

**“Once you move, it’s a different story”: The meaning of home for  
1.5 generation Afghan women of refugee background living in  
Christchurch, New Zealand.**

Miron Tsehaye Habte

2017

Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
School of Language, Social and Political Sciences  
University of Canterbury

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Arts in Sociology



# Table of Contents

<b>List of Figures.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
The social structure of Afghanistan .....	4
A brief history of Afghanistan: 1970-2017.....	7
Afghan Refugees: Contexts and catalyst .....	9
Afghans in New Zealand .....	11
Thesis outline .....	12
<b>2. Literature review and theoretical approach.....</b>	<b>13</b>
Introduction.....	13
Theories of people and place .....	13
The new mobilities paradigm.....	18
Home, belonging and identity.....	21
The question of home.....	23
Affect, emotions and home .....	26
Theoretical approach: Social constructionism .....	29
Conclusion .....	31
<b>3. Methodology .....</b>	<b>32</b>
Introduction.....	32
One-to-one, in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation .....	32
Selection of participants.....	34
Ethical considerations .....	34
Recruitment process.....	35
Location of the interviews .....	36
The interview process .....	37
Photo-elicitation during the interviews .....	39
Methodological reflections .....	40
Intercultural ethics .....	40
Disclosure and “therapeutic payoffs” .....	42
Data analysis .....	43
Conclusion .....	45

<b>4. Making home along the migration route .....</b>	<b>46</b>
Introduction.....	46
The ‘constellations of home’ .....	46
The constellation of ‘home’: Family and friends.....	47
The constellation of ‘Home’: Longing for an ideal .....	53
The constellation of ‘HOME’: Feeling safe and secure.....	58
Conclusion .....	64
<b>5. The affective dimensions of resettlement and home in New Zealand .....</b>	<b>65</b>
Introduction.....	65
Arrival narratives .....	65
Cultural negotiations.....	69
Post-disaster displacement .....	75
Conclusion .....	80
<b>6. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>81</b>
Introduction.....	81
Leaving Afghanistan.....	81
Protracted displacement.....	83
Return.....	85
Feeling at home.....	86
Overcoming hardship.....	87
Future directions .....	87
Conclusion .....	88
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>89</b>
Appendix A: Information sheet .....	89
Appendix B: Consent form .....	92
Appendix C: Transcription code.....	94
<b>References:.....</b>	<b>95</b>

## List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of Afghanistan.....	5
Figure 2 Number of Afghan Refugees: 1979-2015. ....	10

## Abstract

While some scholarship on refugee youth has focussed on leaving a place that is typically considered ‘home,’ there has been little attention to what ‘home’ means to them and how this is negotiated in the country of (re)settlement. This is particularly the case for girls and women. New Zealand research on refugee settlement has largely focussed on the economic integration of refugees. Although this research is essential, it runs the risk of overlooking the socio-cultural aspects of the resettlement experiences and renders partial our understanding of how particular generations and ethnic groups develop a sense of belonging to their adopted homeland. In order to address these research gaps, this thesis explores the experiences of 12 Afghan women, aged 19-29 years, of refugee background who relocated to Christchurch, New Zealand, during their childhood and early teenage years.

This study employed semi-structured, one-to-one, in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation to encourage talk about participants’ experiences of leaving Afghanistan, often living in countries of protracted displacement (Iran and/or Pakistan) and making- and being-at-home in New Zealand. In this thesis, I explore the ways in which they frame Afghanistan, and the ways in which their experiences in Iran and Pakistan disrupt the dichotomisation of belonging in terms of ‘here’ (ancestral land) and ‘there’ (country of residence). Furthermore, I use affect theorising to analyse the participants’ expressions of resettlement and home in New Zealand. Feeling at home is as much about negotiating cultural and gendered identities in Western secular societies as it is about belonging to a particular community. Through their experiences of ‘living in two worlds’, the participants are able to strategically challenge cultural expectations without undermining their reputations as Muslims and as Afghan women. The participants discussed their emotional responses to double-displacement: one as a result of war and the other as a result of 2011 Canterbury earthquakes. Therefore, I suggest that for young Afghan women, Afghanistan was among several markers of home in a long embodied journey of (re)settlement.

## Acknowledgements

I wish to express a sincere thank you to the twelve women who so graciously agreed to participate in this study. I truly value your time and active participation in this project. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me.

I would like to extend my thanks to my supervisors Dr Tiina Vares and Assoc. Prof. David Conradson: thank you both for your constant source of support and encouragement. I have really appreciated your valuable and constructive feedback through all phases of this research.

As a recipient of the UC Masters' scholarship, I have been fortunate to have had financial support throughout my Masters' programme. Thank you to the University of Canterbury for this.

I would also like to thank my friends, both near and far, for offering me advice and providing me with great support during this phase of my life.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated with gratitude to my family. I am grateful to my parents who taught me the value of hard work and an education, and to my siblings for their constant encouragement and endless love.

# 1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the topic of asylum has grown in importance as conflicts in countries such as Afghanistan, Somalia and more recently Syria, have caused people to flee in record numbers. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 65.3 million people around the world have been forced from home (UNHCR, 2016a). Among them nearly 21.3 million refugees, over half of whom are under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2016a). Refugees, in general terms, are those who leave their usual place of residence and move to another country of residence due to violence, persecution and/or conflict (Palvish, 2007). Yet, in the current political climate of the ‘European Refugee Crisis,’ the discourse of deservingness shifts accountability from historical, political and economic policies strengthened by powerful actors in the United States and Europe and instead locates it in displaced people themselves (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016 p.13). The trope of the criminal or terrorist, also seen in the context of displacement, has been the primary means for creating the image that refugees are a threat in current political and media representations (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016 p.13). These discourses contribute to several assumptions about refugees, for example, that they are a burden on host communities and are dependent on humanitarian assistance.

What gets left out of the discourses surrounding the ‘Refugee Crisis’ is actual refugee narratives on what it is like to involuntarily leave an original home-place and find another one either provisionally or permanently. Although the loss of home should be a central consideration in refugee and migration studies, deliberations on home appear to have been less diverse and widespread than might have been expected (Taylor, 2015). This is particularly so for refugee youth (Vildaitė, 2014) for whom, according to Awokoya (2012), the profound impact of the loss of home adds a unique dimension to their outlook on life making this qualitatively different from other youth. Yet, without a consideration of the meaning of home, it is difficult to understand the loss refugees and former refugees experience (and ensuing resilience or otherwise in negotiating that loss), their efforts to construct a new home and the reasons for why the lost home may continue to be significant (Taylor, 2015). Furthermore, if we want to explore the human experiences of exile, then some awareness needs to be given to advancing a more complex understanding of the meaning of home (Taylor, 2015). A gap

therefore exists in our understanding of what home means for refugee youth<sup>1</sup>, particularly within the New Zealand context.

New Zealand research on migration and refugee settlement, particularly that established to inform policy, has focused largely on the economic integration of migrants and refugees (Cain, Meares & Read, 2015; Marlowe, Bartley & Hibtit, 2014). While it is important to understand the experiences of refugees in the labour market, especially as economic integration is critical to their livelihoods, employment is not in itself “a de facto measure of holistic settlement and acculturation” (Marlowe, Bartley & Hibtit, 2014 p.63). The current emphasis in New Zealand government policy and action<sup>2</sup> also runs the risk of overlooking other important facets of the resettlement experience and renders partial our understanding as to whether and how refugee youth develop a sense of connection to their adopted homeland and how they negotiate their sense of belonging. Furthermore, by focusing our attention on economic integration or employment, we are limiting both our understanding of settlement in its broadest sense and our ability to influence this process in a positive way through effective policy response (Cain, Meares & Read, 2015). Therefore, this thesis also wishes to draw attention to the importance of affect and emotions in the resettlement process of refugee youth.

The focus on affect and emotions and the ways in which (former) refugee youth negotiate the meaning of home in New Zealand provides an opportunity to bring to light these less frequently but nevertheless important aspects of refugees’ lives. While in more recent times researchers have begun to explore the role of emotions and embodied experiences for displaced people (e.g. Wise, 2004), including specifically for refugee women (see Dudley, 2010; Lindqvist, 2013; Munt, 2012), there is often a focus on emotions in a pathological way (or how migrants and refugees become ill because of negative feelings associated with displacement). While migration can be an involuntary, traumatizing and negative event, it also implies many different kinds of embodiment which need to be considered analytically (Albrecht, 2016). Furthermore, few have explored the role of affect and the emotional dimensions of home and home-making. Studies examining the role of emotion in practices of homemaking and diasporic belonging (e.g. Ahmed, Castañeda, Fortier & Sheller, 2003; Burrell, 2008; Fortier, 2000; Wang, 2016)

---

<sup>1</sup> This thesis defines refugee youth as those between the ages of 18-29. Although in New Zealand the official age bracket for young people is 14-24, and “many youth service providers take a wider view and support 10-25 year olds”, I follow Johnstone and Kimani (2010 p.3) by including 18-29, because this is more in line with the cultural norms of refugee communities.

<sup>2</sup> For example, see ‘The Refugee Resettlement Strategy’ (Immigration New Zealand, 2016).

have typically only considered first generation migrants or refugees and those living outside of New Zealand.

This thesis focusses on the narratives of 12 young Afghan women<sup>3</sup> of refugee background living in Christchurch, New Zealand who fled their homes during the resurgence of the Taliban in the mid-to-late 1990s. These women also belong to the 1.5 generation. The term “1.5 generation” was coined by Rumbaut (2002 p.49) to refer to children who immigrated below the ages of 18. In comparison to the first generation, 1.5 generation children and young people did not chose to migrate, but were forced to leave their ancestral land because of family decisions (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). Unlike the second generation, who Rumbaut (2002 p.49) refers to as individuals born in the country of settlement of two foreign born parents, the 1.5 generation have actually experienced the migration process. Thus, their post-migration motives and experiences to take part in transnational activities are evidently different from those of the second generation (Menjívar, 2002). Furthermore, 1.5 generation youth have to negotiate two identity transforming traditions simultaneously: a transition from childhood to adulthood and a transition from one sociocultural environment to another (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008).

I chose to focus on the experiences of women because research studies on refugees and/or former refugees often imply the masculinity of both immigrant and citizen, ignoring the significant contributions of women in transnational and refugee studies (Baldassar, 1999). Although there have been calls by researchers to look at gender and other identities in association rather in isolation with one another (Eisikovits, 2014; Indra, 1987; Pessar & Mahler, 2003) little work has been dedicated to this. Furthermore, little work has explored how young women of refugee background negotiate the meaning of home (Sirriyeh, 2013). I examine the experiences of women of refugee background in New Zealand to enrich our understandings of gendered identities within transnational spaces.

The decision to look at Afghans was directed with an eye to contributing to the currently very small body of academic literature on Afghans in New Zealand. Although Afghans make up

---

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that while I use the terms ‘Afghan’ and ‘Afghan women’, I do not suggest that these women are a homogenous group. Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic society with various ethnic groups. These terms therefore refer to all people from Afghanistan and not specifically to Pushtuns as has been appropriated by the radical right amongst the Pushtuns, particularly those living in Afghanistan (Singh, 2010). Furthermore, when I refer to the respondents in this study as ‘Afghan women’, I am not referring to or implying generalisation to all Afghan women in Christchurch. I am referring to the specific experiences of the participants in this study.

one of the largest refugee groups in New Zealand (Marlowe, 2013), they remain remarkably understudied. The few works specifically about New Zealand Afghans that do exist include Hermawan's (2015) Master's thesis which explores the experiences of Afghan women acquiring English as a tool for successful resettlement in Palmerston North and Najib's (2014) Master's thesis which looks at how Afghan men and women make sense of their experiences of establishing their own businesses in Christchurch. This thesis will complement these studies by taking a more sociological rather than a commerce- or development-based approach through analysing the meaning of home in the narratives of young Afghan women. I do this by asking several interrelated questions:

- What and where is home for young Afghan women of refugee background?
- How is home negotiated, contested and constructed?
- What is the role of affect and emotions in the negotiations of home and home-making in New Zealand?

The remainder of this chapter will explore the social structure of Afghanistan. This will be done in order to provide context for how the society is organised and the traditional role of women in this society. A brief history of Afghanistan will be discussed in order to provide context and catalysts for why Afghans have been fleeing their homes for the last three decades. This will then lead to a discussion on the migratory history of Afghans in New Zealand. I will end this chapter by presenting an outline of this thesis.

## **The social structure of Afghanistan**

As the heart of Asia, Afghanistan links three major geographical and cultural regions: Central Asia to the north, the Indian subcontinent to the south-east, and the Iranian plateau in the west. The country is bordered by six states: Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, China, Turkmenistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran (see Figure 1). The largest ethnic group are the Pashtuns (40%). This group speak Pashto, practice the Sunni variant of Islam and are concentrated in the southeast, east and southwest of the country. The second largest ethnic group are the Tajiks (30%). The majority of this group speak a dialect of Iranian Persian commonly called Dari; they are mostly Sunnis and live in the north and north-east of the country. The Hazaras who inhabit the mountains of Central Afghanistan, generally called Hazarajat, make up the third largest ethnic group (10-15%). They commonly speak Persian and are of Turco-Mongol origin. Most of the Hazaras are Imami Shi'ites and are in relatively close contact with their co-

religionists in Iran (Vogelsang, 2002). The Hazaras have been prosecuted by other Afghans most often because of their ethnicity and their religion. The Taliban were their most recent persecutors. The Taliban follow the majority branch of Islam (Sunni). Other smaller ethnic groups include the Uzbeks, Ajmak, Kirghiz, Baluchi, Arabas, Brahui, Pamiri and Qizilbash.



Figure 1 Map of Afghanistan.

Source: Sinno (2008 p.xiv)

The basic organisational framework for the population of Afghanistan’s rural areas and for most of the people living in the towns and cities is the *quam*. The term *quam* refers to groups in which membership is defined through common patrilineal descent, whether real or putative (Christensen, 1995). As such, the term is often translated into “ethnic group” or “tribe” but its denotation can be far broader, to include the nation, or narrower, to refer to the extended family, descent group, linguistic, regional or occupational group or caste (Christensen, 1995 p.51; Tapper, 1998 p.27). However, for most individuals, it is the local *quam* in the village or the place in which they live which defines their main identity and allegiance (Christensen, 1995 p.51). These allegiances refer to common ancestors, underlying genealogical links and by drawing on specific value systems and worldviews. In doing so, large cohesive socio-political entities are created; these entities are usually categorised as pre-modern, hierarchal and patriarchal, as the male patrons have the most influence to the extent that they make the

decisions for the whole community, including younger men (Schmeidl, 2009 p.79). *Quams* are therefore a means to identify and organise groups of people on the basis of common ancestry and genealogy, and thus provides individuals with a sense of group loyalty and solidarity.

However, these ethnic and tribal groupings, as well as Afghanistan's rugged topography, have made it difficult for its people to form a united Afghan polity and a sense of national identity.<sup>4</sup> These traditional groups govern most of the social interactions between *quams* and the state (Rasuly-Paleczek, 2001) and therefore unchallenged loyalties to those who are within one's group are maintained (Thiessen, 2014). Rivalry between *quams*, as well as different interpretations of Islam, have also created "fractious cultures" (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003 p.2) and therefore perpetuated group differences. Subsequently, these traditional groups have perpetuated the use of violence to substitute political negotiations and retained provincial patterns of local independence and opposition toward the central government (Moghadam, 1993).<sup>5</sup> Therefore, various *quams* and their socio-political organisations play an important role in understanding the diverse peoples of Afghanistan and the ways in which they structure their lives and their identities.

Within traditional communities, *Izzat* or honour is a recurrent and important concept in Afghan society (and other Muslim societies). Honour is a "positive pride in independence" and comes from fulfilling family obligations, forthrightness, showing loyalty to friends and colleagues, tolerating others, respecting elders and women and disliking ostentation (Dupree, 2002 p.978). Honour is inextricably tied to masculinity, for it is defined by the ability to protect a woman's virtue in order to make certain that no other man has sexual access to this woman (Schmeidl, 2009 p.79). The honour of a man and the family is embodied in the honour of its women and therefore the maintenance of family honour requires control as well as protection of women (Boesen, 1986 p.112). This helps to explain the restrictive codes of behaviour for Muslim women, such as having male chaperons accompanying them wherever they go; the seclusion of women from men (*pardah*); being restricted to responsibilities that can be carried out within or close to the home; and a focus on dressing modestly, such as wearing a head-scarf (Afshar,

---

<sup>4</sup> It is important to take into account that ethnic groups can think of themselves as nations in their own right. Therefore, there is a difference between nations as ethnic groups and the notion of the modern-nation state.

<sup>5</sup> There are other factors that have also led to deficiencies in nation-building. For example, the nature of the state and its historical manifestations such its political economy; the specific policies and attitudes of the state-building agents, and; foreign interference by the British, Soviet Union and the United States of America have all played a role in weakening efforts of nation-building and social development in Afghanistan (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003 p.3; Rasuly-Paleczek, 2001 p.152).

1994; Kabeer & Khan, 2014; Schneidl, 2009). Thus, the role of women in Afghanistan is influenced by a combination of intersecting factors including religion, social norms and customs, and tribal and familial traditions.

Women's rights in Afghanistan have been historically constrained by patriarchy and the existence of a weak central state that has been unable to implement and modernise programs and goals (Moghadam, 1997 p.76). In addition, the negative impact of decades of war, the expansion of rural customs to urban areas under the Taliban regime and the rigid interpretation of Sharia by some leaders at the local and national levels continue to perpetuate an ideology that limits the contribution of women in public life (Nojumi, Mazurana & Stites, 2009). However, women from Afghanistan have historically resisted and struggled against different structures of power.<sup>6</sup> While not all Afghan women share similar experiences of inequality, many have worked together to combat discrimination and have fought for the rights of all women to receive an education, to be able to find employment, and to choose whether they will don the *hijab* or religious headscarf.

## A brief history of Afghanistan: 1970-2017

It is useful to reflect briefly on how Afghanistan became a country of forced migration, as well as the migration history of Afghans to New Zealand. For the last thirty years, Afghanistan has been at war both with foreign invaders and among internally opposing groups. Because of its unlucky geographical location, the nation was thrust into the Soviet sphere in 1973. In 1979, Soviet forces invaded the country and they fought in a catastrophic war with the Afghan mujahedeen, until their eventual withdrawal on 14 February 1989. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan did not mark the end of the war. The Soviet-backed de facto President of Afghanistan, Mohammad Najibulla Ahmadzai,<sup>7</sup> had built alliances around Afghanistan, allowing his government to hold off a number of mujahedeen groups who had attempted to seize the city of Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan (Collins, 2013). Ahmadzai fought effectively for three years but in March of 1992 he lost the fight to a group of militia leaders, who rebelled against his regime and eventually occupied Kabul (Vogelsang, 2002). In the two years between 1992 and 1994, the mujahedeen continued to fight amongst themselves, leaving Afghanistan

---

<sup>6</sup> Women's rights in Afghanistan are marked by two attempts at radical reform: during King Amanullah's reign (1924) and under the People's Democratic Party in Afghanistan (PDPA) between 1989-1970. Both attempts were followed by violent uprisings and backlash marking women's attire, mobility and public presence (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003; Rostami-Povey, 2007; Kandiyoti, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Ahmadzai was not recognised by the international community as the President.

in a state of anarchy and violence. The Islamist movement brought the Taliban to power from 1996 to 2001. During the Taliban regime, women were banned from going to school, leaving the home without a male relative, and working outside of the home. Women and girls were forced to cover up with full body veils that covered their eyes and they were forbidden from wearing make-up.<sup>8</sup>

The spirit of tribal independence ignited once again by foreign occupation and reactionary Islamism was now directed against the United States of America, who entered Afghanistan shortly after the events of September 11, 2001. Within months, the United States had declared an end to the Taliban and launched the ‘War on Terrorism,’ targeting and bombing alleged Taliban positions, both in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Gunaratna, 2015). After the US-led invasion in 2001, a number of steps toward gender equality were slowly made in Afghanistan.<sup>9</sup> During 2002, several conferences, meetings and nation-wide Loya Jirga<sup>10</sup> took place to establish Afghanistan’s interim government and to begin rebuilding the nation. By January 2004, a new constitution was put into force which became the official law of Afghanistan and Hamid Karzai was subsequently elected the President of Afghanistan after the nation’s first democratic elections on October 2004 (Meher, 2008; Barnett, 2013 p.137).

The Afghan government, with the support of the international community, had made significant progress in reconstructing the nation. However, local commanders, faction leaders, warlords and anti-regime actors conducted insurgencies which grew in strength, resulting in hundreds of casualties (Goodson, 2003). Furthermore, the Taliban were increasing their terrorist activities. Despite the work of a growing movement of activists, violence against women in the country was, and remains, prevalent. Although the nation has made significant progress in stabilising the country in the last fifteen years,<sup>11</sup> the state remains fragile and relies heavily on outside technical and financial support to sustain basic functions.

---

<sup>8</sup> The Taliban also persecuted academics and professors. Minority ethnic groups were also violently attacked, particularly the Hazaras and the Tajiks who followed the Shia’ sect of Islam (Issa, Desmond & Ross-Sheriff, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> For example, women’s rights were enshrined in a new constitution in 2003 and in 2009 Afghanistan adopted the Elimination of Violence).

<sup>10</sup> A Loya Jirga is, in the traditional sense, when elders of various tribes (Pashtun, Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks) assemble to settle the affairs of the nation.

<sup>11</sup> The country has held five national elections, increased women’s participation in public life and government, and enrolled millions of children in school, and the international presence in Afghanistan has waned, particularly through the gradual withdrawal of American troops (USIP, 2015).

## Afghan Refugees: Contexts and catalyst

Afghans have been fleeing their homes since the 1978 coup. The majority of Afghan refugees flee to neighbouring countries the Islamic Republic of Iran or Pakistan: 95% of Afghan refugees are jointly hosted by these nations (UNHCR, 2015). The Russian occupation in 1978 increased the number of Afghans seeking asylum in neighbouring countries, such as Pakistan and Iran, which reached a peak in 1981 with 2.8 and 1.5 million refugees respectively (see Figure 2). During 1990, a total of 6.3 million refugees had fled their homes. Following the withdrawal of the Soviets and the fall of the Ahmadzai in 1992, the largest voluntary refugee repatriation took place. With the assistance of UNHCR, approximately 1.2 million Afghans returned home from Pakistan and 300,000 from Iran (Colville, 1997). However, the upsurge of the Taliban from 1994 created new incentives for flight and by the year 2000, 3.4 million Afghans were living as refugees, including 2 million in Pakistan and 1.4 million in Iran.

The number of Afghan refugees increased after the 9/11 terror attacks on the United States with 3.6 million Afghans fleeing to Pakistan and 2.3 million to Iran. A minority of Afghans also fled to industrialised countries because of the Taliban. This comprised mainly of women and children, particularly widows who had multiple children and minority groups such as the Hazaras and non-Muslim communities in Afghanistan such as those of Hindu and Sikh faith (Hanifi, 2006). Many were also rural people who attempted to illegally cross the sea between Indonesia and Australia on small fishing boats (Monsutti, 2008; also see, Afghans in New Zealand).<sup>12</sup> After 2004, the Taliban began to increase their terrorist activities and, throughout 2007, Afghans continued to flee their homes by crossing the borders to Iran or Pakistan.

Afghanistan continues to form one of the largest refugee populations worldwide (with 2.45 million Afghans leaving their homes in 2015) due to the ongoing threat of terrorism, poor living conditions and challenging socio-economic environments (UNHCR, 2016b). The people of Afghanistan, particularly the younger generations, have only ever experienced war and the injustices and inequalities that have resulted from it.

---

<sup>12</sup> The exact figures of Afghans living in Western countries are difficult to obtain because many Afghans become nationals in the country that they reside in (Braakman, 2005).

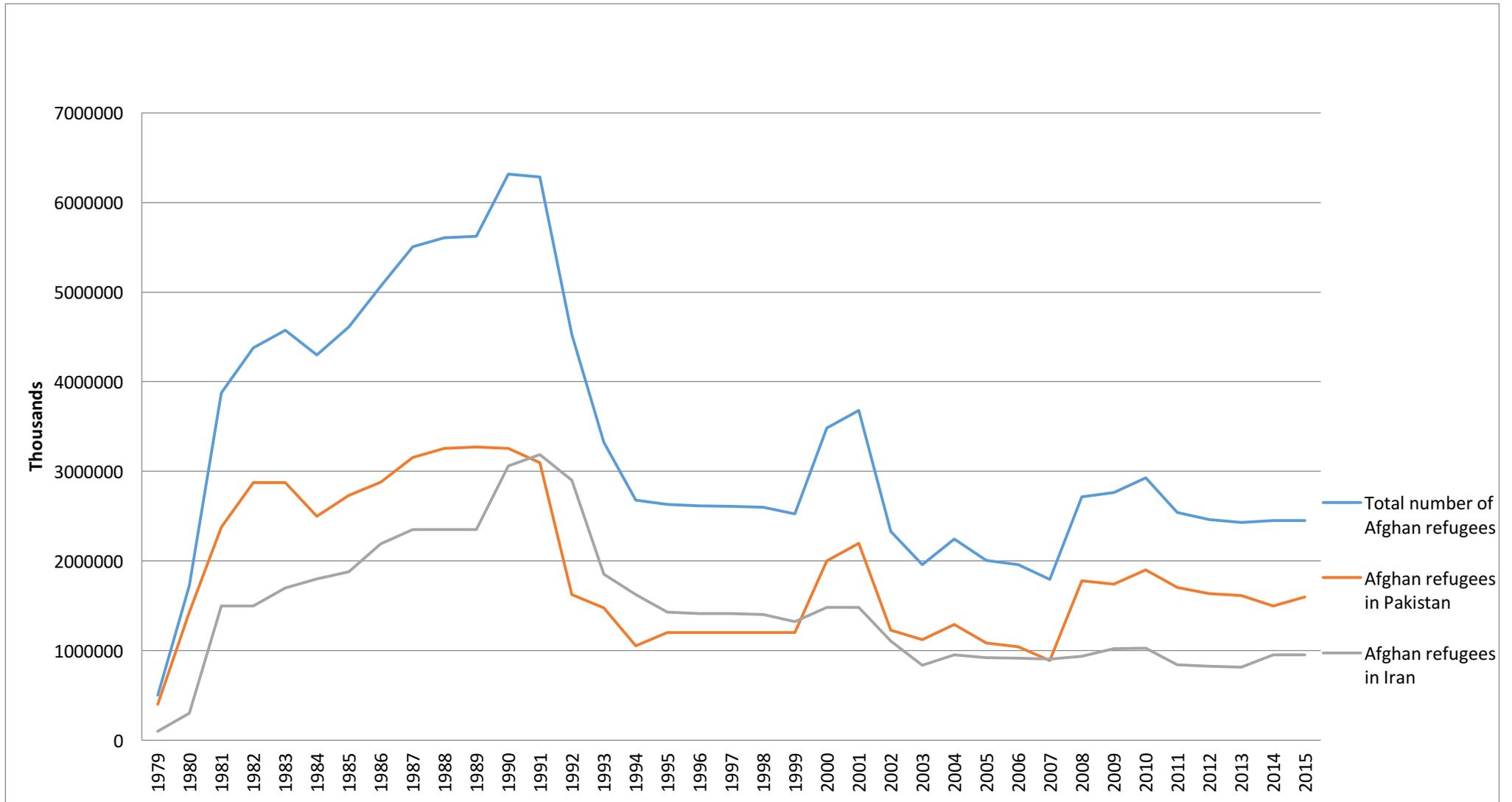


Figure 2 Number of Afghan Refugees: 1979-2015.

Source: UNHCR (2017).

## Afghans in New Zealand

New Zealand is a signatory of the 1951 United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees and to the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. In the 1990s, New Zealand began to accept refugees from Afghanistan. The 1991 census reported that 117 individuals identified their ethnicity as 'Afghani.' By 2013, there were 3,420 individuals who identified as 'Afghani'. The majority (2421) live in the Auckland region, followed by Canterbury (678), Waikato (141) and Wellington (111).

There were two periods in which New Zealand accepted a large number of Afghan refugees. The first was on August 26, 2001, when over four hundred Afghans, predominantly from the Hazara ethnic group, and Iraqis were rescued from a distressed Indonesian fishing boat in the Indian Ocean by the Norwegian freighter MV *Tampa*. They were fleeing war and the Taliban in Afghanistan and were seeking asylum in Australia. The Australian government, under the leadership of John Howard, prevented Arne Rinnan, captain of the *Tampa*, from landing the asylum seekers on the Australian territory of Christmas Island. The Australian Government announced that the asylum seekers were to be taken to the Island country, the Republic of Nauru, where their refugee status would be considered.

At that point, the New Zealand Labour government, under the leadership of Helen Clark, stepped in and offered to determine the status of up to 150 Tampa refugees (Beaglehole, 2013). September of 2001 saw 131 Afghans transferred from Nauru to New Zealand where they had all gained refugee status. An additional 77 Afghans on the Tampa, who had undergone screening on Nauru by the United Nations, were also accepted in New Zealand. In the years that followed, family members of the refugees on board the Tampa transferred to New Zealand through the Refugee Quota Programme (Gruner & Searle, 2011).

The most recent arrival of a group of Afghans occurred in October, 2012, when the New Zealand government offered refuge to Afghan interpreters who had been working with the New Zealand Defence Force in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. In June, 2013, 44 interpreters along with their wives and children (96 additional family members in total) arrived in New Zealand. After spending eight weeks at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre in Auckland, the interpreters and their families were resettled in Hamilton and Palmerston North.

## Thesis outline

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. Following this chapter, chapter 2 provides an overview of the key research concepts and literature relevant to this study. It begins by tracing the changing theorising on the relationship between people, namely refugees, place and identity. This includes attention to the ‘new mobilities paradigm,’ a framework that I employ to make sense of home in a world of movement. I then explore the different ways in which home has been framed in academic literature. After this, I look at the work on affect and emotion before discussing social constructionism as the theoretical approach underpinning this thesis.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology and research strategies employed in this study, discussing the reasons for the qualitative approach taken and the decision to conduct one-to-one, in-depth interviews. The chapter then provides a reflection on the recruitment strategies taken and the location of the interviews, before discussing the interview process. It also discusses the methodological considerations of this research before concluding with the process of analysing the research material.

Chapter 4 discusses the research findings related to memories of home, particularly Afghanistan, and how the participants (re)made home in other countries along the migration route, namely Iran and Pakistan. In this chapter, I argue that the nation state of Afghanistan was not the only or the most important reference for making home; people, particularly family and friends, and specific places were just as important.

Chapter 5 shifts focus by looking at the affective and emotional aspects of home and home-making in New Zealand. The chapter comprises three parts: arrival narratives, cultural negotiations, and post-disaster displacement. I focus on the affective dimensions of the participants’ displacement narratives. Young Afghan women articulate their history of displacement, their efforts in negotiating what it means to be a Muslim in Christchurch, and their emotional responses to double-displacement: one as a result of war and the other as a result of earthquakes.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis by considering the key finds of this study in relation to existing research literature and discusses possible future research related to this project.

## 2. Literature review and theoretical approach

### Introduction

In this chapter I draw together various literature that covers some of the dominant theoretical perspectives and concepts on home from refugee and migration studies. In the first section, I provide an overview of the debates about the relationship between refugees, place, and identity. This includes attention to ‘the new mobilities paradigm’ which I employ as a framework to make sense of home in a world of movement. The second section examines the different ways in which home has been framed in academic literature and critiques the understanding of home as either ‘here’ or ‘there’. I also explore the work on affect and emotion. While the literature on affect, emotion and home is not extensive, it draws attention to the ways in which home and home-making can be understood as an embodied experience. The third section of this literature review discusses social constructionism as the theoretical approach underpinning this thesis.

### Theories of people and place

When exploring the literature on concepts of home and belonging, it becomes evident that place plays a significant role in the debates. In the early 1990s, anthropologists such as Malkki (1994) began to question dominant discourses in refugee studies, particularly essentialist understandings of people and place. These suggest that refugees have a natural and inseparable connection to their place of origin. Place is often considered central to refugees’ constructions of belonging. It also plays a central role in refugees’ identity narratives, which evoke loyalty to a homeland, whether real or fictive (see Ahmed, 1999; Haller & Landolt, 2005; Pratt, 2004; Wiles, 2008). Indeed, Said (2000 p.1) discusses the bond that refugees share to their “native place” by stating that exile is:

The unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted [...] the achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever.

Said’s statements are similar to the idea that, when refugees involuntarily depart from their “true home,” they experience what Malkki (1992 p.34) calls a “loss of moral and subsequently emotional bearings.” What this means is that when national and cultural identities are viewed in territorialised terms, uprootedness threatens to spoil and denature them (Malkki, 1992). Indeed, such thinking has been referenced by host governments to justify repatriation; refugees

naturally belong to a particular place and should therefore return to their place of origin. In essence, to be territorially uprooted means to be torn loose from culture, to lose one's identity and to become powerless (Brun, 2001 p.18). Place can therefore play many roles in how the refugee is constructed: at a legal level it makes the definition of the refugee possible; at the metaphysical level it leads to suspicion of the mobile; and at the historical level, the construction of nations made the existence of the refugee as a foreigner possible (Cresswell, 2013 p.121).

Although essentialist views continue to inform understandings of displacement, scholars of refugee studies have explored the importance of denaturalising the relationship between people and place. According to Malkki (1992 p.24) the relationship between people and place is weakening, which can be attributed to the impact of globalisation. She also suggests that “[people] invent homes and homelands in the absence of territorial, national bases- not in situ, but through memories of, and claims on, places that they can or will no longer corporeally inhabit.” The corollary of this is that places are understood as a process marked by openness and change rather than something rooted in notions of authenticity. Although Cresswell (2013 p.7) would suggest that location is an important component of place, he also argues that the “material setting for social relations” and the “subjective and emotional attachment people have to place” are just as important. Place can therefore be a particular articulation of social relations that exists beyond one location.

Although the denaturalising of people and place allows for a more fluid understanding of home, it also runs the risk of downplaying the needs of refugees. Scholars such as Kibreab (1999) and Sampson and Gifford (2010) argue that simply ignoring the relationship between people and place overlooks the reality that the world continues to allocate rights, such as equal rights, along territorial boundaries. Turton (2005 p.278) is similarly critical of the denaturalising approach, arguing that to emphasis the horror and pain of the loss of home and to say little about the work of producing home or neighbourhood is to treat refugees as lacking what it takes to be social agents and historical subjects. According to Turton (2005) this preserves the construction that refugees are passive victims who are there to be assisted and controlled. This reinforces the agency/victimization binary as well as the dichotomy between expert and participant, in this case the refugee, already present in the study of refugees (Kumsa, 2006).

However, rather than endorsing the idea of naturalisation or denaturalisation of people and place, Brun (2001) suggests an engagement with reterritorialization. Reterritorialization acknowledges the strong connection to places left behind and their associated traumas, while simultaneously “recognising the possibilities of constructive (re)building of connections to place within a context of resettlement” (Brun, 2001; Sampson & Gifford, 2010 p.117). Brun (2001) argues that reterritorialization is about focussing on the local perspective of forced migration. However, taking a local perspective does not mean the exclusion from the broader processes that cause displacement; nor does it mean to isolate the refugee from their connections with the past and their present involvement in transnational networks (Brun, 2001). Instead, what should drive our analysis of the local perspective of refugees is the particularity of the social interactions that intersect where the refugees are present (Brun, 2001). Thus, this thesis acknowledges the importance of reterritorialization for considering that physical locations may still possess meaning for refugees.

In addition to these debates, transnational studies have played a significant role in highlighting the idea that individuals can feel a connection to multiple homes simultaneously. Basch, Schiller and Szanton-Blanc (1994 p.7) defined transnationalism as:

[...] the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasise that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships – familial, economic, social, organisational, religious and political – that span borders we call transmigrants. An essential element of transnationalism is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies.

Transnationalism comes in a variety of guises and operates at different levels. However, transnational scholars usually consider the idea that transmigrants are immigrants whose day-to-day lives are contingent on various and persistent interconnections across international borders and whose identities are constructed in relation to more than one country (Quirke, Potter & Conway, 2009 p.3). Transnational research therefore acknowledges the notion that migrants maintain ties between the homeland and the settled country through remittances, communication and travel (Quirke, Potter & Conway, 2009 p.3). Although transnationalism and attachment to place have tended to be seen as incompatible (Sheringham, 2010 p. 61), more recent attempts to situate transnationalism have been useful in revealing “the complex

interweaving of individuals and social networks within and through places” (Conradson & Latham, 2005 p.228). Therefore, instead of seeing migrants as out-of-place, a transnational approach attracts attention to flows of people as indicative of a globalised world.

Although transnationalism considers the ways in which migrants’ identities and connections to place are constantly shifting, it has many shortcomings. Firstly, transnational researchers largely ignore the experiences of refugees (Koser, 2007).<sup>13</sup> In addition, Taylor (2015) argues that while transnational research suggests the possibility of going beyond the nation, in actuality it suggests a continuing link between two or more nations. Furthermore, Al-Ali and Koser (2002 p.5-7) suggest that refugees who engage in transnational activities may be doing so out of social pressure and unwelcome family responsibilities. Rather than feeling a connection as a result of their continuing links to their ‘homeland,’ refugees may express a sense of fragmentation, pain, uneasiness and tension (Ali-Ali & Koser, 2002 p.5). Finally, Halilovich (2013 p.203) contends that transnational structures may not encapsulate other units of analysis, such relationships based on locally embedded cultural identities, kinship and shared memories. From these perspectives, transnational research maintains several assumptions about the nature and extent of transnational connections for refugee populations, which can lead to the meaning of home being taken for granted.

The concept of diaspora has also been used to explain a sense of belonging that transcends territorial boundaries. Safran (1991) held the belief that the homeland is vitally important in defining one of the essential characteristics of diaspora. For Safran (1991), members of a diaspora retained a collective memory of their original homeland, idealised their ancestral home, were committed to the restoration of the original homeland, and continued in various ways to relate to the homeland. However, scholars influenced by post-modernist theorizing sought to deconstruct the two major building blocks of the diasporic idea: homeland and “ethnic/religious community” (Cohen, 2007 p.2). Post-modern scholars like Anthias (1998), Brah (1996) and Soysal (2000) have argued that identities have become deterritorialized and affirmed in a flexible and situational way. Thus, the cultural identity of diasporic peoples does

---

<sup>13</sup> According to Koser (2007), there are many reasons for why transnational research ignores the experiences of refugees. Firstly, attention has usually focused on how refugees integrate into their host countries and are assumed to maintain few links with their ‘homeland.’ Secondly, much research within transnational migration studies has been in North America, where refugees and asylum seekers pose relatively fewer challenges. Thirdly, in Europe, it is widely assumed that there is less potential for the development of transnational activities and ties among refugees than other migrants (Koser, 2007).

not necessarily relate back to one homeland, but to a variety of homelands, each demanding an influence over the notion of home (Hall, 2013).

Tölölyan (2005) insists that a middle ground can be reached and argues that, despite the erosion of place, diasporic life continues to remain important. However, he warns that this belief must be shielded against the possibilities of either “imitating discredited nationalist rhetoric about the link between land, people, and culture” or staying ingenuous about the global spaces that have opened up in the past several decades (Tölölyan 2005 p.138). On the other hand, Cohen (2007 p.4-12) argues that there are three main versions of home/homeland: ‘solid,’ which is the unquestioned need for a homeland; ‘ductile,’ the intermediate, more complex, idea of homeland; and ‘liquid,’ a post-modernist rendition of virtual home. What Cohen (2007) and others (Bauman, 2000; Brettell, 2006; Christou, 2006; Clifford, 1994; Levitt, 1998; Werbner, 2000) have demonstrated is the ways in which diaspora studies have expanded to incorporate the views of many different groups and their connection to their homelands. Diaspora discourses have provided a platform to engage with what it means to leave and therefore lose a homeland, and how this relationship interacts with and shapes alternative understandings of home.

Although diaspora studies have contributed significantly to theoretical understandings of home and homeland, diaspora populations are not homogenous entities that engage in joint action towards shared goals. Anthias (1998), for example, argues that social identities within diasporas are often contested. Indeed, the ethnic groups of Afghanistan as a subject of political rhetoric (and warfare) were extended to the diaspora, prompting occurrences of ethnic divisions and segregation of wider communities (Fischer, 2015). For example, among Afghan diaspora populations in Germany and the UK, people rarely encounter each other simply as ‘Afghans’ (Fischer, 2015). Instead, perceptions are filtered through a variety of identity categories including family, socio-economic backgrounds, ethnicity and political affiliations (Fischer, 2015). While Afghans do engage with their ancestral land, they do not act as a cohesive diaspora (Fischer, 2015). After taking into consideration the historical processes that have shaped the ethnic, cultural and religious make-up of the people of Afghanistan, I do not engage with the concept of diaspora.

## The new mobilities paradigm

This thesis is informed by the ‘new mobilities paradigm,’ which explores the movement of people, capital, ideas, and materials, and the wider social implications of those movements. Mobility studies reject sedentarism and challenge the assumption that societies are place-bound (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006). It also critiques the interwoven categories of nation, ethnicity, place and state (Sheller & Urry, 2006). At the same time, mobilities scholars focus on movement, placelessness and change. In doing so, they consider the interrelation between travel and dwelling, home and not-home (Sheller & Urry, 2006). When migrants or refugees leave their home, they take parts of it with them, whether reassembled in the material form or psychologically (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). This in turn allows them to reconfigure the place of arrival, both figuratively and imaginatively (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). Instead of viewing people as fixed in place and within specific boundaries, mobility studies consider place as open to various interpretations (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006 p.13). Places are therefore not fixed but are linked within complex networks by which hosts, guests, buildings and objects are taken together to produce certain performances at certain times (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006 p.13).

The new mobilities approach also considers the power relations inherent in mobility. It acknowledges that not everyone has access to mobility and the politically contested nature of different kinds of mobility. As Sheller and Urry (2006 p.211) argue, mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power relations. The authors believe that it is important to focus on the power of discourse and practices of mobility in constructing both movement and stasis, rather than looking solely at “mobile subjectivity” (Sheller & Urry, 2006 p.211). This is consistent with Korac’s (2009) contention that place-making for refugees is affected and contested by small-scale frameworks of interaction and institutional domains, as well as by more large-scale frameworks and distant social realms. According to Korac (2009) these cross-cutting domains, discourses and institutional constraints shape refugee place-making strategies, the meanings they attach to them, and their outcomes. As such, through a complex interrelationship of these different and dynamic social interactions and exchanges, they become ‘emplaced’ or create home that is meaningful to them (Korac, 2009). The mobilities approach therefore questions how context is itself mobilised or performed through constant sociotechnical practices (Sheller & Urry, 2006). It also delineates the context in which both sedentary and nomadic accounts of the social world function (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

In addition to this, the new mobilities paradigm considers the ways in which moving between places, either physically or virtually, can be a source of status and power for some, and deprivation and suffering for others. How individuals negotiate their environments depends on the kind of mobility (Sheller & Urry, 2006). For example, one can move upward, for example as a result of job opportunity, or one can be forced to move, such as when refugees seek asylum. There is also a proliferation of places, “gates” and technologies that improve the mobilities of some while emphasising the immobilities of others (Sheller & Urry, 2006). This is particularly relevant for the participants in this project, when understanding how they, as young children and as young adults, negotiate their agency in various places and times. It also brings attention to the ways in which gender intersects with notions of power in different contexts.

Information and images in local, national and global media can also move. The mobilities approach considers one-to-one communications such as via phone, as well as many-to-many communications affected through networked and progressively embedded computers (Sheller & Urry, 2006). The mobilities approach acknowledges both the immobile infrastructure that arranges the flow of people and information and the borders or ‘gates’ that limit, channel and regulate (anticipated) movement (Sheller & Urry, 2006 p.212). It also examines how the transportation of people and the communication of information overlap through digitisation and wireless infrastructures (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

A relevant example of the importance of digital communication is the representation of Muslim and Afghan women in and by Western media. Western media outlets have constructed Muslim or Oriental<sup>14</sup> women as exotic, sexualised, “women of the harem,”<sup>15</sup> who are mysterious and yet obtainable for the male gaze and sexual pleasure (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Lewis, 2013; Yeğenoğlu, 1998; Zine, 2006). Muslim women in particular have been portrayed as ill-treated victims who are forced to hide behind the veil.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, the body of the Muslim woman

---

<sup>14</sup> Said’s (1978) conceptualisation of Orientalism has been heavily drawn on to discuss the ways in which the Orient (East) and the Oriental (Arabs, Middle Easterners and Muslims) were discursively constructed through a system of representation enabled by the Occident (West). For example, Orientals are presented as backward, traditional, barbaric and fanatic, a total negation of the West and Europe which supposedly embody all the desirable cultural and political attributes, such as liberalism and democracy (Said 1978). As such the construction of the rigid East/West dichotomy ensures Muslims as the alien or ‘other,’ silent and unable to speak for themselves (Bullock, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Harem can be translated into the “forbidden space”.

<sup>16</sup> A veil is a piece of material worn by Muslim women to protect and conceal their face. There are different kinds of veils, covering different body parts. In this chapter, I will use the term that the authors in the various studies that I cite have used. Otherwise, I will use the term hijab or scarf to refer to the headscarf that covers the hair and chest of Muslim women. These are terms that the participants in this study also used.

should be unveiled in order to make her modern (Bullock, 2002 p.85; Zempi & Chakraborti, 2014 p.87; Yeğenoğlu, 1998). Within this process, a binary framework is constituted whereby the West's liberated women are juxtaposed with Islam's oppressed women (Zine, 2002 p.12). As such, Muslim women have been represented in the Western (particularly male) imagination as exotic, sensual harem girls, as well as oppressed victims, forming a "complex nexus of desire and disavowal" (Zine, 2002 p.9).

Western media has also drawn on particular discourses about the nature of Muslim men to construct Muslim women as oppressed by their culture. The stereotype of aggressive and domineering Muslim men reinforces the stereotype that Muslim women are marginalized and oppressed (Ali & Hopkins, 2012 p.141). The most widely recognized image of the 'oppressed Muslim woman' occurred after the events of 9/11 when Western media, most notably from the United States, represented the Taliban as oppressing Afghan women (Rostami-Povey, 2007). According to Zine (2006 p.9) this construction manipulated women's liberation in order to justify military/colonial intervention from the United States. However, Spivak would argue the campaign to enter Afghanistan on the basis of "saving" Muslim women from "fanatical Muslim men" (Zine, 2006 p.9) is a case of "white men saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak, 1988 p. 293). Yet, as Abu-Lughod (2002 p.784) states viewing the oppression of Afghan women as caused only by the Taliban prevents the serious examination of the nature of human suffering in this part of the world while emphasising a "West versus East, us versus Muslims" mentality. Western media representations have therefore perpetuated the image that Afghan women are oppressed by their culture and by the men in their society. They are positioned as voiceless victims who are incapable of negotiating or rising above their oppressive culture, religion and society.

Inextricably woven into Western media representations of Muslim women is the assumption that all Muslim women are the same. By drawing on cultural discourses that suggest that all Muslim women are forced into donning the veil or that the veil for them is a form of resistance to Western conceptions of modernity, Western media representations suggest that veiled Muslim women form a collective group with a single identity (Zempi & Chakraborti, 2014). This representation assumes that Muslim women are not aware of the debates surrounding the practice of veiling, even though scholars such as Bullock (2002 p.109) have emphasised the

fact that clothing is not chosen without thought.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, dominant discourses in Western media perpetuate the image that the hijab is necessarily an oppression for Muslim women. This image neglects the reality that Muslim women come from a wide variety of class, race, ethnic and religious backgrounds, and therefore leaves no space to engage with the complexities of clothing choices.

The new mobilities paradigm underpins this research, as it acknowledges that not everyone has access to mobility. It considers how moving between places can be a source of status and power for some, and deprivation and suffering for others. It also highlights how information and images, particularly in Western media, ‘move.’

## Home, belonging and identity

Research on home has been conducted in and across various disciplines, including sociology and human geography. Although these disciplines contribute a great deal to this field, I have chosen to focus only on the most relevant themes of home. I consider home to be an important dimension of identity and belonging. I see belonging as a dynamic set of processes (Skrbiš, Baldassar & Poynting, 2007) moving away from a fixed understanding in which there is one place where individuals feel at home. This raises the question ‘Can you belong, and if so, where?’ In this way, questions of belonging suggest that there is a focus on the underlying aspects of inclusion and exclusion (Blunt & Dowling, 2006 p.257). Thus, while home can be considered a “space of belonging” (Gorman-Murray & Dowling, 2007), for migrants and refugees, it can be stretched into transnational belonging (Blunt, 2005). Home and belonging therefore need to be considered not only as the relationship between space and place but also within and through time (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; King & Christou, 2008; Rapport & Dawson, 1998). This highlights the need to adopt a critical perspective in order to consider dichotomous terms such as refugee/non-refugee, homeland/host-land, and displacement/emplacement.

One of the most intriguing questions is how home comes to be associated with a particular place, specifically for those who were displaced in childhood. The relationship to both the country of departure and country of settlement can differ enormously from one member of a given generation to the next (Levitt & Waters, 2002). In addition to experiences of forced

---

<sup>17</sup> There are various reasons as to why Muslim women choose to don (or not) the hijab, and the multiple meanings associated with the hijab. For examples, see Bullock (2002); Contractor (2012); Hoodfar (1993); Williams and Vashi (2007).

migration, the young former refugees in this study have also been separated from their families. The experiences of an individual are shaped by their specific social locations and the value attached to these at a particular time (Levitt & Waters, 2002). For Alinia (2004 p.328) the homeland in the context of displacement is not necessarily territorially based. Rather it evokes “the desire and longing for homeland on an individual basis,” particularly for those experiencing exclusion and subordination. Thus, home is inextricably linked to the processes of inclusion and exclusion, whether in the country of origin, during protracted displacement, or in the country of settlement. The notion of home and feeling at home is therefore directly linked to an individual’s struggle to belong.

Home and belonging are also intimately connected with understandings of identity. For Anthias (2009 p.8) identity is about how individuals construct themselves and how their self-identifications can be connected to wider discourses of their community. Identity is also about the ways in which one sees oneself in relation to the ‘Other.’ Anthias (2009) argues that belonging assumes access to a community, whereas an individual can identify with collectives without necessarily being part of the community. In this way, a sense of belonging is considered to develop from circumstances of refuted membership. Feelings of belonging are based on notions of exclusion, inclusion and participation to a greater degree than identity (Anthias, 2009). Yet, for Hedetoft and Hjort (2002 p.ix) belonging can lead to various forms of identity across the political spectrum: the right, where the politics of belonging have always implied racism and “national chauvinism,” to ethnic groups who seek recognition of their status of rightful belonging, and to the left, where political parties and organisations argue their right to secede in order to reclaim their “authentic, sovereign space of belonging”. Thus, belonging is about the process of negotiation and restriction.

Conversely, Rapport and Dawson (1998 p.21) suggest that home is “the environment (cognitive, affective, physical, somatic, or whatever) in which one best knows oneself, where one’s self-identity is best grounded.” In this sense, the feeling of being at home is related to constructions of identity and place, and is situated in the place where one’s self-identity is most grounded. This is created from both an individual and an outside perspective of belonging (Brah, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Other scholars (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004) suggest that emotional attachments to home help maintain a sense of connection and foster a sense of identity. In this way, negotiations of home can also be about

the emotions attached to various places and the ensuing implications of such feelings for one's sense of identity and belonging.

## The question of home

Home is a multidimensional concept that encompasses various aspects. The most common representation of home is the idea of the spatial home, a place geographically locatable (Taylor, 2013). The spatial dimension of home can include a house or room; the habitual spaces of everyday activity, such as churches, mosques, streets, shops and cafes; a town or homeland (nation state); or, as some religious and environmental discourses illustrate, the entire earth (Kabachnik, Regulska & Mitchneck, 2010; Taylor, 2013). However, it has been argued that home as a house or geographic place reductively represents home as one-dimensional (Mallet, 2004). In addition, forced migration is often understood as the uprooting of the (spatial) home, but researchers have opened up the (re)construction of home in the context of migration (Sirriyeh, 2013 p.6). Post-structuralist approaches have shown the importance of movement and fluidity in the construction of home and in migration, therefore challenging ideas of home as tied to origin and a single fixed place (Sirriyeh, 2010; Ahmed, 1999). Furthermore, the physical dwelling or shelter must be established in a historical and cultural context (Mallet, 2004). Home in this sense is understood not as something fixed and essentially rooted in localities or territories but as constituting a continuous process across space and time that involves a task of actively constructing a sense of home.

Home has been traditionally conceptualised as a place where important social relations emerge and exist. The relational aspect of home refers to the social and emotional relationships we have with others in the space as well as those who are outside the space (Taylor, 2015). Mallet (2004) suggests that home symbolises the family relationships and life courses enacted within those spaces. For Taylor (2015 p.17), home means to experience, on a daily basis, a series of interactions, intimacies and exchanges with either close kin, extended family, social networks or acquaintances. Family, friends and social networks can therefore be a source of comfort and support for refugees throughout their refugee experience. At the same time, the connections that refugees have with the people 'left behind' may also connect them to past homes. Yet, ties to family members left behind and amongst members of the migrating group can also be a source of struggle and therefore can be challenging in the post-migration re-creation of a sense of home (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). Furthermore, research on migration and exile suggests that the relationships between home and family and friends can change over time or

in different spatial contexts (Mallet, 2004). Therefore, at some points and places in an individual's life it may be crucial, but at others it may be largely irrelevant (Mallet, 2004). Home, therefore, consists of human relationships shaped through interactions, activities, memories and feelings about people in place, feelings that can change over time.

Home is a place of safety and security. It is about access to basic needs and the absence of harm from others (Hage, 2010). It relates to the ability to progress, succeed, make decisions and choose one's path (Kissoon, 2015 p.23). Home is about having a place of refuge; it is a private, often familial realm which is contrasted against public space and removed from public surveillance and scrutiny (Mallet, 2004). The outside is therefore perceived as imposing, if not dangerous or threatening space: it is more diffuse, less defined (Mallet, 2004). However, Papadopoulos (2002) suggests that the feeling of safety may not be added to the primary sense of stability; whether a person experiences home as a safe place is a different matter to the primary experience of stability as home. Rather, feeling safe has to do with "ontological security" or the feeling of well-being that arises from a sense of constancy in one's material and social environment (Giddens, 1990 p.79). Yet, Brun and Fábos (2015) suggest that home may be understood as a place in which power relations of the wider society, such as relations of class, ethnicity, generation and gender, are played out. For example, they propose that many refugees are targeted within their own country, which emphasises the political meaning of home (Brun & Fábos, 2015). Subsequently, the forcible displacement from places referred to as home reveals the ways in which experiences of home can be unsettling, changing, open and a more mobile entity (Brun & Fábos, 2015).

Another dimension of home is gender. Mallet (2004) discusses a point that is not uncommon in the literature on gender and home: for men home is a space in which they have ultimate authority, yet limited responsibility for child-rearing and domestic duties. According to Massey (1994) women have been confined to the domestic sphere in an attempt to socially control their identities. This leads to the construction of home as a woman's place, which perpetuates the view of place as a source of stability, reliability and authenticity for women (Massey, 1994). However, Mallet (2004) suggests that some researchers continue to claim that, despite some evidence of men's increasing participation in domestic duties, women continue to experience and/or describe home as a site of oppression. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of feminist literature that valorises women's experiences of household labour and mothering within home environments (Mallet, 2004).

Feminist scholars also suggest that, for women and others who have experienced abuse, home may have a very different set of connections, such as danger, fear and lack of control (Rose, 1993). Similarly, Holt (2015) argues that home, particularly for displaced women, is often a site of violence and fear, a place to which they are attached by circumstances rather than choice. For Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008) home can be a dangerous place ruled by patriarchal, religious and heterosexual norms, which then challenges the public/private sphere and safe/unsafe binaries. What this means is that “refugeeness” can put the notion of home into question by deconstructing its feminized connotation of a “safe place where women belong” (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, 2008 p.41). In this way, home can be a site where life is simultaneously safe and threatened, affirmed and violated (Hart & Ben-Yoseph, 2005 p.2). The literature on home and gender not only critiques the role of women within the households, but also addresses the ways in which gender plays a role in the construction of home as a safe and secure place.

Home has also been defined by its opposite, or lack of home. Danger, fear, the unknown, alien places and traditions, unfamiliar faces and habits are all part of what is not home (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002 p.7). Just as home can be changed and redefined, so can notions of “non-home” (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002 p.7). Accordingly, former homes may develop strange, unusual and alien elements in the eyes of those who migrated abroad and, as such, the ‘here’ (home) and ‘there’ (away) increasingly become blurry and therefore difficult to sustain (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002). In this way, the ancestral land can be both a place of familiarity and danger. At the same time, the country of settlement can be a place devoid of tradition and familiarity; over time, however, what is foreign can become familiar. Therefore, conceptions of home are “dynamic processes involving the acts of imagining, creating, unmaking, changing, losing, and moving homes” (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002 p.6). The significance of making and un-making home can depend on how refugees experience displacement and emplacement and the ways in which this can change over time.

Conceptual shifts mean that it is now recognised that home is not either ‘here’ (ancestral land) or ‘there’ (country of settlement), but rather a journey. For Ahmed (2000 p.88) home always involves encounters between people who stay, people who arrive and people who leave. For Ginsberg (1999 p.35) home is less about “where you are from” and more about “where you are going.” Similarly, Mallet (2004) and Kabachnik, Regulaska and Mitchneck (2010) argue that home is a process of constant negotiation, whereby individuals transition from their primary

home to an ideal future home. Hadjiyanni (2002) and Al-Rasheed (1994) have found that former refugees focus on both the past and future. Often theorists and those who are displaced contend that the ideal home can only be ascertained through the act of return, even if it is impossible to return (Zetter, 1999). However, Taylor (2015) argues that the the process of homecoming does not end upon return. She also states that to view movement and the creation of home as a linear or cyclical process fails to consider the more complex ways in which home is challenged (Taylor, 2015). Furthermore, she warns that if we privilege only the transitions of the past home and the future home, we run the risk of neglecting the lived experiences of home from the perspective of the now (Taylor, 2015). This is particularly significant in the case of former refugees due to the tendency to characterise displaced people as unable to function in exile in the present (Taylor, 2015).

Home as a journey is also related to the ways in which reclaiming of the past symbolises the creation of a home in the present. Dudley (2011) suggests that refugees yearning for the lost home does not imply passivity, but instead demonstrates that refugees are able to reconstruct the past home to deal with everyday life. Heller (1995 p.2) argues that by repossessing their historic points of origins, refugees are able to create a home in the “absolute present.” This phrase indicates a newfound influence and appreciation of the present, and an abandonment of the past and future. However, Chowers (2002) argues that the notion of home exists in multiple temporalities simultaneously. Similarly, Taylor (2015) argues in her concept of “temporal home” that what constitutes home can change over time. She also acknowledges that time is more likely to be cyclical, and at times chaotic, than linear (Taylor, 2015). For Huttunen (2005 p.180) homes are not necessarily either ‘here’ or ‘there’ but rather in many locations at the same time. Therefore, home is a process rather than a fixed concept.

## **Affect, emotions and home**

Home is also about the emotional bonds that people have with other people and environments. Ehrkamp (2005) suggests that home is produced through the rooting of emotions and the symbolic and material enactment of belonging and identity to create a sense of safety. An understanding of home is therefore connected with feelings of belonging linked to both ancestral land and host-country. Christou (2011), on the other hand, believes that a (dis)connection with home can reflect a painful search for (ontological) meaning and (emotional) stability. Indeed, for many refugee groups, the creation of a sense of home in exile is the culmination of symbolic and strategic performances of (ethnic) identity framed by

citizenship and migration status, discourses of nationhood, and attachments to multiple, transnational locations (Christou, 2011). Yet for Kabachnik, Regulska and Mitchneck (2010), home is constructed in relation to temporality through the grounding of emotional connections to the future, present and past in everyday practices. Therefore, home can be about the ways in which emotional and cultural geographies of home are a process of identification that can become an ontological need for some individuals (Christou, 2011).

In this thesis, I employ Sara Ahmed's (2000) notion of home. In *Strange Encounters* (2000), Ahmed argues that the notion of home primarily carries a sensuous and affective meaning. Home does not merely mean belonging or having one's origins somewhere, but rather that one *feels* at home. According to Ahmed (2000 p.89), home is "the lived experience of locality, its sounds and odours." Furthermore, it is not simply the subject who feels at home in a passive locality. The home intrudes on the senses of the subject: locality determines what someone hears, smells, feels and remembers (Brah, 1996 p.192). Departing from this affective dynamic relationship between the subject and locality, Ahmed (2000) suggests the notion of home through the metaphor of the second skin: the stories of dislocation help to relocate by giving a shape to the past self. When home is considered as an outer skin, this allows for a consideration of the ways in which migration involves not only the spatial dislocation, but also the temporal dislocation: 'the past' becomes connected with a home that is impossible to inhabit, and be inhabited by, in the present (Ahmed, 2000). Therefore, being-at-home or leaving home is always a question of memory and of the discontinuity between past and present (Ahmed, 2000 p.91).

Ahmed's (2000) notion of home through the metaphor of the second skin highlights the importance of exploring how home is embodied. Places – perceptions of them, journeys between them – are all constructed through the medium of the body (Dudley, 2010). To think about the body means to think about the senses and how they are embedded in social and spatial relations (Ahmed, 2000; Longhurst, Johnston & Ho, 2009). For Taylor (2015 p.88), the organic matter (what she considers as the plants, trees, soil and other aspects of the natural environment) contributes much to the experiences of home.<sup>18</sup> This is what she calls the "material home" in which she argues that, while aspects of this are deeply evocative, for

---

<sup>18</sup> Research on the place-making strategies of refugees has also explored the ways in which aspects of the material home can be transported and replanted in the context of exile to feel at home in a new location (see Fortier, 2000; Jean, 2015; Taylor, 2015).

refugees they may also be convenient ways for doing identity, particularly at a time when identity matters greatly (Taylor, 2015 p.90).

Affect and emotion are defined and interpreted differently by different scholars. Some scholars do not use affect and emotions interchangeably, rather preferring one over the other (for example, Connolly, 2002; Highmore, 2010; Massumi, 2002; Thrift, 2008). However, rather than separating affect from emotion, this thesis focusses on how they relate to each other. To do this, I situate myself within the work of Ahmed (2004) and Wetherell (2012). Ahmed (2004) argues that the distinction between affect and emotion under-describes the work of emotions. Ahmed (2004 p.60) suggests that emotions shape how bodies are moved by the world they inhabit. Accordingly, emotions produce meaning in the world, and at the same time have affective power:

Some words stick because they become attached through particular affects. So, for example, someone will hurl racial insults ... precisely because they are affective, although it is not always guaranteed that the other will be 'impressed upon' or hurt in a way that follows from the history of insults. It is the affective nature of hate speech that allows us to understand that whether such speech works or fails to work is not really the important question. Rather, the important question is: What effects do such encounters have on the bodies of others who become transformed into objects of hate?

Ahmed (2004) reveals how language works as a form of power in which emotions stick different figures together "by the way they move us" (p. 195). Ahmed (2004 p.202) therefore develops the historically or discursively produced side of affect and, as she put it, "emotions are the very 'flesh' of time ... Through emotions, the past persists on the surface of bodies." She also discusses affect as "contagious" to highlight the idea that emotions are always social and affects pass between bodies, affecting bodily surfaces (Ahmed, 2010). Thus, affective and emotional responses involve historically produced bodily knowledge (Ahmed, 2004).

Wetherell (2012 p.4) is also careful not to overemphasise the distinction between emotions and affect. She uses affect as "*embodied meaning-making* that is mostly understood as *human emotion*" (emphasis in original). She proposes a new approach that understands affects as affective practices. An affective practice is "a figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations" (Wetherell, 2012 p. 19). She demonstrates that affect needs to be understood as interacting assemblage of natural bodily response (such as blushing), other body

movements (such as avoiding), signals that allow individuals to communicate with one another (such as facial expressions), cognitive and subjective feelings (Wetherell, 2012 p.62). Furthermore, for Wetherell (2012 p.88) place is also important when discussing affect for “the material world is not a passive backdrop but actively enters into the organisation of affective display.” As such, affective practices offer, in her understanding, the possibility to take into account the hybrid nature of affective life.

I also understand affect and emotion as a relationship. I consider this relationship in the context of displacement and emplacement and suggest that home and home-making are embodied experiences.

## **Theoretical approach: Social constructionism**

The theoretical approach for this thesis is social constructionist. Instead of deriving knowledge from an objective observation of the world, social constructionism proposes that our views and knowledge of the world are shaped by our own histories and experiences of culture (Gergen & Gergen, 2008). As such, knowledge is considered to be a product of human interpretation and understanding. Researchers within a constructionist perspective do not claim to be ‘capturing truths’ (Burr, 2015). Instead, what is regarded as truth is a product of social interactions (Burr, 2015). Therefore, in a social constructionist approach, what is collected during the research can only be partial or situated in terms of time, place and specific context. Social constructionists would therefore argue that reality is both constructed and changed by the social context (Crawford, 2006).

Social constructionists are particularly concerned with language and discourse. Language is important in the social constructionist process, particularly as it renders the structure and content of people’s thoughts “visible” and is a core aspect of interaction (Braun & Clarke, 2006 p.47). Burr (2015) suggests that, through interaction with others, we are able to develop a shared cultural knowledge which, although not conclusive, allows us to make sense of the world. As such, our understanding of experience is conveyed through language. However, language is not a neutral reflection of experience (Riger, 1992 p.734). This is because our linguistic categories are not neutral and because meanings are not fixed, but historically and culturally specific (Riger, 1992 p.734; Wright, 2003). Yet notions of power are negotiated through the medium of language (Crawford, 1995; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Social constructionists view language as an extremely flexible tool for creating social reality (Potter

& Wetherell, 1987). However, power is conceptualised not as a fixed characteristic but rather as a network of social forces that is continually produced, resisted, enacted, and subverted (Crawford, 1995). As power relations are negotiated through the medium of language, social constructionists view mundane conversational interaction and more formal and public types of speech as important activities with practical material consequences (Marecek, Crawford & Popp, 2004). For this reason, social constructionists often prefer qualitative and interpretative methods that permit close analysis of function and the meaning of talk.

Social constructionism is also concerned with discourse. Constructionists explore the ways in which realities, events, meanings, knowledge, and experiences are the effects of an array of discourses operating within society (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Discourses are “sets of statements that construct objects and an array of subject positions” (Parker, 1994 p.245). These subjective positions or identities are made relevant through specific ways of talking (Davies & Harre, 1999) and have implications for subjectivity and experience (Willig, 2008). Subject positions or “possibilities” (Gavey, 1989 p.464) offer us a particular ontology of the world, of being and behaving and of understanding ourselves and events (Gavey, 1992). The point that social constructionists want to make about positioning is that the subjectivities open to us through positions in discourse may be oppressive and leave us little potential for changing our situation (Burr, 2015). However, the concept of positioning has also been interpreted in a way that recognises the active way in which individuals attempt to locate themselves within certain discourses during social interaction. According to Burr (2015), the notion of positioning can recognise the ability of culturally available discourses to shape our experiences and restrain our behaviour while simultaneously allowing a space for individuals to actively engage with those discourses and to apply them in social situations. As such, individuals are active, rather than passive, and have some choice in terms of positioning themselves in relation to various discourses.

From a social constructionist perspective, identity is shaped by the way individuals position and construct themselves in relation to their cultural and social environment (Omoniyi & White, 2006 p.1). Constructionists suggest that individuals have a wider range of facets to their identity, and regard identity as a series of processes which are embedded in social practices and may change over time (Omoniyi & White, 2006 p.1). For Mendoza-Denton, identity is “the active negotiation of an individual’s relationship with large social constructs” (2001, p.475). Identity is therefore constantly being negotiated, created and constructed. Although

identity is influenced by the perception that individuals have about the world as well as the perceptions of others, individuals are able to make deliberate choices about who they are (Sallabank, 2006). Social constructionist emphasis on the fluidity of identity informs this thesis.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, scholars have begun to move away from essentialist discourses of place and displacement and move toward exploring the importance of denaturalising the link between people and place. Nevertheless, it is important to consider how physical locations may acquire meaning for refugees or communities, and the political and social consequences of rooting people in place. In order to offset the critique of transnationalism and diaspora, this thesis situates itself in the ‘new mobilities paradigm.’ This literature review has also looked at the different ways of framing home, affect and emotion and in doing so has elucidated the idea that home and home-making are embodied experiences. The theoretical approach underpinning this thesis is social constructionist.

## 3. Methodology

### Introduction

Given the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter, it was important that this project considered research methodologies that prioritised refugee women's experiences. Research exploring the experiences of refugee youth commonly focus on identifying factors, variables and issues that *affect them* as they adjust and adapt to their new homeland (Rousseau & Drapeau, 2003). This reinforces the agency/victimization binary already present in the study of refugees, and suggests the mutually exclusive categories of experts and refugees (Kumsa, 2006). It was therefore important to develop research strategies that would allow the refugee participants to articulate their understanding of their experiences.

In this chapter, I discuss the research strategies I used for this project and how they were informed by my research agendas. I begin by discussing the qualitative research approach taken and the decision to conduct one-to-one, in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation. I then discuss the recruitment strategies and the ethical considerations which this entailed. Following this, I highlight the interview process before I explore the methodological considerations of doing research *with* refugees. I will conclude this chapter by discussing how the theoretical ideas presented in the previous chapter informed the data analysis.

### One-to-one, in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation

Much of the research exploring the experiences of refugee youth does so in terms of their process of acculturation and adaptation. A consequence of these studies is that refugee youth have been positioned as a marginalized group who may be at-risk in terms of their social adjustment (Rousseau & Drapeau, 2003). These findings are usually based on quantitative research, such as surveys that ask refugees questions about their experiences of resettlement. Quantitative methods offer a useful way of making meaningful statistical inferences and generalities about a broad range of issues that may affect refugees, such as health, education, language acquisition and job prospects (McIntyre, 1999). This allows for an engagement with the needs of refugee populations and the subsequent development of policies. However, survey research may be incapable of capturing the meanings and perceptions of social actors and the context in which the action is taking place (Calnan 2007).

Qualitative methods were considered to be the most useful for this study as they avoid treating refugees as objects. They also address the “exploitative tendency of unequal power relations” rooted in the research process (Korac, 2009 p.18). This enables a move away from assuming that refugees are victims traumatised by war and takes an exploratory approach which attempts to voice, from the perspective of refugees, what displacement means to them. As such, qualitative methods aim to secure the active involvement of refugees in the construction of knowledge about their lives (Korac, 2009 p.18). They acknowledge diversity and the complexities of understanding social phenomena, whilst recognising participants as experts with respect to their own experiences.

In-depth, one-to-one, semi-structured interviews were considered the most appropriate method for conducting this research. This is because they allow a detailed range of experiences, beliefs and opinions to be obtained from different participants (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013). In-depth interviews also allow researchers to probe into responses, eliciting further clarification (Miller & Glassner, 2004). This creates room for participants to voice how they feel about their circumstances in the context of their whole refugee experience (Kissoon, 2006). It also allows the participants to raise other concerns that are significant to them (Liamputtong, 2010). In doing so, it invites an exploration of new topics which the researcher may not have thought of in advance (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011).

This research project also made use of ‘photo-elicitation’ as a research strategy. Photo-elicitation can facilitate the expression of abstract concepts that might otherwise be more linguistically challenging (Lenette & Boddy, 2013). Photos can also provide participants with what Foster-Fishman et al. (2005, p.285) term “narrative autonomy,” which allows participants to determine the stories they want to be heard. Furthermore, they can provide participants with a unique way to discuss aspects of their lives, particularly if they have not considered this in-depth (Ford et al. 2017; Guillemin & Drew, 2010). Therefore, I included photo-elicitation as a research strategy to develop a rich understanding of the ways in which home is remembered, embodied and (re)negotiated in the present.

## Selection of participants

As highlighted in Chapter 1, I chose to explore the experiences of Afghan women to contribute to the currently very little academic literature on Afghans in New Zealand.

I chose to explore the experiences of the 1.5 generation for many reasons. 1.5 generation youth have to negotiate two significant identity transformations simultaneously: a transition from childhood to adulthood and a transition from one sociocultural environment to another (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). Negotiating these transitions, in addition to mobility, often evokes feelings of ‘in-betweenness’ with regard to settlement and attachment to the new home (Park, 1999; Wolf, 2002). This ‘in-between’ feeling stems from the common experiences of still identifying with the country of origin and its culture, while at the same time making efforts to adjust to the new environment (Remennick, 2003). Yet, there is an assumption that 1.5 generation youth negotiate their identities by either choosing to claim either a sense of belonging to their ancestral land or an affiliation to their country of residence. However, researchers (Zubida et al. 2013) argue that identity formation among this group should be viewed as a process that includes influences of both country of origin and country of settlement. They argue that 1.5 generation youth negotiate hybrid identities (Zubida et al. 2013). These findings illustrate a complex picture of the 1.5 generation youths’ identity and feelings of belonging. Despite this, stories of home, identity and belonging for the children of refugees have received little attention in the literature (Huynh & Yiu, 2012).

In total, twelve women took part in the one-to-one, in-depth interviews. Of the twelve participants, the majority (nine participants) came from the Hazara ethnic group. Three of the participants identified their ethnicity as Pashtun and Hazara. All of the participants were in their early and mid-twenties.<sup>19</sup>

## Ethical considerations

The Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury approved this project before fieldwork began. In order to maintain attention to ethical issues throughout the research, I kept a reflective journal. In this journal, I considered my own values and the experiences that may have played a role in my collection, interpretation and presentation of the transcripts (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). In addition, as I chose to examine a particular group of people

---

<sup>19</sup> The exact ages of the women are not provided because it may identify who they are.

within the Christchurch region, it was very important that I make every possible effort to conceal the identity of the participants. I did this by giving the participants pseudonyms to replace their names. I also disguised or removed any information that may identify them.

## Recruitment process

I began the recruitment process by emailing various migrant and refugee organisations within Christchurch. However, I did not find this method to be effective. I then turned my attention to the word-of-mouth approach which was the most effective recruitment method. The women were recruited between March and June of 2015, through a process of snowballing. The first interview was with an Afghan woman who had been told about this thesis project by a friend of mine, who also provided her with my email address. I received an email from this Afghan woman, in which she highlighted her interest in participating in the research project. I then emailed this woman an information sheet (see Appendix A) and a consent form (see Appendix B) to read before the interview. After interviewing this woman, I asked her whether she knew of anyone else who might be interested in taking part in the research project. She contacted one woman who then became the second participant in the study.

A friend had also suggested that I phone an Afghan man whom they knew. I called this man and told him about my research project. At the end of the phone call, I was offered the name and work address of a potential participant and was told to visit her at her work place. He insisted that I visit her and assured me that if I let the woman know that he had sent me, she would talk to me without hesitation; she could not refuse me because I was sent by him (see the section ‘Intercultural ethics’ in this chapter for a discussion on how I negotiated this). Ultimately, this woman took part in the research project, along with two other women whom she told about the research project.

I continued this process of snowballing which I found to be effective, particularly in researching difficult to reach populations (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). All of the participants were recruited through snowballing. This highlights the benefits of recruitment by a familiar and trusted person in comparison to an unknown recruiter (Ruthellen, 2013). Furthermore, the women’s prior experiences with other women of Ethiopian descent helped to foster a certain level of trust and openness between myself and the women. For example, one participant (Mahdia) stated the following: “My best friends were Ethiopian [...] I love them. They were so honest, [such] good people.” Another participant (Sia) said: “I had lots of friends

who were from Ethiopia [...] we got on really well.” Thus, my nationality as an Ethiopian influenced how I was perceived and the kinds of interactions I had before, during, and after the interviews. However, it also became apparent that some of the women I interviewed were suggesting other participants that I had already interviewed. After this came to light, I thought to explain to the next participant the nature of the snowballing method and warn them that they may potentially be approached to take part in this study by others.

It is important to note that three women also took part in an additional interview. All these interviews were initiated by the women. The rapport built during the first interviews meant that the second interview usually lasted longer and the topic of conversation encompassed a range of experiences. Furthermore, the second interviews allowed me to ask further questions to clarify a particular event or experience.

## **Location of the interviews**

Once the women agreed to participate in the research project, they were invited to choose a place for the interview. I initially provided a list of potential places such as cafés, parks or library discussion rooms. However, I also encouraged the women to choose places that they themselves felt most comfortable in. All of the participants chose the place for the interviews. The places that I conducted the interviews were: tertiary education site (2 participants), cafés (4), restaurants (1), in a car (1) and their homes (4).

Two of the interviews were held at institutes where the women had previously studied. One of the women stated that this particular institution reminded her of her studies and of the friendships that she made during that period. For her, this was a time when she felt that she belonged in New Zealand due to the support that she had received from her teachers and classmates. The other woman highlighted the significance of a tertiary institute by drawing on her narrative of upward social mobility.

During an interview in a restaurant, one woman explained how this particular restaurant reminded her of her life in Iran. She also discussed the complex ways in which she had to negotiate coming to this restaurant, for example, as a young unmarried woman. She discussed the implications of visiting this place and having to negotiate the male and community gaze so as to not be subject to gossip.

Of the women I interviewed in cafés, one woman stated that she chose this café because she considered it an “appropriate place” as it was not surrounded by bars. This led to further discussions about what constitutes “inappropriate” places in Christchurch. The other two participants chose to be interviewed in various cafés because they provided Halal food options and were therefore much “easier” places, as one participant expressed, to negotiate in terms of ordering food and chatting about their experiences.

I arrived early to each café so that I could ensure a secluded table in order to limit any noise. This strategy proved to be successful when transcribing the interviews. However, for one of the interviews a particular café was very busy and the participant and I could not find a table. I suggested that we try another café. However, the participant suggested that we conduct the interview in her car (which was parked behind the café). Apart from the café being crowded/too noisy, there is also a chance that the interviewer or the interviewee (or both) may run into people that they know and therefore disrupt the interview and reveal the identity of the participants. I too experienced this. While as researchers we take many steps to ensure the anonymity of the participants, occasionally events beyond our control reveal the identity of the participants. When this does occur, it is important that we continue to uphold our commitments to protecting the participants’ identities throughout the research process.

Four of the participants asked if I could interview them at their homes. These participants stated that their homes were the most convenient places for them (two of the participants had children and so it was much more comfortable for them). Three of the participants (including those who had children) stressed the importance of buying a home in their narratives of making home in New Zealand. The buying of a home symbolised their sense of rootedness to Christchurch. Reflecting with the women about their preferred interview location was useful in several ways, as it prompted conversation about the significance of the setting in relation to their experiences in Christchurch.

## **The interview process**

I began each interview by explaining the research project (Bravo-Moreno, 2003). I informed the participant that I would be asking about their experiences of moving to and growing up in New Zealand, but that the interview would very much flow like regular conversation. While the women responded favourably to the project, they did not particularly care for the ‘officiality’ of information sheets and consent forms. I suspect that this may be because some

of the women had already been informed about the details from the women who had helped recruit them to the study, and because of the differences in how information is perceived cross-culturally. The latter suggestion is particularly important when considering how the relationship between marginality and research is used to justify additional “protective” measures which may actually be controlling (Mulder et al. 2000 p.109). Most of the women preferred to trust my verbal commitment to protect their identities, as opposed to forms.<sup>20</sup> While forms are important for ethical reasons, it is important to take into consideration how they may be interpreted within various contexts. In doing so, we can reflect on how we can mitigate the power dynamics inherent in the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. I then used this as an opportunity to make sure that the participants were aware of their rights. At this stage I would also reiterate that the interview would be recorded so that it would enable me to focus on the discussion. I asked the participants if they had any questions about the research project before giving them a consent form to read and sign. I then proceeded to record the interviews.

After the preliminaries of explaining the research and gaining consent, I asked each participant some demographic questions such as their ethnicity, age, when they first arrived to New Zealand and with whom, and their current occupation. After this brief discussion, the first question was *How did your family come to be in New Zealand?* This was asked in order to allow participants to recall the processes of their migration. The open ended questions helped develop the confidence of the women because they were able to easily answer these questions. The interview guide covered a range of experiences including migration history; experiences over different social settings such as home, school, or workplace; and their experiences within and between different cultural communities. The interview guide was used flexibly.

After the first two interviews, the significance of the Canterbury earthquakes on perceptions of home and belonging was beginning to unfold. I then chose to add this particular event as part of the interview guide for the subsequent participants. The women responded favourably to the questions around the meanings of place post-earthquake. Not only could they discuss their experiences of natural disasters, but it also provided them with a space to engage with what it means to experience ‘double displacement.’ Furthermore, it provided the participants with a

---

<sup>20</sup> One of the participants expressed to me that she was not a confident reader but because I had explained to her the research project she had signed the consent form without reading the form. (I made sure to ask the participant whether she verbally understood the project and that if she had any questions I was more than happy to clarify anything for her).

space to discuss and share their experiences of the earthquake, four years on. The interview guide therefore evolved over the course of the research to include new questions and lines of inquiry that were not originally thought of in previous interviews (Dunn, 2010).

All of the interviews were conducted in English. The interviews lasted between one and a half hours and three hours. All were audio-recorded. At the end of the interview I asked the participants if there was anything else that they would like to add. This question allowed the women to share experiences that were not initially considered. I then thanked the participants for their time. After that, I continued to chat with each woman informally.

### **Photo-elicitation during the interviews**

Photo-elicitation was a key research strategy. The participants were given the option of bringing photos (either digital or in print) of places that were meaningful to them. After several of the women also chose to bring other objects, I expanded the information sheet to include other personal items. I asked the participants if I could include their photos and/or objects in this thesis, and explained that if they agreed, I would keep them. I stored them in a locked cabinet in a locked office at the University of Canterbury, so that I could scan the photos onto the computer and take photos of the objects. In addition, all digital photos would be stored on a password protected computer. I explained that the photos and objects would be returned to them approximately two weeks after their interview.

While it was not compulsory to bring photos or objects, seven out of the twelve participants brought along items. Four of these women chose to show the photos on their mobile phones. Of the seven that brought or showed personal items, all provided at least two. Two of the women brought eight and ten pieces of memorabilia respectively. The images included both pre-migration and post-migration photos. There was no particular time during the interview that the images were discussed. Each woman would discuss them when she felt that it was appropriate. Four of the women did not bring any images or objects to the interview. These women were also mothers and they explained that it was not feasible to do so due to lack of time. The participants stated that they did not want their images to be used as they were worried that it might be used to identify them. In order to respect the women's wishes, I have not included them in this thesis. However, they were very helpful in eliciting and evoking memories and feelings of their experiences of displacement and emplacement/home-making in New Zealand.

Because photographs are inherently open to interpretation, their meanings for the participants emerged in the interview; talking about tangible items creates the conditions for multiple meanings to develop (Schwartz, 1989). In this study, the participants were able to constitute themselves and their identities through their narrative of the items. For example, one of the participants, Kamelah, reflected on one of her photos that were taken in Afghanistan:

I mean in the pictures we can see that it's a normal family standing in a very beautiful nature, but if someone just looks at this they would say, 'oh it's a beautiful country, it's a beautiful family', but they don't know the stories behind it. It's for me to tell. Once we tell the story it has another meaning, they can look at it in another, you know, perspective. That yeah, it's a beautiful picture of our childhoods but you know, war, and everything else, it doesn't, just because it's beautiful it doesn't mean that it's peaceful. Nature is beautiful; it's the people that make it not beautiful. Yep, so all these photos are really, I mean now that we're in New Zealand, thousands of miles apart from Afghanistan, having these photos are very significant. Now we're trying to have them all laminated and make them very large frames, you know, because it's just that, it tells you where you've come from, your identity.

The meaning of the moment in the photo is not transparent, and as Kamelah highlights, an account is needed to create both context and meaning. Here, visuals and voices complement each other, producing a rich account of the women's lives. Photo-elicitation was therefore a significant and valuable part in producing the rich narratives in this study.

## Methodological reflections

### Intercultural ethics

There is a growing body of literature which explores the ethical and methodological issues that arise from conducting research with refugee populations (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003; Mackenzie, McDowell & Pittaway, 2007). However, while socially responsible researchers confront many challenges (particularly in cross-cultural settings) there is a paucity of information on how to negotiate these difficulties, particularly in honouring both the culture of the researchers and the culture of the participants (Evanoff, 2004; Liamputtong, 2010). Conversely, such 'dilemmas' raise additional ethical questions, which require further reflections: what is meant by 'culture' and what further negotiations might arise if the participant or researcher is negotiating multiple 'cultures' simultaneously?

The concerns mentioned above are also drawn from various intercultural experiences that I negotiated throughout this research process. As I had mentioned earlier in this chapter, an Afghan man provided me with the details of a young Afghan woman and insisted that I visit her at her workplace. He assured me that she would talk to me if I told her that I knew him. This scenario reveals the interplay of various relationships in relation to intercultural ethics. The ‘culture’ of the university dictates that I follow what Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p.263) term “procedural ethics,” which are the processes outlined in the ethics application. These suggest that it would not be appropriate to approach the woman at her workplace. However, the same authors also discuss “ethics in practice” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004 p.263). This draws focus to the need to slightly adjust ethical practice where needed, which in turn highlights the importance of understanding the relationship between the culture of the researcher and the culture of the community of focus. Reflecting on this experience raised several ethical questions: should I approach the woman at her workplace in an attempt to adhere to the Afghan culture of respecting elders? Moreover, would the woman feel obliged to participate as a result of this? What would this mean for our understanding of informed consent and confidentiality in research?

So how did I negotiate this ‘dilemma’? I was on the phone with the Afghan man when he suggested that I contact this particular woman. Toward the end of our conversation he suggested that I talk to his eldest daughter. It was then that I explained to the daughter the nature of the snowballing method and how I was unable to approach the woman that her father suggested. She understood my position and offered to tell this woman about the research and that if she was interested in participating she could contact me.

Consequently, it is important to take into consideration how, as researchers, our benevolent interventions (or inaction) may be considered culturally inappropriate, or may put people of refugee background at further risk from the research process itself (Mulder et al. 2000; Hugman, Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2011). I had to negotiate different cultural understandings simultaneously, with the aim of respecting both the views of individuals and the Human Ethics Committee’s guidelines in an ethical manner. Such experiences highlight the rigidity of procedural ethics, and how this might limit the possibilities of unique and inclusive opportunities during “ethically important moments” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p.265).

## Disclosure and “therapeutic payoffs”

The interview, with its promise of confidentiality, provides a space for participants to openly share their experiences. However, much of the literature and wider discourses have positioned refugees as passive, traumatised victims. This means that what is often termed ‘risk’ by the Human Ethics Committee may at times limit the sharing of important experiences and overlook the ways in which this sharing may benefit participants. For example, the Human Ethics Committee encourages researchers to identify the potential emotional and mental distress that may result from the participants taking part in the study and the actions or support mechanisms that the researcher could offer. Asking the participants to recall or discuss the meaning of home in the context of their refugee experience may promote emotional distress. If this does occur, the Human Ethics Committee encourages researchers to stop the interview and ask the participant how they feel and whether they would like to carry on with the interview.<sup>21</sup> This only happened in two of my interviews, when the participants began to cry as they shared their migratory journey. However, both of the participants insisted that they were fine and wanted to continue with the interview. While it is important not to ignore the emotional aspects of storytelling, asking ‘would you like to stop?’ may suggest that crying or feeling sad is not appropriate or acceptable in the researching setting. This may subsequently lead participants to suppress their emotions. Yet, one of the women who became emotional during the interview stated the following:

It feels a lot better, it’s good, you know, when you go back to memories, to things that happened in the past, that you, you know, you hardly go back to and then one day you sit down and then you will go back through all those things that happened to you, you know, especially, even the happy parts and the sad parts. I think if you, this is my belief, I think if you had a bad experience in the past the more you think about it the better you feel, but if you keep trying to avoid those memories it just becomes harder for you to accept it, you know. But if you go back to it, you know, accept it, then it becomes easier for you, and you feel better, yeah, yeah. So it was a good, you know, I had a really good time.

Geti

---

<sup>21</sup> I also provided a list of support services on the information sheet for the participants to contact if necessary (as required by the Human Ethics Committee).

Another participant had the following to say about her experiences of taking part in this study:

It's kind of a refreshing memory of my life that I hadn't been talking about it for so long and do you know, I'm a person that when I talk about something I get happier because I love sharing things with someone [...] I'm just thanking you for listening to me and going through my memories, once again, I feel so, it feels really nice. Just the fact that you came along with me on this journey, it was like riding a journey, going through my chapters of life.

Parisa

These reflections, or what Brannen (1993 p.344) calls “therapeutic payoffs,” reveal how disclosure is more than simply a dictate of the research method; it is also an opportunity for the participants to take part in the research for their own purposes. The interview process as such allows for a therapeutic reflection of the “happy” and “sad” experiences of the past and the present. In narrating their histories, the women transform hardship into strength, positioning themselves as agents of change and as resilient individuals. Therefore, while it is extremely important to acknowledge the ways in which research may negatively affect the participants and the ways in which researchers can mitigate this, it is important that we ask ourselves how, and who has the authority, to define “foreseeable risk” and what the implications of this are for the research participants, the researcher and the University.

## Data analysis

After transcribing all the interviews, the analysis began by printing out a hard copy of each transcript and reading over it carefully. I included conversational markers such as pauses, inflections and emotions to remind myself to pay attention to not only what was being said, but also how it was being said. Indeed, this process eventually led me to explore the literature on emotional geographies (Burman & Chantler, 2004; Christou, 2011) and the relationship between emotions and places. Interruptions of speech such as ‘um,’ ‘ah,’ and ‘like’ were generally edited out in order to keep flow of conversation. However, they were retained where the meaning would be altered or lost without them. The participants’ colloquialisms have been included in the extracts. This was done in order to keep the language and discussion close to the conversation recorded in the interviews (see also Appendix C).

I went back through the printed transcripts and manually coded the printouts. I coded the interview material in order to identify meaning units and labelling these with a code that captures the meaning identified (Willig, 2013 p. 61). For example, one participant said, “So the thing that makes it difficult for us is trying to adapt to both cultures, to keep our parents

happy and at the same time [to] fit in with society, when we go out to work or just like socialising”. I coded this statement as “trying to fit into New Zealand society while retaining Afghan culture.” I also coded this as, “desire to keep parents happy.” I then focused on identifying potential patterns across the codes and reflected on the underlying meaning on what has been said in order to identify salient themes (Willig, 2013 p.62). For example, a pattern that emerged from the above statement was the theme “negotiating different cultures”.

There were many themes that emerged throughout the analysis process, such as: the importance of food in feeling, remembering and constructing home; what it means to ‘return’ to Afghanistan, Iran and/or Pakistan and to then ‘return’ back to New Zealand after that journey; and the impact of internal migration (within New Zealand) on sense of home and belonging. The two key themes I finally chose to focus my attention on were what the women said about leaving home, and the ways in which they talked about making and being-at-home in New Zealand. I chose these because they often consumed the attention of research participants and because they provide for a juxtaposition (and connection) of past and present experiences of home. Furthermore, little attention has been dedicated to exploring these themes within New Zealand’s refugee population.

I used separate printouts for the two themes identified and amended the codes in a process that included reading and re-reading the interviews to allow time for reflection and for themes not initially considered to be identified. I then collated the extracts and viewed them together to identify ideas and topics that could be discussed. I then related the patterns of meaning in the participants’ responses to an academic analysis of how refugees construct home.

In order to make sense of the themes, I re-read the participants’ comments. As I did this, I asked myself what Braun and Clarke (2006 p.24) suggest researchers should think about when thematically analysing their material: “What does this theme mean?” “What are the assumptions underpinning it?” “What are the implications of this theme?” “What conditions are likely to have given rise to it?” “Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)?” “What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic?”

During the analysis and writing, I also re-listened to relevant sections of the interviews when writing about particular experiences/themes, to ensure that they were transcribed exactly and also that the emotional aspects of the interviews were captured in the transcripts. The most

difficult part of writing up the findings was in teasing the complexity of the women's experiences into neat themes. While it was necessary to organise their experiences into findings sections, various quotes that cross the boundaries of these themes were included to show some of these complexities in the women's own words.

## Conclusion

In undertaking research with refugee background, people must demonstrate more than scientifically objective outcomes. They must also connect to the experiences of the individuals where trusting relationships are built between the researcher and the participant. One way in which the experiences of 1.5 generation refugee women can be brought to light is through qualitative methodologies such as one-to-one, in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation. This allows the refugee to exert some autonomy over their experiences. However, it is important to reflect on how researchers' benevolent interventions may put people of refugee background at further risk from the research process, and how such interventions may be considered culturally inappropriate. It is also important that researchers reflect on the meaning of "foreseeable risk" and what this means for the participants, the researcher and the University. Social constructionism is compatible with thematic analysis. The following chapter examines the first major theme of this thesis: the ways in which Afghan women talk about leaving Afghanistan and what this means for their conceptualisations of 'home.'

## 4. Making home along the migration route

### Introduction

Conceptualisations of forced displacement are often tied to the idea that refugees' ancestral land is the 'lost' home and their place of settlement their 'new' or second home (Malkki, 1995). This view has led to the dichotomisation of home: it is either 'here' (place of residence) or 'there' (ancestral land). It has also been suggested that the lost home is synonymous with feelings of sadness and longing to return (Said, 2000). Yet stories of home and belonging from the perspective of refugee background individuals are seldom heard (Freund, 2015; Taylor, 2015), particularly from the experiences of women and subsequent generations (Huynh & Yin, 2012). This lack of research raises questions that this thesis seeks to explore: what and where is home for young Afghan women of refugee background living in New Zealand? How is it negotiated, contested and constructed?

This chapter begins to address these questions by exploring how 1.5 generation Afghan women of refugee background negotiate the meaning of home. I employ Brun and Fábos's (2015) theorising of the three constellations of 'home,' 'Home' and 'HOME' to make sense of how the participants (re)made home in Afghanistan and other countries along the migration route, namely Iran or Pakistan (Brun & Fábos, 2015). In doing so, I argue that the nation state, Afghanistan, was not the only or the most important reference for making home: people, particularly family and friends and other places were just as important. This chapter also lays the foundation for the following chapter, where focusing on how home is made along the 'refugee journey' allows us to better understand the participants' experiences and memories of (re)making home in New Zealand.

### The 'constellations of home'

In this chapter I draw on Brun and Fábos's (2015) theorising of the 'constellations of home' to explore what it means for the participants to have lived in countries of protracted displacement (Iran or Pakistan) and how these experiences have shaped their understandings of home. Brun and Fábos (2015 p.12) suggest that the metaphor of constellation is helpful in that it demonstrates how individuals "turn points of reference into meaningful patterns," while also allowing the same points to be imagined in different ways from each site of observation. They constructed a triadic constellation to encapsulate the interconnected and multidimensional

implications of making home in protracted circumstances of displacement: ‘home,’ ‘Home’ and ‘HOME.’

According to Brun and Fábos (2015 p.12) the constellation of ‘home’ refers to the day-to-day practices that help refugees make the country of displacement an especially important place. ‘Home’ symbolises the traditions, memories, subjective feelings and values of home (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.12). It also focuses on an ideal ‘Home,’ a place which refugees dream of and long for. The constellation of ‘HOME’ refers to the wider political and historical context in which home is understood and experienced.

The ‘constellations of home’ have a particular focus on the ways in which refugees make home during protracted displacement. For Brun and Fábos (2015 p.11), protracted displacement involves living with an ambiguous future in the context of mobility and conflict. While this chapter employs the constellations of home to frame the participants’ memories of life in protracted displacement (Iran or Pakistan), it is also useful for considering their memories and experiences of life in Afghanistan. Many of the participants either lived in Afghanistan for the first five or six years of their life or were born in Iran or Pakistan and only travelled back to Afghanistan when they were forced to by Iranian or Pakistani officials. Thus, for many of the participants, their experiences of life in Afghanistan can also be considered ambiguous: some were internally displaced within Afghanistan and were therefore living with an uncertain future in the context of conflict, and many reflected on how their families protected them from the reality of living with this indefinite future. In addition, for many of the participants their memories of life in Afghanistan were also shaped by their families’ narratives of loss and hardship. Several also discussed how difficult it was for their family members to decide whether to leave Afghanistan at all. For these reasons, the ‘constellations of home’ are important, not only for understanding the experiences of refugees in protracted displacement, but also to former refugees who have lived or have memories of their country of origin, particularly the 1.5 generation.

### **The constellation of ‘home’: Family and friends**

‘home’ refers to the parts of everyday life that make the country of protracted displacement important. These may include material and imaginative notions of home, and may involve improving or investing in temporary dwellings; the social connections individuals make in a neighbourhood; and the daily routine that the individuals assume in these dwellings (Brun &

Fábos, 2015 p.12). For many of the participants, family and friends were an important part of what made them feel at home in Afghanistan, Iran and/or Pakistan. Some of the participants discussed the significance of the family through their narratives of their family house. Houses in Afghanistan, particularly in rural areas, were often built by the family rather than being purchased or rented, as is more common in New Zealand. The houses were often surrounded by neighbouring villages that were home to extended family and friends. As such, the relationship between the house and the people living in and around it are inseparable (Papadopoulos, 2002). In this way, the house becomes an embodiment of family (the family house) in which home is a series of feelings and attachments, some of which may, in certain circumstances, become connected to a physical structure that provides shelter (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). A house may also be a site that fosters happiness and pleasant childhood memories (Taylor, 2015). This was particularly the case for Kamelah, who highlighted that she was born in the house built by her parents, which therefore reminds her of her family history:

Afghanistan, no matter what, it's always important to me, especially the place where I was born. The house that I just showed you was built by my own father and his friends.<sup>22</sup> This is a very significant place for my family [...] we will always, always treasure this place because myself, everyone else [other family members] was born in this area. You know, as we grow older and have our own children, I mean the first place that you would take your children would be the place where you were born. I'm really grateful to my father that he built this house, even though we didn't live in that house but in the future if we go back at least, you know, we have somewhere to show, like this is the place where we were born. When my father was working in this house my mother was always helping my father and his friends [...] so my mother had contributed too. What becomes important is, all their sweats, you know, my mum and my father both worked hard to create this [house] and then we were forced to leave and it's still sitting there and other refugee families are using it. I think they have been forced from another area to leave and now they've seen that this house is empty and they've just like helped themselves.

For Kamelah, the family house evokes what Morton (2007 p.167) would call “material memories,” in which the materiality of the home (articulated in genealogical terms) and the physicality of family are drawn together. The hard work of Kamelah's parents, their “sweat,” is embodied and remembered through the house. This memory is subsequently interwoven with stories of her family history. Although other refugees now occupy the house, its existence is both a physical symbol of the lost home and a connection to that home. The house allows Kamelah to eventually show the next generation her family's narrative of loss. This suggests a

---

<sup>22</sup> Kamelah is discussing one of the photos that she brought to the interview: a photo of her family house in Afghanistan.

link to a material process of remembering, in which individuals who are physically related through the sinews of kinship are remembered through the social process of building (Morton, 2007 p.167). The house not only locates Kamelah's immediate experiences within and around it, but also reveals important indexes of other places and times. For example, Kamelah states:

The childhood memories are still really good because even though there was a war going on, the kids they never understood that [...] we still find our way to have fun [...] all my friends nearby, we were like playing [with] sand and all that.

The house and its surroundings, such as the local neighbourhood, enable Kamelah to remember her day-to-day life and to construct home. It provides a structure for her memories of life before and during the Taliban resurgence, and establishes the social networks that are vital to place-making (Taylor, 2015 p.35). In this way, the house materialises memory in what Morten (2007 p.166) calls "memory-in dimension," whereby the house can be considered in its "otherplaceness" or "othertimeness" and how it materially refers beyond itself. These terms coalesce the observations about the ways in which certain dwelling sites link social relations, material, and activities associated to the wider social landscape (Morten, 2007). For Kamelah, otherplaceness includes her neighbourhood, where she was able to play games with the children that lived close to her house. Othertimeness draws attention to how the house acquires different meaning over time, first in relation to the other refugees who now occupy the house and have therefore "helped themselves" to a new life, and secondly, to the idea that if Kamelah returned back to the house, she would not only be able to remember the old place, but would have a new and different perception of it as a result of her subsequent migration processes.

The house, its relation to family history, and its proximity to other family members was also central to Geti's childhood narrative of home in Afghanistan. However, unlike Kamelah, Geti lost her family house after she was forced to leave her village and flee to Iran. Due to material decay, the house was eventually destroyed. Geti reflects on the house that she last saw seventeen years ago:

So at first I was, you know, kinda sad because that house, all of my siblings were born [there] and I was born there and that's where my parents got married, you know, my grandfather lived in that house, basically, like, there's a few of our generations that lived in that house. Seeing that house destroyed is, first you feel so sad as if like, you have lost your background; you've lost the people that are not here in this world anymore with you. Maybe if that house was still there, when I go back to Afghanistan [I could] walk into that house knowing that one day my grandma or my aunty or my uncle lived in that house and walked in the same place that I was walking, that would make me feel happy but now that place is not there, that house is not there [...] But now, I don't know, I just don't, I don't, I'm sad that it's gone but I'm not that sad. I'm still sad, but it's not, you know, I'm not that sad, I'm past that stage.

The sinews of kinship between Geti's family and the house suggest that she is involved in "genealogical memory" or the recollecting and bringing to consciousness of extended kin relations or ancestors (Morton, 2007 p.170). This genealogical model of memory is a matter of the embodied past: persons and things are in a sense embodiments of memory (Morton, 2007 p.170). Remembering the occupants of the house involves remembering the material link to previous and deceased relatives and places. She compares the loss of the house to the loss of her family background. Indeed, Taylor (2015 p.30) refers to a similar experience of bereavement after Cypriot refugees made their first journeys to Cyprus after arriving in London. The house that the refugees visited in Cyprus no longer represented the engraved evidence of where they were born or where their family members had once lived; the house has been "drained of the life which gave it meaning" (Taylor, 2015 p.31). In this way, Cypriot refugees felt pain for losing the "repository of family memory" which had been inscribed into the fabric of the house (Taylor, 2015 p.31). While Geti had not physically returned to the house, in her imagined return she feels a sense of sadness for its loss. In this way, she experiences a kind of double bereavement: the loss of the house and the loss of her (already deceased) family members. Nevertheless, Geti explains that she was able to move on, from the death of the house and what it symbolised, by considering alternative ways of bringing back her memories of her loved ones:

After you lose something, at first you get really sad to it but after time passes you get used to it. I thought about it, you know, our house is not the only place where my parents, my grandparents lived in. There was other [places] like the hometown that we're from, that's where like you know, maybe I could find other memories in that hometown, like if I go and talk to, I don't know, to our neighbours, I might find something else that, maybe, could replace those things. You can always find a way to bring back those memories. Hopefully I can find something that reminds me of my grandparents when I go back. But still it's sad that our house is gone.

Geti highlights how her family house was not the only emblem that fosters memories of her grandparents. Other triggers include her hometown and conversing with their/her old neighbours. Other studies have also discussed this process, whereby children of migrants decide to go back to their “homeplace” (Christou, 2006 p.68) to re-discover or discover family histories and the cultural aspects and other elements of the ancestral society, as well as to search for one’s roots and the quest for home-coming and belonging (see Christou, 2006; King & Christou, 2014; Tsuda, 2009; Wessendorf, 2016). However, the nature of exile means that refugees, for the most part, are unable to access their former home and as a result they lack any experiential or visual confirmation that all is not as it was (Taylor, 2015). Subsequently, they may still envisage home to be presented in the same state as when they left, even if they know that this cannot be the case (Taylor, 2015). Although Geti acknowledges that her family house is no longer there, she imagines her hometown and her neighbours exactly as they were when she and her family left Afghanistan.

For Kamelah and Geti, the home that is recalled from the perspective of the present is not necessarily the home that was, but rather aspects of home that have been chosen as worth remembering (Taylor, 2015). Their childhood memories of their houses have to do with the process of constructing home, spending time with loved ones and expressing nostalgia for their youth and their community. However, their memories of home in Afghanistan are not stuck in the past. Home is a feeling that is actively pursued and desired, such as when Geti expresses her hopes to find something that reminds her of her grandparents. In doing so, Geti is creating an open dialogue between herself and her parental homeland: as long as she is able to connect the people that she loves with the place she was born in, there will always be a relationship between her and Afghanistan. Home and home-making are therefore a conglomeration of intersecting processes including the physical elements of the house, the neighbourhood/village, the social elements of family and friends, and the temporal elements of childhood memories.

For some of the participants, family and friends were not only a constant source of support, comfort and distraction from their displaced realities, but also provided them with a sense of routine and familiarity while living in protracted displacement. Parisa reminisced about her childhood years in Iran and how happy she felt when she spent time with her father, cousins and neighbours:

Where I used to live [in Iran], we had a big garden and I grew up on the fields. So I think, I can say, I had the best childhood ever. Even though we didn't have many facilities, we didn't have many toys that kids have now days, we didn't have computerised systems, um, I think we were happier, we were happier than the kids now. Like a few neighbours or cousins got together [and] the kids, and we made houses together, out of stones or out of boxes that we had. We climbed trees, we had the fruits [that we used to pick] from our garden and we had like, we would make toys out of clay, out of, dirt and [we would make] like babies and dishes and yeah, it was quite amazing. So that was the best time of my life. So, actually, that's what makes me really, really happy. And at that time, I spent quite a lot of time with my dad. My dad would always take me to his meetings, whenever he was going to work he would take me with him and he would teach me a lot of things and I became quite brave and confident.

Parisa's fondest memories were in Iran. 'home' in Iran was her family and friends; it was her familiar surroundings, the farm, the trees and the neighbourhood; it was her childhood memories, where she developed confidence and bravery. 'home' in Iran is a specific place which is encoded with specific memories that have shaped Parisa's identity, and which have remained with her in the present.

Lelah also drew attention to the way she developed an attachment to the people in Iran. She showed me two photos that were taken on her last day at school in Iran, before arriving to New Zealand:

This is my teacher in Iran [pointing to photo]. I was leaving that day. That was my last day and so they had cake and everything, it was like a party kind of thing [...] I felt different emotions [on that day]. I was excited to come here [New Zealand]. I was excited, coming to see [family member], I haven't seen [family member] in long time but at the same time I had to leave my friends and my teachers and I, I kind of was attached. You tend to get attached to something when you're there for a couple of months or years or so, so it was interesting but she was really nice, she was a really good teacher.

Although Lelah was excited to reunite with a particular family member in New Zealand, she explains that in the few years that she was in Iran, she grew an attachment to her teacher and to her school. Similarly, Shima discussed how her friends and family were also an important element in what made Pakistan 'home':

The culture is really different, the outfit [clothes] and everything, but I liked it [Pakistan], I really miss it sometimes, the food and the clothes, everything cos we have our family, cousins and yeah you just enjoy yourself, yeah. It's quite expensive to go there but if I could afford it, I will go there again, because most of my [extended] family live in Pakistan [...] that's why we always go to Pakistan because we've got more family living there.

Shima has maintained transnational ties with her family in Pakistan. She calls them when she can and has visited three times since moving to New Zealand. She states that if she could afford to travel to Pakistan she would. In addition, she draws attention to how she misses the food, the clothing and the culture, things that she encountered when she was a young child. For Mahdia, travelling back to Pakistan reminded her of how much she misses her family:

[When] I went this time, I loved spending time with my cousin. We used to share like all our gossips and stuff [...] I told her everything, she told me everything [...] It felt good, like I'm in a good environment, I feel like this is going to be fun [...] I didn't want to come back, I kept asking [family member] if we could please extend [the trip] [...] and um [we got to] go to different people's houses, eat lots of food and meet all my, like people I haven't seen for so long, like my second cousins and stuff, so I enjoyed it.

Mahdia was able to reunite with her family members, which reminded her of her childhood years. On her trip back to Pakistan she was able to continue her relationships with her family, particularly her cousins. Like Shima, she also enjoyed traditional Pakistani food.

Going to school, making new friends, forming bonds with teachers, wearing traditional clothes and eating local foods, gossiping and catching up with extended family and playing on the farm are all the practices that helped to make the participants feel at 'home' in Iran or Pakistan. As Sampson, Gifford, and Taylor (2016 p.1147) argue, while refugees who live in protracted circumstances are intensely affected by their precariousness, they work to overcome their state of in-between by continuing to move forward with life. With the help of their parents, most of the participants were able to make the most of their childhood years and of the conditions that they were facing. It is these experiences that continue to remain in the participants' narratives of 'home' in Iran and Pakistan.

## **The constellation of 'Home': Longing for an ideal**

The constellation of 'Home' is about the traditions, values, memories and subjective feelings of home. Conversations about home and displacement tend to focus on an ideal 'Home,' a place which refugees dream of and long for. For example, developing from the ideal 'Home' are the material standards a dwelling must have for it to be liveable (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). The ideal 'Home' for refugees in protracted situations is therefore reflected in the dwelling. However, 'Home' can also operate concurrently with an individual's notion of the ideal dwelling and of the homeland (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). Having lived outside of Afghanistan

for the majority of their lives, the participants discussed the ways in which they are now more familiar with the local culture of other countries, including Iran, Pakistan and New Zealand. This has allowed them to (re)create home for themselves outside of their country of origin. However, for some of the participants, the lack of memory of life in Afghanistan contributes to their feelings of not belonging to their ancestral land. Elaha, for example, explains that her “disconnection” to Afghanistan stems from her lack of direct experiences with war and violence:

It's just complicated um, the way I think [about Afghanistan] because I grew up here and like, thinking of my own country, I have this slight disconnection between me and my country because I'm more familiar with this [New Zealand's] culture [...] The everyday life that the people in my country go through, like, I haven't faced a war or like fighting or killing because I've always been living in a safe place, you know, away from those things. And I guess when I think about that, I feel a slight disconnection between me and that country [...] Like my parents they faced that, they always um, think about it and they always say, 'oh back in the day, this happened to us, we lived by this, we lived by that' but I don't, I don't feel that connection that they do because I was away from all that.

Elaha illustrates how she feels disconnected to Afghanistan because she, unlike her first generation parents, has not fought in a war, cannot remember the violence associated with that war and cannot refer to or feel a sense of nostalgia to life before displacement. Tasoulla Hadjiyanni (2002 p.47) found that, without first-hand experiences of their family's place of origin, refugee background children and youth from Cyprus felt that they did not know anything about their ancestral land and therefore could not feel a sense of attachment to that land. However, Elaha's narrative of Afghanistan is shaped by what Hirsch (1996 p.659 cited in Taylor 2015, p. 60) refers to as “post-memory” or second-generation memory. She explains that children of exiles and survivors inherit memories of their parents' lost home as they live at “temporal and spatial remove” from that “decimated world” (Hirsch 1996 cited in Taylor, 1996 p.659). Post-memory is related to the narratives that came before an individual was born and whose own “belated stories are evacuated” by narratives of the generation before (Hirsch 1996, p.659 cited in Taylor, 2015 p.60). These narratives are moulded by distressing events that cannot completely be re-created or understood (Hirsch, 1996 cited in Taylor, 2015 p.60). Although Elaha is aware of the injustices that her parents experienced, she struggles to connect or feel a sense of ownership to those experiences. Elaha therefore grounds herself in her own life and experiences in Christchurch, as opposed to her family's past in Afghanistan. She derives meaning from living in a safe place and becoming more familiar with their respective cultures and way of life.

Like Elaha, Mahdia explains that Afghanistan does not feel like home to her because she has never been there. However, her curiosity for what life is like in Afghanistan and “how the people are there” keeps her engaged with the country:

I've haven't been back to Afghanistan. I would like to go but I need an excuse to go. I don't think I would just go for a holiday, I think I'd go if someone's wedding was there or something was happening there. [If I were to go to Afghanistan] it might feel different there, even though, like, it's your people but it still doesn't feel home, cos like it's not home. So I do feel like it's not my country because it isn't but I guess it's still is. Like I want to see Afghanistan, how it is, how people are there but it's difficult when you haven't gone for so long.

For Mahdia, Afghanistan is both her country and not her country; it is both home and not home. Indeed, Khattak (2002 p.107) explains that the loss of country is also synonymous with the loss of home, and both occur simultaneously. As Mahdia leaves her home, she is leaving behind various familial relationships; as she leaves her country, she is leaving behind the larger familial metaphor represented by nation, culture, history and identity (Khattak, 2002 p.107). However, her narrative does not merely illustrate a dichotomisation between (a loss of) home and country. Rather, ‘loss’ is understood in relation to time and place. Mahdia suggest that she “might feel different” in Afghanistan and then contemplates her connection to her ancestral land. She goes back and forth (is Afghanistan home or not home?) before concluding that it is difficult to define her relationship to her birth place since she has not visited that place since arriving to New Zealand. Thus, although she struggles to feel a sense of connection to Afghanistan, she suggests that there is room to feel a connection, which would depend on how she would feel if she was ever to visit Afghanistan. In this way, the relationship between home and country is a constant process of negotiation.

The constellation of ‘Home’ is also about understanding how experiences of protracted displacement evoke an idealisation of particular kinds of home. Although the participants were aware of the inequalities facing them and other girls and women in Afghanistan, they wished for a different kind of Afghanistan, one filled with opportunities. These participants have hope for their homeland despite having lived away for the majority of their lives. Mariam discussed this point in her narrative:

I can't stop thinking about my home country. I do love it here [in New Zealand], I do have more opportunities here but again you think of your own country and wish that you had the same opportunities back home.

Kamelah shared a similar view, and drew attention to the importance of language and its relationship to feelings of belonging in New Zealand:

Speaking of not being a part of New Zealand, sometimes I feel homesick, sometimes when I'm going outside, I'm constantly hearing everyone, all speaking English. There are times when I would think, oh, I just wish that my country didn't suffer war so I could've just walked outside, I could've heard my own language being spoken on the streets, in the mall.

Mariam and Kamelah both wish that they had the same opportunities to live, study and work in Afghanistan. Although they appreciate these specific opportunities in New Zealand, they cannot help but envisage the possibilities of a safer Afghanistan, or 'Home.' Hage (2010 p.419) argues that often forgotten in the theorisation of home is the idea that home has to be an "existential launching pad of the self," where individuals feel a sense of movement, or are "going places." He asserts that a "homely space" is a space in which individuals can develop certain capacities and skills and have the opportunity to advance themselves, socially and emotionally. Although Mariam and Kamelah do not have these opportunities "back home," the desire for them allows the women to continue to hold on to Afghanistan in their imagination of homely spaces. Thus, Afghanistan is homely because it provides "intimations of homeliness" (Hage, 2010 p.419) and the aspiration for providing what they need and want.

However, whilst some of the participants idealised a different kind of Afghanistan, others did the same for Iran. Once 'resettled' in New Zealand, some of the participants hoped for and imagined a return to a spiritual Iran, and more specifically to a spiritual city and a religious shrine. For some of the participants, imagining certain religious sites in Iran evoked feelings of belongingness and 'Home.' They discussed what certain religious places meant to them, including places they have never visited before. During our interview, Elaha discussed an Instagram photo that she had saved on her phone. The photo was of a particular shrine that she imagined visiting:

The city is called Mashhad; it has that tomb [pointing to the image]. So that is the place that I've always wanted to go and visit, [I] still haven't had the chance to but I will inshallah [God willing] [...] I have a connection to that place because of its holiness.

Similarly, Parisa discussed this same tomb and what it means to her:

There's quite a few holy cities in Iran and the biggest one is called Mashhad. It's in North East of Iran. There is a shrine of our, holy person, ah prophet's grandson, so everyone goes there and they visit the shrine, they pray. So it gives a beautiful, spiritual exchange in your heart, like, ah, um, like a very, it's hard to explain what kind of feeling it gives you when you go there, it's um, that's where I sense the belonging that I have in my heart. That's one of my greatest wish, is to go and visit there.

Although Elaha has never been to this particular tomb and Parisa has only visited this tomb once when she was a young child, they both express how important it is to them. For Elaha, her connection to Mashhad and, more specifically, the tomb is what draws her to Iran: it is a place of holiness and therefore a place of connection. While Parisa also expresses her deep sense of belonging to that particular place, she initially struggles to find the right words to encapsulate this. Nevertheless, she describes her experience as a “spiritual exchange,” a warm feeling that she gets in her heart.

Similarly, when asked about her experiences in Iran, Saba also discussed the significance of holy sites for her sense of connection to Iran. However, she explains that these holy places are significant for her mental well-being:

If you asked me right now where do you want to go to travel, it's Iran. There is a lot of pilgrimages to go [to] and pray. Huge amazing places, so you can have peace of mind there while you're praying.

McMichael (2002) argues that, for Somali refugee women living in Melbourne, Australia, home is carried and recreated through the everyday workings of Islam; it comes to be found in the way space is constructed, forms of social interaction, daily practices and ways of thinking about and understanding the world. For the women in this study, Mashhad and the shrines found there are carried and recreated through Islam. Therefore, Iran is remembered for its holiness and sense of belonging, and for providing “peace of mind.” While Afghanistan could have, in an ideal world, been ‘Home’ for some of the participants, for others it was Iran. This is not to say that both places could not simultaneously be ‘Home,’ but that it depends on where, when and at what times, they are being imagined.

Feelings of ‘Home’ are circumstantial. Circumstantial home is related to the ways in which the participants can move along the continuum of ‘Home.’ This movement depends on both their individual past experiences or circumstances, and Afghanistan's current social, cultural and political state. ‘Home’ is a relationship between the past and the present, between the self and

the circumstances of “back home” and the ways in which they are negotiated over time. Therefore, the “but” that follows “Afghanistan is home” suggests that there are various reasons for the limitations of home. However, this also leaves room for the possibilities of home. This includes the possibility of circumstances in Afghanistan changing, namely if the security and the treatment of women were to improve. The participants’ circumstances in New Zealand also shaped how they thought and felt about Iran. Living in a safe country in which their basic human rights are met, the participants then longed for and idealised a place that some had not experienced before, such as holy shrines in the city of Mashhad. For these participants, ‘Home’ is as much about their spiritual and mental well-being as it is about their physical safety and security.

### The constellation of ‘HOME’: Feeling safe and secure

A central theme in the participants’ narratives of ‘HOME’ and home-making is safety and security. ‘HOME’ is the “geopolitics of nation and homeland” that lead to situations of protracted displacement, and the ways in which the politics of home are implicated in the causes of displacement (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). Accordingly, ‘HOME’ requires individuals to understand the status that is assigned to them as displaced people in a specific society (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). This also includes the ways in which they are governed and disciplined by the state; its rules, which benefit sedentarism and official status; and related politics of inclusion and exclusion (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). ‘HOME’ signifies how individuals conform to, challenge, negotiate and change the labels allocated to them (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). It also indicates the dynamics of identity formation at individual and group levels that frequently take place during displacement as a result of the experiences of losing homes and of being labelled a refugee (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). For the majority of the participants, their childhood memories of experiencing, witnessing and escaping the violence and ongoing security issues have created an emotional distance between themselves and their ancestral land. This distance has been furthered by the recognition that women in Afghanistan are not treated equally and are denied various civil rights.<sup>23</sup> As such, visiting or ‘returning to’ Afghanistan was not something that they had desired. Freshtah describes how the lack of security in

---

<sup>23</sup> During the Taliban regime (1996-2001) women were banned from going to school, leaving the home without a male relative and having a job. Women and girls were forced to cover up with full body veils that covered their eyes and they were forbidden from wearing make-up. Although the last 15 years have seen an increase in the work of a growing movement of activists, violence against women in Afghanistan is still rife.

Afghanistan prevents her from wanting to live there, and explains that this has been heightened by the fact that her present lifestyle creates a sense of home to Christchurch:

Home is like where you feel safe and where you always want to be there, that's home. When we [my family and I] went back to Afghanistan, we did like it and stuff, like to see our family and their lifestyle but we're not used to the place cos we're used to here [Christchurch] and the lifestyle. Even if Afghanistan was our home, Christchurch seems more like home for us because we're more used to the lifestyle here now, even though we could remember a little bit [of life in Afghanistan] but still it was different [...] sometimes I think I would never go to live back home, I just like to go for visits, so that's the main thing. [Although] it was really good to see my uncles and my cousins, we didn't really go outside as much. We mainly stayed inside with our family cos we didn't feel safe to go outside that much. Sometimes you never know what will happen.

Freshtah is willing to travel to Afghanistan only to visit her extended family. Although she enjoys reuniting with her relatives, she explains that she would never want to live in Afghanistan because she feels unsafe there. She states that Christchurch feels more of a home to her because she is familiar with the lifestyle. For Lelah, the “situation” of ongoing violence in Afghanistan contributes to her sense of detachment to the homeland. However, she is not entirely sure what Afghanistan means to her:

Um, it's really hard to say what Afghanistan means to me because it's my country, it's where I was born, it's a part of me but at the same time because of the situation, yeah. When you think about your home country at some point you want to go live there, you want to spend the rest of your life there but for me I don't feel that way, only because of the situation there. It's difficult to say what it means to me, because I was young when I moved here [New Zealand]. Cos I know I was born there, I know that my parents are from there, I spent less than half of my life there when I was growing up, but I still can't figure out what it means to me.

Malkki (1995 p.509) states that “if ‘home’ is where one feels most safe and at ease, instead of some essentialised point on the map, then it is far from clear that returning to where one fled from is the same thing as ‘going home’.” However, Dudley (2010 p.156) argues that refugees, like the rest of the population, hope for wellbeing and liberty from danger, and for certain idealised aspects of their way of life before they were dislocated, such as familiarity. For Lelah, Afghanistan is her country and it is her pre-displacement past. But the lack of safety there obscures her connection to her birth place. She states that she is still unsure what her ancestral land means to her. In this way, Afghanistan as her “country” and as her “home” are constantly

being (re)negotiated, where the country's political environment, at any given time, can sway her feelings of home.

Rhea, on the other hand, was born in Iran and as a child would travel back and forth between Iran and Afghanistan. Her ongoing mobility was a result of not feeling safe in Afghanistan and her family's ill-treatment in Iran due to their status as illegal Afghan refugees. In her narrative, Afghanistan has a particular meaning for her and does not figure as a central place to visit:

Without sounding like a hypocrite, I really don't think there's anything that I miss about my country, apart from my family. I wasn't really raised in a place where I felt like, 'oh, I had a good education' because everything was taken away from us, our rights were taken away from us. We were left with nothing, women had no rights, we were just treated like garbage [...] I haven't been back in years, I really don't care but if I had the chance to go and visit my family, I'd do it in a heartbeat. At the end of the day, that's what's precious to us.

The hypocrisy that Rhea alludes to comes from her awareness of the incongruence between herself and what Said (2000 p.173) would call "true home": Afghanistan. She challenges assumptions about a natural connection to her ancestral place, stating that she does not miss or care for Afghanistan. Taylor highlights how memory is gendered, and returning to the conditions of the past may be less worthwhile for women than for men (Taylor, 2015 p.78). Thus, a deeper sense of security and home comes from several sources. These include the space where Rhea is able, and feels empowered, to seek an education (such as in New Zealand), as well as the ability to detach from that which threatens her, namely life under the Taliban rule (Hage, 2010 p.418). In this way, Afghanistan is not home because it is a dangerous place to live, particularly for women. Thus, the physical edifice of home and territory of a country is what would allow one to achieve security (Khattak, 2002 p.108). For Rhea, home is her family; this is what evokes a strong emotional attachment to a place (Afghanistan) which is expressed in her willingness to visit Afghanistan "in a heartbeat".

However, Afghanistan was not the only country that Rhea considered unsafe. Although she felt safe living in Iran, relatively speaking, her status as an Afghan refugee meant that she and her family were forced to adhere to strict policies, and constantly feared deportation. This contributed to her feelings of non-belonging to Iran:

I would prefer Iran much more than Afghanistan because in Iran there was no war but we were treated like illegal immigrants. I was born in Iran but I was never given a birth certificate. My father used to work there, he drove there and he never had a driver licence. He never got an identity to say that we live there, nothing. If they caught you working they [the Iranian officials] would deport you back to Afghanistan. That's because you're an illegal immigrant. I wouldn't really say that there are a lot of things that I miss from Iran. It was just a country that allowed us to survive. It was a country that we survived.

Rhea explains how her family's lack of legal documentation meant that Iran became a place that allowed them to *survive* the atrocities and injustices occurring in Afghanistan and a place in which they ultimately *survived* government surveillance and deportation. Khattak (2002), in her research exploring Afghan women's experiences of displacement, explains that shifting from camps to homes and from there to other cities in the name of safety is "an inhospitable experience as the host population looks upon the refugees as anathema" (Khattak, 2002 p.109). These inhospitable experiences create feelings of not-belonging and it is this exclusion that makes Rhea feel that Iran is merely "just a country."

Similarly, Geti narrates the difficulties and insecurities of receiving an education in Iran. She also highlights how this had led her to start counting down the days until her and her family could leave Iran:

My parents had to do so much every year to send us to school cos Irani government they wouldn't permit or allow Afghani students to go to school because they said, 'oh you guys are illegal here, so the children cannot attend school'. So every year my mum had to go to so many different offices, like departments, just to get us a piece of paper that would say these people or these children can attend school [...] I LOVED going to school. I was a good student at my school but because I was an Afghani student, a refugee, illegal refugee, I wasn't able to participate in some of the competitions. Because I wasn't Iranian or I wasn't Persian, I was excluded in so many things. There were a lot of discrimination. Even though we speak the same language, like we have the same culture, same religion, there was a lot of discrimination. Yeah, I was really happy to escape that country, even though I had good memories but I couldn't wait for the day where we would get a visa and my family could leave Iran.

Geti states that she feels as though she does not belong in Iran, a feeling that was fostered through her experiences of being treated as a second class citizen at school. Her identity as an 'illegal-Afghan-refugee-student' meant that she was unable to participate in various school activities and competitions. The politics of belonging meant that Geti felt a sense of happiness in the idea of "escaping" Iran. In this way, she is expressing displacement and ill-treatment twice: in her place of birth, and her place of (temporary) residence. Geti's experience echoes

that of other Afghans who had fled to Iran during the early and mid-90s. Hoodfar (2010) and Kamal (2010), in their research on the experiences of Afghan refugee youth in Iran, found that the Afghan youth were stressed about the insecurity of their schooling and living quarters, as well as the negative and discriminatory encounters with Iranians. The familiar but unfriendly Iran evoked ambivalence, with the youth stating that they would appreciate a better standard of living at the expense of continued discrimination and feelings of not-belonging (Kamal, 2010). However, after settling into New Zealand, Geti realised that her (educational) experiences in Iran were not as bad as she had originally thought:

When I first started school [in Christchurch], the first day, what I did was just cry cos you know, there were so many people around me that would talk to me you know, try to make a conversation with me, but I wasn't able to understand what they were saying and I wasn't able to tell them what I want or like how I feel. I felt like a deaf person. So that took me back, like even though I didn't like Iran that much, I was one of the top students back in my school and coming to a country where I didn't know the language, basically I was like at the bottom of that level [...] It is not a good feeling. So I didn't like going to school because I wasn't able to make any friends, I wasn't able to talk to my teachers, I felt like I'm just a shadow following people, doing what they're doing but not knowing why they're doing it [...] The first year was really hard, every day I wished I could go back to Iran even though I didn't have a good experience from Iran but still I wanted to go back, go back to my friends, the friends that I had there, to my teachers, you know, like, just being able to talk to them in the language that they understand me.

Language, or not speaking English, was a significant barrier that Geti had to negotiate when she first attended primary school in New Zealand. She felt as though she was “deaf,” as though she was a shadow, following and mimicking her teachers and classmates but not understanding why. This particular experience made her feel insecure to the point that she wanted to return to Iran. It also reminded Geti of her school achievements, of a period in her life in which she was excelling in her studies. Therefore, feelings of belongingness towards Iran are malleable, shifting as other difficulties during resettlement are experienced and made sense of.

Kamelah also drew attention to the inequalities that she and other Afghans faced in Iran. However, she juxtaposes her past experiences of these inequalities, with the ways in which Afghans are treated today, an experience made more visible via social media:

In Iran, all of us [my siblings and I] were at home [house] for one year. Because we were considered refugees we were not allowed [to go to school] and there were a lot of like, the sort of jobs that refugees were allowed were really low paid jobs [...] If they [Afghans] go to school they have to pay double amount of what they [Iranians] pay. But I've had good times there as well, making a lot of friends in Iran. But now, especially on social media I see a lot of videos based on how refugees are treated back in Iran. It's really sad. But at that time, we [my siblings and I] weren't really aware of all the problems that were occurring for the refugees in Iran because we were like kids going outside to play then coming home [...] we weren't thinking of all that.

Kamelah highlights how she did not have the same rights as other Iranian students. However, she explains that she could not remember much about the inequalities that she faced as a young child. The discrimination that Afghan refugees faced in Iran is brought to her attention through social media and her family's narrative of displacement. It is also shaped by the fact that she now has access to the internet and is aware of all the issues that Afghan refugees continue to face today. What Kamelah does remember is her experience of playing outside with her friends and being carefree. In this way, 'HOME' is both the pleasant memories of childhood and the current realities of discrimination facing other Afghan refugees. These constellations of 'HOME' are held simultaneously but not at the expense of each other. Current experiences of 'HOME' do not necessarily overshadow childhood memories of 'HOME' in Iran.

Like Kamelah, Saba also explains how she felt at home in Pakistan because she grew up there:

I can remember it was kind of hard for my family to get used to Pakistan, but Pakistan was much safer at that time cos the war had just started when we had to leave the country [Afghanistan]. So we felt really safe and then we just got used to it, even when I went back to Pakistan [states the date and year] and then again in [date and year] and then I went back to Afghanistan [to visit], I felt like Pakistan was much my home because I grew up there and, yeah. But I still, Afghanistan is still my country but sometimes I don't feel safe, I hope one day we have, you know, peace there.

For Saba, Afghanistan is her country but Pakistan is her 'HOME.' This is because Pakistan is where she had spent much of her childhood and early teenage years. Her feelings were reinforced when she travelled back to Pakistan and Afghanistan after living in New Zealand. She recalled not feeling safe in Afghanistan. As such, the politics of Afghanistan are implicated in her experiences of displacement and feeling at 'HOME' in Pakistan. Unlike the majority of the participants who experienced living in Iran, Saba's experiences in Pakistan were less threatening (particularly in relation to deportation).

The modalities of ‘home,’ ‘Home’ and ‘HOME’ are analytically difficult to separate and are frequently discussed by the participants in the way they remember and make sense of home during protracted displacement. Although these modalities are produced simultaneously, they influence each other in different ways. Depending on the context, the points of reference in a constellation of home are given different weight; consequently, contingent upon where the centre of gravity lies within the different dimensions of home, the constellation changes between contexts (Brun & Fábos, 2015 p.13). Thus, for the participants in this study, home, from the experiences of long term displacement, is given different forms and configurations depending on the spatial and temporal context, socio political and cultural context (Brun & Fábos, 2015). Therefore, the constellations of home produce different strategies of home-making in transitional circumstances specific to each interrelationship between the three different meanings of home.

## Conclusion

The constellations of ‘home,’ ‘Home’ and ‘HOME’ were used to make sense of how the participants (re)made home in Afghanistan, Iran or Pakistan. For some, a sense of ‘home’ and attachment to local settings in Afghanistan, Iran and/or Pakistan was evoked by the physical elements of the house, the neighbourhood/village, the social elements of family and friends, and the temporal elements of their childhood memories. For others, the violence, ongoing security issues, the ill-treatment of women and a lack of first-hand experiences have fostered an emotional distance between themselves and Afghanistan. ‘Home’ was the ideal Iran, a religious and spiritual place associated with holiness and sanctuary. However, Iran was not idealised by all, and the majority of the participants found that their experiences of discrimination, particularly at school, evoked feelings of being treated as second class citizens. ‘HOME’ was about how the participants conformed to, challenged, negotiated and changed the label of what it means to be an Afghan refugee. Nevertheless, the participants were able, to some extent, to enjoy their childhood years and therefore make their houses and neighbourhoods into ‘home.’ In conclusion, Afghanistan was not the only or the most important reference for making home; family, friends and other places, particularly in Iran or Pakistan, were just as important.

## 5. The affective dimensions of resettlement and home in New Zealand

### Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the role of affect and emotions in Afghan women's resettlement experiences in New Zealand, and the role they play in their negotiations of home. The chapter comprises three parts: arrival narratives, cultural negotiations and post-disaster displacement. At an empirical level these themes are of course interrelated but, for analytical purposes, it is helpful to separate them as they highlight distinct processes evident in the participants' narratives of home. The first section examines the affective dimensions in the participants' 'arrival narratives'. 'Cultural negotiations' looks at how home was produced by the embodied practices of women. It explores the ways in which the participants negotiated certain contexts and places that are constituted as a threat to the Islamic family. It also explores the ways in which home was produced and managed through veiling practices, by exploring how the participants' bodily practices, particularly those who don the hijab, symbolise a particular version of community belonging. Finally, 'post-disaster displacement' examines the ways that participants engender affective connections in the aftermath of a natural disaster. I highlight how the participants made sense of the meaning of home following the Canterbury earthquakes, particularly that which struck on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, 2011. I trace the participants' emotional responses in their narratives of double displacement and explore how their experiences and memories of these disasters have impacted on their sense of belonging and affective loyalty to Christchurch.

### Arrival narratives

For many of the participants, arriving to New Zealand was like arriving home, and they expressed this affectively. Rhea encapsulates this point in the following way:

The day we came here [New Zealand] that was the first time, even for my parents and myself, that's the first time we felt like we're home. All my life I remember just fleeing. We used to flee from one country to another just to find safety, just to find a place for us to be safe, to be able to study, but it just wasn't possible because we were Afghans. No country wanted us, even in Iran, we were still illegal immigrants, Iran wasn't accepting us [...] and then they [Iranian officials] would kick us out, back to Afghanistan, then we'd end up in Afghanistan [...] after a while you sort of get sick and tired of moving from one place to another and not having a place to call home. So yeah, I'll never forget the first time we came to [Auckland] airport. We were actually welcomed with open arms, you know, we were like, wow, this is home and we were New Zealand residents from the day we came! It was amazing. So yeah, it's good to be given an identity, you know, that's the main thing.

The longing to be rooted in place indicates both the strength and permanence of Rhea's connection to New Zealand as well as its embodied nature (Cain, Meares & Read, 2015). However, this sense of rootedness does not connote an essentialist understanding of belonging. Rather, it is about understanding how refugees in exile make sense of place. Tuan (1980 p.3), for example, distinguishes between "rootedness" and "sense of place," whereby the former relates to feelings of inside-ness and a historic sense of belonging, and the latter refers to a "self-consciously constructed attachment to local environment...which requires distance between self and place." For Rhea, a sense of attachment to New Zealand was achieved through what the country represented: freedom and security. This connection is also symbolic in that it is about establishing an identity through a legal and social claim to a place, such as being granted residency and being "welcomed with open arms." However, Ahmed (2000 p.97) argues that the act of welcoming "strangers," or those who are recognised as out of place as the origin of difference, produces the very figure of "the stranger" as the one who can be taken in. Yet, it is this act of welcoming that helps to mitigate feelings of alienation that can be found on the borderlines of nation spaces. That initial welcoming suggests that home can be read as the antinomy of abroad, a space that allows "the stranger" to escape the pressures that come with being an illegal or unwanted refugee and enter into a place of self-actualisation.

Like Rhea, Kamelah's arrival narrative also had an affective dimension to it. She states:

I remember [the journey] vividly. We were on the plane, on top of Auckland, we were like coming down and we looked everywhere and it was like green, green, green, it's like wow. And we have a [Afghan] saying that says, when you see green for the first time, that's actually a sign of hope, you know, green is a sign of peace and that could have been a symbol for us, this is our home.

By rendering her impressions of nature, Kamelah does not merely observe and describe from a distance. Rather, she establishes an affective connection with New Zealand's surroundings. Her cultural understanding of landscape was used to make sense of her arrival to New Zealand. For her, the landscape of Afghanistan was more "dry," brown and arid. On the other hand, the greenery of Auckland foreshadowed a safe life and a place to call home. However, Kamelah later discussed how she researched New Zealand after she became aware that she and her family were to become New Zealand residents. In this way, her narrative also suggests that she may have been influenced by the place myth of 'clean green New Zealand' which is bolstered by a number of place images of the country as "100% PURE," "beautiful New Zealand," a tourist paradise, nuclear free and a desirable place to live (Coyle & Fairweather, 2005 p.3). This clean green image also has a materiality to it; it constructs New Zealand as a "healthy place" to live and a "good place to bring up kids" (Coyle & Fairweather, 2005 p.6). Ideas about emplacement may therefore be mediated by political metanarratives that mobilise various imageries and shape ideas about home and 'home-coming': greenery not only confirms the natural environment, but also the cultural imagination of New Zealand. These representations contribute to the prediction that New Zealand is going to be peaceful and therefore a place that one can safely call home.

Like Rhea, Kamelah also compared her experiences in New Zealand with Afghanistan. However, she used metaphors, including the use of colours and movie scenes to exemplify this contrast:

Thinking of my memories in Afghanistan and then suddenly in New Zealand, it's a huge significant change, change in the environment, change in how people interact, yeah, yeah, it's very amazing. It's just like in a movie. You're watching one part [and then] suddenly it just changes into another part. A part that was black and white and [then] suddenly it just changes to colour. You know, it's like that, my memories from back home and then in New Zealand. Back home, black and white, future not certain and the colour [part] is like after, in New Zealand, it's just like, you know the meaning of life, you realise your rights and everything that you have missed.

The contrast of black and white can symbolise the violence and destruction of life in Afghanistan, and the colour can symbolise the peace and serenity experienced in New Zealand. The metaphor responds to the various shapes, forms and rhythms of displacement and emplacement that can carry expressive meaning (Merleau-Ponty, 2002), that resonate with the ways in which Kamelah affectively experiences what it means to a refugee. In addition, this metaphor allows for the expression of suffering which may otherwise be difficult to

communicate. Interestingly, Afghanistan is also considered as “back home.” The terms ‘back home’ (Afghanistan) and ‘current home’ (New Zealand) are brought to light not so much in the sense of creating a link between them but rather by stressing their contrasting properties. Home is not strictly about what one has or does not have; in the context of the refugee experience, it is about the possibilities to acquire what one would like to have. It is New Zealand, as opposed to Afghanistan, that can offer various opportunities and rights for young girls and women.

Memory of the past home is also an important theme to emerge from Parisa’s arrival narrative. Parisa’s initial experiences of New Zealand, its landscape, plants, colours and weather, reminded her of Iran, a place that she continues to keep close to her heart:

When we came to New Zealand, the first thing that caught our eyes were the green, the beauty, green, yeah, yeah, the greenness of New Zealand, of how beautiful it was and how clean it looked and the weather was so fresh, it was quite cold but a beautiful cold. I could see, like, the view was really nice and everywhere we could see lemon trees or mandarin or um, or orange trees in Auckland, so it was quite beautiful.

[~]

[Auckland reminded me of] home. It reminded me of being, it seems like I was in Iran, like, I don’t know if you have felt this way or not but, you know, sometimes you have, you feel, this scent, you smell the scent that reminds you of something, a memory, so it [Auckland] refreshed that memory [that was] in my heart and it seemed like I was there, in my country, like in Iran, the atmosphere gave me that feeling and I had quite a lot of fun there.

Singular affective experiences, such as seeing how green New Zealand was, observing the lemon and orange trees, and feeling the cold, directs Parisa to a home in the past. This experience encapsulates what Ahmed (2000 p.92) calls “skin memories,” or memories of different sensations that are felt on the skin. In this way, memory works through the skin: the memory of another place (Iran) in which Parisa lived as home, involves the “touching of the body” and the animating of the relation amid the body and the space which it inhabits and is inhabited by (Ahmed, 2000 p.92). Parisa was “moved,” as she told me, by her experiences in Auckland to the point that she felt she was in Iran in her “heart.” She later stated that every time she travels to Auckland she feels the “essence” of Iran. Hence, movement does not cut the “body off from the ‘where’ of its inhabitants, but connects bodies to other bodies” and therefore attachment takes place through movement (Ahmed, 2004 p.27).

## Cultural negotiations

For many of the participants in this study, feeling at home, and their home-making processes, are as much about negotiating their cultural and gendered identities in Western secular society as it is about belonging to a particular community. An idea of home was often linked to places where the values and understandings that the women in this study described as being important to them were allowed to be expressed and practiced, and where these were also shared by their community. The participants discussed how they negotiated between the “good” and “bad” aspects of ‘Afghan culture’ and ‘Kiwi culture.’ The “good” aspects of Afghan culture referred to how close-knit Afghan families and the ways in which they respected, cared for, and listened to their parents. The “bad” aspects considered the politics and therefore the gendering of space (where the participants could go or not go, and with whom) which became imbued with traditional and cultural concepts that are embodied or lived. It also included the gendered and social norms relating to the idealised Muslim women, whose role was typically confined to the household. These unfavourable expectations meant that some of the participants often drew on and incorporated the “good” aspects of ‘Kiwi’ culture, such as the freedom for women to pursue an education and career, and to be able to go where they pleased. However, this was often balanced by what they did not favour about ‘Kiwi’ culture such as the ways in which Western concepts of individualism are at odds with Afghan communal identity.<sup>24</sup>

Many of the participants discussed how it was difficult for them to balance between ‘Kiwi’ and ‘Afghan’ cultures because they often embodied Afghan culture. Elaha explained this point by highlighting how it is quite difficult to respond to cultural expectations when the culture is deeply embedded within a girl:

For girls it's like more strict, culture and religion wise, but for boys it's a little bit more, free. So I guess girls have like that culture more alive inside them than the guys because guys are basically free to do whatever, but girls, not so much.

Elaha's comments that “girls have that culture more alive inside them” resonates with Yuval-Davis' (1997) contention that women are constructed as the bearers of races and the guardians of culture, and, as such, are central to the ideological constructions of national identity and the

---

<sup>24</sup> This process, of incorporating the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ aspects of the culture of the country of origin and country of residence, is common to 1.5 and second generation migrants and refugees (see Brettell & Nibbs, 2009; Kebede, 2010; Koivisto, 2011; Park, 1999; Plaza, 2006; Shoshani et al. 2014).

(multicultural) state. What this often means is that women become the “standard bearers of the group’s private and public dignity” (Afshar, 1994 p.130). Many Muslim societies view honour as a man’s responsibility and shame as a woman’s burden, which results in different expectations of behaviour from men and women (Begum, 2008). More specifically, and commonly, participants explained how it can be difficult and at times inconvenient to uphold the values and beliefs that they have grown up with at home. This point was raised by Kamelah who states that “the lack of understanding from other people makes it hard for us, when trying to fit in; trying to feel like this is our home.” She refers to both her local community and ‘Kiwi’ friends as “other people” to draw attention to the difficulties of trying to please, and fit in with, her family and friends. She discussed this point further:

We go home and we have a different culture, we go outside, there’s another culture. So the thing that makes it difficult for us [is] just trying to adapt to both cultures to make, you know, to try and keep our parents happy and at the same time fit in with society, when we go out to work or just like socialising [...] but everywhere we go, we have to be careful and of course, myself, you know, I’m a girl, I’m a female. I mean my interactions with males are really, it’s like, we have been advised to interact as least as possible with the guys but then, I mean, working on some group projects, you want to be out late at night, to work on the projects with the guys but we’re not really, you know, it’s like, our culture is not really okay with that, it makes it hard [...] I mean it’s hard to balance, having the parents and everyone else around you [telling you that you cannot do this]. If they’re open minded and they accept it, then it’s okay, if they’re not, then sometimes it’s hard to work around it.

Kamelah is negotiating what Vertovec (2004) calls “translocal habitus.” Vertovec (2004) borrows Bourdieu’s concept of habitus to describe the in-between life of the translocal migrant. According to Vertovec (2004), it is possible to see migrants’ and, in this case, former refugees’, lives as formed by translocal habitus, where home and abroad are connected. Migrants thereby construct a life-world with elements from different places (Vertovec, 2004). Translocal habitus therefore gives Kamelah multiple frames of reference, which has led her to constantly compare the situation of her home/house and community with the situation at school, work and the wider society of Christchurch. Her cultural dissonance stems from her desire to fit into New Zealand society whilst still respecting her parents’ cultural values. Kamelah is therefore drawing attention to the difficulties of constructing or feeling at home within her translocal habitus. However, although she makes a distinction between the culture at ‘home’ and the culture ‘outside of home,’ she explained how time has allowed her to appreciate both cultures and therefore manage them more effectively:

As I have grown up, I understood more about my parent's culture [and] values [from] back home and then I actually, I learned to respect both. So at first there's like girls that are like, you know, trying to just find their identity but then as we grow older and [when] we understand more, that's when we learn to value other people, you know, your parents or the culture, or the values that they have brought from back home.

Kamelah originally distances herself from Afghan girls who are “trying to just find their own identity” while simultaneously living with their “parents’ culture [and] values [from] back home.” She chooses instead to align herself with the more mature Afghan women. However, she explained that with time this culture takes on a different meaning. As Afghan girls grow into women, they begin to understand and value the cultures that their parents have brought from Afghanistan. Indeed, this emphasis on time and transition moves beyond the discourses of “culture clash,” which often fails to take into account how young women can operate different culture codes, and acts to discursively deny them agency (Takhar, 2013). Furthermore, a focus on time and transition assumes that conflicts are usually designated to culture, while intergenerational conflict occurs across cultures (Takhar, 2013). This then inscribes judgement into cultural practices and values, such as what is good versus what is bad, what is ours versus what is theirs (Ngo, 2008 p.5). In addition, it reifies culture as something that is fixed, rather than “as a social process that finds meaning within social relationships and practices (Ngo, 2008 p.5). For Kamelah, negotiating culture is “a long process, it's not like, ‘oh yep’, you got into New Zealand and [now] you're all good. It's not. It's always a process of learning, a process of trying to adapt.”

Like Kamelah, Elaha also distinguishes between the cultures at home and the cultures outside of home. However, Elaha explained that she would like to express her cultural identity outside of her home but feels that it is quite difficult to do so:

We have rules at home and out. So the rule at home is that we don't speak English because we want to keep that main thing alive, that we have from our, you know, mother's language. So we don't speak English at home, we follow our traditional rules. And our house, if you enter you would be like, ‘this is not New Zealand’. So it would be different. And we try as much as we can to keep our culture and traditions alive inside the house but once we're out, we can't. The only thing we can be outside [is Muslim] but your religion is not like your culture, but you know, you could still have that culture within you to show people. For example, when they ask you, where are you from, you answer where you're from, like your language and all that but I guess religion has nothing to do with culture but still people sometimes see it like that.

As in her previous narrative, Elaha draws on the ways in which culture is embodied: she states that cultural traditions “inside the house” reflect and therefore symbolise the “culture within” her. Elaha’s experience of being-at-home suggests that she is in a space which is not simply outside her, but rather that she and various spaces “inhabit each other” (Ahmed, 2000 p.89). However, it is through this “inhabitation” that she negotiates her identity (Ahmed, 2000 p.89). She feels that she is viewed as Muslim first, which then determines people’s opinions of her. Nevertheless, Elaha responds by letting people know where she is from and the languages that she speaks.

The participants in this study also drew attention to the ways in which dress styles, or the donning of the hijab, played a significant role in their home-making efforts in New Zealand. They commented on the stereotypes ascribed to Muslim women and how this impacted on their lives. Most of the participants in this study choose to cover their heads, which makes them very visible as Muslims. This visibility has meant that some of the women have endured incidents of discrimination. Parisa, who dons the hijab, related an example of this and explained how she manages these kinds of incidents:

I was shopping one day and someone was behind me, a woman, a Kiwi woman, and she said to me she hates the way I dress, because I was covered. You know, when someone attacks my beliefs and my religion, I get quite upset [...] but I just try and explain to her the reason [for why I wear the headscarf]. I said to her, ‘this is not appropriate for you to do to me, it’s not right for you to tell me that you hate the way I’m dressed’ [...] she can’t stop me from believing in what I believe or make me feel embarrassed of my religion or the way I dress because I’m really proud of it. And some people tell me, ‘oh you guys are oppressed, you’ve surrendered’ and I say to them, ‘maybe this is the way you look at it because you don’t know the rules of Islam for women and the rights of women in Islam because women have such a high place in Islam.’ I once said to my friend that religion is like a boundary for your attitude or um, your life, so that the place that you’re living in all your life doesn’t become corrupt, like husbands don’t betray their wives, wives don’t betray their husbands.

Parisa’s narrative demonstrates the “emotional geographies of veiling” or the ways in which the hijab “addresses and triggers emotional experiences of self in relation to others” (McGinty, 2014 p.694). Parisa explained how a woman “hated” the fact that she dons a headscarf and believed that this hatred stemmed from the woman’s disapproval of her religion and beliefs. Ahmed (2004) argues that the impossibility of reducing hate to a particular body, in this case, the Muslim body, allows hate to circulate in an economic sense, working to differentiate some others from others. This circulation produces a differentiation between the (“white”) woman and Parisa, whereby Muslim women are constituted as the cause or justification for this hate.

In addition, Parisa explained to others, namely her friends, that religion (Islam) guides how place is experienced. In writing about “religious boundaries,” Jacobson (1998 p.114) suggests that such boundaries owe their clarity and pervasiveness to Islam and more particularly to the emphasis that, according to most interpretations of the religion, its teachings place upon rightful action. Here, the focus on actions means that, to be a devout Muslim, one must behave in certain explicitly defined ways. Parisa embraces these religious boundaries and attempts to educate others about why she chooses to cover her hair. Yet, while Parisa may challenge those who hold stereotypical views of covered Muslim women, she does not feel different to “Kiwis” and other foreigners:

When I communicate with my Kiwi friends and people from other countries, I don't even feel that I'm different, I still think that I'm part of them and they're part of me. I don't see the difference, just because I'm wearing a scarf, it's not a huge thing for me.

Parisa is expressing a kind of “inter-embodiment,” whereby her lived experience of embodiment is always the “social experience of dwelling with other bodies” (Ahmed, 2000 p.47). That is, she challenges the idea that looking different is an indicator of being different. Instead, as Ahmed (2000 p.47) put it, “embodiment is what opens out the intimacy of ‘myself’ with others.” Parisa is able to maintain her religious identity whilst still fitting in – literally and figuratively – with her non-hijab-wearing ‘Kiwi’ friends. She is able to carve out some autonomous cultural space with a potent religious symbol (Williams & Vashi, 2007). This symbol visibly repudiates not only the overly individualised culture of dominant New Zealand society, but also media constructions of Muslim women (Williams & Vashi, 2007). This gives her some room to manage her dual identity as Muslim and ‘Kiwi’<sup>25</sup> and to feel at home and to prosper in both worlds (Williams & Vashi, 2007).

Unlike Parisa, Roya’s experiences of discrimination when donning the hijab made her feel different, as if she was an outsider, initially to ‘Kiwis’ and then later on to members within her community. She recalled three instances of being discriminated against for wearing a hijab. After the third instance, Roya decided to take off her hijab. She explained the implications of taking off the hijab:

---

<sup>25</sup> Or as Parisa later stated, “I consider myself Kiwi with Islamic thoughts.”

Sometimes [a family member] gets angry with me, saying that I hang out more with Kiwi people than Afghani people, saying that I have to go with the Afghani people not the Kiwi people because they are different. I said, no. I feel free with them [Kiwi people] because when I go to Afghani people, when I go to like party and stuff, I have to wear scarf. Yeah and [the headscarf] just make me different. I feel different, like when I go there I don't feel happy because I have to wear scarf [...] when I come out they say, 'she's not wearing a scarf when she's outside [in public spaces]'. I say, 'don't worry!'

Roya's narrative demonstrates how the fluid and changing meaning of the headscarf depends on the spatial context in which it is worn (Siraj, 2011). A particular family member encouraged her to socialise with individuals from the Afghan community because 'Kiwi' people were considered "different." Yet the need for Afghan women to don the hijab, particularly as they attend social functions hosted by the Afghan community, reminds Roya of her difference. In this way, the donning of the scarf is tied to certain ways of behaving, which is limiting to Roya who feels 'free' with her Kiwi friends. Moreover, while she discussed her difference to other Afghan women, she reiterates that she is still a Muslim: "I'm Muslim in my heart. It doesn't matter if I'm wearing a scarf or not." In doing so, Roya is challenging communal ideas about what is considered suitable clothing for young women and is therefore reworking the ways in which 'Asian' attire work as boundary markers for religious integrity (Dwyer, 1999 p.17; Gurbuz & Gurbuz-Kucuksar, 2009).

On the other hand, some participants discussed how donning the headscarf does not always exempt a woman from social criticism. They drew attention to how their bodies and their outwardly religious appearance made it difficult for them to be anonymous in certain places such as cafés or restaurants. Saba described a time in which she went out in the evening to a particular café, and how she negotiated the threat of community surveillance:

I have to hide myself, looking around like, 'Oh I know this man [and I say to my friend], 'oh my, I want to cover myself.' Like everyone [who was at the café] was looking at me [probably thinking] what was wrong with me because I was the only one with a scarf. I mean, families come there as well but um, I was pretending like I wasn't comfortable but I feel comfortable. I don't want people to see me, especially Afghani. I don't care about others, Kiwis you know, but if the community will see, that's it, huge problems!

Saba is aware that various places, such as home life and school life, have different systems of behaviour, which allow her to negotiate what Laurie, Dwyer, Holloway and Smith (1999 p.151) call "appropriate femininity," depending on the context she finds herself in. She performs her part of the Muslim woman who is 'out of place' (by trying to cover her headscarf) and therefore

guards herself from the community gaze: “I was pretending like I wasn’t comfortable.” Yet in doing so, she is able to be where she wants to be: “but I feel comfortable [there].” Her attitude problematises the division of private versus public space, where women’s identities are relegated to the private (or domestic) and men’s spaces are more public. However, she also confirms this division, as she later states that the café allowed her to “feel relaxed and get the energy to work for your child, for your husband.” In addition, she explained that she felt comfortable at the café because it reminded her of Iran. The café<sup>26</sup> therefore provided her an emotional refuge by offering relief from suffering and providing safe release from prevailing emotional norms, rules and ideals (Reddy, 2001). The café contributed to her feelings of being-at-home in Christchurch by providing her a place of sanctuary, where she is able to relax and forget about the things that trouble her. It also provided her with a means to remedy homesickness by creating memories of home.

## Post-disaster displacement

For all of the participants, Christchurch was their first experience of home-making in a Western country. It was where they were able to reunite with family members after years of separation; it was where they attended their first years of primary, intermediate, high school, and most recently, tertiary education; where they made new friends, both co-ethnics and “Kiwis”; and, for some, Christchurch was where they got married and where their first child was born. Ultimately, the participants felt a sense of connection to Christchurch. This sense of connection played a significant role in their negotiation of home after the Canterbury earthquakes, the first of which struck on the 4th September 2010, and the second which occurred on the 22nd February 2011.<sup>27</sup> The participants often juxtaposed their experiences of displacement as a result of war with their experiences of displacement as a result of a natural hazard. Rhea explained this point by highlighting how the earthquake reminded her of her experiences of fleeing Afghanistan:

---

<sup>26</sup> Saba took me to this particular café as a location for our second interview.

<sup>27</sup> The February 2011 earthquake, during which 185 individuals lost their lives, brought down many buildings previously damaged in the September 2010 earthquake, particularly mortar and older brick buildings. Over a quarter of the buildings in the central business district were demolished. Liquefaction was much more extensive than the September 2010 earthquake. The government immediately declared a national state of emergency the day after the quake and activated its National Crisis Management Centre. In the weeks following the earthquake about 70,000 people were believed to have left the city as a result of their homes being uninhabitable, continuing aftershocks and lack of basic services (McSaveney, 2016).

When the earthquakes happened and obviously you could hear the sound of helicopters going and stuff like that, it took us back home. It felt like it was war again, war all over again. After the second earthquake, I got post-traumatic [stress] disorder [...] because at the end of the day, the shake sort of took us back to what we fought, cos every time there was a shake we thought that's it, that's the end of our lives and when we were back home, every single day, you feel that it's the end of your life. The aftershocks and stuff, it was like a constant reminder that it could be the last day of your life. You don't ever get to feel that unless [you've been through] something like that.

Rhea describes how hearing the sound of the helicopters reminded her of the Afghan war and therefore took her “back home.” As a result of this, Rhea experienced post-traumatic stress disorder, a common psychological trauma that accompanies abrupt changes in physical landscapes (Silver & Grek-Martin, 2015). In her negotiation of the stresses associated with the earthquake, Rhea discussed how her husband encouraged her to travel back to Iran in order to heal and find a sense of solace. She stated that her time in Iran helped her recover from the trauma of the earthquakes. Once she arrived back in New Zealand, she persuaded her husband to live in Auckland as she had previously enjoyed her time there. However, after a few years, she and her husband decided to move back to Christchurch:

After the second earthquake, my husband took me straight to Iran. First we went to Auckland and stayed there for a few days and then he took me to Iran and said this is our chance to be away from New Zealand for a while. And it was really good of him, for my husband to do that. I came back all refreshed and told my husband, ‘I'm not going back to Christchurch’ {laughing}, so we stayed there [Auckland] and [after a few years] we decided to come back [to Christchurch]. I mean, it felt like, because when we first came to New Zealand, we were sent to Christchurch and it feels like Christchurch is our home regardless of where we go.

Rhea's narrative brings to light the relationship between health, place and social relations. Iran was a place that provided “affective care” whereby notions of being ‘in-place,’ trust and familiarity promoted feelings of well-being (Lee, Kearns & Friesen, 2010 p.114). Although she was “refreshed” from her trip to Iran, she was not ready to move back to Christchurch. However, over time, she realised that Christchurch was indeed home and that it will always be home to her, regardless of where she travels. Her narrative also draws attention to the possibilities of movement. Refugees are made visible as mobile bodies in certain ways. Their mobility is connected to persecution, displacement and claims for protection (Mountz, 2011). In this way, subjectivity and mobility are always intertwined for refugees, and policed through a series of paradoxical positionings (Mountz, 2011). However, post-resettlement migration

patterns reveal how Rhea is able to move freely (with the assistance of legal travel documents): she travelled to Auckland, then back to Iran, then to Auckland again, before settling in Christchurch. This freedom of movement further shapes how Rhea relates to various places over time: Iran can hold multiple contradictory feelings simultaneously – it can be both a dangerous and therapeutic place. Her narrative, therefore, challenges ideas of the immobile refugee, particularly in the ‘post-resettlement’ context and raises questions as to if, and when, a refugee stops being a ‘refugee.’

Returning to Christchurch after initially “fleeing”<sup>28</sup> was something that Mahdia also experienced. Mahdia and her family had originally travelled to Auckland after the February earthquakes and stayed for a few weeks. During that time, her family was welcomed by the Afghan community. This experience was positive enough that the family decided to move to Auckland. However, after a few months they found that the hospitality that they had originally experienced had dissipated:

When we went there [to Auckland] it was after the [second] earthquake. We went there and stayed in a motel and we thought, this is fun, because it was a big city, lots of things happening, lots of cultures, lots of people, lots of Afghani families and we thought, look this is awesome, why have we been in Christchurch all this time. So we started getting things ready and moving there but once you move there it’s a different story. All of those Afghan families they don’t come to see you because they’re so busy with life and they live so far away from each other. Whereas in Christchurch, everyone is so close, people stay in contact like every week but in Auckland, there’s so many families, that they’ve got their own families, do you know what I mean? So they just stay within their family, they don’t want a stranger in their family [but] we didn’t know that because when we came [to Auckland] we were like earthquake victims, so they all came and saw us there, so we thought, so many Afghans here, this is awesome, but no, no one came to see us.

A sense of belonging to a community was what originally drew Mahdia and her family to Auckland. However, not knowing many of the Afghan families in Auckland and contrasting this with the closeness and established friendships with Afghan families in Christchurch contributed to feelings of strangeness. Their alienation, or the falling out of sync with an “affective community” (Ahmed, 2010 p.37), was perpetuated by the realisation that Mahdia and her family were no longer “earthquake victims” and were therefore not receiving the kinds of support that they were originally offered in the aftermath of the earthquakes. According to Carroll et al. (2009), feelings of alienation are common for those experiencing natural disasters.

---

<sup>28</sup> “Fleeing” was a term that the participants used when describing the process of leaving Christchurch after the February earthquakes.

Such experiences relate to the social and cultural boundaries of home: there is a sense of loss of communality and community that may accompany the process of post-disaster mobility (Carroll et al. 2009). In this way, Christchurch is considered home because the Afghan community keep in contact with each other on a regular basis. Familiarity played an important role in not only deciding to move back to Christchurch but also reminding Mahdia and her family of the characteristics of home that they cherished the most.

While some of the participants fled to Auckland after the earthquakes, others decided to stay in Christchurch. Many decided to stay because they felt a sense of loyalty to Christchurch and to the people of Christchurch. Kamelah explained why it was important for her to stay in Christchurch after the February earthquake:

When the [second major] earthquake occurred, [a particular Non Government Organisation (NGO)] and the civil defence had opened a few welfare centres in different parts of Christchurch, just for everyone, you know, when their house was damaged or if they didn't have any shelter, they could come to those welfare centres. One was open near my house and at that time I thought it was my time to do something. I went and I registered [to work with this particular NGO] and for two weeks I was just volunteering in that welfare centre. So my role was to register the families with [this NGO] and to make sure that, you know, that when they were staying at [the welfare centre], that they had everything that they needed. What was significant was that we were also issuing flight tickets. There were a lot of families that were desperate to leave Christchurch so we were actually giving them flight tickets and then there were other shelters in Auckland that were opened up, so we'd give the families tickets, they would go to the shelters that had been opened up in Auckland. A lot of the refugee families, I would see them, a lot of them were leaving. A lot of them had, you know, packed their belongings and at that time, that reminded me of back home, of the war zone, you know? Because we had escaped that and then again, I was seeing that process again and a lot of the families would come to me and I was registering them with the Red Cross giving them flight tickets, a lot of them were asking me, 'Aren't you leaving, aren't you scared for your life?' And I was just telling them that as long as they're all safe, I'll be fine; even though I was scared. But for me, I was like, okay, Christchurch was the place that gave me home during my time of need, they were the ones who stood up for me and now this is my time to do something. If I would just leave and go to Auckland, then I wouldn't, I, I don't know, at that time I was really desperate to do something because I had that thought in my mind that Christchurch was the city that gave me home, that gave my family a place for security and now, and I know that sounded cheesy, I know this is cliché, but for me it was really important [to help out] at that time.

People relocating to Auckland in the aftermath of the February earthquakes reminded Kamelah of her own displacement narrative, of having to uproot herself from her home in Afghanistan because of the war and then resettle, first in Iran and again later in New Zealand. Although the

families at the welfare centre questioned her decision to stay in Christchurch, and she was indeed afraid of staying, she felt that it was her duty to support and give back to the people of Christchurch. This ‘giving back to Christchurch’ was also a central point in Elaha’s narrative:

[The aftermath of the earthquakes] was interesting; the most interesting thing was how everyone cared about each other. Even when you were on the street, everyone would be like helping you out, they would look after you if you needed anything, it was really good. You could really see that connection between everyone around you, inside or outside, wherever you were, you just felt that you’re cared about [...] we didn’t leave [Christchurch] because it was, I guess it was bad to leave because everyone is hurt and like you know, they all went through something major. You couldn’t just leave and not help out because you’re part of that place, so we didn’t go, we went to like those that needed help, like we cleaned their yard because of the dust and all that, so we didn’t leave [...] because we felt cared about, we felt like caring for somebody else, giving back what we got from them, like the people from this place [Christchurch], cos they helped us and we have to help them back.

In his research on the ways in which refugee-background communities negotiate belonging and disaster recovery in the context of the Canterbury earthquakes, Marlowe (2015) highlights how refugees’ experiences of having already survived adverse circumstances, as a result of being forced out of their homelands, can provide them with forms of resilience that may not be available to others without this experience. This form of resilience presented Elaha and Kamelah with an opportunity to demonstrate their gratitude. This has been translated into a desire to volunteer for a non-profit organisation and to participate in the clean-up of Christchurch. Indeed, in her research on voluntary efforts of refugee background youth after the Canterbury earthquakes, Carlton (2015 p.164) asserts that refugee youth have become members of a powerful “in-group of earthquake survivors,” an identity which facilitates entry into main-stream Canterbury as opposed to being relegated by their ethnicities and ages to the margins of New Zealand decision-making structures. Participating in the clean-up and rebuild not only gave the participants a sense of belonging to Christchurch, but helped to ease their guilt about the suffering of those in Christchurch who are experiencing displacement. Yet, to share their suffering means also to share in being a Cantabrian, to share in the moral community of Christchurch, and to repay that debt of belonging (Carlton, 2015; Wise, 2003). Thus, memories and the experiences of ‘disaster(s)’ are written into the fabric of the city.

## Conclusion

The participants' arrival narratives were expressed in affective terms and, for many, coming to New Zealand was like coming home. Individual arrival narratives reflect the use of metaphors to contrast and project images of the nation and national belonging. Aspects of nature also become representative of home in exile as a result of individual memories of the lived experience of home. For 1.5 generation Afghan women in this study, feeling at home and the processes of home-making are as much about negotiating cultural and gendered identities in Western secular societies as they are about belonging to a particular community. Common to the participants' negotiations of home in a post-disaster context were their emotional responses of double displacement: one as a result of war, and the other as a result of an earthquake. Their narratives indicate that disasters do not simply make individuals become unsettled, but they attack the bonds of familiarity, continuity, and attachment to home. Despite this, experiences and memories of these different kinds of displacement impact on the participants' sense of belonging and affective loyalty to Christchurch.

## 6. Conclusion

“In some sense, the narrative of leaving home produces too many homes and hence no Home, too many places in which memories attach themselves through carving out of inhabitable space, and hence no place in which memory can allow the past to reach the present”.

Sara Ahmed (1999 p.330-331).

## Introduction

This thesis has used the lens of home as an embodied journey to argue that the meaning of home for some young Afghan women of refugee background is multiple and contradictory (Taylor, 2015). What emerges from the study is that, for 1.5 generation Afghan women, the process of leaving Afghanistan and Iran and/or Pakistan is a life-changing event which has consequences for many years (Taylor, 2015). Furthermore, experiences of displacement do not merely end when refugees arrive or resettle in New Zealand. The very process of becoming a refugee sets each woman on a course of ongoing negotiation of the meaning of home (Taylor, 2015). This chapter therefore considers the key findings of this study in relation to existing research literature and contemplates future research possibilities.

## Leaving Afghanistan

By investigating the meaning of home in depth, it has been possible to reach a more nuanced view of what it is that young Afghan women are leaving behind when they are forced to leave Afghanistan and why that loss is deeply felt even when they have settled in a much safer country such as New Zealand. Previously, there has been an inclination to either focus on the physical property that has been lost as a way of evaluating the refugee's legal claim to compensation or a fixation with the United Nations' preferred durable solution of repatriation as a return to the way things were before and an end to the refugee cycle (Taylor, 2015). The reasons underpinning these ideas are that the refugee has either been presented with financial compensation or has been able to go back to their lost home where the pain has been fixed (Taylor, 2015). However, for the 1.5 generation women in this study, returning to their ancestral land is not a priority. They do, however, continue to focus on their memories of their family house, their family (both deceased and alive), and the social activities that they used to engage in with their childhood friends. Nevertheless, not all participants hold an idyllic memory of Afghanistan. Some refugees mourn the loss of their locality, whether it is their

neighbourhood, village or school. Home is not just a singular building, but is the linkage of communal spaces that make up a community and a complex web of social relations (Taylor, 2015).

Within refugee and migration studies there has been a shift away from discourses that endorse a natural bond between people, place, culture and identity. Rather than placing an emphasis on individuals' roots, the focus has been on routes and on how mobility has allowed for the recognition of hybrid and fluid identities. This study considers the relevance of routes for constructing home and challenges nationalist discourses that assume nation states are the most important reference of home. However, this research has demonstrated that globalisation has not necessarily led to the development of hybrid identities and a post-national world of limitless mobility (Braakman, 2005). Instead, it seems to have led to the reinvention of boundaries, nationalism and distinct identities (Braakman, 2005). Nation states are increasingly engaged in closing their borders, defending 'home' and territory against the invasion of the 'Other,' and restricting their legislations about who is or is not allowed to belong (Braakman, 2005). Ideas about a natural identity connected to a certain territory and culture are not particularly prevalent in the narratives of young Afghan women. However, to say that the participants identify themselves in hybrid terms such as "Afghan-Kiwi" or as "New Zealanders" does not do justice to the complex and changing relationships that they have with their ancestral land. Depending on the current political climate of Afghanistan and New Zealand and the current discourses of (Afghan) refugees worldwide, narratives of 'roots' (as Afghanistan as home) can shift. Identities and the meaning of home are as much about the local and global circumstances of refugees and of Afghanistan as they are about questions of roots and routes.

Circumstantial home is therefore about engaging with the wider social and political discourses of former refugees and the 'homeland.' Media often depicts refugees as criminals or terrorists, especially in the context of displacement (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). This is evident in the narratives of Afghan refugees who are negotiating Western media presentations of the 'oppressed Muslim women' whilst managing cultural expectations of what it means to be an Afghan woman living outside of Afghanistan. The relationship between culture, ethnic identity and gender therefore plays a significant part in how the women identify with their 'roots.' Nevertheless, the problem with the relationship between women and ethnic identities is that they seem to dichotomise women's interests, which are usually understood as gendered identity and interests, and the identity and interests of the community in question (Gedalof, 2003 p.95).

This then leads to an opposition between a private and a public sense of selves and belonging, which binds women to a particular version of home and place (Gedalof, 2003 p.95). The 1.5 generation participants in this study, through their experiences of ‘living in two worlds,’ are able to strategically challenge cultural norms and expectations without debasing their reputations as Muslims and as Afghan women. Thus, rather than seeing refugees as removed from the realm of the political, refugees are to be viewed as political actors whose subjectivities are shaped by the uneven symbolic and social environments in which they are positioned simultaneously by others and by themselves (Williams, 2014). Some young Afghan women therefore define home in creative ways that contest simplistic answers to questions about the link between place, culture and identity.

Many women in this study have been able to visit Afghanistan and, while some were taken back to the life that they once had, with both positive and negative experiences, many have needed to come to terms with the fact that they can never recuperate what they had in the past. The 1.5 generation refugee has not just lost a house or village, but also the prospect that existed at the moment of displacement (Taylor, 2015): the lives not lived, the religious pilgrimage sites not visited, and important social events missed. This does not suggest that being forced from one’s ancestral land results in a worse outcome for young refugees or that their lives will be better as a result of migration (Taylor, 2015). Instead, what is important is the refugee’s lack of choice when confronted with events that changes the structure of their lives (Taylor, 2015). It is when observing these factors together that we can begin to recognise what influences young Afghan women’s assessments of home.

## **Protracted displacement**

This research has shown that embracing universal rootlessness repudiates the experiences of 1.5 generation former refugees by overlooking the constructed relationship to place that is established over time. For the young Afghan women in this study, places such as Iran and Pakistan also matter to them in their narratives of home because they offer constellations of ‘home’ (family and friends), ‘Home’ (an ideal place to live), and ‘HOME’ (safety and security). The meaning that has been attributed to the spaces of home highlights how difficult it is for the home to be ignored or traded as if all spaces meant the same thing for the individual (Taylor, 2015). Spaces matter for refugees because they were stripped of the choice as to where their homes should be (Taylor, 2015). Although the participants in this study have resettled in New Zealand, they are deeply emplaced in Christchurch which has been their home for the majority

of their childhood and adolescent years. Their presence in Christchurch has changed them, through their relationships with ‘Kiwis’ and other Afghans, just as they have changed Christchurch through the establishment of community centres and the cultural exchange that ensues over time in cities (Taylor, 2015).

Although the ‘constellations of home’ is a useful conceptual framework to understand refugees’ experiences of protracted displacement, this thesis has also demonstrated that refugees have not been bounded by a limited and narrow definition of home. The quote by Sara Ahmed (1999 p.330) at the beginning of this chapter suggests that the process of leaving home creates “too many homes” and therefore no “Home.” The capital H suggests that there is no one true ‘Home.’ When this version of ‘Home’ is compared to the constellations of ‘home,’ ‘Home’ and ‘HOME,’ it becomes evident that there are various definitions of what constitutes ‘Home.’ This raises the point that certain conceptual frameworks may run the risk of suggesting that there are certain characteristics which signify what it means to feel a sense of belonging in protracted displacement. However, experiences in protracted displacement reveal that places are complementary and can change over time. In addition, throughout this thesis, it became evident that the constellations of ‘home,’ ‘Home’ and ‘HOME’ may also apply to refugees who have settled in Western countries (as opposed to those still living in protracted displacement). As such, it is important to consider the usefulness of various conceptual frameworks for refugees and former refugees over time and in different situations. Furthermore, while these modalities are produced simultaneously and influence each other in different ways, they leave out the material aspects of home and the ways in which belonging to a place can be about the embodied experiences of that place.

While some of the women in this study have been able to keep in contact with family and friends in Afghanistan, Iran and/or Pakistan through the internet, phone calls, and visits to family members, most of the time this has only been with some parts of the country and not necessarily the home that they lost. While displacement may lead some of the participants to maintain connections with a past that troubles them, for the majority, maintaining transnational relationships is a choice. Being a 1.5 generation refugee means that the participants are in a position to decide for themselves whether they want to keep a connection with their ancestral land (unlike their parents who may, for example, feel obliged to send money to their relatives). For many, the reasons for keeping a relationship with these previous homes stems from what these homes can offer them. These homes usually offer positive feelings and experiences that

are related to their health and well-being and religious and spiritual journeys. Therefore, while the meaning of home in protracted displacement can be analysed through the lens of the constellation of 'home,' 'Home' and 'HOME,' it is important to also explore how experiences of home are more than just a set of characteristics.

## Return

Feelings toward Afghanistan are a good example of the complexity found in young Afghan women's understanding of the meaning of home. Many desire to reunite with their family members and childhood friends and wish that, just as "Kiwis" are able to leave their houses and speak English wherever they go, they too could speak their mother tongue outside of their houses or find halal food without trouble. However, the violence, war, and ill treatment of women that occurred and still occurs in Afghanistan means that some see their ancestral land as a dangerous place. For some of the other women, Christchurch is home. It is where they developed good friendships, got married, had children and found good jobs. For these reasons, not all of the women had an immediate or even long term desire to visit Afghanistan.

It is important to note, however, that the concept of 'return,' particularly to the ancestral homeland, is loaded with many assumptions about the experiences of former refugees. As this study has demonstrated, many refugee children are born outside of their country of origin, such as in countries of protracted displacement or in countries of (re)settlement. What this often means is that many have never stepped foot on the land where their parents came from. 'Return' therefore assumes that former refugees are going back to a place that they either have been before, or naturally belong to. Yet, not all former refugees have a connection to their ancestral land. In addition, the participants who have been to Afghanistan, or who hope to one day visit their country of origin, use terms such "travel," "go on holiday," or "visit." Rather than framing their return in political terms, the participants reconstruct their own narratives of what it means to be a refugee. They demonstrate their agency to be mobile and to travel the world. They do not always see their country of origin as a place that they must visit to reconnect with their roots. Rather, in a highly globalised and mobile world, the ancestral land, and the country of protracted displacement, are reimagined so that they become, for some, holiday destinations. This does not suggest that the participants are unaware of the injustices and violence that occur in these countries, nor does this suggest that the participants stay in these countries for a long period of time (most visit for between 1 – 3 months). What it does suggest is that, in the face of difficulties in the host society, many travel 'back home' for a break. In this way, they can

be considered more than just a refugee; they are tourists and explorers. They may also be considered migrants, as their New Zealand passports allow them to travel and make new homes in places that they could not have previously done so. This therefore raises many questions: What does it mean to be a refugee? What does it mean to be a refugee after settling in a Western country? When does a refugee stop being a refugee?

## Feeling at home

Affect and emotions are an important part of the resettlement process. The participants are feeling and becoming individuals who enter dynamic and affective social encounters in their exploration for meaning in their ancestral homeland, and emotional journey of belonging and eventual physical (re)settlement. The emotional, experiential and imagined journey of homecoming is full of encounters, contradictions, obstacles, negotiations and achievements (Taylor, 2015). The journey of home is one that includes a multitude of experiences, such as dilemmas, hostilities, reconciliations, and hope (Taylor, 2015). The journey should not be understood as a homogenous sociocultural terrain but rather as a group of multiple spaces that construct the refugee experience of belonging and shape gendered identities (Taylor, 2015). Within constellations of power and emotions, (Muslim) femininity is appropriated, reinforced, transgressed, negotiated and constructed through the interactions and spatial encounters in refugee instances.

The participants' feelings about, and experiences of, home cannot be divorced from the materiality of the body. Their feelings were experienced through the lens of their culturally-constituted notions of self. What made their narratives so interesting was not that the former refugees expressed their emplacement largely through the medium of the body, but the way in which their embodied experiences constituted a narrative in its own right (Coker, 2004). Refugee resettlement narratives have much to tell us about the process of coping with the loss of home and society that is unique to the refugee experience (Taylor, 2015). This suggests that the refugee experience does not end when one starts a new life in the host country. Rather, the refugee continues to experience different forms of displacement in the host society. For example, this could be a result of a natural disaster, personal circumstances, such as leaving a marriage, or deciding on the next path in life. For former refugees, resettlement is a lifelong process and journey. Yet, what arises from their experiences is the need to understand what past experiences of movement tell us about present understandings of resettlement. If we are able to historicise resettlement and to understand the narratives of being a child of the refugee,

we are better able to situate and localise what it means to ‘resettle’ as well as discern the nature of resilience.<sup>29</sup>

## Overcoming hardship

Although the participants have shared their experiences of loss in terms of family, childhood friends, house, and village, many deal with challenges of displacement by not only surviving, but in many cases thriving (Taylor, 2015). Many of the participants have succeeded in their studies and begun their careers, and therefore have experienced upward social mobility. Others have married and started a family. Even through hardship and trauma, many have been able to work through and overcome difficulties associated with displacement and emplacement (Taylor, 2015). This supports Korac’s (2009) assertion that becoming and being a refugee is a transformative experience and practice, a process rather than a set of disempowering structures. The refugee journey involves empowering experiences of former refugees regaining control and establishing themselves in the host country (Korac, 2009). The narratives in this study have also shown that remembering the past home does not mean that refugees cannot prosper in the country of settlement. Some young Afghans are able to maintain multiple allegiances which are at times conflicting and contradictory (Taylor, 2015). For many, the reward for their resilience is that they have the ability to decide where they can live and where they can ‘return.’ Home is therefore about the opportunities for 1.5 generation refugees to prosper and to make up for the loss that they have experienced. Some do this by achieving the goals that they have set for themselves and their families. Refugee youth are therefore capable of making decisions about their lives and are powerful social agents.

## Future directions

A number of gaps have been identified in this thesis, which further research is able to explore. Due to time limitations, this thesis could only explore the refugee experience from a particular moment in time. I could not follow young Afghan women’s experiences over a longer period of time and show the various intricate processes of evolving notions of home, identity and belonging. At the same time, further research is needed to explore the experiences of refugee children. How do primary or intermediate school age children think of and feel about home? In essence, it is important to start looking at the ways in which age (life experience) and gender

---

<sup>29</sup> Although I use the term resilience here, I am aware of some of its critiques. See for example, Du Plessis et al. (2015).

intersect with the ways in which former refugees negotiate their identities and sense of belonging.

Throughout this thesis journey, it became apparent that technology plays an important role in making sense of home. Technologies such as smart phones and various phone apps (for example, WhatsApp, Viber, and FaceTime) not only fostered communications between some 1.5 generation Afghan women and their families, but also are a constant link to a world that they have left behind. Some of the participants would also often read online news articles about the plight of Afghans, particularly the women, in Afghanistan and the country's social, political and economic climate. Furthermore, it is important to understand how various technologies help refugees and former refugees adapt to new life in Western countries. There are various apps that are being developed to help former refugees learn English, find services, jobs, internships and to connect refugees with locals (for example, 'Tech' in helping Syrian refugees adapt to life in Germany). There is also a need to better understand how different generations of former refugees (first, 1.5 and second generation refugees) use technologies in the country of resettlement and the implications of this for understanding how home is constructed. It will also be useful to understand the emotional dimensions of the use of technology in fostering transnational connections.

## Conclusion

This thesis argues that for some 1.5 generation Afghan women of refugee background, the nation state (Afghanistan) was never the only or most important reference for making home, but that it was among several markers of home. Home is not merely an outcome of the migration process; it is not merely the place in which one has ended up in. Rather, it is a journey, a process in which one constantly negotiates what it means to belong in a world of movement. Home is understood and made sense of from a specific time, place and purpose (as in an interview setting for a research project).

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Information sheet

### Exploring the experiences of young Afghan women of refugee background

#### What is the research about?

Hi, my name is Birian Habte and I am a Masters student at the University of Canterbury. I am conducting research on the experiences of young Afghan women, between the ages of 18-30 who are of refugee background. I am particularly interested in exploring what it is like to grow up in New Zealand. It is about gaining a better understanding of how Afghan women of refugee background see themselves in relation to two societies, Afghanistan and New Zealand.

#### What will be involved if you take part in this study?

Your involvement in this project will be to take part in up to two one-on-one interviews with me. After the first interview, I may contact you again to schedule a second interview. The second interview is not compulsory but it may help me gain a deeper understanding of your experiences in New Zealand. The interview will be recorded using a digital-recorder and is expected to run for approximately 60-90 minutes. For the interview, I encourage you to bring photos of places that are important to you. These can be photos that you currently have (in print or on your phone) or perhaps you may choose to take photos to bring to the interview. The photos can be of any places that are meaningful to you. These can be places that you feel a connection/attachment to or places that make you feel happy and/or places that you feel a sense of belonging to. If you can, please avoid bringing photos that include other people. The photos are not compulsory but they may be helpful for talking about your experiences of growing up in New Zealand.

We will discuss any photos that you bring to the interview, and if you agree, they may be used in the thesis. Paper photos that you leave with me will be stored in a locked cabinet in a locked office at the University of Canterbury, and any digital photos will be stored on a password-protected computer. Photos that include identifiable people will not be included in the thesis.

The photos that may be used in the thesis will be returned to you along with the transcript of the interview (so that you can review what was said during the interview) approximately two weeks after the interview. The transcript and digital photos will be sent to you via email or post. You will then be asked to return the transcripts to me (either by post or email). The photos that will not be used in the thesis will be returned to you at the end of the interview. The photos that are used in the thesis will be destroyed after five years. If you would like a summary of the findings at the end of the project, please provide details of your email or postal address.

### **Do you have to take part?**

Participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time before data analysis is underway (August 2015) without penalty and any information relating to you will be removed.

### **Will information be kept confidential?**

Yes, information will be kept confidential. I will ensure confidentiality by using pseudonyms (a made up name instead of your real name) in both the transcript and the write up of the report. Only I and my two supervisors will have access to the data. All the information relating to the research will be locked and secured in a university. All the data, including the recordings of the interview, will be destroyed five years after the completion of the report. The Thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC library. The results of the project may also be published, but you may be assured that your identity will remain anonymous.

### **When and where will the interview take place?**

If you agree to participate in the study, I will call or email you to schedule a time for the interview. We will find a mutually convenient time and place for the interview. To the interview I will bring a consent form that I ask for you to complete.

### **Who will conduct the research?**

This research is being carried out as a requirement for a sociology Master's degree under the supervision of Dr Tiina Vares and Associate Professor David Conradson. If you have any concerns about participation in the project, please do not hesitate to contact either myself, or my supervisors. You may also address any concerns to The Chair of the Human Ethics Committee (see below for contact details).

This project has been approved by the Human Ethics Committee.

#### **Miron Habte**

Ph: 027 xxx xxxx  
School of Language, Social and Political Sciences  
MA Student  
[Mth81@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:Mth81@uclive.ac.nz)  
University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, Chch, 8140

#### **Dr Tiina Vares**

[tiina.vares@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:tiina.vares@canterbury.ac.nz)  
Ph: +64 3 364 7969  
Department of Sociology  
School of Language, Social and Political Sciences,  
University of Canterbury,  
Private Bag 4800, Chch, NZ.

#### **Associate Professor David Conradson**

[David.conradson@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:David.conradson@canterbury.ac.nz)  
Ph: +63 3 364 2513 ext 7917  
Department of Geography  
College of Science,  
University of Canterbury,  
Private Bag 4800, Chch, NZ.

#### **UC Human Ethics Committee:**

[human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)  
Okeover House, University of Canterbury.  
Ph: +64 3 3642987

## Support services

If you are finding it hard to cope with resettling, even after moving to New Zealand a few years ago, and need extra support, you can contact local counselling services. These services provide a space for you, where you are able to talk about anything that may be worrying you.

<b>Women's Centre</b> Phone: 03 371 7417, or 022 105 5308 Email: <a href="mailto:admin@womenscentre.co.nz">admin@womenscentre.co.nz</a> 537-579 Colombo Street, Christchurch, 8141	<b>Refugee Lifeline</b> Phone: 0800 88 66 46
<b>Lifeline</b> Phone: 0800 543 354, or 03 366 6742 Email: <a href="mailto:lifelinechristchurch@lifeline.co.nz">lifelinechristchurch@lifeline.co.nz</a>	<b>Youthline</b> Email: <a href="mailto:talk@youthline.co.nz">talk@youthline.co.nz</a> Phone: 0800 376 633

Many thanks for taking time to read the information sheet.

Yours,  
Miron Habte

## Appendix B: Consent form



### Exploring the experiences of Afghan women of refugee background

I invite you to tick all the boxes if you have understood your involvement in the research project.

- I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.
- I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time before data analysis (August 2015) without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided.
- I understand that if photos are used they may be used in the thesis and any features on the photo that may identify me (or anyone I know) will not be included.
- I understand that any information or opinions I have provided will be kept confidential to the researcher and that reported results will not identify me.
- I understand that I am able to receive a summary of the findings at the conclusion of the project if I wish by providing my address or email account.
- I understand that I can contact the researcher and the two supervisors for further information.
- I understand that if I have any concerns, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

**Miron Habte**

Ph: 027 xxx xxxxx

School of Language, Social and Political Sciences

MA Student

[Mth81@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:Mth81@uclive.ac.nz)

University of Canterbury

Private Bag 4800, Chch, 8140

**Dr Tiina Vares**

[tiina.vares@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:tiina.vares@canterbury.ac.nz)

Ph: +64 3 364 7969

Department of Sociology

School of Language, Social and Political Sciences,

University of Canterbury,

Private Bag 4800, Chch, NZ.

**Associate Professor David Conradson**

[David.conradson@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:David.conradson@canterbury.ac.nz)

Ph: +63 3 364 2513 ext 7917

Department of Geography

College of Science,

University of Canterbury,

Private Bag 4800, Chch, NZ.

**UC Human Ethics Committee:**

[human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

Okeover House, University of Canterbury.

Ph: +64 3 3642987

By signing below, I confirm I have understood the points listed above and agree to participate in the research project on this basis.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

If you would like a copy of the findings, please provide an email address so that I can send you a copy at the end of the project.

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C: Transcription code

[...]

Indicates words omitted.

[~]

Indicates conversation of a particular theme that was discussed again later on in the interview.

{laughter}

Signifies when the participant was laughing during the interview.

**CAPITALISATION**

Words that the participants emphasised.

UNDERLINED

Words that are underlined equate to word-lengthening

## References:

- Abu-Lughod, L 1986, *Veiled sentiments: Honor and poetry in Bedouin society*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Abu-Lughod, L 2002, 'Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections of cultural relativism and its others', *American Anthropologists*, vol. 104, no. 3, pp. 783-790.
- Afshar, H 1994, 'Muslim women in West Yorkshire: Growing up with real and imaginary values amidst conflicting views of self and society', in H Afshar & M Maynard (eds), *The dynamics of race and gender: Some feminist interventions*, Taylor and Francis, Bristol, Pennsylvania, pp. 127-147.
- Ahmed-Ghosh, H 2003, 'A history of women in Afghanistan: Lessons learnt for the future or yesterdays and tomorrow: Women in Afghanistan', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 1-14.
- Ahmed, S 1999, 'Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, no.3, pp. 329-347.
- Ahmed, S 2000, *Strange encounters: Embodied others in post-coloniality*, Routledge, New York.
- Ahmed, S 2004, *The cultural politics of emotion*, Routledge, New York.
- Ahmed, S 2010, *The promise of happiness*, Duke University Press, Durham and London.
- Ahmed, S, Castañeda, C, Fortier, A & Sheller, M 2003, 'Introduction: Uprootings/regroundings: Questions of home and migration', in S Ahmed, C Castañeda, A Fortier & M Sheller (eds), *Uprootings/regroundings: Questions of home and migration*, Berg Publishers, New York, pp. 1-22.
- Al-Ali, N & Khalid, K 2002, *New approaches to migration? Transnational communities and the transformation of home*, Routledge, New York.
- Al-Rasheed, M 1994, 'The myth of return: Iraqi Arab and Assyrian Refugees in London', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2-3, pp. 199-219.
- Albrecht, Y 2016, 'Emotions in motion: How feelings are considered in the scope of migration sociological studies', *Digithum*, no. 18, pp. 25-33.
- Ali, R & Hopkins, P 2012, 'Everyday making and civic engagement among Muslim women in Scotland', in W Ahmad & Z Sardar (eds), *Muslims in Britain: Making social and political space*, Routledge, London, pp. 141-155.
- Alinia, M 2004, *Spaces of diasporas: Kurdish identities, experiences of otherness and politics of belonging*, Department of Sociology, Göteborg University, Göteborg.
- Anthias, F 1998, 'Evaluating diaspora: Beyond ethnicity?', *Sociology*, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 557-580.

- Anthias, F 2009, 'Translocational belonging, identity and generation: Questions and problems in migration and ethnic studies', *Journal of Ethnicity and Migration*, vol. 4, no 1, pp. 6-15.
- Awokoya, JT 2012, 'Identity constructions and negotiations among 1.5 – and second generation Nigerians: The impact of family, school, and peer contexts', *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 82, no. 2, pp. 255-281.
- Baldassar, L 1999, 'Marias and marriage: Ethnicity, gender and sexuality among Italo-Australian youth in Perth', *Journal of Sociology*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 1-22.
- Barnett, R 2013, *Afghanistan from the world war through the war on terror*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Bartley, A & Spoonley, P 2008, 'Intergenerational transnationalism: 1.5 generation Asian migrants in New Zealand', *International Migration*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 63-84.
- Basch, LG, Schiller, NG & Szanton Blanc, C 1994, *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*, Routledge, London.
- Bauman, Z 2000, *Liquid modernity*, Polity Press, Malden, Massachusetts.
- Beaglehole, A 2013, *Refuge New Zealand: A nation's response to refugees and asylum seekers*, Otago University Press, Dunedin.
- Begum, H 2008, 'Geographies of inclusion/exclusion: British Muslim women in the East End of London', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 13, no. 5, viewed 15 August 2016, <http://www.socresonline.org.uk>
- Blunt, A & Dowling, RM 2006, *Home*, Routledge, New York and London
- Blunt, A 2005, *Domicile and diaspora: Anglo-Indian women and the spatial politics of home*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
- Boesen, IW 1986, 'Honour in exile: Continuity and change among Afghan refugees', *Folks*, vol. 28, pp. 109-124.
- Braakmann, M 2005, 'Roots and Routes. Questions of Home, Belonging and Return in an Afghan Diaspora', Thesis (M.A), Leiden University, Leiden, Netherlands.
- Brah, A 1996, *Cartography of diaspora: Contesting identities*, Routledge, New York.
- Brannen, J 1993, 'The effects of research on participants: The findings from a study of mothers and employment', *Sociological Review*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 328-346.
- Braun, V & Clarke, V 2006, 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 71-101.
- Bravo-Moreno, A 2003, 'Power games between the researcher and the participant in the social inquiry', *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 624-639.

- Brettell, CB & Nibbs, F 2009, 'Lived hybridity: Second-generation identity construction through college festival', *Identities*, vol. 16, no. 6, pp. 678-699.
- Brettell, CB 2006, 'Global spaces/local places: Transnationalism, diaspora, and the meaning of home', *Identities*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 327-334.
- Brinkman, S & Kvale, S 2005, 'Confronting the ethics of qualitative research', *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 157-181.
- Brun, C & Fábos, A 2015, 'Making homes in limbo? A conceptual framework', *Refuge*, vol. 31, no.1, pp. 5-17.
- Brun, C 2001, 'Reterritorilizing the relationship between people and place in refugee studies', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 83, no. 1, pp. 15-25.
- Bullock, K 2002, *Rethinking Muslim women and the veil: Challenging historical and modern stereotypes*, The International Institute of Islamic Thought, London.
- Burman, E & Chantler, K 2004, 'There's no-place like home: Emotional geographies of researching 'race' and refuge provision in Britain', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 375-397.
- Burr, V 2015, *Social constructionism*, Third edn, Routledge, New York.
- Burrell, K 2008, 'Managing, learning and sending: The material lives and journeys of Polish women in Britain', *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 63-83.
- Cain, T, Meares, C & Read, C 2015, 'Home and beyond in Aotearoa: The affective dimensions of migration for South African migrants', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 22, no. 8, pp. 1141-1157.
- Calnan, M 2007, 'Quantitative survey methods in health research', in M Saks & J Allsop (eds), *Researching Health: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 174-196.
- Carlton, S 2015, 'Connecting, belonging: Volunteering, wellbeing and leadership among refugee youth', *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, vol. 13, pp. 342-349.
- Carroll, B, Morbey, H, Balogh, R & Araoz, G 2009, 'Flooded homes, broken bonds: the meaning of home, psychological processes and their impact on psychological health in a disaster', *Health and Place*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 540-547.
- Chowers, E 2002, 'Gushing time: Modernity and the multiplicity of temporal homes', *Times and Society*, vol. 11, no. 2-3, pp. 233-249.
- Christensen, A 1995, *Aiding Afghanistan: The background and prospects for reconstruction in a fragmented society*, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) Publishing, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- Christou, A 2006, *Narratives of place, culture and identity: Second-generation Greek American return 'home'*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.

- Christou, A 2011, 'Narrating lives in (e)motion: Embodiment, belongingness and displacement in diasporic spaces of home and return', *Emotion, Space and Society*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 249-257.
- Clifford, J 1994, 'Diasporas', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 302-338.
- Cohen, R 2007, 'Solid, ductile and liquid: Changing notions of homeland and home in diaspora studies', in E Ben-Ragael & Y Sternberg (eds), *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the advent of a new (dis)order*, Brill, Netherlands, pp. 117-135.
- Coker, EM 2004, "'Travelling pains": Embodied metaphors of suffering among southern Sudanese refugees in Cairo', *Cultural, Medicine and Psychiatry*, vol. 28, no.1, pp. 15-39.
- Collins, J 2013, *Understanding the war in Afghanistan: A guide to the land, the people, and the conflict*, Skyhorse Publishing, New York.
- Colville, R 1997, 'Magazine Issue 108 (Afghanistan: The unending crisis)- The biggest caseload in the world', *UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency*, retrieved 13 October 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/publications/refugeemag/3b680fbfc/refugees-magazine-issue-108-afghanistan-unending-crisis-biggest-caseload.html>.
- Connolly, W 2002, *Neuropolitics: Thinking, culture, speed*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Conradson, D & Latham, A 2005, 'Transnational urbanism: Attending to everyday practices and mobilities', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 227-233.
- Contractor, S 2012, 'Women's narratives of the *hijab*', in S Contractor (ed), *Muslim women in Britain: Demystifying the Muslimah*, Routledge, USA, pp. 118-137.
- Coyle, F & Fairweather, J 2005, 'Challenging a place myth: New Zealand's clean green image meets the biotechnology revolution', *Area*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 148-158.
- Crawford, M 1995, *Talking difference: On gender and language*, Sage Publications, London.
- Crawford, M 2006, *Transformations: Women, gender, and psychology*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Cresswell, T 2013, *Place: A short introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.
- Davies, B & Harre, R 1999, 'Positioning and personhood', in R Harre & L Langenhove (eds), *Positioning theory*, Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts, pp. 32-52.
- Du Plessis, R, Sutherland, J, Gordon, L & Gibson, H 2015, "'The confidence to know I can survive": Resilience and recovery in post-quake Christchurch', *Kōtuitu: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, vol. 10, no.2, pp. 153-165.
- Dudley, S 2010, *Materialising exile: Material culture and embodied experiences among Karenni Refugees in Thailand*, Berghahn Books, New York.
- Dudley, S 2011, 'Feeling at home: Producing and consuming things in Karenni refugee camps on the Thai-Burma border', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 17, no. 6, pp. 742-755.

- Dunn, K 2010, 'Interviewing', in I Hay (ed), *Qualitative research methods in human geography*, Oxford University Press, Ontario, Canada, pp. 101-138.
- Dupree, N 2002, 'Cultural heritage and national identity in Afghanistan', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 5, pp. 977-989.
- Dwyer, C 1999, 'Veiled meanings: British Muslim women and the negotiation of differences', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 5-26.
- Ehrkamp, P 2005, 'Placing identities: Transnational practices and local attachments of Turkish immigrants in Germany', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 345-364.
- Eisikovits, R 2014, 'Second generation identities: The case of transnational young females of Russian descent in Israel', *Ethnicities*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 329-411.
- Evanoff, RJ 2004, 'Universalist, relativist and constructivist approaches to intercultural ethics', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 439-458.
- Fischer, C 2015, 'Disaggregating diasporas as actors', in N Sigona, A Gamlen, G Liberatore & H Kringelbach (eds), *Diasporas reimagined: Spaces, practices and belonging*, Oxford Diasporas Programme, Oxford, UK, pp. 180-185.
- Ford, K, Bray, L, Water, T, Dickinson, A, Arnott, J & Carter, B 2017, 'Auto-driven photo elicitation interviews in research with children: Ethical and practical considerations', *Comprehensive Child and Adolescent Nursing*, pp. 1-15.
- Fortier, AM 2000, *Migrant belongings: Memory, space, identity*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, England.
- Foster-Fishman, P, Nowell, B, Deacon, Z, Nievar, MA & McCann, P 2005, 'Using methods that matter: The impact of reflection, dialogue, and voice', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 275-291.
- Freund, A 2015, 'Transnationalizing home in Winnipeg: Refugees' stories of the places between the "here-and-there"', *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 61-86.
- Gavey, N 1989, 'Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 459-475.
- Gavey, N 1992, 'Technologies and Effects of Heterosexual Coercion', *Feminism & Psychology*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 325-351.
- Gedalof, I 2003, 'Taking (a) place: Female embodiment and the re-grounding of community', in S Ahmed, C Castañeda & A Fortier (eds), *Uprootings/regrounding: Questions of home and migration*, Berg, Oxford and New York, pp. 91-107.
- Gergen, J & Gergen, M 2008, 'Social construction and research as action', in P Reason & H Bradbury (eds), *The SAGE handbook of action research*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, pp. 159-171.

- Giddens, A 1990, *The consequences of modernity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England.
- Ginsberg, R 1999, 'Mediations on homelessness and being at home: In the form of a dialogue', in GM Abbarno (ed), *The ethics of homelessness*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, pp. 29-41.
- Goodson, LP 2003, 'Afghanistan's long road to reconstruction', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 82-99.
- Gorman-Murray, A & Dowling, R 2007, 'Home', *M/C Journal: A Journal of Media and Culture*, vol. 10, no. 4, viewed 12 August 2016, <http://journal.media-culture.org.au/0708/01-editorial.php>.
- Gruner, A & Searle, W 2011, *New Zealand's refugee sector: Perspectives and developments, 1987-2010. Quota refugees ten years on series*, Department of Labour, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Guest, G, Namey, E & Mitchell, M 2013, *Collecting qualitative data: A field manual for applied research*, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Guillemin, M & Drew, S 2010, 'Questions of process in participant-generated visual methodologies', *Visual Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 175-188.
- Guillemin, M & Gillam, L 2004, 'Ethics, reflexivity, and "ethically important moments" in research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 261-280.
- Gunaratna, R 2015, 'Why Afghanistan matters: The global threat of terrorism', in R Gunaratna & D Woodall (eds), *Afghanistan after the western drawdown*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland, pp. 85-113.
- Gurbuz, M & Gurbuz-Kucuksari, G 2009, 'Between sacred codes and secular consumer society: The practice of headscarf adoption among American college girls', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 387-399.
- Hadjiyanni, T 2002, *The making of a refugee: Children adopting refugee identity in Cyprus*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut.
- Hage, G 2010, 'Migration, food and home-building', in S Radstone & B Schwarz (eds), *Memory: Histories, theories, debates*, Fordham University Press, New York, pp. 416-427.
- Hajdukowski-Ahmed, M 2008, 'A dialogical approach to identity: Implications for refugee women', in M Hajdukowski-Ahmed, N Khanlou & H Moussa (eds), *Not born a refugee woman: Contesting identities, rethinking practices*, Berghahn Books, New York, pp. 28-54.
- Halilovich, H 2013, *Places of pain: Forced displacement, popular memory and trans-local identities in Bosnian war-torn communities*, Berghahn, New York.
- Hall, S 2013, 'Cultural identity and diaspora', in JE Braziel & A Mannur (eds), *Theorizing diaspora*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK, pp. 233-246.
- Haller, W & Landolt, P 2005, 'The transnational dimensions of identity formation: Adult children of immigrants in Miami', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 28, no. 6, pp. 1182-1214.

- Hanifi, S 2006, 'Material and social remittances to Afghanistan', in C Wescott & J Brinkerhoff (eds), *Converting migration drains into gains: Harnessing the resources of overseas professionals*, Asian Development Bank, Philippines, pp. 98-124.
- Hannam, K, Sheller, M & Urry, J 2006, 'Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities and morrings', *Mobilities*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-22.
- Hart, M & Ben-Yoseph, M 2005, 'Introduction: Shifting meanings of home', in M Hart & M Ben-Yoseph (eds), *Psychological, political and cultural meanings of home*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Hedetoft, U & Hjort, M 2002, 'Introduction', in U Hedetoft & M Hjort (eds), *Belonging and identity*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp. vii-3.
- Heller, A 1995, 'Where are we at home?', *Thesis Eleven*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 1-18.
- Hennink, M, Hutter, I & Bailey, A 2011, *Qualitative research methods*, SAGE, Los Angeles, California.
- Hermawan, E 2015, 'Learning English for a life of choice in New Zealand: A case study of women refugees' bilingual class experiences in Palmerston North', Thesis (MIntDev), Massey University, Manawatu, New Zealand.
- Hesse-Biber, SN & Leavy, P 2011, *The practice of qualitative research*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, SAGE, Los Angeles.
- Highmore, B 2010, 'Bitter after taste: Affect, food and social aesthetics, in M Gregg & G Seigworth (eds), *The affect theory reader*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, pp. 118-137.
- Hirsch, M 1996, 'Past lives: Postmemories in exile', *Poetics Today*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 659-686.
- Holmes, SM & Castañeda, H 2016, 'Representing the "European refugee crisis" in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 12-24.
- Holt, M 2015, 'An "invented people": Palestinian refugee women and the meanings of home', *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp.98-106.
- Hoodfar, H 1993, 'The veil in their minds and on our heads: The persistence of colonial images of Muslim women', *Resources for Feminist Research*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 5-18.
- Hoodfar, H 2010, 'Refusing the margins: Afghan refugee youth in Iran', in D Chatty (ed), *Deterritorialized youth: Sahrawi and Afghan refugees at the margins of the Middle East*, Berghahn Books, New York, pp. 145-182.
- Hugman, R, Pittaway, E & Bartolomei, L 2011, 'When "do no harm" is not enough: The ethics of research with refugees and other vulnerable groups', *British Journal of Social Work*, vol. 41, no. 7, pp. 1271-1287.
- Huttunen, L 2005, "'Home" and ethnicity in the context of war: Hesitant diasporas of Bosnian refugees', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 8, no.2, pp. 177-195.

- Huynh, J & Yiu, J 2012, 'Breaking blocked transnationalism: Intergenerational change in homeland ties', *Princeton University*, viewed 2 February 2015, <https://www.princeton.edu/cmd/working-papers/2012TransnationalMeeting/2012-Vietnam.pdf>.
- Immigration New Zealand 2016, *The Refugee Resettlement Strategy*, viewed 12 January 2016, <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/about-us/what-we-do/our-strategies-and-projects/refugee-resettlement-strategy>.
- Indra, D 1987, 'Gender: A key dimension of the refugee experience', *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 3-4.
- Issa, S, Desmond, G & Ross Sheriff, F 2010, 'Pakistan, Refugee History and Policies of Pakistan: An Afghan Case Study', in U Segal, D. Elliott & N Mayadas (eds), *Immigration Worldwide: Policies, Practices and Trends*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 171-191.
- Jacobsen, K & Landau, LB 2003, 'The dual imperative in refugee research: Some methodological and ethical consideration in social science research on forced migration', *Disasters*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 185-206.
- Jacobson, J 1998, *Islam in transition: religion and identity among British Pakistani youth*, Routledge, New York.
- Jean, M 2015, 'The role of farming in place-making processes of resettled refugees', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 46-69.
- Johnstone, T & Kimani, M 2010, *Wellington refugee youth issues summary: Backgrounder for Wellington people working with refugee-background youth*, viewed 18 September 2016, [http://crf.org.nz/sites/default/files/staff/Wellington%20refugee%20youth%20issues%20summary\\_0.pdf](http://crf.org.nz/sites/default/files/staff/Wellington%20refugee%20youth%20issues%20summary_0.pdf).
- Kabachnik, P, Regulska, J & Mitchneck, B 2010, 'Where and when is home? The double displacement of Georgian IDPS from Abkhazia', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 315-336.
- Kabeer, N & Khan, A 2014, 'Cultural values or universal rights? Women's narratives of compliance and contestation in urban Afghanistan', *Feminist Economics*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 1-24.
- Kamal, S 2010, 'Afghan refugee youth in Iran and the morality of repatriation', in D Chatty (ed), *Deterritorialized youth: Sahrawi and Afghan refugees at the margins of the Middle East*, Berghahn Books, New York, pp. 183-212.
- Kandiyoti, D 2007, 'Old dilemmas or new challenges? The politics of gender and reconstruction in Afghanistan', *Development and Change*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 169-199.
- Kebede, S 2010, 'The struggle for belonging: Forming and reforming identities among 1.5 generation asylum seekers and refugees', *Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, Working Paper series no. 70, University of Oxford, UK*, viewed 28 July 2016, <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp70-struggle-for-belonging-2010.pdf>.

- Khattak, SG 2002, 'Floating upwards from history: Afghan women's experience of development', *Development*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 105-110.
- Kibreab, G 1999, 'Revisiting the debate on people, place, identity and displacement', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 384-410.
- King, R & Christou, A 2008, *Cultural Geographies of counter-diasporic migration: The second generation returns 'home'*, Sussex Migration Working Paper No 45, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex, UK.
- King, R & Christou, A 2014, 'Of counter-diaspora and reverse transnationalism: Return mobilities to and from the ancestral homeland', in R King, A Christou & P Levitt (eds), *Links to the diasporic homeland: Second generation and ancestral "return" mobilities*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, pp. 1-17.
- Kissoon, P 2006, 'Home/lessness as an indicator of integration: Interviewing refugees about the meaning of home and accommodation', in B Temple & R Moran (eds), *Doing research with refugees: Issues and guidelines*, The Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 75-97.
- Kissoon, P 2015, *Intersections of displacement: Refugees' experiences of home and homelessness*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, England, UK.
- Koivisto, J 2011, 'Constructing social identities between two cultures – A study on 18-25 – year – old, Afghan-born women in Finland', *Ethnologia Fennica, Finnish studies in Ethnology*, vol. 38, pp. 77-95.
- Korac, M 2009, *Remaking home: Reconstructing life, place and identity in Rome and Amsterdam*, Berghahn Books, New York.
- Koser, K 2007, *International migration: A very short introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Kumsa, MK 2006, "'No! I'm not a refugee!": The poetics of be-longing among young Oromos in Toronto', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 230-255.
- Laurie, N, Dwyer, C, Holloway, S & Smith, F 1999, *Geographies of new femininities*, Longman, New York.
- Lee, JY, Kearns, RA & Friesen, W 2010, 'Seeking affective health care: Korean immigrants' use of homeland medical services', *Health & Place*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 108-115.
- Lenette, C & Boddy, J 2013, 'Visual ethnography and refugee women: Nuanced understandings of lived experiences', *Qualitative Research Journal*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 72-89.
- Levitt, P & Waters, M 2002, 'Introduction', in P Levitt & M Waters (eds), *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, pp. 1-32.
- Levitt, P 1998, 'Local-level global religion: The case of U.S. – Dominican migration', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 74-89.

- Lewis R 2013, 'Introduction: Mediating modesty', in R Lewis (ed), *Modest fashion: Styling bodies, mediating faith*, I.B Tauris, London and New York, pp. 1-16.
- Liamputtong, P 2010, 'Cross-cultural research and qualitative inquiry', *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 16-29.
- Lindqvist, M 2013, 'Like a white crow: Migrant women and their emotion work in Sweden', *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 229-242.
- Longhurst, R, Johnston, L & Ho, E 2009, 'A visceral approach: Cooking at home with migrant women in Hamilton, New Zealand', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 333-345.
- Mackenzie, C, McDowell, C & Pittaway, E 2007, 'Beyond "do no harm": The challenges of constructing ethical relationships in refugee research', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 299-319.
- Malkki, L 1992, 'National geographic: The rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 24-44.
- Malkki, L 1994, 'Citizens of humanity: Internationalism and the imagined community of nations', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 41-68.
- Malkki, L 1995, 'Refugees and exile: From "refugee studies" to the national order of things', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 495-523.
- Mallett, S 2004, 'Understanding home: A critical review of the literature', *The Sociological Review*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 62-89.
- Marecek, J, Crawford, M & Popp, D 2004, 'On the construction of gender, sex, and sexualities', in AH Eagly, AE Beall & RJ Sternberg (eds), *The psychology of gender*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, The Guilford Press, New York, pp. 192-216.
- Marlowe, J 2013, 'Resettled refugee community perspective to the Canterbury earthquakes: Implications for organizational response', *Disaster Prevention and Management*, vol. 22, no. 5, pp. 434-444.
- Marlowe, J 2015, 'Belonging and disaster recovery: Refugee-background communities and the Canterbury earthquakes', *British Journal of Social work*, vol. 45, pp. 118-204.
- Marlowe, J, Bartley, A & Hibtit, A 2014, 'The New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Strategy: Implications for identity, acculturation and civic participation', *Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 60-69.
- Massey, D 1994, *Space, place, and gender*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Massumi, B 2002, *Parables for the virtual: Movements, affect, sensation*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.

- Mazumdar, S & Mazumdar, S 2004, 'Religion and place attachment: A study of sacred places', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 385-397.
- McGinty, A 2014, 'Emotional geographies of veiling: The meanings of the hijab for five Palestinian American Muslim women', *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, vol. 21, no. 6, pp. 1-18.
- McIntyre, LJ 1999, *The practical skeptic: Core concepts in sociology*, Mayfield Publishing, Mountain View, California.
- McMichael, C 2002, "'Everywhere is Allah's place": Islam and the everyday life of Somali women in Melbourne, Australia', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 171-188.
- McSaveney, E 2016, 'Historic earthquakes – The 2011 Christchurch earthquake and other recent earthquakes', *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, viewed 10 August 2016, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/historic-earthquakes/page-13>.
- Meher, J 2008, 'India, Russia and Afghanistan: The strategic stakes', in J Meher (ed), *Afghanistan: Dynamics of survival*, Kalpaz Publications, India, pp. 203-237.
- Mendoza-Denton, N 2001, 'Language and identity', in J Chambers, P Trudgill & N Schilling-Estes (eds), *Handbook of language variation and change*, Blackwell, Malden, pp. 475-499.
- Menjívar, C 2002, 'Living in two worlds? Guatemalan-origin children in the United States and emerging transnationalism', *Journal of Ethnic and Minority Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 531-552.
- Merleau-Ponty, M 2002, *Phenomenology of perception*, Routledge, New York.
- Miller, J & Glassner, B 2004, 'The "insider" and "outsider": Finding realities in interviews', in D Silverman (ed), *Qualitative research: Theory, methods and practice*, SAGE Publications, London, pp. 99-112.
- Moghadam, V 1993, *Modernizing women: Gender and social change in the Middle East*, Lynne Rienner Press, Boulder, Colorado.
- Moghadam, V 1997, 'Nationalist agendas and women's rights: Conflicts in Afghanistan in the twentieth century', in L West (ed), *Feminist Nationalism: Conflicts in Afghanistan in the twentieth century*, Routledge, New York, pp. 75-100.
- Monsutti, A 2008, 'Afghan migratory strategies and the three solutions to the refugee problem', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 58-73.
- Morten, C 2007, 'Remembering the house: Memory and materiality in Northern Botswana', *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 157-179.
- Mountz, A 2011, 'Refugees-performing distinctions: Paradoxical positionings of the displaced', in T Cresswell & P Merriman (eds), *Geographies of mobilities: Practices, spaces and subjects*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Surrey, England, pp. 255-270.

- Mulder, SS, Rance, S, Suarez, MS & Condori, MC 2000, 'Unethical ethics? Reflections on intercultural research practices', *Reproductive Health Matters*, vol. 18, no. 15, pp. 104-112.
- Munt, SR 2012, 'Journeys of resilience: The emotional geographies of refugee women', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 19, no. 5, pp. 555-577.
- Najib, H 2014, 'Accounting for the business start-up experiences of Afghan refugees in Christchurch, New Zealand', Thesis (MCom), University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Ngo, B 2008, 'Beyond "culture clash": Understandings of immigrant experiences', *Theory into Practice*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 4-11.
- Nojumi, N, Mazurana, DE & Stites, E 2009, *After the Taliban: Life and security in rural Afghanistan*, Rowman & MLittlefield Publishers, Lanham, Maryland.
- Omoniyi, T & White, G 2006, 'Introduction', in T Omoniyi & G White (eds), *The sociolinguistics of identity*, Continuum, London, pp. 50-71.
- Palvish, C 2007, 'Narrative inquiry into life experiences of refugee women and men', *International Nursing Review*, vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 28-34.
- Papadopoulos, RK 2002, *Therapeutic care for refugees: No place like home*, Karnac, New York.
- Park, K 1999, "'I really do feel I'm 1.5!": The construction of self and community by young Korean Americans', *Amerasia Journal*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 139-163.
- Parker, I 1994, 'Discourse analysis', in P Banister, E Burman, I Parker, M Taylor & C Tindall (eds), *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research guide*, Open University Press, Buckingham, pp. 92-108.
- Pessar, PR & Mahler, SJ 2003, 'Transnational migration: Bringing gender in', *International Migration Review*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 812-846.
- Plaza, D 2006, 'The construction of a segmented hybrid identity among one-and-a-half-generation and second-generation Indo-Caribbean and African Caribbean Canadian's', *Identity*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 207-229.
- Potter, J & Wetherell, M 1987, *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California.
- Pratt, G 2004, *Working Feminism*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Quirke, E, Potter, RB & Conway, D 2009, 'Transnationalism and the second-generation Caribbean community in Britain', *University of Reading Geographical Paper No. 187*, viewed 5 May 2016, <http://www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/geographyandenvironmentalscience/GP187.pdf>.
- Rapport, N & Dawson, A 1998, 'Home and movement: A polemic', in N Rapport & A Dawson (eds), *Migrants of identity: Perceptions of home in a world of movement*, Berg Press, Oxford, pp. 19-38.

- Rasuly-Paleczek, G 2001, 'The struggle for the Afghan state: Centralization, nationalism and their discontents', in W van Schendel & E Zurcher (eds), *Identity politics in central Asia and Muslim world: Nationalism, ethnicity and labor in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, I.B. Tauris, London, pp. 149-188.
- Reddy, WM 2001, *The navigation of feeling: A framework for the history of emotions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Remennick, L 2003, 'The 1.5 generation of Russian immigrants in Israel: Between integration and sociocultural retention', *Diaspora*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 39-66.
- Riger, S 1992, 'Epistemological Debates, Feminist Voices: Science, social values, and the study of women', *American Psychologist*, vol. 47, no. 6, pp. 730-740.
- Rose, G 1993, *Feminism and geography: The limits of geographical knowledge*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Rostami-Povey, E 2007, *Afghan women: Identity and invasion*, Zed Books, New York and London.
- Rousseau, C & Drapeau, A 2003, 'Are refugee children an at risk group?: A longitudinal study of Cambodian adolescents', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 67-81.
- Rumbaut, R. G. 2002. 'Severed or Sustained Attachments? Language, Identity, and Imagined Communities in the Post-Immigrant Generation', in P. Levitt and M. Waters (eds), *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, pp. 43-95.
- Ruthellen, J 2013, *Interviewing for qualitative inquiry: A relational approach*, Guilford Publications, New York.
- Safran, W 1991, 'Diasporas and modern society: Myths of homeland and return', *Diaspora*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 83-99.
- Said, E 1978, *Orientalism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Said, E 2000, *Reflections on Exile and other essays*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Sallabank, J 2006, 'Guernsey French, identity and language endangerment', in T Omoniyi & G White (eds), *The sociolinguistics of identity*, Continuum, London, pp. 50-71.
- Sampson, R & Gifford, SM 2010, 'Place-making, settlement and well-being: The therapeutic landscapes of recently arrived youth with refugee backgrounds', *Health and Place*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 116-131.
- Sampson, RC, Gifford, SM & Taylor, S 2016, 'The myth of transit: The making of a life by asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 42, no. 7, pp. 1135-1152.
- Schmeidl S, 2009, 'The Undoing of Gender Inequalities in Traditional Societies - The Example of Post-Conflict Afghanistan', in C Eifler & R Seifert (eds), *Gender Dynamics and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, Peter Lang Verlag, Vienna, pp. 71 – 93.

- Schwartz, D 1989, 'Visual ethnography: Using photography in qualitative research', *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 119-154.
- Sheller, M & Urry, J 2006, 'The new mobilities paradigm', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 207-226.
- Sheringham, O 2010, 'A transnational space?: Transnational practices, place-based identity and the making of 'home' among Brazilians in Gort, Ireland', *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 60-78.
- Shoshani, A, Nakash, O, Zubida, H & Harper, RA 2014, 'Mental health and engagement in risk behaviours among migrant adolescents in Israel: The protective functions of secure attachment, self-esteem, and perceive peer support', *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 233-249.
- Silver, A & Grek-Martin, J 2015, "'Now we understand what community really means": Reconceptualizing the role of sense of place in the disaster recovery process', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 42, pp. 32-41.
- Singh, D 2010, 'Afghan women in the diaspora: Surviving identity and alienation', *RSIS centre for non-traditional security studies for NTS-Asia*, viewed 20 April 2016, [http://www3.ntu.edu.sg/rsis/nts/HTML-Newsletter/Report/pdf/NTS-Asia\\_RP\\_Deepali.pdf](http://www3.ntu.edu.sg/rsis/nts/HTML-Newsletter/Report/pdf/NTS-Asia_RP_Deepali.pdf).
- Sinno, AH 2008, *Organizations at war in Afghanistan and beyond*, 1<sup>st</sup> edn, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Siraj, A 2011, 'Meanings of modesty and the hijab amongst Muslim women in Glasgow, Scotland', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 716-731.
- Sirriyeh, A 2013, 'Hosting strangers: Hospitality and family practices in fostering unaccompanied refugee young people', *Child & Family Social Work*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 5-14.
- Skrbiš, Z, Baldassar, L & Poynting, S 2007, 'Introduction: Negotiating belonging: Migration and generations', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 261-269.
- Soysal, YN 2000, 'Citizenship and identity: Living in diasporas in post war Europe?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 1-15.
- Spivak, G 1988, 'Can the subaltern speak?', in C Nelson & L Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*, Macmillan, London, pp. 271-313.
- Takhar, S 2013, *Gender, ethnicity and political agency*, Routledge, London.
- Tapper, R 1988, 'History and identity among the Shahsevan', *Iranian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3-4, pp. 84-108.
- Taylor, H 2013, 'Refugees, the state and the concept of home', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 130-152.

- Taylor, H 2015, *Refugees and the meaning of home: Cypriot narratives of loss, longing and daily life in London*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK.
- Thiessen, C 2014, *Local ownership of peacebuilding in Afghanistan: Shouldering responsibility for sustainable peace and development*, Lexington Books, New York.
- Thrift, N 2008, *Non-representational theory: Space politics and affect*, Routledge, London.
- Tolia-Kelly, D 2006, 'Mobility/stability: British Asian cultures of "landscape and Englishness"', *Environment and Planning*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 341-358.
- Tölölyan, K 2005, 'Restoring the logic of the sedentary to diaspora studies', in L Anteby-Yemini, W Berthomière & G Sheffer (eds), *Les diasporas: 2000 ans d'histoire*, Presse Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes, pp. 137-148.
- Tsuda, T 2009, 'Introduction: Diasporic return and migration studies', in T Tsuda (ed), *Diasporic homecomings: Ethnic return migration in comparative perspective*, Stanford University Press, California, pp. 1-21.
- Tuan, YF 1980, 'Rootedness versus sense of place', *Landscape*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 3-8.
- Turton, D 2005, 'The meaning of place in a world of movement: Lessons from long-term field research in Southern Ethiopia', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 258-280.
- Twigger-Ross, CL & Uzzel, DL 1996, 'Place and identity process', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 205-220.
- UNHCR, 2015, *Solutions strategy for Afghan refugees. Update 2015-2016: Regional overview*, viewed, 30 November 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/542522922.pdf>.
- UNHCR 2016a, *Figures at a glance*, viewed 12 January 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>.
- UNHCR 2016b, 'UNHCR eligibility guidelines for assessing the international protection needs of asylum-seekers from Afghanistan', *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)*, viewed 18 July 2016, <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/570f96564.pdf>.
- UNHCR 2017, *UNHCR Statistical Yearbooks*, viewed 12 January 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/statistical-yearbooks.html>.
- USIP, 2015, 'The current situation in Afghanistan', *United States Institute of Peace: Making peace possible*, viewed 18 September 2015, <http://www.usip.org/publications/the-current-situation-in-afghanistan>.
- Vertovec, S 2004, 'Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation', *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 970-1001.

- Vildaitė, D 2014, 'Negotiating notions of 'home' and 'belonging' among young Lithuanian migrants in Ireland', paper presented at the international graduate conference 'Child & Youth migrants: Global and Interdisciplinary Perspectives, University College London, viewed 18 October 2016, [http://www.ces.lt/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Vildait%C4%97\\_Etni%C5%A1kumo-studijos-2014-2.pdf](http://www.ces.lt/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Vildait%C4%97_Etni%C5%A1kumo-studijos-2014-2.pdf).
- Vogelsang, WJ 2002, *The Afghans*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, UK.
- Wang, B 2016, 'Emotions and home-making: Performing cosmopolitan sociability among first generation new Chinese migrants in New Zealand', *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 130-147.
- Ward, C, Bochner, S & Furnham, A 2001, *The psychology of culture shock*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Routledge, Hove, England.
- Werbner, P 2000, 'Introduction: The materiality of diaspora: Between aesthetic and "real" politics', *Diaspora*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 5-20.
- Wessendorf, S 2016, *Second-generation transnationalism and roots migration: Cross-border lives*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Wetherell, M 2012, *Affect and emotion: A new social science understanding*, Sage, London.
- Wiles, J 2008, 'Sense of home in a transnational social space: New Zealanders in London', *Global Networks*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 116-137.
- Williams, C 2014, 'Refugees and social theory: From the politics of "bare life" to refugees as political subjects', *Acta Academica*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 117-131.
- Williams, RH & Vashi, G 2007, 'Hijab and American Muslim women: Creating the space for autonomous selves', *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 269-287.
- Willig, C 2013, *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Open University Press, Maidenhead.
- Wise, A 2003, 'Embodying exile: Protest, performance, trauma and affect in the formation of East Timorese refugee identities', in M Leach & F Mansouri (eds), *Critical perspectives on refugee policy in Australia: proceedings of the Refugee Rights Symposium hosted by the Institute for citizenship and globalisation, faculty of arts*, Deakin University, Burwood, Victoria, pp. 151-161.
- Wise, A 2004, 'Embodying exile: Trauma and collective identities among East Timorese refugees in Australia', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 24-39.
- Wolf, D 2002, 'There's no place like "home": Emotional transnationalism and the struggle of second-generation Filipinos', in P Levitt & MC Waters (eds), *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, pp. 255-294.

- Wright, J 2003, 'Post-structural methodologies: The body, schooling and health', in J Evans & D Wright (eds), *Body Knowledge and Control: Studies in the Sociology of Education & Physical Culture*, Routledge, London, pp.34–59.
- Yeğenoğlu, M 1998, *Fantasies: Towards a feminist reading of Orientalism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Yuval-Davis, N 1997, *Gender and Nation*, SAGE Publications, UK.
- Zempi, I & Chakraborty 2014, *Islamophobia, victimisation and the veil*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke.
- Zetter, R 1999, 'Reconceptualizing the myth of return: Continuity and transition amongst the Greek-Cypriot refugees of 1974', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1-22.
- Zine, J 2002, 'Muslim women and the politics of representation', *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 1-23.
- Zine, J 2006, 'Unveiled sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and experiences of veiling among Muslim girls in a Canadian Islamic school', *Equity & Excellence in Education*, vol.39, no.3, pp. 239-252.
- Zubida, H, Lavi, L, Harper, R, Nakash, O & Shoshani, A 2013, 'Home and away – Hybrid perspective on identity formation in 1.5 generation and second generation adolescent immigrants in Israel', *Glocalism: Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation*, vol. 1, pp. 1-27.