a; Baumeister & Leary, 1995). It is therefore essential to pay critical attention to women’s differences and their identities (Ahmed & Fortier, 2003). In their study on a sense of home, Blunt and Dowling (2006) point out that although power discourses are enacted within the domestic spaces of the home, the various material aspects of home in the studies of refugee women and girls are still missing. To build on this work, I draw on Foucault’s (2001) conceptualisation of power. Foucault coined the term ‘biopower’ to refer to the ways in which power manifests itself in the form of everyday practices and routines. According to Foucault (2001), power is not simply hierarchical but is lived or embodied in the everyday social life and operates everywhere. All the social relations and ties, including Self and Other,

individual and society, parents and children, are imbued with power relations. Foucault (2001, p. 361) claims that “space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power”. Following Foucault, this study shows it is essential that the everyday experiences of Bhutanese women and girls and associated meanings are understood within the complex discourse of signification, power structures and construction.

Bringing refugee women’s and girls’ everyday activities and their relationship to material objects, beliefs and practices to the fore might offer new perspectives in the field of geography and beyond. Certainly, as I pointed out in the introductory chapter, the concept of home is complex. It is something that newly resettled refugees experience in their everyday lives, as a result of “‘double displacement’, spatially and temporally” (Kabachnik, Regulska, & Mitchneck, 2010, p. 315). Ahmed (2000) offers a notion of home that does not necessarily mean belonging or ‘a place of origin’; instead it rests on when one feels at home and when one does not feel at home. In *Strange Encounters*, she argues home is “the lived experience of locality, its sounds and odours.” It is a process that embodies a continuous repetitive process of renegotiation (Kabachnik et al., 2010). It can be made in the process of a journey as well (Mallett, 2004) but I take into account when, how and under what circumstances people experience, function and imagine this process. Forcefully displaced people, such as resettled Bhutanese, had no choice in leaving their homes in Bhutan and are unable to return even when some of them have re-acquired significant resources.

Dudley (2010, p.159) points out that refugees’ sense of home occurs in two mutual ways: when people with refugee backgrounds “feel at home in the past of their memory or imagination” and when their past is actively constructed and reproduced in their current home. This means, refugees “are ‘at home’, differently, in both the past and the present - a metaphorical multilocality” (Dudley, 2010, p. 159). As Parkin (1999) explains, feelings of being ‘at home’ are not a fixed locus either in reality or the imagination, but rather are complex and repetitious notions. Dudley (2011, p. 746) states that “refugees work hard and creatively to maintain a sense of continuity with the past, with home and with whom they perceive themselves to be.” She makes the case that whether it is a physical place or a conceptual place, both are significant in forging a sense of being at home (Dudley,

2010), yet in much of the refugee literature, women's efforts to create home are ignored. In contrast, when considering feelings of not being 'at home', Baxter and Brickell (2014) make a point that home *unmaking* should not be understood as homelessness, loss of attachment and lack of material integrity. Instead, it symbolises the recovery or remaking of home. Therefore, being and not being 'at home' is "always a question of memory, of the discontinuity between past and present" (Ahmed, 2000, p. 91).

The very discourses of home, particularly for people with refugee backgrounds, may be problematic as they can evoke negative feelings and emotions. Having been forced to flee from one's home can heighten the importance of both home as a shelter and the desire to build a new home in a wider community that is accessible. In discussing the paradoxes at play here, this research reaffirms the importance of both investigating and theorising embodied practices in an effort to represent refugees' everyday experiences through research and the importance of home as a way of structuring notions of being a refugee in a new place. It makes the very idea of home paradoxical. Kiliçkiran (2003) affirms that feelings of belonging can eventually be achieved through displacement.

Studies of people with refugee backgrounds indicate that refugees demarcate boundaries and maintain everyday activities within home spaces (Dudley, 2010; Habte, 2017; Hatoss, 2012). Such studies enable us to develop insights into how members of a particular refugee group or a community perceive and interact within and outside of their world (Dudley, 2010) as well as between Self and Other both "physiologically" and "socially" (Valentine, 2001, p. 15). The term Other implies marginalization of specific groups or individuals who are considered to be outside of the mainstream majority group (Ahmed, 2000; Hatoss, 2012). The process of Othering often results because of socio-cultural factors such as race, ethnic, gender, sexuality, class, and religious exclusion.

Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds are actively involved in creating a sense of home through being with family, staying connected, celebrating festivals, speaking Nepali, continuing customary practices, wearing traditional jewellery and clothes and producing and consuming similar cuisines which are an essential part of this effort. These social interactions help to maintain

a sense of connectedness with their past home and a sense of continuity by doing things that one did previously. The manifestations of cultural traditions, beliefs and values in everyday lived experiences may be heightened or blurred within the socio-cultural context of New Zealand. Participants' sense of belonging is affected by social interactions (Zevallos, 2008).

Valentine (2001) argues that home is an essential site of consumption. While theorising home consumption and its association with bodies, Reimer and Leslie (2004) argue that consumption and exhibitions of objects and goods reconstruct and reform individual and shared identities. Clothing and home, for example, are the primary sites of personal and domestic presentation and representation (Reimer & Leslie, 2004) as well as establishing links between 'old' and 'new' homes through domestic objects (Rose, 2003).

In addition to these debates, transnational studies consider physical, virtual and imagined ideas of home in multiple places at once (e.g. Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2010). Taylor (2015) suggests transnationalism is a continuing link between two or more nations. Bhutanese refugees, for example, spent considerable time in Bhutan and in the camps in the past. They are currently actively involved in the (re)creation and (re)negotiation of homes in New Zealand. Living in New Zealand (see Chapter 7) helps to maintain connections - real, virtual and imagined, which reinforce participants' sense of belonging in New Zealand, Bhutan, Nepal and elsewhere. Some scholars have explored the feelings about home and belonging in transnational spaces (Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier, & Sheller, 2003; Fortier, 2000; Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Salih, 2003), and fewer studies explore the experiences of refugees (Habte, 2017; Koser, 2007a). My research project intends to add to the growing body of work on refugee women and girls. There is potential in the future to explore the relationships between place, space and identity further, while examining the everyday lived experiences of women and girls with refugee backgrounds and their sense of home in a resettlement country and beyond.

Home or the feeling of 'being at home' is a concept and a process in this study; it is a process where some resettled Bhutanese women yearn for and are actively involved in making their current situation like their previous home in Bhutan and

Nepal (Dudley, 2010, 2011). Ahmed and Fortier (2003) also show that a sense of community is fluid, dynamic, complicated and shifting, and ranges from neighbourhood to virtual and to imagined community. It is worth noting that feelings of being 'at home' among respondents do not necessarily mean that they have everything they want, and their wishes and desires are satisfied. Instead, it signifies that they are in a place and time where their desires seem somehow familiar, their day-to-day lived frustrations seem somewhat bearable, and they are ready to face challenges that may arise in their everyday lives in New Zealand (Dudley, 2010). In her study on former European refugees in the United States, who had lived there for four decades, Colson (1991) argues that the lives of people with refugee backgrounds are always at risk. She further asserts that those who have been forcefully dislocated further fear displacement even years after post-resettlement (Colson, 1991). She says:

Whether or not they suffer further displacement, once people have learned from bitter experience that life is uncertain, possessions transitory, and human relationships brittle, it is to be expected that their coping strategies will take account of such possibilities even though these conflict with other urgent goals that they wish to attain. (Colson, 1991, pp. 19–20)

Dudley's (2010) work on Karenni refugees in the Thai borderland focuses on the materiality and multisensory processes of refugees and home in exile. In particular, she focuses on what it feels like to be a refugee and the construction of home through everyday life in the refugee camps through the collective cultural process. Her findings suggest that refugees have strong memories of their past home and try to replicate their everyday activities to feel at home in their current homes (see Blunt, 2003). As a result, they often undertake repeated imaginary and cognitive journeys between their current home and past home (Dudley, 2011; see also Blunt & Dowling, 2006) and in their social and intimate relationships (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Dudley (2011), for example, demonstrates that relatively newly arrived refugees have less time to become familiar with the new environment and are highly likely to feel out of place or to not belong in a new location. Long-term refugees create feelings of being at home by reconstructing their previous home in their everyday lives during the displacement. In other words, nostalgia is felt for homemaking practices in the present (Blunt, 2003).

In summary, home signifies ‘homemaking’ (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Dudley, 2010), recreated through social relations, relationships with other places, familiarities and creating the past in the present (Massey, 1992). There is a limited but growing literature linking feminist geography to refugee women in relation to belonging and feelings of being at home and emotional attachment based on place (Dudley, 2010; Habte, 2017; Munt, 2012). This research has been carried out in response to the lack of attention paid to gendered places, identity and belonging, especially with respect to refugee women and girls.

3.2 Refugees: Resettling bodies

This study explores the everyday experiences of Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds. It does not aim to classify their embodied experiences as either positive or negative, but to draw attention to how they get along with their new non-Bhutanese neighbours and neighbourhoods on a day-to-day basis (see Habte, 2017). Wilson (2016) suggests a need to research the associated meaning of these embodied experiences further. This project not only examines the everyday experiences of the resettled Bhutanese women and girls to explore their feelings of being at home, but also to link their discourses to broader geographies of belonging. The participants are mostly first generation and from the one-and-a-half (1.5) generation. Studies on international immigration suggest the first generation of immigrants are those who arrived in the new country after adulthood and the 1.5 generation are those who came before they were 10 years of age (Ellis & Goodwin-White, 2006; Habte, 2017).

How, then, might my focus on everyday experiences *highlight* feelings of being at home in New Zealand amongst Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds? One way to understand their everyday lives is by analysing their embodied experiences as bodies that vary greatly “in different political, socio-economic, and cultural contexts, and according to factors such as gender, class, age, race, or ethnicity” (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010, p. 148). In addition, ability, caste and religion are essential markers of identity (Halley, 2014). These indicators of identity are determinants of physical, social, economic and political circumstances and influence how people experience everyday geographies. They construct bodily differences through sameness and difference (Valentine, 2001). Gender is

fundamental to material culture, values and practices. In other words, cultural embodiment plays a crucial role in women's everyday experiences (Munt, 2012). Feminist geographers have demonstrated its centrality to understanding home and homemaking practices through everyday experience and a social imaginary (Morrison, 2010, 2013).

It is useful to understand how bodies are gendered. Since the time of the ancient Greeks, the body has been constructed as Reason's Other and performs in various ways at different times and in different places (Johnston, 2009). The body is also viewed as material, social and psychological (Hall, 1990) and marks boundaries between Self and Other. The varieties of embodied experiences indicate that bodies are constructed through different social, cultural, and economic networks and various spaces and places (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). Feminist geographers have challenged the binary between gender (mind) and sex (body) (Longhurst, 2005b). I am interested in how gender constructs resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' experiences of feeling (not) at home through their day-to-day activities, practices and beliefs.

In *Bodies that Matter*, Butler (1993) asks us to look at which bodies come to matter, and why. Butler deconstructs the notion that gender is something one is born with rather than what is procured and is governed by social norms. She suggests that scholars need to look at the gap between the values and interests of women's lives and those that inform dominant conceptual frameworks. Butler also refers to gender as a "historical category", as "one way of culturally configuring a body" (Butler, 2004, p. 10). Butler offers 'performativity' to unpack the ways that gender is embodied in the everyday lives of former refugee Bhutanese women and girls to embody cultural practices and values. Gender performativity, for Butler (1993, p. 9), is the repetition of social norms in everyday lived experiences where "boundary, fixity and surface" are produced. The performative is about the "reiteration of norms which precede, constrain and exceed the performer" (Butler, 1993, p. 234). Butler (1990) argues that bodies are acculturated and inscribed through the performance of repeated everyday practices and acts.

Studies on refugees' material culture and embodied experience are evident in numerous disciplines such as anthropology, geography, archaeology and psychology (Dudley, 2010, 2011; Lloyd, 2001). While the everyday activities and associated experiences of displaced people may be traumatising and negative, several aspects of embodiment need to be considered analytically to understand refugees' sense of belonging (Albrecht, 2016). Embodiment, materialities, spaces and places are core components in creating and recreating identity. In her book, *Material Culture and Embodied Experience among Karenni Refugees in Thailand*, Dudley (2010) finds it is the past embodied experiences of women's clothing, food, practices, habits and particular objects that are often remembered and longed for by people with refugee backgrounds after resettlement. These are ways to make new countries feel like home, which also shows their significance and power (Dudley, 2010). Since people have multiple yet contradictory identities, they can both feel inside and outside of place (Rose, 1993). Zevallos (2008) argues that in the process of achieving sameness with each other, Others are constructed through bodily differences. Dudley, however, claims that the female body "is so often neglected" (Dudley, 2010, p. 163) in refugee studies.

Geographers have examined how "places are embodied, and bodies are emplaced" (Johnston, 2009, p. 326). Bodies and spaces construct each other in complex and nuanced ways (Longhurst, 2005a). For example, Nast and Pile (1998, p. 1) argue that "we live our lives through places, through the body" and consequently they highlight the need to examine the interconnections between bodies and places. McDowell (1999a) further underlines the centrality of bodies in understanding gendered spaces. She (1999a, p. 68) states:

The placing of the body right at the centre of social theory has perhaps been one of the most exciting moves in contemporary theoretical endeavours...[Q]uestions of the sexed body - its differential construction, regulation and representation - are central to an understanding of gender relations at every spatial scale.

This indeed indicates that bodies and space are inseparable and performed, resisted, disciplined and oppressed within and through space. How bodies move and act in the process of creating a sense of home is of vital importance to the production of subjectivities (Law, 2001). I use the term 'bodies' to refer to the

gendered bodies as discussed by feminist geographers (Johnston, 2009; Longhurst, 2001, 2005a; Longhurst & Johnston, 2014), and in particular, the bodies of former refugee Bhutanese women and girls.

Bodies always connect to and are part of, circuits of power. The status of women and their experiences has always been a central concern in feminist scholarship. Similarly, Longhurst (2005a) proposes that feminist geographers use the body as a fundamental concept when discussing space and place. It is essential to consider gender and embodiment because each body experiences particular places and spaces differently. Literature suggests that places and spaces play a crucial role in constructing refugees' identities whether it is about their real or imagined home (Ahmed, 1999; Wiles, 2008). This study is of critical importance because little is known about gendered places and bodies of refugee women and girls. I am interested in how resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' day-to-day embodiment through clothing, jewellery, language, tradition and practices can contribute to feeling part of New Zealand. How do self-perceptions shape and in turn become shaped by the experiences of living in New Zealand?

Studies of refugees show that the traditional and cultural practices, including beliefs and festivals, are ways refugees prioritise their desire to make their current situation more familiar (Dudley, 2010). Values, habits and practices, in general, govern people's everyday lives and give meaning to them. For people with refugee backgrounds, it is of particular importance to find meaning and guidance in everyday lived experiences. This embodied relationship between habit, practices and meaning produces both individual and a community sense of identity and belonging in everyday life. Women and girls with refugee backgrounds may have different expectations placed on them due to gender. Studies on resettled Sudanese refugee women in Australia show that traditional gender roles and family obligations were favoured within particular cultural groups (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010). The cultural process does not end when people are forced to flee; instead, it can tend to become more complicated. Thus, the resettled women and girls might need to enact old and new gender relations.

In the process of making refugee women visible, they are embodied differently, mainly through clothing, jewellery, appearances, food and other cultural attributes.

The markers and boundaries of sameness and difference in the use of language, accent, skin colour, appearance and food consumption and preparation can affect how resettled Bhutanese women and girls feel at home and belong in New Zealand. For example, Bell and Valentine (1997) illustrate how the consumption of food and drink creates boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in relation to the nation and sub-state nation.

Research on Latin and Turkish women in Australia shows even though these women considered the country their home and had taken on Australian cultural practices and values, they were often reminded of their Otherness from white Australians through the question 'where are you from' (Zevallos, 2008). The literature on refugee women shows that often these reminders and reinforcement in public spaces can result in adverse and problematic situations (Dudley, 2010). The everyday embodied aspects of clothing, jewellery, and other cultural attributions become sites of how women's and girls' lives are continuously remade, re-established and preserved in New Zealand but these differences in their look also ironically signify that they are from somewhere else.

Clothing and jewellery among women and girls with refugee backgrounds play a vital role in marking and strengthening connections as well as differences within and between groups (Dudley, 2010). The differences between Self and Other do not collapse but instead remain separated. Dudley (2010) argues that embodying specific clothing, or conversing in specific ways, among refugee women is a vital and a deliberate act of signifying belonging to the group as well as representing differences between groups. She, for example, claims that embodying distinct clothing is an 'aesthetic' that signifies "economic, political and social" activities (Dudley, 2010, p. 127). Not only is women's clothing viewed as a corporeal collective marker of identity (Fortier, 1999), it also creates connections with similar Others. It is, however, taken for granted and under-studied.

Dudley (2010) warns scholars not to falsely assume that being a refugee entails a loss of culture, although refugees may face difficulties in integrating to a new country and a new environment because of it (Gharti, 2011). Dudley (2010, 2011) argues that people with refugee backgrounds display their yearning for a sense of emplacement by using various strategies in their everyday activities and by

recreating and negotiating some degree of familiarity in places through materialities including clothing, jewellery, objects, photographs and food, beliefs and practices. Parkin (1999) notes that displaced people, like refugees, for example, often carry physical objects including art, artefacts and ritual objects that help them to survive in their newly settled place while imagining their pre-exile life. Like Dudley (2010, p. 9) this research shows that resettled Bhutanese women and girls try to feel 'at home' through every possible route available. These activities are a fundamental aspect of trying "to make sense of removal from a familiar place and to make the present 'here' more bearable" (Dudley, 2010, p. 9).

Longhurst (1997) indicates that there is a growing interest amongst scholars to study embodiment as discursively produced, inscribed and represented. She further argues that it is almost impossible to understand bodies outside their embeddedness in space (Longhurst, 1997). Studies on the everyday lived experiences of former refugees indicate multi-layered complexities, negotiations and contradictions between languages, practices, beliefs and norms in their past and present homes (e.g. Dudley, 2010; Hajdukowski-Ahmed et al., 2008a). In their research on Afghan refugees in the US, Lipson and Omidian (1997) found that inadequate English language can influence family relationships, healthcare access, and job opportunities. Moreover, Dudley (2010) notes the significance of past gendered embodied experiences through clothing, food, practices, habits and specific objects are often remembered and longed for by people with refugee backgrounds in their resettled countries. These are ways to make these new countries feel like a home, which also shows their significance and power. Dudley (2010, p. 163) also, however, claims that this embodiment "is so often neglected". My study intends to add to this limited but significant and growing area of work.

3.3 The emotional geographies of refugees

Emotional geography is a new and exciting field of social, cultural and feminist research. Emotions are ways of expressing a broad range of feelings such as happy, sad, angry, scared, tender, or excited (Bondi, 2009; Davidson & Smith, 2009). The overlap between emotional and affective geographies has tended to

divide geographers regarding whether feelings arise from affect or emotion (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013).¹⁶ Bondi (2009, p. 448) states:

Emotions are intrinsically sensory. We feel and we are touched by emotions bodily. We smell, taste, see and hear emotion, whether understood as arising within us or encountered in our interactions with people and places.

Emotional experiences come from the interaction between people and place depending on whether others accept them in various communities (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Hepworth, 2005). Indeed, emotions are not only tied to the body; they are also produced by surroundings and broader social power relations (Bondi, 2005; Thien, 2005). Feminist scholars have questioned emotion as it represents embodied experiences, where sites and context matter. Social, cultural and feminist geographers have significantly contributed to the development of emotional geographies. Pile (2010, p. 17) advised scholars engaging with emotional geography to be cautious about “reflecting on why emotional geographies should be conducted in the first place” and “why emotions are important and interesting.” Pile (2010, p. 7, emphasis added) states:

By taking women’s experiences of space and place seriously, and treating the personal as political, feminist geographers were alert *not only* to the emotions and feelings that women experienced in particular areas and space *but also* to how emotions framed and circumscribed sexed and gendered experiences of places and spaces.

Emotion is transpersonal and is transmitted within and between bodies (Shouse, 2005). In this regard, context, connections and circumstances are crucial to the way emotion comes to matter in influencing how women relate to one another and negotiate their lived experiences. Indeed, it is impossible to completely understand the geographies of everyday lived experiences and how societies are made, without considering the role of emotion (Anderson & Smith, 2001). Embodiment, context, environment, material objects, spaces and places are a core component in reconstructing and renegotiating emotional experiences and feelings

¹⁶ I realise that many feminist geographers talk about emotion and affect and I recognise that there is a relationship between collective emotion and affect. In this particular piece of research it is, however, most useful for me to focus solely on emotion rather than both because my study is about individual and localised feelings of women and girls.

of being at home. Since this study investigates how resettled Bhutanese women and girls experience their ordinary lives in New Zealand, it is crucial to consider emotion.

Policy-oriented research based on the New Zealand refugee resettlement strategy focuses primarily on economic integration (Marlowe, Bartley, & Hibtit, 2014). While economic integration is considered critical to the daily livelihood of refugees, employment is not the one and only “de facto measure of holistic settlement and acculturation” (Marlowe et al., 2014, p. 63). In her research on the 1.5 generation of Afghan refugee women in New Zealand, Habte (2017) argues that confining the focus to economic integration or employment limits our holistic understanding of resettlement and the creation of positive change in the refugee resettlement strategy. Her findings indicate that home and homemaking practices are embodied experiences infused with emotions that are concurrently positive and negative. Understanding these everyday experiences is significant in understanding feelings and attachment and is vital in helping to ensure the successful resettlement of Afghan women and similar groups in New Zealand (Habte, 2017). The gauge of belonging is sensory and emotional, based on relationships that are understood through corresponding perceptions and understandings of the inclusion or exclusion of others (Taylor, 2009). Feelings of being at home result from emotion in a place that generates socio-spatial forms of inclusion and exclusion (Antonsich, 2010). This project adds the geographies of emotions to the resettlement process of refugee women and girls.

Feelings of being at home are considered through a combination of spatial, social, psychological and emotional elements (Habte, 2017). Feeling at home is a key component in shaping identities, belonging, and staying connected with family and cultural values and practices (Kabachnik et al., 2010). Thus, home becomes a site of powerful memories and emotions, which is influenced by individuals’ desires and hopes for the future (Kabachnik et al., 2010). It is impossible to understand a sense of belonging without understanding emotions in the process of being and becoming (Davidson and Milligan, 2004). In addition, the process of homemaking amongst migrants, including people with refugee backgrounds, may expose them “to racism, exploitation, social exclusion and fuel uncertainty about the future”, which may encourage feelings of “being unwanted and undervalued

by society” (Raven-Ellison, 2013, p. 137). Therefore, neglecting feelings and emotions means “to exclude key relations through which places and bodies become meaningful” (see Longhurst, Johnston, & Ho, 2008, p. 210).

As mentioned earlier, the notion of home in the first instance amongst women and girls with refugee backgrounds may be problematic, as it may evoke some traumatised and negative emotions resulting from having to flee forcefully from their original home and some family members. There is a growing interest in exploring the role of emotions and embodied experiences for displaced people (Joyce, Earnest, Mori, & Silvagni, 2010; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Wang, 2016; Wise, 2004a), particularly for refugee women (Dudley, 2010; Habte, 2017; Lindqvist, 2013; Munt, 2012). Only a few researchers have explored the role of emotion in homemaking practices and diasporic belonging (Ahmed et al., 2003; Fortier, 2000). This research concentrates on the material and symbolic sites of home and homemaking practices on domestic, national and transnational scales (Blunt, 2005; Dudley, 2010, 2011; Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Tolia-Kelly, 2004a, 2004b) of Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. This project seeks to add to the significant ongoing work of emotional refugee geographies in the resettlement process of women and girls.

A concern arises as to how to relate emotion and the ways in which refugee women and girls (re)negotiate the meaning of home in their everyday lives post-resettlement in New Zealand. Research on refugee women has shown that it is often women who go through the loss of social and local networks caused by migration (Eastmond, 1993). Literature also suggests that loss of friends, family members, food, language and values may represent a threat to one’s identity that can lead to grief, despair and nostalgia (Beaton, Musgrave, & Liebl, 2018; Gerber, 2015; Habte, 2017; Kamri-McGurk, 2012). Settling in a new country that has unique practices, beliefs, expectations and language can be challenging and overwhelming for every individual and can be very problematic for people with refugee backgrounds. Refugee women and girls, in particular, are more vulnerable and at risk in flight, asylum and resettlement as they are involved in having the dual responsibilities of maintaining family and the community (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou, & Moussa, 2008b).

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Bhutanese women and girls live in New Zealand under various subcategories of the quota programme, including ‘women and girls at risk’, ‘medical/disabled’ and ‘UNHCR priority protection’, including ‘family reunification’ (see Ferguson, 2011). These categories add additional complexities to the mundane experiences of these women and girls in New Zealand. The everyday post-resettlement issues including unemployment, language barriers, housing issues, culture shocks, intergenerational clashes, racisms and gender conflicts can evoke fear, loneliness, isolation and exclusion (Fozdar, 2009; Hagaman et al., 2016; Tilbury, 2007). They can also be frightening, painful, and include a loss of a sense of self and respect for the self (Groot & Hodgetts, 2012). These feelings can be exacerbated by their current circumstances, situation, stigma and social marginalisation that may be evoked in their everyday lived experiences.

In her research on the relationships between heterosexuality, love and home, Morrison (2010) claims that emotional geographies are crucial to decoding these emotions, feelings and senses into dialogue and discussions on the facets of the everyday life of people in places. My performative research explicitly engages with the significance of bodies through gesture, touch, sight and smell in everyday life, as it has been particularly important in creating feelings of being at home. Emotions and feelings are inseparable when examining the embodiment of women and girls with refugee backgrounds. These senses are constructed through the medium of bodies and embedded in social and spatial relations (Ahmed, 2000; Longhurst et al., 2009). Emotion and feelings all come together while examining the everyday lived experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. Tuan (2004, p. 165) explains belonging as “home that can be directly experienced - not just seen, but heard, smelled, and touched - is necessarily a small and intimate world. It is this direct experience that gives a home its power to elicit a strong emotional response”.

Family, for resettled Bhutanese, involves complex relationships as it plays a significant role in evoking emotional experiences and feelings. In the process of taking refugees into a new country, including resettlement, not only are families and communities dislocated, but the relationships to land, cultural and religious practices are also disrupted (Hajdukowski-Ahmed et al., 2008b). Emotional

geographies are significant in studies of refugee women, like Bhutanese women and girls, as family members and relatives are distant, dispersed and scattered. Participants' families and relatives are left behind not only in the search for safety but also when choosing to opt-in for the third-country resettlement programme. The everyday experiences of the loss of the extended family or left behind family members are particularly hard for Bhutanese women. Third-country resettlements have severed family and social ties that could offer everyday emotional and practical support with family and household responsibilities (Ferguson, 2011). In Nepali culture, grandparents help with childcare and mothers, aunts and sisters provide emotional support in times of difficulty. This is not possible after the resettlement as family members are resettled in two or more countries, and others are left behind in the camp. As a result of isolation, participants, mostly married women and mothers, carry emotional burdens in their current home. Previous work on refugees shows that separation from the family members in a new country can negatively affect health and well-being (Berman, 2001). Resettled Bhutanese women and girls may experience stress, anxiety and fear as a result of their separation from loved ones.

Similarly, in theorising about belonging later in this chapter, I view emotions as embodied experiences that are intrinsic to the process of being and becoming (Christou, 2011). Emotion is important in creating bonds and demarcating boundaries (Wright, 2015). Scholars have looked at domestic space, material objects and practices and their attachments while discussing feelings and emotions (Miller, 2001; Schwartz & Ryan, 2003). Material objects, including photographs, often help refugees to recall past experiences, which may simultaneously involve positive and negative emotions. These objects and goods often embody attachments and emotions. Not being able to afford these objects and goods in their current home can be accompanied by feelings of anxiety, fear or concern. For example, Chambers (2003) and Rose (2003, 2010) scrutinise how domestic objects such as family photographs and photo albums are embedded in social practices and also are imbued with, and represent, many significant emotions and feelings (Morrison, 2013). Having and looking at photographs taken by family, relatives and friends who live far apart evokes a complex, and often negative, range of feelings and emotions (Rose, 2010).

In her research on the everyday viewing of family photographs by mothers with young children in England, Rose (2003, p. 15) argues that family images signify presence and absence where domestic spatiality is stretched “through a relationship with people, places and times that are not in the home at the moment of looking, or at least if they are, they no longer appear as they did in the photo.” Looking at these photographs might evoke strong feelings of proximity, affective bonds, social positions, connectedness, a space for the family (Chambers, 2003; Rose, 2003, 2010), overcoming loss and absence and emotional bonds to new places (Rey, 2016). The only way to feel the presence of ‘missing’ family members is through having and looking at family photographs in both wall frames and albums (Chambers, 2003; Rose, 2003). As Rose (2003, p. 7) suggests, family photos signify “absence, emptiness and loss as well as togetherness”, even if they are captured in the happy moments.

Photo albums and family photos on the wall, as Chambers (2003, p. 114) illustrates, often represent attempts by women to bring “generations and geographies of isolated and dislocated familial units” together. Rose (2003, p. 8) asserts that “it is women, and only women, who undertake this family photography work...it is rare for a man to frame one and unheard of for him to sort, display or send them”. It was women who strongly emphasised photographs as they seemed to be complying with a gendered role as curators of family memories (Rose, 2003, 2010). Photographs represent emotions, not only about the visual content in the present, but also what can be done with them in the future (Rose, 2003, 2010). The importance of photographs, especially among people with refugee backgrounds, is much more complicated and diverse than most research suggests.

Several adult respondents mentioned that photographs, cultural iconographies and sacred artefacts were some of the domestic objects they brought with them to New Zealand. Having these objects that are integral to them in everyday life in New Zealand are ways to revisit their previous home (see Chapter 6). Research on displaced people shows that photographs become an embodied and interactive space through which memories, belonging and identities may be negotiated and contested (West, 2014). Photographs can be used to re-access not just memories and different perspectives, but also the changes they personify at present (West,

2014). Revisiting past experiences through images can at times arouse mixed feelings - positive and negative.

Feelings of belonging can also be infused with emotion through inclusion and exclusion at the community level, as well as those based on ethnicity, class and 'race' (Dwyer, 1999; Habte, 2017; Migdal, 2004; Nelson & Hiemstra, 2008; Rose, 1990; Slocum, 2011). Ethnicity is a contested concept, the meanings of which change over time and across space (Li & Skop, 2009). The major consensus among scholars is that ethnicity is a social classification that catalogues different groups of people based on shared commonalities such as language, traditions, values and symbols, culture, faiths, food preferences, festivals or celebrations, social ties, music, neighbourhood, country of origin and migratory status (for more see Li & Skop, 2009). I also acknowledge the problematic construction of whiteness. When a particular group of people or a person migrates to a country with a white majority, all non-white groups are considered as ethnic minorities while whiteness becomes ethnically invisible (Li & Skop, 2009). When I mention ethnic women or ethnic communities, I refer to people with particular cultural characteristics.

For example, in the study of Karenni refugees in Thailand's refugee camp, visible cultural practices, such as wearing traditional clothing and jewellery, provoked prejudice and discrimination against the refugee group (Dudley, 2010). Walking in a Thai village wearing Karenni traditional clothing suggested one was an enemy or even a suspected illegal immigrant. Many Karenni refugees would either avoid going to the village or abandon wearing their traditional clothing to hide their identity (Dudley, 2010). Research shows that people with refugee backgrounds are repetitively excluded and marginalised and are often left with few choices in new countries (Duran, 2017). It can generate negative experiences among women and girls with refugee backgrounds, and therefore they may not feel at home.

Food can evoke emotions and feelings amongst people with refugee backgrounds. Geographical work on food and food consumption has focused on the pleasures and frustrations of private eating practices (Bell & Valentine, 1997). Food is used to engage with memory through the visceral experiences of taste, aromas and

textures to fulfil a sensual need in times of isolation, alienation and longing for home (Ahmed et al., 2003; Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Longhurst et al., 2009). As in many cultures, resettled Bhutanese women and girls are primarily responsible for purchasing, preparing and cooking food for families on an everyday basis (see Burns, 2004). Food not only helps participants to feel at home and acts as “a bridge to a new home” but also “prompts them to miss home” (Longhurst et al., 2008, p. 210). The visceral experiences of food evoke not only empowering emotional pleasures but also memories of past experiences tied to food and home (see Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Longhurst et al., 2008). These attempts to recover or reconnect with the past are often simultaneously painful and pleasurable (Ankersmit, 2005).

Cultural activities, including religious and festival activities, arouse emotions (Duff & Waitt, 2011). Resettled Bhutanese women and girls have their unique language, cultural practices, beliefs, habits, traditions and expectations. Often it is women and girls who embody these values, beliefs and practices in their everyday lives and these commonalities are what make them feel emotionally connected (Dudley, 2010; Liu, 2011). Duffy and Waitt (2011) argue that emotions are activated through festival activities, such as listening to musical performances, joining in dance, the aromas and tastes of food and shared experiences. Resettled Bhutanese have their unique festivals and celebrations, such as Dashai [a ceremony in which elders bless younger members of the community by placing tikka, red dots, on their foreheads], Dipawali [festival of lights], Holi [festival of colours], Teej [a three-day-long celebration that combines feasts and rigid fasting by Hindu women for marital happiness and the well-being of spouses and children] and so on, to facilitate the expression and demonstration of values, cultures and histories in New Zealand. When their neighbours and neighbourhood fail to appreciate these differences, it can create adjustment issues, and possibly lead to discrimination in New Zealand (Wille, 2011).

These cultural adjustment issues can occur in three different ways. Firstly, people with refugee backgrounds might feel segregated while denying a new country's culture to preserve their own (Miranda, Bilot, Peluso, Berman, & Meek, 2006). Secondly, they might feel marginalised while neglecting their own cultural identity and concurrently do not want to follow a resettlement country's culture

(Miranda et al., 2006). Thirdly, they might feel assimilated when neglecting their cultural identity while trying to adopt a new culture (Miranda et al., 2006). This process of cultural adaptation is called acculturation (Miranda et al., 2006). Segregation, marginalisation and/or assimilation can eventually trigger emotions such as being sad, angry and lonely.

In their study on former refugees in Britain, Fazel and Stein (2002, p. 366) refer to this period of adjustment as ‘secondary trauma’. During these periods, women and girls may continue to experience multiple stressors, including racism, financial difficulties, cultural and linguistic differences and loss of familiar support systems (Fazel & Stein, 2002; Lipson & Omidian, 1997). Racism takes many forms, but one form that is used to analyse the everyday experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls manifests as “avoidances, aversion, and separations enacted by the privileged in relation to the oppressed” (Young, 1990a, p. 142). New Zealand has different languages, cultural practices and expectations compared to that of resettled Bhutanese (Gilhooly & Lee, 2014). These differences can generate marginalisation, segregation and assimilation among former refugees during resettlement. As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter, New Zealand does not offer cultural orientation; instead it provides a six-week orientation upon arrival in the country.

Other research indicates that there is a lack of language and cultural knowledge between the mainstream community and newly resettled refugees, which leads to misunderstandings (Fangen, 2006). These misunderstandings can trigger feelings of humiliation among newly resettled refugees (Fangen, 2006). In other words, people from refugee backgrounds might feel ‘put down’ and not acknowledged as equally competent as local people by the established community (Fangen, 2006). It produces social exclusion and multiple forms of disadvantage that elicit extreme negative emotions and feelings (Danso, 2002). Even when newly resettled refugees do everything possible to attain successful integration in their new community, their expectations of finding appropriate job opportunities are often unmet, which can cause anger (Fangen, 2006). Integration takes place when resettled refugees follow the culture of a new country while maintaining their own (Miranda et al., 2006).

Much of the literature on refugees and asylum seekers tend to look at young people's everyday lives as 'between two cultures'. Some research focuses on assimilation or integration within mainstream society and on how/whether the refugees' original culture is retained (Ager & Strang, 2004b; Sporton & Valentine, 2007). In her study on Vietnamese Australians with refugee backgrounds, Nunn (2015) argues that young people undergo a range of emotional experiences as they put their efforts into adapting to the cultures of their present and previous homes. When two different cultures are embodied in the present, the term 'hybridity' is used to describe this (Anthias, 2010). Malkki (1995a, 1995b) offers the concept of 'liminality' to analyse people's experiences of living in, and in-between spaces and nation states. I will use the concept of liminality as it best describes the experiences of my participants. On the one hand, young Bhutanese women may feel in some way liminal when they grow up in a different country to their country of origin. Being born in Nepal but growing up in New Zealand can increase tension and alienation, which can make these young women feel part of neither New Zealand's culture nor their parents' culture. On the other hand, adult Bhutanese women may have a strong sentimental attachment to their traditional practices and beliefs, so they may also experience themselves as in some way liminal. They may experience a sense of loss while they confront an extreme new culture and adjust to new practices and beliefs in New Zealand.

As Anderson and Smith (2001, p. 7) assert: "At particular times and in particular locations there are moments where our lives are so explicitly lived through pain, bereavement, elation, anger, love and so on that the power of emotion relations cannot be ignored". Although every individual's everyday experiences and feelings vary considerably at different times and situations, these bodily sensations evoke emotion among the resettled Bhutanese women and girls. Obviously, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' policy for accessing embodied knowledge and emotional responses. These everyday complexities, including issues around homemaking and associated experiences and their feelings and emotions, are mostly never shared or discussed in-depth with outsiders. Instead, the resettlement experiences of Bhutanese that are mostly focused on are the clinical and psychological aspects, such as trauma, depression and suicide (Acharya, 2008; Benson, Sun, Hodge, & Androff, 2012; Gerber, 2015; Kulman &

Tsukii, 2014; Shrestha et al., 1998). The literature reviewed suggests that home and homemaking practices are embodied experiences in the context of displacement and emplacement (Habte, 2017). Thus, the discussion of emotional geographies is crucial. This study adds to this limited, but growing body of work on home and homemaking practices among women and girls with refugee backgrounds.

3.4 Belonging: Feeling at home

Before defining the term ‘belonging’ for the purposes of this project, I should note that the Nepali translation of belonging is *aabadhatataa*. This term, however, is rarely used by the resettled Bhutanese in the same way as it is in English. ‘I belong here’ in Nepali would be ‘*ma yo thau ko ho*’ [this is my place] rather than the exact translation ‘*ma yo thau sanga aabadha chhu.*’ Mee and Wright (2009, p.772) argue that belonging is inherently geographical as it translates to ‘being in place’. Over the past two decades, belonging has been considered across various fields of study and is a contested term. Research on refugees indicates that a feeling of belonging is key to successful resettlement. This is increasingly a prominent theme in the refugee resettlement literature (Ager & Strang, 2008; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013, 2014; Gifford & Wilding, 2013; Habte, 2017; Marlowe, 2015; Nunn, 2015; Sampson, Marlowe, de Haan, & Bartley, 2016; Wille, 2011; Zevallos, 2008). The notion of refugee women’s belonging, however, is relatively under-theorised and ill-defined (Antonsich, 2010; Nunn, 2015).

Like home, belonging is multidimensional and inherently political (Mee & Wright, 2009; Migdal, 2004; Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005). Brickell (2012) illustrates that home spaces not only influence lives and experiences through material function but it also relates to a sense of place, attachment and belonging. Belonging is often grounded in the everyday realities of people’s lives (Habte, 2017). The term belonging, as Anthias (2016, p. 183) argues, “can no longer be linked to a fixed place or location but to a range of different locales in different ways...people might occupy different and contradictory positions and have different belongings globally”. This means that the discussion of belonging is complicated as people negotiate contested and dynamic claims to, and feelings of,

belonging to “ethnic racial and religious” groups (Moret, 2017, p. 3), places, communities and nation-states (Christou, 2011; Wright, 2015).

Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that there is a difference between belonging and the politics of belonging. A common analytical distinction between these two dimensions of belonging has been between the ‘feeling at home’ that emerges from everyday experiences, and the politics of belonging through citizenship, which grants membership of the nation-state (Antonsich 2010; Yuval-Davis 2006). The politics of belonging are characterized by questions such as “who belongs where; who decides who belongs where; on what basis is this belonging determined; who is considered to be in place or out of place; and who is authorized to represent place and community” (Taylor, 2009, p. 295) and “how is such belonging imagined and achieved” (Mee & Wright, 2009, p. 773). Building on Yuval-Davis (2006), I extend the work on belonging as place-belongingness and the politics of belonging, which stems from emotions (Antonsich, 2010). Belonging, in this study, is viewed “both as a personal, intimate, feeling of being ‘at home’ in a place (place-belongingness) and as a discursive resource that constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging)” (Antonsich, 2010, p. 644).

The process of belonging/inclusion or not belonging/exclusion is predicated on the interplay between sameness and difference through everyday efforts in achieving status, recognition, identity and imagined community (Taylor, 2009; Valentine et al., 2009). The literature review focuses on individual and collective feelings of being at home that emerge from everyday experiences and through citizenship (Strang & Ager, 2010). This is useful in understanding the significance of people, place, material objects and beliefs and practices in the construction of the Self and belonging. I use ‘belonging’ interchangeably with ‘feeling at home’ to reflect participants’ own broad conceptualisations. I examine the sense of belonging as feeling at home by exploring the ways resettled Bhutanese women and girls live everyday life in New Zealand. It is crucial that resettled Bhutanese women and girls feel a sense of belonging to their family, groups, communities and New Zealand. The questions then arise: who belongs to communities; what does it mean to be a member of any group or community; and how do people

articulate such meanings as belonging provides “support and strength necessary to women’s survival and fulfilment” (Hall, 1990, p. 49)?

Malkki (1994) questions the dominant discourses of people and place in refugee studies and suggests that place is central to refugees’ constructions of belonging. There are a variety of spaces, places and locales to which people feel they do *not* belong, or what Probyn (1996) identifies as ‘outside belonging’ and Cresswell (2009) calls ‘out of place’. These can be the invisible boundaries set for people and their practices that are considered culturally inappropriate. Feeling ‘out of place’ or ‘not belonging’ or ‘outside belonging’ should not be understood as simply being isolated by social agencies. Instead these are part of broader struggles in creating and maintaining communities (Ahmed & Fortier, 2003). This sense of belonging is essential for an examination of gendered belongingness in refugee studies, as it can generate socio-spatial forms of inclusion and exclusion; what Yuval-Davis (2011) describes as the politics of belonging.

Within the field of geography, various topics emerge that show embodied emotions and feelings of belonging. Contemporary social scientists have highlighted the importance of theorising belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Castree, Kitchin, & Rogers, 2013; Probyn, 1996) as well as the importance of “unpacking the ways that belonging is actively practised” (Mee & Wright, 2009, p. 774). The term belonging, however, has not been as rigorously theorized and contested as many other foundational terms (Antonsich, 2010; Wright, 2015). This is perhaps particularly evident in geography. Despite a few attempts to bring belonging into geography (Castree et al., 2013; Mayhem, 2009; Taylor, 2009), feminist geographers were slow to address the concept. For example, the first edition of the *Feminist Glossary of Human Geography*, published in 1999, does not have a formal entry for belonging (also see Antonsich, 2010). The glossary loosely uses the term *belonging* thrice: first, while discussing *hegemony* in geography, which touches on the role of place and cultural identities in forging a sense of belonging (p.114); second, to describe the masculine notion of home (p.125); and finally, to highlight gender differences in immigration policies in *state belonging* (p.179) (see McDowell & Sharp, 1999, pp. 114, 125 & 179). Even the second edition of the glossary published in 2014 has no formal entry. This project aims to address

this gap. By doing this, it further seeks to contribute to the literature on belonging in relation to refugee women and girls.

The question of belonging and all its ramifications is particularly relevant for people with refugee backgrounds as they experience multidimensional and discontinuous realities. Every new situation, context and environment profoundly reshapes refugees' identities and sense of belonging, sense of self, agency, and overall well-being. People with refugee backgrounds, particularly women and girls, confront "multiple, distinct challenges that impact their identities" and sense of belonging (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, 2008, p. 29). At the same time, Malkki (1995a, p. 508) challenges the assumption that "to become uprooted and removed from a national community is automatically to lose one's identity, traditions and culture". How then do Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds feel belonging, once they resettle in a third-country, like New Zealand, especially with distinct languages, cultures and traditions?

Studies on forcefully displaced people have shown that refugees are less likely to compromise their native culture and the values of their home (Graham & Connell, 2006; Roizblatt & Pilowsky, 1996). The embodied experience, therefore, plays a central role in forging a sense of belonging and feeling at home. In a study that investigated everyday experiences of mainstream majority groups with newly resettled refugee communities in Australia, Radford (2017) found that belonging or non-belonging is produced from day-to-day intercultural interactions. He claims that feelings of inclusion and belonging are produced when people with refugee backgrounds have positive experiences in their new community. Likewise, fear, exclusion and non-belonging are generated through negative interactions with their neighbours (Radford, 2017). Wise (2005) also demonstrates the existence of cross-cultural tension, discomfort and dissonance between whites and non-whites occurring from cultural incompatibilities.

The notion of belonging, however, has several meanings in various contexts. Language, cultural expressions and traditions, habits, clothing, values, religion, material culture, including food production and consumption and histories, are all symbolic markers of feelings of belonging (Antonsich, 2010) or what Zevallos (2008) calls 'ethnic identity'. The preservation of cultural identities is essential to

the politics of belonging (Huysmans, 2006). Belonging, therefore, can be used to address feelings of inclusion or exclusion from a particular place, which is derived from the emotions of people's everyday lived experiences (Habte, 2017). This is where the politics of belonging comes into play to form boundaries through inclusion and exclusion and feeling 'in place' and 'out of place' (Yuval-Davis, 2011). These feelings, however, vary across time, place and people. What might be significant to one person might not be equally important to another individual. It means people belong in different ways and at varying levels from neighbourhood to nations and diaspora with subjective desires and commitments (Probyn, 1996).

Yuval-Davis et al. (2005) argue that the notion of belonging occurs when people experience inclusion and exclusion in their social world. The experiences of belonging are both formal and informal, resulting from specific policies, injunctions and moral imperatives. For example, language can be used as a basis for politics of both belonging and exclusion, which excludes us from them and also generates a sense of community that generates a feeling of being at home (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Lack of English proficiency is seen as a barrier to social interaction, economic integration and full participation in the New Zealand context (Li, 2011; Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010; McLean, 2004). Although the use of language has profound implications for identity and belonging, it has not received much attention from geographers (Valentine, Sporton, & Nielsen, 2008).

A large proportion of the resettled Bhutanese community in New Zealand is not fluent in English. Most limited or non-English-speakers are middle-aged or older people and those who have been in New Zealand a shorter period of time. Even those who speak adequate English may not read it well enough to understand what is required of them from service providers. Lack of language proficiency in a new country also contributes to difficulties in finding jobs as well as to feeling part of that country (Pulla & Bah, 2016). Here education can play a vital role in dealing with their current situations (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Dryden-Peterson (2011) in the report *Refugee Education* asserts education is the highest priority for refugees, to serve as a stabilizer and a source of hope for the betterment of their future. Education can make them feel included and at home.

Studies on post-resettlement of refugees suggest that adaptation occurs disproportionately between parents and children, where young people with refugee backgrounds are quicker to learn the language and adopt new cultural practices than adults (Anderson, 2001; Atwell, Gifford, & McDonald-Wilmsen, 2009; Broome & Kindon, 2008; Marlowe et al., 2014). When children learn the new country's language more quickly than their parents do, it can create a complex range of tensions, mainly in the family, if generational role-reversal occurs in the home (Broome & Kindon, 2008; Marlowe et al., 2014). For example, resettled former refugee children may take on the task of negotiating the systems and arrangements, including being in the role of a family interpreter (Anderson, 2001; Atwell et al., 2009). Acting as family interpreter, which is considered to be an adult responsibility, can shape and reshape children's self-identification (Valentine et al., 2008). It challenges the family power dynamics, reduces parental control over children and gives more power to children (Broome & Kindon, 2008; Losoncz, 2016). This happens when refugees from developing countries, such as Bhutan and Nepal, are resettled in industrialised countries, like New Zealand, where children outnumber parents.

Research also shows that children can adapt to their newly resettled countries too quickly (Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). In a quantitative survey of young people whose parental language was not English, Waters et al. (2010) comment that generational bonds are disrupted when young people adjust at a much faster rate than their parents do. This adjustment gap creates generational tensions about cultural identity and maintenance of the family (Waters et al., 2010). Not being able to communicate in English for some Bhutanese women and their heavy reliance on children to perform everyday activities due to their language inability, can not only create a painful awareness of being excluded but also generate feelings of not belonging. This topic is largely unaddressed in refugee studies. Even the use of the English language at home by young Bhutanese can be a way of excluding those who are unable to understand and speak English. When the younger generation tries to integrate through English language, boundaries of not belonging through language may emerge within the household (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

In addition, young people with refugee backgrounds often go through identity crises as they “become the cultural brokers and interpreters for their families” (Pulla & Bah, 2016, p. 67). The primary source of cultural shock and tension may be constituted through differences in practices, beliefs, expectations, language and values among the established community and the newly resettled group. These adverse experiences not only create discomfort but also affect newly arrived refugees’ relationships with their established neighbours (Tanle, 2013). It can further limit feelings of belonging amongst resettled women and girls in resettlement countries (Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012; Segal & Mayadas, 2005), rather than merely through the nonconformity of their bodily practices.

In another study of the acculturation experiences of New Zealand’s diverse refugee population, Marlowe et al. (2014) comment that the resettlement strategy implemented by the New Zealand government is a one-way interaction that reduces its holistic approach to achieving the resettlement outcomes and values. In particular, they point out that consideration of how longer-established resettled groups and communities can help newcomers to resettle is absent in the New Zealand resettlement strategy (Marlowe et al., 2014). They suggest that family and friends who are satisfied with the everyday living conditions in resettlement countries are more likely to encourage their friends and family back home to join them than those who are less satisfied (Marlowe et al., 2014). The stronger the resettled group is in the refugee relocated countries, the more likely its members will feel a sense of belonging in their new community. The assumption is that well-settled groups are more likely to help newly arrived individuals with similar circumstances and histories to settle in. Receiving such support can develop strong bonds that can make new resettled refugees feel more at home (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that belonging to groups, including ethnic, racial, national, cultural, and religious, evokes the desire to contribute to the group in order to feel more attached. Similarly, people create and maintain communities based on mutual interests, beliefs, proximity among people through the Internet (Longhurst, 2017) and imagination (Anderson, 1991), rather than geographical boundaries.

Food, as in any community, plays a crucial role in constructing and reconstructing feelings of belonging among former refugee women and girls. It is one of several means used to facilitate inclusion, as well as to overcome cultural, social and economic barriers experienced by refugees and displaced people (Harris, Rowe Minniss, & Somerset, 2014). Research on food and community indicates that people with refugee backgrounds build social connections with their local community and other communities by sharing home-grown vegetables (Harris et al., 2014) and cuisine to feel part of their new community. In her study on Syrian refugee women in the Za'atari Camp, Mrayan (2016) argues that culturally appropriate food consumption in everyday life helped these women to maintain a sense of continuity with their Syrian everyday life in Jordan. For example, the Syrian refugee women would sell their UN-provided rations to get well-balanced meals of meat, milk, eggs and vegetables for their families in order to feel continued attachment to Syria while in Jordan (Mrayan, 2016). Bhutanese women and girls may feel alienated, marginalised and not at home when familiar foods are unavailable post-resettlement (also see Meah & Jackson, 2013).

Ager and Strang (2004a, 2008) argue that the personal and social ties among friends and family, and a sense of respect and shared values, are markers of belonging. Friendship and social bonds, for Hall (1990, p. 115), are ways to gain “intimacy, meaning, and emotional sustenance” as they enhance the life of an individual. Duran (2017) argues that people with refugee backgrounds yearn not just to live and work in the resettled countries, but also to be able to stay connected with people who share similar circumstances, history and experiences. Literature suggests that isolation and limited supportive social networks are more likely to make former refugees in industrialised countries feel as though they do not belong (Spicer, 2008). In the same way, I argue that refugees, mostly women and girls, might feel isolated and not belong as migrants in a new country where they are in the minority and have weak social bonds with neighbours and dispersed friends and family members. For instance, McLean (2004) highlights that approximately 70% of jobs in New Zealand are never advertised and are offered through connections, and Bhutanese women and girls arrive in New Zealand with few or no networks. Thus, finding these unadvertised jobs and

concurrently being women may create feelings of being isolated. Isolation can create a sense of not belonging among resettled Bhutanese women and girls.

Research on people with refugee backgrounds demonstrates that “successful resettlement depends on programmes which allow them to find a place in the new society, for example by converting their skills and qualifications so that they can be used in the new situation” (Duke, Sales, & Gregory, 1999, p. 106). In their study of Kosovan, Kurdish and Somali refugees in London, for example, Kaptani and Yuval-Davis (2008) suggest that refugees who have built a professional life, rather than being involved in casual labour, have a stronger sense of belonging to British society. Studies also suggest that being able to access safe, secure and affordable housing, affordable healthcare and education, and employment play a significant role in shaping a sense of belonging among people with refugee backgrounds (Phillips, 2006). The difficulties in finding (suitable) jobs, the language barrier and lack of acceptance in various spaces and places may generate feelings of being outsiders for these women and girls (Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008; Kaptani & Yuval-Davis, 2008; Sporton & Valentine, 2007).

Religion can also generate feelings of (not) belonging in newly resettled refugees because the resettlement transition from one culture to another can challenge individuals’ senses of identity (Nawyn, 2006). Religion can also provide a sense of cultural identity, social support and feelings of belonging (Benson et al., 2012; Gozdzia, 2008). McGregor (2012) examines the role of religious activities amongst African detainees in the UK and asserts that faith generates feelings of calm and uplifts its members, together with a sense of imagined community. Drawing on the experiences of young Muslim women in Southern England, Dwyer (1999) points out that ethnic minority communities are better understood as imagined because their norms and values are always in an on-going process of negotiation and contestation. These negotiations, however, may be even more complicated for adult resettled Bhutanese as they were forced to flee Bhutan because they were advocating for equal cultural, religious and linguistic rights.

Feelings of belonging or not belonging can be induced by material objects, including photographs (Dudley, 2011). For example, Tolia-Kelly (2004a, 2004b) has also studied the material artefacts and use of family photographs, alongside

images of landscape, cultural iconologies, sacred artefacts, and particular domestic possessions of settled South Asian women living in North London. Tolia-Kelly shows that geographies of home extend far beyond the household through imagination and connections between the past and the present and across diasporic space. For example, Syrian refugee women in the Za'atari Camp in Jordan convert caravans into homes with various familiar amenities and objects they had in their pre-exile life (Mrayan, 2016). As Tolia-Kelly (2004b, p. 685) argues, “[t]hese visual cultures operate beyond the mode of the visual, incorporating embodied memories of past landscapes and relationships with pre-migratory lives in colonial territories”. By looking at the materialities, including artefacts and objects of resettled Bhutanese women in New Zealand, I am interested in filling the gap on the significance of these objects in helping refugees to feel at home and have a sense of belonging (also see Tolia-Kelly, 2004a).

For some, belonging is entangled with citizenship as a form of collective identity (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Citizenship is a two-way process that is essential in producing security (Buonfino & Thomson, 2007; Ignatieff, 1995; Sporton & Valentine, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006) and social identity (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010) for people with refugee backgrounds in order to generate feelings of belonging. Here security is not just referring to feeling safe, but “to be[ing] comfortable in, and with, one’s environment” (Loader, 2006, p. 209). Several studies have highlighted the adverse link between an individual’s insecure legal status and their sense of not belonging in a particular place (Kaptani & Yuval-Davis, 2008; Nelson & Hiemstra, 2008). Resettled Bhutanese women and girls receive permanent resident (PR) status on arrival and are eligible to apply for citizenship after five years. Having PR and/or citizenship grants them full residence rights to stay, to work and to obtain social services like any other New Zealander (Marlowe & Elliott, 2014). At the same time, this also comes with everyday responsibilities such as obeying the law and paying taxes while working or buying houses. These statutory factors might lead Bhutanese women and girls to develop meaningful lives and can become the requisites in generating feelings of belonging (Loader, 2006).

Research on migrant and refugee women, however, shows that having citizenship itself is not sufficient to generate a sense of belonging to a nation-state (Sporton &

Valentine, 2007; Zevallos, 2008), as they struggle over “whiteness, indigeneity and diverse ‘ethnic others’” (Wright, 2015, p. 395). Taylor (2009, p. 299) argues that a sense of belonging depends on the everyday “lived experience of inclusion and affinity, and [is] undermined by experiences of exclusion, marginalization, and rejection” by a wider community of practice. Valentine, Sporton and Nielsen (2009) illustrate that despite having British citizenship, Somali in the UK can only feel in place when being accepted and recognised by mainstream residents. For example, Somali with UK citizenship may identify as British but if mainstream residents do not accept them as British and label them as outsiders and they become the subject of racial discrimination, then Somali with British citizenship may not feel as though they belong in that country (Valentine et al., 2009).

In a study on Sudanese refugees in Australia, Hatoss (2012) also found that despite obtaining Australian citizenship, the research participants’ identities were ascribed as outsiders by the mainstream Australians. For example, when mainstream Australians ask ‘where are you from?’ to well-established former refugees who have citizenship in Australia, it is a strong reminder of their status as outsiders, as being from somewhere else and not citizens of Australia (Hatoss, 2012). According to Loader (2006, p. 214,) the question ‘who am I?’ is mutually implied from the other questions ‘where do I belong?’ and ‘who cares about me?’ It indicates that not only are belonging and home inseparable and complex, but experiences of home are multi-layered (Loader, 2006). These everyday experiences of ‘othering’, racism or cultural difference create the feeling that they do not belong in Australia (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014).

Another way feelings of (not) belonging are evoked and contested is through race (Wright, 2015). Studies that focus on whiteness, for example, emphasize the way whiteness is normalized as central to national culture (Zevallos, 2008). Wise (2004b) discusses Anglo-Celtic senior citizens, who are long-term residents in Ashfield, Australia, and their relationships within the neighbourhood. Local area changes caused by Chinese immigrants impact on Anglo-Celtic senior citizens’ sense of belonging (Wise, 2004b). Valentine (2008) illustrates the way white supremacists understand themselves as having a privileged relationship whereby they have the right to make judgements about who does and does not belong.

Belonging is a continuous and relational process rather than a fixed construction and thus is important in understanding the lives of former refugees and their post-resettlement experiences. Societal contexts and social relationships shape and reshape who and what a person is and where a person belongs (Dudley, 2010). Antonsich (2010) notes that scholars seldom analyse the sense of belonging as an emotional feeling of being at home in a place and the sense of belonging is rarely considered when it comes to refugee women and girls. In the context of this research project, the issue of belonging is highly relevant. The feelings of place as home and finding a suitable place for Bhutanese girls and women to feel at home are essential. This research addresses this shortfall in the literature and explores how former women and girl refugees reproduce their sense of belonging.

3.5 Summary

This literature review brings together and extends four areas of scholarship: gender and home; refugees as embodied; emotional geographies of refugees; and belonging. The chapter provides the theoretical tools for unsettling and examining the taken or granted, everyday lived experiences of women and girls with refugee backgrounds. In doing so, it elucidates home and belonging as embodied experiences, which negotiate and construct their everyday lives (Habte, 2017). Emphasizing the role of home and homemaking practices can lead researchers to a better understanding of how refugees, as distinct from citizens and migrants, feel they belong (or do not belong) in a new country.

I argue that researching former refugees' homes and homemaking practices is useful for understanding and strengthening similar group resettlement processes and fostering a sense of belonging in New Zealand and elsewhere. It is clear that feelings of being at home or not at home are varied, and can change over time and place. The meanings, linkages to, and experiences of home vary considerably for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The conceptual framework discussed suggests that what constitutes home and belonging is complex and varied. It also shows that just providing a house to refugees does not necessarily mean that they feel at home in New Zealand. Migrants and refugees, especially women, are in the most need of health, education, and social services (NZIS 2004) as well as a sense

of community, yet it is their experiences and perspectives that often remain hidden and silent.

This research has the potential to make a significant contribution to current developments in geography and other disciplinary areas. Major in-depth studies of resettled refugee women and their everyday lived experiences have not yet been carried out in this area. Thus, this study intends to fill this gap. In the next chapter, I focus on the methodological process used in this research.

Chapter 4

Performative research: Collecting the voices of refugee women

Performative research, also known as performance ethnography, is practice-based or practice-led research, where outcomes are driven by a combination of performative and reflective research practices (Haseman, 2006). This emerging paradigm stretches the limits of traditional forms of qualitative research (Leavy, 2008), as research findings are expressed not just within the discursive text, but also through symbolic forms of non-numeric data including images and sounds (Haseman, 2006). Given that this project examines the day-to-day activities and perceptions of Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds, it was important for me to adopt a research methodology that brought these lived experiences to the forefront. Therefore, I chose performative methods.

Performance methods are ways of acquiring knowledge through everyday activities, including from dramatic events, such as family conflict (Denzin, 2001). Moreover, Leavy (2008, p. 344 emphasis in original) points out:

Performances are not read; rather, they are *experienced*. Performances...are open to multiple meanings, which are derived from the *experience of consumption*, which may involve a host of emotional and psychological responses, not just “intellectual” ones.

What is more, performative research opens up the possibility of understanding socio-cultural institutions and practices that are gendered and couched within patriarchal and hierarchical discourses (see Ruffolo, 2012). In doing so, performativity becomes an essential aspect of the replication of embodied gendered norms. Performative research is about thinking through the type of knowledge produced, sensing through the body and disseminating information in various forms (Dewsbury, 2010). Feminists and practitioners of participatory action research (PAR) raise essential epistemological questions about the social construction of knowledge and argue that knowledge is always local, partial and embodied (Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007).

Certain types of cultural knowledge may be impossible to express in words and can only be understood through action, enactment and performance (Fabian,

1990). In performative research, the body plays a significant role as it relates to everyday activities through gesture, touch, sound and smell; it appears as interactive and evocative memory (Roberts, 2008). The performative body deploys symbolic data in material forms such as images, music, sound and live action (Haseman, 2006; Jones, 2012). Examples of these are: pointing (Crews, 2014); remembering home through food (Longhurst et al., 2008; Tuan, 2004); recalling memories (Anderson, 2004); expressing sexuality through music (Hardie, 2012); capturing everyday life in photographs (Holm, 2008); and reflecting identities, home and belonging through art (O'Neill, 2008). Conrad's (2004) *Exploring Risky Youth Experiences* is a useful example that illustrates how performative methods can yield a critical understanding of particular kinds of social and cultural experiences.

Performative methodology produces multiple forms of evidence that result in various forms of knowledge. This approach is compatible with feminist perspectives. Adopting a feminist viewpoint is essential because it situates refugee women's and girls' stories at the centre of the study (Kindon et al., 2007). It will also, in part, remedy the lack of discourse concerning women and girls with refugee backgrounds in the existing literature about resettlement (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, 2008; Kindon, 2016). I was also aware that it would influence every aspect of the research process "from choosing a research topic to selecting data collection methods, from setting a research question to conceptualising theoretical constructs, and from designing a research project to presenting and circulating analyses" (Moss, 2002, p. 3). It views research as a political process where women's and girls' perspectives are prioritised to make them experts and to promote social change that can frame, shape and influence the production of knowledge (Kindon et al., 2007; Smith, 2017).

In common with qualitative methodologies, in particular feminist and PAR methodologies, this research respects participants' diverse discourses and voices (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Kindon et al., 2007; Kobayashi, 2001; Louis, 2007). These forms of research methodology help me to make the voices of women and girls with refugee backgrounds heard (Kindon et al., 2007). Furthermore, using these methods enables this research to avoid treating its subjects just as tools for data-gathering and instead to pay attention to power relations in the research process

(Kindon, 2016; Korac, 2009). This approach puts the agency, culture and everyday lives of participants foremost, in order to achieve the research aims and objectives. What is more, this approach aims to challenge assumptions that people with refugee backgrounds are weak, or victims traumatised by war, and instead takes an exploratory approach that attempts to make the voices of people with refugee backgrounds heard on what resettlement means to them and what it is like living in a new country with a distinct language, culture, beliefs and practices (see Kindon, 2016). I sought the active involvement of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in the construction of knowledge about their everyday experiences in New Zealand, and therefore, performative methods were considered the most suitable for this study in recognising participants as experts about their own lives (Korac, 2009).

I travelled from Hamilton to Auckland, Christchurch, Nelson and Palmerston North; four cities where resettled Bhutanese currently live in New Zealand (Basnet, 2016a, 2016b; Basnet, Johnston, & Longhurst, 2018). The aim was to elicit data specifically from adult Bhutanese women through semi-structured in-depth interviews (Dunn, 2016; Longhurst, 2010), cooking sessions (Longhurst et al., 2008, 2009), and diary writing and photo-elicitation (Holm, 2008; Thomas, 2009) in addition to focus group interviews (Cameron, 2005; Secor, 2009) with girls. I was also involved in participant sensing. Scholars describe this method as a way to think about bodily interaction with places that extends beyond observation (Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray, & Gibson, 2011; Wood et al., 2007).¹⁷

Research on home and belonging involving participants with refugee backgrounds is thought to yield the best results when various methods are used, as in my research (Kindon, 2016; Kindon et al., 2007). The fieldwork, however, ended up taking a different turn than initially anticipated, prompting me to ‘go with the

17 The study was guided by the ethical standards set out in the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee Procedures and General Principles and was approved on 13 January 2015, before fieldwork began (see Appendix 10).

flow'.¹⁸ When I discovered a new approach, known as 'accidental ethnography' (Fujii, 2014; also see Poulos, 2010), I rethought the cooking sessions and participant sensing. They became, instead, part of the accidental ethnography (see Figure 4.1). The shifts in methods were based on "I'm making it better" rather than on "I got it wrong" (Saldana, 2015, p. 26).

All of these interactions and conversations required particular ways of questioning and listening to respondents (Febring, 2009). These methods were intended to create a methodology that was rigorous, wide-ranging and nuanced (Morrison, 2010). In addition, secondary materials were used to supplement the primary data collected. Secondary data came from government and INGO/NGO reports, newspapers, web pages and blogs from across the globe. All these sources are necessary, albeit in different ways, in the production of knowledge.

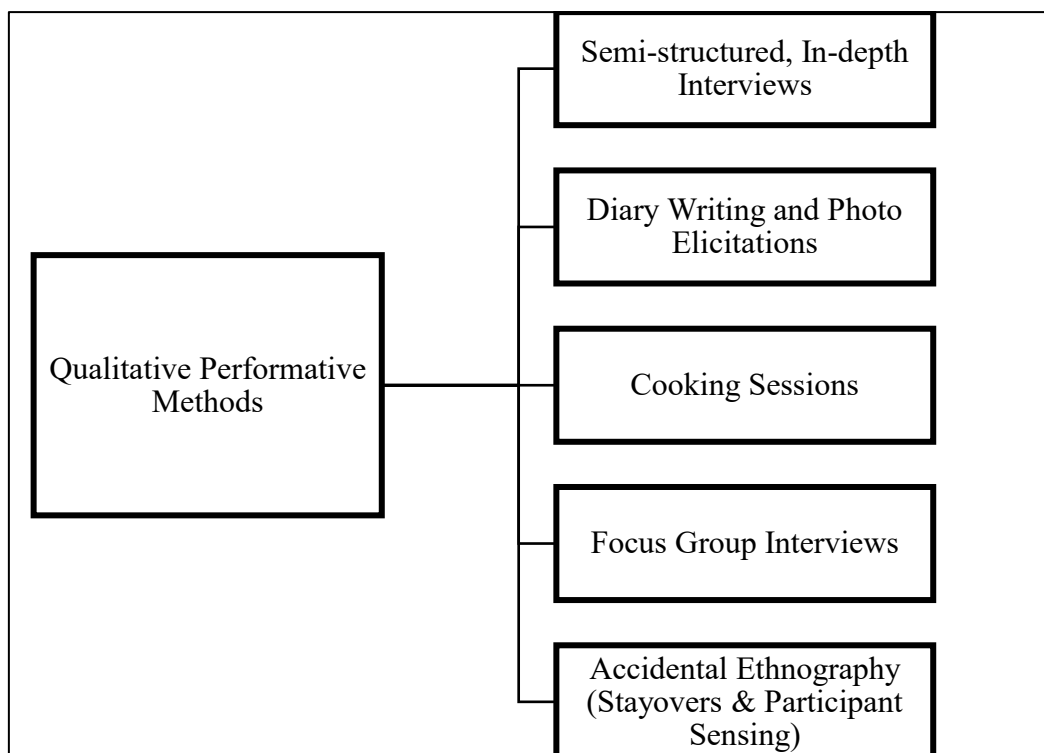


Figure 4.1 Performative methods used in this research

¹⁸ I entered field sites with an open mind, intent on learning as I went, to explore everyday life and facilitate a more in-depth relational and empathetic understanding of, and with, participants. I came to realise part-way through the fieldwork phase that the flow of the research can suddenly change and the researcher has to be constantly alert to having to fit into new situations. There were times when I felt I needed to 'go with the flow' and to see where it would take me. I discuss this in more depth in the 'accidental ethnography' section of this chapter.

In what follows, the methods, processes and practices used in this research are discussed. I begin by focusing on my own position and reflecting on the four locations or field sites in detail. Second, I outline the procedure used to recruit respondents in the four locations and reflect on the profiles of the participants at those sites. In the next section, I scrutinise the rationale for and critique the methods used in this project, including semi-structured interviews, diary writing and photo-elicitation and cooking sessions. In the fourth part, I briefly discuss the focus group interviews with the girls. Afterwards, I discuss accidental ethnography as a research method that emerged while I was in the field. Finally, I explain the research analysis that gave rise to the themes and forms the basis of the three analysis chapters.

4.1 Feeling and sensing my way

Geographers over the past few decades have become increasingly interested in what it means for qualitative fieldwork to be embodied (Basnet et al., 2018; Chiswell & Wheeler, 2016; Diprose, Thomas, & Rushton, 2013; Dombroski, 2011a; Elmhirst, 2012; Heller et al., 2010; Krzywoszynska, 2015; Sultana, 2007). A key concern of feminist scholars is the issue of representation, where concerns about positionality and reflexivity¹⁹ have paralysed some scholars into avoiding fieldwork completely. In other instances, researchers have been criticised for having western biases and purporting to be the voice of all women (Sultana, 2007).

My field experiences and insights from feminist scholarship led me to argue that “ethical research is produced through negotiated spaces and practices of reflexivity that is critical about issues of positionality and power relations at multiple scales” (Sultana, 2007, p. 375). I extend my work through reflexivity and critical reflection as it requires me to be conscious of the social and power relations in this study (see Daley, 2010 on reflection; Katz & Aspden, 1997 on fieldnotes; and O’Dwyer & Bernauer, 2014 on reflexivity). I am also interested in how my biography affects the research process in identifying the strengths and limitations of this study. People’s beliefs, backgrounds and feelings are part of the process of knowledge construction, which can lead researchers to over-emphasise

¹⁹ Reflexivity is a process whereby the researcher ‘recognizes, examines, and understands how his/her social background can intervene in the research process’ (Hesse-Biber, 2014, p. 200).

or overlook the research process (see Kamri-McGurk, 2012). As DeVault and Gross (2007, p. 178) note “what a person sees and understands is always shaped by what one already knows and can articulate.” It is important that we learn from past research experiences, and are able “to re-evaluate our research critically” (England, 1994, p. 82).

Acknowledging and critically examining my position, privilege and identity in the project is crucial as it affects the research process (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Anderson (1991) argues that power, education, language and culture are an inevitable negotiation of identities. I am in my early 30s and married. I am an educated Nepalese woman with a middle-class and so-called ‘higher’²⁰ caste background. While I have thought my project developed an intimate knowledge of resettled Bhutanese communities, language and culture, I tend to have some age, caste, educational, class, material and political differences from the participants. I do not have any experience of living life as a refugee. By highlighting my position, I do not emphasise being better off; instead I aim to acknowledge the differences among us. Although Sultana (2007) considers these differences between the researcher and participants as severe markers of discrepancies, despite these differences, I know that being a woman scholar of Nepalese origin, in the context of New Zealand, was an overwhelming point of empathetic connection with my study participants. Were the fieldwork not in New Zealand, it might have worked differently.

Many commonalities, such as gender, language, ethnicity, attire, familial status and my friendly behaviour, worked to bridge gaps and helped me to become more accepted by the participants over time. The research respondents and I have lived a considerable time in Nepal, and thereby share the language, and identify closely with a range of cultural traits and practices. Other commonalities were our experiences of being in a cross-cultural relationship and living far away from family members. Being myself with participants enabled me to form relationships of trust that were important in fieldwork. It was essential for me to remain sincere and committed to the relationships and the shared information.

²⁰ I understand that the Hindu caste system is problematic but for the flow of the text I do not continuously place the terms, ‘high’/‘higher’ and ‘low’/‘lower’ in single quotes.

I simultaneously felt a part of, and apart from, the research participants. I felt accepted because of their warm hospitality. Throughout the fieldwork, I rarely encountered any negative attitudes; only generosity and willingness to assist in the research, whether it was through introducing potential participants or being provided with accommodation. For example, Binod and his two children came to greet me at the city bus stop and offered accommodation and food during the data collection in Nelson. Hari and his family dropped me off at Nelson airport. I was given a bedroom in Nelson, Christchurch, and Palmerston North. I had never met any of these participants before the research.

Staying with the families of three participants also helped with securing other participants, who felt comfortable and relaxed when told that I was staying with a family they knew personally and was part of the community. I felt part of the community when I was trusted enough to be told what might usually be kept hidden from or not said to a researcher. When participants shared their feelings or a secret, I listened without judgement, often empathizing with them, respecting their perspective, and maintaining confidentiality and anonymity. All of these aspects of the research process are explored further in the later section on accidental ethnography. When in the field, researchers often confront the challenges of establishing a rapport between respondent and interviewer (e.g. see Heller et al., 2010), but I did not have trouble in this regard. It seemed that in most cases I was considered an insider by interviewees.

Staying with research participants, borrowing their pyjamas, talking with other family members, and having breakfast, lunch and dinner together reshaped and enriched my research experience in many ways and made me feel at one with the participants (Basnet et al., 2018). We often discussed family, plans, food preferences, festivals and celebrations. Sharing our life experiences made me feel accepted. I also felt deeply connected with their plight that brought them to Nepal and then to New Zealand and their initial resettlement challenges.

The participants and I share some cultural background in relation to values and beliefs. They often assumed that I was acutely aware of the cultural context (see Kim, 2012). Several women participants, for example, used the phrase ‘you know’ throughout interviews when they described and discussed practices, values, norms

and material possessions (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). In most of the cases, I nodded my head to show agreement; while in some cases I empathised by saying ‘yes I know’ and ‘I have been there’. These comments, plus invitations to stay with them, provided me with a sense that the participants considered me part of their community. At the same time, I made sure that my participants felt comfortable. There were instances, however, where I felt like an outsider.

Like Dombroski (2011b) who reflected her fieldwork experiences as an ‘awkward engagements’ with her participants, I felt the same in one instance, in particular when Sabita²¹ shared her past experiences with local Nepalese nearby the refugee camp in Nepal. Sabita was just three years old when her parents along with her brothers were forced to flee from Bhutan. While living 19 years in the refugee camps in Nepal, she identified as Nepalese and went to school outside of the camp to avoid discrimination and judgement, such as insults and name-calling. After coming to New Zealand, Sabita proudly identifies as Bhutanese, when people in New Zealand ask her who she is and where she is from because she feels she will not be judged in New Zealand:

I didn’t want to present myself as Bhutanese in Nepal because I was insulted several times. For instance, once there was a poem recital, and I was the winner. I heard some people in a group whisper, ‘Isn’t she from the camp? This Bhotange [name-calling of the group often used as a derogatory word by locals] girl won the award.’ We are Bhutanese not Bhotange. I wanted to throw the prize. But I controlled my anger and walked away. [Breathy voice] We were called Bhotange, and local Nepalese treated us like their slaves. So I decided that day that I never present and introduce myself as Bhutanese [while in Nepal]. Till now my [Nepalese] friends do not know that I am a Bhutanese. They [Nepalese friend] think that I am in New Zealand for my further studies. I didn’t want to tell them [Nepalese friend in Nepal] that I am Bhutanese. I am still not

21 Pseudonyms for all the participants, including key informants, are used throughout the project. There are several symbols and abbreviations used in the participants’ quotes to provide readers with some context for the transcripts. FT - full translation – is used when conversations took place in Nepali. PT - partial translation - participants spoke in Nepali and English. NT - no translation - participants spoke in English. Words in square brackets - [words] - are inserted to make sentences easier to understand, to include the tone of the conversation and to indicate pauses in conversations. Words in parentheses - (word) – are the demographic descriptions of participants. Three consecutive dots - ... - in a sentence indicate that sentences have been left hanging. The double oblique - // - indicates overlaps when conversations were held at the same time.

prepared. I am writing a book and thinking of explaining why I choose to be Nepalese, not Bhutanese [among Nepalese friends], although I consider myself as Bhutanese. (Palmerston North FT, 1 September 2015)

In Christchurch, Jiby shared a story about a confrontation that had happened in Nepal where a minor argument between a group of Bhutanese and local Nepalese football players led to a physical attack. The local Nepalese near the camp beat some of the Bhutanese football players. This resulted in several physical confrontations between the camp individuals and local Nepalese dwellers. In both cases, I *felt* ashamed of being of Nepalese descent and sorry for the community. I immediately apologised to participants for the abuse and marginalisation they had suffered in the refugee camps in Nepal.

In another case, Shanti in Auckland called me Madam sixteen times in a thirty-minute conversation. She even continued calling me Madam despite my request to call me sister or by my given name. I found the position and conversation somewhat awkward, as Madam in Nepalese context signifies power relations and the participants are completely aware of it. I also felt like an outsider when I met a guest at Sanam's house in Palmerston North. The guest insisted that I go to a meeting where community leaders were planning a religious event, a seven-day Shrimad Bhagwat Puran recitation, that is, full of devotion towards Lord Vishnu and Krishna. The guest later decided not to involve me in the planning as older men dominated meetings and it would not have been culturally appropriate for a young Nepalese woman to attend. These incidents made me realise that I was an outsider who happened to be studying their experiences and there was much I did not know or they chose not to share.

In addition, I felt uncomfortable and remained silent when some participants in Nelson complained about a previous researcher. They reiterated their apprehension that one researcher came to conduct an interview, but this former researcher was not empathetic to their plight and commented that 'refugees devour tax money and strain public services'. A couple of potential participants were upset with the perspective and hesitated to partake in this study. They were very keen to know my perspective about refugees in general. Field research also posed some challenges as the sites were urban and took me to places that I had never before visited. I did not know personally any of the research participants

before the field visit, although I am originally from Morang, Nepal, which is where the camps are located.

In recruiting participants in Nelson, I sought Binod's help. Binod is a resettled Bhutanese and an active executive member of the Bhutanese Society of Nelson New Zealand Inc. (BSNN). The BSNN is a not-for-profit organisation founded in 2009 and run by resettled Bhutanese refugees in Nelson, which aims to support its members to achieve greater well-being (for more see BSNN 2015). The BSNN also runs a radio programme called Radio Lhotshampas as well as a Nepali language programme (see Chapter 7). I got to know Binod when I contacted the BSNN official email seeking help to find participants in Nelson. I discussed the project and explained what I hoped to achieve. He helped me to select participants based on their length of stay in New Zealand, age, education and marital status as I wanted to include diverse perspectives.

In Nelson, I participated in both BSNN-run programmes. Radio Lhotshampas interviewed me, which provided an opportunity not only to share my personal experiences but also opened the door to finding potential participants in Palmerston North. Likewise, I attended the language programme run by the resettled Bhutanese community in Nelson. The Nepali male teacher briefly introduced me to the young students, whose ages ranged from 12 to 16, and asked me to introduce myself further and tell the students about my PhD project, in particular my motivation for wanting to conduct the research and my reasons for choosing the topic. I was impressed to see persistent resettled Bhutanese efforts to protect and promote Nepali culture, language and identity. As I undertook fieldwork, being a woman researcher and having educational qualifications seldom created discomfort, tensions or instabilities with participants. Instead, it was mostly an asset so long as I conformed to gendered norms.

Throughout the research process, I was mindful of the power and politics involved in my position as an insider and outsider through 'ways of asking' and whether I could carefully negotiate these power relations in the field (Madge, Raghuram, Skelton, Willis, & Williams, 2014). I was mindful of any power relations between participants and myself in every way I possibly could be. In some cases, I joined participants on the floor during the interview though I was offered a seat on a sofa.

While interviewing, two participants sat on the floor because they felt comfortable but asked me to sit on the sofa. I, however, insisted on joining them on the floor because I did not want to create a hierarchy by sitting on the sofa. In other cases, because to refuse felt impolite, I accepted invitations to stay with participants in Christchurch, Nelson and Palmerston North. I joined them in everyday activities. Some of the associated activities included washing dishes; taking toddlers to kindergarten and playing with them; harvesting vegetables from the backyard garden; joining in the grocery shopping; cooking together and eating meals with my hands (Basnet et al., 2018); and preparing and drinking tea together at Radhika's home. Radhika is categorised as being within the lower caste in the resettled Hindu Bhutanese culture (see Chapter 5).

In all cases, participants met me at the door of their homes. As I entered a participant's house, the familiar setting and environment often triggered emotional memories and associated feelings of being at home in Nepal. When I saw and heard 'Namaste';²² the whistles of a pressure cooker; kitchen smells including the smell of spicy milk tea, spices, curries and cuisine, a stack of shoes at the front door; Nepali music in the background; and the clinking of pots and pans; it made me feel at home. It is essential to describe how these home environments feel since it builds a complex multi-sensory picture of research that goes beyond interviews.

As described earlier, it became apparent that conducting the fieldwork in four locations in New Zealand posed several dilemmas and opportunities. In short, I felt at different times like an insider or an outsider and sometimes both. The next section details the recruitment process and attributes of each of the research participants.

4.2 Participant recruitment and profile

Before conducting the fieldwork, I found out the Bhutanese resettlement statistics in New Zealand (see INZ, 2017a, 2017b). Based on the statistics, I recruited 45 resettled Bhutanese from these cities, including a few in Auckland. Initially, there was only one family resettled in Auckland, as an exceptional case. However, by

22 Greetings in Nepali, where one says Namaste with a slight bow and palms pressed together and fingers pointing upwards and both thumbs close to the chest.

2015 approximately 15-25 families had migrated to the city for better opportunities than those available in the original resettlement areas in New Zealand. Some Bhutanese who settled in Christchurch also moved to other places, such as Auckland and Feilding, after the 2011 earthquake. I recruited six participants from Auckland, 12 from Nelson, 13 from Palmerston North and 14 from Christchurch. The study also included three semi-structured in-depth interviews with key informants who had worked for several years for the resettlement of the group and had closely observed the groups' challenges and opportunities in New Zealand. The aim of interviewing key informants was to understand the broader contextual issues that may shape women's and girls' everyday lives.

When recruiting potential participants, I was particularly sensitive to what might be the appropriate terminology to use for my initial contact, as well as what language to use on the information sheet and consent forms. For example, the category 'refugee' tends to carry negative connotations such as poor, relatively helpless, ignorant, weak, and directionless and sometimes as dangerous, a threat and politically unaccepted (Dudley, 2010). Being labelled as a 'refugee' could offend or upset some respondents, given that some have lived in New Zealand for five or more years and have received New Zealand citizenship just like any other New Zealander. Since the choice of language is vitally important, I use the term 'people with refugee backgrounds' and 'former refugee' instead of 'refugee' throughout this thesis. At the beginning of the interview, I asked how resettled Bhutanese women and girls would like to be identified. Participants, in general, were reluctant to be known as refugees, partly due to an unwillingness to yield to the word's connotations of passivity and dependency (Dudley, 2010). More than 50% of the interviewees mentioned that they opted for third-country resettlement because they did not want to be recognised as refugees for the rest of their lives. The UNHCR (2011b) also notes that refugee status ends when provided with one of the three permanent, durable solutions: repatriation; local integration; or resettlement. I therefore referred to them as 'resettled Bhutanese living in New Zealand under the third-country resettlement programme' when contacting them as well as in any written documentation that was handed to them.

Participants were recruited using different means and ways at each field site. First, I posted ‘call for participants’ flyers explaining the research procedures in English in various Facebook groups (see Appendix 1) and made use of my networks of colleagues, friends and family members to secure informants and participants. I chose to do the initial empirical work in Auckland, given that my mentor and colleague, Janice Wong, offered accommodation and provided a ride to meet with participants. I accepted her help, but finding participants proved difficult, partly because I did not have any other connections in Auckland. After several frustrating attempts, my personal and social network helped me to connect with three key informants: Ramesh, Sarala and Dev. They are social workers, have worked several years for the resettlement of the group, and have intimately observed the needs of the group. I recruited informants in consultation with my supervisors. The informants not only helped to introduce me to a couple of the resettled Bhutanese families, but also opted in to participate in interviews. I then entered into the first field site in Auckland in February 2015. Likewise, an anonymous Facebook user introduced me to a potential participant in Christchurch, while the BSNN played a vital role in finding potential participants in Nelson and Palmerston North.

As I planned to embark on fieldwork in Christchurch and Nelson, a massive earthquake (8.1 magnitude) and a series of aftershocks hit Nepal, killing more than 16,000 people, demolishing hundreds of houses and causing significant damage to the national economy in late October 2015 (for more see Thapaliya, 2016). I was hugely upset by the event and knew that participants would be too. I therefore postponed the fieldwork for a month or so. In May 2015, I reorganised the field trip to Christchurch. After completing interviews, I then took a bus from Christchurch to Nelson, where I gathered data in June 2015. Combining data collection in Christchurch and Nelson was due to geographical, economic and time constraints, as both are located in the South Island of New Zealand. Palmerston North was the final field site, where I conducted interviews and a few cooking sessions in October 2015.

In the preliminary phase of the fieldwork, I followed the processes as mentioned by Dunn (2016). I introduced myself, explained who I was and how I received their contact details, and briefly informed them about the research by phone. I

explained that I wanted to collect their stories about living in New Zealand and share this with an audience in New Zealand and beyond. Once potential participants expressed their interest, I delivered information sheets in person. They asked questions, signed ethics consent forms and received a copy of the information sheets. I asked if I could record conversations and activities on a digital audio recorder; all of the participants agreed to this (see Appendices 2 and 3).

Before interviewing research participants, it is essential to know a little about each individual. Therefore, at the beginning of interviews, all participants were asked to provide socio-demographic information, such as age, education, gender, marital status, family and children status, and length of residence (see Appendix 4). I also asked participants a few contextual questions, such as ‘who do you live with’ and ‘where are your family’, to start the interview. Afterwards, I asked respondents if they could suggest other potential participants who would be interested in participating and could contribute to the study. This process of recruiting participants is known as snowballing (Bernard, 1998) or chain referral (Hanfer, 2012).

Although this research is a study of what might be assumed to be a reasonably homogeneous group, it turned out to be very diverse. Table 4.1 reveals both similarities and differences amongst the respondents. Participants were similar in terms of ethnicity and were all the first generation living under the third-country resettlement programme in New Zealand. They had all spent considerable time in refugee camps. Therefore, they all had shared circumstances, experiences, histories and visions for the future. The fieldwork data, however, revealed that they were heterogeneous, with many differences in regard to their family composition; religious faith, which included Hinduism, Christianity and Kiratism; varying degrees of education from never having been to school, up to university level; and an age range extending from 12 to 80+. The length of stay in New Zealand also ranged from nine months to more than seven years in 2015. In addition, they located themselves within the ranges of lower to upper middle class and from higher caste to lower caste. Interviews and discussions lasted 30 to 150 minutes.

Although this research focuses on participants' everyday lives in New Zealand, I was fully aware that sensitive issues, such as previous experiences of trauma or time spent in refugee camps, might arise in the course of the discussion. Asking participants, who had been stateless for up to two decades, to share and reflect on their everyday lived experiences that generate feelings of being at home and belongingness meant touching on very personal feelings - feelings that could be positive, as well as negative. Therefore, several steps were taken to gain research participants' confidence and trust. For example, participants were asked to respond only to questions that they felt comfortable with. Should the need have arisen, I would have offered to refer participants to 'Refugees as Survivors', an organisation that assists resettled refugees with healing from experiences of trauma or torture.

Table 4.1 Participants' attributes and profiles

Pseudonyms ²³	Gender	Age Group	Arrived NZ	Occupation	Present at Interview (s)	Location in NZ
Anita	F	26-30	May-2010	Homemaker ²⁴	-	Palmerston North
Apsara	F	36-40	Jan-2010	Teacher (part-time)	Husband & guest	Nelson
Avy	F	12-16	May 2013	Student (full-time)		Palmerston North
Binod	M	41-45	Oct-2010	Student (full-time)	-	Nelson
Biru	M	60 +	May-2013	Stay-at-home father	Two daughters	Christchurch
Bishnu	M	41-45	Jan-2009	Retailer (full-time)	Wife & three daughters	Christchurch
Bob	M	46-50	Mar-2008	Factory worker (full-time)	-	Christchurch
Ganesh	M	21-25	Jan-2009	Factory worker (full-time)	n/a	Auckland
Gita	F	36-40	Mar-2009	Social worker (full-time)	Husband & sister	Palmerston North
Hari	M	51-55	Mar-2009	Social worker (full-time)	-	Nelson
Januka	F	36-40	Dec-2010	Homemaker	Daughter	Nelson
Jas	F	12-16	Mar-2009	Student (full-time)	-	Palmerston North
Jasmin	F	12-16	Oct-2011	Student (full-time)	-	Palmerston North

²³ Although all the participants and informants were given the opportunity to choose their pseudonyms, only six participants selected their pseudonyms. Interestingly, three participants chose English names, such as Avy, Jas and Bob. It might be because they live in New Zealand and have some cultural influences.

²⁴ I use the term 'homemaker' to acknowledge and recognise women's household work, including kitchen work and managing home and family, on a daily basis. A homemaker can be anyone of any age. For example, a grandmother may be looking after her grandchild when her daughter or daughter-in-law goes to work/school. Despite the work being often tiring and time-consuming, homemakers' efforts to maintain a 'good' home mostly remain unrecognised and unacknowledged because it does not generate any forms of income. This is a small effort to acknowledge their work by identifying them as homemakers.

Jiby	F	46-50	Mar-2008	Social Worker	Sister, in-laws & cousin	Christchurch
Jyoti	F	60 +	May-2013	Homemaker	Two daughters	Christchurch
Kabita	F	41-45	Jan-2011	Single mother	Daughter	Palmerston North
Karma	M	21-25	Jun-2014	Student (full-time)	-	Auckland
Khusi	F	31-35	Jul-2008	Social worker (part-time)	-	Christchurch
Kopila	F	12-16	Dec- 2013	Student (full-time)	-	Palmerston North
Lina	F	31-35	Jan-2011	Homemaker	Three sisters, son, husband & mother	Nelson
Manu	F	41-45	Mar-2009	Retailer (part-time)	sister	Nelson
Maya	F	60 +	Aug-2013	Homemaker	Two sons, daughter-in-law & guest	Nelson
Nari	F	31-35	Jul-2013	Retailer (full-time)	Two Daughters	Christchurch
Padam	F	60 +	Jan-2010	Homemaker	Husband	Christchurch
Puja	F	26-30	Oct-2010	Student (full-time)	Husband & mother-in-law	Nelson
Puspa	F	41-45	Mar-2009	Homemaker	Husband, son-in-law, son & daughter	Christchurch
Radhika	F	36-40	Mar-2009	Social worker (part-time)	-	Palmerston North
Ram	M	41-45	Mar-2009	Factory worker (full-time)	Sister	Palmerston North
Rama	F	31-35	Jan-2009	Social worker	Husband & three daughters	Christchurch

Ramila	F	21-25	May-2010	Retailer (full-time)	Father-in-law & husband	Christchurch
Ramita	F	60 +	Sep-2008	Homemaker	Son	Palmerston North
Rina	F	16-20	Aug-2013	Teacher (part-time)	-	Nelson
Rupa	F	60+	Jul-2009	Homemaker	Husband	Christchurch
Sabina	F	21-25	Mar-2009	Student (full-time)	n/a	Auckland
Sabita	F	21-25	Jan-2011	Student (full-time)	Sister & cousin	Palmerston North
Sakshi	F	12-16	Jun-2008	Student (full-time)	-	Palmerston North
Samjhana	F	21-25	Sep-2014	Student (full-time)	Sister, neighbour & guest	Nelson
Sanam	F	41-45	Dec-2013	Homemaker	-	Palmerston North
Sanju	F	21-25	Jan-2009	Retailer (full-time)	n/a	Auckland
Sapana	F	51-55	Mar-2009	Homemaker	-	Christchurch
Sarita	F	36-40	Jun-2014	Homemaker	Husband	Auckland
Shanti	F	16-20	Jun-2014	Student (full-time)	n/a	Auckland
Sila	F	60 +	Jan-2012	Homemaker	Daughter-in-law & son	Nelson
Sita	F	16-20	Mar-2009	Social worker (part-time)	Brother, father, mother & guest	Nelson
Trishna	F	21-25	Mar-2009	Student (full-time)	Parents, brother & husband	Christchurch

4.3 Interviews, photo-elicitations and cooking sessions

The first meeting with my research participants was through individual or pairs of semi-structured in-depth interviews. The interviews were considered the most appropriate method for this research (Dowling, 2009) because they allowed resettled Bhutanese women and girls to tell their stories in their own words. They also gave me an opportunity to detail a range of experiences, discourses and beliefs in significant depth (Longhurst, 2010). They provided me with a way to discuss the lived experiences of respondents and the meanings they associated with that experience (Longhurst, 2010).

Dunn (2016) argues that interviews are an excellent method for four primary reasons: a) filling a knowledge gap when other methods do not; b) scrutinising complex behaviours and structures; c) gaining access to diverse meanings, opinions and experiences; and, d) empowering and respecting the informants. Feminist geographers traditionally have depended extensively on this approach to understand the connection between gender, space and place (McDowell, 1999b). Thus, semi-structured interviews were the fundamental method used to elicit participants' lived experiences of resettlement as one way to achieve the project goal. It required particular ways of questioning and listening to the individuals and groups (Febring, 2009). It reconstructed sites of oppression and interpretation on how gendered identities, gendered experiences and unequal power relations shaped distinct places (McDowell, 1999b).

Although the study was primarily about Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds who live in New Zealand, I made a conscious choice to interview men to discuss their everyday experiences (see Figure 4.2). Interviewing eight men meant I could highlight gendered differences. I believe that it is impossible to contextualise the experiences of the women and girls in isolation from men as they have relationships with men as sons, fathers, husbands and brothers. Mikkelsen (2005) argues that researchers often make the mistake of interviewing only one gender group. She believes that even if the study is about women, there are benefits of incorporating men to get a more comprehensive and sophisticated understanding of women's everyday lives (Mikkelsen, 2005).

After the initial contact, I asked the interviewees if they knew someone who could potentially be a participant in this study. The participants then provided me with a full list that included the contact information, such as names, addresses and phone numbers, of all the resettled Bhutanese in that particular city. The list included the contact information of resettled Bhutanese in that particular city. I then briefly asked interviewees about information relating to potential participants such as age, education status, and resettlement period in New Zealand. This is because I wanted a diverse group of participants. I then selected the participants, made phone calls, provided information about me, and made an appointment to explain further about the research. In cases where potential participants were hesitant, showed a lack of interest, or were unavailable to partake in interviews, I contacted the next potential person from the list.

Three of the potential participants withdrew from the study without providing any information after the appointment was made, despite an enormous amount of effort put into contacting them. For example, I had three pre-scheduled interviews before I travelled to Christchurch. These potential participants mentioned that I could visit them anytime by making a call when I was in Christchurch. Unfortunately, none of them were available during the period of fieldwork in Christchurch. The potential participants were either on holiday with their family or busy with unexpected household responsibilities and not available for interviews. However, after several attempts, I managed to contact Bishnu, referred to me by an anonymous Facebook user. Bishnu is one of the first resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand and lives in Christchurch with his family. He drove from Bromley to Cracroft, where I was staying with one of my PhD supervisor's family members, and introduced me to his wife and a few potential participants. I met another possible participant at Nari's home, who was interested in taking part and immediately provided with a date, time and address to visit her. Unfortunately, every time the meeting was arranged at her convenience, she was never available at her place. After cancelling three appointments, I finally gave up and continued with the other potential participants.

In total, I conducted 40 semi-structured interviews with resettled Bhutanese who were aged 16 and above, and three with key informants. Interviews with adult Bhutanese were mainly with women and girls, but eight were also with men. A

group of five girls, who were aged from 12 to 16, also took part in a focus group interview (see Table 4.1).

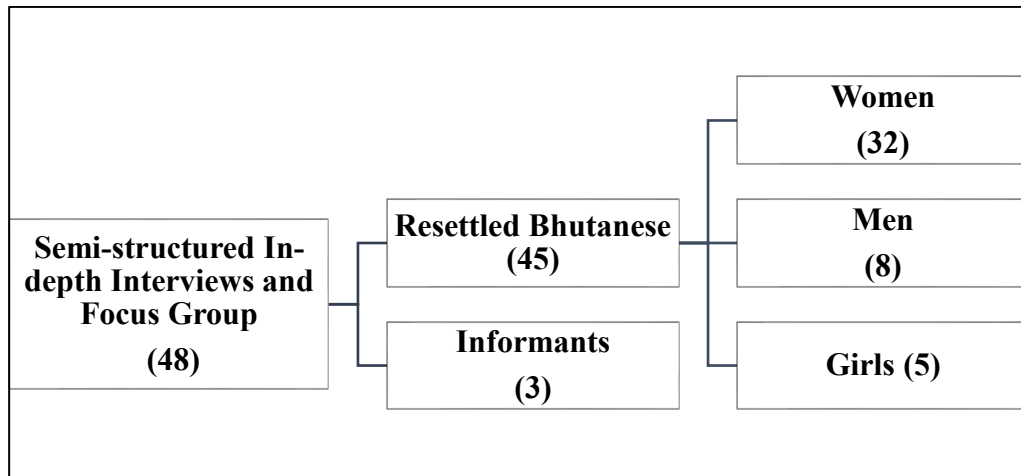


Figure 4.2 Interviewees

The sets of interviews consisted of questions divided into the themes of place, embodiment, home, feelings, belonging, and identity. Research participants had the opportunity to select the mode of interview, including telephone, online (email) or face-to-face (in-person). Of the 40 Bhutanese interviewees, 36 preferred face-to-face, three selected email and only one opted for a telephone interview. Three respondents mentioned that they were reluctant to speak in front of senior members of the family and thereby chose email.

Interviewing by email required several follow-ups for clarification because the answers were in a single line, bullet point fashion. One phone interview was organised because of time constraints. Conducting a phone interview was somewhat challenging. When I booked an appointment with Shanti for an interview, she chose the Facebook Messenger call option but the connection was lost during the conversation. We ultimately chose a landline phone option, which was efficient because I could record the interview using the inbuilt incoming call recording function.

Respondents could choose to have interviews conducted in Nepali or English or both. Six of the 43 interviews were in English, including two with informants. All the Bhutanese with refugee backgrounds speak Nepali. In relation to English proficiency among the 45 Bhutanese respondents: 29 spoke fluently, six spoke in short and simple sentences, and 10 had no or little competence. Four participants

preferred being interviewed in English because after living for more than six years in New Zealand they felt more confident and comfortable using English. Ten participants had never engaged in formal education before coming to New Zealand and could only use a handful of single words such as good, bad, beautiful, hello, no, yes, bye, water, tea and so on. Five teenage girls aged from 16 to 20 years used Neplish²⁵- half Nepali and half English - to answer the questions. Although some of them preferred questions in Nepali, they explained using Neplish. Participants shared their current experiences in English, but the memories of camp were relayed in Nepali. All of the interviews took place at participants' homes. The interviews frequently involved the presence of their close or immediate family members during the whole meeting, which was common for respondents. Despite this, interview participants appeared to enjoy sharing their everyday lives and spaces.

It surprised me that while interviewing women, in most cases family members, mostly seniors and male members, sat next to them and listened to the whole conversation. In some cases, they interrupted by sharing their initial resettlement experiences or recalling past incidents to prompt women to share with me. For example, when I asked Sarita what challenges she and her family have faced in New Zealand, her husband asked her to share the experience of the bus. Sarita then shared the incident when the family got lost because they boarded the wrong bus, on account of being unable to communicate with the driver. It was not the case, however, when I interviewed men. Aside from greeting and exchanging a few words, the other householders did not say anything in most cases. Sometimes there were children present, but they were not accompanied by other family members (see Table 4.1). Even when women were at home while I was interviewing men, they were busy preparing and serving tea/coffee, snacks, holding babies, caring for children and cleaning the house. In addition, often, while interviewing homemakers and older women, I needed to explain the research and convince all the adult male members of the family in order to get permission to talk with them. Participants often shared Nepalese snacks and milk

25 The term Nepalish was mentioned by mothers while sharing their experiences of communication within family members.

tea to create an ambience of warmth and friendly interaction at interviews (Bain & Nash, 2006; Longhurst et al., 2008, 2009).

During the interviews, if I felt that I could relate to participants' feelings, I sometimes agreed with them by nodding my head while saying 'Yeah. I have been there. I have done that. I have been in a similar situation.' I was motivated by the supposition that if we as researchers aim to understand and explore the everyday lives of our participants and "what it's like to live in it, then we need to empathise with them" if the feelings we express are genuine (Saldana, 2015, p. 85). Interviews alone, however, are not sufficient to capture significant aspects of participants' everyday experiences to understand how they construct, live their routines and challenges, and sustain the societal structure in which they are embedded. Therefore, photo-elicitation and solicited diaries, and cooking sessions were also planned in combination with interviews (see Appendix 3).

Photo-elicitation, also known as "photovoice" (Kamri-McGurk, 2012, p. 57), is a method where participants took photographs following my guidelines (Banks, 2001). Photography is a way to elicit information in interviews (Holm, 2008; Thomas, 2009), access complex data (Meth, 2009) and grasp the "emotive and affective response of people" (Crang, 2005, p. 220). As Denzin (2001, p.26) says "the meanings of lived experiences are inscribed and made visible in these performances". I used this method to explore multiple discourses on everyday life, place and identity amongst Bhutanese women and girls and be able to visually represent their perspectives, identities, and geographies of belonging (Kamri-McGurk, 2012).

Photography, in conjunction with other methods, such as interviews, can provide valuable data about day-to-day activities and experiences (Jacelon & Imperio, 2005) and highlight inconsistencies in the recorded information between what has been said and done (Thomas, 2009). It provides insights into participants' experiences of, and reflections on, feelings of belonging in words and pictures. Sometimes just talking is not enough. Once women interviewees consented to take part, I provided diaries, with advices on diary writing and photography, and pens. I spiral-bound ten double-sided A4 pages into a booklet and made a cover

page, which was used as a diary (see Appendix 5). I scheduled a follow-up session to clarify and elaborate on the photographs taken by participants.

Diary-writers were asked to reflect on their everyday activities for a week, saying what happened, whether their experiences were positive or negative; and to write about their feelings, activities and experiences of places. Furthermore, participants also reflected on their everyday happenings in photographs. They took at least one photograph of what it means to be a Bhutanese woman living in New Zealand, and what New Zealand and home mean to them. The decision of what photographs to select was left entirely to participants (see Appendix 5). Although five women interviewees, all full-time homemakers, agreed to take part in diary-writing and photography, none of them returned their diaries to me. The potential diary-writers texted apologising for not being able to complete the task, as they did not have enough time due to ‘unexpected responsibilities’.

Two of the five participants sent their photographs and some of these photographs are used in the thesis. The photographers were re-contacted for a short verbal explanation of these photographs in order to fully understand them. Participants in this method played an active role as researchers when they captured their everyday happenings in photographs (see Kamri-McGurk, 2012). The everyday experiences and the role of place in forging a sense of belonging and feeling at home are visible in these photographs. Upon completion, participants briefly explained the story and intention behind the captured moments or activities. I asked further questions to supplement the information.

I also invited women interviewees to prepare a dish or meal that felt significant to them in some way (Longhurst et al., 2008, 2009). Food, cooking and eating habits play a central role in every culture, and in everyday life in all societies, and consequently they are a way to understand people, social status, culture and identity (Claxton, 2008; Happel, 2012). Food defines the culture of an individual and reflects the uniqueness of it. Food in many cultures is an expression of social identity, and intergroup relations (Longhurst et al., 2008, 2009). Similarly, I used food and cooking as a lens to understand feelings of being at home (Law, 2001); feelings of proximity, belonging and togetherness (Chambers, 2003; Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Rose, 2003); and collective memory and identity (Blunt &

Dowling, 2006). It is often women who spend most of the time in kitchen spaces, preparing and cooking meals for the family. Thus, Longhurst et al., (2009) assert that food is significant in understanding the relationship between gender, place, identity, culture and power for migrants, including women with refugee backgrounds, in New Zealand.

I used preparing, cooking and eating as a means to find out more about resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' everyday lives. It was a way to further enhance my understanding of the relationship between embodied identity and place for resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. Kitchens can be a site of safety, empowerment, self-definition, expression and pleasure when the patriarchal gaze is diverted as women prepare food and eat together (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013). The research conducted by Johnston and Longhurst (2013) on migrant women cooking and talking about food illustrates that women can sometimes feel at home when they are in their kitchens. Like Longhurst et al., (2008, 2009), I found that cooking sessions with participants tended to create an extremely positive rapport.

Seven of the 32 participants prepared and cooked a meal that was significant to them in some way (see Appendix 6). The sessions, however, required me to relinquish my control as a researcher (Sense, 2006). Instead, the participants were the directors of the process (Wadsworth, 2006). In all of the cooking sessions, it was only women preparing and cooking meals, although all the family members were at home. We ate together with family members. On one occasion, a husband helped to prepare and left to provide the women with some space but joined us for eating. The sessions accompanied discussions about food, taste, eating habits, neighbourhood, friends, family, belonging, identity, feeling at home, and attachment. I started with a simple conversation: what are you preparing? How do you prepare this? What ingredients do you use? The cooking sessions lasted between two and a half and three and a half hours. Most of the time was spent on the preparation and the eating of the meal. In four of the cooking sessions, I was involved in the food preparation and cooking, such as chopping vegetables, stirring food, and arranging plates; two women had prepared and cooked food before I arrived; one woman was comfortable with me simply watching it being cooked, and sometimes I was asked to smell aromas of the food while it was

cooking. Since all the participants involved in cooking sessions were homemakers and had small children, the participants would often leave the kitchen to keep an eye on their children, who were either watching cartoons or playing with toys in lounges, as we prepared and cooked. All of them accepted a supermarket grocery voucher for NZ\$20, which was provided to offset some of the cost associated with preparing the meal.

The method, however, turned out to be less significant because I had an opportunity to stay-over at participants' homes where cooking was one of the many activities that took place in the household. I used common sense, therefore, to change the method and go with what was happening - accidental ethnography. I did not feel thrown off when planned methods, such as cooking sessions, did not work as expected in the field. In the next section, I discuss the focus group activities among the Bhutanese girls.

4.4 Focus group interviews with teenage girls

My research focuses not just on the experiences of Bhutanese women but also on Bhutanese girls in New Zealand and more specifically on their feelings of belonging. Based on the demographic information, I asked respondents with teenagers aged from 12 to 16 years if their children could be a part of the activity (see Appendix 4). Parents gave verbal permission to involve the children and for their sketches to be used in this thesis, publications and conferences. The verbal permission was recorded prior to making an initial contact with the potential participants. Five teenage girls actively opted-in to participate in the activities. They were fully informed about the research and are acknowledged alongside their guardians in the consent processes (see Appendices 7 and 8).

I initially planned to conduct two separate focus group activities, one with girls and another with boys, but due to time constraints, the focus group with boys did not go ahead. Therefore, I proceeded just with the group of girls; five teenagers. We met for two hours on a Sunday afternoon, from 12pm to 2pm on 31 August 2015 at Jas's house in Palmerston North. The session was recorded with verbal consent. Since the participants were minors, I created three activities. The first activity encouraged them to draw their real or imagined home. The second activity asked them to list five places they had visited or lived and rate these

according to their preference. The final activity was a hypothetical situation – where they were asked to list all the possibilities they could think of to improve their everyday life (see Appendix 9). I informed discussants not to share any painful experiences in the group, and instead, I encouraged them to talk to me personally if they thought that might be helpful for the study. As expected, none of the participants shared sensitive experiences or approached me to talk confidentially.

It is essential to form a homogeneous group to make participants feel relaxed while they share their opinions (Longhurst, 2010; Secor, 2009). The conducted focus group activities were similar to a participatory method (Kindon et al., 2007). A discussion followed upon the completion of drawings and the participants described what they had sketched and why they drew what they drew. I was very cautious about the conversation and made sure that everybody had an equal chance to contribute. I carefully observed who was dominating the discussion and who was silent. The group discussion was focused on the topic and participants were encouraged to explore the subject from various angles (Longhurst, 2010). The topic, procedures, group composition and location, were carefully and equitably handled as they were relevant considerations (Secor, 2009).

In the beginning, focus group members were reluctant and looked at each other smiling before the activity. However, after I mentioned that participants could ask any questions in the hope of encouraging active engagement, two participants were especially curious about my personal life. The curiosity included whether I had a boyfriend, whether I was married, whether I was just by myself or with family and my plans to visit them. At that moment, it made me wonder if the participants would have interacted in the same way if I were a male researcher. I disclosed information about my own life in the hope that they would open up and feel comfortable. I was inspired by the idea that sharing my account was likely “to increase reciprocity and rapport in the interview process” (Hesse-Biber, 2014, p. 199).

Aitken (2001) also notes that empathising with the research participants and sharing personal researcher experiences can help to build a rapport and connection with participants. The girls promptly joined the conversation, sharing how they

missed their left behind loved ones, including resettled Bhutanese outside New Zealand, and the challenges they encountered at home, at school and in public spaces post-resettlement. After twenty minutes of informal discussion, the participants began to sketch and share their life experiences. Interestingly, the focus group participants chose to speak in English for the majority of the conversations.

In conducting focus group activities with minors, I came to recognise how important it is to create an activity list. In the next section, I explain how various unplanned moments turned into data and insights.²⁶

4.5 ‘Accidental ethnography’

I borrow ‘accidental ethnography’ from Fujii (2014, p. 525), who describes this method as a tool “that field researchers can use to gain a better understanding of the research context and their own social positioning within that context.” It involves paying greater attention to the unplanned or accidental moments, including staying over at participants’ homes, spontaneous discussion and offhand comments that take place beyond pre-planned fieldwork (also see Poulos, 2010).

In the course of fieldwork, I unexpectedly stayed a couple of nights in three different households: the family of Jyoti and Biru in Christchurch, Januka and Binod in Nelson and Sanam in Palmerston North, when I arrived at participants’ homes to interview them and they insisted that I stay overnight. Faced with a compelling and heartfelt invitation, I felt that I needed to be flexible and adapt to this new situation. For example, when I went to interview Jyoti and Biru in Christchurch, who

are married with five children and [some] grandchildren. After the interview, Biru and Jyoti were keen for me to stay overnight with them and their family. It felt rude to refuse, but I did not feel at all prepared either psychologically or physically to spend the night. I had no toiletries and sleepwear or change of clothes with me for the morning.

I had also accepted the hospitality of my supervisor’s sister in Christchurch and did not want to offend her by changing

²⁶ Three incidents of unplanned overnight stays took place as part of this research project. I, along with my two co-authors, also my supervisors, Robyn Longhurst and Lynda Johnston, have theoretically and methodologically reflected on this (Basnet et al., 2018).

that arrangement. In fact, [I] was also concerned that [I] had three interviews scheduled for the next day and would not have a chance to ‘freshen up’ [including changing] clothes [and brushing my] teeth before meeting new participants. Biru and Jyoti offered their daughter’s pyjamas [to me] to sleep in. [Indeed,] I had not planned any of this. In the end, however, because Biru and Jyoti were so insistent with their offer, [I] decided to take it up. (Basnet et al., 2018)

Before embarking on fieldwork in Christchurch, I was in contact with the Bhutanese organisation (BSNN) in Nelson, building a research relationship with one man, Binod, who is one of the resettled Bhutanese.

He had been involved with the BSNN for five years and seemed genuinely interested in the research. He and his wife Januka and their three daughters invited me to stay over with their family because they were keen to welcome me into the community and were worried about my safety when they found out that I planned to stay three nights at a local backpacker lodge. (Basnet et al., 2018)

Januka and Binod were very insistent that I spend all three nights with them and their daughters while I also conducted interviews with others in the Nelson Bhutanese community. Binod also helped me to recruit participants and transported me to other participants’ homes. Binod’s strong bond with the Bhutanese community in Nelson as well as in Palmerston North helped to create a relationship of trust between the participants and myself.

I made appointments with several potential participants through snowballing before I headed into a week’s fieldwork in Palmerston North. As soon as I contacted them, I was overwhelmed by four invitations to accommodate me for a week. I found myself feeling slightly on ‘the back foot’ wondering how to manage this. Who should I choose? What would their family members be like? How would potential participants feel if I rejected such generous invitations? Would they still participate in the research? Confronted with dilemmas, I suggested that I stay overnight with each interested family, but I was advised by Binod, Ram and Sanam to stay in one place for the whole trip. They were concerned about the discomfort of travelling around, including not eating well because I was on the move too much. Finally, a couple of participants recommended I should stay with Sanam, a single mother.

My initial contact with Sanam was more that of a guest than a researcher. I stayed with Sanam for a week, using her home as a base from which I travelled each day to interview others in the Bhutanese community in Palmerston North. As I stayed over, I participated in daily activities, helping her with some simple household tasks. Once I accepted her invitation, I was advised to make myself at home. I have since become aware that for resettled Bhutanese communities such hospitality appears to be the norm and refusing to stay the night(s) would likely have offended and perhaps jeopardised my and the project's credibility.

During stayovers in Nelson, Christchurch and Palmerston North, respondents and their families wanted to know more about me. They wanted to know how I ended up doing a PhD, what it is like being a Nepalese married woman studying abroad and what encouraged me to study this topic. I often spent a few hours sharing my life story, inspired by Aitken (2001) and Hesse-Biber (2014). Once I shared my experiences, participants opened up more about their lives, childhood, education and the challenges they face.

In each instance when [I] stayed over either for a night or several nights, participants took the opportunity to disclose their personal stories, none of which were revealed in interviews. As Fujii (2014, p. 526) notes, it is often when 'the researcher is not engaged in an interview or archive, but in the mundane tasks not often specified in the research design' that insight is gleaned. Mundane tasks could include such things as queuing for coffee, waiting for a bus, or talking to a shop assistant, but in my case these mundane tasks often involved a high degree of bodily intimacy such as cooking and eating with people [I] had just met, using their bathroom, borrowing their pyjamas and sleeping in their bed. It means that [I] quickly turned from being a researcher from the university, to a community visitor, to someone who could be trusted with the family's property and intimate family secrets (see Poulos, 2010 on 'making sense of family secrets'). (Basnet et al., 2018)

Staying overnight did not merely include one long conversation with participants but involved lots of informal conversations, sharing intimate family secrets, spaces in the kitchen and gossip. It was more like entering into their private spaces and lives rather than being an outsider. For example, Januka would continually monitor me as to whether I had had breakfast, lunch or dinner before I left the house to conduct interviews. As I prepared to return to Hamilton, Sanam

invited her mother, Ramita, who performed various farewell rituals including worshipping, and the offering of tika and prasad [food offering made to gods and goddesses and afterwards shared with friends, family and relatives] and monetary gifts. This is a custom that families perform when one of their members is leaving or travelling a long distance. She said I was like her ‘daughter.’ I did not know how to respond to the generous gesture, other than with the tears that welled from my eyes, as it triggered memories of when I first left Nepal in 2007 to study in Bangladesh.

As I met people, stayed with them and had many casual conversations, there emerged a weight of responsibility. I, as a researcher, felt increasingly responsible to those I was researching. This responsibility, however, inspired me to do better research while meeting and talking with participants, going through their life experiences in detail. As a researcher, I have constantly been thinking about how I can give back to the community. As Punch (2001) notes, it is essential to be very cautious not to give any false promises to participants that are impossible to fulfil. I feel the weight of responsibility to give back either through the findings or by recommending policy changes that might be able to improve the lives of resettled Bhutanese women and girls. If I had not stayed over with participants, I might not feel the same way. It is difficult to know.

At the same time, I could also observe and participate in their lives, often witnessing their everyday activities from the moment they woke up until they went to bed. I got to experience the realities, needs and priorities of participants (see Kindon, 2016). I also made friendships beyond the research, and some of the participants even invited me to attend festivals, marriage ceremonies and celebrations. I was, however, then faced with the dilemma of how to incorporate these complicated friendships into the research without potentially harming participants. Blake (2007) highlights the difficulties of understanding the visible cut-off of the researcher-researched relationship and the beginning of the everyday social world.

The participants in this research appeared to enjoy sharing their daily lives and everyday spaces. Accidental ethnography gave me an immense pleasure in experiencing participants’ everyday lives intimately, which deepened my

understanding. I tried to be as careful as possible to protect the identity of my other participants during my stay at a participant's house. It was, however, impossible because of the snowballing method used to recruit participants of various socioeconomic statuses, ages and with varying degrees of education. In most cases, participants were acutely aware of other participants although they were not aware of the information shared with me as the researcher. Therefore, I was able to reassure the Ethics Committee that throughout this research (even though I stayed over with families for several nights), I maintained the highest possible ethical standards and did not reveal anything of a personal or compromising nature.

Staying over, however, definitely raised some ethical dilemmas, as I did not have approval from the University's Ethics Committee to stay overnight with participants. After returning from the fieldwork, I provided the Committee with a letter that explained what had happened and that I now aimed to reflect in my thesis and other publications on the hospitality shown to me. The Committee retrospectively approved this (see Appendix 10). As stated earlier sometimes researchers have to make decisions to 'go with the flow', which I did but then needed to maintain the highest possible ethical standards. Had I sought this approval ahead of time, it remains unknown whether permission would have been granted.

In short, accidental ethnography provided opportunities to experience what it is like to live in the participants' worlds in New Zealand as well as to hear stories that are often either taken for granted or never told. In other words, it provided the ability to experience first-hand the everyday lives and practices of research participants that would otherwise seem too 'insignificant' to be mentioned in an interview. The next section explains the basis of the analysis chapters.

4.6 Analysis and presentation of findings

I used Waitt's (2005, 2010) guidelines to analyse the research materials - recordings, transcripts, photographs and field notes - by looking for patterns, repetitions and themes. I chose discourse analysis, as it offers insight into how particular forms of knowledge become dominant and also uncovers the social mechanisms that maintain structure and rule of power over statements (Waitt,

2010). Discourse analysis comprises four interconnected stages: description, familiarisation, coding and cross-checking.

The first stage – description – involved translation, transcription, classification and becoming reflexive. The process of analysis was ongoing, iterative and continually developed throughout the research. I conducted interviews in four locations at various times, so it felt crucial to analyse these data from the beginning. The first phase of interviews was carried out in Auckland, then both in Christchurch and Nelson, and Palmerston North, as a final fieldwork destination. I tried to transcribe each interview as soon as possible so that I could quickly recall the context in which the interview was embedded (Morrison, 2010).

I also kept a diary during the fieldwork. At the end of each day, I would return to my research base and record insights in my diary. These thoughts included what happened, the influence of the physical environment, the social context in which the participants functioned in everyday life, and how I felt about the interviewee. My journal writing was driven by a desire to do better research rather than to get better data (Pillow, 2003). The journal writing aimed to develop and enrich my field experiences and later on reflect on these experiences in my research. It further enhanced the understanding of how my actions and values shaped the research process (Punch, 2001).

To classify the data, I transcribed all recordings. Conversations in English were transcribed verbatim, whereas stories in Nepali required repetitive listening, before translating and transcribing in English. I transcribed as best I could, but incorporating feelings and emotions into the text was challenging. Dilemmas and difficulties in translation were also caused by the impossibility of precisely matching one word to another, especially while using typical Nepali jargon, which delayed the transcribing process by months (Kim, 2012). Although some participants answered in English, they chose to be questioned in Nepali.

I have also indicated the abbreviations FT, PT and NT in the relevant transcripts to show that as a researcher, scholar and an insider, translating the interviews into English might have influenced the research to some degree. Although I have tried my best not to be partial or biased, scholars such as Kim (2012) argue that even when studies are conducted within the same ethnic group that speaks non-English,

translation into English for academia can be influenced depending on the relationship between researchers and researched. I then classified transcripts, photographs and field notes into more general themes, such as belonging, places, home and family, as these were reoccurring categories.

The second stage – familiarisation - required the reiterative process of familiarisation with the content, identifying and listing key themes; finding recurring words and images; reclassification, and detailed annotation and connection with word, sentence and text (see Figure 4.3).

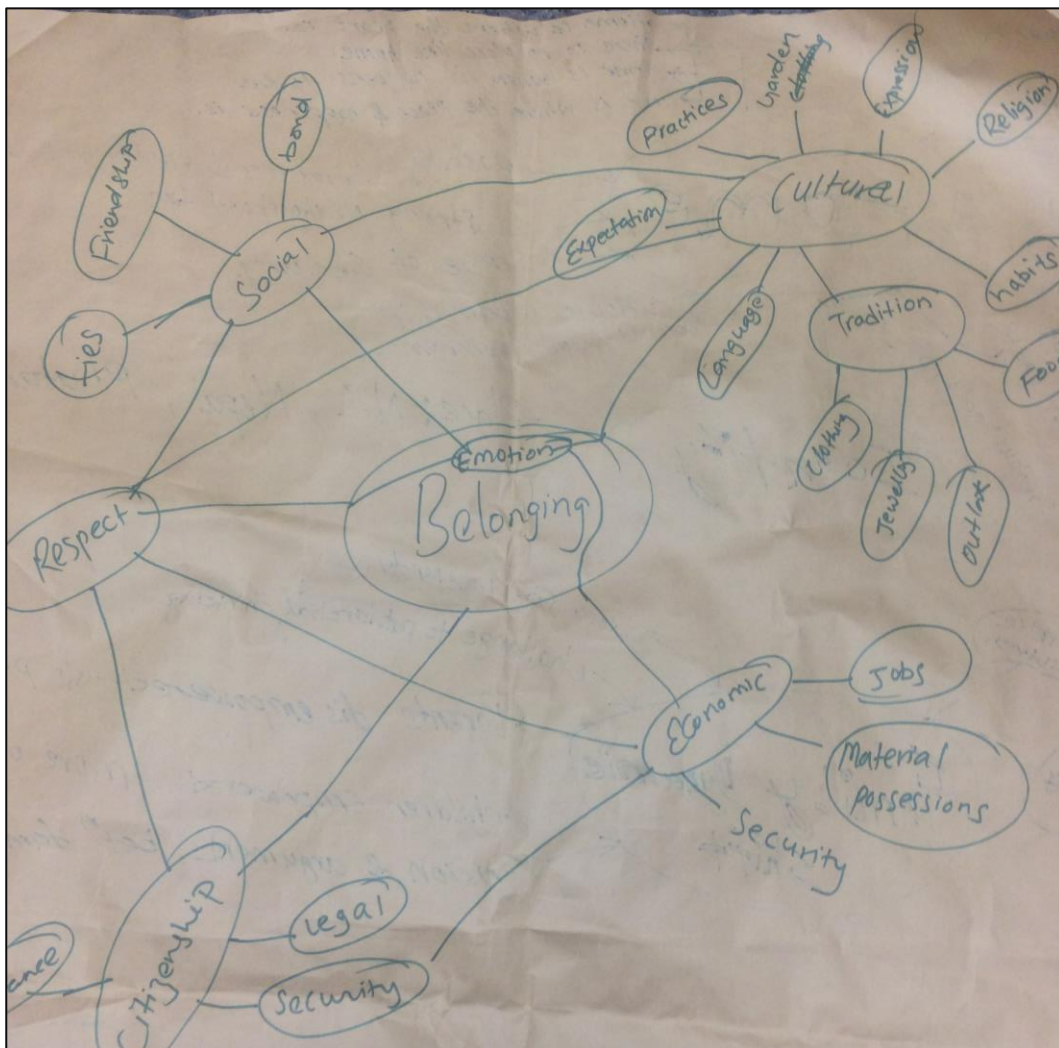


Figure 4.3 An example of mind-mapping

I repeatedly read the transcripts, listened to the audios, and became intimately familiar with what respondents shared (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014; Sewell, 2009). It helped to identify and list themes, commonalities, reclassification and differences in participant’s experiences. This stage allowed

me to gain a comprehensive understanding of the empirical materials. I then searched through the 385 pages of transcripts manually for the general themes - such as home meaning, food, childhood memories, gendered bodies, belonging, family, friends, employment, social ties, materials, citizenship, language, religion, place attachment, neighbours, neighbourhood, community and feelings (see Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4 An example of classification of data

The third stage – coding – required categorization of themes and classification of text to build, clarify and elaborate concepts. It helped to organize and analyse the texts. Transcripts and photographs were first coded with context (when, where and who participated in the study), practices (what is done?), attitudes (what is

shared/said?) and experiences (how participants feel?) (see Waite, 2010 on coding). It is often coded with overlapping themes. I used the first general themes as a starting point and further categorised into more specific topics, such as bodily geographies, household and community, which answered my questions about the everyday lived experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. Each theme became a theme for an analysis chapter. I had a pre-determined set of categories but also created new codes as I read and considered the texts. For example, the theme community was further coded into subtopics including neighbourhood, virtual and imagined.

At the final stage, I cross-referenced different stages of the research and identified relationships and associations between and within various themes and relevant literature. I cross-referenced the interview transcripts with photographs taken by participants and my field notes taken during observations and accidental ethnography to tease out both the uniformities and differences. As Rose (2001, p. 157) says, “absences can be as productive as explicit naming; invisibility can have just as powerful effects as visibility”. What has been shared or said? What has been left out? Why did participants chose a certain topic over others? These were important questions, as they helped me to understand the social differences within, and among participants. Quotations that represented the themes, consistencies and contradictions were identified and grouped together manually. Upon completion, full copies of transcripts were printed, and highlighter pens were used to determine and validate the themes manually.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined my primary methods for gathering empirical data and discussed the methodological approach to examining the experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. I used face-to-face interviews as a primary tool to collect the narratives of the participants. As a researcher, I believe that we need to integrate ourselves into the research process. It is vital, as England (1994, p. 87) remarks, “to be more open and honest about research and the limitations and partial nature of that research.” I did what participants thought was appropriate while I was in the field. Field experiences are

lived, felt, and embodied. They are not merely about data collection (Heller et al., 2010). As Rose (1997, p. 319) notes:

We cannot know everything, nor can we survey power as if we can fully understand, control or redistribute it. What we may be able to do is something rather more modest but, perhaps, rather more radical: to inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities while recognising that the significance of this does not rest entirely in our own hands.

During my stays in the field, I did not follow the process I had initially laid out to the Ethics Committee, which was to visit participants, but indeed not to stay overnight(s) in their homes. This had not occurred to me. Therefore, it is crucial to be flexible, to 'go with the flow' and to be self-reflective within the research process and pay more significant attention to issues of reflexivity, positionality, subjectivities and power relations in the field to undertake 'better' research (Cahill, 2007; Cameron & Gibson, 2005; Kindon et al., 2007). Being able to reflect on the field experience can empower the researcher and participants (Hesse-Biber, 2014)

During my fieldwork in four different cities, at times I felt anxious, curious, bored, excited, surprised, annoyed, amused and even moved to tears on occasion. These emotions brought me closer to understanding the social phenomena I was observing and experiencing. Feminist scholars often reflect that gendered bodies can attract unwanted attention that can often place researchers in dangerous and violent situations (Malam, 2004; Ross, 2015). That did not occur in my case. Sometimes I found myself sharing knowingly in the research participants' stories as we embodied similar practices, beliefs and language, while at other times I observed the differences between our experiences, circumstances and positions as I do not have any experience of being a refugee (Jones, 1997). It was, therefore, essential to develop research strategies that would allow the resettled Bhutanese women and girls to articulate and/or indicate their everyday lived discourses.

In the chapter that follows, I unpack how the everyday embodiment of respondents enable and/or prevent respondents from feeling a sense of belonging in New Zealand.

Chapter 5

Bhutanese bodily geographies

Geographers and migrant scholars have for some time now been positioning bodies at the centre of research (Habte, 2017; Halley, 2014; Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Kamri-McGurk, 2012; Philipp & Ho, 2010; Zevallos, 2008). One of several ways that resettled Bhutanese women and girls feel (not) at home is generated through embodiment, because bodies play a core role in shaping our experiences of the geographies people inhabit (see Hatoss, 2012). Embodiment becomes crucial to understanding the relationships between people, space and place because it helps us to think through the body (Longhurst, 1997) as well as the ‘doing of the body’ (Halley, 2014, p. 42) or what Butler (1988, p. 521) calls the ‘doing of gender’.

Geographers need to know about the embodied experiences of people with refugee backgrounds, in particular women and girls, to understand social life and power negotiations in the process of making home (Dudley, 2010, 2011; Pineteh, 2005). Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008) argues that when refugee women and girls resettle in different contexts, settings and environments, they may undergo shifts in family and social dynamics. They may also use various approaches to make life more bearable and habitual (Dudley, 2011). This chapter, therefore, investigates how resettled Bhutanese women’s and girls’ feelings of being at home or not being at home can be evoked through the embodiment of certain aspects of culture. In particular, I look at how culture is embodied in their everyday lives through traditional clothing, jewellery, norms, values, language, menstrual practices, the caste system, and other constraints on women’s mobility, sexual practices and family issues.

The chapter is divided into five parts. I begin by examining how certain aspects of embodiment through clothing, jewellery, skin colour, and other cultural attributes can generate feelings of (not) belonging among participants. In particular, I explore how resettled Bhutanese women and girls actively negotiate with other bodies to feel at home in New Zealand. I then scrutinise how bodies are expected to function and are disciplined through norms and values as well as the role of language in enabling or hindering a feeling of belonging. In the subsequent

section, I assess and analyse how certain bodies are deemed to be ‘impure’ by looking at menstruating bodies as well as people from the lower caste and how these situations may prompt feelings of (not) belonging in New Zealand. Afterwards, I examine how parents and children confront each other through having different opinions and discourses surrounding ‘going out’, divorce and beliefs around sexual practices. This will help to illustrate how traditional gendered practices are transmitted and maintained by family members to feel (not) at home in New Zealand.

5.1 Embodying culture, doing gender

In this section, I discuss the ways clothing, jewellery and other cultural attributes, including skin colour, offer a means of maintaining continuity that can mark bodies as insiders and outsiders in New Zealand.

5.1.1 Clothing

Participants mentioned traditional clothing as an important aspect of feeling at home in New Zealand. The significance of traditional clothing, however, is not the same for resettled Bhutanese men and women. The men mostly wear western styled trousers, jeans and pants and most of the young women tend to dress in western clothing, reserving traditional clothing for various special occasions.

Adult women participants, especially mothers and grandmothers, wear traditional clothing, such as shalwar kameez and saree [a garment consisting of a length of cotton or silk elaborately draped around the body] or lungi [a long strip of cloth wrapped around the waist and extending to the ankles] and cholo [a traditional woman’s blouse] and lungi at home. Participants also wear traditional clothing during public cultural events, weddings, ceremonies and celebrations, such as Dashai, Teej, Rishi Panchami, Dipawali, Refugee Day, multicultural days and international food festivals. Bhutanese women over the age of 50 wear fariya or saree and chaubandi choli [a blouse with four knots that can be with or without collar] or lungi and cholo in everyday life. These women wear fariya and chaubandi choli in the winter and lungi and cholo in summer in their everyday lives, including in public spaces. The participants brought their clothes from

Nepal or asked their friends and relatives in Nepal to send them. Interestingly, none of the participants had gho and kira, Bhutan's national dress.

Initially, resettled Bhutanese women wore traditional clothing in their everyday activities to assert their identities in New Zealand. Some argue (Tan, 2008) that people with refugee backgrounds relinquish their traditional clothing post-migration. However, in the case of resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand, the attachment to traditional clothes became more reinforced as they were in the process of establishing who they were or were not. For example, Apsara, who is married with three children, spent most of her time outside the refugee camps in Nepal before coming to New Zealand in 2010. She disclosed how the taken for granted could suddenly become invaluable after the resettlement in New Zealand:

You know, when we were in Nepal, Nepalese surrounded us in the camp. We wore Western-styled clothing...during the festivals and in the public places. But after coming here [New Zealand], we realised that we need to preserve our culture...wear our traditional clothes at least in our cultural activities and festivals...For the first two years, we even wore our clothing for ordinary activities. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

Apsara's account provides some crucial aspects of embodiment through clothing and her experiences of carrying out life on a daily basis. Clothing becomes everything that represents resettled Bhutanese identity and belonging in New Zealand. This resonates with Abdulrahim's (1993) finding that some Palestinian refugee women, who previously never wore traditional scarves, started wearing them in Berlin to set clear boundaries between themselves and their neighbours.

When Bhutanese women wore traditional clothing, it made them very conspicuous in local communities. Many, who were aged 25 to 35, including Apsara, had somewhat relinquished their cultural identity after they realised that their appearance, as apparent through clothing, made them noticeably distinct, especially in public places.

We felt odd over time because you saw that New Zealanders wear casual dress. You are the only one who covers your body with red coloured [clothes and other cultural ascriptions] and people stare at you in public [pause]. We felt odd. Therefore, I stopped wearing these

clothes for daily use. Maybe my children will also feel the same and stop wearing these outfits even for our cultural activities. (Nelson FT, 6 June 2015)

The colour, as mentioned in the statement above, symbolises the marital status of women according to traditional Hindu culture. Married women are expected to wear sindoor [Vermillion] in the parting of their hair, tika [a red dot] on the glabella, mangalsutra [sacred necklace], chura [bangles] and clothes with various designs and colours, but mostly red or any colour mixed with red for their husband's longevity and to indicate their marital status. Traditionally widows are forbidden to wear any of the above as cultural markers of married women. This form of embodiment in New Zealand, however, can turn women in particular into the Other (Barrett, 2012) amongst New Zealanders, as highlighted by Apsara. It indicates that participants, such as Apsara, have a hard time handling the Otherness attributed to their cultural ascription. When they realised that they were obviously different in their appearance, mainly through the clothing they wore, some Bhutanese women, such as Apsara, stopped wearing them in their everyday activities.

Like Apsara, Sarita also shared experiences of being too visible in public spaces because of her clothing. Sarita, who has been living with a family in New Zealand, said:

I wore a saree and went to the city [Auckland] for the first time. Everyone stared at me...I was wondering why they stared at me. I think they have not seen Nepalese wearing saree in Auckland [laughs]. (Auckland FT, 20th February 2015)

Wearing traditional clothing in everyday life while in public spaces, such as on the street and in supermarkets, as discussed by Sarita and Apsara, can render certain bodies highly visible, and therefore, as Other. For Sarita, wearing a saree represents her Nepalese identity; however, being too visible in public spaces because of clothing can generate feelings of discomfort and difference and mark bodies as out of place. These feelings were also experienced in the cases of resettled Bhutanese women in the USA, who replaced their traditional clothing with jeans and a blouse, topped off with sunglasses in order to adjust to their new life (see Tan, 2008).

Although the visibility of traditional clothing can generate feelings of discomfort and difference, wearing traditional clothing at public events and celebrations is a way for resettled Bhutanese to connect with similar people and to a specific group or community in New Zealand, as illustrated by Jasmin, a focus group participant.

I always wear shalwar kameez or saree during cultural celebrations, festivals, multicultural day, marriages and Refugee Day. And, I love to wear our traditional clothing during these events because everybody wears it. Even when we invite support workers to our festivals, they too wear our clothing. You will feel odd if you don't wear them during such events. (Palmerston North PT, 30th August 2015).

For Jasmin, clothes are not just material used to cover the body, they are a symbolic affirmation of connection between the individuals and the Bhutanese community, and also among the resettled Bhutanese and caseworkers, as pointed out in another study in a similar context (see Dudley, 2010). Although wearing traditional clothing in public places in New Zealand can turn Bhutanese women and girls into the Other, attempting to look similar through the wearing of Bhutanese and non-Bhutanese (support workers) clothing at public celebrations seems to blur these boundaries of Otherness, as indicated by Wickramaararchchi and Burns (2017). As highlighted by scholars (Gibson, 2016; Schofield & Schmidt, 2005), clothing symbolises meaning and the expression of identity for Bhutanese. Often our cultural identities are marked by how we perceive ourselves and how we think others might see us (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Johnston & Valentine, 1995; Ting-Toomey, 1999). It could be a reason why bodies connect differently by wearing similar clothing or looking similar at public events and festivals. As pointed out by Jasmin above, there seems to be an invisible social expectation of the Bhutanese community involving what or what not to wear during public events, especially during festivals, ceremonies and special occasions, in order to feel part of the Bhutanese community.

At the same time, there is also a risk that Bhutanese women and girls are marked as different among the Bhutanese community if they attend events without wearing traditional clothes, thereby creating feelings of being odd in New Zealand. While wearing the traditional clothing fulfils the social expectations of the broader Bhutanese community and can make them feel part of the community,

clothing can also differentiate people's identities and their class from those who are considered 'the same'. Other research on clothing also indicates that embodying the same or similar clothing generates acceptance and similarity (Dudley, 2010; Schofield & Schmidt, 2005). It appears that these cultural activities and experiences can create feelings of connection, sharing and recognition and thus help them to feel part of the Bhutanese community.

Regardless of differences between generations of resettled Bhutanese, all participants over the age of 50 were found to prefer to continue wearing fariya and cholo in their everyday activities at home in order to preserve their cultural identities as well as to signify their belonging to the broader Bhutanese community. For example, Ramita, in her 70s, asked her son to buy her some trousers for everyday use at home in an attempt to look similar to her Māori neighbour next door. One of her friends saw her wearing the trousers and the same day some of her friends (i.e. women of her age), came to her house in person and requested that she continue wearing traditional clothes in the hope of making the younger generation aware of the Nepali-speaking Bhutanese clothes as well as preserving their traditional lifestyle. Ramita says, 'all these old ladies started arguing, and I was asked to wear fariya'. As a result, she abandoned the trousers and started wearing traditional clothes. Since then Ramita even encourages young women to wear traditional clothing at home.

5.1.2 Jewellery

Like clothing, jewellery also represents the embodied expression of identities as well as differentiating Bhutanese women from people who are non-Bhutanese and non-Nepalese. For instance, Maya, who is in her 70s, had lived in New Zealand for more than two years at the time of the interview. She is one of two Bhutanese women in Nelson, New Zealand, who wears traditional jewellery, such as jhumke bulaki [a nose ring with pendant pierced in the columella base] and marwari [an earring made of a hollow hoop], in her everyday life. Maya started wearing jhumke bulaki and marwari when she was 13 years of age. She continues to wear traditional clothing and jewellery in her everyday activities in New Zealand. She shared one of many experiences of how strangers often approached her to ask about her jewellery.

A few months back, my friend and I were walking on the street. A Kiwi approached us and took our photographs. They said 'good' by pointing towards our jhumke bulaki and marwari and asked about it. I told them 'con, con' [arbitrary word]...I didn't know the English name...but I think they thought my earrings name was con con [laughing]...Foreigners often ask about ear and nose piercing and jewellery: what I am wearing or what is hanging on my ears and nose by pointing at them [laughing]. (Nelson PT, 6th June 2015)

The experiences of Maya imply that bodies can also become highly visible when people look different by wearing jewellery. These embodiments can generate conflicting attitudes towards them when encountered as the exotic Other in everyday life. This situation can intensify feelings of confusion, vulnerability and awkwardness among those who feel different (see Valentine, 2008). The accounts of Sarita and Maya, however, suggest that home spaces can be empowering and associated with positive experiences when women with refugee backgrounds are embodied in ways that are different from that of the local people. There are no pressures to understand, to translate, and to feel judged within home spaces, which makes them feel at home. They, however, go through the exotic Other experience in public spaces. Based on the findings by hooks (1990) in other contexts, home spaces can be sites of power, security, empowerment and relative freedom from the dominant culture.

5.1.3 Other cultural attributes

Other cultural attributes are essential aspects of belonging to specific groups that generate feelings of being at home among participants (Dudley, 2010). Studies indicate that embodied experiences of intercultural interactions in public spaces can affect feelings of being at home (Radford, 2017; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Januka, who came to New Zealand five years ago with her husband and daughter, shared her experiences of how using sindoor makes her body noticeable in public spaces.

In the beginning, several random Kiwi²⁷ approached to say that my forehead was bleeding, while others were curious to know more about it. Now many people know about

²⁷ A Kiwi is a New Zealand bird. It is also a symbol of New Zealand's national identity and is used on stamps and coins. Kiwi is often the term used by immigrants and New Zealand-born citizens, who refer to themselves and others as Kiwi (see Longhurst, Johnston, & Ho, 2009).

sindoor, so they do not ask anymore. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

Some cultural attributions not only mark refugees as Other but they can also facilitate connection with each other (Dudley, 2010), which seems to hold true for resettled Bhutanese as well. For example, Jiby and her family were among the first Bhutanese refugee groups relocated to New Zealand in early 2008. She shared the difficulties that she and the groups confronted due to a lack of English proficiency and she explained how seeing someone with a similar embodiment and skin colour eased their six-week stay at the MRRC in Auckland.

Two people with brown skin, who looked like Nepalese or Indian came to the MRRC...we could not ask who they were because of a lack of English proficiency. I was looking at them. I saw something tied around their wrist. I went to my husband and said people with rakhi²⁸ [sacred thread tied on their wrist] must be Hindu...requested him to talk to the people...and, ask for rice for the children...Then a brother along with my husband went and asked about the food culture...They were Sri Lankan Tamil, who follow Hinduism like us and had a big community in Auckland. They helped us in communicating with people in Mangere regarding food and also invited and took us once a week to their place to feed us with rice. (Christchurch PT, 1st June 2015)

Hinduism, as mentioned by Jiby, is not only a religion but also a culture in and of itself, which incorporates all aspects of life including how people look (Hodge, 2004). This finding resonates with Dudley's (2010) conclusion about Karenni refugees, in which she argues that certain aspects of Karenni traditional appearance play a significant role in marking differences and strengthening connections within and outside groups (Dudley, 2010). Among newly resettled refugee groups, like Bhutanese, embodiment can connect one to others with a unique culture in a new country. Jiby's narrative above also highlights that people always have what Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2008, p. 469) call 'bodily ways-of-judging' each other in every aspect of living.

Similarly, skin colour can be used as a basis upon which to construct someone as Other (Green & Singleton, 2008), In this sense, looking similar can also enable

28 People wearing the sacred thread and holy cord belong to Tagadhari in Hindu religion (see Subedi, 2010).

bodies to connect with each other as these connections grow stronger by being part of a minority group. The New Zealand Government report, *New Zealand's refugee sector: Perspectives and developments, 1987–2010*, reveals that an existing similar community is a significant resource for newly arrived refugees (Gruner & Searle, 2011), as in the case of Jiby, where having brown skin and a thread tied on a wrist helped her to connect, share her feelings and get support. This indicates that everyday experiences generated through clothing, jewellery and other aspects of embodiment play an important role in fostering a sense of belonging and closeness.

Studies have argued that when resettlement of refugees from developing to developed countries occurs, relocated refugees negotiate their way through similarities and differences as the strange becomes familiar, and the familiar becomes strange (Dewsbury & Bissell, 2015). A study found that living with cultural differences generates confusion, frustration and feelings of discomfort (Wise, 2004b). These differences can make some bodies feel out of place. In the case of resettled Bhutanese, these new bodies seem to have been constructed as sites of difference in relation to how the women and girls present themselves through clothing, jewellery and other cultural traits in the beginning. They were marked out as 'foreigners' by non-Bhutanese and non-Nepalese observers on streets or in local suburbs and towns, and thereby visually stood out as different, and hence vulnerable.

Being embodied in familiar ways, however, can create 'sameness' with individuals and specific groups who look the same and help to connect the newly resettled refugees with related agencies. Clothing, jewellery and other cultural attributions play a vital role in making Bhutanese women and girls feel at home in New Zealand. All of the above narratives support the argument of Longhurst (2001) that some aspects of embodiment may make migrant women, including resettled refugee women, feel in and out of place in New Zealand.

5.2 Norms, values and language

In this section, I unpack how being able to embody norms, values and language in everyday life makes participants feel at home in New Zealand.

5.2.1 Norms and values

Some participants reported that being able to practice traditional norms and values, many of which tend to be patriarchal in nature, made them feel more at home. When I visited participants at their homes for interviews and cooking sessions, I noticed that the front door of their house was always open. Leaving a door open for a visitor is part of their culture. Participants welcomed me through the front door. In every respondent's house, I could see the piles of shoes in front of the main door. In a few cases, there was a written sign on the wall stating, 'shoes here'. Imposing norms at home is a way to discipline bodies (Halley, 2014). Every time I visited participants' homes, I removed my shoes before entering their house, which is also a practice largely followed in Nepal. If people enter the home with shoes on, they may be considered 'uncivilised', 'impolite' and/or associated with 'rural' families.

Participants mentioned that children are valued and cared for in their culture. Children listen to their parents and conform to the cultural norms their parents hold. Social visits among family, relatives and friends are an essential part of resettled Nepali-speaking Bhutanese culture. A large number of adult Bhutanese women seem to socialise mainly with other Bhutanese inside and outside of New Zealand, whereas the young women tend to socialise with non-Bhutanese in New Zealand.

For teenage girls, feeling at home seems to be imbued with traditional and cultural concepts that are lived through the gendered division of work and spaces. The men and women occupy pre-designated positions at home. All the women interviewees considered family responsibilities and household chores as their primary responsibility. Twenty of the 38 women respondents were either full-time students or part-time workers, and 16 were homemakers. Only two women respondents at the time of the interview were involved in full-time work. The experiences of working mothers and female students are substantially different from participants with inadequate English skills, including homemakers, as they spend the majority of their time in households. Even those women who go to work or school maintain family and household tasks as their primary responsibilities.

Ideas about cooking and mothering are socially constructed and also shaped by the culture and structure of the society (Hays, 1996). Home is the site where these homemakers' routines are performed from early morning until late at night. Manu and Januka, who are full-time homemakers, shared their experiences, which illustrate how their household responsibilities hinder their prospects for other opportunities. Manu is in her early 40s and is married with three children. When she first came to New Zealand, she worked as a casual employee for approximately two years but left the job when she got pregnant. Now, her toddler goes to kindergarten, but she has difficulty finding paid work. The household chores and child care require her full attention, leaving less time to search for paid employment. Manu says she does 'nothing' despite managing the home, feeding the family members three times a day and washing the dishes, clothes and floors.

I do nothing now...I just look after the baby, cook, eat, clean and stay at home [pause]. It's our responsibility. I do nothing. I wake up early in the morning, get busy in preparing food for the child and family members, and do other household activities. I drop him [pointing to the toddler] to his kindy at 9am...return home, do some laundry, vacuum the floors, go to pick him up [toddler] at 2pm and prepare food and feed him. Then, it is time to cook the evening meal, do dishes and spend some time with him [toddler] and family. I want to do a part-time job, but it is tough to manage the time. I have to be physically present to do morning and evening household chores, and most importantly to drop and pick him up [toddler]. (Nelson PT, 7th June 2015)

When asked, Januka, in her late 30s and married with three children, also stated 'I do not do anything'. She further described that she too takes care of her children, performs household chores, prepares breakfast and takes her children to and from kindergarten. In addition, she mentions:

By the time I reach home, I am already tired, but I have to prepare some snacks for them and then start making dinner for the family. The work does not look like much, but it is very tiring. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

It is interesting to note that, despite hours of tiring domestic work and taking care of children, these full-time homemakers still think they do 'nothing'. Their labour tends not to be valued because it does not contribute to generating any form of monetary income.

In the resettled Bhutanese context, domestic chores and caring for people who live in the home are intertwined, and it is hard to make a separation between these two types of work. As argued by Hays (1996), this work is deemed to be associated with socio-cultural beliefs or norms where women are expected to spend a considerable amount of time within home spaces. Both Manu and Januka, described above, seem to be reflecting the dominant discourse that only paid work is considered work (see Hays, 1996). This domestic work amongst Bhutanese women is likely to create major obstacles to them joining the paid workforce, yet this work is essential in creating and maintaining home. From a feminist perspective, some aspects of the homemaking practices of Manu and Januka, along with 14 of the other homemakers, are problematic. Firstly, the gender roles of respondents distinctly showed the women having greater responsibility for unpaid caring and domestic work. These homemaking practices involve a range of unpaid and unacknowledged work and are often very tiring, as pointed out by Januka and Manu. Some studies also show that women often carry out household chores, including cleaning, cooking, maintaining the home and taking care of family members, including the elderly, young and sick. These tasks are time-consuming, do not generate money and hence remain unrecognised (Christie, 2006; Hayden, 2002). Since this work is informal and unpaid, home space does not seem to be a space of autonomy and empowerment for Bhutanese homemakers in New Zealand. This finding corroborates a study on the kitchen that focused on food preparation, not on child-rearing, by Christie (2006) who argues that home spaces can function as a domestic jail when women are confined within households because of these gender roles.

Secondly, homemaking practices are characterised by a series of binaries, such as masculine/feminine and public/private, which define home as a feminine and private space and reinforce masculine claims to public spaces (Basnet, 2011; Puwar, 2004). Women are more likely to hold an inferior position in wage work as they spend more time at home taking care of family and doing household chores (Gough, Eisenschitz, & McCulloch, 2006). In most resettled Bhutanese families, women continue to put family before paid jobs and take primary responsibility for domestic chores and childcare. These domestic chores and mothering activities, as described by Manu and Januka, are understood as moral

obligations and responsibilities. A woman's moral status can be read from the way she manages housework, mothering and the well-being of her family. Being able to take care of and maintain family and chores equates with goodness for Bhutanese women.

Gender roles and relations reflect beliefs about the responsibilities and activities that are deemed appropriate for women and men (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995). In other words, they define and create boundaries around how certain bodies should act and behave based on their assigned roles. Avy is a focus group participant who came to New Zealand with her parents approximately three years ago, along with her other siblings. She sketched her current home and the role of family members in New Zealand (see Figure 5.1). Her sketch clearly illustrates a gender stratification within the resettled Bhutanese community and mainly in her family. It shows that men and women have unequal access to power, prestige and property. Men are expected to work outside of households to support their families, while women are expected to raise the children and run the household, in particular doing the cooking and nurturing the family.

Avy's sketch exhibits a complex knowledge of gender roles and relations as well as power structures in the family, which adhere to the patriarchal norms and power structures of resettled Bhutanese, as also identified by other studies (e.g. Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Valentine, 1997). By showing her mother cooking in the kitchen, as Johnson (2006) argues in another context, Avy establishes that patriarchal norms have continued irrespective of their resettlement in New Zealand. In her sketch, Avy illustrates that the cooking and preparation of food by mothers is considered important. She also indicates that home spaces are vital in maintaining traditions as well as transmitting essential cultural and embodied knowledge from one generation to the next. At the same time, taking care of family and undertaking these everyday cooking is significant in generating feeling at home. Avy described her sketch as how she sees her family members performing everyday activities that resonate with her image of home:

Home is...a place where I can see my mama cooking food in the kitchen...I can go to the park and swing with my sister. Daddy takes care of the vegetable garden...uncle or sometimes cousin [male] take us out for shopping...It's

about feeling peaceful, safe and complete with the people I am with. (Palmerston North NT, 30th August 2015)

Avy's understanding of gendered roles and relations can be further explained using the concept of performativity, as discussed by Butler (1990), who argues that repetitive bodily performances, acts, styles, and behaviours communicate who we are. These performances construct and consolidate specific gender identities. From this perspective, gender roles and relations become embedded and naturalised through a series of behavioural repetitions (Butler, 1990). These gender roles are sets of behaviours deemed to be socially appropriate or inappropriate. They are based on gender and align with prevailing views of social relations within resettled Bhutanese culture.

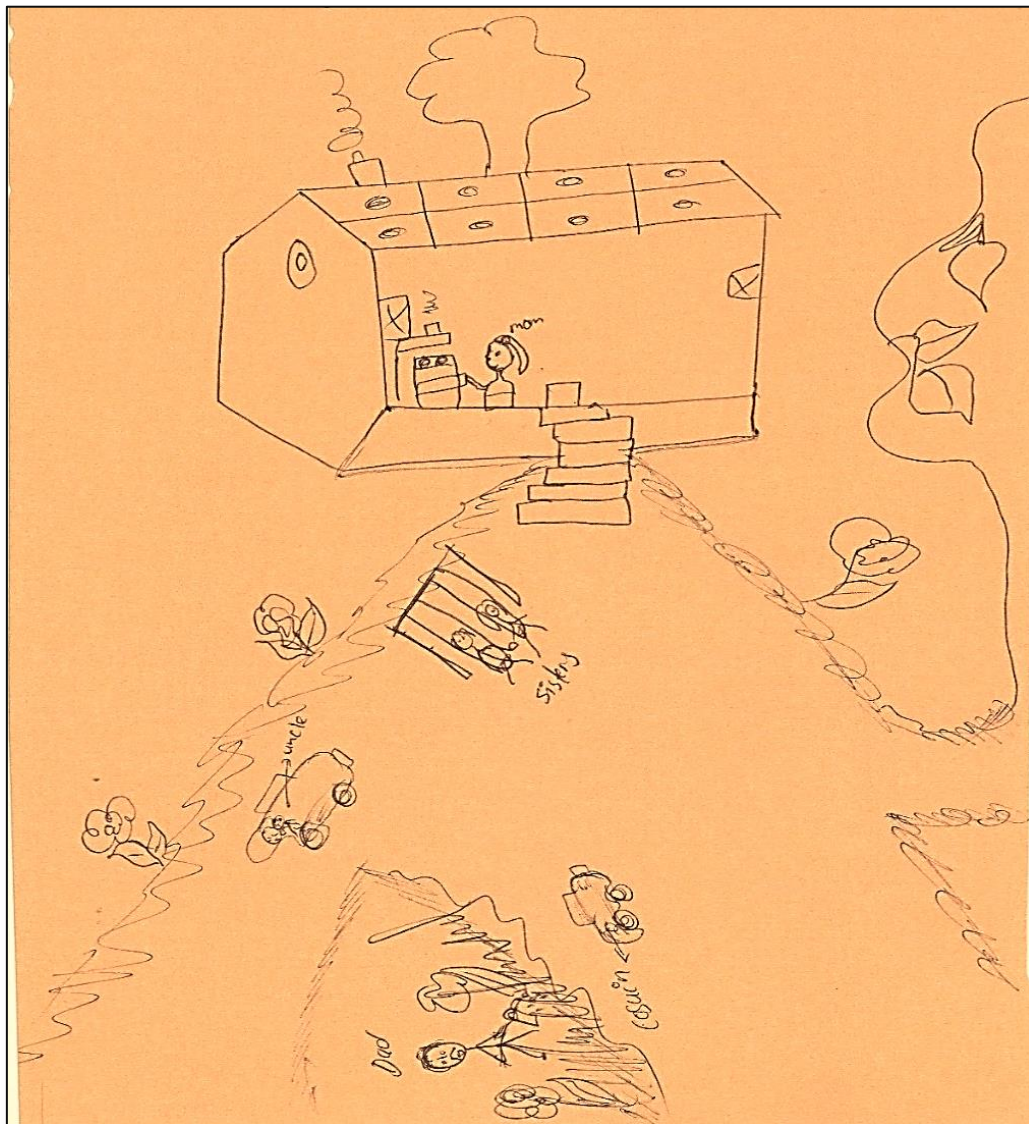


Figure 5.1 Avy's sense of home (Focus group, 30th August 2015)

Likewise, when I asked 16 homemakers if they shared the household chores with other family members, only two homemakers mentioned that they shared the domestic work with their partners. Puja, for example, a mother of two children, replied:

We partake in kitchen work, and children care equally. I manage to do it myself, but if I cannot, then my husband or mother-in-law do the chores...We do everything together, so it is not difficult. Depending on their availability, we prepare food and look after the kids. (Interview FT, 5th June 2015)

Puja's account makes it clear that she believes in equal sharing of domestic work, including childcare, cooking and cleaning. However, it does not seem to be the case in practice, as her husband or mother-in-law perform such tasks only when she is sick, not at home or has her period. This study also found that, even when Bhutanese men were unemployed, they did not contribute significantly to domestic activities, especially to kitchen chores.

As is illustrated in the study of Afghan refugees in the USA (Lipson & Omidian, 1997), my research also shows that resettlement in New Zealand can create various conflicts between daughters and mothers, such as intergenerational differences over certain practices and family values. Young Bhutanese women who experience these intergenerational gaps are likely to feel compelled to behave differently inside and outside of the home to fit within the new environment, as also revealed in a study on family assimilation disparity among Hispanic refugees in Canada (Merali, 2002). Most of the adult participants feel that their traditional values are challenged and threatened when the young Bhutanese acculturate quickly into New Zealand culture in order to belong to their peer group at school. They also mentioned that the young Bhutanese learn to be independent and assertive in school, which contradicts their cultural values about family interdependence and strict obedience to elder family members, particularly to the father's authority (CORC, 2007, 2008). As a result, some resettled Bhutanese are struggling to maintain the patriarchal values that elevate men's position in society, which can produce feelings of not belonging in New Zealand.

During the interview at Sarita's home, her husband, who appeared to be in his 40s, was sitting next to us. When I asked Sarita if anyone in her family has

employment to support the family, her husband who was listening to our conversation promptly interrupted from the couch, saying:

I am a father, a husband and the head of the family, but I am unable to do anything because I do not know how to speak English. If I were in my place [referring to Nepal and Bhutan], I would have talked Nepali. I would have worked and supported the family. This is not my place. Our language is different. (Author's diary, 20th February 2016)

In the Nepali-speaking Bhutanese culture, it is important that men, in particular husbands and fathers, must meet the needs of the family. It was not possible for some men, like Sarita's husband, to fulfil this role in New Zealand as a result of unemployment and lack of English language skills. Unemployment among men, especially fathers, means they lose their role as providers and breadwinners. This situation affects the social power structure within households; the men also suffer a loss of self-esteem, dignity and self-respect, as demonstrated in a research project on Palestinian refugees in West Berlin (Abdulrahim, 1993). For example, one male participant questioned the researcher, 'How can my children respect me when I do not respect myself? How can I respect myself when I do not work but sit and do nothing the whole day?' (Abdulrahim, 1993, p. 64).

Sarita's husband said that he has to depend heavily on his teenage son to do ordinary activities, including talking with volunteers, seeing doctors and doing the shopping, which makes him feel that New Zealand is not his country. Being dependent on young children has resulted in feelings of not belonging among resettled Bhutanese men in New Zealand. Similar perspectives were also prominent amongst the men who lost their head of household position in other contexts (e.g. Gamburd, 2004). Several other studies also revealed unemployment as one of the most significant challenges faced by refugees in resettlement countries (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Lipson & Omidian, 1997; Pulla & Bah, 2016) and it is often caused by lack of English language skills.

After Sarita's husband spoke, Sarita mentioned that they opted-in for the resettlement primarily for their children but she and her husband lack the respect of their son post-resettlement because they feel that he does not listen to them. This power reversal for Sarita's husband post-resettlement in New Zealand is seen as a sudden loss of authority and of the father's role as breadwinner, an argument

made by other similar studies (DeSouza, 2011; Pittaway, 2004). It seems that the role children play within the family is often a source of ambivalence, a point also highlighted by several other similar studies (Anderson, 2001; Valentine et al., 2008). Even though young people, like Sarita's teenage son, are actively helping families with limited English skills, primarily as interpreters, to cope with the transition, parents, especially fathers, see them as a threat to the familial power structure. Such a situation is a common experience for young people in the resettlement process (Duran, 2017). Studies (e.g. DeSouza, 2011; Pittaway, 2004) suggest that, in this situation, young people with refugee backgrounds try to adhere to the norms of the country they resettled in, given that parents relinquish their authority, thus resulting in the deterioration of family relationships. This can make resettled Bhutanese, like Sarita's husband, feel out of place in New Zealand.

Another male participant, Ram, in his early 40s, commented on the issue of not being a breadwinner. Ram came to New Zealand with four family members. He was a lecturer at a college where he taught English and Math near the camp in Nepal. Finding a similar job in New Zealand proved to be difficult. The best job he could get in New Zealand was cleaning in a supermarket. He then decided to study as a lab technician, thinking that he would find a relevant job:

I thought I could get a good job if I study in New Zealand. Once I started university...it took four years to complete. Meanwhile, the family's financial condition worsened... Personally, I am happy that I met new friends, got an education but I was unable to play the role of good breadwinner. Even after the completion, I joined a menial job. (Palmerston North PT, 31st August 2015)

When Ram chose to continue his education, he was unable to fulfil the role of primary breadwinner for his wife, children and other dependents, which is what he considers a 'good breadwinner' should do. Both Ram and Sarita's husband highlight the widespread prevalence of the 'men as breadwinner' discourse and the apparent threat to male authority when they are unable to play this role. When men with refugee backgrounds, such as Ram and Sarita's husband, are unable to transfer their skills and status from the home country to their newly resettlement country, it causes a change in family roles and a loss of status (Lipson & Omidian, 1997). Harcourt (2009) argues that when men are unable to live up to

stereotypical models of masculinity that promote the idea of men as the power brokers and the providers and household heads of society, they struggle with their sense of masculine identity. As mentioned earlier, men, usually the fathers, are the breadwinners of the family in resettled Bhutanese culture. Subsequently, when they are unable to provide in this way, they may feel out of place and feel that they do not belong in New Zealand.

In addition, participants also mentioned that their local neighbours considered some of their everyday practices and expectations around interactions as offensive and unwelcoming. Some adult women encountered cultural shock when they first arrived in New Zealand. Encounters can generate conflict, prejudice or unease when living with differences between values and practices in the present (Valentine, 2008). For example, Jiby explained that in her culture, practices such as looking somebody in the eye are a way to connect with people, including strangers, whereas it was considered offensive in New Zealand.

In the beginning, it was so hard. We tried everything to connect with our neighbours. Nobody taught us how to behave in this new environment. We give a wave to our neighbour, no response from them. Some of our elders looked into their neighbour's eyes, and their neighbours scolded them. For the first year, we used to cry whenever we meet/talk with our friends, relatives and dispersed family. When the issues were heightened, our cross-cultural volunteers played a vital role to convince our neighbours about our culture. (Christchurch FT, 29th May 2015)

Participants, mostly aged 30 and above, tried looking closely into their neighbours' eyes to connect, but it had adverse consequences in New Zealand. This shows the kind of disjuncture that emerges when there are different ideas about what a welcoming body should do to feel connected and how bodies should respond at particular moments. Looking squarely into neighbours' eyes was deemed inappropriate amongst their local neighbours, especially among some Māori as it is considered an invasion of private space. Thus, these groups of resettled Bhutanese were defined as ill-mannered. A welcoming body is expected to display emotions to signal that they are pleased to see you. As argued by some in other contexts (e.g. Cotten, Anderson, & McCullough, 2013), these unmet needs for social relationships among participants generated feelings of loneliness.

5.2.2 Nepali language

Another way some participants feel at home is through the use of Nepali language among householders. Language not only serves as an essential marker of culture (Al-Ali et al., 2010) but it also helps to facilitate reconstruction of the self and ease the transition into New Zealand society (Li, 2011). It is also a way to protect one's language and a significant boost for its maintenance. Bhutanese mothers regard the Nepali language as an essential vehicle through which children learn to be Nepali/Bhutanese and they felt that it is their duty and responsibility to protect their language. As a result, mothers predominately try to maintain the home as a Nepalese space, in order to stop their children speaking English at home.

Many adult Bhutanese women, mostly mothers, fear that their children will lose their native language as time goes by. Special efforts are made by mothers to preserve the native language by insisting that children speak Nepali at home. In spite of this, young participants' Nepali language proficiency remains low. For example, Puja, a mother of three children, invests her time teaching Nepali to her children. Having her family members speak Nepali represents a strong bond between her language and culture and therefore helps her to feel at home in New Zealand. Puja describes the importance she places on speaking Nepali at home so her children retain a Nepalese and familial identity despite living in New Zealand:

We speak Nepali at home because of the fear of losing our language...I do not want them [pointing to her toddler] to forget their mother tongue. Otherwise, they will be like Kiwi people...They [two adult sons] speak in Neplish, half-Nepali and half-English. (Nelson PT, 5th June 2015)

Sporton and Valentine (2007) make a similar point when, in their study on Somali with refugee backgrounds in the UK, they found intercultural differences in families. They illustrate that parents enforced their native language and culture at home but children preferred to speak English and identified with an English lifestyle (Sporton & Valentine, 2007). Puja's narratives indicate that even when people with refugee backgrounds are not physically isolated, they are often socially and culturally marginalised (Salih, 2003) as the younger generation disregard the cultural practices and the language. Furthermore, Puja had concerns that her son would become disconnected from their traditional culture and lose

access to their traditions, language, and values and become like Kiwis, also noted by DeSouza (2011) in the study of refugee women in New Zealand.

Primarily, as Anderson (1991) suggests, speaking Nepali unifies members and not only helps them communicate, but on a broader level helps them continue to live their everyday lives and establish their identities. As Puja mentioned, losing Nepali will make her children like Kiwi, and she does not like this. Nepali is the medium through which participants feel at home. Speaking Nepali at home among participants, in particular those who might find it difficult or impossible to understand the English language, helps them to feel at home.

A further implication is that having a particular given identity in different contexts can position bodies in and out of place, as people feel a sense of belonging or feel excluded by specific norms and expectations (Cresswell, 1996). Young Bhutanese speaking Nepali at home with parents can be read as a marker of belonging, yet the same practice can position them as outsiders when speaking Nepali with their New Zealand-born peers. The expectation is that only English should be spoken when they are together, as their peers do not understand Nepali.

As in the case of Puja, it is crucial to adult participants, particularly mothers and elders, that their (grand)children be able to communicate in Nepali with distant family. For example, Apsara, a mother of three children, shared an incident where her son was reluctant to speak in Nepali with other Bhutanese:

We speak Nepali but...my children speak English with their siblings even at home...My youngest son speaks Nepali with me, but if someone called us from Nepal, then he will deliver the phone to me without talking...saying that he doesn't understand their language. But he speaks Nepali with us. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

Other studies also indicate that the day-to-day lived experiences of people with refugee backgrounds often involve conflicts and negotiations about their language and culture as well as other adjustments in the resettlement nations (Duran, 2017; MacDonald, 1997). Retaining and protecting their first language becomes significant and central not only to the survival of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese culture but also for educational success. When participants, like Apsara and Puja,

fail to hear the young people speak the Nepali language at home they fear a loss of identity and nostalgia is felt for their first language, Nepali. Their narratives indicate that although resettled Bhutanese are not physically isolated, they are often socially and culturally marginalised (Salih, 2003) as they struggle to maintain two cultures, practices and languages. Research on Asian and Latino youths illustrates that young people benefit more from bicultural knowledge and that it can be an asset for them while living amongst cultural and language differences (Feliciano, 2001). The argument is that bicultural youths can draw resources from both their own traditional culture and mainstream culture (Feliciano, 2001). This can encourage young people to speak English at home, which can offend participants who do not have English skills.

My research also shows that resettlement in New Zealand has created various intergenerational clashes through the use of language. Parents want their children to speak Nepali at home whereas the children use English as their main language. Speaking English at home, in the long term, can create an inter-generational conflict when some family members, primarily homemakers and older women, who are unable to understand and communicate and fear the loss of culture. For example. Sarita, married with three children, is a homemaker. She and her husband have no English language proficiency. When asked about the language she speaks with others, including her family members at home, she replied:

We speak Nepali [pause]...Our children have started to speak English at home. Our son [son's name] has already started saying that he doesn't need to speak Nepali...We are illiterate [silence]. When we receive bills and letters in the letterbox, the son gets annoyed if we ask him...we feel humiliated. (Auckland FT, 20th February 2015)

In this instance, language is vital in marking boundaries where bodies can become honourable and respectable through the use of language at home (Puwar, 2004). Living in New Zealand has been hard for Sarita because she does not speak any English, which impacts her everyday life. The embodied norms and practices of the broader Nepali-speaking Bhutanese community have led to an embodied sense of home among the respondents. Having Sarita's children speak Nepali at home facilitates a strong bond and love among the family members, as she and her

husband do not understand English. Participants with limited English language skills, such as Sarita and her husband, feel that they do not belong or fit in New Zealand when they have to depend on their children heavily because of their lack of English language skills, also indicated by Anderson (2001). They feel excluded when they are unable to understand the language their son speaks at home.

Young participants quickly adapt to the language and culture while parents hold on to traditional family values, practices and the native language. Sometimes, when adults try to adapt, their progress occurs at a slower pace. Sarita, for example, comments on her language learning ability stating, 'my brain is too old to learn anything new. Whatever I learn today, I forget the next morning'. Not being able to speak English can create physical, social and cultural isolation among those who desire to integrate into New Zealand society. Several other studies in a similar context also show this, the core finding being that integration of the younger and older generations occurs disproportionately (e.g. Anderson, 2001; Halley, 2014; Lipson & Omidian, 1997; Waters et al., 2010).

On the one hand, being young and being responsible for the payment of household bills and translating important letters for family members, which is considered an adult responsibility, may generate feelings of annoyance and irritation towards one's parents. On the other hand, Sarita sees her son's behaviour as having no respect for parents because he does not behave in expected ways. This creates an imbalance in power and control within the family. Bhutanese traditional views on what constitutes 'proper' family relationships and interactions between parents and children conflict with the integration of these children into New Zealand society, through their adopting of the local language and values.

Young Bhutanese who speak English at home may feel more empowered and have a sense of belonging in New Zealand, but it changes the power dynamics in the family. The adults need to rely on the children to help them understand necessary transactions. This power shift can have a detrimental effect on the male members of the family in their new home. When resettled Bhutanese do not have English skills and are unable to understand the practices and expectations in New Zealand, they cannot take the opportunities available to other residents. A sense of ignorance might make them feel out of place and can generate feelings of not

belonging. For most Bhutanese adults the home is an important space in which to enact a Bhutanese identity by speaking the Nepali language and embodying rules and norms. Yet it is also a site of encounter when young Bhutanese follow different languages, preferences and values. In addition to norms, values and language, a majority of adult Bhutanese perform some other forms of traditional practices, such as menstrual and caste systems, within their households in order to feel at home in New Zealand.

5.3 No place for impure bodies

I examine how the continuation of traditional menstrual and caste practices can create feelings of (not) belonging in New Zealand. I also discuss how Hindu notions of purity and taboos regarding menstrual and caste practices are carried out in the homes of resettled Bhutanese. As explained in Chapter 2, Nepalese, who were mostly Hindu, migrated to Bhutan and took traditional Hindu norms and practices, including the caste system and menstrual practices, with them (CORC, 2007, 2008; IOM Damak, 2008). Both practices were reintroduced into the Nepalese refugee camps when they fled from Bhutan. Nepal used to be a Hindu Kingdom until 2006 and used to follow a rigid caste system and menstrual practices. It is interesting to note that caste-based discrimination and untouchability became illegal in 2011 (Johnson, 2011). The practices of *chhaupadi* [exiling women to huts or sheds during menstruation] will be banned from August 2018 in Nepal (Aldama, 2018). The findings suggest that resettled Bhutanese strictly follow menstrual and rigid caste practices that deem certain bodies as ‘pure’ or ‘impure’.

5.3.1 Menstrual practices

Some widely held beliefs create boundaries around the everyday activities and routines of women and girls within the domain of the home (Nightingale, 2011). Menstruation is recognised as *rajaswalaa* [bleeding] or *nachhune vayeko* [untouchable or impure] among Hindu, Buddhist and those who recently converted to Christianity (see Chapter 6). Menstruation and associated practices and geographies were complex for participants.

While collecting data in Palmerston North, I had an opportunity to share a cup of tea after an interview with Sakshi and to meet her parents for an informal conversation. Throughout our conversation, Sakshi's mother was sitting quietly in the corner of the living room. In the meantime, Sabita, one of the potential participants whom I had contacted prior to visiting Palmerston North, came to meet me when she heard from Sakshi that I was there. Sabita was in her late adolescence when she first came to New Zealand in 2011. Sabita joined Sakshi's mother in the corner despite my invitation to sit closer and on the sofa. I wondered why both of them sat in a corner. I was in a dilemma as to whether to sit on the sofa with Sakshi or on the floor with her mother.

While Sakshi was filling out the consent form, her father joined us, introduced himself and left briefly. After Sakshi's father left, Sabita explained that they currently had their periods and therefore they were following the tradition that prohibits menstruating bodies from conducting home activities, including inhabiting any shared spaces in the home and touching the male members of the family. These communal spaces are the spaces the family members inhabit together as well as where they entertain outsiders. I made a note of Sabita's comment:

You know, right? We are forbidden from entering the kitchen or prayer room, sitting on a sofa, eating with the family members, using water sources that other people share, sleeping on our bed and socialising with others. You know all these practices, right? [Pause] At the end of the 5th day of our menstruation, we purify by sprinkling sun paani [gold touched water used as holy water]. Afterward, Sabita laughed. (Author's diary, 1st September 2015)

Bodily practices in the home spaces, as shared by Sabita, include normative restrictions placed on women's bodies, especially Hindu women and girls, when they are menstruating or have recently given birth, as indicated in other studies (Lasaine, 2015; Nightingale, 2011). Women's bodies in the Hindu tradition are considered as clean/dirty, pure/impure and touchable/untouchable during menstruation and after recently giving birth (Nightingale, 2011).

The above exchange with Sabita highlights several significant points about how adult Hindu Bhutanese women have been actively involved in re-introducing

menstrual practices to feel at home in New Zealand. Firstly, home is both a private and public space (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Sabita strictly follows norms related to menstruation that she and other female members of the family practice at home. She may not necessarily be able to practice these outside of the family home, such as in schools, workspaces, and restaurants. The construction of menstruation practices as a private family matter produces a veil of secrecy that enables traditional beliefs and practices to remain secret or hidden. The menstrual experiences are not only reclaimed as the private and individual bodily experiences but also reveal the disciplining of female bodies through certain knowledge and what is considered normal during menstruation (Puri, 2002). The practice of exercising their norms and beliefs can generate feelings of being at home in New Zealand.

Secondly, the consideration of women's bodies as impure and polluted during their menstruation becomes an embodied practice through the act of sleeping on a separate bed or on the floor during their menstruation (Jeevan Vigyan Centre (JVC), 2015). When women and teenage girls menstruate, they abstain from worship, touching men, preparing and serving any food and drink, cleaning dishes, and getting in contact with plants and cows (JVC, 2015). Performing the prohibited activities is believed to contaminate the trees and shrubs and prevent them from yielding good fruits and vegetables (Adhikari, Kadel, Dhungel, & Mandal, 2007; Lasaine, 2015; Maxym, 2010). Breaking the gendered bodily practices related to menstruation in many cultures, including Hindu Bhutanese, is believed to be ritually dangerous (JVC, 2015). It is perceived as contamination between life and death and is a potential danger to oneself, immediate family and future generations (Adhikari et al., 2007).

Experts and scholars argue that there are strict menstruation practices so that menstruating women and girls can rest from their everyday domestic work, which will provide them some time to nurture and look after themselves and rejuvenate (JVC 2015). Otherwise, the rest of the family members would continually expect some support from menstruating women and girls (JVC 2015). In the Hindu religion, all women who menstruate take part annually in an act of purification through fasting and prayer during an occasion called Rishi Panchami (Knott, 2015). Rishi Panchami is about asking for forgiveness for breaking the rules

knowingly or unknowingly during menstruation (Knott, 2015). Resettled Hindu Bhutanese women and girls continue to celebrate these events and activities publicly by hiring halls in New Zealand, where non-Bhutanese are also invited to observe this tradition and culture (Knott, 2015). During the Panchami, the women, from teenagers to grandmothers, wear their traditional clothing, jewellery and other cultural ascriptions and come together to celebrate in a full-day event (see Knott, 2015).

Studies have demonstrated that Māori women, who follow menstrual practices similar to those of resettled Hindu Bhutanese, make the same arguments for their practises (also see August, 2005; Murphy, 2011, 2014). For example, indigenous and Māori mana wāhine scholars, Murphy (2011, 2014) and August (2005), argue that these restrictions were claimed by menstruating women to seek space for themselves. August (2005) argues that women's bodies during menstruation are considered dirty and unclean by western colonialist ethnographers. She illustrates and affirms through a mana wahine [Māori women's] perspective on understanding that menstrual bodies are not dirty but sacred (August 2005). For example, menstruating women consciously did not enter the gardens and cultivate food because that was the only time they could rest. Shedding the menstrual blood in food spaces, such as in gardens and fields, is considered culturally inappropriate as they were and are consumed by the rest of the family (Murphy, 2014). Further, these restrictions allow menstruating women to nurture and look after themselves and rejuvenate (Murphy, 2014). The four-day limitation during each month provides menstruating women and teenage girls with an opportunity to rest, during which time other women in the household or female relatives may take over their physically demanding role(s) (JVC 2015; Maxym, 2010). Knott (2015) also illustrates that these four days are the only days when resettled Bhutanese women, particularly married women, relax, enjoy and eat, as the other family members, mainly female, take over the household chores.

Home spaces are firmly coded as 'pure' spaces that could be contaminated by menstruating bodies (Nightingale, 2011). At the end of each menstruation, home spaces are re-purified by sprinkling sun paani (Nightingale, 2011). Finally, cultural experts and scholars further make the point that menstrual blood is considered a matter of pride and celebration in many cultures, including the Hindu

community, where the young female bodies prepare for reproduction (Jeevan Vigyan Centre (JVC), 2015; also see Murphy, 2011, 2014). Reproduction is the only way to provide descendants to foster one's culture, practices and beliefs. Thus, the tradition of menstruation reflects the symbolic significance that is shared across generations through family practices and provides a sense of belonging to a larger group (August, 2005; Murphy, 2011, 2014).

Some adult participants are actively creating a familiar environment by performing menstrual rites. Being able to continue menstrual practices within their home spaces can make some participants feel more comfortable. A public practice might encourage exclusion or marginalisation by people who do not know or accept such a practice. It is also likely that some young Bhutanese women might consider menstrual practice as discriminatory and question this social norm as they live in New Zealand where menstruation is not concealed within the home space.

It appears that young Bhutanese women still adhere to the traditional menstrual practises and choose not to confront the social norm. Further research is needed to explore in-depth feelings towards restrictions and how young Hindu Bhutanese women feel about these practices. It would also be interesting to see whether or not some forms of menstrual practices are challenged by them in New Zealand.

5.3.2 Caste boundaries

Like menstruation, some firm beliefs about caste hierarchies have been transferred across national boundaries with the resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand. The caste system among the participants who follow Hinduism and Buddhism is pervasive and complex (IOM Damak, 2008; Knox, n.d.; Maxym, 2010; Subedi, 2010), where social oppression and privilege are based on assumptions of purity of castes (Nightingale, 2011; Subedi, 2010).

The caste system is hereditary. Jaat [a colloquial term for caste] is a categorical identity that represents ethnic identification, which is attached to individuals (Chatterjee, 1993). In this system, each person is born into a particular jaat and thar [the subcaste], as indicated by their last name. A person's caste denotes where s/he belongs in the social hierarchy of the caste system - whom they can be

friends with, whom they can marry and what traditional occupation they can do (Subedi, 2010; also see Nightingale, 2011). Even if members do not necessarily practice it, it is graded according to the degree of purity and impurity inherent in each caste. The system is a hierarchical structure with four levels from high to low and makes distinctions in terms of ritual purity (Nightingale, 2011). Experts on the Hindu caste system argue that caste-based hierarchy allows people who are lower caste 'to accept lower positions and conditions of work embedded with oppression and exploitation' (Subedi, 2010, p. 156). Anyone who follows the caste system can tell immediately who belongs to which caste by hearing the surname.

The highest caste group wears rakhi and janai [holy cord] known as Tagadhari. The second caste group are known as Matwali, who consume alcohol as a part of their traditions. The third group is called pani nachalne chhoi chitto halnunaparne [impure but touchable], and the fourth group is known as pani nachalne chhoi chitto halnu parne [untouchable caste] (for more details see Subedi, 2010). The third and the fourth groups, positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy, are considered lower caste. The 'untouchables' are considered outcasts and socially polluted. Traditionally, higher caste people do not share meals, visit the homes of or pray with people from lower castes (Maxym, 2010). In other words, people belonging to lower castes are prevented from entering the private spaces of the higher castes. Being able to practice and maintain the caste system within the family and among the resettled Bhutanese community can generate mixed feelings - being at home or not at home.

Traditionally, marriage among the resettled Bhutanese takes place within their caste group, which is one of the critical factors used to continue the caste system's practice of ranking people (Maxym, 2010). Although caste is hereditary, it can be changed either through changing caste or marrying across the caste line, which can upgrade or downgrade one's caste depending on the spouse's caste and gender (Subedi, 2010). For example, if a man from a higher caste marries a woman from a lower caste, the woman and her children will be upgraded to the higher caste. If a higher caste woman, however, marries a lower caste man, the woman and her children will be degraded to the lower caste (Subedi, 2010). In both cases, the

higher caste person might become an outcast from their group, but women and children inherit the male spouse's caste.

Adult women from the higher caste in my study hope that the younger Bhutanese will adhere to these practices. Maya, in her 80s, shared her doubts about the young Bhutanese in New Zealand. Maya came to New Zealand with five family members in 2013. Maya says that marrying outside the caste is forbidden theoretically and in practice, especially when it takes place between two castes at the extreme ends of the social spectrum. She shared her fear of not being able to maintain the caste system:

Maybe they [pointing to grandchildren] will forget about Kami Damai ['untouchable' castes]. We cannot eat the food prepared by these untouchables. But here [in New Zealand], what to say? [long pause] The food does not stick in their throats. In Jhapa [referring to the camp in Nepal], they [householders] did not let any untouchables or foreigners inside the home. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

Maya is a representative example of the many respondents who want to sustain the caste-based marriage practices. Approximately half of the interviewees emphasised the importance of marrying within the caste system to maintain the traditions of the complex caste system. According to the caste hierarchy, Maya belongs to the second category, Matwali. The 'Kami Damai' mentioned by Maya is the lower caste group, 'pani nachalne chhoi chitto halnu parne' (see Subedi, 2010 on the caste system in Nepal).

Maya's story indicates that home is a private place that involves the power to control who can and cannot enter the house. Tradition, such as the caste system, is particularly important for older resettled Bhutanese of higher castes, such as Maya. Among the resettled Bhutanese, home spaces such as kitchens and prayer areas are considered pure spaces, and if people from a lower caste visit the higher caste people's house, ritual purification by a priest will be performed after the visit (CORC, 2008). The resettled Hindu Bhutanese who are from the higher caste are making the house feel like their own by demarcating boundaries and allowing 'similar' caste people to come into the house. These are some of the ways participants create boundaries between the home and the outside world by practising norms and beliefs based on the caste system.

Ramita, who is in her 70s, also echoed this sentiment. Ramita came to New Zealand with her extended family in mid-2008. She also feared that the younger generation might challenge the family practices, especially the caste system. She wanted to keep and continue the marriage tradition by ensuring that the younger people marry within their caste and creed. She says:

I want grandchildren to marry within our caste. But these young people just elope when they like someone...I don't want my grandchildren to marry white people or outside of our caste and creed. I don't know what this younger generation will do, but so far all of my children are married to our own caste and creed. All of my daughters-in-law are from our caste. Now, these schoolchildren have girlfriend/boyfriend. We can't say what they will do. Marrying outside the caste will result in social isolation during the death ceremony. To maintain the ritual and customs, we should marry within our community, especially within our caste. We should not go against our tradition. (Palmerston North FT, 30th August 2015)

This narrative indicates that the young Hindu Bhutanese from higher caste do not want to adhere to the caste system when they live in New Zealand. Ramita draws on the norms and values of the caste system to decide what young people should and should not do in order to maintain the caste system in New Zealand. Her experiences of being at home suggest that traditions, such as the caste system, are embodied and can create boundaries for those outside their caste, but also for those inside it.

The above account also highlights that caste discrimination is a product of one's actions. The internalisation of caste hierarchy is maintained by marrying within the same caste and the exercising of power by the higher caste over the lower caste. Maya and Ramita want to keep the caste system by reinforcing the need for the younger people to marry within their caste as well as imposing restrictions on lower ranks. Ramita also expressed fear of the move the young generation is making in choosing their partners at school, which can caste out or challenge the caste system from within.

Both Maya and Ramita assert that they are different to the people from lower castes. It highlights that not only migrant and refugee bodies are racialized and Othered as brown, coloured and black (Raghuram, Bornat, & Henry, 2011);

resettled Bhutanese women themselves demarcate those outside their castes as untouchable and foreigners. Although caste represents the separation between higher/lower and pure/impure, more value is placed on the first part of the dichotomy. Given the rigidity of the caste system, both Maya and Ramita assert that the caste structure is bound up with ritual status, purity and pollution. In this system, an individual's behaviours, obligations and expectations are determined by caste, as Ramita asserts she wants her grandchildren to marry within the caste. Participants such as Maya and Ramita seek to exclude undesirable Others by maintaining the boundaries of purity within their home spaces. In this way, Ramita's belief reinforces that only pure bodies can be present in certain circumstances, such as during a funeral or death ceremony. The intermingling of castes during a funeral can mean that this purity is disturbed. Through being able to exercise these practices in New Zealand some higher caste adult participants, who want to keep the caste system, can feel at home.

Caste discrimination was not openly discussed in the interviews by participants but surfaced in other areas. For example, when staying with Binod and Januka in Nelson, I met Hari, who later became a participant in the research. The night before I was planning to return to Hamilton, Hari and his family invited me to dinner at their house. During dinner, they discussed the discrimination because of caste that takes place in Palmerston North. By that point, I had recruited and interviewed thirty-two participants for the study, and asked about their everyday lives and their experiences. This included the challenges or discrimination they encountered and opportunities they gained post-resettlement in New Zealand. None of them had mentioned the discrimination based on caste that was happening in the Bhutanese community. A few respondents had indicated that they preferred their children to maintain the marriage customs within their caste and religious faith, but outright caste discrimination was not canvassed (see Basnet et al., 2018). My fieldwork experiences in this regard are contrary to that of Halley (2014), who illustrates that caste discrimination among her participants - the resettled Bhutanese in Palmerston North - was brought up immediately in early conversations. This might not have happened because I was talking with Bhutanese who were from the higher caste, even though they varied in terms of religion, sex, educational status, age and class. For them, maintaining the rigid

caste system might be identified as maintaining their tradition rather than as discriminatory practices.

When I found out that there were several unreported cases of discrimination based on caste in Palmerston North, I went in search of potential participants from the lower castes. I asked one of the resettled Bhutanese who played the role of go-between or mediator and had helped me to recruit participants in Palmerston North, if there were any resettled Bhutanese from lower castes. I was encouraged to find someone who was 'educated', rather than someone from a lower caste. After several conversations, I was provided with a contact number for Kabita, a single mother of three children, who later became my research participant. In all other cases, this mediator would introduce me to potential participants and leave me with them, but when I decided to interview Kabita, the mediator left me in front of her house and went away immediately. This was not the case when I was also introduced to Radhika, who is married with three children and is from a lower caste. There may be several reasons for the mediator leaving me at Kabita's house before the introduction, but one prominent reason, also highlighted by Halley (2014), is that being a single mother and being from the lower caste, might have encouraged other higher caste Bhutanese to treat her family differently because of the embedded patriarchal structures of Hinduism.

When I met Kabita and asked her about the challenges she faced in New Zealand, she immediately mentioned caste discrimination. When her family moved to New Zealand, she thought that they would escape from their lower caste status because they were told that everyone was considered equal in New Zealand, in the orientation at MRRC. At the same time, New Zealand was not a Hindu country like Nepal so she assumed that she would be easily accepted, at least in the public spaces if not at home, by other Bhutanese people. She made attempts to connect with Bhutanese neighbours, assuming that other resettled Bhutanese who were from higher castes would also abandon the caste system as a result of moving to New Zealand (Halley, 2014). Unfortunately, she was not welcomed by many adult Bhutanese, due to her low caste status. She spoke out about being discriminated against based on caste at school.

I went to drink water and tea from the common area at the school. Everybody had to wait in a queue, so in my turn, I prepared tea. There were some higher caste people behind me, but they did not drink because I am considered impure and untouchable for them [eyes welling with tears, pause]. They threw water, cleaned it thoroughly with soap and drank because I touched it. I felt awful to be discriminated against even in New Zealand. Later, I complained to our interpreter, who is also from the higher-caste, he requested not to discriminate anyone by caste especially in the public places and school...We never go to higher caste people's houses. (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

After this, Kabita decided to isolate herself by withdrawing from the connections she had with the Hindu Bhutanese from the high caste and she stopped going to school. This finding is in line with that of Halley (2014) who illustrates that caste practices among resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand and in particular in Palmerston North have affected the lives of people from the lower caste. Kabita's narrative shows that those who are in the lower caste do not want to retain the caste system because they live in New Zealand where people are treated equally.

The issue of discrimination based on caste among the respondents in New Zealand was not mentioned for several reasons. For example, Kabita was asked to stay quiet and not to fuel the conflict. She is glad that one of the cross-cultural volunteers, who happened to be a resettled Hindu Bhutanese and from the higher caste, mediated to resolve the issues associated with caste. The higher caste elders were asked to treat everyone equally in public spaces in New Zealand. This particular volunteer has now been ostracised by the Hindu Bhutanese group, especially by the elders, after being outspoken about inequality based on caste.

Kabita, however, mentioned that the caste system has become less important among young Bhutanese irrespective of their religion. She further explains that her daughter has friends from a higher caste and there is no discrimination among the young Bhutanese people. She comments, 'they talk, dance and sing together but no discrimination. It is among elderly'. What Kabita means is that young Bhutanese do not adhere to the caste system because they live in New Zealand where people are considered equal irrespective of their caste, class and circumstances. Her daughter, however, never visits her friends in their houses because the adult Bhutanese still follow caste practices. Since Hindu and Buddhist

Bhutanese elders and adults from the higher caste strictly follow the system, many of the lower caste Bhutanese decide to withdraw from the resettled Bhutanese community by converting to Christianity (Halley, 2014). This reaffirms the sacred and fundamental aspects of the relationship between people and place (Dudley, 2010). Resettled Bhutanese from the lower caste might feel out of place in New Zealand when they are discriminated against because of caste.

Even though caste discrimination has shaped and reshaped resettled Bhutanese life in New Zealand, it has been covered up. Therefore, none of the discrimination based on caste has emerged publicly in New Zealand. The first legal complaint occurred in Australia in a similar group of resettled Bhutanese with refugee backgrounds. For example, Bhanu Adhikari belongs to the higher caste, Tagadhari group. He was, however, humiliated and disgusted when the other higher caste people found out that Adhikari and his family members connected with and share their spaces with lower caste people. The Hindu priests in Adelaide refused to perform a Chaurasi [a traditional Hindu ceremony to celebrate seniority] for his mother-in-law when the priests found out that he and his family do not discriminate against the untouchables. In Australia, there were five different incidents of discrimination by caste among the resettled Bhutanese community members and Adhikari was the first to lodge a legal complaint of discrimination by caste (see more Knox, n.d.).

Unlike the 43 respondents who wanted to keep the marriage tradition within caste and creed, only two adult respondents had a liberal opinion about these practices. One example was Lina, who is in her early 30s, is married with a child and came to New Zealand in early 2011. When I asked her opinion about marriage practices, she replied that she is comfortable with her children marrying someone from any caste as long as it is within the Nepali-speaking Bhutanese community.

Sanam, who is in her early 40s, is a single mother of two teenagers and is the one and only respondent who mentioned that she would be comfortable with any decision her children made. Although she and her children have lived in New Zealand for only 16 months, she believes that her children must be given the same freedom as New Zealanders to choose their partner. She says:

People should have their choice and decision with marriage. I wouldn't impose [on] my children to marry a particular person from a specific community. They can marry whomever they want...I don't want them to compromise just for the sake of religion, community and race. Let them enjoy their lives. Keep in mind, they belong to this community [New Zealand] ...Their identity should not fade. (Palmerston North NT, 31st August 2015)

Interestingly, Lina and Sanam both belong to the higher caste. These two conversations highlight that discrimination in New Zealand based on the caste system may disappear over time, but it is still prevalent today, especially among parents and elders.

As a feminist researcher attuned to power relations, I grappled with this discrimination. I am against any form of discrimination, including discrimination based on caste, but my family name itself became noticed when I was in the field. I was very much concerned with the power and politics involved with my position and caste, and whether it would create any particular issues in the research process. For instance, according to the complex caste structure, Radhika is 'untouchable' as she belongs to the lower caste. She is a mother of three children and has converted to Christianity. After I finished interviewing her, she invited me to have a cup of tea, but she highlighted my last name in our conversation, showing how a family name 'sticks' to a person:

Radhika: Would you like to have a cup of tea?// Wait, what's your family name again?

Sunita: Basnet, why?//

Radhika: I doubt you will have tea at my place because you are from the higher caste.

Sunita: Where is the kitchen? Let us go to the kitchen and have a cup of tea. (Palmerston North FT, 31st January 2015)

The above excerpt indicates that in Nepalese and resettled Bhutanese culture, a family name instantly refers to the entire family's caste status, background and the identity of a particular person, although the person might not necessarily be established in the community. It signifies familial connections. Here, the caste status is determined by birth, and the higher castes are considered inherently superior (Subedi, 2010). Sometimes even a nickname may (dis)connect an

individual from their family history by highlighting a personal trait. It creates an alternative identity marker once a person voluntarily adopts it. It may also endow the person with a negative symbolic legacy through identification with a particular ancestor. Radhika was pleased that I had a cup of tea at her place and she asserted that I was the first person from the higher caste to prepare and have tea with her together in her kitchen.

These practices based on caste and creed at home may provide a sense of continuity with their 'past home', as Hindu Bhutanese adapt to their 'new home'. Maintaining these practices within home spaces helps some participants to feel at home, even though this particular aspect of homemaking may not be palatable to many Kiwi. Although the caste practices are part of the broader Bhutanese Hindu system that evokes memories of home, people from the lower caste may not want to retain it and may feel out of place in New Zealand when they are in the minority and are excluded from their own ethnic group or community. Although discrimination based on caste is happening in New Zealand, no one in the community or the oppressed members has come forward to file a legal complaint as in Australia, because of the fear of being outcast from their Bhutanese group.

5.4 Resistant bodies

In this section, I analyse ways in which traditional practices and beliefs about going out, sexual beliefs and sexual practices can generate feelings of (not) belonging to New Zealand.

5.4.1 Gendered mobility

Patriarchal and heteronormative constructions of gender played a significant role in spatial mobility among participants (Basnet, 2016a). Focus group participants reported experiencing intense social pressure and the expectation to practise Nepali-speaking Bhutanese culture and perform their identities modestly (e.g. by staying home at nights, not having boyfriends) to maintain their own and their family's reputation within the communities. These girls discussed the difficulties of balancing Kiwi and resettled Bhutanese cultures, as they tend towards adopting Kiwi culture, whereas their parents firmly embody Nepali culture. Three girls, aged 12–15, whose parents follow Hinduism, discussed tensions and conflicts at

home about what they understood to be harsh and rigorous family practices, especially to do with being a girl. These respondents felt these family practices restricted their mobility during certain times and in specific spaces based on protective roles and decision-making processes put in place by their parents. For example, Avy and Jasmin aspire not to have any restrictions or control over them from family members. They shared frustrations that their parents, especially mothers, do not understand them, and as a result, have frequent disputes.

For the most part, the teenage girls accept parental authority and obey their parents' perspective on what constitutes appropriate behaviours (Basnet, 2016b). These girls also revealed that their parents impose different rules for their brothers, who can participate in any activities and go out at any hour of the day. Parents, especially those who follow Hinduism and Buddhism, are stricter with their daughters. This was also revealed by another study on resettled Bhutanese young Christian women in Palmerston North (Halley, 2014). For the most part, the girls accept parental authority, although it was evident that some of them question a number of traditional expectations. When they want to go out with their friends for a long drive, go shopping and go to parties, their respective mothers always ask them to cancel their plans:

Avy: When I want to go out with friends, my mum still prevents me saying that I go out so much, but in fact, I don't...this is not the case for my brother... I wish they [parents] would support me, the way they help my brother ... I do not want any restriction and confrontation [pause] I do not wish to have any impositions.

Jasmin: Parties are ubiquitous in New Zealand. I always make excuses when my friends invite me ...[B]ecause I am also not allowed to attend parties, unlike my brother (Focus Group PT, 30th August 2015).

Both Avy and Jasmin highlight how their young bodies are controlled through patriarchy and regulated through hetero-gendered constructions of 'moral prescriptions' (Jiwani, 2011). Moral prescriptions are ways to create boundaries indicating where girls and women can and cannot go, who they interact with, how they can behave (Jiwani, 2011), and where the body belongs (Nash, 2009). These practices can oppress young Bhutanese girls by imposing harsh restrictions on their mobility at certain times and places, forcing them to remain within the

private sphere. What the parents considered inappropriate behaviour was seen by these young women, aged 12 to 25 years, as 'normal'. These imposed restrictions can confine these young women who want to have their freedom and make them feel out of place in New Zealand.

Reinforcing restrictions and forbidding young women to go out partying and clubbing demarcates the boundaries between the masculine/public and feminine/private spheres. These spatial and social limits prevent women and teenage girls from finding a sense of belonging in public spaces of New Zealand. Previous research on youth with refugee backgrounds also suggests that young people felt they did not belong when they considered themselves socially excluded (Sampson & Gifford, 2010). Studies on young South Asian women found that parents were reluctant to let their daughters go to leisure spaces, such as clubs (Green & Singleton, 2008). There were two main reasons: firstly, parents did not want their daughters to socialise with boys, as clubs are sites for young people and mostly boys. Secondly, they also fear that their daughters might become victims of a sexual or racial attack on the street (Green & Singleton, 2008).

Boys and young men, however, are more likely to enjoy individual freedoms, such as going out with friends to clubs and parties, as indicated by Avy and Jasmin. This signifies that the freedom to go out with friends and to socialise is gendered, but is also desired by girls as they live in New Zealand where this is accepted. The young women's desire to go out is reshaped by living in a new country where girls' outings are normal, contrary to the cultural restrictions that their parents impose. For girls like Avy and Jasmin, going out with friends defines what it means to be a New Zealander and how they can associate with their peers and the local culture and feel part of New Zealand. Not being allowed to join their New Zealand peers can make them feel like the Other.

Place matters in reshaping the everyday experiences of young bodies as they negotiate with other young people in a particular locality in a way that does not reflect the practices of their country of origin (Cain, Meares, & Read, 2015; Myers, 2010). These experiences can lead to feelings of not belonging among these young women even within their homes. None of the girls in this research

highlighted the consequences of violating behavioural norms, including going to parties, to pubs and having sex before marriage, as all of them, to date, seem to be adhering to the instructions of their parents because of fear of finding themselves in identity limbo or being turned out by their parents. The restrictions imposed on these girls' mobility are read through every day experiences, where they live at the crossroads of two different cultures that can make them feel 'liminal' in some ways, also suggested by Malkki (1995a).

Other studies on Asian-American adolescents, whose parents immigrated from developing to developed countries, also report that parents of Asian origin tend to be more authoritarian than Caucasian parents (Chang, 2007), and often have a negative relationship with adolescents because of family practices (see Fiese, 1992). Social experiences and activities, including maintaining friendships through parties, clubbing, and participating in group activities, play a vital role for young people in order to feel a sense of connectedness in their new environment (Lee & Robbins, 2000). Having strong social relations with peers and taking part in these events can generate a sense of attachment and a feeling of belonging for young people, especially for young women (McCreanor et al., 2006). Research on young people also shows that individuals with low social connectedness tend to have low self-esteem, suffer from loneliness and anxiety (Lee, Draper, & Lee, 2001; Malaquias, Crespo, & Francisco, 2015). These gender restrictions on mobility are imbued with patriarchy and can function to reinforce women's subordination (Sultana, 2012).

Although the adult family members and the Bhutanese community restrain young women's mobility, spending time with relatives and family members within and outside of the house is expected. For instance, Kopila, a focus group participant, came to New Zealand with her family approximately two years ago. She identified herself as introverted and prefers to spend time alone in her room with no lights on and with the curtains closed. She claims that her mother always wants her to come out of her bedroom and join the family, especially during regular gatherings with their relatives. Kopila shared a moment when she felt that there was a communication gap between herself and her mother and that her mother did not understand her:

My mum...loves when people [referring to relatives and family] are around...She thinks that we [Kopila and her brother]...are sad if we stay alone in our room but it's not...I love it when I am in my room with lights off and closed curtains. It's just peaceful and nice. But she [mother] doesn't get that as much...of course. I feel like she doesn't understand me. (Interview post focus group NT, 5th September 2015)

Kopila's narrative also emphasises that there is less or no privacy in the home for young participants like her. Kopila wanted to stay inside her room, whereas her mother wanted her to participate in family activities in the home, socialise and share her feelings with others. Having privacy within private spaces, such as home, is different from having privacy in public spaces (Valentine, 2001). Not only does this highlight the complex dichotomy of public/private, but it can also lead to feelings of not belonging for young participants, such as Kopila. The restriction on young women's mobilities in public spaces and their confinement within the boundaries of home, in the long run, can lead to inter-generational conflict which can intensify their sense of not belonging in New Zealand.

5.4.2 Beliefs around sexual practices

My research findings also revealed that it is adult women, primarily mothers of daughters, who feel that resettlement has challenged their traditional norms and values concerning sexual desires and practices, as young women try to discard them and follow New Zealand's practices and culture.

Mothers expressed their fears that their young daughters might follow the New Zealand practice of de facto relationships or 'living together', which is deemed unacceptable in the Bhutanese community. In the resettled Bhutanese culture, daughters are expected to accept their parents' decision with respect to marriage and sex before marriage and free intermixing between the two genders is taboo. Mothers, therefore, place significant emphasis on passing on traditions and values, mainly to daughters. It is the responsibility of mothers to teach their daughters to follow the rules so as not to look different. For example, Apsara, a mother of three children, fears that in the long term she is going to face a huge problem because of Kiwi culture related to acceptable sexual desire or sexual practices before marriage. She does not want her daughters to go out at night because she fears her

daughters might have sex with boys. Resettled Bhutanese culture requires that mothers protect their daughters' honour and modesty by keeping them inside after dark. Apsara, however, feels it is acceptable for them to go out during the day. Her daughters have started questioning why they are forbidden to go out at night when their Kiwi friends are allowed. The excerpt below illustrates her struggles with these cultural differences.

In our culture, children don't drink and smoke; make boyfriend/girlfriend; have sex before marriage, and go nightclubbing. Our children stay with us until they finish their education, get married and stay with their extended families. But here once they are 18, they are free ... Although my daughters have never done anything to worry me, they have started saying that they can do whatever they want after they are 18 which ... we [resettled Bhutanese] are not ready to accept this big family dynamic shift. Talking about sex itself is a big taboo in our culture. We [our family] have started to talk about sex [at our home] ... But I can't see my daughter sleeping with a guy before marriage. No, No, No [pause]. It's not possible. How can I show my face to other relatives when they know that my unmarried daughter has lost her virginity before marriage? It's not acceptable [long pause]. People take sex for granted in this country. Today you say that you are in a relationship with this person and sleeping with him and in a week, you separate, and after a few days, you are with another person. Oh no. It's a big NO for us. What a shame. It takes away from our culture. I just hope that I don't have to see and face any of these situations while I am alive.

Sunita: Is there any particular instance that has increased this fear?

Apsara: One of our support worker's daughter...came to our house with a giant man and introduced him to us as her boyfriend. They stayed that night, and we arranged a bed for her with my daughter and the man in another room. She didn't sleep with my daughter. She slept with her boyfriend. We [parents] could not sleep the whole night. I was constantly thinking about...my girls, and hoping that they would never do that. I know it is normal in their culture, but it is not acceptable to us. [Pause]...Do you know what I mean? [Pause].

Sunita: Umm huh [head nodding]. (Nelson PT, 6th June 2015)

Apsara's account highlights several important points, and also resonates with Eastmond's (1993) argument that often women, mostly with refugee backgrounds, uphold tradition and practices in the private domain of domestic life and are the bearers of race and guardians of culture. What this means is that often Bhutanese women play a critical role in preserving various aspects of cultural identity including maintaining values, rituals and practices, and maintaining family connections. Apsara also indicated her expectation that her children, mainly her daughters, continue to live in the way in which her family have brought them up. It indicates that young Bhutanese women and girls are regularly monitored and disciplined according to what is allowed and appropriate in their culture, also indicated by studies in other contexts (Longhurst, 2001, 2005a). These cultural practices, including beliefs, ideas and values, are not just passed down from parents to children, but are deliberately recreated and actively practised either by indicating limits or marking out boundaries (also see Mee, 2009).

Parental control and patriarchy play a significant role in keeping these practices alive in the homes of resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand. Other research also suggests that parents prevent young women from having a 'bad' reputation or from experiencing things that might violate the moral rules of the family and the community (Fangen, 2006). In a study on young Somali women with refugee backgrounds in Norway, Fangen (2006) disclosed that the parents were stricter over their daughters' social life than over their sons'. When parents feel that their practices and beliefs are endangered because of the current country's culture, they might experience tension and feel out of place. As Apsara questioned, '[h]ow can I show my face to other relatives when they know that my unmarried daughter has lost her virginity before marriage?' A study on religious coping and acculturation stress among newly resettled Bhutanese refugees in the United States also suggests that refugees with stronger cultural beliefs that differ from their current country's culture, experience higher acculturation stress (Benson et al., 2012).

Home can be the source of safety and happiness, but it can also be the source of tension, conflict (Hall, 1990) and parental worry when there are different sexual beliefs and practices among family members and particularly daughters. Sanam's story represents conflicts between the parents' desire to establish traditions and boundaries of acceptance and rejection and children's preferences for disorder.

Ahmed (2000) argues that these differences emerge from encounters. The expectation is that young women must retain their virginity until marriage. Sex out of wedlock is considered to be unacceptable in the resettled Bhutanese community, as highlighted by Apsara. What is more, beliefs about sexuality and abstinence from sex among the respondents were gendered and patriarchal (a point highlighted by feminist scholars such as Carpenter, 2002). Having a ‘virgin daughter’ is a matter of pride and happiness as understood and constituted in the patriarchal society. This feeling does not necessarily apply to a ‘virgin’ son. Therefore, the loss of virginity only applies to young unmarried women. Premarital sex among women and girls is regarded as a moral issue and hence is shameful in the resettled Bhutanese culture, and thereby there remains a culture of silence. Being a woman and sexually active is considered taboo, especially by the older generation (Maxym, 2010).

Resettlement demands a shift in the family relationship. Women play an active role in imparting both religious and ethnic traditions to the subsequent generation of children. Gozdzia (2008) points out that refugee women act simultaneously to reproduce traditional culture and at the same time change the structure in which they live as they adjust to their new settings and environment. As mentioned earlier by Apsara, virginity is gendered because judgements and rules surrounding premarital sex often only apply to women.

A few respondents, especially mothers of teenage daughters, explain how it could be difficult and at times inconvenient for girls to uphold the values and beliefs that they have grown up with at home. This argument was raised by Apsara when she became aware of the complexities teenage girls encounter when negotiating identity and belonging, when positioned between cultures, ethnicities and generations. Apsara shares the paradox that lies within after she came to know the isolation her youngest daughter was facing. She describes some of the ways mothers renegotiate these expectations:

The other day, my youngest daughter was explaining how she feels isolated from her friend because she doesn't have a boyfriend. Her friends ask, whether she has a boyfriend or if she is a lesbian ... you know the environment forces you to have one [boyfriend]; otherwise, you are judged 'as not normal, or something is wrong with you'. Also, she was

saying that all of her friends are busy with their boyfriends and she feels alienated. She was asking me when she can have a boyfriend...It's hard to see children absorbing values that are different to ours. It's entirely against our cultural norms and values. Then I realised that not having a boyfriend will also cut off friendships in this country. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

Discrepancies between parents and children who were in the process of settling into a new society have been highlighted as a major source of post-resettlement stress among people with refugee backgrounds (Roizblatt & Pilowsky, 1996). This discrepancy often occurs when children adopt the 'new' culture, but parents hold on to the cultural heritage of their country of origin and reject the new values (Roizblatt & Pilowsky, 1996).

Apsara's story indicates that young women adhere to their parents' rules, but at the same time, they play an active part in negotiating the meanings ascribed to their age and gender, as argued by Valentine (2001) in another context. Resettled Bhutanese women and girls are negotiating customs and values in light of the social realities of their new society and how these might influence family relationships. This shift in family dynamics can occur when women and girls with refugee backgrounds are resettled in developed countries and come from developing countries with a different tradition, culture, expectations and language. Resettled adult Bhutanese had fought to retain their Nepalese cultural values even after several generations of presence in Bhutan, and as a result, they were forced to flee from Bhutan leaving everything behind. Maintaining Nepalese culture and Nepali language among the adults become a necessity in order to recreate the world they lost, producing difficulties for their children when integrating into New Zealand society. These young people have not felt the same kind of loss as their parents.

Apsara's account emphasises the dilemma that lies within the cultural acceptability of having a boyfriend as she mentioned 'not having a boyfriend will also cut off friendships in this country'. While mothers, like Apsara, practice and continue the patriarchy within the family, young women attempt to escape the patriarchy-promoting grip of their mothers and seek to be seen as legitimate in the new country by having a boyfriend. In this sense, home is an essential site for

what Valentine (2001) calls renegotiation and contestation, where these young women resist the patriarchal and gendered nature of the home (Bhabha, 1994).

When parents rigorously instil values and rules in their teenage children, it can generate feelings of not belonging 'at home.' In a similar vein, Valentine et al. (2009) have shown how Somali girls with refugee backgrounds in the UK experience pressure to be Somali by behaving in particular ways through clothing, embodied performances and expectation. Ehrkamp (2006) also illustrates how Turkish immigrants in Germany experience pressure to be Turkish by dressing and behaving in particular ways. Khanlou and Guruge (2008) argue that balancing and negotiating expectations of peers and parents can create significant stress for women and girls with refugee backgrounds.

The younger generation of Bhutanese women and girls does not necessarily comply with the way the older generation think and act. A few young women disavowed the resettled Bhutanese traditional embodied rituals to do with sex, marriage and relationships completely. It was important for some of these young Bhutanese women to adapt to New Zealand culture as they currently live here. For example, while I was attending the 2016 New Zealand Geographical Society conference in Dunedin, New Zealand, I met a potential participant who was reluctant to be part of this project, but with whom I had several informal conversations. Here is the short note from my diary.

When I, along with my colleague, met her, she mentioned that she is married. After building a good rapport, she said that she is living with her boyfriend. Her decision to be in a relationship with a younger boyfriend and to live with him before marriage had a severe adverse effect on her, as well as on her family's reputation. This was when she decided to sever the relationship with the resettled Bhutanese community by relocating to a new city to join her boyfriend. (Author's diary, 5th February 2016)

This note highlights how being a woman and being in a defacto relationship has been a source of gossip within the Bhutanese community that has damaged her family reputation. Here, elders perceived de facto relationships for women as a violation of, and a threat to, the traditions and values of the Bhutanese community. This observation highlights the tensions for young bodies moving and shifting between two cultures and identities and their desire to create a new space that

does not entirely belong to either Kiwi or Bhutanese cultural practices. This is what Malkki (1995a, 1995b) and Dudley (2011) call ‘liminality’. The data also highlights the fact that bodies and practices are read and judged by others and have symbolic meaning to other people (Duck, 2010; Halley, 2014) who observe us and interpret us as either desirable/undesirable and suitable/unacceptable. When young women’s positions are disrupted by sanctions and regulations in the form of cultural norms, this can make them feel not at home within their Bhutanese community.

After this potential participant joined her boyfriend, she chose to discontinue contact with other Bhutanese community members. This is consistent with Foucault’s (2001) understanding of power as embodied. Here is a further note from my diary:

Her boyfriend is also from the same community, however, he did not confront as many problems or conflict from the community as the Bhutanese society might have perceived him as a ‘macho’ man. It might be a rite of passage for men that makes them manlier. (Author’s diary, 5th February 2016)

Sporton and Valentine (2007) make a similar point when, in a study on young Somali in the UK, they found similar intercultural differences between the generations within the family and the Somali community. Young Somali feel that their parents do not understand their experiences of trying to integrate into British society (Sporton and Valentine, 2007). As family matters remain private, none of the 45 Bhutanese participants mentioned the increasing number of divorces or separations of couples and couples living together before marriage. A few respondents, like Apsara, however, shared fears and anxieties about their daughters having boyfriends when asked explicitly about the challenges participant(s) or other community members confront in New Zealand.

5.4.3 Marriages and divorces

Relationship problems were regularly mentioned during the stay-overs, often prompted by the difficult times married couples encountered during the process of resettlement. Resettled Bhutanese traditional views on what constitutes proper family relationships and marriage are at odds with New Zealand values of

marriage. This finding is consistent with several other studies in the similar context (e.g. Lipson & Omidian, 1997 on resettled Afghan refugees in the US). Several resettled Bhutanese I met during the stayovers mentioned divorces and couples separating as the negative influence of New Zealand. I was told that in many instances it is women who initiate separation and divorce. Whether this was true or not, I do not know. Regardless of several attempts, it was not possible to get any women participants to discuss this sensitive issue, except for the families that I stayed overnight with. For example, I tried to contact a couple of women who I heard were living separately from their husbands, but they either rejected my offer or were not reachable. Januka's neighbour, who was in the process of divorce, refused my interview invitation saying that she was busy and instead suggested that I talk with her daughter, who later became the research participant.

One potential male participant, whom I met while I was in Sanam's house, suggested that women suddenly had all the rights and abused their freedom - for example, by making fraudulent calls to the emergency number 111- to get rid of their husbands. He also refused to be part of the research but shared his personal experience:

He said he would never forget New Zealand because his family life was ruined. His wife screamed in the middle of the night and called the police. He also mentioned that 'New Zealand is a country for women'. Now his ex-wife is living with an 'unmarried' person whom he thinks is the age of his daughter. That is what makes him feel ashamed not just of himself and his family, but also of the wider Bhutanese community. (Author's diary, 2nd September 2015)

The above note indicates that men were providers and heads of families, and now find themselves in a 'country for women'. I received only one side of the story from this man; however, it highlights a few points about marital relationships. Firstly, the importance of marital relationships in either a Nepalese or resettled Bhutanese context remains salient (see also Link, 2010). Even though I asked explicitly about the challenges that they or other community members confront in the initial phase of the resettlement in New Zealand, none of the participants mentioned it in their interviews.

Secondly, some women might have had enough of an abusive relationship and decided to take charge. These women might have called 111 when they were in an abusive relationship or when they perceived a constant threat from their husbands. From a feminist perspective, initiating divorce in this context by women challenges patriarchal norms and values. Being able to challenge these rigid and embedded rules, for women who have long been suffering from these practices and standards, is similar to giving voice to the voiceless. In this sense, place plays a crucial role in empowering and making women feel they belong in New Zealand.

In addition, men can feel disheartened or obstructed when women start to gain power or raise their voice, as they do not like to have their authority challenged. Some men might feel threatened by the rights women have in New Zealand, and by the economic independence of women (see Fangen, 2006). Thus, these experiences can make them feel out of place. Both observations in Dunedin and Palmerston North indicate that marriages, sexual practices and divorces among young participants are gradually becoming an individual choice rather than a mandated obligation where these bodies clash over the traditional cultural script of marriage. For most adult participants, aspects of their values that were once socially and culturally routine have to be re-examined and subjected to re-assessment in New Zealand. This can create anxieties and make adults feel out of place in New Zealand.

Young Bhutanese women are challenging the family norms and practices at home and in their wider community. They have started to take bold actions in terms of sexual practices, including having sex, deciding to live in de facto relationships, not getting married, not being involved in a heterosexual relationship and maybe initiating divorce. When women challenge the rigid traditional beliefs surrounding sexual desire and practices, this can position their bodies out of place at home and within their community. Having sex before marriage, deciding to live in a de facto relationship or initiating divorce is a taboo subject that is not much talked about. If women and girls buck these restrictions, it can alienate them from their families and the wider Bhutanese community. Being in a de facto relationship before marriage or not even with plans to marry among their New Zealand peers, however, might create a sense of belonging in New Zealand.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how clothing, jewellery, norms, values, language, menstrual practices, the caste system, women's mobility, sexual beliefs and practices and family issues can position bodies in and out of place, which reshape feelings of belonging or not belonging in New Zealand. The various findings discussed in this chapter show that bodies continue to have a strong influence on homemaking practices as they represent the continuity of traditions that were once commonly accepted, at least by older members of the community.

Feeling at home, therefore, occurs when the traditional practices of the adult participants are embodied within the home space, although some scholars argue in other contexts that it is the home 'where inhabitants can escape from the disciplinary practices that regulate our bodies in everyday life' (Johnston & Valentine, 1995, p. 99). The bodies that do not abide by these practices are not tolerated at home and within the resettled Bhutanese community in New Zealand. Language, clothing, jewellery, tradition, beliefs and practices help most resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand to feel at home. This embodiment through values, beliefs, clothing, jewellery and language may, however, hinder participants' integration process in New Zealand, as supported by other studies (Benson et al., 2012; Halley, 2014). Being able to recreate and maintain familiarity through these practices indicates a sense of continuity, which can generate feelings of belonging to some adult participants in their new environment, as also argued in similar studies (Doná, 2015).

Participants, mostly adult Hindu Bhutanese women from the higher caste, maintain and practice menstrual practices, rigid traditional caste systems, religious beliefs and some other cultural practices. Women play a significant role of guardianship in maintaining these traditional beliefs, standards and cultural practices at home and beyond. Feeling (not) at home depends on the caste to which one belongs. The higher caste adult participants feel at home when they are able to practice and maintain the caste system within their home spaces in New Zealand. The lower caste participants, however, find themselves out of place when they feel discrimination based on their caste, even in New Zealand.

Some of these traditions, such as menstrual, sexual and marital practices, generate a complicated situation of belonging and exclusion among young Bhutanese women in New Zealand. For many young participants, feelings of being at home are linked with negotiating their cultural identities in terms of going out, relationships and marriage in Western secular society. As a result, a few young women also do not feel at home as they struggle to fit in between Kiwi culture and their culture.

In short, adult Bhutanese women feel at home by actively recreating and renegotiating the traditional notion of home through beliefs, values, practices, language and other cultural ascriptions in New Zealand. They strive to reconstruct feelings of being at home by wearing traditional clothing and jewellery and following traditional values and customs, thus creating the boundaries of what is accepted and not accepted. Many of the girls, however, aim to feel at home in New Zealand by contesting and negotiating these traditions. There is a conflict between young and older generations about menstrual and caste practices, gendered mobility, beliefs around sexual practices and marriages and divorces.

The following chapter describes how family, food, religion and material culture enable or hinder the homemaking practices of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand.

Chapter 6

Family, food, religion and goods

This chapter examines how resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' feelings of belonging within the domestic spaces of home can be established through family, production and consumption of familiar food, religion and having a sturdy house with material goods. It is important to note that some participants, mainly aged over 35, have witnessed atrocities, including violence, looting and destruction of homes, livestock and other valuables in Bhutan. The majority of them fled from their past home (Bhutan) without preparation and left behind their possessions when they had to embark on journeys in search of safety. Re-acquiring those possessions in refugee camps was not possible, but having possessions once again after resettlement in New Zealand has helped to make some of them feel more emotionally attached to their new home. Some of the participants lost family members before they fled from Bhutan. Some of their extended family members were left in Nepal and/or Bhutan and/or relocated in the seven other countries that have resettled Bhutanese refugees and/or dispersed in other cities in New Zealand. Despite all of these situations and feelings, the evidence shows that resettled Bhutanese women and girls have renegotiated notions of belonging to build a sense of home in New Zealand.

This chapter has four main parts. Firstly, I explore what family means to the Bhutanese women and girls and the ways it contributes to their homemaking practices. This section also demonstrates how resettlement in a new and unfamiliar country influences their family relationships. Secondly, I investigate the importance of backyard vegetable gardens; how the consumption of familiar vegetables and their taste contribute to feeling at home. In particular, I pay attention to the senses, such as the sight, touch, smell and taste of food, as well as the significance of everyday harvesting of herbs and vegetables in generating a sense of belonging. Thirdly, I explore the role of religion and how it helps participants to construct feelings of being at home. The final section emphasizes questions of material culture. Particular material objects, including a secure and robust house, are significant in order for participants to feel at home. This section additionally discusses how lack of house ownership contributes towards not

feeling at home in New Zealand. The chapter concludes with the argument that the everyday homemaking practices of resettled Bhutanese are useful for understanding resettlement processes and feelings of belonging in New Zealand.

6.1 Being with family

Family play a considerable role in feeling at home in the process of moving and becoming settled among most resettled Bhutanese (Rousselot, 2015). Being with family members is often considered one of the elements that makes most resettled Bhutanese women and girls feel at home (Basnet, 2016b).

Paribar [family] in resettled Bhutanese culture refers to extended family members including aunts, uncles and cousins, which in some cases comprise approximately 50 people. The average household consists of approximately eight individuals, typically (grand)parents, married sons and their wives and children, and unmarried adult children (CORC, 2007). All the respondents highlighted the importance of family ties and mentioned family as their highest priority, but life in New Zealand has created various conflicts between children and parents, such as intergenerational clashes (see Chapter 5). Approximately 50% of the research participants mentioned that they opted for the third-country resettlement programme in order to join their family members in New Zealand. They decided that wherever they went, the whole family would go together. My study, however, finds that even when participants' family members were resettled in New Zealand, they were not necessarily resettled together. Twenty-eight of the 40 Bhutanese interviewees suffered tension, loneliness and sadness caused by family separation in New Zealand. Everyday proximity to family is significant in order to feel at home, not just for migrants (Zlotnik, 1995) but also for people with refugee backgrounds ("Migrants with mobile", 2017; UNHCR, 2016b). Bhutanese women are more active in maintaining ties to family, relatives and friends in the home and beyond as they are responsible for bringing them all together.

My research project revealed that many resettled Bhutanese were separated from their family members not just when they fled from Bhutan, but also in transit to start their new life in a third-country. When these former refugees were in the densely populated refugee camps for almost two decades, most friends and family had lived close by (Gharti, 2011). During the resettlement process, the UNHCR

occasionally published stories of Bhutanese refugees with titles such as *Refugees from Bhutan embrace [a] new life with hope and anxiety*; *At 99, grandma from Bhutan chooses new life over old*; and *Family: In Nepal, family torn between new life and leaving loved ones behind*; to highlight the significance of family among the group (Baidya, 2011; Gurung, 2013; Tan, 2008). These stories note that many older refugees in the camps opted for third-country resettlement over repatriation and local integration only because one or more of their family members had been resettled (Baidya, 2011) or had decided to apply for resettlement (Gurung, 2013).

Resettlement in third countries therefore demands renegotiation of relationships in the family. The presence of family members and moving to new countries as a family unit create feelings of relief, whereas leaving families, relatives and friends can cause tension and distress. Approximately two-thirds of participants mentioned that one member of their immediate family lives transnationally. Given that family is a core component of their culture, participants make use of ICTs to maintain these family ties (see Chapter 7) when spouses, parents, in-laws and immediate family are either left in camps or dispersed in a variety of Bhutanese refugee resettlement countries or in other cities in New Zealand.

The desire of participants to be together as a family was also found to have been deeply embedded in family norms and relations while resettling similar groups, indicating that proper resettlement requires family and relations with similar groups. For example, Sabita, in her early 20s, has seven siblings. Three of her siblings and their families are in different countries. After hearing resettlement stories from three different countries, she and her remaining four siblings and parents decided to join their families in New Zealand. Her parents and two siblings went to Nelson as her father is a priest and the Bhutanese in Nelson were in need of a priest. Sabita and two of her siblings resettled in Palmerston North.

For the first time and in a 'foreign land', Sabita and her family encountered family separation. Sabita describes her devastating experiences in the face of physical separation from family members:

It was so hard to say goodbye to our family. We had been through so much together. How is it possible to live separately in this foreign land?...We did not want to separate, but we had to...We were devastated...For the first

time, my sister chose me over parents because we [sisters] are scared of our brothers,²⁹ and my parents stayed with my two big brothers...but my younger sister seems so desperate to meet mum...over the time...we convince ourselves saying that it is a part of life living abroad. Everybody is going through it. We need to move on. (Palmerston North FT, 1st September 2015)

Sabita's account shows that there was a strong desire to be with her parents because she and her family members had never separated before the resettlement. Whether it is living in Bhutan or fleeing Bhutan in search of safety, residing in the camp(s), or leaving the camp(s) for resettlement, the whole family hoped they would reunite eventually. As highlighted by Sabita, for resettled Bhutanese in general, the sense of needing to be together and fearing being apart primarily drives them to remain together as a group. Separation from family members can create anxiety, distress and loneliness. Sabita's account also shows that these resettled Bhutanese women and girls were gradually able to learn to cope and manage with most of the settlement challenges and in particular the separation of family members.

Other studies also indicate that feeling at home and family are intertwined, and family is of foremost significance among people with refugee backgrounds (Holland, 2011; Rousselot, 2015). Ager and Strange (2004a) and Baumeister and Leary (1995) indicate that strong family ties among refugees are the marker of belonging and feelings of being at home. Reports also suggest that people with refugee backgrounds often struggle to feel a sense of belonging in a new place when separated from family members (e.g. Beaton et al., 2018). They may feel stressed and frustrated when longing for acceptance (Philipp & Ho, 2010).

Research on resettled Sudanese refugees in Australia shows that support within and outside the family and ethnic group is one of the crucial factors for successful resettlement (Lejukole, 2009). Lejukole (2009) argues that the success or failure of the refugee resettlement programme depends on family reunion. For example, having closest family members with Sudanese refugees in Australia reduces anxieties and isolation, whereas when family members are left behind by

²⁹ Bennett (2011) argues that relationships in Hindu family are based on principles and values. In this complex structure, downcast eyes at fathers or brothers by female members of the family denote respect (Bennett, 2011).

resettlement, families suffer anxieties and isolation (Lejukole, 2009). Research on 16 confirmed suicides among resettled Bhutanese in the USA also found that anxiety and worry related to the distance and dispersal of family members was the second most common reason for suicides (Hagaman et al., 2016).

The fourteen full-time homemakers whom I interviewed said they feel at home when able to see family members in person. For example, Puja, married with a child, lives with her extended family. She describes her feelings of being at home:

Wherever I go, I think about my child and feel like returning home as soon as possible...I have to be there when they [husband and children] are home. I have to be at home when my husband comes from work. They will come hungry. [Pause] If I am at home, then I can prepare food for them. (Nelson FT, 5th June 2015)

There are prescribed gendered performances expected in the resettled Bhutanese culture concerning what tasks and roles women and men play in the family and society as a whole. On the one hand, Puja's example highlights that women are more likely to be seen to have socially ascribed roles of wives and mothers, which require them to stay with their families. On the other hand, it indicates that social relationships, specifically family ties, among resettled Bhutanese women and girls can contribute to the formation of a sense of home in a new country. This sentiment seems to be reflected in the account of Rupa, who is in her late 70s. She mentions 'had we left any of our children behind [referring to Bhutan or Nepal], life would be a misery'.

Family relationships among the resettled Bhutanese are deeply rooted in sharing, reciprocity and strong extended family values. Adult participants indicated that leaving family members behind means that they will have to spend a considerable amount of their income on making regular phone calls to inquire about the well-being of left behind family members. Those in the camps are the older people who lack internet skills or are unable to afford the internet. Participants also need to help them by sending remittances to meet moral and cultural obligations and responsibilities. Not being able to support or fulfil the needs of family members left behind can result in feeling guilty and full of shame. It is an obligation to help family members in need, and some women participants whose immediate family members, especially parents, are left behind in the camp mentioned this.

Samjhana, in her early 20s, came to New Zealand with her sister in 2014. Her parents are still in the refugee camp in Nepal, as her father is one of hundreds who are patiently waiting to return to Bhutan. Samjhana was a full-time student with no job when I met her for the interview. She shares:

My parents never ask for money, but I wanted to send some money to fulfil their basic needs, as the living condition in the camp is precarious. Despite living approximately a year in New Zealand, I am unable to find a job, which means I am unable to support them. We [both sisters] feel ashamed; we are unable to help even during the time of difficulties especially when they are sick. (Nelson PT, 5th June 2015)

This finding aligns with several studies, including those of Lejukole (2009) on resettled Southern Sudanese refugees in Australia, and DeSouza (2011) on refugee women in New Zealand, whose families and relatives were still in the country that they had left behind. Both Lejukole and Desouza noted that, in this situation, refugee women frequently feel guilt, shame, isolation, inadequacy and cultural displacement when unable to fulfil their moral and cultural responsibilities to support their family. Other similar studies by Al-Ali et al., (2010) and Diaz-Briquets and Perez-Lopez (1997) show that people with refugee backgrounds who make remittances feel connected to remaining family members, most notably parents and siblings.

After these Bhutanese families are dispersed, they make every effort to be reunited with their family members. For example, Ramita is married with nine children. All her children are married and live transnationally with their respective families: three in Bhutan; three in the USA; and three in New Zealand. She mentioned that as long as her dispersed children and their respective family members are safe and living a decent life, she is happy. Despite having family members left behind in Nepal or Bhutan or dispersed in seven other western countries that resettled them, the situation of how well the remaining and dispersed families settle in and adapt to the country they now live in is intrinsically linked with homemaking practices. Research on the ethnic Karenni in Thailand reveals that despite living a precarious life in refugee camps, people value their family over everything (Lee, 2012). The Karenni people in Thailand find formal and informal ways to be united with their family members and friends

in resettled countries including the US, Canada, Norway and Australia as well as those who are still in Burma (Dudley, 2010; Lee, 2012).

For many participants, home is closely associated with heart and family. Kopila, a focus group participant, reiterated feelings about family and home being intertwined. She, along with her family, came to New Zealand under the family reunification quotas to join her grandparents, maternal uncles and their families. Kopila's feelings of being at home are closely associated with being together with loved ones. For her, the family is at the heart of a sense of home, and this is shown in her sketch (see Figure 6.1). As Kopila mentioned, her family (her mother and brother) is the primary factor in generating feelings of being at home.

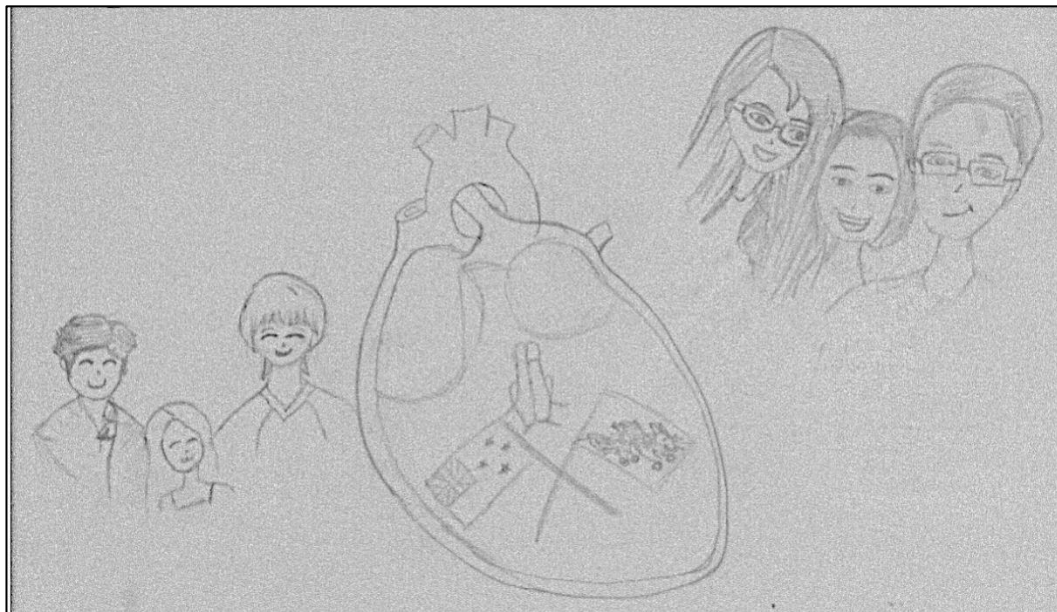


Figure 6.1 Home as heart and family (Kopila's sketch, 30th August 2015)

The understanding of family among the young and older generations of resettled Bhutanese, however, differs and is more complicated amongst women and girls. For young focus group participants like Kopila and Avy, the family tends to mean the nuclear family composed of parents and siblings. For elders like Ramita, the family is the extended family including the families of three children in the USA, Bhutan and New Zealand. This perception illustrates the complexity associated with the homemaking processes. Thus, their definition of family is an issue that has yet to be clarified and explained in the literature about refugees, in particular in studies of resettled Bhutanese women and girls.

In addition, the process of resettlement also contributes to family disputes including the separation of couples and intergenerational conflict in family relationships. Traditional Bhutanese views on what constitutes proper family relationships and interactions between parents and children are at odds with New Zealand values, in general, and often lead to difficulties with the social and legal system. These changes in family relationships not only further accelerate feelings of isolation and anxieties in the family but also make their resettlement more difficult. Participants can feel detached from New Zealand when this occurs.

As stated earlier, most respondents, mainly women and girls, feel at home when they can see and talk with their family members. Feelings of being at home among the male respondents were not necessarily related to sharing and spending time with family members. For instance, Binod, who is in his early 40s, came to New Zealand in late 2011. He is married with three daughters. Binod specifically talks about not being able to spend time with family members because of his other commitments.

Whether I am inside or outside the house, I feel at home in New Zealand...I feel at home when I hear Nepali music...Nepali language...meet Nepali people...see my computer...go to polytechnic...besides that, my family is a part of my home, but I do not have much time for them.
(Nelson PT, 6th June 2015)

Binod described several activities besides his study at the Polytechnic. He is involved in helping community members to learn to drive and organise cultural events. All of these activities occupy much of his time as a social worker. In addition, he likes to play the harmonica and sing in his leisure time, leaving little or no time for family. My research suggests that women receive little or no support for domestic activities and family care from male family members. On the one hand, it might be, as Kabeer (2007) affirms, that men feel uneasy about taking on care work even within the privacy of their home because of their masculine identity. On the other hand, the male participants take for granted spending time with family members because it is 'women's responsibility to look after the children' as Januka mentions in an interview. Binod's comments also indicated that men and women imagine domesticity differently, and home is the site of power relations and domestic inequality.

The above section sheds light on how being with a family or going together as a family unit creates a sense of home among the participants. At the same time, it reveals how separation from family members creates anxiety and distress among the respondents.

6.2 Backyard gardens, food and tastes of home

Backyard gardens, which support food production, preparation and consumption, play a vital role in resettled Bhutanese culture. This section unpacks the significance of backyard vegetable gardens, consumption and sensory experiences. These are ways participants attempt to re-establish the everyday routines of the past home that generate a sense of being at home in New Zealand.

6.2.1 Backyard gardens

Backyard gardening, especially planting, growing and harvesting fresh vegetables and herbs, is an essential part of everyday life, primarily for homemakers and older Bhutanese women. They create backyard vegetable gardens as one of several ways to generate a familiar environment and settings similar to their past home in Bhutan. This is augmented by the ability to grow familiar vegetables and herbs typical to their previous home, which allows resettled Bhutanese to maintain food traditions, and the taste of home (Gleeson, Hamilton, Morgan, & Wynne-Jones, 2001) and provides a familiar domestic landscape (Graham & Connell, 2006). This helps “to emphasise and maintain cultural relationships” with their previous home in Bhutan, “provide a space of nostalgia, and give a sense of ownership and control” (Graham & Connell, 2006, p. 375). Backyard garden-making practices help adult participants, mainly those who are unemployed or lack English proficiency, to gradually adapt to a new environment that can encourage them to feel attached to New Zealand.

Growing vegetables in their backyards is intrinsically linked to memories of home and everyday life in Bhutan. In particular, the efforts each respondent and their family members put into creating vegetable gardens by converting various kinds of land into vegetable growing land, the desire to work in the soil, wanting to see plant grow, being outdoors, and regularly harvesting home-grown vegetables and herbs foster the ability to create a home-like atmosphere in New Zealand, despite

the other challenges they face (Francis & Hester, 1990). Familiar domestic environments and settings provide an ongoing connection to the past and help homemakers to continue remembering their everyday traditions even after two decades in New Zealand, which supports them in becoming settled, as illustrated in several other studies on backyard gardens (Gleeson et al., 2001; Graham & Connell, 2006; Morgan, Rocha, & Poynting, 2005). Although some of the Bhutanese refugees worked illegally in refugee camps in Nepal, it was not possible to have their own backyard garden (UNHCR, 2005).

A backyard vegetable garden is one of many significant places with which participants aged 25 and above feel an emotional attachment. Having a backyard full of vegetables is a way to replicate some of their pre-exile life, as participants aged 35 and over had their land full of vegetables and fruits as well as their own houses in Bhutan. The process provides them with an opportunity to continue a day-to-day habitual Bhutanese and Nepalese activity, as they come from an agrarian background. Backyard gardens become a metaphor for, and remembrance of, participants' past life in Bhutan. This helps them to feel at home in New Zealand. Some participants even exchange vegetables with their neighbours; therefore, food and vegetables are used to bridge cultural differences (Longhurst et al., 2008, 2009). Backyard vegetable gardens have been a part of the homemaking process and a way of expressing the histories, tastes, preferences and skills of the participants. They also play a role in maintaining their health, in terms of physical, emotional and spiritual well-being (see also Gross & Lane, 2007). Research on older Chinese immigrants in New Zealand finds that being able to re-establish a garden helps them to feel positive about themselves and their new lives (Li et al., 2010).

Every Bhutanese household I visited in New Zealand grew and harvested a limited range of fresh vegetables and herbs. The backyard garden is influenced by their relationship with their previous home and their desire for cultural continuity (Gerber, 2015). They not only present opportunities to enhance daily access to culturally appropriate food (Harris et al., 2014), but are also therapeutic spaces that relieve the stress or isolation occurring because of relocation and displacement (Li et al., 2010). For example, Sanam, a single mother in her early 40s, came to New Zealand with two children a year and a half ago. She has a car

but only has a learner license. If she goes shopping, she drives under the supervision of someone else, which means she is dependent on her relatives' schedules. She has friends and relatives within walking distance, but she often finds herself in an uncomfortable position when requesting her relatives to accompany her. She understands that everybody 'is busy, has their family and is working'. Sanam often feels lonely and frustrated when unable to go to the shopping centre or anywhere away from the house when she is bored. She says that she often goes to her backyard garden to 'talk with flowers and vegetables' to overcome her loneliness.

Other participants also identified backyard gardens as offering a positive distraction from everyday loneliness and constraints. For example, Sarita, who arrived New Zealand in 2014, does not have a Nepali-speaking community, and thus, feels very lonely. Sarita finds her situation difficult as she has no place else to go. She does not have any resettled Bhutanese as her neighbours and is unable to speak English. Having a backyard garden (see Figure 6.2), however, serves as cultural space where Sarita can experience a sense of belonging (see Morgan et al., 2005). A backyard garden is a place that evokes memories of home in Bhutan. When asked if she and her family would be interested in relocating from Auckland to Nelson, one of the active Bhutanese refugee resettlement areas, she promptly replies, 'I cannot go. I now feel so attached to the garden. I cannot go. I love my vegetable garden. I cannot go. It reminds me of my past home'. Indeed Sarita expressed pride at being able to reproduce traditional food and create a familiar home environment. Sarita's attachment to her backyard garden, as asserted by Dudley (2011), is perceived as having a certain degree of autonomy that would make her stay in Auckland. The black cloth on the fence (photo 1, Figure 6.2) is an alternative to a scarecrow to prevent birds and other predators from eating tomatoes and other vegetables.

Backyard vegetable gardens not only provide sustenance for resettled Bhutanese, such as Sarita and her family; they are also about traditions and reminders of the past lives they valued (also see Graham & Connell, 2006). The backyard garden full of vegetables and herbs is one of the very few places that has become a source of emotional attachment for unemployed women and at the same time preserves memories of the home from which they were forced to flee. It has become so

crucial in some cases that they cannot envisage moving to another place in New Zealand, despite not having similar people nearby.

This finding is supported by other research on resettled Bhutanese gardeners in the USA (Gerber, 2015). Having access to gardening was not only crucial for sharing “tangible resources but also producing emotional experiences and memories” of their past home environment (Gerber, 2015, p. 48). Dudley (2011) demonstrates that people with refugee backgrounds actively create a sense of home in a new environment by maintaining and continuing food production, consumption and familiar tastes (Dudley, 2011). Another study on older Chinese in New Zealand also shows that a garden not only serves as a refuge from the stress that occurs through the changes in their lives but also serves to ease their transition into a new setting as it does not require English proficiency (Li et al., 2010). It further provides a place to regrow their identity in a new environment (Li et al., 2010).

Just after interviewing Sarita, her daughter Shanti arrived home from school. She changed her dress and went outside to pick red chillies from the garden. She then started crushing them using a granite pestle and mortar. During this time, I was explaining the research to Sarita’s son. Shanti then fried the leftover rice with oil and freshly harvested spicy red peppers. I could see the smoke from hot oil, chillies and rice and suddenly the house was full of the strong smell of the chillies and smoke, which caused me to sneeze continuously. She put some on a plate and ate with her right hand rather than using western cutlery. Later, she came to me and felt sorry for not being able to share the fried rice because the leftover rice was *Jutho* [contamination of food and drinks touched by another’s mouth directly or indirectly (Subedi, 2010)]. *Jutho* is considered impure and is only shared with the immediate members of the family (Subedi, 2010).



Figure 6.2 Vegetables planted by Sarita (Author's photographs, February 2015)

Participants mentioned that they grow plants characteristic of the home from which they were forced to flee. Some frequently explained herbs and vegetables were dhaniya [coriander], rayoko saag [gai choy/mustard leaf], simi [beans], khorsaani [chilli peppers], tori [mustard], tamatar [tomatoes], mula [radish], gante mula [turnip], farsi [pumpkin], kaauli [cauliflower], kakro [cucumber] and paalungo [spinach], meaning that they hardly buy vegetables. Resettled Bhutanese often produce so many vegetables that they make gundruk [fermented, dried vegetables made of mustard, turnip, radish, cauliflower leaves or any other green leaves]. Gundruk is a sour vegetable soup consumed commonly in the winter in Nepal and among resettled Bhutanese. Mild chillies are made into a chilli pickle for the winter. There are few New Zealand plants, such as carrot, lettuce, mandarin, apple and plum, in resettled Bhutanese backyard gardens. The strong presence of Bhutanese/Nepalese vegetables and herbs highlight the strength of cultural relationships to the previous home (Graham & Connell, 2006).

Some participants wish that they could sell their vegetables from the garden in a local market and support their family. This would allow many Bhutanese women

with no jobs and no English skills to have employment and a source of income to support their family. Being able to support and contribute to the livelihood of the family can reduce feelings of worthlessness (see Lipson & Omidian, 1997). Other research on resettled Bhutanese also shows that community garden projects have been beneficial to lessen loneliness and depression (see Kulman & Tsukii, 2014; O'Regan, 2015) and enable resettled families to bring in food, jobs and income (Shrestha, Thapa, & Buhr, 2017). Gardens also allow people with refugee backgrounds to access culturally relevant food that helps to support ethnocultural diversity (Baker, 2004). This is significant in building a sense of community and increasing well-being (see Harris et al., 2014; Schmelzkopf, 1995).

6.2.2 Consuming familiar food

While visiting participants' homes for interviews and during stayovers, the usual greeting I encountered was Sanchai hunu hunchha? [How are you?], followed by Khana khanu bhayo? [Have you eaten yet?]. This is the standard form of address.

Food, mostly dinner and eating habits are a significant part of resettled Bhutanese culture. Participants who go to school or work often take Kiwi food or Western food, such as sandwiches,³⁰ pasta, microwaved popcorn, noodles, salad, pizza, cracker biscuits and toast with butter for lunch. Mothers also mentioned that children prefer to take a Kiwi lunch to school or buy a lunch at the school cafeteria. These lunchtime foods were not part of their everyday diet, whereas homemakers prepare homemade cuisine such as puri [deep-fried puff bread] or roti [dry puffy bread] or aloo paratha [fried potato bread] with curry for their breakfast. Dinner at home is traditional daal [lentil soup]-bhat [rice or corn]-tarkari [vegetable curry], which is prepared fresh every day with nothing left to consume the next day. Participants feel at home when they can prepare familiar food in New Zealand (Longhurst et al., 2008).

When participants were expelled from Bhutan, the food did not mean so much because Nepalese and resettled Bhutanese food is identical. After coming to New

³⁰ 'Sandwich' is a new concept for Bhutanese women and girls. Almost half of the homemakers mentioned that they have no idea how to make conventional sandwiches. They highlighted the need to have a compulsory workshop for mothers on how to prepare a lunch box for children, because their children were not eating properly - children returned their sandwiches untouched.

Zealand, however, food that was taken for granted suddenly became unavailable. The sensory experiences of food were what connected them to their former homes or evoked memories of homes for participants (see Longhurst et al., 2009). For example, Jasmine remembers the food she now misses:

You know, I still remember eating street food especially chatpate [sour and spicy snack] and chaat [savoury snack made of chickpeas, green peas, potatoes, tomatoes, tamarind with spices]. The smell of these foods even while just talking left my mouth watering. You know! We could just go to the street, buy and eat. Eating chatpate and chaat on the street always hovers in my mind. We don't have that in New Zealand...I frequently make chatpate at home, but the smell and taste are different. When I visit Nepal, the one thing on my to-do list is to eat street food. There used to be a big line for the chatpate, but we patiently wait just to have it. We can find everything [in New Zealand] but with different taste. (Focus group in Palmerston North, PT, 30th August 2015)

There is an agreement among scholars that food carries a significant bond to place, as it can be a bridge for women to feel at home in a new place (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Longhurst et al., 2009). It also evokes feelings of homesickness when a sensory experience of home is lost in the process of migration (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013). The native cuisine tastes and familiar smells can help migrants, including refugees, to create visceral bonds with their previous home (Longhurst et al., 2009).

In cooking sessions, participants prepared a dish that was significant or had some meaning in their lives. Participants mostly prepared daal-bhat-tarkari and chaatni [homemade fresh pickle] (see photo 1 and 2, Figure 6.3). The fresh pickles are either made of tomatoes, onions, salt and chillies, or radish turmeric and chillies. Hot chilli peppers are the main ingredient for cooking, and each household garden contains at least two to three varieties of chillies. Interestingly, seven respondents who took part in cooking sessions were vegetarian; consequently the food included many vegetable varieties. All the prepared food was very spicy, mostly from the fresh green/red peppers. According to Sanam, food without hot chilli peppers is tasteless or 'tastes like Kiwi food'. I coughed while having food at Januka's house in Nelson but the 12-year-old girl was eating the hot and spicy food without any reaction. Eating daal-bhat-tarkari with mula ko achar [the fresh

radish pickle] and sadeko gundruk [fragmented green leaf pickle] during the session reminded me of being at home. Apart from the usual white rice, some of the participants also made momo [dumplings] (see photo 4, Figure 6.3) and chamre [fried yellow rice with turmeric, homemade butter and salt] (see photo 3, Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3 Food prepared by participants in four different cooking sessions (Author's photographs, June and July 2015)

Participants prepared a dish for dinner because that is when all the family members eat together. They also wanted to introduce me to the rest of their family members. As Sanam says, 'being together adds the sweetness to what you eat'. Here the sweetness does not refer to a sweet taste, but an authentic taste and the special feeling of being at home with family. Several studies show that eating together makes the family connection stronger (Fiese, 2006) and creates a sense of family identity (Eaker & Walters, 2002; Leon & Jacobvitz, 2003). Thus, food, as in any community, represents the resettled Bhutanese's collective identity as well as connecting individuals to their families.

To date, resettled Bhutanese women and girls maintain traditional eating practices at home in New Zealand. During the cooking session, I also observed that a small amount of cooked food, mainly kheer [sweet rice porridge with milk, cardamom, nutmeg, cloves and cinnamon] and selroti [homemade doughnut], is first offered to the spirit before members of the family consume it (for more see Morales, 2018 on guidelines to prepare food offerings). In doing so, it confers a sense of continuity to their past life and traditions. Most of the participants use their bare hand to eat food, especially daal-bhat-tarkari, chapatti and puri/roti/aloo paratha with curry at home rather than using utensils such as spoons, forks and knives. Every adult participant I talked to said that the food is swadista [tastes better] when eaten with the right hand as opposed to spoons and forks. Some of the elders also use their hand while eating in restaurants. Using one's hand while eating food is vital in Nepalese and resettled Bhutanese culture. Anita, in an interview, says that the younger generation, especially those who came as toddlers to New Zealand, hesitate to use their hand. She fears that 'it would be terrible if they [children] forget or don't know to use their hand while eating'. She hopes that eating rituals remain the same and thinks that the younger generation should 'learn to eat by using their hand' at least at home.

Although the participants use their hands while eating, I was provided with a spoon (see Figure 6.3). I, however, also used my fingers for eating to show an affinity with the participants. It had been almost a decade since I had used my hand to eat daal-bhat-tarkari. I started using cutlery after I left Nepal for higher education in 2008, where I mostly had foreign friends who used spoons, knives and forks. To feel accepted and to mitigate the cultural differences, I started adopting my friends' eating habits, including using cutlery, which now has become a habit for me. I followed participants' eating habits while I was eating with them because research is embedded within social identities and power relations (Madge et al., 2014). I enjoyed eating with my hands as it reminded me of my home.

Literature suggests that foods that are unavailable are equally important as those which are available, and are memories of ways of living back home (e.g. Dudley, 2011). While cooking, participants also mentioned certain foods that they have never found in New Zealand such as lapsi [choerospondias axillaris], nigro [edible

ferns] and hariyo aap [green mangoes]. Rice, daal and spices are mainly purchased from the Indian/Thai/Chinese grocery stores. Other foodstuffs are bought from either PaknSave or Countdown, two large New Zealand-owned supermarkets, depending on the location of the stores. For example, Bhutanese in Nelson live within walking distance of Countdown, so they mostly shop there even though they are aware that Countdown is more expensive compared to PaknSave. PaknSave is a half-hour drive from where they live and is outside of Nelson. In addition, women are primarily responsible for purchasing, making and cooking food.

6.2.3 Taste of home

One-quarter of the participants were not happy with the taste of food in New Zealand. For example, Anita, who is a homemaker, lives with an extended family of seven members. Since the beginning of their resettlement in Palmerston North, food was different, from the smell of spices to the taste of the curry. She mentioned that there are varieties of vegetables, but the taste is different:

You know, I am vegetarian. I love curry made with cauliflower and tomatoes. But the cauliflower does not taste like cauliflower. It is tasteless. The big tomatoes are too sweet. No matter how much effort you put in, the aromas are different. (Christchurch FT, 2nd September 2015)

Anita frequently prepares cauliflower curry but she is disappointed when it does not provide the authentic taste she desires, like in her past home. Here authentic means food cooked and eaten the way it would be in resettled Bhutanese or Nepalese culture. Despite her endless efforts to prepare authentic tastes, the food she makes is either tasteless or 'too sweet', prompting her to miss home (Longhurst et al., 2009). The most commonly used spices in resettled Bhutanese foods include pyaajh [onion], lasun [garlic], aduwaa [ginger], daaniya, korsani, methi [fenugreek seed] and jeera [cumin powder]. In all the adult women's interviews, daal-bhat-tarkari was mentioned as being tasty, but complicated to prepare. It takes at least two hours' preparation as the ingredients are harvested from their backyard gardens.

Puja and a few of other respondents still have an intense longing for particular tastes and smells, especially the aromas of spices. Food, eating habits and tastes

are also significant in representing and shaping the differences between home and New Zealand as this can (dis)connect participants to food practices from their home countries (see Longhurst et al., 2009). Puja shares that she has a strong desire to eat authentic food. She says:

Adapting to [eating] salad in New Zealand is difficult....I do not have a habit of eating plain food [pause]. Since I am at home, I like to prepare a proper meal and eat. I do not like salad. [Laughs]. (Nelson FT, 5th June 2015)

All of the respondents ate Kiwi food when they were at the MRRC for six weeks before their resettlement in New Zealand but instantly disliked it because it lacked spices. Some of the respondents even regretted coming to New Zealand when Kiwi food was served at the MRRC as they didn't like it. Radhika, for example, a mother of two children, describes it as follows:

My eldest son was six years old when we came to Mangere, and as soon as they provided food, he ran to the canteen, sat on the front of the line and took the food whatever he likes. He then threw the food. After a few days, he asked me, 'Mummy, why did you bring us here? I told him that we are here for our betterment'...He then said...'The food is not good. It tastes weird. I think I won't survive eating this food.' He then cried [pause]. The provided food traumatised us in Mangere. That was the most horrible experience I ever had. I will never forget that. We [referring to adults] could starve from hunger, but we could not see our children suffering. My youngest daughter who was three years old could not eat anything. It was terrible. [Tears dropping] Ironically, now my children don't like rice [Laughing]. (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

When participants were resettled in their assigned places in New Zealand, most of them immediately set out to start vegetable gardens in their backyard in order to make food that tasted and smelt familiar (Longhurst et al., 2009). Food generates "the images by which we understand who we have been, who we are, and who we might or should be in the future" (Miller, 1995, p. 35). New Zealand-made groceries and cuisines are described as 'tasteless', 'weird', 'plain', 'different', 'not spicy enough', 'not authentic', 'easy food', 'not proper meals' and '(too) sweet'. This finding equates with Johnston and Longhurst's (2013) work on migrant women's feeling at home through food and eating habits in Hamilton. These

migrants also considered New Zealand food more bland than their native cuisine (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013).

Apart from food being tasteless, the majority of adult respondents also complained about the higher level of sugar in food and drinks, which causes them health related complications such as obesity, high cholesterol, high blood sugar, diabetes and high blood pressure. For instance, Anita, who is a fulltime homemaker in her late 20s, shares her concerns about her family's health.

You know when we were in the camp, we wanted to drink coke and eat some food, but we could not afford them. Now we can afford them but can't consume because my buwa [father-in-law] has diabetes after coming to New Zealand and we are also worried about our health. (Palmerston North FT, 2nd September 2015)

Anita is not only concerned with her health but also with the health of others in the family. It indicates that women often feel somewhat responsible for their family's health as it is their job to cook food for the family. Despite an increase in affordability, Anita and her family are still unable to consume as much as they want because of diabetes. A male participant, Karma, in Auckland also shares his concern about food being 'too sweet'. Karma, who is in his early 20s, came to New Zealand in 2014. Karma says, 'A few days back, my stomach was so big, you know, this big [using hands gesture]'. He is worried that his stomach is getting bigger.

Anita's and Karma's accounts show that after resettlement, they were exposed to a variety of foods. They also show that these resettled Bhutanese's living standards have improved. Now they can buy food and non-food items, which were unaffordable while in the refugee camp. Previous research also shows that people tend to overeat when they are able to afford a new and wider variety of food (Martinez, Roberto, Kim, Schwartz, & Brownell, 2013; Rolls, 1986). In other words, there is a trend that the resettlement of people from developing to developed countries or from rural to urban areas increases the likelihood of obesity and obesity-related diseases (Satia-Abouta, 2003; Wilson & Renzaho, 2015). The change in lifestyle and dietary acculturation, also known as an adaptation to new dietary habits, are the primary factors in this change (Renzaho & Burns, 2006).

Previous studies indicate that, in comparison to men, women are more likely in general to feel dissatisfied with their body and see themselves as overweight (Bordo, 2004; Erdman, 1996; Longhurst, 1996, 2005c; Orbach, 1997; Rodin, 2016). In addition, this study found that the few Bhutanese men involved were also dissatisfied with their body shape and size. Four of the five men considered themselves fat. This change happened after coming to New Zealand. Sarita and Anita also noted that their male family members had gained weight although they chose not to comment on their own bodies. In fact, none of the female participants mentioned or indicated obesity concerning their own bodies. While there are many studies on fatness and femininity (Bordo, 2004; Erdman, 1996; Longhurst, 1996, 2005c; Orbach, 1997; Rodin, 2016), there is a small but growing body of research on fatness and masculinity.

Respondents' concerns about obesity were primarily because of health-related problems. Other studies, however, indicate that when people are worried about body size and weight, it is often about their identity and how fat bodies are shamed and classed (Longhurst, 2005c; Rodin, 2016). It also represents certain cultural practices. For instance, calling someone fat in the West, including in New Zealand, is likely to offend because "fat people are stereotypically constructed as undisciplined, self-indulgent, unhealthy, lazy, untrustworthy, unwilling and non-conforming" (Bell & Valentine, 1997, p. 36). The traditional Nepalese culture does not regard fat as negative; instead fatness has positive meanings associated with it. Having a big body means a woman is well cared for, has proper nutrition, access to resources, is not doing physical labour and is from the middle or higher class (Eagle, 2009; Harvey, 2016).

The problem of gaining weight among these participants is common due to the sedentary lifestyles in New Zealand. Weight gain, in general, is prevalent among adult Nepali-speaking Bhutanese in New Zealand. Despite consuming fruit and vegetables every day, weight gain has been significant, prompting health concerns among the participants. Sedentary lifestyles contribute to weight gain and related health issues among resettled Bhutanese. It is not just Bhutanese with refugee backgrounds living in New Zealand who have problems; several other studies also indicate that obesity, type two diabetes, and high blood pressure are common among newly arrived refugees from developing countries living in developed

countries (Renzaho, Bilal, & Marks, 2013; Renzaho & Burns, 2006). For instance, a study of Somali women with refugee backgrounds in Australia found that a decrease in physical activity and a changed diet resulted in weight gain (Burns, 2004; Vincenzo et al., 2000; Wilson & Renzaho, 2015).

A few participants, especially young people and those who work full time, have gradually embraced Kiwi food. Ram, a male participant in his early 40s, for example, talked about the changing cuisine at his home. He is married with two children. For the first year of their resettlement in New Zealand, his wife used to prepare daal-bhat-tarkari in the morning and evening, as they were not aware of alternative food items available in supermarkets. Since then, their eating habits have changed. Even their children start complaining about eating similar food twice every day. He says:

The children found it monotonous eating daal-bhat-tarkari in the morning and evening. Therefore, we changed the food pattern. I also became more health conscious now. I drink a glass of warm water rather than a cup of milk tea early in the morning. The variety of food has increased so eating daal-bhat-tarkari twice a day has decreased. (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

Backyard vegetable gardens, food preparations and consumption and eating habits reinforce every possible effort to create a familiar environment and cultural ties with past home among resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand (also see Li, 2011). Eating with one's hand can make adult women feel at home in their private space while young women and girls may feel at home in New Zealand by eating with utensils. It is vital to participants' sense of home and belonging in New Zealand. Participants' health has also been affected due to changing diets and lifestyles in New Zealand.

6.3 Religious practices

Participants claimed that being able to maintain and practice their religion is vital to feeling at home in New Zealand. Religion is a shared set of beliefs and practices and worship of gods (Bugg, 2013) that has become a more important focus for resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' identities as some families started changing their religion (Halley, 2014). The majority of participants claim that to have freedom at home to exercise their faiths and cultural practices

thoroughly and safely makes them feel at home. Some of the participants who previously followed Hinduism or Buddhism have converted to Christianity. Often faith-based groups and communities are established based on shared values and beliefs among the members (Gozdziak, 2008). Participants follow three primary religions: Hinduism, Christianity and Kiratism.

6.3.1 Hinduism

Hinduism is one of the most prominent religions resettled Bhutanese follow in New Zealand (CORC, 2007). Hinduism is a complex and diverse in traditions that integrate every aspect of life, including social roles in the community (caste), ethical duties (karma) and family life (childcare, marriage, death) (Hodge, 2004). One of the most common and crucial aspects of the Hindu religion is puja, a prayer offering performed at household shrines or in a temple (Benson et al., 2012). Thirty-one of the 45 participants follow Hinduism and have small religious spaces, such as a prayer room in the corner of their house (see Figure 6.4). These Hindu participants have significant concerns about not having a public Hindu temple in Christchurch, Nelson and Palmerston North. In research on the resettled refugee women in the USA, Gozdziaak (2008) argues that having a temple in a Christian-dominated country symbolises religious tolerance of multiple faiths and is a sign of respect for newly arrived refugees.

From their first day at the MRRC in Auckland, the Hindu Bhutanese women greatly missed temples. For example, Gita talked about feeling nostalgic when the familiar suddenly became strange. One of her family members is a priest, which means performing puja before her family start their day is an everyday religious ritual. This routine activity was not possible when she, along with her family members, arrived in New Zealand in 2009. She talks about the second day at the MRRC, as her family came at night on the first day. She shares:

The next day, we were taken to be shown the city [Auckland city]. The city was beautiful, small houses, fewer people and clean. But we were missing our dusty and dirty place (the camp). Our eyes were eagerly waiting to see familiar settings and environment. When we woke up in the camp, we wanted to see small temples, people worshipping

in them, bell ringing and the smell of incense sticks.³¹ We longed to see, hear, smell and touch those. And when we didn't find those things, it created absence and longing...Once we relocated from MRRC, we recreated a small prayer space to generate the familiar religious setting. To some extent, we have been successful. (Palmerston North PT, 31st August 2015)

This finding resonates with Fangen's (2006) study which suggests that Somalis were not religious in Somalia but became extraordinarily religious and rigid after their resettlement in Norway. Religion was used as an instrument to identify what is appropriate and what is not and was often compared with Norwegian culture (Fangen, 2006).

Other research further shows that religion plays a vital role in coping with the transition into the country of settlement. For example, Gozdzia (2008) discusses religion as a source of resiliency, facilitating and impeding the integration process for women with refugee backgrounds in times of emotional distress (see also McMichael, 2002). DeVoe (1997) also highlights religion as one of the sources of support for resettled Lao with refugee backgrounds in the United States, in particular when Lao refugees suffer stress through the differences in values, expected behaviours, language and economic subsistence (DeVoe, 1997). Krulfeld (1994) points out that just having access to a wat (Buddhist temple) provides a sense of ethnic maintenance as well as psychological support amongst the Lao community. In her research on the everyday life of Somali women in Melbourne, Australia, McMichael (2002) also indicates that religious faith can help people with refugee backgrounds to make sense of their lives and to be calm in times of difficulties.

Despite not having a communal temple, participants feel at home when they perform everyday puja [prayers] at household shrines (see Figure 6.4). The sacred spaces comprise religious objects including photographs, books and talismans. These objects express an exceptionally powerful attachment to their religious beliefs.

³¹ Incense sticks are an integral part of religious offering among Hindu.



Figure 6.4 Household shrines (Apsara's photograph, June 2015)

The statues of gods and goddesses are made of brass. Participants mentioned that they carried those with them when they left Nepal, but many others arrived with few or no possessions. Some of the posters were downloaded from the internet and printed at home. The participants, either themselves or one of their family members, pray at the beginning of every day. This continuation has helped Hindu participants to feel at home in New Zealand.

Resettled Bhutanese who follow Hinduism have been collectively putting every possible effort into feeling at home through their religious activities. They are also

active in bringing together inter-regional religious persons to perform religious activities. In particular, the Hindu Bhutanese community in Palmerston North organised a three-day Shrimad Bhagwat Puran [recitation in devotion to Lord Vishnu and Krishna] in October 2010. They invited three priests, one from Nelson and two from Christchurch, to conduct bhajan kirtan [religious hymns], pravachan [discourses] and katha bachaan [recitation] in which more than 200 Hindu Bhutanese participated (Kafle, 2010). These public religious gatherings are highly gendered as the events are mostly organised and initiated by men, whereas Bhutanese women maintain the small faith-based events and practices mainly within household shrines.

Religious activities provide a place where women can meet and offer spiritual, emotional and material support (Gozdziak, 2008). These activities play a prominent role in defining individual and group identity as they facilitate the expression of particular values, culture and histories (see Duffy & Waitt, 2011). Within these groups, women and girls support one another and share everyday problems and solutions in a context where traditional language, values and customs are also shared. For example, Trishna, in her 20s, noted that 20-25 Hindu Bhutanese in Christchurch on average attended weekly prayers every Thursday. She and her family members joined the religious community started by the Hindu Bhutanese community in Christchurch after the 2010 earthquake demolished the Hare Krishna Temple, also known as Sai Temple. These weekly religious celebrations play an essential role to derive strength amongst Hindu participants. They provide opportunities for women to come together in a familiar environment, enjoy each other's company and support other members:

We gather every week, pray to gods, sing bhajan kirtan [religious hymns], and share what's going on around us. Everyone donates money, whatever we can and everything collected will be used for celebrations and some other cultural activities...we use our traditional clothes in all of our cultural events including weekly prayers. (Christchurch PT, 29th May 2015)

The group members gather not only to take part in religious activities but also to support each other to cope with challenging situations (Raven-Ellison, 2013). Trishna and her family find consolation in these types of religious gatherings as

they receive support that family would otherwise provide (Nawyn, 2006). Being able to participate in a group, sing together and share emotions and feelings allows women to release negative emotions, to develop a sense of unity and to belong to a group with similar circumstances and experiences. These religious groups enable some participants to restore, maintain and retain a connection to their native culture, continue their normal life as in the past and feel a sense of cultural identity and belonging (Benson et al., 2012; Nawyn, 2006).

These cultural events and religious gatherings can create feelings of belonging by providing emotional and social support, familiarity and a safe space for their members, as also noted by Pittaway (2004) in a similar context. The purpose of these types of gatherings is repeatedly emphasised as being to bring everyone together as a group and to ensure prosperity, happiness and success. These activities help Hindu participants to break the isolation and begin the process of performing past religious activities in the present, thus allowing them to build a sense of belonging. Moreover, these Hindu Bhutanese women also actively foster a sense of belonging by creating and providing space for interaction and shared experiences, which confirms previous research in similar contexts (Benson et al., 2012; Gozdzia, 2008; Slade & Borovnik, 2018).

Trishna's explanation also points out that personal investment of time, devotion and monetary donations is a crucial contributor to an individual's feelings of belonging. This support and interest in her spiritual group are for the restoration and the maintenance of broader processes of religious revival and practice. Wearing traditional clothing and jewellery either remains or becomes a universal sign of belonging and identity. The wearing of such clothing to these events supports the cultural ideals of the community, as highlighted by Trishna. The embodiment, as a group, defines them first as Nepalese or Bhutanese before participants identify as New Zealanders. There is no need to specify this community by name; it is already there through embodiment and practices. Other studies, however, have noted that participation in religious identifications and events that differ from the prevailing religious activities may isolate resettled refugees by limiting their exposure to multifaceted types of social support (Beiser, 2006). The argument is that when resettled refugees receive support from their

religious community, they may be less willing to use resources and services available to other residents (Benson et al., 2012).

Hindu Bhutanese who join these religious activities may experience higher levels of stress and feel out of place because their values contradict New Zealand cultural values (Benson et al., 2012). For example, Manu, who is married with three children, belongs to Taagadhari. One of her family members is a priest, and the family members perform prayers twice a day - morning and evening - at home. Prayers, faith, hearing the sound of the bell and the smell of incense sticks reduce her anxiety and loneliness, and thereby make her feel more at home in New Zealand. She fears, however, that the younger generation will forget traditions, culture and rituals. She says:

The most important things for us is to preserve our religion, culture, language and traditions...We have mixed feelings about living in New Zealand...We have our traditions, culture and rituals...However, for our kids, they do not understand what it is and why it is done. (Nelson FT, 5th June 2016)

Resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' engagement with religion is often very different from the experience of the men. Women play the role of curator to maintain these religious practices within the family and at household shrines. Research also indicates that when faced with similar adverse circumstances, religion is crucial in the lives of women with refugee backgrounds (Gozdziak, 2008). Customs and traditions are often justified on religious grounds to ensure women's conformity to conventional gender roles, which can be sources of powerlessness and pain (see Chapter 5).

All respondents who followed Hinduism have a Tulasi, also known as a Tulsi plant, in front of their house or at the front door (see Figure 6.5). The tulsi plant is known as holy basil, regarded as a manifestation of Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth and prosperity in Hindu mythology and a consort of the God Vishnu (Pathak, 2014). All the Hindu Bhutanese women mentioned that tulsi is an essential plant, as it represents a potent symbol of the Hindu community (see Pathak, 2014).



Figure 6.5 A black tulasi plant (Author's photograph, June 2015)

Participants discussed the challenges they faced while trying to plant tulasi in New Zealand. Manu is in her early 40s and came to New Zealand with her extended family. She and her family members are very devoted to Hinduism. She recalled her experiences of how she struggled to plant tulasi in New Zealand:

When leaving Nepal, I put some tulasi seeds in my bag thinking that I will plant them here [New Zealand]. But the New Zealand immigration officers destroyed it [seeds]...My sister-in-law's family has the plant in Palmerston North. I didn't know where they got that one. We went there and brought some seeds with us. It grew, but it was a green type. I wanted the black tulasi. That is what we had back in the camp...now I also have black tulasi. (Nelson FT, 7th June 2015)

If new immigrants, like Manu, wish to bring any plant and animal items, they need to fill out a Passenger Arrival Card and declare all 'risk goods' on the card, as per New Zealand law. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF) strictly

enforces biosecurity policies to avoid any contamination and to minimise the associated risk of pests and diseases being introduced (INZ 2006, 2010; Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI), 2016). Failing to declare biosecurity ‘risk goods’ either accidentally or purposefully results in an infringement fee (MPI 2016). In a documentary, *Taste of place: Stories of food and longing*, Shuchi Kothari felt very dejected when she was stopped from bringing the Indian lime pickle made for her by her grandmother into New Zealand. Homemade products often do not move across international borders. She goes on to state that “being an immigrant means always leaving something behind” (Kothari, Pointon, Pearson, Harre, & Nomadz Ltd, 2000). It is not possible to consume the authentic taste of old home or to bring tulsi seeds to a new home in New Zealand.

6.3.2 Changing to Christianity

Eleven respondents in this study followed Christianity, constituting the second most significant religious group among the community members. Christianity was seen as a shared religion to many Bhutanese to bring and bond together people from different cultures and traditions, a finding also shared by Daley (2009).

Bishnu and Radhika, in two separate interviews, explicitly talked about how having their house provides freedom to practice their own religion. Bishnu is a resettled Bhutanese man who reclaimed his identity through faith, which was only possible after the resettlement in New Zealand. His parents, siblings and relatives strictly follow Hinduism. While Bishnu was in the camp, he lived with his parents but now he lives separately with his wife and children. He shared his experiences of how he used to secretly follow Christianity and the importance of having a separate house in which to practice his faith that enables him to feel he belongs in New Zealand:

For many years, I used to sneak to church in the camp. Otherwise, there would be family disputes. I felt deprived of religious freedom in Nepal because we had to live with family, who strictly follow Hinduism, under the same roof. Even my wife did not know my religion...After knowing that I was practising Christianity in New Zealand, my father came to convince me to revert to Hinduism. Now, I have my house. I don't have to worry whether I will be kicked out or not. (Christchurch FT, 1st June 2015)

Bishnu's story highlights that having a separate house provided by the New Zealand government offers his family the ability to practice their religion without fear. His wife, who previously followed Hinduism, also converted to Christianity. His account also highlights home as a source of oppression when one is unable to practice a different religion than one's parents. When parents and children who live in the same house practice two different religions, children, even as adults, live in constant fear of being 'kicked out' of the house.

Participants often mentioned churches and their roles in contributing to feeling at home. They tend to hold churches in high regard because of the support some participants received in their initial resettlement. Churches also facilitate networking between newly resettled refugees and established communities. As a result, 10 out of 11 participants joined such churches and converted to Christianity in New Zealand. These converts were mostly Bhutanese who followed Hinduism or Buddhism. For example, Radhika, who belongs to the lower caste, converted to Christianity when her family formed valuable social bonds that assisted them in adopting New Zealand 'ways of being', an argument also highlighted by Halley (2014) in her study on young Bhutanese women in New Zealand. For participants like Radhika, changing to another religion, as suggested in Halley's (2014) findings, might also have been done to escape temporarily from caste-based derogatory labels.

Radhika and her family members were unable to speak fluent English and were unable to drive when they were resettled in Palmerston North. Since her family belongs to a lower caste, most of the adult women from the higher caste boycotted her family. They decided to adapt to New Zealand practices, culture and food. Once her family joined the church and converted to Christianity, they not only received support to become part of New Zealand society with the help of the church community; the conversion also offered an escape from the Hindu caste system. Driving lessons were provided to meet the immediate needs of her family. They were able to develop friendships with Kiwis, and her family started being invited to church barbeques and other social events. The church community also helped her family to find full-time jobs appropriate to their skills, while other Bhutanese were still unsure about the job opportunities in New Zealand. Radhika reiterates that finding a full-time job was only possible with the help of the church.

Now she is one of very few full-time working mothers. This is similar to Halley's (2014, p. 74) study, which also illustrates that conversion to Christianity had provided access to "New Zealand ways of being" and a "resistance against patriarchy and Hinduism" to resettled Bhutanese from the lower caste. Dudley's (2010) research on Karenni refugees in Thailand also shows that most of her respondents who were Buddhist converted to Christianity. The conversion occurred due to a combination of humanitarian and religious motives (Dudley, 2010).

Now that the number of Bhutanese Christians has increased drastically, they have started their own multicultural fellowship in Nepali. Radhika shares her current religious activities:

We are believers. We became Christian after coming to New Zealand...we do multicultural fellowship every Tuesday and Nepalese Christian fellowship on Saturday. I feel very much part of the church community and am grateful for their support. We have learnt a lot from each other. (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

My study resonates with those of MacDonald (1997) and Dudley (2010) on religious conversion to Christianity. In a study on Mien refugees resettled in Oregon, USA, for example, MacDonald (1997) found that most US-Mien abandoned their previous religious beliefs by converting to Christianity because of prevailing beliefs and practices in the USA. The adoption of Christianity decreased the conceptual distance between resettled Mien and American citizens, whereas it increased the conceptual distance from the country they were in before the resettlement (Dudley, 2010). Religious conversion among the resettled Bhutanese may have occurred, as Daley (2009) noted, through small differences in culture and faith, which linked to strong divisions among the local residents and the resettled Hindu Bhutanese.

Churches were considered significant by Christian participants in offering practical, social, emotional, material, educational and spiritual support (Raven-Ellison, 2013). For example, Kabita, a single mother of three children, was one of two respondents who were Christian before their arrival in New Zealand. Kabita is devoted to Christianity because she got support during difficult times. When she was hospitalised in Nepal, the doctor asked her to bring her guardians, but her

relatives, including her mother-in-law, hesitated to accompany her to the hospital. This was when the church intervened to support Kabita. She later changed her religion to Christianity, while still in Nepal. It is interesting to note that there may be several other factors for the conversion of faith, which are outside the boundaries of this thesis. Kabita's youngest daughter, however, follows Hinduism, and they often have arguments over religious practice. She states:

The family should not divide because of the religious beliefs. All the family members, except my youngest daughter, are Christian. It is not acceptable. The youngest daughter should be Christian. It is a problem. I hope she becomes Christian. We quarrel, whenever we discuss religion. (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

As mentioned previously, home can be a source of tension, as is the case here when family members are religiously devoted to two different faiths, such as Hinduism and Christianity. As Kabita explains, 'we quarrel, whenever we discuss religion'.

6.3.3 Kiratism: An indigenous religion

Three respondents follow an indigenous religion, Kirat Mundhum, also called Kiratism, which is one of the religious minority groups in the resettled Bhutanese community. The religion shares many commonalities with Hinduism and Bhuddism. For example, Maya talks about her faith:

We are Hindu per se but Kirati to be precise. We do not use a lama, priest or pastor. As per our culture, we believe in dhami-zhakri [spiritual belief], but we sometimes use a Hindu priest. (Nelson FT, 6 June 2015)

The freedom for resettled Bhutanese to practice their religion of choice plays a significant role in feeling more at home. Research on diverse people with refugee backgrounds suggests that religion and spiritual beliefs have been "a source of emotional and cognitive support, a form of social and political expression and mobilization, and a vehicle for community building and group identity" (Gozdzia, 2008, p. 183). Other research also shows that performing collective cultural practices is central to resettled refugees' sense of self (Valentine et al., 2009). Some of the women and girls, however, may not feel at home when householders adhere to two different religions.

6.4 Material cultures of home

Having a secure and sturdy house with material objects that are significant are ways in which resettled Bhutanese women and girls create a sense of home and belonging in New Zealand. Being able to re-acquire these material objects contributes to the construction of their identities and belonging (Entrikin, 1991). In resettled Bhutanese culture, material possessions represent the status and the class of the family. Approximately three-quarters of respondents mentioned the importance of personal material possessions while discussing their feelings about home. Several studies have established the relationship between women, material objects and domesticity as crucial in generating strong attachment to home and home spaces as well as in representing their sense of belonging (Chambers, 2003; Dodman, 2003; Dudley, 2010; Longhurst et al., 2009; Parkin, 1999; Rose, 2003, 2010; Schwartz & Ryan, 2003; Tolia-Kelly, 2004a, 2004b). Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) argue that family, material objects, food and technologies are crucial in representing security, identities and belonging.

6.4.1 *Material objects*

When I went to interview participants in their homes I observed that every household publicly displayed family photographs hanging on walls, copper and brassware, LCD and LED televisions, computers and telephones. Most of the participants carried specific objects with them from Nepal that are imbued with special cultural meanings. Some of the frequently mentioned domestic objects were plates, cooking pots, serving spoons, statues or images of gods and goddesses, photo albums, traditional dresses, and CDs/DVDs with Nepali music. Material possessions were also photographed by participants involved in photo-elicitation (see Figures 6.6 and 6.7). Some of the objects and crafts are thought to be unavailable or are too expensive in New Zealand. These objects play a significant role in the process of homemaking and help them to belong in New Zealand (Johnston & Longhurst, 2013; Philipp & Ho, 2010; Salih, 2003).

Participants, such as Nari, talked extensively about domestic items, including combination stainless steel serving plates (see photos 1 and 2 in Figure 6.3), and serving spoons, which they carried with them when they decided to leave Nepal.

Nari, who is in her early 30s, describes why she and her family decided to bring these objects with them:

We heard that we couldn't get them [stainless steel plates] here. One of our relatives in Christchurch also asked [us] to bring some to them. They said 'the plates are made of clay in New Zealand.' How can you eat on such plates? They also said, 'the plates were expensive and can break up easily.' Later, we realised that they were different from what we thought [laughing]...but you know, it is great to have some of these [plates] because it reminds us of our home and is easy to serve food on. You know, We eat daal-bhat-tarkari so if we use this, it works for three bowls, and a plate and the plate looks beautiful. (Cooking session discussion FT, 28th May 2015)

Having these familiar objects reminded Nari of the home she left behind. She also decided to bring some of these objects because she considered she would not be able to afford them in New Zealand, especially during the early phase of resettlement. This research finding is similar to Philip and Ho's (2010) work on South African migrant women in Hamilton, New Zealand. They highlight that migrants bring specific objects to their new country for various reasons including attachment to that object (Philip & Ho, 2010). Dudley (2010, 2011), describing Karenni refugees in Thailand, also argues that materialities, including objects, not only create familiar settings in the homes of people who have refugee backgrounds but also trigger their memory of previous homes. In the homemaking practices of Kurdish refugee women in North London, Kiliçkiran (2003) argues that people in exile or who are forced to become refugees have a strong desire for home, and value it a lot. Women yearn to create a similar setting to feel at home by being involved in, performing and continuing their everyday efforts in object-related private practices (see also Cieraad, 2015).

The display of material objects was also captured by photo-elicitation participants. Puja, who is in her late 20s, took a photograph of a wooden display cabinet in her living room that contains a full array of copper, brass and bronze-ware and utensils (see Figure 6.6). Puja took this photograph when I asked her to capture image(s) of anything she understood as representing home or that made her feel at home. After Puja sent me her photograph of the display cabinet, she talked about this photograph and how it made her feel. All of these objects have unique stories

and meanings attached to them. Each object has a personal meaning. All of these wares, except the big doll, were brought from Nepal. Interestingly, the top part of the wooden display represents the more personal possessions, such as family photographs that were taken mostly in Nepal and a few in New Zealand when her family members went for their first day out in New Zealand. The photographs on the wall include images of her two children. The big doll was her child's first birthday gift from her Kiwi neighbour in New Zealand. Participants, such as Puja, feel at home with these personal possessions.

Sontag (2014, p. 9) argues that “photographs give people an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal; they also help people take possession of space in which they are insecure.” Rose (2010) asserts that the physicality of a house transforms into a home and a domestic space becomes a space for a family when family photographs are framed on the wall and stored in the photo album or other technological devices. Photographs are also crucial in connecting family, relatives and friends who may otherwise be separated by time or distance. Viewing photographs in everyday life is an attempt to actualize familiar settings and helps to create a bond with loved ones scattered across the globe (Rose, 2010).

Photographs are essential to the women's everyday experiences of their home spaces as they evoke memory into the present (Rose, 2003). Bhutanese women play the role of curator or custodian of these material goods and objects by engaging in everyday domestic practices including dusting, cleaning and polishing (Cieraad, 2015). Several studies have also shown that migrants, including refugee women, imagine and remember their home through a strong association with object-related private practices from family rituals to the everyday dusting of living rooms (Cieraad, 2015; Kiliçkiran, 2003). Women predominantly perform these activities.



Figure 6.6 Cabinet with copper and brass ware (Puja's photograph, July 2015)

Every object not only has its particular significance but also represents participants' feeling of belonging. The displays of craft, brass and copper-ware in resettled Bhutanese and Nepalese culture commonly represent prosperity, money and wealth in the community and are crucial in the construction of a sense of home and identity (Miller, 2001). These material possessions are organised and arranged within households in various ways and demonstrate wealth to those who identify with them. The displayed wealth – craft, brass and copperware – represents values, aesthetics and meanings attached to particular objects (see Valentine 2001). These objects are also symbols that indicate a comfortable lifestyle as well as regained status post-resettlement in New Zealand (see Trapp, 2015).

After Puja fled from Bhutan, such objects were lost in the process of displacement. She had always dreamed of buying brass and copperware in the refugee camp but was unable to afford any of them. Resettlement in New Zealand has increased her family's purchasing power, allowing them to regain these objects. Having these personal objects, which once seemed impossible to afford, not only help resettled Bhutanese to form a sense of belonging in New Zealand but also help them to reclaim their sense of identity. It is deemed essential for participants to restore the past in the present to create feelings of being at home. These possessions also contribute to cultural appropriation of space. Valentine (2001) argues that such objects are sources of identity that in some ways articulate feelings of belonging.

Other participants took photographs or made sketches of the material goods they possess and spoke in-depth about them. Below are three examples: an image of a car from Rama, an interview extract from Bishnu, and a sketch of home by Jas. The photograph, sketch and interview excerpt provide just three examples that are embedded with substantial meanings. There are, however, many more. Rama took a photograph of one of the material possessions that she is most proud of - her car (see Figure 6.7). Rama, who is in her mid-30s, is married with three daughters. After coming to New Zealand, owning a car showed that she had progressed so much in her life. It represents prosperity. One of the ways Rama feels she has moved forward is by gaining a full driver's license. She mentioned that her car comes to mind every time she thinks about her sense of home because it represents not only affordability but also her regained status. It also gives her the freedom to visit her relatives, to go to work safely and return home on time. This was possible only after resettlement in New Zealand. She explained to me that she is so attached to her car that it feels like a family member.



Figure 6.7 Rama's car (Rama's photograph, June 2015)

Forty of the 45 respondents explicitly talked about how having a car themselves or in their family fostered their attachment to New Zealand. Participants never thought of being able to possess any of these expensive goods in Nepal and in Bhutan. For example, Bishnu shared his thoughts on how much he values the material possessions that contribute toward feelings of belonging in New Zealand:

Our life was very dark and the future was uncertain in Nepal. We were unable to afford a bicycle. After settling here, we have a good source of income, modern car, cosy house and my family. We have all the facilities, like hot water and heater. Even if we look at the status of a [government] minister of Nepal; they might have rupees 50,000 to 60,000 as their monthly salary, which is my weekly salary [in New Zealand]...In Nepal, even the most expensive cars are of 1300/1400 cc, and the rich could afford 1500cc car or diesel engine vehicle, but I have a 2000cc BMW, a European car. What else can one wish for? (Christchurch PT, 1st June 2015)

This finding is similar to those of Lejukole (2009) who also revealed that when people with refugee backgrounds possess more material goods and higher social status than they had in their country of origin, it enhances feelings of attachment to their new country. Half of the respondents, however, despite having a car at home, were unable to drive. These were mostly single mothers, homemakers and older people. All the adult women participants stated that New Zealand has

inadequate public transportation. Not having access to private and public transport can lead to feeling isolated and somewhat trapped in their homes.

The general assumption is that lack of proper access to transportation can affect “access to health care, to various employment opportunities, to community events, to social services, and to education opportunities” (Morken & Skop, 2017, p. 4) amongst resettled refugees. Several studies on refugees also found that lack of access to proper transportation systems leads to missed opportunities (Bose, 2014; Morken & Skop, 2017) and is likely to affect their resettlement experiences. These people with refugee backgrounds were mainly from Afghanistan, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Myanmar, living in the state of Colorado, USA.

Not only did adult participants value material possessions, but so too did young respondents (see Figure 6.8). I asked focus group participants to sketch or write anything that evoked memories of home. Jas sketched several objects, such as a computer that was recently bought by her parents, the television her family owns, a three-seater couch where the family sits down to watch TV and a secure and reliable house where she and her family currently dwell in New Zealand. She likes to play on the swing with her siblings and see a variety of flowers blooming in the park.

Jas feels a sense of home when she watches Hindi soap operas and movies on television together with her family because her parents do not understand English. She, along with her family, watches TV programmes more for entertainment than for information. It makes her feel at home because this is when she is with her family and can talk with them as they watch TV programmes. Another way Jas feels at home is while she is using her computer to play games and complete assignments. The computer which Jas’s family has recently purchased is a topic of everyday conversation outside the home and is also a way to signal her membership of, and competence within, more extensive local, national and global game cultures. It does make Jas feel connected and part of the community.

All of the participants had access to mobile phones or iPads either individually or as families. They also had landline telephones, the Internet and cable TV. Mobile phones are treasured possessions for many participants and their family members

(Horst & Miller, 2006; Law & Peng, 2006; Madianou & Miller, 2011; Miller, 2001; Wong, 2006). Thirty-two out of 45 Bhutanese participants had laptops or computers in the house, and these have become part of everyday life for the entire household. Often the telephone, television, iPad, laptop and computer are kept in a public room in the house.

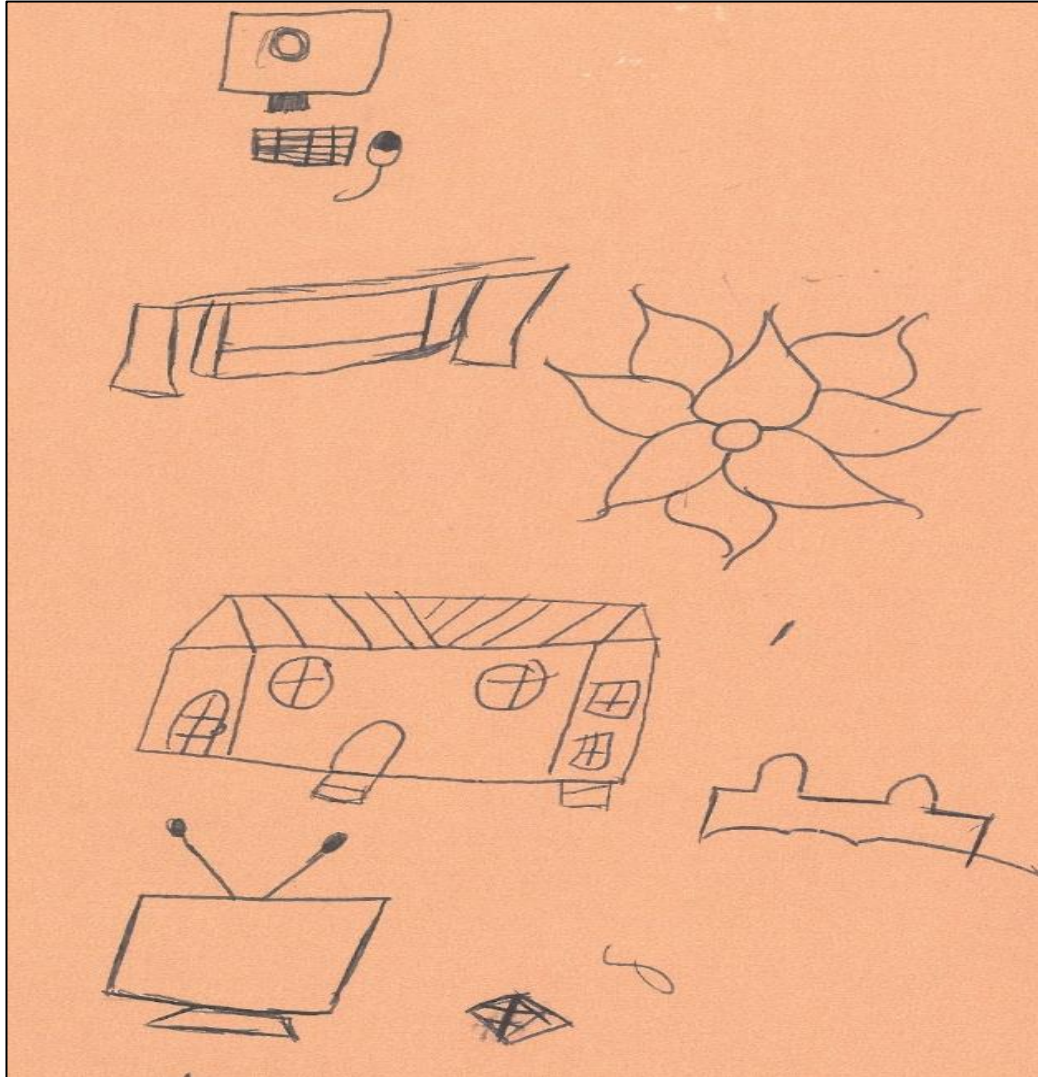


Figure 6.8 Computer, television and house (Jas's sketch, August 2015)

All of these material objects and technologies are well looked after and occupy highly visible positions in the shared spaces of the home. The lounge is often used as a shared space to entertain visitors and is a crucial site for the exhibition of these objects to show wealth accumulation and to demonstrate material possessions to other Bhutanese and non-Bhutanese (Reimer & Leslie, 2004).

Several women, however, expressed their great distress and powerlessness due to their inability to perform activities that were everyday routines in their previous home. Before coming to New Zealand, resettled Bhutanese women and girls did not have exposure to modern amenities including modern cooking appliances and practices. They used to prepare and cook on solar rice cookers and with charcoal (CORC, 2007). They used phrases such as feeling disabled by the inability to operate kitchen appliances while describing the resettlement challenges. These feelings were predominately in the first year after their arrival in New Zealand because these women and girls previously used firewood for cooking. Kabita and Puspa, for example, talked about not being able to operate the kitchen stove and the television. Kabita is a single mother of two children in her early 40s. She had never been to school before coming to New Zealand and used to cook food on the fire when she was in Nepal and Bhutan. She came to New Zealand early in 2011.

I feel like a prisoner, not able to cook, watch and do things I want to at my home. I cannot talk with Kiwi, and the Hindu elder Bhutanese have boycotted my family as I am from a lower caste. I still don't know how to use these electronic devices [referring to television and stove]. My daughters operate all those. Last year, another old lady from that house [pointing to another house] and I wanted to eat corn, but both of us didn't know how to operate the stove. So we decided to grill some fresh green corn from our backyard in our garage...in a fire, and the house was full of smoke. There was this weird sound. None of us knew what to do [with the sound]. We threw water to stop it smoking. It eventually stopped, but by then the firefighters had arrived because one of our neighbours called them after seeing black smoke from our house. (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

Like Kabita, Puspa was also not competent enough to use kitchen appliances for a year and felt marginalised and excluded in New Zealand. Puspa is in her early 40s and has never been to school. She came to New Zealand at the beginning of 2009 with her husband and two children.

I did not know how to use the kitchen stove for almost a year. We used firewood and kerosene pump stoves in the camp. Our volunteers [in New Zealand] showed us how to use the oven, but I was scared of using these sophisticated machines, I often feared that these advanced tools might be damaged or exploded if handled inaccurately...I feel

disabled for being ignorant and not knowing anything. I feel like we were the disabled of this country. For now, the thought has been decreasing over time...now, I feel a little empowered because I can buy groceries, cook food, use a bank card and often go for a walk by myself. (Christchurch PT, 29th May 2015)

The above narratives indicate several things. Firstly, kitchen spaces are not just imbued with patriarchal power, which is often suggested by western feminists. They can also be spaces in which women feel empowered when homemakers learn to operate kitchen appliances and prepare a meal for themselves and their family members (see Cieraad, 2015; Kiliçkiran, 2003). In a study of Asian women in Britain, Bhachu (1993) argues that women may feel empowered when they embody norms and values in their everyday activities, within their families and their communities and with their cultural practices, which may be considered as oppressive and archaic by western people. Being able to buy groceries, use bank cards and cook food can make them feel empowered and can help to create a sense of self in the process of homemaking practices, as highlighted by Puspa. It also shows how resettled Bhutanese women have gradually overcome their fears and moved significantly forward to embrace life in New Zealand.

Secondly, it highlights a shift in power dynamics among the family members, where parents, especially mothers, feel ‘ignorant and not knowing anything’, as emphasised by Puspa. Participants with no English skills depend heavily on their children to operate devices, as they are unable to follow the written instructions. After living five years in New Zealand, Kabita still does not know how to use the kitchen appliances. She waits for her daughter to return from school to prepare food because she is afraid of ‘exploding’ or ‘damaging property’, which highlights the complexities associated with operating essential equipment (see Cieraad, 2015).

Thirdly, lack of English skills not only confined homemakers and older women’s communication within Nepali or Hindi speaking neighbours, but also restricted their participation in social activities in their neighbourhood (see Li, 2011). It has also hindered their ability to use kitchen appliances. It makes participants, such as Kabita, feel alone and socially isolated. This feeling is especially acute when they

encounter different languages, cultures, expectations and practices. The narratives of both Kabita and Puspa indicate some obstacles to belonging in New Zealand.

6.4.2 Secure and sturdy house

Participants also emphasized that having a secure and sturdy house is a significant factor that grounds their sense of belonging in New Zealand. It is not surprising to find that respondents in this research were largely in agreement with feeling that home is a sanctuary, given that all of them had spent substantial time in cold and damp refugee camps in Nepal. The importance of access to appropriate, secure and affordable housing for participants is consistent with the findings of Harte, Childs and Hastings (2009) on resettled Africans in Queensland, Australia. These findings are supported by interview participants, who emphasized the importance of reliable, affordable and warm housing in provoking a strong place attachment.

Participants mentioned having a strong and sturdy house in forging a strong positive sense of belonging among participants. Both Januka and Sarita, in two different interviews, considered home as a sanctuary and something they cannot imagine life without. Januka is in her late 30s and came to New Zealand at the end of 2010. She lives in a three-bedroom house with four other family members. When I asked what home means to her, she replied:

Home is a place to live and a basic need of people...There was a flood in Nepal. People were panicking and were running here and there for their safety. When I see those on the Internet, I feel at home. We are safe. Nothing can touch us, neither the wind nor the water. We don't have to be afraid of anything, not even the flood. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

For Januka, a sense of home is a reliable shelter that provides physical security and protection from natural disaster, including flood and wind. Having a reliable and sturdy house represents feelings of being safe that contribute towards a sense of belonging amongst resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand.

Like Januka, Sarita expresses similar feelings of being at home. Having a sturdy house in New Zealand after almost two decades, for Sarita, has been a site of comfort, sanctuary and feeling of being safe. Sarita is now living in a three-bedroom house with her husband and two children. She says:

I do not know what to say. [Pause]. Home means a place for shelter. We can stay and live in a home. Nobody can touch and harm us. We won't burn in the sun. The rain can't wet us. This house is our home. (Auckland FT, 20th February 2015)

Participants in their late 30s and above mentioned that having their own house make them feel at home. Having a home was also a way to regain their lost status. Adult respondents increasingly became aware of their sense of property ownership in Bhutan and of their attempts to maintain it in New Zealand. Three different interviewees explained their issues concerning housing and found it hard to make a rental property a home. Jiby reinforces this point. Jiby is in her late 40s and came to New Zealand with her husband and three sons who are in their 20s and 30s.

Only when we build our house, then we can say that it's our home. Every time I ask myself when I can build a house for our family. Many of my friends also say the same when we talk about houses and Bhutan...You cannot claim another person's house as your own. You need to own one to make it home. (Christchurch FT, 29th May 2015)

Jiby's feelings about being at home also illustrate that respondents have a hard time making a rental property a home. They feel that the house belongs to someone else, as Jiby mentioned, and that one cannot claim another person's house as their own home. Therefore, not being able to own a house can prompt feelings of being out of place for respondents.

Radhika also makes a similar point about house ownership, but she highlights the difficulty of doing this in New Zealand. Radhika, in her late 30s, is married with two sons. She says:

If you can own one, home is crucial. Now, we are not in a situation of possessing one [in New Zealand]. I still think of living in Bhutan given the fact that housing is much cheaper over there. (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

Faced with the impossibility of buying/building houses in New Zealand, many adult participants consider Bhutan their home. As mentioned earlier, being able to build and own one's house represents a sense of emplacement and being at home

for most women. Sapana, who considered Bhutan as her home, is in her mid-50s, and also highlighted the unaffordability of house ownership.

Home for me is [pause] the house I lived in Bhutan with my parents. That was the house where I took shelter after my husband left me... After leaving Bhutan, I have never been able to build one. (Christchurch FT, 30th May 2015)

Sapana justified her feeling at home by referring to her parents' home in Bhutan, which was not just full of childhood memories of growing up, but also memories of warm relationships with parents. Although she is unable to return to Bhutan, she remains emotionally attached to it: where she was brought up, married and later divorced and then rejoined her parents. The place where a person was born and grew up retains a central place in the life of that individual (hooks, 2009). hooks (2009) in her book, *Belonging: A culture of place*, for example, argues that the Kentucky Hills is the only place in her life where she honestly feels herself and has a sense of belonging. It is the place that is filled with childhood memories, experiences and emotion.

The desire for house ownership is felt among the adult Bhutanese as house ownership represents a long-term fixed investment that indicates stability in life (see Holland, 2011). Only two participants in Nelson have bought a house, which they consider their long-term home as they were able to own a house, land and cattle in Bhutan. They were forced to leave their property against their wishes and fled from Bhutan overnight. Since Bhutan is the only country where these participants were able to possess wealth, all of them wish to return if allowed. Other research on resettled refugees also underscores my findings (see Lejukole, 2009). Not being able to possess what one once owned in previous homes exacerbates nostalgic feelings (Lejukole, 2009). These feelings among people with refugee backgrounds not only intensify their desire to return to their previous home but also exacerbate a sense of loss in their current home (Lejukole, 2009).

Although many of the respondents are not in a situation to buy their own house, they feel at home when they have a safe and strong rented house. This might be a reason why social and economic policy-makers on housing take for granted that providing a reliable and secure house means that people with refugee backgrounds will re-make home out of the supplied house (e.g. Flatau et al., 2015; Fozdar &

Hartley, 2013). There are, however, many other factors as discussed above that contribute towards homemaking practices. Being able to afford a range of material goods, in particular being able to re-possess material objects that were lost in the process of *becoming* ‘refugees’ makes them feel at home. Similarly, when participants with no English proficiency are unable to operate kitchen appliances, televisions and computers, they feel out of place in New Zealand.

6.5 Conclusion

Resettled Bhutanese women and girls have diverse and complex ideas and discourses about what constitutes home. Homemaking practices vary significantly depending on participants’ age, educational background and socio-economic status.

The various findings discussed in this chapter show that participants actively recreate, renegotiate and reconstruct a sense of home by maintaining the past in their present lives. Some of the ways participants attempt to reconstruct normality in their lives are by being (connected) with family, having a backyard full of vegetables, harvesting them daily, consuming familiar food; being able to practice their religion; being able to live in a secure and sturdy house with material objects, and using items from Nepal. These are ways participants represent and continue their old home in a new country (Benson et al., 2012; Gerber, 2015). These continuations are some ways in which participants regain hope and restore social status, which were lost after fleeing from Bhutan (Parkin, 1999). These factors can be a way to help resettled Bhutanese women and girls feel at home in New Zealand.

My data also revealed that participants’ sense of being at home is not a universal feeling, as they, especially in the early resettlement stages and particularly for those with no English skills, struggle with the many challenges as refugees and women. Some of these challenges include separation from family and friends, being unable to buy their own house, lack of driving knowledge, and an inability to operate kitchen appliances. However, this does not imply that these Bhutanese women and girls are victims in New Zealand. They have some agency, which they exert in order to feel part of communities. This is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Multiple and complex sense of community

Resettled Bhutanese women and girls are active in developing and participating in community, in order to feel at home in New Zealand. Community is a concept that has been much debated and contested by academics over time (McMillan, 2011; Pretty, Bishop, Fisher, & Sonn, 2008; Valentine, 2001). It has been defined and theorised in numerous ways, as place-based, geographical or neighbourhood (Ager & Strang, 2004a; Chipuer & Pretty, 1999; Flint, 2009; Lewicka, 2010; Obst, Smith, & Zinkiewicz, 2002), as virtual (Koh & Kim, 2003) and as imagined (Anderson, 1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003). In some instances, the terms community and neighbourhood are used interchangeably (Davies & Herbert, 1993; Flint, 2009), while others claim community is a '*meaningless word*' (Valentine, 2001, p. 122, italicised in original). Communities beyond neighbourhoods, such as virtual, or imagined, are sometimes termed 'communities without propinquity' (Webber, 2011, p. 23) or 'place-free' or 'stretched-out' communities (Silk, 1999, p. 8).

This chapter highlights resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' discourses that incorporate multiple senses of community, depending on situations, circumstances, settings and environments. In particular, it seeks to unveil how resettled Bhutanese women and girls forge multiple, yet contradictory, senses of community, including neighbourhood, virtual and imagined, in order to feel at home in New Zealand. The place-based understanding of community, also known as neighbourhood community, is one of the most traditional. It geographically circumscribes place as an entity, where interactions are based on proximity (Davies & Herbert, 1993). People who live in the neighbourhood are considered members within geographic boundaries, where members support each other, create mutually caring social relationships and share the same physical space (Obst et al., 2002).

Another sense of community, such as virtual or imagined, can be created beyond the limitations of physical space. Virtual communities are dispersed globally, and members interact via information and communication technologies (ICTs). Such communities enable members to share information, interests, feelings (Valentine,

2001) and provide support, friendship and acceptance (Koh & Kim, 2003; Longhurst, 2017) with no residential base.

The use of mobile phones and the internet by participants to sustain and enhance social ties was not something this study set out to investigate, but the analysis of transcripts from participants' stories showed that further reflection was required. Most of the Bhutanese participants own mobile phones and have internet access through Wi-Fi. They use mobile phones to surf Viber, Skype, FaceTime and Facebook as a means of forging a sense of virtual community. On average a participant uses two or more applications. None of the participants mentioned the use of Instagram or Snapchat. Technology has been primarily used as a way to create a virtual community among participants with no or limited skills, as these participants are unable to feel a sense of neighbourhood community. Valentine (2001) comments that for some feminists, a virtual community is seen as less oppressive and friendlier for women than a neighbourhood community that defines and limits women's lives.

Imagined communities, in contrast, occur when members imagine they are a part of the same group; such communities are constructed psychologically (Anderson, 1991). Imaginary defines not just how other people think about us, but also how we think about ourselves. Following Anderson's (1991) idea of imagined communities, I used the concept to inform my analysis of how resettled Bhutanese women and girls imagine Nepal, Bhutan and New Zealand. Although Anderson focuses on the notion of imagined community at a national level, it is also a useful way of thinking about social relations on an international scale. When bodies collide with those that are similar and different in a new country, communities are felt and imagined in different forms (Anderson, 1991; Zournazi & Hage, 2002). Members might share a strong sense of identity, and hence community belongingness is imagined (Anderson, 1991; Valentine, 2001).

Longhurst (2001) suggests that individuals hold multiple and contradictory positions. She proposes that individuals who position themselves in certain ways do not just follow personal rational choices, but also wish to be perceived that way by others (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010). In all cases, the notion of community is socially constructed. Although participants have distinct and

multiple senses of community that can be contradictory and conflicting, all of these are fundamental to their feelings of (not) belonging in New Zealand. It is important to note that refugees, in general, are one of the most deprived social groups, and their situation is inherently hard (Munt, 2012). Before the resettlement, these refugees had lost all forms of state legitimisation. As a result, they have an intense need and desire to reconstruct feelings and attachments to some kind of community (also see Munt, 2012).

This chapter is divided into three sections. Firstly, it explores the significance of neighbourhood community among Bhutanese women and girls. It shows the significance of participants' efforts in everyday activities in enabling them to feel part of their neighbourhood. I discuss crucial factors that contribute to feeling part of a neighbourhood. Secondly, it analyses the role of information and communication technologies (ICTs) that enable the construction of virtual communities. ICTs play a vital role in constructing, maintaining and sustaining relationships in a virtual community. The section on virtual community examines how and for what purpose participants maintain continuity with other Bhutanese beyond a territorial base and feel part of this wider base. In particular, this section looks at connections and networks that occur in transnational spaces to construct Bhutanese women's and girls' sense of belonging. By doing this, it can give new impetus to the discussion of a virtual community among people with refugee backgrounds. Thirdly, I examine the significance of multiple yet complex and contradictory forms of imagined community. Resettled Bhutanese women and girls identify their imagined community as Nepal, Bhutan and New Zealand.

7.1 Neighbourhood community

My study findings suggest that participants' sense of being at home is generated through their attachment to their local neighbourhood community. This means that when participants feel part of their neighbourhood community, they feel at home in New Zealand. There are, however, several factors that can enable or hinder attachment to neighbourhood community and contribute towards feeling at home in New Zealand.

Participants feel attached to their local neighbourhood when they live in close proximity to their immediate family members. For example, Jyoti, who is in her

60s, is married with five children and some grandchildren. She currently lives with three of her children and her husband, Biru. The other two children are married and live with their respective families; one in Christchurch and the other in the USA. Jyoti and Biru, along with their three children, wanted to relocate to Christchurch from their initial resettlement in Nelson so they could reunite with one of their married daughters and her family. After a year, one of her other daughters got a full-time job in Christchurch. Jyoti and Biru found a better house in Christchurch at a lower price compared to Nelson, which was also within walking distance of their married daughter's home. For this reason, Jyoti and Biru moved to Christchurch with their two daughters. Their unmarried son, however, stayed back for his job. Soon after their relocation, they felt that their quality of life deteriorated, as they had no attachment to their neighbours and neighbourhood.

Their married daughter in Christchurch was busy in paid full-time work. In addition, during the weekend, she was occupied with housekeeping tasks, taking care of children, and looking after the backyard vegetable garden, leaving less time to spend with her parents although they lived in proximity to each other. Jyoti and Biru's two unmarried daughters who accompanied them to Christchurch either worked or studied full-time. Jyoti and Biru went to language classes in the morning, remaining in the house for the rest of the day. Since they are unable to drive, visiting friends and relatives in Christchurch was hard because the resettled Bhutanese are spread out around the city.

The size of a city can either hinder or enable the attachment to neighbourhood that generates feelings of being at home. In other words, participants in smaller cities, like Nelson and Palmerston North, reported feeling a stronger sense of community compared to participants who lived in Christchurch and Auckland. The Bhutanese communities in these smaller cities are tight-knit, well established and members live in the same suburb or in proximity to each other. Thirty-one of the forty Bhutanese interviewees mentioned smaller cities such as Nelson and Palmerston North as their preferred place to live in New Zealand. The primary reason for choosing these cities is the size of the place, proximity to neighbours, being able to speak Nepali in everyday activities and having relationships with neighbours with similar histories and circumstances (Flint, 2009). None of the participants chose Auckland, although there were six respondents from the city who relocated

to Auckland in the hope of having more opportunity for paid employment and higher education. One participant from Auckland did not like the city and was completely unaware of other cities, so skipped answering the question.

Living in comparatively smaller cities, such as Nelson and Palmerston North, allows participants, mainly homemakers and older women, to visit other resettled Bhutanese when feeling in need of company. Jyoti recalled her memory of visiting other Bhutanese before her family moved to Christchurch:

When we were bored, we would go for a walk and visit our people in Nelson and talk with them. We used to visit each other, and we had been doing this for almost 40 years in Bhutan, 20 years in Nepal and around one year in Nelson, but not possible in Christchurch. Our people are dispersed around the city. (Christchurch FT, 28th May 2015)

Jyoti's account illustrates several important factors that can generate attachment to neighbourhood community among resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand. Firstly, the size of the place, as mentioned earlier, is fundamental to feeling attached to a neighbourhood community among the resettled Bhutanese. When participants are resettled in smaller cities, they live in the same suburb or in proximity to other Bhutanese. They can visit other Bhutanese when they feel lonely, which is not possible in New Zealand's two biggest cities, Auckland and Christchurch. When the size of the neighbourhood makes personal interactions among its members impossible, Anderson (1991) suggests that the community must then to some degree be imagined.

Jyoti continued sharing everyday challenges that homemakers and older women with no English proficiency and lack of driving skills face in everyday life:

We can't drive or read the signals. We only get to see each other when we are in the school...Life has been so challenging and lonely after we moved to Christchurch. (Christchurch FT, 28th May 2015)

For the participants, several factors seem integral to feeling part of a residential community. Firstly, among the resettled Bhutanese, being able to speak English and travel around the city is fundamental to feeling attached to their neighbourhood. It is often seniors and/or women, who lack English skills and/or driving skills, who are forced to stay indoors and therefore do not feel part of their

neighbourhood. More than half of the participants were unable to drive and communicate in English, which means they could not choose when to go out, and thus spent most days indoors. This is similar to another example (Wise, 2005), who also indicate that older immigrants often become socially isolated because of the adjustment they go through in a new country.

Secondly, face-to-face frequent and informal interactions are influential factors for participants in feeling attached to a neighbourhood that contribute to their sense of home. Visiting other Bhutanese frequently and informally makes Jyoti and Biru feel connected to their former neighbourhood, but this is not the case in Christchurch. Hence, they yearn to return to Nelson. During the time of writing this chapter, their daughters, who are in regular contact with me, mentioned that they have now moved back to Nelson. Although their immediate neighbours are Pākehā, (i.e. New Zealand European), Jyoti and Biru feel more sense of attachment to their new Nelson suburb. They can walk down the street for five to ten minutes and visit other Bhutanese whenever they feel in need of company.

These frequent informal interactions were evident during my field visits to Nelson and Palmerston North. I found that most of the suburbs had at least 2-3 families living in the same or a nearby suburb. In my three-day stayovers at Binod and Januka's home in Nelson, I had opportunities to participate in their day-to-day activities, such as joining Januka when she took her toddler to kindergarten, going to the supermarket, visiting Nepalese neighbours and so on. Every time I went somewhere with Januka or Binod, I was surprised to find three or four Bhutanese on the street or at a supermarket or at the school. Being able to meet other Bhutanese in person during everyday activities can generate feelings of belonging. However, such frequent interactions and meetings with people who share the same background did not occur in Christchurch and Auckland during my stay in those cities. Even the planned interaction between two participants in Auckland took place after more than an hour's drive because of traffic, and in Christchurch, it took between 30-40 minutes due to road construction and traffic congestion caused by the 2011 earthquakes.

Thirdly, being able to speak and hearing others speak Nepali makes participants with no or limited English, such as Jyoti and Biru, feel attached to their current

neighbourhood, which makes them feel at home. Whenever they feel like talking and sharing their feelings with someone, they can simply walk down the street to meet, ask or share with Nepali-speaking people. As Jyoti mentioned, her family could share past experiences and problems with other resettled Bhutanese. It not only helps newly resettled refugees to clarify or discuss their interests but ultimately helps them gain knowledge about their new community.

Finally, pre-existing social networks are important in generating feelings of belonging among the resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand. Jyoti continued sharing about the support her family received from the resettled community in Nelson, which was both emotional and practical and was significantly missed in Christchurch:

When we were in Nelson, the Nepalese community [referring to resettled Bhutanese] helped us to go around, see the city, go shopping, visit us and invite us to dinner. We used to spend hours sharing our past experiences and our curiosities because many things are new for us in New Zealand. We never felt that we were in a new country, new environment because of the support and care we received from our people in Nelson. (Christchurch FT, 28th May 2015)

This indicates that the established resettled Bhutanese in Nelson are helping newcomers meet the everyday moral, emotional, social and practical needs and services that the government and the service providers may not be able to provide. For Jyoti and her family, the established Bhutanese community provide transport to see the city, take them to grocery stores and help them to do the shopping, but the community also show support and care through visiting and inviting the family for dinner. These activities ease the everyday hassles and struggles of the initial resettlement process, resulting in a high degree of attachment to their neighbourhood. In other words, the resettled Bhutanese in Nelson created a familiar environment that made Jyoti and her family feel at home in New Zealand. As Jyoti mentioned, she and her family never felt isolated in New Zealand because of the care they received from the established resettled Bhutanese. Other studies on immigrants in the USA who live close to people with similar experiences, circumstances and cultural practices also suggest positive socio-economic gains (Ellis & Goodwin-White, 2006). Having a sense of community

and pre-existing social networks in the early resettlement process, also illustrated by other studies that focus on refugees post-resettlement experiences (e.g. Halley, 2014), is considered extremely important in the mental health and well-being of resettled refugees.

Participants also mentioned that a certain degree of feeling cared for by local people helped them to feel attached to their neighbourhoods. Jiby emphasised the significance of care in feeling attached to neighbours and the neighbourhood. Her family were among the first Bhutanese refugee intake to New Zealand. She, along with seven other families, came expecting to resettle together in the same or a nearby suburb. After the six-week orientation in Auckland, these seven different groups of families, however, were sent to two different cities: four to Christchurch; and three to Palmerston North. She mentioned that when her family resettled in Christchurch, Jiby, in particular, ‘felt devastated’ at times when she could not speak, read, and write English and was unaware of other Bhutanese families in Christchurch. The rest of her family had proficiency in English. After a few days, the assigned support worker informed the households about the other Bhutanese in Christchurch, but the city was ‘massive,’ making a reunion with friends extraordinarily challenging.

She mentioned that she started speaking ‘broken English’ only after two years of living in New Zealand and now has some proficiency in English. Jiby describes how extremely isolated refugees with no education can feel during the initial phase of resettlement, which for her lasted the first two years of the resettlement:

I used to cry regretting: why did I come; how can I survive; and where are my relatives? I was unfamiliar with the environment, neighbours, the culture and the language... All we wanted at that time was a waving hand that indicated hello from our neighbours, but it was not forthcoming initially. (Christchurch PT, 29th May 2015)

Lack of information and knowledge about New Zealand among quota refugees such as Bhutanese was also highlighted in another study (NZIS, 2004). Approximately 98% of 95 resettled refugees reported feeling that they initially had little or no knowledge and information about New Zealand (see NZIS 2004). Information and knowledge about the new country are crucial as they help to

build a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood community that can also contribute to successful resettlement (NZIS 2004).

Jiby's quote shows that when participants resettled in New Zealand, they did not expect to know their neighbours intimately or become friends with them immediately, but the data shows that they did expect gestures of care from their neighbours. As Jiby mentions, a welcoming wave from her neighbours is all she and her family were expecting to feel included but initially, this was not forthcoming. Gestures of care when seeing each other in the local neighbourhood, such as smiling and waving hands, are ways of connecting with strangers and lessening feelings of anonymity, isolation and worthlessness (Wise, 2005). This suggests that simple forms of friendliness have a significant impact on people with refugee backgrounds' sense of belonging (Ager & Strang, 2008; Spicer, 2008; Wise, 2005).

When relocated people's quest for belonging in their local neighbourhoods is unsuccessful, it can generate feelings of seclusion and valuelessness (Aitken, 2009). These negative feelings can isolate people from their current neighbours and neighbourhood. This finding resonates with Wise's (2005) study on belonging in the multicultural suburbs of Ashfield, Sydney. She illustrates that belonging is based not only on sameness but also on "looser affiliations", such as certain manners, "that can create a mutual opening up to one another, and possibility of recognising the stranger" (Wise, 2005, p.182).

Participants also mentioned the role of natural disasters, such as earthquakes, in bringing unknown neighbours together and fostering attachment to their neighbourhood. Half of the participants in Christchurch mentioned their current neighbourhood as their preferred place to live in New Zealand. These participants are mainly first and second intakes of resettled Bhutanese in Christchurch, who also experienced the 2010 Canterbury earthquakes and have Pākehā and Māori neighbours. They highlight that the earthquakes fostered their relationship with their unknown neighbours. The neighbours, despite their problems showed a willingness to support earthquake-affected participants through frequently checking if they were okay, providing food and emergency supplies if required, and supporting them emotionally. This is similar to the argument by Wise (2004b,

2005) who found that some degree of care and support is essential to feel a sense of neighbourhood community among residents. As a result of the earthquake, these participants have a closer relationship with their neighbours. Since then they have felt and considered themselves as part of their local neighbourhood and often invite their neighbours to their traditional festivals and ceremonies.

Participants often highlight reciprocity, sharing and mutual recognition while discussing attachment to their neighbours, also highlighted in other similar contexts (e.g. Wise, 2005), as they came from a very tight-knit community where such behaviours are fundamental in enabling them to feel connected to their current neighbourhood. For instance, Sarita has New Zealand-born neighbours on both sides of her house. Not having familiar people made Sarita feel alienated not just from the current neighbours, but also more generally from the entire suburb. She discussed how she felt deprived of community when she was unable to borrow money in exchange for favours in order to advance their mutual circumstances.

We need adult Nepali-speaking Bhutanese. We cannot borrow five rupees when needed. If an emergency happened, nobody would trust us for five rupees [Nepalese currency] because we don't have our people here. Back home, we are very used to borrowing money from our neighbours. Maybe, our children will get married; we cannot get anyone's financial support. (Auckland FT, 20th February 2015)

This brief example illustrates Sarita's desire to connect with her local neighbours, but when expectations around social and community values are mismatched, confusion and sometimes fears are evoked. When participants like Rama, Karma and Sarita have a difficult time finding place-based community, they are more likely to find virtual and imagined communities.

In the resettled Bhutanese culture, community members support each other financially when money is needed for a big event, like a wedding. The inability to enhance mutual circumstances through borrowing and lending money can cause resentment. When participants like Sarita chose New Zealand for the resettlement, they fully expected to be able to create a good relationship with their neighbours for mutual enhancement, socioeconomic support and spontaneous sociability. This

kind of expectation remains unfulfilled since she does not have any resettled Bhutanese as neighbours. Sarita added that she had incorrect expectations of the community in New Zealand. This indicates that resettled Bhutanese culture is characterized by community, interdependence and reciprocity, whereas western culture, in particular New Zealand culture, is denoted by individualism, autonomy, materialism and secularism (Hodge, 2004).

Sarita frequently used the phrase 'back home' to refer to their lives in the camp rather than their country of origin. Sarita still has a strong attachment to the people in Nepal and often feels the need to have similar people as neighbours. Sarita's experiences also highlight that participants were in tight-knit rural refugee camps where social support for needy groups was highly valued. The strength of people's neighbourhood community, as experienced by Sarita, depends on close personal friendships and strong social bonds with neighbours. These are significant in gaining "intimacy, meaning and emotional sustenance" (Hall, 1990, p. 115) This is consistent with other studies on refugees, which also highlight the importance of bonds as a source of social, economic and emotional support (Ager & Strang, 2008; Halley, 2014; Spicer, 2008). When Sarita was unable to experience this, she felt emotionally isolated and deprived of a neighbourhood community.

Being able to be involved in neighbourhood activities makes participants feel part of their neighbourhood. On the one hand, participants with some English proficiency take part in local neighbourhood activities and feel part of it. For example, Sanam, a single mother of two, took part in several volunteer activities that were happening in her neighbourhood through the Volunteer Resource Centre Manawatu, a charitable trust. She attends monthly meetings and takes part in activities, such as planting. She mentioned that these activities have helped her to socialise with the neighbours and feel connected. Other frequently mentioned volunteer activities were those with Red Cross and local migrant centres that support newly arrived refugee families to settle in New Zealand.

On the other hand, participants with no language proficiency are unable to communicate, explore or seek information about what is happening in their local suburb and interact with their current neighbours. They are not aware of activities

happening in their neighbourhoods and thus are unable to take part. This makes them feel excluded. This prompted the resettled Bhutanese community in Palmerston North and Nelson to run a radio programme in Nepali so that their members with no English skills could become aware of local neighbourhood activities and information from the local city council.

This study, however, confirms that English proficiency on its own does not necessarily enhance participants' relationships with New Zealand-born neighbours. In many communities, even for some New Zealand-born English speakers, relationships with neighbours may be minimal. While New Zealanders used to have close relationships with neighbours, this is now no longer so common. New Zealanders are self-described as 'friendly but reserved' and 'open but respectful' (New Zealand Now, 2016).

In addition to English language skills, other embodied identities, such as gender and age, play a crucial role for participants in feeling attached to their immediate neighbourhoods. For example, Jasmin shared that she has stopped visiting and interacting with their current neighbours. Jasmin, an adolescent, came to New Zealand with her parents and two siblings. Their former neighbours were an elderly, white, very proper and well-mannered couple. Now, young white men have replaced the pair. She says:

Our former neighbours were very helpful, and we had an excellent relationship. We used to visit each other frequently, but now young boys have replaced the couple. Although we don't have any problem with those boys, we don't interact. (Focus group PT, 30th August 2015)

Socialising with established neighbours or local people can positively influence the lived experiences of the newly resettled refugee community (Halley, 2014). By socialising with neighbours, participants can connect with new and unfamiliar neighbours, who can provide social solidarity and protection. These ties and bonds within neighbourhoods can enhance their opportunities in New Zealand (Flint, 2009) and generate a sense of an active neighbourhood. Twenty-seven participants, mostly aged 35 and above, were unemployed. In addition, 19 of the 27 unemployed were searching for any type of paid work. These unemployed

participants wanted to support their families, aspired to be independent and spend their time more productively, but had difficulty finding employment.

Participants mentioned barriers to finding employment, include being unable to use their previous qualifications and skills, English-language barriers, inability to access jobs, and employers' preference for younger as well as short-term employees. For example, Jasmin, a teenager, mentioned that her father was a 'highly demanded' carpenter in Nepal. Even after living five years in New Zealand, her father could not find a job that matched his skills. He has no formal education. For the first time in her life, she saw her father being unemployed.

My dad was a carpenter in Nepal and was very busy working and supporting family members. He has approached several places to see if such jobs are available in New Zealand but didn't find any. Now he depends on benefits. (Interview post-focus group PT, 30th August 2015)

This finding concurs with several other studies (Fozdar & Banki, 2017; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013; Hugo, 2011; Koser, 2007b), which also note the difficulties of securing employment when unable to achieve English-language proficiency, transferability of qualifications, access to training and also facing discrimination. Four of the five men interviewed in my research, who were professional men in the camps, were unable to find comparable jobs in New Zealand and were either forced to take up menial work, stay at home or undertake tertiary education. Jasmin's father is just a representative of many other professional Bhutanese men. In addition, eight of the 27 unemployed participants were 60 and above and had no English proficiency at all.

My findings revealed that these former refugees faced several similar challenges, such as limited English proficiency, housing problems, discrimination and unemployment, and hence there is a need to do more to help them contribute in meaningful ways to their local neighbourhood (NZIS, 2004). A comparative study, *Optimising Refugee Resettlement in the UK*, also revealed that inadequacies in the provision of English classes and lack of suitable routes to employment and training were the most significant barriers to integrating into the UK (Tip, Brown, Collyer, & Morrice, 2013, 2017). These authors noted that proficiency in English among resettled refugees is likely to increase their overall well-being and is a key

to their integration (Tip et al., 2017). Physical isolation, as mentioned earlier, can also deprive these resettled Bhutanese of accessing new employment opportunities in their immediate localities (see also Flint, 2009).

Participants indicated safety as one of several factors generating attachment to their neighbourhoods. Some of the homemakers and older women were made to feel that they did not belong to their local neighbourhood because they look different, which marks them as outsiders. A few participants experienced racism, violence and discrimination, although this did not emerge as a key research theme. Ten of the 40 adult Bhutanese described encountering discrimination, harassment, uneasiness and annoyance in everyday life that created obstacles to feeling part of their neighbourhood. Rama is in her 30s and is married with three children. For the first year of the resettlement, she was a full-time homemaker while her husband was a full-time student. She describes how a group of young boys in her former neighbourhood used to threaten and harass her when her husband was at English class:

There was a dairy and a grocery shop nearby...A group of young boys showed up at the same place every day...They approached me asking for money. I gave them fearing harm. Going shopping or walking on the street was scary. If I were in the same situation now, I would not be fearful.
(Christchurch FT, 1st June 2015)

This finding is consistent with McMichael's (2002) and Poynting's (2002) research outcomes. For example, Poynting (2002) details a number of attacks on immigrant women and girls who were targeted for assaults and physical attacks in Sydney, Australia. Resettled Bhutanese women, however, have shown their resistance to being Othered by responding to their abusers by either giving money or remaining silent.

As illustrated in Chapter 5, some women's embodiments signify them as outsiders and impede them from feeling attached to their local neighbours. Rama further revealed that this mode of resistance could at times heighten the risk and danger. She explains:

It all started with a message written in our driveway, 'you f***** migrants, go back to your country.' Every night, the adults party, get drunk and make noises...The children

[young boys] hurl bones at our children's head, chuck their rubbish and the empty beer bottles in front of our house. Our daughters had difficulty getting out of the house because the boys urinate on the gate facing our house and yelled obscenities. In another incident, the boys collected water in a plastic bag and threw it at our door, and they broke the window glass. I was so scared that I locked myself inside, screamed and cried [long silence]. We felt very insecure to live there, and we did not know what to do, and where to complain, as we were new in New Zealand. The anger and the fear had piled up that there was a chance of getting physical, so we reported to the local police. The police came but hesitated to take any action because of the involvement of minors. We felt so vulnerable that we moved to a new place the same night we called the police. (Christchurch PT, 1st June 2015)

Rama's narrative illustrates that house, street, neighbours, neighbourhood can symbolically represent feelings of being insiders and outsiders. Resettled Bhutanese women and girls have learnt to negotiate in order to feel part of the local neighbourhood, but when it does not work, they look for community beyond their immediate neighbourhood (Halley, 2014) in the form of virtual and imagined communities.

There is a widely held view, influenced by mainstream media, that refugees and asylum seekers receive a higher level of government welfare support than those who are locally born (Pain et al., 2010). This includes claims that minority groups, such as resettled Bhutanese, are "taking advantage of the welfare system and receiving preferential treatment in terms of benefits, housing and healthcare as well as receiving financial and support for their own faiths, languages and wider cultural practices" (Valentine, 2008, p. 327). This perception can encourage local residents to believe that resettled refugees, such as the Bhutanese, are threatening their way of life, stealing opportunities and contributing to the collapse of social systems as they are more likely to engage in illegal activities including assault and harassment (Fried, 2000). For example, Beaglehole (2013) noted that Māori have consistently shown dissatisfaction towards asylum seekers and refugees because of the shortage of state-owned housing. Beaglehole (2013, p. 175) comments that the feeling of many Māori, expressed as "look after us first before you bring anyone else in" may be because many Māori are on waiting lists for state-owned housing and may see these immigrants as their competitors fighting for similar,

but scarce resources. Participants, such as Rama, may have had conflicts with her former neighbours because of this competition for scarce resources, such as state-owned housing and state-provided allowances, rather than because of intolerance or xenophobia, as highlighted by Poynting (2002).

The literature suggests that it is not only Māori who are unhappy with migrants, including refugees; the discontent may occur in any established local community, including those with a white majority (e.g. Valentine, 2008; Wise, 2004b). In her research on the experiences and intercommunal relations of white elderly Anglo-Celtic senior citizens and Chinese immigrants in Ashfield, Sydney, Wise (2004b) found that the rapid changes in the locality and the growing visibility of cultural differences not only created discomfort and difficulties for the Anglo-Celtic elderly but also socially disempowered them (Wise, 2004b). Other research on white majority attitudes towards a range of culturally diverse minority groups indicates similar fear among the dominant established group (Valentine, 2008). The differences in values and practices generate prejudice towards and inequality among culturally diverse minority groups (Valentine, 2008).

Refugee women and girls, such as the participants in my study, experience and live with constant fear in everyday life in their new environment, as their cultural embodiment is noticeably different (Smith, Pain, & Boyle, 2008). This fear may be realised through being the victims of physical attacks and discrimination against refugees and may induce inter-group conflicts (Fried, 2000). In a comparative study of young people from a range of cultural backgrounds in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, Pain et al., (2010) also conclude that the neighbourhoods of ethnic minorities experienced some victimisation, such as racism, bullying and assault on an everyday basis. This was evident when 26 respondents of the 40 in the current study mentioned that they have no or limited bonds with their neighbours, and may just say hello when they see them. When residents are unable to connect with each other, they are less likely to feel part of their neighbourhood. The growing research, however, suggests that contact between different social groups alone is not sufficient to feel connected (Holland, Clark, Katz, & Peace, 2007; Valentine, 2008).

Rama's story indicates that newly resettled refugees who look different from local people may encounter various forms of racial discrimination in everyday activities, such as being sprayed with water from a hose and having bones thrown at their children's heads. Feeling helpless and at risk can reduce participants' mobility, and sometimes exclude them from public spaces (Pain, 1999; Rose, 1993). When people with refugee backgrounds experience racism individually or collectively, they try to protect themselves in different ways, by avoiding people who perpetuate racism, forming their own groups, joining a virtual and imagined community and in extreme cases, relocating to a new place. In other words, participants produce the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion of Self and Other when they feel unsafe and vulnerable, which leads to a lack of neighbourhood attachment.

Although fear was particularly intense among women and families with small children, it was also evident amongst men. For instance, Karma, who came to New Zealand with his siblings and parents, describes his fears caused by living in his neighbourhood:

Karma: When I am on the street either going to school, supermarket or the city, I frequently have a fear that someone is behind me and might hit me from the back [pause]. So, I stop and let them pass if someone is walking behind me.

Sunita: Have you ever been assaulted or mugged in New Zealand?

Karma: Physically? No! [Pause] One of the two giant pumpkins was stolen from our backyard, which means our neighbours are not good, which means my family activities are being observed. (Auckland FT, 20th February 2015)

Participants, such as Karma and his family, feel like outsiders when they lack control over the neighbourhood. Feelings of being observed or being the focus of unwanted attention in the neighbourhood can lead to anxieties and insecurities among participants. When participants find that their neighbours are 'not good', as felt by Karma, they try to isolate themselves physically from their neighbours by staying away and envisaging a virtual and imagined community or in rare cases relocating to a new place, as in the case of Rama. Wise (2005) also argues

that feelings of attachment to the neighbourhood require a certain level of trust, safety and a sense of belonging.

Fear is one of the crucial factors that generate feelings of ‘not belonging’ with neighbours and in the neighbourhood, especially among newly resettled refugees. The neighbourhood has been particularly troublesome for Karma where he currently lives with his family. His experiences of having the pumpkins from his garden go missing have heightened his “sense of vulnerability and fear of both personal and property crime” (Valentine, 2001, p. 121) and it also triggered past experiences of feeling unsafe. He is very critical of his neighbours and tries to avoid encountering them. Feeling threatened, and with a sense of powerlessness, Karma expressed his fears and vulnerability by advising his family to return home on time and before dusk. A similar argument was made by Anton and Lawrence (2014) to explain the strength of people’s place attachment and whether a place is safe. They argue that people’s attachment to the neighbourhood can vary depending on the bond between neighbours and the feeling of being safe (Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Wise, 2005).

Body language and food, primarily for participants with little English proficiency, can contribute attachment to the neighbourhood. To feel connected to their New Zealand-born neighbours, resettled Bhutanese women offered their locally grown vegetables, welcomed people into their home spaces, and prepared and shared food and recipes with their new neighbours. In stating this, I am not meaning to reinforce gender roles whereby women are the only ones responsible for preparing food or who should behave in a particular way to be a part of the neighbourhood. Instead, I am acknowledging their unique efforts to create bonds with their current neighbours.

For example, Radhika never had an opportunity to go to school before the resettlement. She, however, made friends with her Kiwi neighbours using friendly body language and food despite the language barrier. In fact, she believes making friends with a native speaker can help in the integration process and rapid learning of the English language. Now she works as an interpreter for her family members in the hospital. She shares:

I went to my neighbours' house, knocked on the door, and invited for tea. I used my broken language such as 'hi', 'come' and 'drink' [using hand gestures]. I never feel ashamed of my English language proficiency...I was inviting them for tea, at the same time, I was learning from them. I was gaining more than they gained from having tea with me. I taught [them] to make Nepalese style tea [milk tea with some spices], and they taught me to make theirs. We then started having potluck gatherings from which I learnt to cook Kiwi food. (Palmerston North PT, 31st August 2015).

Radhika indicates that body language and food can be vital for refugees with no English proficiency when they have a desire to integrate into their new community. When new residents are unable to speak their current country's language, they can use body language and food as fundamental ways to connect with Others and learn the language. Radhika used food as a means to create a new home (Oum, 2005). Radhika's comment also reveals the significance of neighbours and neighbourhood in providing opportunities for learning mutually - from established members as well as from new members of the community.

During the initial resettlement, there were very few Bhutanese families in New Zealand; thus, isolation arose as a central issue. To cope with isolation, alienation and longing for home, participants, mainly adult women, tried to bridge the gap by building relationships and friendships with their neighbours, those born in New Zealand and immigrants, mainly using food (Harris et al., 2014; Ahmed et al. 2003). Sharing prepared meals and vegetables they grew is a norm for participants 'back home' to strengthen their relationship with neighbours and friends. As such, they tried to establish the same norms in New Zealand. By inviting neighbours for food, drinks and sharing vegetables, some homemakers show their gratitude through "mutuality and reciprocity" (Wise 2005, p.183). Notwithstanding their enormous efforts to make friends with New Zealand-born residents, cultural differences and religious misunderstandings affected many of these relationships, and only a few homemakers maintain long-term friendships.

All of the above narratives suggest that Nelson and Palmerston North are the only two cities resettled Bhutanese feel attached to or where they have been able to establish a residential community in New Zealand. Participants feel attached to their neighbourhoods when they feel safe, embrace mutually caring social

relationships and settle in close proximity to each other. Despite their best efforts to be part of their neighbourhoods, language, cultural practices and expectations are unsatisfactory compared to what was available before in Nepal and Bhutan. These resettled Bhutanese women and girls come from a tight-knit community where neighbours are known in person. They felt this even more because they expected and tried to have a similar active and familiar neighbourhood in New Zealand. When they realised that their expectations were unmet because of differences in cultural practices, environment and language, they narrowed their expectations to just some gestures of care, such as a smile or a hand wave from their neighbours, but initially, even this was not forthcoming for some. Despite the challenges these former refugees experience while trying to resettle, more than half of the participants mentioned that they are happy in New Zealand. This finding resonates with the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) research conducted in 2004 that examined the experiences of 398 refugees who had been in New Zealand between six months and five years (NZIS, 2004). Most of the participants were grateful to live in a peaceful country and were to some extent satisfied with their lives (NZIS, 2004).

When participants could not connect with their current neighbours or their immediate neighbours did not treat them as neighbours or remained unknown to them despite their best efforts, they discovered other ways to connect with their past friends, family and neighbours beyond their immediate localities. They sought community through virtual and imagined means that do not necessarily rely on the immediate physical environment.

7.2 Virtual community

Mobile phones are now part of an emerging and rapidly developing communication ecology, integrating multiple internet applications. The rise of mobile phones, together with international calling cards and internet-based applications, has opened up possibilities for instant and frequent communication (Longhurst, 2017).

One of the findings of this research is that Bhutanese women and girls have access to advanced ICTs post-resettlement in New Zealand, encouraging them to maintain values and activities virtually. I argue that the advancement of modern

forms of ICTs and their use have been significant among participants in establishing friendships, bonding, support and communication beyond neighbourhoods (see Longhurst, 2017; Tarrant, 2014). It allows participants to feel part of a virtual community or what Doná (2015, p. 71) calls “virtual homemaking practices.” Participants maintain regular and intensive contact with their original community members both directly and indirectly, and thus keep social relations in several places simultaneously and develop emotional support for themselves, as also argued in a similar context by Al-Ali et al. (2010). This makes them feel at home in New Zealand.

Mobile phones have been a stable medium in retaining family coherence in the face of physical separation of participants (UNHCR, 2016b). Twenty-eight Bhutanese interviewees said that one or more of their family members are living in another region in New Zealand and/or transnationally. Despite having internet access in New Zealand, using the international calling card is the only option for some participants. Resettlement in New Zealand has resulted in digital divides between participants and their remaining family members in the camps, not only geographically but also socioeconomically (Duran, 2017) and generationally. Fourteen participants used international calling cards for making transnational calls, mostly in Nepal, through mobile phones.

Although mobile phones are growing in use in Nepal, relatives and friends who have remained there have no landlines and insufficient internet access in the refugee camp. Thus, mobile phones continue to retain their significance in the face of distance and dispersed family members, friends and neighbours (UNHCR, 2016b). For example, Sabita, a full-time student in her early 20s, uses phone cards to make a regular call to her uncle and aunt in the refugee camp in Nepal. The couple are in their 70s and have no children. Sabita prefers to use Facebook messenger, Skype and Viber as her family has subscribed to wireless broadband, which charges a flat rate monthly for unlimited usage in New Zealand. The couple in the camp not only have limited ICT knowledge but are also unable to afford the related costs. She prefers to make the conversation short, as a regular phone call, since she has a limited budget. Sabita always gets blessings from the couple over the phone during exams, job interviews and long-distance travels. Sometimes Sabita calls the couple just to hear their voices. For participants like Sabita,

mobile phones have helped to maintain cultural traditions, such as receiving blessings before exams and getting emotional support when facing job interviews and exams. This kind of use of mobile phones is reflected in the literature (e.g. Walker, Koh, Wollersheim, & Liamputtong, 2014 in their research project on refugee women in Australia).

My research findings also support previous research conducted by Thulin and Vilhelmson (2007) on the use of mobile phones by young people in Sweden as a day-to-day technology to stay connected to home, within the community and across the boundaries of nation-states. In their study on the impact of mobile communications on transnational family relationships, Madianou and Miller (2011) also noted that voice communication can enable left behind family members to express emotions that help family abroad to know the feelings of the family still in camps. Several other sources also indicated that the possession of mobile phones by migrants (Madianou & Miller, 2011), asylum seekers and people with refugee backgrounds (“Migrants with Mobile”, 2017; UNHCR, 2016b) plays a role in fostering family communication, sharing information and in helping them to reach their destinations. The numbers of resettled Bhutanese using phone cards are declining, as many other more affordable internet applications, such as Facebook, Viber, Skype and FaceTime, have become preferred channels for reaching loved ones and communicating via instant messaging. These online applications are mostly used to stay connected, get updates and share resources and information with friends, family and relatives. Feliciano (2001) stated these interpersonal relationships are vital to the refugee community’s psychosocial well-being.

Since the majority of participants had mobile phones and internet connections, they preferred to use internet-based applications rather than making regular phone calls (Longhurst, 2017). Soon after gaining internet access in New Zealand, resettled Bhutanese, mainly young and adults, created Facebook accounts and actively sought out family and friends in Bhutan and those resettled under the third-country resettlement programme. They chat on Facebook, talk on Viber, FaceTime, and Skype and share their everyday experiences and photographs. This became apparent when 40 of the participants mentioned the use of Viber in their everyday lives. Thirty-three used Facebook, making it the second most used

application, followed by 16 FaceTime users and 14 email users, and six Skype users. Interestingly, participants with at least a university degree or higher English proficiency used Skype. Other research also indicates that the resettlement of refugees in western countries from developing countries results in increasing transnational connections, notably through Facebook (Lee, 2012).

The level of digital literacy, however, is different between the younger and the older generations. Participants who were aged 40 and above had limited or no English skills. They have never used a computer before coming to New Zealand, whereas young participants tend to have higher levels of digital literacy as they pick up the skills very quickly. Elders may learn to use the computer from the young ones. As a result, 11 of the 45 participants learnt to use the internet and its applications, mostly Viber and Facebook, from their (grand)children. For example, Sapana, a single mother now in her 50s, had never been to a 'formal' school or used a touchscreen mobile phone in Bhutan and Nepal. After the resettlement in New Zealand, her daughter gifted her a computer using her first salary earnings and taught Sapana to use Facebook. In the beginning, Sapana got frustrated and was reluctant to be computer literate as digital knowledge was completely alien to her, lengthening her learning process and slowing it as she failed to remember what she had learnt the previous day. Sapana lost hope and thought that her 'brain was too old to learn anything new'. Now, after two years of steady practice, she can finally use a computer as well as a touchscreen on a mobile phone. She also learnt to make a video call on Facebook and Viber. Other studies have also found that young children play a vital role in teaching adults, including (grand)parents, to learn to use the computer and the internet at home (see Katz & Aspden, 1997; Longhurst, 2017).

The problem of family separation among people with refugee backgrounds is becoming recognised not just as a consequence of wars but also of the resettlement programme (Gharti, 2011). A large number of family members are separated in the process of relocation. It is therefore no surprise that mobile communication is one means of alleviating the problems of family separation. Participants have been able to reconnect and create a network among their family, relatives and old friends in virtual spaces through ICTs and their applications. These social media applications play a vital role in bringing families with refugee

backgrounds together during times of separation. This was not possible when the participants were in the refugee camp in Nepal.

For example, Padam, in her 60s, is married with several children. Some of her children are in the USA while friends from the camp are in Denmark, the USA and Norway. She and her husband live with their son, who is in full-time employment, and their daughter-in-law, a full-time student. She has immediate family members in Bhutan. For more than two decades, Bhutan appeared incredibly far away and impossible to reach when living in the refugee camp in Nepal.

In the beginning, Padam and her husband just talked to whoever was at home, as they were unable to communicate with their neighbours. Later her son gave a mobile phone to her husband and taught him to make videos and audio calls using Facebook and Viber. Now, whenever one of them, she or her husband, feels like sharing their feelings, seeing the faces and hearing the voices of family and friends abroad, her husband makes audio/video calls. Padam sits next to him to join in the conversation. They now reach family and friends who live at a distance on a regular basis. Over time, Padam also learnt how to make a new call and reply to calls. She explains that Facebook and Viber enable her to feel a sense of care and emotional attachment despite being in New Zealand:

When we were in Nepal, we never thought of calling relatives in Bhutan, neither did they contact us. I don't know why. [Pause]...But after coming here, my eldest son has found a contact number on Facebook...I call and see them using Facebook and Viber. With the mobile phones and the internet, I feel I am never far away from my children abroad. Two of my daughters are in the USA. All of my friends are scattered around in the USA, Denmark and Norway. I call them using the phone card and sometimes using Viber. I am more attached to my daughters in the USA and friends in Bhutan, the USA, Denmark and Norway than my neighbour next door. They know many intimate details of my life history, and I know theirs. We care deeply about each other. (Christchurch FT, 2nd June 2015)

Padam's story shows that feelings of community go beyond the immediate neighbourhood or the current location. The proliferation of ICTs and new social media, such as Facebook and Viber, provide not just opportunities for respondents

to engage with a broader community but also help them extend the boundaries of community beyond limited physical spaces (Loges & Jung, 2001). Elders, like Padam and her husband, look for social bonds virtually, which they miss in real life. Their feelings of loneliness might intensify if they were unable to use the mobile phone. Research shows that the internet enriches the lives of isolated older women (Swindell, 2000) and is critical in alleviating the trauma and isolation associated with resettlement (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Lewig, Arney, Salveron, & Barredo, 2010; Walker et al., 2014).

Joining a virtual community allows members to escape the restrictive form of a neighbourhood community (Valentine, 2001). Cyber-enthusiasts claim that since members join a virtual community by choice, it allows them to have a stronger sense of social cohesion and commitment to their online friends (Valentine, 2001). Valentine (2001, p. 118) also argues that ICTs not only connect like-minded people beyond geographical barriers of distance and time zones but also can be the “antidote to loneliness”. Virtual relationships offer opportunities for participants, like Padam, to enjoy many aspects of relationships that are not available from her neighbours and neighbourhood.

Other studies in similar contexts also obtained the same result (e.g. Gilhooly & Lee, 2014; Lee, 2012). For example, in their case study of three resettled young Karenni in the USA, Gilhooly and Lee (2014) found digital technologies were a way to maintain co-ethnic friendships, connect with their more extensive community and uphold ethnic harmony when they struggled to resettle in new environments and settings. Lee (2012) notes that resettled Karenni in Western countries remained connected with their friends in the camp through social networking services. The ICTs offer them a virtual space to build “coethnic friendships” and maintain and sustain ethnic solidarity to cope with trauma associated with post-resettlement (Gilhooly & Lee, 2014, p. 391).

Virtual social networks play a significant role in fostering relationships among resettled Bhutanese who are unable to visit in person. As shown above, Padam has been able to reunite virtually with her old friends since she moved to New Zealand, where information technology is accessible and achievable. Valentine (2001) critiques claims that virtual relationships are not as strong as physical

relationships. Some participants in my study found closer and stronger relationships with their virtual friends and family than their neighbours. As Padam says, she is ‘more attached’ to her friends in other parts of the world ‘than her neighbour next door.’

A feeling of being supported by other family members can result from participants belonging to a virtual community. In other words, the virtual community offers instant information exchange and can give users a feeling of attachment and belonging. Members can give and receive support, which otherwise is not possible in real life. Sapana shares her experiences of getting in touch with her husband in Bhutan which was only possible after resettlement in New Zealand. Sapana said that she ‘was completely disconnected from her husband for more than two decades’, but Facebook and Viber enabled her daughter to connect with her father after their resettlement in New Zealand. Sapana’s husband, who is still in Bhutan, left her when she was five months pregnant. Sapana had her child in her parent’s home. Her daughter never had a chance to see or talk with her father as she was only three years old when Sapana left Bhutan. Since 2014, her daughter has been connecting with her father on a daily basis via technology. Sapana explains how the capacity of social networks and internet-based applications helped her to deal with the problems of family separation:

Last year my girl somehow managed to find her dad’s phone number from her Facebook friend. She had a chance to talk and to see her dad on Viber for the first time. That was such an emotional moment for my daughter and me.
(Christchurch FT, 30th May 2015)

Although significant numbers of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese managed to avoid expulsion in Bhutan (Human Rights Watch, 2007), communication with families left behind was not an option when participants were in the camp. This discontinuation of connection may have occurred for two main reasons. Firstly, Nepal resembles other developing countries in that mobile phones and landlines in the camps were rare. International calling cards and mobile internet were and still are prohibitively expensive. These former refugees could not afford to call back and invest in relationships, as the transnational calls were unaffordable. Unlike in Nepal, the affordability and increasing visibility of new ICTs have had immediate

and profound implications for participants' everyday lives and helped them to be part of the virtual community.

Participants who were aged 40 and above mentioned that connecting with their family members and relatives in Bhutan was only possible after resettlement. Being in New Zealand allows them to contact their friends, families and relatives at minimal cost and for a more extended time, allowing an instant and regular connection (Madianou & Miller, 2011). Snyder (2015) also notes that resettled Karenni women in Winnipeg, Canada were only able to form bonds and build bridges with their family and friends post-resettlement. This was not possible when they were in the refugee camp in Thailand (Snyder, 2015).

Secondly, participants may be fearful that if they contacted their remaining family in Bhutan, their loved one(s) might be tortured or expelled from that country, just as they were. It may be a reason why Bhutanese refugees in the camp were unable to communicate with their remaining friends and family in Bhutan. Research shows that several Nepali-speaking populations in Bhutan who managed to avoid eviction nonetheless faced discrimination (Adhikari & Thapa, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2007). For instance, Kopila, a focus group participant, came to New Zealand under the family reunification criteria, directly from Bhutan. Her maternal relatives were all forcefully evicted from Bhutan in the early 1990s, but her mother, who was working in central Bhutan, somehow managed to stay in the country.

Kopila had mostly Drukpa friends in Bhutan. When she quarrelled or had arguments, her friends would make comments, such as 'you Nepali go back to your own country,' 'this is Drukpas country and Nepali are just like people who happened to be here.' She also shared memories of the discriminatory behaviours of her Dzongkha female teacher. After reciting a poem about Drukpa and the Nepali minority, the teacher asked the class to write a poem. Everyone was busy writing poems, but the teacher abruptly interrupted the writing exercise by asking Nepalese students to raise their hands. Kopila slightly raised her hand and immediately put it down to concentrate on her poem. Some of her classmates whose parents were of Nepali origin were all raising their hands. After that

incident, the teacher treated her Nepalese classmates ‘unfairly’ whereas the teacher was more helpful to her.

After that incident, she became friendlier towards me. She may have thought that I was a mix [Naglop and Nepali] or something, but I just felt like she was more helpful to me after that incident (Individual interview post the focus group NT, 5th September 2015).

When Sapana and Padam were in the camp, they never thought to get in touch with their friends and relatives in Bhutan. After resettlement in New Zealand, participants have gradually adapted to their new environment, language, practices and culture. They now talk to and see the friends and family they left behind as if they were their next-door neighbours. The advancement, affordability and accessibility of ICTs in New Zealand enable participants to create extensive networks, including maintaining family contacts to foster virtual transnational associations and ties. Clearly, Sapana and Padam can contact their Facebook friends not just to communicate, but also to get support and care. Whether it is connecting Sapana’s daughter with her father for the first time or getting in touch with Padam’s friends in Bhutan, both are virtual connections that can enhance and strengthen transnational relationships with separated friends and family in New Zealand and elsewhere. Being able to connect with family and friends to experience intimacy at a distance using mobile phones plays a crucial role in the integration process for many former refugees (Doná, 2015).

Various researchers have indicated similar findings on the role of the internet in lessening isolation and loneliness, resulting in increases in social connectivity (Cotten et al., 2013; Longhurst, 2017; UNHCR, 2016b). The research, *Connected refugees*, conducted by the UNHCR in 44 countries, found that mobile phone and internet access are crucial for keeping in touch with loved ones and providing safety and security for people with refugee backgrounds (UNHCR, 2016b). Other reports also found that mobile phones are one of the most precious possessions for people with refugee backgrounds as phones can link to an old life as well as help them to make sense of their new life (Gillespie, 2016; Worley, 2016). Connectivity was a priority even greater than many other essential needs, such as clothing, health care and education, among people with refugee backgrounds (UNHCR, 2016b; “Migrants with mobile”, 2017). In addition, young Bhutanese

women in New Zealand are using social media platforms, such as Facebook, as a space for subversive resistance to Hindu caste and patriarchy practices by photographing themselves “being Kiwi girls” and also by using text messaging (Halley, 2014, p. 140).

When participants realise that their immediate neighbours do not treat them or know them as their neighbours, and participants have little contact with the public sphere beyond their houses, they voluntarily invest their time in constructing connections through a virtual community. For example, the Bhutanese communities in Christchurch, Palmerston North and Nelson run a Nepali radio programme to relay information to community members, as well as making their voices heard at policy level by highlighting their resettlement issues and success stories. Due to lack of funding, the radio programmes in Christchurch and Palmerston North could not be sustained over time. However, Radio Lhotshampas continues to run in Nelson. It has been broadcast fortnightly since March 2013 from Fresh FM 104.8MHz on Saturday at 9pm and replays the next day, Sunday, at 6pm. The organisation runs a Nepali language programme and a radio programme, primarily funded by the Nelson City Council (for more see BSNN 2015).

Although the BSNN has limited resources, six community members, mostly young people, volunteer to run the programme; three technicians and three presenters. The programme is divided into three parts. The first section plays prayers of the three major religions of the community. The second segment focuses on news updates about the Bhutanese community within and outside of New Zealand, as well as information related to city council activities. The final part includes interviews with various individuals who support migrants and people with refugee backgrounds. The podcast is accessible worldwide. The radio programme also has a Facebook page where the administrator posts the web links to the podcasts (see BSNN 2015).

Most community members, especially homemakers, listen to the programme. For Binod, a Bhutanese man, Radio Lhotshampas is a symbol of freedom of expression and the right to be heard in New Zealand, as many homemakers lack English proficiency. Binod describes the initiation of the radio programme:

After resettlement, we realised that we needed some form of medium to channel our voice, [Nelson] city council activities, and local and global updates about Bhutanese refugees. Some of our members, particularly elders and stay-at-home parents, remain isolated as many lack English proficiency. (Nelson FT, 6th June 2015)

The internet and its applications, mainly Facebook, have also provided a means to connect resettled Bhutanese women and girls transnationally. The resettled community runs a Facebook page managed by executive members of the localities. All gatherings (both present and future), such as festival celebrations, organisation of picnics, inter-regional football tournaments and multicultural events, are first publicised on these Facebook pages to inform local, regional, national and international audiences.

Likewise, a satellite TV programme such as Apna Television plays a significant role among homemakers to forge a sense of belonging in New Zealand. Apna Television Channel is available on Channel 36 on Freeview HD and broadcasts a range of Bollywood movies as well as Indian and Pakistani television programmes. As I entered participants' houses in Christchurch, Auckland and Palmerston North, I could often hear a Hindi programme playing in the living room. This led me to note the increasing significance of Hindi television programmes as a medium through which participants who are over 50 and homemakers mitigate the isolation and develop a sense of belonging to a virtual community. Eighteen of the 33 participants in Christchurch, Auckland and Palmerston North exclusively watch Apna Television. These regular viewers are homemakers.

Hindi television programmes not only entertain participants, especially those with no or limited English, but also help to overcome language and geographical barriers. The Nepali and Hindi languages share linguistic similarities that enable homemakers to relate to programmes and feel attached to them. For instance, Sapana, a sole homemaker in her 50s, lives separately but not far from her daughter. She speaks fluent Nepali and 'broken' Hindi but does not speak English. She claims that she likes the programme because she can relate to it and learn how to prepare Indian cuisine:

I feel so lonely and depressed in the beginning because I have nowhere to go...I love the channel so much. It has become my friend in loneliness. Even when you don't fully understand what has been said, you can relate to the situations and circumstances. We have similar cultural practices such as family values, eating together, festivals such as Holi, Shivaratri, Rakhi, Karwa Chauth, Dussehra, Diwali...Those familiar settings take me back to my previous home. I don't miss any episodes of family drama of the television soap. (Christchurch FT, 30th May 2015)

The channel continues to function not just to recreate similar cultural practices, but also to bring distant but familiar settings into the private home spaces of those resettled in New Zealand. Participants can identify more with a fictional character because they can relate to the cultural aspects of their lives. This use of technology may differ from other examples, but for Sapana the programme offers an escape, a way to be free from the boundaries of the house and return to her past home through memories. These are ways of acquiring moments of imaginary freedom in situations that are otherwise constrained in everyday life. The channel serves to mitigate the longings of homemakers and helps them to forge a sense of belonging to a virtual community.

Likewise, three individual participants, who picked me up from Palmerston North and Nelson bus stops and dropped me off at Christchurch airport, were all playing Nepali music in their cars. The music was mostly either downloaded on to their USB device or played directly from the music audio CDs that some of them brought from Nepal. Thirty-eight out of 45 Bhutanese participants were playing Nepali music videos from YouTube on the television or their iPad while I visited their homes.

Participants not only used ICTs to foster relationships, share information and resources and lessen loneliness; they also used the technology to support members during times of difficulty. This makes them belong in New Zealand. For instance, several news sites published a fatal car accident involving Tula Ram Chhetri, who was married with four children. He was a member of one of the first Bhutanese families resettled in Christchurch in 2008. Chhetri's car accident resulted in the demise of his wife and a son on 19 April 2016 ("Friend of Mothers", 2016; Sherwood, 2016). The Bhutanese Society of Christchurch New Zealand

Incorporated created a givealittle³² page titled, ‘Help Tula Ram Chhetri and Daughters’ to support the remaining family. The page shows that 208 generous donors donated \$16,543.50, not just from New Zealand but also transnationally. Interestingly half of the supporters were not of Bhutanese ethnicity (for more see Bhutanese Society of Christchurch, New Zealand Incorporated, 2016).

In addition, the Bhutanese Association in Nelson, Palmerston North and Christchurch collects funds and transfers them during emergencies, such as the 2015 earthquake in Nepal (see Shrestha, 2015a). They also transfer funds to friends and family left behind in the camps. These virtual platforms have helped participants to feel connected, valued and supported during difficult times, thereby forging a sense of virtual belonging.

Participants have maintained reliable and constant virtual connections with friends, family and relatives in New Zealand and elsewhere through the use of mobile phones and social media. Use of mobile phones and their applications among people with refugee backgrounds mainly serves as a means of fostering social interactions and enabling them to stay connected. It helps participants to connect with their existing friends and families, create new social relationships and search for information. Mobile phones and internet connectivity have also become an essential means of exchanging information and resources; gaining access to essential services; providing and receiving support in times of difficulty; and reconnecting to the local, national and global Nepali-speaking Bhutanese community. The presence of an affective bond among members is necessary in order to have a sense of virtual community to feel at home in New Zealand. Resettled Bhutanese women and girls are increasingly going online using these applications in New Zealand. It has helped them to maintain close family ties when separated by physical distance.

Although participants joined the virtual community by choice and it was good for many of the participants, it is not an ideal community for those who are not ‘tech-savvy’ or do not have access to mobile phones and the internet. Instead, these participants seek community through imagination.

³² Givealittle is an online fundraising platform in New Zealand.

7.3 ‘Imagined community’

Participants have multiple ‘imagined’ communities in New Zealand, Nepal and Bhutan that represent their sense of collective identity, social solidarity and belonging. Anderson (1991, p. 6) states that “communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined”. This sense of imagination is sufficient to build nationalist discourses about New Zealand, Nepal and Bhutan (Anderson, 1991). Participants have shared histories, circumstances, culture and similar experiences, which create a substantial emotional connection and feeling of acceptance by the other members and are likely to form an active ‘imagined’ community (Anderson, 1991). Here, a group of people are connected through the power of the imagination (Anderson, 1991).

7.3.1 Imagined New Zealand

Participants’ sense of an imagined New Zealand is generated through citizenship, language, accent and race, which produce feelings of (not) belonging in the country. This is what Anderson (1991) called the discourse of nationalism as multidimensional.

One way some participants imagine New Zealand is through citizenship. Citizenship creates boundaries of inclusion and exclusion - who is in, who is out, who can and cannot work - between citizens and non-citizens (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). The binaries us/them and we/they were frequently used by participants to create the boundaries and borders between refugees and locals (Longhurst et al., 2009). This collective sense of ‘us’ against ‘them’ occurs due to fears (Pain et al., 2010) that exist in majority and minority groups within a community (Haldrup, Koefoed, & Simonsen, 2006). Citizenship provides people with refugee backgrounds with legal status in the nation, and it is one of the legal ways to belong to a nation. Although notions of nationhood, citizenship and rights vary across settings, all of them play a fundamental role in forging a sense of belonging among participants (see also Ager & Strang, 2008), since the adult participants in this study who were aged 35 and above were forced to relinquish these rights when they fled from their country of origin.

Twenty-six of the 45 participants had New Zealand citizenship at the time of the interviews in 2015. Of those with citizenship, only 10 imagined themselves as 'New Zealanders'. It is equally interesting to note that one-quarter of the 19 participants without New Zealand citizenship imagined themselves as part of New Zealand because they live in New Zealand. These participants hoped to receive New Zealand citizenship in a few years. Holding or imagining holding citizenship among participants can help create a strong sense of national identity that contributes towards feelings of belonging in New Zealand. For example, Anita, in her late-20s, repeatedly emphasised New Zealand as her country. Anita, who has New Zealand citizenship, pointed out that the establishment of equal rights through citizenship has an impact on the way people view resettled refugees; where there are not equal rights, there is less respect:

New Zealand is my home. I am a citizen, and this is my country. This is my place. I stayed 18 years in the camp; neither were we Bhutanese nor were we Nepalese. We were stateless... Sometimes we had to falsely identify ourselves as Nepalese to find low paid unskilled jobs. Now we belong to this country. Once we have a skill, we can travel anywhere and apply for a job. We don't have to lie to get a job and most importantly I get as much opportunity as anybody else...we could finally start a normal life. (Palmerston North FT, 2nd September 2015)

This finding echoes a previous study by Chipuer and Pretty (1999), where participants' sense of an imagined New Zealand is associated with permanent membership of the country through citizenship and fulfilment of their needs. Gaining access and meeting needs can allow members to have a say or voice and be able to emotionally connect with their wider community members (Chipuer & Pretty, 1999). Anderson (1991, p. 6) argues that the members of the nation-state "will never know...their fellow-members, meet them or ever hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." Nation in this sense is an "imagined political community" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Gaining affiliation to a nation-state through citizenship was not possible in Nepal. For Anderson (1991), imagination is a way to appropriate meanings and create new national identities.

In Anita's imagination, she is a citizen of New Zealand, and citizenship is one of several essential means of gaining this affiliation. New Zealand is the country that

offers Anita a sense of belonging and the opportunity to start a new life and be able to identify with a state through citizenship. Holding citizenship for resettled refugees not only assures their rights and protection, but it also allows participants to travel to other countries as a passport holder to uphold ties with family and friends around the world (Duran, 2016, 2017).

Anita's narrative further highlights the fear of rejection and isolation that asylum seekers and stateless people experience in everyday life. When Anita found her needs unfulfilled, she falsely labelled herself as a Nepalese citizen to have the same rights as the locals. Anita felt stateless and excluded when she was unable to identify with a nation-state while she was in the camps. As a New Zealand citizen, Anita, therefore, feels part of New Zealand, which allows her to fulfil her desires and needs (Rutherford, 1990). Only citizens of a state enjoy full civil, political and legal rights within its boundaries (Young, 1990b). For some resettled Bhutanese women and girls a New Zealand passport has given them the opportunity to travel to other countries, notably Nepal, Australia and the USA, to reunite with left behind and dispersed family members, as well as to continue their higher education and be involved in paid work. Although citizenship is essential for Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds, having citizenship itself is not sufficient to feel a sense of national belonging, as is also argued in several other studies on resettled refugees (Sporton & Valentine, 2007; Valentine et al., 2009; Zevallos, 2008). This is because resettled refugees continue to struggle with issues caused by colour of skin, language, gender and accent (Wright, 2015).

In addition to citizenship, English language proficiency is another factor that permits participants to imagine being part of New Zealand. For participants who had never been to school before their resettlement in New Zealand, one of their feelings of an imagined New Zealand is being able to speak English fluently. This is the case for Ramita, who is in her 70s. She arrived in New Zealand eight years ago and joined an English language class to gain acceptance in New Zealand. As a result, she can now speak limited English. She describes the significance of language and highlights the issues of those who lack English proficiency:

I never go outside of the wall of this house because I fear getting lost. [Pause] If I get lost, I will get into trouble...how do I ask my home address? What is my

address? All the streets and places look similar to me. I didn't see any differences. Same houses, same architecture and same arrows...If other [English speaking person] calls me at home, I always have this ready-made phone conversation. I will pick up the phone and promptly say; 'I am [Ramita] talking. My son not here. Sorry.' Some of them will hang up the phone, while others will say something further then I tell them, 'No English. Sorry. Bye-Bye' [Laughed]. (Palmerston North PT, 30th August 2015)

When Ramita learned to speak English, she then imagined herself as part of New Zealand (Anderson, 1991). When participants, like Ramita, however, are unable to speak English, take a bus ride to and from the city, travel around the city and drive a car, they are confined to their house and thereby imagine being in Nepal. Five participants wanted to return to Nepal because they were unable to find a sense of community in New Zealand. It is worth noting that these five participants had lived in New Zealand less than two years and had no English language proficiency. More than half of the participants would like to go to Nepal but only to meet with their friends, family and relatives, not to live permanently.

Apart from this, participants who arrived in the country with some degree of English language proficiency imagined being a New Zealander as being able to speak with a New Zealand accent. For example, Apsara is currently a graduate student and a social worker in New Zealand. She says:

We Asians have a problem pronouncing *sh* and *Kiwi* [referring to those born in New Zealand and who have never been to Asian countries]. They will ask you to repeat more than ten times. It is not because they didn't understand. It is just they want to humiliate you...also, these are the people who expect us to communicate fluently in English within a few months of our arrivals. (Nelson PT, 6th June 2016)

Apsara indicated that often former refugees with language differences are made to feel incompetent when they are repeatedly asked to pronounce the same word by native speakers while they are struggling to integrate into a new country.

The experiences of Ramita and Apsara provide a crucial link between imagined New Zealand and language (Anderson, 1991). Anderson (1991) argues that if people imagine being part of the nation, they will embody it in their everyday lived experiences in order to feel accepted. Both Ramita's and Apsara's imagined

New Zealand have requirements for participation that specify what they have to accomplish to gain access to this community. In order to be insiders, Ramita would learn to communicate in English fluently, and Apsara would learn to speak English with a New Zealand accent. Thus, both recognize that command of English is essential for access to New Zealand society and make every possible effort to learn a particular kind of English (New Zealand accented English) (Anderson, 1991). This is seen as an important means of gaining access to an imagined New Zealand (Anderson, 1991). In other words, Ramita's withdrawal from a phone conversation with English speakers and Apsara's experience of communication embarrassment resulted from a disjuncture between their imagined community and their English language proficiency.

Furthermore, some participants, aged 16 to 30 years, imagined that New Zealand includes racism. For example, Trishna, who has a casual job, is also a fulltime university student. She is aware of the limits of her formal membership to New Zealand, noting differences because of her skin colour:

Sometimes I feel discriminated against because of my brown skin. The colour discrimination is everywhere. For instance, if you have an equal qualification, of course, the white skin people will be preferred over us. But, if we have more qualifications compared to Kiwis, we will be hired. (Christchurch PT, 29th May 2015)

In other words, lack of English language skills, the New Zealand accent, and the position of privilege that is supported by whiteness are some aspects that prevent participants being part of an imagined national community - New Zealand. People with refugee backgrounds, such as resettled Bhutanese, might feel humiliated and positioned as outsiders, despite their attempts to enact a New Zealand identity through language because they do not meet narrow definitions of New Zealand nationhood predicated on accent and whiteness (Valentine et al., 2009). It triggers a sense of failure when women and girls with refugee backgrounds are made to feel incompetent.

This resonates with other studies documenting how cultural markers of difference such as language, accent and skin colour are mobilised to racialize and exclude specific groups (Valentine et al., 2009). Sporton and Valentine's (2007) findings suggest that Somali with refugee background in the UK also face discrimination

based on their skin colour. They imagine Britishness as a white identity (Sporton and Valentine, 2007). For example, Valentine et al., (2009) found that despite identifying as Danish through language, cultural knowledge and clothing style, Somali with refugee backgrounds felt that they did not belong to Danish society because of their skin colour and religious embodiment. Another study also indicates that dark-skinned Muslim refugees in Europe experience discrimination, marginalisation and stigmatisation (Anthias, 2016). Their religious identities and skin colour mark participants as being outside the nation (Anthias, 2016).

As illustrated in this research, anyone speaking English without a New Zealand accent and who is not white is racialized as an outsider. In other words, language and skin colour are markers of who does and does not belong to the nation (Zevallos, 2008). Anderson (1991, p.7) argues that irrespective of inequalities and exploitations, “nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship”. Clearly, despite the fact it was easier for Trishna to find a job than many other resettled Bhutanese women and girls, she calls attention to racism based on skin colour for higher level jobs. For Trishna, feelings of not belonging to New Zealand’s imagined community were perhaps not linked to finding a job or speaking with a New Zealand accent, but the impossibility of applying for higher level jobs despite being qualified. When resettled Bhutanese women and girls put all their efforts into integrating into New Zealand society but are confronted with discrimination in workspaces, it can produce feelings of frustration. Trishna may be able to build up a sense of imagined New Zealand at a deeper level when she can establish a professional career.

When participants imagine being part of New Zealand, they get involved in and perform activities identical to other New Zealanders. This became evident when most of the resettled Bhutanese mentioned frequently having barbeques, making trips to parks with family, eating fish and chips, going on family outings, attending swimming lessons, going camping, learning to speak English, converting to Christianity, and getting involved in volunteer activities during weekends (see Trapp, 2015). These are not part of their culture. For example, Apsara mentioned that during the weekend, she spends her time with her family going for a walk along beaches barefooted and having barbeques in the summer.

More than half of the participants have been to beaches and love to walk barefoot in the sand. Thirty-one participants regularly take their children to parks.

All focus group participants in this study mentioned frequently buying fish and chips at the school cafeteria for lunch, and that this was the most popular fast food amongst young participants aged from 12 to 25 years. Two out of five male participants mentioned being big fans of the All Blacks³³ and had watched rugby in a stadium. The performance of these imagined New Zealand activities, however, is gendered. Bhutanese women engaged in activities such as spending time with family, taking children to parks and playing with them, as they are historically positioned as carers and curators of family. Male participants, however, engage in leisure activities such as Facebooking, networking, going to the gym, and spending time watching sports; in particular the All Blacks playing rugby.

Young participants try to portray themselves as being western to fit within their imagined New Zealand. Nine participants aged from 16 to 28 years mentioned that they regularly eat outside or go out for coffee or tea with their friends and colleagues. All of these activities represent a gradual adaptation to the New Zealand lifestyle to demonstrate that they are part of the country (Anderson, 1991). The New Zealand immigration website mentions some of the attributes and activities of the country as being family outings, eating out, beaches, swimming, barbeques, camping, and fish and chips (New Zealand Now, 2017).

It is essential to have, as Wise (2005, p. 182) describes in a similar context, “certain forms of manners, recognition, gratitude and hospitality” to facilitate a sense of belonging, security and trust among the resettled Bhutanese. Trapp (2015) showed that Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp in Ghana built a house, furnished the house with a refrigerator, dish-draining rack, table, stool, fan, television and computer, and adopted an American lifestyle – drinking juice or lemonade and eating pancakes to represent an imagined social life in America. Trapp (2015) argues that the demonstration of wealth or a comfortable lifestyle at the camp was often labelled as already being in America.

33 Tovi (2014) argues that rugby exhibits masculine characteristics and values, those of roughness, toughness, aggression and other masculine attributes on and off the field.

These findings are consistent with research carried out by Hatoss (2012) and Valentine et al. (2009) who show that national belonging among people with refugee backgrounds depends on how well they are accepted by local residents, despite receiving citizenship and being well established in their societies. For example, despite presenting a Danish identity through language, Danish citizenship and western clothing, the Aarhus Somali do not feel part of Denmark as they experience significant discrimination and harassment in their everyday lives (see Valentine et al., 2009).

In contrast, the Sheffield Somali feel attached to the UK because they feel secure in their local neighbourhood without necessarily being included in, or self-identifying with the UK (see Valentine et al., 2009). The Sheffield Somali have their own Somali community that allows them to have their own place, feel secure and have an emotional attachment to the more extensive Somali community (Valentine et al., 2009). Belonging to a nation is not only about citizenship per se, but also about “the emotions that such memberships evoke” (Yuval-Davis et al., 2005, p. 526). These everyday experiences of ‘othering’, racism or cultural difference create the feeling in people with refugee backgrounds that they are not part of the resettlement country (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014). To feel at home is indeed to feel safe (Sporton & Valentine 2007; Valentine et al., 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

7.3.2 Imagined Nepal

Participants create and maintain familiar settings through shared cultural practices, values, traditions and beliefs, Hindu religion, Nepali language, material objects including house design and photo album(s), and other commonalities in order to feel part of an imagined Nepal when they still live in New Zealand. For participants, to belong is to conform to the cultural values, networks and practices of resettled Bhutanese (Anthias, 2008). Members are part of an imagined Nepal through these collective performances (Wenger, 1998). Seventeen participants, mostly those who grew up in the camp, identified themselves as Nepalese.

One of several ways participants imagined Nepal was through religious practices. Religious practices remained a significant factor in the quest to keep persevering while settling in a new country for refugees, such as resettled Bhutanese, through

its sense of emotional and community imagining (Gozdziak, 2008). These real on-the-ground communal religious groups have similar cultural forms, practices and ways of life, and have a specific religious affinity with one another (Gozdziak, 2008). Being part of these groups makes Hindu Bhutanese imagine themselves as engaging in an activity they share with their more extensive Hindu religious community (Anderson, 1991). They associate and connect their religious practices and feelings to the broader imagined faith community (Anderson, 1991). What happens on the ground and within the broader religious community is likely to affect how they engage in local religious gatherings. Through religious beliefs, participants commonly felt personally connected with divinity (Anderson, 1991).

Religious practices and cultural values are important not just for socialisation but also with regard to the subjectivities and notions of membership and belonging (Benson et al., 2012; Gozdzak, 2008). For example, Trishna's sense of an imagined Nepal is to be able to maintain the Nepali language, perform the Hindu religion, prepare familiar food, and to carry out beliefs, values and traditions. These practices and beliefs shape the imagination of resettled Bhutanese in New Zealand. Getting involved and performing these activities provides participants with a sense of security and temporary freedom from racism (McGregor, 2012), in contrast to their experiences and imaginings of white hegemony, which they regard as hostile, making them feel out of place. This imagined Nepal through cultural practices and values, however, has drawbacks for the young women, as they feel under constant surveillance in order to ensure that they behave in an appropriately gendered way within its geographical boundaries. Paradoxically, this sense of imagined community is felt like a place of both safety and tyranny (Valentine, 2001).

Some participants imagined Nepal through the use of Nepali language at home. Adult Bhutanese women mostly invest their time in maintaining cultural values and language at home, and the men do this outside the home. It is also a way to protect one's language and is a significant boost for the maintenance of the language. At a collective level, several localised positive initiatives and contributions from the Bhutanese community in New Zealand are enabling these former refugees to have a strong sense of an imagined Nepal (Anderson, 1991). When I was in Nelson, Binod invited me to the language programme organised by

the BSSN. The classes operate every Sunday from 9am to 11am and regularly have 15-20 students, who are aged from 8 to 15 years. The classes run as a weekend course, which focuses mainly on language training; BSSN provides a Nepali textbook from Nepal. The teachers are professionals who used to teach in Nepal, but most of them work on a voluntary basis in New Zealand. These initiatives are mostly taken under the guidance of men although there was one female teacher.

I was asked to introduce myself and talk about the importance of Nepali language; in particular, the significance of understanding one's language and how it has helped in my research. The primary aim of this informal talk was perhaps that Binod wants to encourage these young people to be bilingual speakers. In addition, they can then maintain their culture, language and identity, which was the main reason for organising the language class. I was pleased to see the community efforts to maintain the language, at least to some degree.

In his work on language, Anderson (1991) emphasises that language plays a fundamental role in national identity. Nepali is the medium through which participants imagine Nepal. This unification generates imagined community by building "*particular solidarities*" (Anderson, 1991, p. 133, italics in original). Puja might feel a loss of imagined Nepal when her children are unable to speak Nepali. The investment in the language, be it Apsara learning to speak English with a New Zealand accent as highlighted earlier, or teaching Puja's son Nepali, can be understood as encouraging future affiliations and identifications with the imagined community (Anderson, 1991). Apsara recognises that speaking with a New Zealand accent is vital for access to New Zealand society and strives to maintain English. Puja recognises that command of Nepali language skills will help her children to gain access to the Nepali-speaking Bhutanese community eventually, and therefore teaches Nepali to her children. Hence, language, culture and religion frequently become issues within national imaginings (Anderson, 1991).

Young participants imagine Nepal when they are able to build and live in a Nepalese-style-house. For instance, Jas, a focus group participant, drew her original home (see Figure 7.1). Jas wanted to have a two-storey Nepalese-style-

home where she could view the mountains from the balcony. Remembering the previous home – a Nepalese-style house - is what makes her feel at home. Since Jas is now in New Zealand, she also wanted to keep a rabbit as her pet, build a house near the beach and have a swing out the back. The two-storey Nepalese-style-home is her imagined home where she feels at home in New Zealand. Her passion for water, the landscape next to a beach and having a rabbit are part of her imagined New Zealand.



Figure 7.1 Two-storey Nepalese-style-home (Jas's sketch, 30th August 2015)

Although Anderson (1991) suggests that a nation is an imagined community, young participants like Jas imagine being part of two nations, Nepal and New Zealand. Since she is unable to go and live in Nepal, as her parents opted-in for the third-country resettlement in New Zealand, she has decided that she will build a two-storey Nepalese-style house and live with her family in New Zealand. Jas's imagined community creates a compelling vision, giving her a meaningful sense

of future direction (Kanno & Norton, 2003). Participants' affiliation and attachment to Nepal is summed up by Shanti in Auckland when she reiterates, 'we are Nepalese, we will always be Nepalese, and we love Nepal.'

For some adult participants, having a photo album generates a sense of an imagined Nepal. The album is an important way to feel in their everyday lives the presence of and connection with geographically dispersed friends and family members (Rey, 2016; West, 2014). All of the adult respondents I met had a photo album or even several, which include photos from Nepal, New Zealand and Bhutan. Every household had family photographs, mostly from Nepal, attached to the walls and/or stored in photo album(s). Often participants go through albums when they face challenges, problems, and loneliness in New Zealand. These albums are representations of place where participants look at their photos and imagine their past in New Zealand.

For instance, Januka, in her 30s, is married with three children, including two toddlers. She is a full-time homemaker and the children mostly occupy Januka's time in her everyday life. She prepares breakfast for her eldest daughter and sends her to school, takes the second child to kindergarten and looks after the younger toddler at home. Her social relations are mostly with three Bhutanese women who also have toddlers. Januka occasionally video chats with her parents in the USA using FaceTime. The time differences and her domestic work add to the challenge of staying connected to the family. She brought a photo album from Nepal in which there are a few photographs from Bhutan, but mostly from Nepal (see Figure 7.2).

Januka: There are times when I feel down, and I want to console with my parents, but they are in USA [pause]...So I open my photo album and see them. The photographs remind me of so many things [eyes welling up with tears]. Nothing is harder than being a refugee and living in a camp where you have to live with the meagre amount of food provided by aid organisations [tears streaming down her face as she shared, long silence].

Sunita: How often do you go through your photo album?

Januka: Don't know but there are no weeks I have not gone through it [photo album]. It is my childhood, my memories, my life and my past. [Pause]. We knew nothing about New

Zealand before our arrival. Everything was strange and unfamiliar, so I used to start my day looking at their photographs, but now I am used to it [laugh]. (Follow-up Interview post-photography FT, 6th June 2015)

Januka's photo album has been a way to remember her roots as well as to feel inspired. As she mentioned, she often refers to the album in her hard times. Talking with her relatives, family members and friends is not possible as she is busy with household jobs and taking care of her children. Photo albums have filled an absence of family members, friends, relatives and neighbours. She also uses the photo album to teach her children about her culture as well as to remind them of their roots and life in the camps. This finding is similar to Hirsch (1997) who advocates the significance of photographs through which parents can teach their children about their country of origins.



Figure 7.2 Family photo album (Januka's photograph, June 2015)

Participants like Januka reproduce a sense of community and the presence of family by gazing at photographs and photo albums through which they overcome their loneliness. Photographs play a significant role in the reconstruction of participants' identities thanks to the images of childhood, weddings and family. Januka can vividly restore her past and history, through which she has become what she is today. The photographs mostly provide her with a sense of being in Nepal. Having a photo album can make participants, such as Januka, feel connected and feel they are in Nepal when they are still in New Zealand. Through

the photographs, Januka constructs the subjectivity of her lived experiences. The photo albums are thus more like artefacts that participants like Januka can use to be able to imagine themselves as part of a community and nation.

A couple of adult participants who feel incredibly attached to Nepal nonetheless found themselves out of place in Nepal. For example, Hari, who is in his early 50s, identifies as Nepalese. After receiving New Zealand citizenship in 2014, he decided to visit Nepal to meet the remaining family, friends and relatives in the camps. He was so excited to be reunited after more than five years but found that he felt out of place in Nepal:

Last year [2014] when I visited Nepal, I found myself like a tourist. The way I speak, the way I dress and the way I think is so different that I stand out from the remaining people in the camp. (Nelson PT, 8th June 2015)

Although cultural meanings and identities are increasingly negotiated and contested in time and place, participants are united by commonalities (Salih, 2003). These commonalities are ways to generate feelings of acceptance and belonging among the participants, whereas differences create boundaries with others.

7.3.3 Imagined Bhutan

The final way participants imagine community is through an imagined Bhutan. Participants' imagined Bhutan is often supported by their sense of pride, livelihood and achievement in Bhutan. Furthermore, participants' imagined Bhutan is represented through material culture in their current home in New Zealand. It includes backyard gardens (see Figure 6.2); statues of gods and goddesses made of brass (see Figure 6.4); a tulsi plant (see Figure 6.5); copper, brass and bronze ware (see Figure 6.6); knitted rugs (see Figure 7.3), and photo albums (see Figure 7.2). Participants, mainly homemakers, put every effort in maintaining and looking after these material objects. These objects are displayed visibly in the shared spaces of the house and are ways to articulate their identities and sense of belonging.

All of the participants themselves, or one of their family members, had owned a house, cattle and fertile land in Bhutan. For instance, Kabita, who is in her early

40s, has no English language proficiency. She mentioned that her quality of life reduced drastically while in the camp. Even after her arrival in New Zealand, she was unable to regain and reclaim her lost social status. Kabita and her family were farmers in Bhutan. Her husband was killed during the ethnic unrest in Bhutan, which forced her to flee from the country with her children, leaving everything behind. Still haunted by her former status in Bhutan, she vividly described her experiences in Bhutan and expressed a desire to go back.

We had our house, the most fertile land and cattle. I could see our land flourishing with corn, millet, buckwheat from the terrace. Further down was a cardamom garden, beehives and a small pasture for cattle. That was the only home I was able to make. I often remember those days in Bhutan. This sometimes made me behave unusually (Palmerston North FT, 31st August 2015)

Kabita, now, thinks that it is impossible to achieve what she had in Bhutan because of the new environment, context, expectation and settings, which has made her feel completely unable to reclaim her lost status. Four older women showed their interest in returning to Bhutan because their quality of life was far better than in New Zealand. Anderson (1991) argues that if the nation is felt to be entirely new, a new way of life is impossible to imagine. This might be a reason why some of the adult women imagined being part of Bhutan. Anton and Lawrence (2014) in a similar way noted that length of residence, education and house ownership could be predictors in contributing to place and community attachment. Lejukole (2009) argues that people with refugee backgrounds yearn to return to their previous home before exile when their anxieties are not resolved quickly. The resettled group often recognised their country of origin as a place “for rediscovering or restoring lost status, a sense of identity and lost aspects of their way of life” (Lejukole, 2009, p. 221).

While I was staying at participants’ homes in Christchurch, Nelson and Palmerston North, I found that women imagined being in Bhutan while knitting together with their friends and family members (see Figure 7.3). They knit several different designs of rugs for hanging on the walls, on the beds and on the inside doors of the house. Young Bhutanese women who are aged 18 and above know

how to knit, and it has been an anecdote to the loneliness for some of the adult women. The knitted rugs were visible everywhere in the houses of participants.



Figure 7.3 The room where I slept in Christchurch (Author's photograph, May 2015)

Another way participants, mainly those aged 35 and over, began to associate themselves with the representation of an imagined Bhutan was through house design in New Zealand and the natural landscape of Nelson. Their small wooden houses in New Zealand remind them of being in Bhutan. Adult participants mentioned that the house they had in Bhutan was made of wood. In Nepal, they had a thatch hut made of bamboo frame with clay plaster, but after their resettlement, they were provided with houses mostly made of wood. Having this wooden house makes them feel at home, reminiscent of Bhutan, while they are in New Zealand.

On the other hand, the natural landscape in Bhutan and New Zealand is frequently mentioned during conversations as something that makes them feel more at home. Participants, such as Januka, also found a sense of deep and profound joy at finding places similar to Bhutan, from which she fled at the age of 17:

You know Nelson looks similar to Bhutan. Come outside; I will show you something [both of us went outside]. See those [pointing out to mountains surrounded by greenery]. This panorama of Nelson city reminded us of Bhutan. It is

such a joy to see these [beautiful views] in New Zealand.
(Nelson FT, 28th May 2015)

These natural landscapes in Nelson not only help them to remember who they are but also remind them of the natural landscape of Bhutan. Januka feels a sense of belonging to this landscape. She found that the aesthetics of the view from the window (see Figure 7.4) and of the environment evoke feelings of being in Bhutan although she has lived in Nelson for approximately four years. Since returning to Bhutan may not be possible, imagining the country in their current places and spaces may create feelings of attachment and being at home.

Adams-Hutcheson (2014) had similar findings in a different context when noting that buildings and landscapes reflected feelings of being at home and belonging for her participants who were relocated to the Waikato following the massive 2010/2011 Canterbury earthquakes. She illustrates that these natural landscapes and places form a common aesthetic view in which some of her respondents, like mine, dreamed of living for generations; when this is suddenly changed, disrupted or lost, it evokes feelings of grief, stress and discomfort (Adams-Hutcheson, 2014).

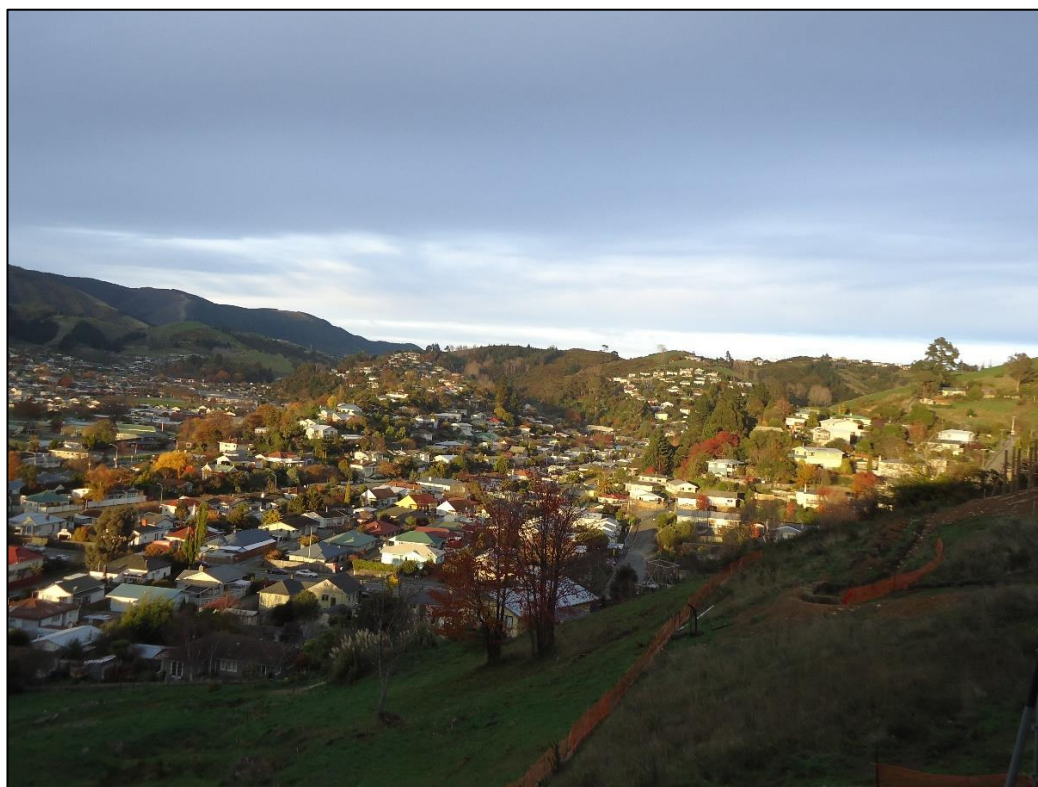


Figure 7.4 The view out of the window at Januka's home in Nelson (Author's photograph, 30th May 2015)

Despite having citizenship, former Bhutanese refugees hold an ambiguous status as insiders and outsiders in New Zealand. What is more intriguing among the twenty-six New Zealand citizenship holders is that they continue to have a sense of uncertainty about their identities. They have New Zealand citizenship for the first time following their expulsion from Bhutan. As brown-skinned refugees, they are continuously reminded of their minority position by non-Bhutanese. They are often asked who they are or where they come from. They promptly reply Nepalese, although some young participants want to identify as New Zealanders and elders as Bhutanese. Identifying themselves as Nepalese may be for two main reasons. Firstly, the participants were actively engaged and invested for almost two decades in Nepal before settling in New Zealand. Moreover, Nepal is where they were able to take refuge after being expelled from Bhutan, and thus their identities are in flux. In a study of Turks with Sunni backgrounds who were born and raised in Norway, Nikielska-Sekula (2016) also found that regardless of the generation living in Norway, Norwegian Turks considered themselves to be from Turkey. Scholars involved in refugee studies argue that “where do you come from?” is a strong reminder to refugee settlers that “you do not belong here” (Fangen, 2006, p.82).

Indeed, some young women and girls disavowed their identity as Bhutanese or Nepalese completely. They also mentioned that their ways of thinking are much more similar to young New Zealanders and they firmly believe that they are New Zealanders. Thirteen young participants aged from 12 to 20 years wanted to identify themselves as New Zealanders rather than as Nepalese or Bhutanese or Bhutanese/Nepalese-New Zealander, even though Nepalese heritage still plays a strong part in their everyday lives. They said that they are unable to understand and relate when their adult family members and relatives talk about Nepal and Bhutan. These young participants left Nepal with their parents when they were very young (pre-school age), and have no memory of Nepal and Bhutan. They also have insufficient knowledge of spoken and written Nepali, even though some Bhutanese communities, such as in Nelson, make every possible effort to retain and maintain the Nepali language by having a language class every week. Their knowledge and understanding of Nepal and Bhutan are coming secondhand from adults in the family who remember growing up there and from parents who share

their memory of Bhutan and from relatives who have visited Nepal to meet family members who were left behind. Nepal and Bhutan felt almost like ‘a complete[ly] foreign land’, as Jas comments in the focus group activity. To be recognised as a New Zealander, they made every effort to maintain their English language proficiency with a New Zealand accent.

This is similar to Dudley’s (2010) finding, which affirmed that people with refugee backgrounds who had very limited memories of their past home treated their new life as their regular activity. These young participants’ attachment to New Zealand might have occurred because of “the very failure of individual memory” (Ahmed, 1999, p. 330) as all of them stated that they could barely remember anything about Nepal and had no connection to Bhutan, which led them to declare that they did not want to be Nepalese or Bhutanese anymore. It might be the very reason why younger people feel more similar to young New Zealanders. What is more, being born in a camp in Nepal and growing up in New Zealand might result in these young women finding themselves in-between. A sense of ‘in-betweenness,’ as MacDonald (1997) argues, yields a ‘hybrid identity’ with adherence to the country of origin and resettled community. In the US-based ethnographic study on Iu-Mien refugee identity, MacDonald (1997) argues that when people are forced to flee from their country, take refuge in camps and resettle in third countries, their experiences can culminate in transnational identities that are collective, hybrid and multiple. Therefore, resettled Bhutanese women’s and girls’ sense of New Zealand, Nepal and Bhutan are better understood as imagined because their norms and values are always in an on-going process of negotiation and contestation (Dwyer, 1999).

7.4 Conclusion

Positions, circumstances and lived experiences drive participants’ sense of community in this study, where feelings of belonging and home are socially and culturally constructed. This chapter portrays the everyday lived experiences of Bhutanese women’s and girls’ practices and discourses that forge feelings of community in New Zealand.

Participants reported that having pre-existing social networks in their neighbourhood increases a sense of neighbourhood community, and thereby they

feel like members of their community. Similarly, when they relocate to developed countries, like New Zealand, with few or no pre-existing networks, it lessens their attachment to their current neighbourhood. Participants feel a stronger sense of community within a setting that unites people with similar experiences in smaller urban places, like Nelson and Palmerston North, than in big cities, such as Christchurch and Auckland, where participants felt excluded. In other words, participants did not find a neighbourhood community unless they lived in smaller cities with pre-existing networks or people with similar experiences and circumstances. Participants, mostly aged 30 and above, shared the frustration of not being able to learn English because of their age, lack of time due to family responsibilities and lack of formal education before resettlement. Alternatively, neighbourhood ties and informal positive interactions contribute to a sense of residential community. Frequent and informal social interactions with neighbours generate a feeling of connectedness within a neighbourhood.

Virtual and imagined communities are something newly resettled refugees seek when they are unable to find or establish a physical community to gain their collective sense of identity (Salih, 2003). When individuals who live in the same geographic area do not acknowledge their neighbours or are unknown to their neighbours despite their best efforts, they find ways to feel a sense of community through interests shared by geographically dispersed members either through virtual or imagined community. ICTs play a crucial role in participants' lives in linking these isolated resettled Bhutanese with their family, relatives and friends to feel connected and at home in New Zealand. They also make a constant effort to maintain these ties, provide and receive support and contribute to the overall well-being of resettled Bhutanese women and girls. Participants have actively engaged and invested in multiple and complex forms of community. All the above narratives challenge the notion of place-based community and highlight the closeness between family members and relatives that exists without physical nearness (see also Valentine, 2001), thereby making these their communities.

Several factors, such as location, the size of the city, proximity to neighbours, agreement with values and beliefs, length of residency, satisfaction with the neighbourhood, safety and imagination, are intrinsic to feelings of belonging. In

addition, citizenship is one of many significant factors in forging a sense of an imagined New Zealand.

These factors are of varying importance. Rather than rejecting the whole notion of community, resettled Bhutanese women and girls show a continuous and shifting negotiation of community from residential to virtual to imagined.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The overall aim of this research was to analyse the everyday lived experiences that generate feelings of belonging and home for resettled Bhutanese women and girls. I adopted systematic and rigorous methods to examine the practices of Bhutanese women and girls with refugee backgrounds, living in four locations in New Zealand under the resettlement quota programme. I concentrated on addressing the following three questions:

1. What does New Zealand mean to resettled Bhutanese women and girls?
2. Do these women and girls experience New Zealand as home, and, if so, in what ways?
3. What are the factors that prompt feelings of belonging or not belonging for these women and girls in New Zealand?

By building on existing work in feminist geographies and studies on refugee home and gender, embodiment, emotional geographies and belonging (e.g. Dudley, 2010; Habte, 2017; Hatoss, 2012), this study has primarily sought to tease out the significance of place, bodies, material objects and aspects of the physical environment in fostering participants' feelings of home and belonging. Traditions, practices, beliefs, expectations, material objects and values contribute to the formation of both an individual and collective sense of home and belonging.

This study also explored the role of a Nepali language programme, religious gatherings and celebrations of festivals and rituals in creating a home 'here' in New Zealand through imagining and connecting with the past. Coming together for various cultural activities means much more than just having those activities 'here'. It means a symbolic association and continuity with the past, while participants are trying to forge a new home in New Zealand. This is fundamental to feeling at home in New Zealand.

Place is a central motif in any geographical analysis, and significantly, for identity and belonging. Feeling at home or not at home in the context of this research is a relationship between people, space and place that is formed through embodied experiences (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009). I had three overlapping objectives: (i) to

explore resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' perspectives on living in New Zealand; (ii) to examine whether they experience New Zealand as home; and, (iii) to understand feelings of (not) belonging.

This study, therefore, attempted to understand resettled former refugee Bhutanese women's and girls' common aspirations, accomplishments and the challenges they face post-resettlement. In particular, this involved looking at the adjustment issues they have faced in relation to context, settings, expectations, practices and environment and how they are trying to find a way of living that fits their new situation.

The methods used are informed by feminism. I drew on three interconnected performative qualitative methodologies, including semi-structured in-depth interviews, photo-elicitations and cooking sessions with adult participants, accidental ethnography, and a focus group interview with a group of teenage girls. This allowed the participants to either describe, elaborate or point out material objects and specific situations. These methods, used together, make this study's findings robust. Participants differed in various ways, including religious beliefs, length of stay, educational background, age, gender and caste. Some of the participants had lived for only nine months in New Zealand, which proved to be an opportune time to interview them because some of the challenges of resettlement and integration were still very plain. The initial stages of resettlement may be considerably more difficult as Bhutanese women and girls encounter a foreign language, unemployment, new practices, post-migration issues, adaptation, cultural shock, vulnerability and ethnic minority status. These methods helped me to create a nuanced account of the embodiment, intersubjective and relational flows of research practice. I also reflected on relevant empirical examples in scholarship. In addition, throughout the research, I included my own thoughts, feelings and impressions to explain my position as an insider or an outsider and sometimes simultaneously both. In the process, I have provided a strong case for paying attention to the complexities of research relationships.

8.1 Integrating key findings

My results are grouped into three interconnected themes: bodily geographies, households, and community. I have illustrated in the three analysis chapters the

ways in which resettled Bhutanese women and girls have a complex and multi-layered sense of belonging and of feeling at home in New Zealand and beyond. Home is, therefore, a strong concern of resettled Bhutanese women and girls, where they rebuild the base of their social and cultural life, to feel at home and to have a sense of belonging in New Zealand.

In Chapter 5, I presented the findings from my investigation into how Bhutanese women and girls feel (not) at home through embodiment, including clothing, jewellery, skin colour, practices, values and cultural expectations, and whether these unique forms of embodiment make their bodies feel in and/or out of place in New Zealand. During the homemaking process, participants actively maintained and negotiated some cultural practices, traditions, habits, beliefs and expectations, which some scholars (e.g. Graham & Connell, 2006) have previously noticed when migrants, including refugees like the participants in my study, become settled. The findings suggest that some participants feel at home wearing traditional clothes and jewellery, exercising gendered norms and values, speaking Nepali among family members and putting in place particular boundaries and/or restrictions on certain practices around menstruation, caste, going out, and sexual activity.

In Chapter 6, I explored the role of family, backyard vegetable gardens, tastes and eating habits, religion and home material objects and how these contribute towards forging a sense of belonging amongst participants. A sense of belonging was created through producing and consuming familiar food, cultivating backyard gardens, being with family, having the freedom to practise one's religion, and living in a secure house with material goods. These practices made the majority of participants feel at home. The realm of the family among the participants continues to retain its significance in the face of distance and the dispersal of family members, as suggested by previous studies (Atwell et al., 2009; Gurung, 2013; Rousselot, 2015).

In Chapter 7, I scrutinized participants' complex and multi-layered sense of community from neighbourhood, to virtual, to imagined. Several factors, such as location, the size of the city, the characteristics of a city, proximity to neighbours, being able to exercise and observe traditions, values and practices, the length of

time spent living in New Zealand, and satisfaction with the neighbourhood and safety, play an intrinsic role in forming feelings of community for resettled Bhutanese, specifically women and girls. My study revealed that participants with no or limited English language skills find it difficult to have contact with their Kiwi neighbours. However, a wave of the hand as a friendly gesture was useful in helping them feel at home. Participants with some degree of English language proficiency were found to be more likely to feel at home than those with limited or no proficiency. The majority of homemakers said that they felt isolated as they lacked friendly and supportive neighbourhood relationships; however, this was not the case for the participants who lived in smaller cities such as Palmerston North and Nelson as these resettled Bhutanese lived close to each other and could visit each other when they felt the need. My findings also identified that rather than accepting or rejecting one form of community for another, participants actively engaged and invested in multiple yet complex and contradictory types of community from neighbourhood to virtual to imagined.

This study highlights the day-to-day discourses of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand. As noted by other scholars in similar contexts (e.g. Hajdukowski-Ahmed et al., 2008b), resettled Bhutanese women and girls have multi-layered and multifaceted identities even before coming to New Zealand. The data show that feeling (not) at home varies and changes over time, in different settings, contexts and environments. This study found that adult Bhutanese women create home by relinking with the past through bringing their culture, including traditions, religion, food, practices and language to New Zealand, while young women had more visibly adapted to New Zealand culture through language, culture and practices, in comparison to their parents and grandparents.

Some adult participants felt at home when they lived in smaller cities; had proficiency in English; had a stable job; owned a house with material objects; and were able to perform their customary practices and activities. Participants' age, socioeconomic background, expected household responsibilities and level of education were also contributing factors in influencing their ability, desire and capacity to create a sense of home and feelings of belonging. Young Bhutanese women felt they would readily fit in New Zealand but were often held back by

adults of the family who imposed their traditional culture on them. Although a few older homemakers with no English skills wanted to return to their home in Bhutan, most of the participants felt sufficiently at home in New Zealand, a finding also shared by Krishnan et al. (2011). Some discovered that they would no longer easily fit back into the society in which they took asylum or grew up. Emotion was enmeshed in respondents' feelings of belonging and feelings of being at home in many ways.

I argue that researching resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' everyday experiences is useful for understanding and strengthening similar group resettlement processes, and aiding refugee women's sense of belonging in New Zealand and elsewhere. Living in New Zealand as a 'refugee' from a different culture, language, religion, tradition and expectation is difficult and stressful. However, it has also enabled these resettled Bhutanese women and girls to have access to education, training opportunities and a safe, sturdy house, which would not have been available otherwise.

These resettled women and girls are actively involved in and negotiate sensory experiences, memory, practices and embodiment to feel at home and to construct a sense of belonging in New Zealand. Participants' homemaking is 'made' and 'reproduced' through daily repetitive traditions, practices, beliefs and activities where various interests clash, and power relations are challenged along generational, gendered and caste lines.

This research also demonstrates the ambivalent nature of the resettlement process and the re-negotiation of women's and girls' status in private and public spaces. An embodied, emotional and belonging framework was vital for my study because it allowed better understanding of how women and girls with refugee backgrounds feel they belong or do not belong in a new country. I have added to knowledge by adopting this theoretical framework and have shown how bodies change because of place. Through my study I have attempted to address the pitfalls and respond to the lack of attention by scholars to everyday experiences and senses of belonging of resettled Bhutanese women and girls, as indicated in Chapter 3. This research adds to the study of refugees, in particular in terms of Bhutanese women's and girls' everyday experiences, and aligns with other

research (albeit quite limited) showing that refugee women's and girls' experiences are gendered, making it sometimes challenging to feel a sense of belonging in the resettlement country (e.g. DeSouza, 2011).

This study's findings have implications for settlement service providers and agencies, particularly in the area of choosing resettlement locations, as location plays a crucial role in the successful resettlement of refugees, especially adults with limited or no English proficiency. Support from friends, family, relatives, neighbours, ethnic groups, community members and settlement agencies is critical in the successful resettlement of refugees.

8.2 Homemaking by resettled Bhutanese

One of the findings of this study was that the resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' everyday experiences of racism and other negative encounters had a substantial impact on the ways they feel they (do not) belong to their previous and/or current home. This finding is also in keeping with the argument put forward by Habte (2017) that the experience of being a woman refugee, and being separated from family members, one's language, culture and existing social networks, while relocating to a new environment, with new contexts, expectations, practices and language, can at times be overwhelming.

Based on my research findings, the following recommendations have been made, with the belief that they can contribute to the better resettlement and integration of Bhutanese women and girls; to make their voices heard and to support them in reaching their potential. This will also contribute to the overall development of a diverse and inclusive New Zealand.

It is important for these resettled Bhutanese to share their experiences and stories with people from different cultures, both informally and through community-organised events and activities such as festivals, gatherings and radio programmes. The national, regional and local governments of New Zealand and other agencies could play a crucial role in supporting these activities. It would help to make non-Bhutanese aware of and understand more about the challenges faced not only by the women and girls but by the whole resettled Bhutanese community. At the same time, it would help non-Bhutanese and young Bhutanese understand each

other's cultural practices and expectations. My findings show that these traditional practices are passed down through a shared cultural environment rather than by formal explanation.

Resettled Bhutanese communities, mainly in Nelson and Palmerston North, have become active, well-established, tight-knit and supportive of each other. Both Bhutanese participants and key informants value the significant role of the existing Bhutanese community in providing moral, social and emotional support for recently arrived Bhutanese, as revealed in this study. The established Bhutanese community can help newly arrived Bhutanese not to feel like outsiders in New Zealand. Therefore, attention needs to be paid to strengthening this support.

It is important that resettled Bhutanese are involved in community activities, such as gardening, planting trees, and setting up bookstalls with Red Cross, because it offers opportunities for participants, mainly homemakers, to get to know their neighbours and feel connected. The community-based radio programmes play a vital role in relaying information about community activities in the Nepali language to encourage everyone to engage and participate in these activities irrespective of their English language proficiency. This can help people with refugee backgrounds overcome isolation and loneliness that they otherwise might experience. It could also help them to maintain what Dudley (2010, p. 164) calls "a sense of self and community, to reconcile the past and the present, and to recreate a sense of place and of being at home".

8.3 Creating home for resettled refugees at the policy level

It is essential that resettled Bhutanese women's and girls' linguistic backgrounds, cultural values and practices, existing skills and strengths be considered by the relevant resettlement agencies when formulating short-term and long-term resettlement goals. It is crucial for government and relevant agencies to work directly with refugee communities to provide appropriate information and resources on employment, education, housing and other social services. To ensure the success of refugee settlement and integration, planning and coordination between the state, refugee settlement agencies and refugees is pivotal (also see Fangen, 2006).

As was found in this study, there is a serious need to work on well-considered pathways, extensive coordination and funding for enhancing better integration of resettled Bhutanese into New Zealand's economy and society. Special focus and support need to be given to creating employment for them, providing language programmes and arranging networking events. There is already existing and ongoing support provided for newly resettled refugees to make the transition comfortable and welcoming in new social, cultural, political and economic settings. It is crucial that this support be strengthened and regularly monitored to make it more effective. This is also suggested by Fozdar and Hartley (2013). These efforts could prove to be highly valuable for the resettled Bhutanese community as well as New Zealand as a whole. Some of the policy recommendations are outlined below.

Participants with inadequate or accented English language routinely felt out of place. Providing adequate English language classes and training could prove to be of paramount importance so that people do not feel out of place and are instead successfully integrated into life in New Zealand. The existing one-year English language programme does not seem to be sufficient for newly resettled people, as they are going through social, cultural, emotional, psychological and environmental challenges in their everyday lives as well as trying to learn a new language. Therefore, such a programme needs to be longer; at least 2 to 3 years. Similarly, adult participants who had missed or had limited mainstream education could be given compulsory vocational training to help ensure their qualifications and skills are comparable with New Zealand standards. The language skills help them not to be over-dependent on their (grand)children in order to be able to understand received benefits, letters, bank statements and electricity bills. Since they depend heavily on their children, the parents, especially fathers, feel the status they had in Nepal or Bhutan is threatened. Similarly, with the help of English, they can also take up the entry-level jobs available to them, such as cleaning, dishwashing, packaging, lawn care, picking and pruning, to support their family and regain at least some of their lost identity.

As was suggested by the key informants in this study, who have worked extensively for the resettlement of Bhutanese refugees from the beginning, the existing six-week orientation programme in Mangere is not enough for successful

resettlement. This programme, therefore, needs to be extended further in the refugees' allocated locations. Subsequently, the workshops that are held post-settlement need to also incorporate training on curriculum vitae (CV) preparation, New Zealand culture, compulsory workshops for (expectant) mothers, human and women's rights, and to establish awareness that it is against the New Zealand law to discriminate against anyone because of religion, race, colour, ethnicity, caste, class and gender/sex. It is also equally significant that every resettled refugee (including Bhutanese) in New Zealand is aware of the Treaty of Waitangi. Information about community, cultures, ways of life, risks and opportunities, policies and support systems in New Zealand should be made accessible and free.

In addition to a clear national resettlement policy and strategies, it is vital that region-specific policies and strategies are put in place. Intensive skills training programmes need to be designed and provided to help resettled refugees find jobs and to be involved in income-generating activities. The programmes implemented by Red Cross New Zealand, which seek to help resettled Bhutanese enter pathways to employment, need to be strengthened and efficiently monitored.

Taking into account that unemployment is one of the many significant resettlement challenges participants face in New Zealand, plans and strategies need to be formulated and implemented to ensure that they can use the skills and knowledge brought with them when they enter the country. Employment and entrepreneurship opportunities could be created to match the skills that they already have in order to enable them to become self-reliant and independent.

The resettled Bhutanese who come from an agricultural background have small-scale vegetable gardens in their backyards. They could be provided with support and encouragement to become involved in producing vegetables and fruit on a larger scale so that they could not only contribute to the livelihood of the family but to the wider community and New Zealand. Running a backyard vegetable garden project on a more substantial scale, wholly owned by resettled Bhutanese, particularly those with language barriers, would be highly beneficial in making them feel at home.

It is also important that access to a market for their products is guaranteed. City councils and the government could provide individual incentives for them to

produce and establish a market in which to sell produce until they become self-sufficient. City councils can play a vital role in the initial phase by providing resources, training in using new tools and technologies, subsidising the cost of seeds and creating a possible site to sell vegetables and fruit in a local market. It would benefit New Zealand in a broader sense by reducing the costs associated with unemployment benefits.

It is vital that mandated refugees are relocated close to their families or existing connections so that they will have strong social support, which can facilitate successful settlement in New Zealand. When such support is not possible, refugee service providers in coordination with local city councils can help to organise community network meetings at different levels to bridge this gap.

Firstly, the city council can help to organise and support a community network between local agencies and residents, where the residents get the opportunity to network with others working and living in their areas and get to know about ongoing activities. They could also be encouraged to take on leadership roles in councils. Secondly, city councils can facilitate an exclusive networking event, where people with refugee backgrounds can connect with agencies and service providers working in their respective cities. These networks could offer venues and opportunities for the resettled community to share their challenges and opportunities with agencies and service providers. It would also provide an opportunity for service providers to review whether their policies and services are meeting the needs of the community. Thirdly, a support group is needed that provides the space and opportunity for women and girls to meet in a comfortable and tension-free environment. One of the most crucial types of support is to connect people with similar circumstances, backgrounds and positions in order to celebrate distinctive and diverse cultural groups. It will not only help to promote diversity but also provide a space for resettled refugees to cope with the consequences of the racism that they sometimes face in their everyday lives.

This can be achieved by providing occasions and resources for people with refugee backgrounds from different nationalities to come together to share personal stories and cultural exchanges in the form of entertainment, swapping vegetables, preparing traditional cuisines, eating together and being involved in

fun activities. It enables them to recreate social ties and strengthen bonds, seek help, provide support and exchange information. Duran (2017) emphasises that these ties could atone not just for the losses resulting from having to flee from their previous home, but also the challenges they face post-resettlement.

Such interactions can further encourage women with no English skills to practice English, share their stories, develop networks beyond their limited circles and reduce feelings of loneliness and physical isolation in day-to-day life. It can also increase the chances of finding a job as the majority of employers recruit staff through connections (McLean, 2004). Another approach is to support and develop community spaces for resettled Bhutanese organisations, such as BSNN, because this gives these groups the security to feel they belong to New Zealand. It is essential to support community projects, especially those that are run by the Bhutanese community and that address gender and generational differences within groups. All of these efforts can “yield deftness, dynamism and diversity” (Legrain, 2016, p. 19).

8.4 Future research

Although my research has provided insight into the everyday experiences of resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand and their constant ongoing efforts in re-negotiating and creating a sense of home and belonging, I propose the following questions to widen the scope of future research, to guide future scholarship and to bridge the gaps in this field.

This research could be extended to include the way in which women and girls (both younger and older generations) build resiliency and foster their overall well-being in the long-term. It would be also interesting to incorporate Bhutanese boys’ and men’s experiences and perspectives to comprehend further their gendered sense of belonging and feelings of being at home. It would also be interesting to carry out comparative qualitative research on diverse resettled refugee groups to study their everyday lives and understand whether, why and how some groups of refugees resettle more successfully than others. Another comparative qualitative study in the eight different countries that resettle Bhutanese women and girls could be carried out to better understand the challenges and opportunities that resettlement brings.

Future research would be more productive if it connected with service agencies to incorporate multiple discourses. It would not only help us to understand the dynamics of the long-term integration processes of the group but would also contribute to the development of effective policy to assist the former Bhutanese refugee community and similar groups to feel more strongly connected and to develop a greater sense of home and belonging in all generations in New Zealand.

In addition, academics need to bring these threads of work together, as they are often separated in academic disciplines such as geography, anthropology, psychology, refugee studies, migration studies and human rights and law. I anticipate that publications will continue to emerge about the resettlement of Bhutanese refugees in New Zealand. I remain connected with several respondents from this project and look forward to continuing being part of their network of friends. I hope that this research will contribute to improving the post-resettlement experience of women and girls with refugee backgrounds who live in New Zealand and beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant recruitment flyer



Participants Wanted

I'm conducting research for my Doctorate of Philosophy thesis in the Geography Programme at the University of Waikato. My study focuses on Bhutanese-New Zealander women's and girls' experiences of different places such as homes, schools, workplaces, shops and cultural events in New Zealand.

In order to conduct ^{*}this study, I am looking for approximately 10-12 Bhutanese women and girls in Nelson; Christchurch and Palmerston North under the third country resettlement programme.

Your personal information will be treated in complete confidence.

I will be in Christchurch between 28th of May to 4th of June and in Nelson between 5th-8th of June and Palmerston North in between 30 August to 5th of September.

For more information please contact:

Sunita Basnet (Researcher)

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Appendix 2: Interview information sheet in English and Nepali

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www.waikato.ac.nz/wfass/subjects/geography



Experiences of place and feelings of belonging amongst resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand

Thank you for taking time to consider this research. I'm Sunita Basnet from Nepal. I am currently researching for my Doctorate of Philosophy thesis in the Geography Programme at the University of Waikato. My study focuses on Bhutanese-Nepalese women's and girls' experiences of different places such as homes, schools, workplaces, shops and cultural events in New Zealand. To conduct this study, I am looking for Nepali speaking Bhutanese who are above aged 16 and live in New Zealand under the third-country resettlement programme.

Your involvement

I would like to conduct an individual semi-structured interview with you. You can choose the mode of interview, i.e. in-person, online or over the telephone. The interview will likely last between 60-90 minutes and will be audio-recorded.

Confidentiality

Your participation and the provided information will remain private and confidential and will not be shared with other participants. Your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed in my thesis or any reports produced by this research. Pseudonyms will be used for research purposes and in any reports related to this study.

Research materials (recordings and transcripts) held by me will be stored securely in a locked cupboard in my private residence and work office. Any information stored on a computer will be accessible by password only. I am the sole responsible person with access to the research materials. All research materials will be kept for a maximum of five years and then will either be destroyed by myself or offered back to you if requested.

Participants' rights

If you choose to participate in this research, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from any or all parts of the study;
- Withdraw completely from the study within a month from receiving interview transcript/interview;
- Ask for the audio-recorder to be turned off at any time;
- Ask to erase, add or change information within a month of the interview;
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

The results

This study results will be published in my PhD thesis. Four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal publications, books, and conference and seminars. You can receive a summary of the results upon request. The recorded interviews will be transcribed.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has approved this research project. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. Should you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. If you text or call my mobile, I will call you back, so you do not have to pay for the call. You can also email me, and contact details are provided below.

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ubjects/geography



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WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Wai

New Zealand मा बस्ने Bhutanese-New Zealander महिला तथा कीशोरीहरु संग स्थान आनुभव र आबद्धता सम्बन्धि अध्ययन

यो अनुसन्धानको लागि समय दिनु भएकोमा तपाईंलाई धन्यवाद। मेरो नाम सुनिता बस्नेत हो र म नेपाल बाट आएकी हु। अहिले म University of Waikato को भौगोलिक विभागमा PhD को लागि अनुसन्धान गरिरहेको छु। मेरो अनुसन्धान न्युजिल्याण्डमा Bhutanese-New Zealander महिला र किशोरीहरुको घर, कार्यालय र पसलहरु जस्ता ठाउहरुमा भएका अनुभवमा आधारित छ। यस अध्ययनमा भाग लिनेको लागि मलाई १६ वर्ष माथिका, नेपाली वा अंग्रेजी बोल्ने र UNHCR को पुनस्थापना कार्यक्रम अन्तर्गत न्युजिल्याण्ड बस्ने भुटानीहरुको आवश्यकता छ।

तपाईंको सहभागिता

तपाईंलाई अन्तर्वार्तामा सहभागी हुन अनुरोध छ। अन्तर्वार्ता मेरो उपस्थितिमा वा अनलाइन वा फोन मार्फत भाग लिन सक्नुहुनेछ। यो कुराकानी ६० देखि ९० मिनेटको हुनेछ र कुराकानी रेकर्ड गरिनेछ।

गोपनीयता

तपाइले दिएको जानकारी गोप्य रहनेछ र तपाइको सहभागिता बारे अन्य सहभागीलाई जानकारी हुनेछैन। मेरो थिसिस वा अनुसन्धानका शैक्षिक कार्यपत्र कुनैमा पनि तपाईंको परिचय खुलाइने छैन। यो अनुसन्धानसँग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि प्रतिवेदन वा अनुसन्धान कार्यपत्रमा अर्को नाम/उपनाम प्रयोग गरिने छ।

अनुसन्धानमा प्रयोग गरिएका सामाग्रीहरु मेरो व्यक्तिगत वासस्थान र कार्यालयको दराजमा सुरक्षित राखिनेछ। कम्प्युटरमा राखिएका कुनै पनि सुचनाहरु पासवर्डबाट मात्र खोल्न सकिनेछ। अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरुमा मेरो मात्र पहुँच हुनेछ। Doctoral thesis का लागि रेकर्ड गरिएका सबै अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरु ५ वर्ष पछि म आफै नष्ट गर्नेछु वा तपाईंको अनुरोधमा तपाईंलाई फिर्ता गर्नेछु।

सहभागीका अधिकार

यदि तपाईं यस अध्ययनमा सहभागी हुन चाहानुहुन्छ भने तपाईंलाई निम्नलिखित अधिकारहरु प्राप्त छन्:

- कुनै एउटा वा सबै अनुसन्धानका पाटोहरुबाट निस्कन;

- कुनै पनि समयमा आवाजरेकडर बन्द गर्न;
- कुनै खास प्रश्नको जवाफ नदिन;
- अन्तर्वार्ता भएको मितिले १ महिना भित्र अनुसन्धानबाट निस्कन, थप्न वा फेरबदल गर्न;
- अनुसन्धान सँग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा/अश्वस्तता भए सोध्न।

नतिजा

यस अध्ययनको परिणाम स्वरूप मेरो PhD थिसिसको रूपमा प्रकाशित हुनेछ जसमा मेरो थिसिसको ३ छापा कपि र १ अनलाईन कपि University of Waikato को पुस्तकालाय मार्फत उपलब्ध हुनेछ। यस अनुसन्धानका खोजहरु मुखपत्र, कार्यपत्र, शैक्षिक किताबहरु, सभा र सम्मेलनका प्रतिवेदनमा पनि प्रयोग हुन सक्नेछ। तपाइले अनुरोध गरेको खण्डमा यस अध्ययनको उपसंहार प्राप्त गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ।

यो अध्ययन/अनुसन्धान समाज तथा कला संकाय विभागका मानविय अनुसन्धान नैतिक सिद्धान्त समितिबाट पारित गरिसकिएकोछ। यस अनुसन्धानका कुनै पनि नैतिक सिद्धान्तका बारेमा जिज्ञासा, प्रश्न भए यस समितिको सचिवालयमा इमेल fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, वा हुलाकी ठेगना Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240 मा सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नुहुनेछ।

अब के गर्ने?

यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुनको लागी तपाईंको इच्छा प्रति म आभारी हुनेछु र आशा पनि राख्दछु। कृपया तपाईंलाई यस अनुसन्धान सम्बन्धि कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा भए यस अनुसन्धानको कुनै पनि समयमा मलाई सोध्न सक्नुहुनेछ। तपाइले मलाई sms वा miscall गर्नु भएमा, म तपाईंलाई आफै फोन गर्नेछु ताकी तपाईंले फोनको लागि खर्च गर्न नपरोस। तपाइले मलाई इमेलमा पनि सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ, सम्पर्क बिबरण निम्नलिखित छन्:

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Appendix 3: Interview participants' consent form in English and Nepali

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Experiences of place and feelings of belonging amongst resettled Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand

Please complete the following checklist.

Tick (✓) the appropriate box for each section.	YES	NO
I consent to be interviewed. If yes, how would you like to be interviewed? Personal visit <input type="checkbox"/> Online <input type="checkbox"/> Telephone <input type="checkbox"/> If you have chosen online , please provide detail information Skype id: gtalk id: Viber Number:		
I consent to our conversation being audio-recorded.		
I would like to receive a summary of the findings.		
I wish to choose my own pseudonym. If yes, please provide name:		
I want my interview recording and transcript back.		

Bhutanese women participants only: You are invited to participate in further stages. Please show your interest by putting a tick (✓) in one or both of the boxes below.

- Diary-writing & Photography (Diary and a pen will be provided)
- Cooking (\$20 worth PaknSave Gift Voucher will be provided)

“I _____ (participant name) _____ agree to take part in this research and acknowledge receipt of the information sheet and consent form. I understand my rights as a participant and that my identity will remain confidential and anonymity guaranteed. I have had the opportunity to discuss this study, and I am satisfied with the answers given. I hereby agree to participate in this research and follow the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form”.

Participant's signature

Date ____ / ____ / ____

(Please note: A signature is not necessary if this is being returned as an electronic document)

“I (the researcher) _____ agree to follow the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form.”

Researcher’s _____ signature
Date ____ / ____ / ____

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Contact Information

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New Zealand मा बस्ने Bhutanese महिला तथा कीशोरीहरु संग स्थान आनुभव र आबद्धता सम्बन्धि अध्ययन

कृपया तलको सुचिहरु पुरा गर्नुहोस्

तलको मिल्ने वाकसमा (✓) चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्.	हो	होईन
म यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन स्वीकार गर्दछु। यदी हो भने, तपाईं कसरी सहभागी हुन चाहनु हुन्छ? मेरो उपस्थितिमा <input type="checkbox"/> अनलाईन <input type="checkbox"/> फोन मार्फत <input type="checkbox"/> यदी अनलाईन छनोट गर्नु भएको छ भने, कृपया बिस्तृत जानकारी दिनु होला: Skype id: _____ gtalk id: _____ Viber Number: _____		
म यस वार्तालपको आवाज रेकर्ड गर्न स्वीकृति दिन्छु		
म यस अनुसन्धानमा प्रयोग गरिने मेरो उपनाम आफैँ छान्न चाहन्छु। यदी हो भने, कृपया नाम लेख्नुहोस्:		
म यस अध्ययनको खोजहरुको सारांश/उपसंहार (summary) लिन चाहन्छु		
म मेरो रेकोर्डिङ् स्वामित्व राख्न/प्राप्त गर्न चाहन्छु।		

Bhutanese महिला सहभागीको लागि मात्र: यदि तपाईं तल उल्लेखित अध्ययनमा पनि सहभागी हुन चाहनु हुन्छ भने, कृपया वाकसमा (✓) चिन्ह लगाई आफ्नो इच्छा जाहेर गर्नुहोला

दैनिकी लेखन तथा फोटोकला (Diary-Writing & Photography)

खाना पकाउने (Cooking)

“म (सहभागिको नाम) _____ यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन र यस सुचना र स्वीकृती पत्रको प्रतिलिपि पत्र लिनको लागि स्वीकार गर्दछु र शर्तहरु मान्छु। मलाई यस अनुसन्धानको सहभागीको नाताले प्राप्त अधिकारहरु र मेरो

परिचय गोप्य रहने बारे थाहा छ। यस अनुसन्धानको बारेमा छलफल गर्ने मौका मैले पाएको थिए र यसमा दिएका उत्तरहरु प्रति म सन्तुष्ट छु।”

सहभागीको हस्ताक्षर _____ मिति __/__/__

“म (अनुसन्धानकर्ताको नाम) _____ सुचना र स्वीकृति पत्रमा उल्लेखीत शर्तहरु स्वीकार्छु/ मान्छु।”

अनुसन्धानकर्ताको हस्ताक्षर _____ मिति __/__/__

यो अध्ययन/अनुसन्धान समाज तथा कला संकाय विभागका मानविय अनुसन्धान नैतिक सिद्धान्त समितिबाट पारित गरिसकिएकोछ। यस अनुसन्धानका कुनै पनि नैतिक सिद्धान्तका बारेमा जिज्ञासा, प्रश्न भए यस समितिको सचिवालयमा इमेल fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, वा हुलाकी ठेगना Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240 मा सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नुहुनेछ।

सम्पर्क जानकारी

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Appendix 4: Demographic information form in English and Nepali

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Experiences of place & feelings of belonging amongst resettled Bhutanese women & girls in New Zealand

Please fill out the relevant information.

Participant's Full Name:				
Age:	16-20	<input type="checkbox"/>	41-45	<input type="checkbox"/>
	21-25	<input type="checkbox"/>	46-50	<input type="checkbox"/>
	26-30	<input type="checkbox"/>	51-55	<input type="checkbox"/>
	31-35	<input type="checkbox"/>	56-60	<input type="checkbox"/>
	36-40	<input type="checkbox"/>	60 and over	<input type="checkbox"/>
Address:				
Phone Number:	Home:	Mobile:		
Email:				
Gender:				

When did you arrive in New Zealand? Year _____, Month: _____

Do you have your family members with you in New Zealand? Tick (✓) the appropriate box.
 Yes No

If No, Please provide Place and Country:

Do you have children? Tick (✓) the appropriate box.
 Yes No

If Yes, Please Tick (✓) the appropriate age of your children in the given box and provide the number of male and female.

Age: 0-12 Number of Male: _____ Number of Female: _____
 Age: 12-15 Number of Male: _____ Number of Female: _____
 Age: Over 16 Number of Male: _____ Number of Female: _____

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New Zealand मा बस्ने Bhutanese महिला तथा कीशोरीहरु संग स्थान आनुभव र आबद्धता

सम्बन्धि अध्ययन

तपाईंको विवरण (मेरो रेकर्डको लागि) कृपया तपाईं संग सम्बन्धित उचित जानकारी भर्नुहोला।

सहभागीको पुरा नाम		
उमेर:	१६-२०	४१-४५
	२१-२५	४६-५०
	२६-३०	५१-५५
	३१-३५	५६-६०
	३६-४०	६० भन्दा माथि
ठेगना:		
फोन नं.	घर	मोबाईल
इमेल:		

❖ तपाईं New Zealand कहिले आउनु भयो? साल.....महिना

❖ के तपाईंको साथमा तपाईंका सम्पूर्ण परिवारका सदस्यहरु हुनुहुन्छ? तलको मिल्ने वाकसमा (✓)चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्

❖ यदी हुनुहुन्छ हुनुहुदैन भने, वहाहरु कहाँ हुनुहुन्छ?

❖ के तपाइको बच्चाहरु छ? तलको मिल्ने वाकसमा (✓)चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्

छ छैन

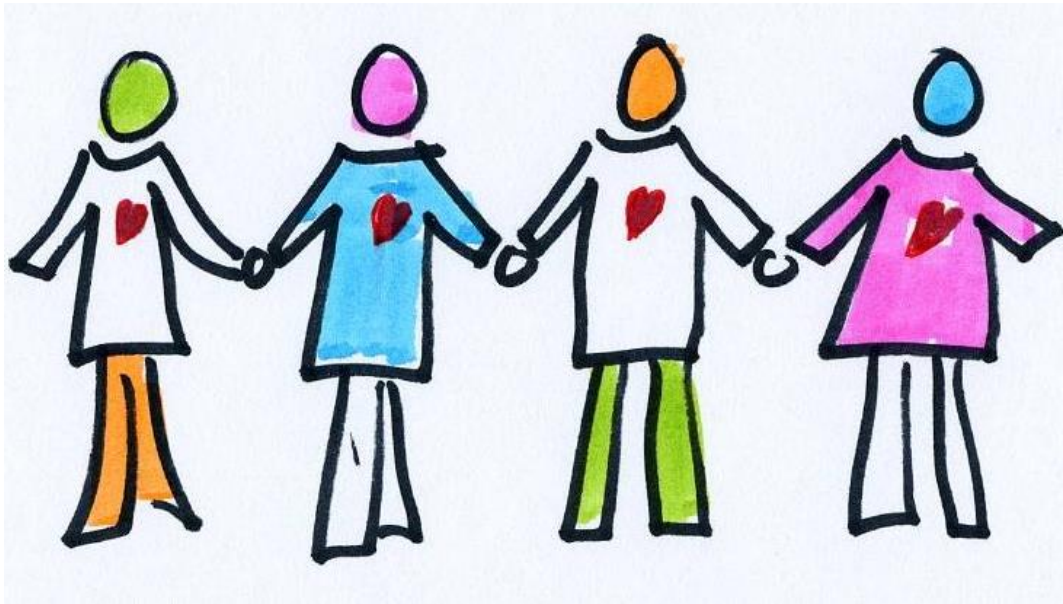
छ भने, तपाइको आफनो बच्चाको उपयुक्त उमेर समूह भएको बाकसमा (✓) चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस् र कति जना केटा वा केटी त्यो पनि उल्लेख गर्नुहोला।

उमेर: ०-१२ पुरुस सन्ख्या.....महिला सन्ख्या.....

उमेर: १२-१५ पुरुस सन्ख्या.....महिला सन्ख्या.....

उमेर: १६ बर्ष भन्दा माथि पुरुस सन्ख्या.....महिला सन्ख्या.....

Experiences of place and feelings of belonging in New Zealand



Name of diary writer: _____

Address: _____

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Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
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s/subjects/geography



Diary-writing and Photography Information sheet

Thank you for taking time to consider this research. I am Sunita Basnet from Nepal. I am currently conducting research for my Doctorate of Philosophy thesis in the Geography Programme at the University of Waikato. My study focuses on Bhutanese women's and girls' experiences of different places such as homes, schools, workplaces, shops and cultural events in New Zealand. To conduct this study, I am looking for approximately 15 Bhutanese women who are above aged 16, speak Nepali/English and live in New Zealand under the quota scheme.

Your involvement

I would like you to write a diary and take some photographs over the course of one week. This method may seem unusual but it provides insights into your experiences of, and reflections on, feelings of belonging in words and pictures because sometimes talking alone is not enough.

Diary-writing

For seven days, please write about your emotions, activities and experiences of places you have been to and your feelings of attachment or belonging to that place. Reflect on things (whether they are good or bad) that happened during your day. You may also want to include:

- Who was with you or around you when you were writing?
- How do you feel while writing? What makes you feel this way?

The length of the entries is up to you. You can type your thoughts on the computer if preferred. It is your diary so please feel free to include anything and everything. There are no right or wrong answers.

Self-directed photography

While taking photographs, please consider:

- What is it like being a woman in New Zealand?
- What is New Zealand like for you?
- What does 'home' mean to you?

There is no limitation on the number of photographs to be taken. Please focus on things, places, people, and activities while taking photos. It is entirely up to you.

Confidentiality

Your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed in my thesis or in any reports produced by this research. Pseudonyms will be used for the research purpose and in any reports related to this study. The identifiable

people and/or places will be reproduced either with permission(s) or will be obscured/blurred through Photoshop® techniques.

Research materials (diary and photographs) will be stored securely in a locked cupboard in my private residence and work office at the University of Waikato. Any information stored on a computer will be accessible by password only. I am the sole responsible person to access the research materials. All research materials related to you will be destroyed by myself after 5 years.

Participants' rights

If you choose to participate in my research, you have the right to:

- Withdraw from any or all parts of the study;
- Withdraw completely from the study within a month after giving me your diary and photographs;
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

The results

Diary information and photographs will be published as part of my PhD thesis. Four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. I may also use them in journal publications, academic books, and conference. You can request to receive a summary of the results.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. Should you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at the given details.

Sunita Basnet (Researcher)
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दैनिकी लेखन तथा फोटोकला सम्बन्धि सूचना पत्र

तपाईंको सहभागिता

यो अनुसन्धानको लागि समय दिनु भएकोमा तपाईंलाई धन्यवाद। यो दैनिकी लेखन र फोटोग्राफी बिधि असाधारण देखिए पनि यसले तपाईंहरूको पहिचान र आबद्धताको अनुभव र महसुसको दुवै शब्द र तस्बिरमा प्रतिबिम्बित गर्न अवसर प्रदान गर्नेछ किनभने कहिलेकाही बोलि मात्र अपुग हुन्छ।

दैनिकी लेखन (Diary-writing)

म तपाईंलाई आफ्नो दैनिक अनुभव र महशुसको प्रतिबिम्ब उतार्न सहयोग खातिर एउटा Diary र Pen प्रदान गर्नेछु। कृपया ७ दिनसम्म तपाईंहरू गएको ठाउँ प्रतिको भावना, कार्य, महशुस र संलग्नताको भावना लेख्नु होला। यी दिनहरूमा घटेका सबै राम्रा वा नराम्रा घटनाहरू प्रतिबिम्बित गर्नुहोला। Diary लेख्दा निम्न कुराहरूमा विचार गर्नुहोला:

- आज कहाँ जानु भयो र के गर्नु भयो?
- तपाईंले गर्नु भएको कार्यहरूले कस्ता भावनाहरू उत्पन्न गरे?
- आफ्नै घर भित्र पनि कस्तो अनुभव गर्नुभयो?

तपाईं यी कुराहरू पनि समेटन सक्नु हुन्छ:

- तपाईंले Diary लेख्दै गर्दा तपाईं संग वा वरिपरि को थियो?
- के र कहाँ लेख्दै हुनुहुन्थियो?
- तपाईंले Diary लेख्दै गर्दा कस्तो भावना आयो? के कारणले यस्तो भवन आयो?

कति पन्ना लेखने त्यो तपाईंमा भरपर्छ, तपाईं पुरै पुष्ट गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ वा केहि बाक्य वा चित्र कोर्न पनि सक्नु हुन्छ। तपाईं ले चाहेको खण्डमा computer मा आफ्नो विचार type गर्न पनि सक्नुहुन्छ। यो तपाईंको आफ्नो Diary हो त्यसैले कृपया के समावेश गर्ने भन्ने कुरामा स्वतन्त्र महशुस गर्नुहोला। सहि वा गलत भन्ने कुनै जवाफ छैन।

स्व-निर्देशित तस्बिरकला (फोटोग्राफी)

फोटो लिने बेलामा कृपया यी कुराहरूमा विचार गर्नुहोस:

- New Zealand मा Bhutanese महिला हुनु के जस्तो छ?

- तपाइको बिचारमा घर भनेको के हो?
- New Zealand तपाईं का लागि कस्तो देखिन्छ?

फोटोको सङ्ख्यामा कुनै सिमा छैन तर कृपया फोटोहरू खिचदा बस्तुहरू, ठाउँहरू, मान्छेहरू र गतिबिधिमा ध्यान दिनुहोला। उदाहरणको लागि परम्परागत पोशक, आभुषण, गहना, बगैचा, सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रमहरू, खाना वा पारिवारिक तस्बिरहरू। के लेखने र के फोटो खिचने भन्ने कुरा तपाईंमा भरपर्छ।

गोपनियता

तपाइको अनुमति बिना तपाइको पहिचान (नाम, तस्बिर, वा तपाइलाई जनाउने कुनै पनि विशेषताहरू) मेरो शोधपत्र (Thesis) र यस अनुसन्धानबाट तयार हुने कुनै पनि रिपोर्ट/प्रतिवेदनमा प्रकट हुनेछैन। फोटोमा भएको मान्छे वा ठाउले तपाईं वा तिनीहरूको पहिचान गराउछ भने तपाइको अनुमतिमा मात्र उक्त फोटो प्रयोग गरिने छ, अन्यथा उक्त फोटोलाई Photoshop® को मदतद्धर अस्पष्ट परिनेछ साथै तपाईं र अन्य व्यक्तिको पहिचान गुमनामका साथ सुनिश्चित गरिनेछ।

अनुसन्धानमा प्रयोग गरिएका सामाग्रीहरू मेरो व्यक्तिगत वासस्थान र कार्यालयको दराजमा सुरक्षित राखिनेछ। कम्प्युटरमा राखिएका कुनै पनि सुचनाहरू पासवर्ड बाट मात्र खोल्न सकिने छ र अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरूमा मेरो मात्र पहुँच हुनेछ। Doctoral Thesis का लागि रेकर्ड गरिएका सबै अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरू ५ वर्ष पछि म आफैँ नष्ट गर्नेछु वा तपाईंको अनुरोधमा तपाईंलाई फिर्ता गर्नेछु।

सहभागीका अधिकार

यदि तपाईं यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन चाहानुहुन्छ भने तपाईंलाई निम्नलिखित अधिकारहरू प्राप्त छन्:

- अध्ययनको कुनै पनि वा सबै भागबाट निस्कन
- Diary र फोटोहरू प्राप्त भएको १ महिना भित्र यो अध्ययनबाट पूर्णरूपमा निस्कन
- सहभागिताको अवधिमा कुनै पनि समय अनुसन्धान सँग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा भए सोध्न

अब के गर्ने?

यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुनको लागि तपाईंको इच्छा प्रति म आभारी हुनेछु र आशा पनि राख्दछु। कृपया तपाईंलाई यस अनुसन्धान सम्बन्धि कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा भए यस अनुसन्धानको कुनै पनि समयमा मलाई सोध्न सक्नुहुनेछ। तपाइले मलाई sms वा miscall गर्नु भएमा, म

तपाईंलाई आफै फोन गर्नेछु ताकी तपाईंले फोनको लागि खर्च गर्न नपरोस। तपाइले मलाई इमेलमा

पनि सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ, सम्पर्क बिबरण निम्नलिखित छन्:

Sunita Basnet (Researcher)

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Mobile: [REDACTED]

Office: [REDACTED]

Robyn Longhurst (Chief Supervisor)

Email: robyn1@waikato.ac.nz

Contact: [REDACTED]

Lynda Johnston (Co-supervisor)

Email: lyndaj@waikato.ac.nz

Contact: [REDACTED]

Appendix 6: Cooking session information sheet in English and Nepali

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ubjects/geography



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Experiences of place and feelings of belonging amongst Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand

Thank you for taking time to consider this research. I am Sunita Basnet from Nepal. I am currently researching my Doctorate of Philosophy thesis in the Geography programme at the University of Waikato. My study focuses on Bhutanese women's and girls' experiences of different places such as homes, schools, workplaces, shops and cultural events in New Zealand. To conduct this study, I am looking for approximately ten Bhutanese women who are above aged 16, speak Nepali/English and live in New Zealand under the quota scheme.

Your involvement

You will cook your favourite dish or meal that is significant to you. During the cooking and eating process, we will talk how, why and what you have cooked. You are free to invite your friends and family to this session if you want. The cooking conversation will be audio-recorded and will last between 60-90 minutes. You will be compensated with a grocery voucher of \$20 for participating.

Confidentiality

Your identity (name, or any identifying characteristics) will not reveal in my thesis and any reports produced by this research. Pseudonyms will be used for the research purpose and in any reports related to this study.

Research materials (recordings) held by me will be stored securely in a locked cupboard in my private residence and work office. Any information stored on a computer will be accessible by password only. I am the sole responsible person to access the research materials. All research materials will be kept for a maximum of five years and will either be destroyed by myself or offered back to you if requested.

Participants' rights

If you choose to participate in my research, you have the right to:

- Withdraw completely from the study within a month of the cooking session;
- Ask for the audio-recorder to be turned off at any time;
- Ask to erase, add or change information within a month of the cooking session;
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

The results

The results of this study will be published as a PhD thesis. Four copies of the thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal publications, academic books, and conference and seminars presentations. You can request to receive a summary of the results.

This research project is approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. Should you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. If you text or call my mobile, I will call you back, so you do not have to pay for the call. You can also email me, and my details are provided below.

Sunita Basnet (Researcher)
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Office: [REDACTED]

Robyn Longhurst (Chief Supervisor)
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खाना पकाउने सम्बन्धि सुचना पत्र

New Zealand मा बस्ने भुटानी महिला तथा कीशोरीहरु संग स्थान आनुभव र आबद्धता सम्बन्धि

अध्ययन

यो अनुसन्धानको लागि समय दिनु भएकोमा तपाईंलाई धन्यवाद। मेरो नाम सुनिता बस्नेत हो र म नेपाल बाट आएकी हु। अहिले म University of Waikato को भौगोलिक विभागमा PhD को लागि अनुसन्धान गरिरहेको छु। मेरो अनुसन्धान न्युजिल्याण्डमा Bhutanese महिला र किशोरीहरुको घर, कार्यालय र पसलहरु जस्ता ठाउहरुमा भएका अनुभवमा आधारित छ। यस अध्ययनमा भाग लिनको लागि मलाई १६ वर्ष माथिका, नेपाली वा अंग्रेजी बोल्ने र UNHCR को पुनस्थापना कार्यक्रम अन्तर्गत न्युजिल्याण्ड बस्ने लगभग 10 जना भुटानी महिलाहरुको आवश्यकता छ।

तपाईंको सहभागिता

तपाइले आफ्नो पहिचान झल्कने कुनै मनपर्ने खाना बनाउनु पर्नेछ। खान बनाउदै गर्दा हामी खाना सम्बन्धि कुराकानी गर्नेछौं जस्तै कि तपाइले के बनाउनु भयो, कसरी र किन बनाउनु भयो। तपाइले चाहेको खण्डमा तपाइको साथीहरुलाई पनि निम्ता गर्न सक्नु हुन्छ। खान खादै र पकाउदै गर्दा गरिने सम्पूर्ण कुराकानीहरु रेकोर्ड गरिने छ र यो कुराकानी ६० देखि ९० मिनेटको हुनेछ। खान पकाउने कार्यकममा सहभागी भए बापद तपाइलाई \$२० बराबरको गिफ्ट भौचर प्रदान गरिनेछ।

गोपनियता

तपाइले दिएको जानकारी गोप्य रहनेछ र तपाइको सहभागिता बारे अन्य सहभागीलाई जानकारी हुनेछैन। मेरो थेसिस वा अनुसन्धानका शैक्षिक कार्यपत्र कुनैमा पनि तपाइको परिचय खुलाइने छैन। कुनै पनि अनुसन्धान कार्यपत्र वा यो अनुसन्धानसँग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि प्रतिवेदनमा अर्को नाम/उपनाम प्रयोग गरिने छ।

अनुसन्धानमा प्रयोग गरिएका सामाग्रीहरु मेरो व्यक्तिगत वासस्थान र कार्यालयको दराजमा सुरक्षित राखिने छ। कम्प्युटरमा राखिएका कुनै पनि सुचनाहरु पासवर्डबाट मात्र खोल्न सकिनेछ। अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरुमा मेरो मात्र पहुँच हुनेछ। Doctoral thesis का लागि रेकर्ड गरिएका सबै अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरु ५ वर्ष पछि म आफै नष्ट गर्नेछु वा तपाईंको अनुरोधमा तपाईंलाई फिर्ता गर्नेछु।

सहभागीका अधिकार

यदि तपाईं यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन चाहानुहुन्छ भने तपाईंलाई निम्नलिखित अधिकारहरु प्राप्त छन्:

- कुनै पनि समयमा आवाजरेकर्डर बन्द गर्न;
- कुनै खास प्रश्नको जवाफ नदिन;
- यो कार्यक्रम भएको १ महिना भित्र कुनै पनि बखत अनुसन्धानबाट निस्कन, हटाउन, थप्न वा फेरबदल गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ;
- अनुसन्धान सँग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा/अशपस्तता भए सोध्न।

नतिजा

यस अध्ययनको परिणाम स्वरूप मेरो PhD थिसिसको रूपमा प्रकाशित हुनेछ जसमा मेरो थिसिसको ३ छापा कपि र १ अनलाईन कपि University of Waikato को पुस्तकालाय मार्फत उपलब्ध हुनेछ। यस अनुसन्धानका खोजहरु मुखपत्र, कार्यपत्र, शैक्षिक किताबहरु, सभा र सम्मेलनका प्रतिवेदनमा पनि प्रयोग हुन सक्नेछ। तपाइले अनुरोध गरेको खण्डमा यस अध्ययनको उपसंहार प्राप्त गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ।

यो अध्ययन/अनुसन्धान समाज तथा कला संकाय विभागका मानविय अनुसन्धान नैतिक सिद्धान्त समितिबाट पारित गरिसकिएकोछ। यस अनुसन्धानका कुनै पनि नैतिक सिद्धान्तका बारेमा जिज्ञासा, प्रश्न भए यस समितिको सचिवालयमा इमेल fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, वा हुलाकी ठेगना Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240 मा सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नुहुनेछ।

अब के गर्ने?

यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुनको लागि तपाईंको इच्छा प्रति म आभारी हुनेछु र आशा पनि राख्दछु। कृपया तपाईंलाई यस अनुसन्धान सम्बन्धि कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा भए यस अनुसन्धानको

कुनै पनि समयमा मलाई सोध्न सक्नुहुनेछ। तपाइले मलाई sms वा miscall गर्नु भएमा, म तपाईंलाई आफै फोन गर्नेछु ताकी तपाईंले फोनको लागि खर्च गर्न नपरोस। तपाइले मलाई इमेलमा पनि सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ, सम्पर्क बिबरण निम्नलिखित छन्:

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Appendix 7: Focus group information sheet in English and Nepali

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Experiences of place and feelings of belonging amongst Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand

Thank you for taking time to consider this research. I'm Sunita Basnet from Nepal. I am currently researching my Doctorate of Philosophy thesis in the Geography programme at the University of Waikato. My study focuses on Bhutanese women's and girls' experiences of different places such as homes, schools, workplaces, shops and cultural events in New Zealand. To conduct this study, I am looking for approximately 15-20 (10-15 girls and 3-5 boys) Bhutanese who are aged between 12-16 years, speak Nepali/English and live in New Zealand under the third-country resettlement programme referred by the UNHCR.

Your involvement

I would like to invite you to be part of a girl or boy discussion and activity group session. This will be carried out with 3-4 groups each containing 3-5 girls or boys. Alternatively, you may choose to form your group. The discussion will last between 90-120 minutes and will be audio-recorded. Light refreshment will be provided.

Confidentiality

Your identity will never be revealed in my thesis or academic papers produced by this research. I will give you another name in my thesis and any reports related to this study. **Please do not to share experiences that you may wish to keep confidential during the discussion, instead talk to me personally if you think there are things that might be helpful for the study.**

I will ensure that research materials (recordings) will be stored in a locked cupboard in my private residence and work office. Any information stored on a computer will be accessible by password only. I am the sole responsible person to access the research materials. **As a part of a group, you are asked not to share**

any focus group related information outside the group. All records will be destroyed after five years.

Participants' rights

If you choose to participate in my research, you have the right to:

- Ask for the audio-recorder to be turned off at any time;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw completely from the study within a month after the focus group interview;
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during your participation.

The results

The results of this study will be published as the PhD thesis. Four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal publications, academic books, and conference and seminars presentations.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. Should you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. If you text or call my mobile, I will call you back, so you do not have to pay for the call. You can also email me, and my details are provided below.

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Office: [REDACTED]

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Contact: [REDACTED]

Lynda Johnston (Co-supervisor)
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फोकस समूह गतिविधि तथा बहस सूचना पत्र

New Zealand मा बस्ने भुटानी महिला तथा कीशोरीहरु संग स्थान आनुभव र आबद्धता सम्बन्धि

अध्ययन

यो अनुसन्धानको लागि समय दिनु भएकोमा तपाईंलाई धन्यवाद। मेरो नाम सुनिता बस्नेत हो र म नेपाल बाट आएकी हु। अहिले म University of Waikato को भौगोलिक विभागमा PhD को लागि अनुसन्धान गरिरहेको छु। मेरो अनुसन्धान न्युजिल्याण्डमा Bhutanese महिला र किशोरीहरुको घर, कार्यालय र पसलहरु जस्ता ठाउहरुमा भएका अनुभवमा आधारित छ। यस अध्ययनमा भाग लिनको लागि मलाई १२ देखी १६ वर्षको, नेपाली वा अंग्रेजी बोल्ने र UNHCR को पुनस्थापना कार्यक्रम अन्तर्गत न्युजिल्याण्ड बस्ने लगभग १५ देखी २० भुटानी (१०—१५ किशोरी र ३—५ किशोर) किशोरकिशोरीहरुको आवश्यकता छ।

तपाईंको सहभागिता

तपाईंलाई सामूहिक छलफलमा सहभागी हुन अनुरोध छ। यो सामूहिक छलफल ३—५ किशोरीहरु वा किशोरहरु विचमा हुनेछ अथवा तपाईंले छुटै सामूहिक छलफलका लागि आफ्नै समूह बनाउन पनि सक्नुहुनेछ। सामूहिक छलफल ९० देखी १२० मिनेट लामो हुनेछ र आवाज रेकर्ड गरिनेछ। छलफल पछि जलपानको व्यवस्था गरिएको छ।

गोपनियता

मेरो थेसिस वा अनुसन्धानका शैक्षिक कार्यपत्र कुनैमा पनि तपाईंको परिचय खुलाइने छैन। कुनै पनि अनुसन्धान कार्यपत्र वा यो अनुसन्धानसँग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि प्रतिवेदनमा अर्को नाम/उपनाम प्रयोग गरिने छ। यदि तपाईंलाई कुनै पनि अनुभवहरु सामूहिक छलफलमा बाड्न नचाहे अर्थात् गोप्य राख्न परे कृपया ती अनुभवहरु सामूहिक छलफलमा नभन्नुहोला। यदि तपाइको अनुभवहरु मेरो अध्ययनको लागि सहयोग हुन्छन् जस्तो लाग्छ भने म सँग व्यक्तिगत रुपमा कुरा गर्न सक्नुहुनेछ।

अनुसन्धानमा प्रयोग गरिएका सामाग्रीहरु मेरो व्यक्तिगत वासस्थान र कार्यालयको दराजमा सुरक्षित राखिने छ। कम्प्युटरमा राखिएका कुनै पनि सुचनाहरु पासवर्डबाट मात्र खोल्न सकिनेछ। अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरुमा मेरो मात्र पहुँच हुनेछ। **कृपया सामुहिक छलफलमा भएका कुराकानीहरु समुह बाहेक अन्त कतै पनि नभन्नुहोला।** Doctoral thesis का लागि रेकर्ड गरिएका सबै अनुसन्धान सामाग्रीहरु ५ वर्ष पछि म आफै नष्ट गर्नेछु।

सहभागीका अधिकार

यदि तपाईं यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन चाहानुहुन्छ भने तपाईंलाई निम्नलिखित अधिकारहरु प्राप्त छन्:

- > कुनै पनि समयमा आवाजरेकडर बन्द गर्न;
- > कुनै खास प्रश्नको जवाफ नदिन;
- > सामुहिक छलफल भएको १ महिना भित्र अनुसन्धानबाट निस्कन;
- > अनुसन्धान सँग सम्बन्धित कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा/अशपस्तता भए सोध्न।

नतिजा

यस अध्ययनको परिणाम स्वरूप मेरो PhD थिसिसको रूपमा प्रकाशित हुनेछ जसमा मेरो थिसिसको ३ छापा कपि र १ अनलाईन कपि University of Waikato को पुस्तकालाय मार्फत उपलब्ध हुनेछ। यस अनुसन्धानका खोजहरु मुखपत्र, कार्यपत्र, शैक्षिक किताबहरु, सभा र सम्मेलनका प्रतिवेदनमा पनि प्रयोग हुन सक्नेछ। तपाइले अनुरोध गरेको खण्डमा यस अध्ययनको उपसंहार प्राप्त गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ।

यो अध्ययन/अनुसन्धान समाज तथा कला संकाय विभागका मानविय अनुसन्धान नैतिक सिद्धान्त समितिबाट पारित गरिसकिएकोछ। यस अनुसन्धानका कुनै पनि नैतिक सिद्धान्तका बारेमा जिज्ञासा, प्रश्न भए यस समितिको सचिवालयमा इमेल fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, वा हुलाकी ठेगना Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240 मा सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नुहुनेछ।

अब के गर्ने?

यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुनको लागि तपाईंको इच्छा प्रति म आभारी हुनेछु र आशा पनि राख्दछु। कृपया तपाईंलाई यस अनुसन्धान सम्बन्धि कुनै पनि जिज्ञासा भए यस अनुसन्धानको

कुनै पनि समयमा मलाई सोध्न सक्नुहुनेछ। तपाइले मलाई sms वा miscall गर्नु भएमा, म तपाइलाई आफै फोन गर्नेछु ताकी तपाइले फोनको लागि खर्च गर्न नपरोस। तपाइले मलाई इमेलमा पनि सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नु हुनेछ, सम्पर्क बिबरण निम्नलिखित छन्:

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Appendix 8: Focus group consent form in English and Nepali

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 bjects/geography



Please complete the following checklist.

Tick (✓) the appropriate box.	YES	NO
Guardian: I allow my daughter to participate in this study.		
Participant: I consent to participate in this study.		
I consent to our conversation being audio-recorded.		
I wish to choose my own fictional name for the research. If yes, please provide name:		

“I (guardian/legal parent of the participant) _____ acknowledge receipt of the consent form and the information sheet. I agree to allow my son and/or daughter to participate in this research and follow the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form”.

Guardian’s signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / _____

“I (daughter/son name) _____ acknowledge receipt of the consent form and the information sheet. I agree to participate in this research and follow the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form.”

Participant’s signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / _____

“I (the researcher) _____ agree to follow the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form”.

Researcher’s signature _____ Date ____ / ____ / _____

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Contact Information

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ubjects/geography



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

**New Zealand मा बस्ने भुटानी महिला तथा कीशोरीहरु संग स्थान आनुभव र आबद्धता सम्बन्धि
अध्ययन**

तलका मिल्ने वाकसमा (✓)चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्.	हो	होईन
अभिभावक: म मेरो छोरा वा छोरी लाई यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन अनुमति दिन्छु।		
सहभागी: म यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन स्वीकार गर्दछु।		
म यस वार्तालपको आवाज रेकर्ड गर्न स्वीकृति दिन्छु		
म यस अनुसन्धानमा प्रयोग गरिने मेरो उपनाम आफै छान्न चाहन्छु। यदी हो भने, कृपया नाम लेख्नुहोस्:		

मेरो छोरा/छोरी लाई यस अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन र यस सुचना पत्र र स्वीकृति पत्रमा उल्लेखित शर्तहरु/नियमहरु मान्न स्वीकृती दिन्छु।

अभिभावकको हस्ताक्षर _____ मिति __/__/__

म (सहभागिको नाम) _____ सुचना र स्वीकृति पत्रको रिसिप्ट बुझिलिन्छु । म यस अनुसन्धामा सहभागी हुन र सुचना र स्वीकृति पत्रमा उल्लेखीत शर्तहरु मान्छु।

सहभागीको हस्ताक्षर _____ मिति __/__/__

म (अनुसन्धानकर्ताको नाम) _____ सुचना र स्वीकृति पत्रमा उल्लेखीत शर्तहरु स्वीकार्छु=मान्छु।”

अनुसन्धानकर्ताको हस्ताक्षर _____ मिति __/__/__

यो अध्ययन/अनुसन्धान समाज तथा कला संकाय विभागका मानविय अनुसन्धान नैतिक सिद्धान्त समितिबाट पारित गरिसकिएकोछ। यस अनुसन्धानका कुनै पनि नैतिक सिद्धान्तका बारेमा जिज्ञासा, प्रश्न भए यस समितिको सचिवालयमा इमेल fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, वा हुलाकी ठेगना Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240 मा सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नुहुनेछ।

सम्पर्क जानकारी

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Lynda Johnston (Co-supervisor)

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Appendix 9: Focus group activity outline in English and Nepali

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 /subjects/geography



Experiences of place and feelings of belonging amongst Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand

Group Introduction

Activity 1: Please draw your ‘imagined’ or an actual home. You might want to think about all the places you have been and/or lived.

Discussion Prompts

- When you are asked to draw your home, what pops-up immediately?
- What makes you feel that you belong to your home?
- Does New Zealand feel like ‘home’? Why, why not?

Activity 2: List five places you have been and/or lived. Rate them from 1 to 5 stars? 5 stars refer to your favourite place, and 1 star refers to a place you were not so keen on.

Discussion Prompts

Hamilton**	Kathmandu***	Seoul*****	Oslo****	Zurich*
------------	--------------	------------	----------	---------

- Do you feel really attached to any particular place?
- Are there places where you feel scared?
- How do you find living in New Zealand? What do you like and dislike about New Zealand?
- What is like being a Bhutanese girl/boy in New Zealand?
- Explain some of the challenges of living in New Zealand and how do you try to overcome these?

Activity 3: If you had the power to change anything that would make your life more meaningful or improved in New Zealand, what would it be? Please list all the possibilities you can think of.

**New Zealand मा बस्ने भुटानी महिला तथा कीशोरीहरु संग स्थान आनुभव र आबद्धता सम्बन्धि
अध्ययन**

समूह परिचय

गतिविधि 1: तपाईंहरुले 'कल्पना' गरेको वा वास्तविक घर को चित्र बनाउनु होस्। यो चित्र कोर्न तपाईंहरुले गएको/बसेको सबै स्थानको बारेमा सोचन/ विचार गर्न सक्नु हुन्छ।

छलफलका बिषयहरु (संकेत)

- मैले तपाईंहरुलाई घरको चित्र बनाउनुस भनेर भन्दा, तत्काल के याद आयो?
- तपाईंहरुलाई घर मा छु भनेर महसूस के ले गराउछ वा कति खेर हुन्छ वा कसरि हुन्छ?
- तपाईंहरुलाई के न्यूजीलैंड 'घर' भएको महसूस गर्नु हुन्छ? कसरि हुन्छ वा हुदैन?

गतिविधि 2: पांच वटा ठाउको सूची बनाउनु होस् जहाँ तपाईंहरु जानु भएको/बस्नु भएको छ। 1 देखि 5 तारा (Star) दिएर त्यसलाई अंकित गर्नु होस् जसमा 5 तारा (star) भनेको तपाईंहरुको मनपर्ने ठाउँ हो र 1 तारा (star) भनेको खासै महतो नराख्ने ठाउँ।

Hamilton**	Kathmandu***	Seoul*****	Oslo*****	Zurich*
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जस्तै:

छलफलका बिषयहरु (संकेत)

- के तपाईं साचिकै कुनै विशेष ठाउँ सग attach हुनुहुन्छ?
- कुनै तेस्तो स्थान (place) छन् जहाँ तपाईंहरुलाई बस्दा/हिड्दा मनमा डर लागेको/ पैदा गरेको थियो?
- तपाईंहरुलाई New Zealand को बसोबास कस्तो लाग्छ? New Zealand मा तपाइको बसोबास को बारेमा तपाईंलाई के मनपर्छ र के मान पर्दैन?
- Bhutanese किशोर/ किशोरी भएर न्युजिल्यान्ड मा बसोबास गर्दा कस्तो महसूस गर्नुहुन्छ?
- New Zealand मा बस्दा आइपर्ने चुनौतिहरु के के हुन् र तेस्लाई कसरि सामना गर्ने कोशिश गर्नुहुन्छ?

गतिविधि 3: यदि तपाईंहरूलाई आफ्नो New Zealand को जीवन/ बसोबास राम्रो बनाउन शक्ति (power) प्रदान गर्यो भने तपाईंहरू के बदल्नु हुन्थियो? तपाईंहरूले सोच्नु भएको सबै संभावनाहरू लाई सूचीबद्ध गर्नुहोस्।

छलफल

Appendix 10: Ethical approval letter

Dr Colin McLeay
Senior Lecturer
Programme Convenor

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Sunita Basnet
Dr Robyn Longhurst
Dr Lynda Johnston
Geography Programme
School of Social Sciences

13 January 2015

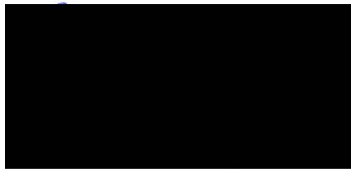
Dear Sunita

**Re: FS2014-49 Experiences of place and feelings of belonging amongst
Bhutanese women and girls in New Zealand**

Thank you for submitting your amended application to me. I have reviewed it and am happy to provide you with formal ethical approval as you have satisfactorily addressed all the matters raised in my previous letter.

I wish you well with your research.

Kind regards,



Colin McLeay
Acting Chair
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.