Refugee Resettlement: Social Capital, Civil Society, and the Integration Processes of Former Refugees

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the process of identity renegotiation and the role social capital plays in civil society participation by the former refugee communities of Eritrean and Bhutanese living in Christchurch, New Zealand. This is undertaken through examination of three hypotheses pertaining to ethnic identity maintenance and national identity creation, community mobilisation and social capital, and the motivations behind such mobilisation. In comparing the processes of identity negotiation and social capital between the members of the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities, this study of 27 participants illustrates the importance of members' ethnic community connection in the development of a national identity, and the dissimilar levels of social capital and subsequent participation in civil society by the two communities. This work analyses the role social capital within such migrant communities plays in members participation in their settlement society as well as in group's ethnic identity maintenance. The theoretical framework of this work is influenced by the research of Berry (1997), Lucken (2010), Ager and Strang (2008) and Valtonen (1998; 2004).

This study found there are much higher levels of social capital in the Bhutanese community compared to the Eritrean community. These disparate levels can be attributed to the differing demographics of the communities; the high levels of stress suffered by Eritrean members involved in the family reunification process; and the differences between the communities refugee experience prior to arrival in New Zealand.

My findings also suggest that the process of national identification by migrants relies on strong connections between members' and their ethnic community, not, as commonly assumed, participation in wider society. Importantly this work illustrates that social capital is necessary in the mobilisation of migrant communities. Grievances associated with settlement are not attended to on a community level unless there is a high degree of social capital within the community. This enables participation in civil society through the establishment of a representative community organisation, and members to cooperate with other sectors of wider society.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner to Refugees
The 1951 Convention	United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees
The 1967 Protocol	United Nations Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees
IDP	Internationally Displaced Person
MoH	Ministry of Health
DoL	Department of Labour
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
PFDJ	People's Front for Democracy and Justice
PROFERI	UNHCR's Programme of Refugee Repatriation
CSAs	Civil Society Associations
WFP	World Food Programme
PFHR	People's Forum for Human Rights
BPP	Bhutan People's Party
HUROB	Human Rights Organisation of Bhutan
AHURA	Association of Human Rights Activists
CRC	Canterbury Refugee Council
SRV	Strengthening Refugee Voices

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

New Zealand as a nation has encouraged the resettlement of refugees from a wide range of countries since the arrival of its first official refugees, 734 Polish children orphaned as a result of World War Two, in 1944. New Zealand is a signatory of the 1951 United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees (the 1951 Convention) and to the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (the 1967 Protocol), and in 2010 is one of eight countries that resettle the majority of the world's refugees in accordance with the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR). With the number of displaced people worldwide further amplified by recent environmental and economic catastrophes, the resettlement of refugees as a durable solution to statelessness is of increasing importance. Understanding the resettlement process, of which integration is a vital cog, is therefore as pertinent as ever.

This thesis examines the integration processes of former refugees in New Zealand, what effect the integration process has on individual's ethnic identity maintenance and national identity creation, and how the strength of the social capital within a former refugee community affects these integration processes. Specifically this thesis examines what impact social capital within a community of former refugees has on the participation levels of its members in both the wider society of their settlement state, and in civil society through the establishment of their own community organisations.

Resettlement requires adjustment by both individuals and whole communities to the new cultural practices and societal organisation of their state of settlement. Members of former refugee communities are faced with having to renegotiate their ethnic and personal identities, as well as their links to their traditional communities. Berry (1997), one of the leading theorists on the psychology of immigrant adjustment, outlines clearly the two major processes related to resettlement: acculturation and adaptation. Acculturation describes the changes in cultural patterns, and members' behavior, as a result of continuous first-hand contact between two or more cultural groups (Berry, 1997, p.7). Integration is an acculturation outcome; usually preferred for

migrants into a multicultural or pluralist society, such as New Zealand, as it is widely accepted as the means to creating the happiest citizens and the most harmonious societies. Adaptation refers to the changes that occur over time in individuals or cultural groups in response to external demands, which result, in most cases, in long-term positive incorporation into the new cultural context (Berry, 1997, p.13). The eventual 'fit' between members of the settling group and their context is expressed in the resulting acculturation strategy; a good 'fit' results in integration or assimilation, and if no fit is achieved members become separated or marginalised.

The experience of resettlement is not solely about the adjustment of former refugees; the wider settlement society must also be involved in the process of acculturation if integration is to be achieved. Integration as an acculturation strategy differs from assimilation, not only in that settling groups maintain their ethnic or cultural identities, but also in that it indicates that a process of give and take is taking place in society. Integration must be a two way process whereby migrant individuals accept a degree of identification with their new society, and in return society adjusts for new members. As Berry (1997, p.11) argues, integration is only possible when the dominant group in society enables cultural diversity by providing an open and inclusive environment. This requires creating a space for new members by adapting national institutions to better meet the needs of all groups in plural society.

The existence of national non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as Refugee Services Aotearoa (Refugee Services), are an example of wider New Zealand society creating space for resettled refugees; as are government initiatives and resettlement strategies designed at encouraging the integration process. The involvement of former refugees in their own community organisations and regional refugee councils can also be seen as an attempt by members to further their adaptation to New Zealand society through interaction with wider civil society and the articulation of their own solutions to resettlement issues. Such mobilisation of members of former refugee communities indicates a desire to be a part of their new society, and to be active participants in creating an environment suitable for the maintenance of their cultural and ethnic identities.

In this chapter I will provide an examination of the background of the refugee in international society and of refugee resettlement in order to establish the context of this research, as well as an outline of the key definitions used throughout this work. I will briefly discuss why I have chosen to examine the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities in this study, and how I will go about my research and comparative analysis.

The Refugee in International Society

The legal definition of a 'refugee' was first written in 1951 under the Convention in the post WWII setting and was originally designed to refer only to those Europeans displaced during the war, prior to 1951. However due to the continuing relevance and need for a system of protection for displaced persons post WWII, the Convention was broadened in 1967 under the Protocol to remove the geographical and time constraints of the Convention. The definition of a refugee remains, as codified by the Convention and Protocol, a person displaced

> Owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social or political group, or political opinion' and who is 'unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, 2007).

A refugee has made a decision that the only option to ensure their safety is to leave their home and move across a state border. While a large proportion of those who are displaced are able to return at some point to their state of nationality and rebuild their lives, many are too vulnerable or are escaping such focused persecution that return is not an option. For others the government of their home country may not accept them back. For these refugees life is precarious; what Limbu (2009) describes as 'illegible humanity' (p.257). Those without a state are alienated from their rights: as Arendt (1967) theorised over half a century ago, the state gives one the 'right to have rights'. Without the state a person is vulnerable. It is therefore imperative that displaced people are secured as citizens within a state. If a refugee cannot return to their country of origin the only way to ensure they regain their rights as human beings is to ensure they are resettled in a third state.

Official refugees registered through the UNHCR are the 'lucky' members of the displaced community, for official refugees' designated rights include the opportunity for resettlement in a third country. Those without this status may be displaced within the borders of their state of nationality as internally displaced persons (IDPs) or externally with the hope of securing their own resettlement to a third state as asylum seekers.

In 2009, according to the UNHCR, there were 15.2 million official refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2011). Resettlement is one of three durable solutions to the refugee problem, along with voluntary repatriation and local integration into the country of first asylum. Resettlement comprises the voluntary removal of refugees under the mandate of the UNHCR from the country where they have sought refuge, usually neighbouring their homeland, to a third state which has, in accordance with the UNHCR, agreed to provide refugees with residency and eventual citizenship (Jastram & Achiron, 2001, p.78). Resettlement is usually only used in circumstances of risk to life, liberty, safety, health or fundamental human rights, and in protracted refugee situations where there is no other durable solution to their plight (Jastram & Achiron, 2001, p.78).

The UNHCR has recently refocused their attention on resettlement as an important response to rising refugee numbers after a period of explicit preference for repatriation (Troeller, 2001; Fredriksson & Mougne, 1994). Repatriation, the voluntary restoration of displaced persons and refugees to their country of origin, was favored in the 1990s after two decades of high numbers of resettlement led to internal debate within the UNHCR over the role of geopolitics in resettlement decision making. The proportion of refugees resettled in a third country dropped from a height of 1 in 20 in 1979 to 1 in 400 in 1993 (Troeller, 2002; Fredriksson & Mougne, 1994). While resettlement is the most financially expensive of the UNHCR's three durable solutions to the refugee problem, Troeller (2002), and some within the UNHCR (Fredriksson & Mougne, 1994; UNHCR, 2008), emphasise disenchantment within the UNHCR with resettlement as the main obstacle to its proper implementation in the twenty years from 1986 to 2006.

More recently, due to renewed awareness of the importance of resettlement by the UNHCR, and the corresponding increase in need by refugees for

resettlement, it is the availably of spaces for former refugees provided by resettlement states that is preventing the full implementation of this durable solution. In 2007 submissions by the UNHCR for individuals for resettlement exceeded the global number of spaces offered by resettlement states by a margin of nearly 30,000 (UNHCR, 2008). Fredriksson and Mougne (1994) argue that the UNHCR's approach to resettlement during the late 1980s and 1990s was detrimental to the cause of resettlement and impaired its ability to positively influence governments to modify restrictive and out-dated policy and practice towards refugees. More than a decade after this assessment the system of resettlement has not recovered.

Since the late 1980s there has been decreasing interest by states in resettling large numbers of the most vulnerable refugees. The end of the Cold War saw a decline in political will by most Western states to provide resettlement spaces, as resettlement no longer held any use as a political tool. Thus prior to 1989 the UNHCR was concerned that political motivations were behind certain increases in refugee resettlement; post 1989, however, states have kept their resettlement responsibilities to a minimum. While this has enabled the UNHCR to direct resettlement to those in most need, and so use resettlement as an impartial humanitarian tool, it has also meant the organisation has subsequently struggled with encouraging states to fulfill their international obligations.

The burden of care for refugees is therefore currently disproportionately placed on countries of first asylum, which are, in the main, developing countries unable to properly deal with the needs of refugees. Resettlement is an important responsibility-sharing mechanism and in order to fulfill the international burden that large numbers of displaced people pose, although they are geographically distant, wealthier states must fill or even increase their resettlement quotas.

In 2010 25.2 million displaced persons- 10.55 million refugees and 14.7 million IDPs- received UNHCR assistance (UNHCR, 2011, p.2). Four-fifths of all refugees in that year resided in developing countries, with those hosting the largest numbers being Pakistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Kenya (UNHCR, 2011, p.12). In 2010 the UNHCR requested 108,000 cases be resettled by the 22 countries involved in resettlement: 73,000 places were filled. This

figure indicates 1 percent of the world's refugee population directly benefits from resettlement (UNHCR, 2011, p.17).

One factor inhibiting the increase in resettlement quotas in resettlement countries is the concern that former refugees may fail to integrate, and that large groups of these culturally diverse people may pose a challenge to the stability and national identity of the state. People who identify with a cultural or ethnic group different from that of the majority are often viewed as 'outsiders' (Barth, 1998). With the development of an international system based on the nation state, belonging (and therefore not belonging) has become codified in terms of national identities. States are often hesitant to include large numbers of 'outsiders' inside their state. When the UNHCR was established in 1951 it was to resettle refugees in the wake of WWII. These displaced Europeans did not look hugely different or come from markedly different cultural backgrounds from the Western societies that resettled them. Today, however, the majority of refugees requiring resettlement originate from the Middle East, Africa and Asia, while the main resettlement countries are Australia, the United States, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland (Jastram & Achiron, 2001, p.78). Refugee resettlement therefore often requires states to accommodate culturally diverse groups.

Understanding how people acculturate and come to belong and participate in societies very different from their place of origin, how the process of integration occurs, will help aid the process of resettlement and therefore the likelihood of countries increasing their resettlement responsibilities. My thesis is therefore intended to produce constructive insight into the integration processes of former refugees. This is approached through examining the role that participation by former refugee communities in the civil society of their settlement state plays in facilitating integration. Greater understanding in this area may produce greater cooperation between states in alleviating the growing refugee numbers worldwide.

While I emphasise integration as the basis of successful resettlement, the importance of the underlying rationale for resettlement must not be overlooked. Resettlement should be focused on the most vulnerable or high-risk refugees: solo women and children, the disabled, those with medical needs, and their

families (UNHCR, 2008). This need must not be outweighed by a selection process emphasising "integration potential", which some countries, the UNHCR (UNHCR, 2008) argues, are guilty of following. A selection process based on "integration potential" may mean that refugees in most need may be deemed less capable of successful integration. However, in reality the motivation behind such states accepting refugees for resettlement is self-interest, not needs based. These states use integration potential as a way of picking those they determine as the best candidates for citizenship in their country, which usually means those most able to add to their workforce. Such political motivations are in direct conflict with the ideal of using this solution for those in most need. New Zealand, however, resettles a large number of "high risk" individuals and their families.

New Zealand Refugee Policy

The New Zealand state is derived from the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 between the majority of the indigenous Maori tribes and the British Commonwealth. Many migrant communities have also since called New Zealand home. Immigrants from the UK, Europe, Asia, Australia, the Pacific, North America and more recently Africa and South America have come to New Zealand as both migrants and refugees.

New Zealand's early immigration policy, in line with other Anglo-Saxon nations, was based on a 'white New Zealand' policy, an overtly racist policy, which gave preferential treatment to white migrants. In its later years this developed into an assimilationist policy aimed at selecting those immigrants assumed to be better able to assimilate due to similar cultural and physical characteristics. By the mid 1980s this policy was abandoned in favor of a more Pacific, Asia and humanitarian focused policy. While integration of the different communities that migrate or resettle in New Zealand is now the aim of the government, certain assimalist tendencies still remain. Learning the English language is a requirement for most migrants, and classes are funded for former refugees. This is viewed as essential for participation in mainstream economic, educational and political life in New Zealand. Respect for and maintenance of a migrant's first language is, however, now encouraged by the New Zealand state.

While the New Zealand state is rightly proud of its multicultural nature, certain levels of racial prejudice remain. Racism also affects minority groups differently; meaning acceptance may be more difficult for some than others, at least in certain spheres of society such as the workforce. This may be in part due to the level of familiarity of such groups, for example Asian culture has been present in New Zealand from the state's earliest days, whereas migration from Africa has occurred much more recently. Therefore certain migrant communities may have to deal with greater cultural distance from New Zealand society than others.

The majority of New Zealand's former refugee population enters New Zealand through the Quota Refugee Programme, established formally in 1987. The quota has sat at 750 per annum since the early 1990s (Department of Labour, 2009, p.4). The New Zealand government's desire for the successful integration of its migrant and former refugee populations, is evidenced in recent research undertaken by the Department of Labour (DoL), *New Land, New Life: Long-Term Settlement of Refugees in New Zealand* (2011) and *New Zealand's Refugee Sector: Perspectives and Developments, 1987-2010* (2011), as well as through their series *Quota Refugees Ten Years On: Perspectives on Integration, Community and Identity*. This government sponsored research attempts to outline and analyse how former refugee communities navigate the process of settling in New Zealand.

Acculturation: Integration and Assimilation

Acculturation and integration are the key concepts in this research. Acculturation is the process by which an individual's behavior changes in order to adapt to a new and different environment, such as to a society different from the one in which they grew up. The process of acculturation is necessary whether one has voluntarily migrated or has had little say in one's new society, as in the case of refugees. In all plural societies, cultural groups and their individual members have to deal with the issue of how to acculturate (Berry, 1997). The main issues associated with acculturation often come down to two key aspects of settling: cultural maintenance, that is, to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered important and their maintenance strived

for; and contact and participation, to what extent should the settling individual become involved in wider society. Integration is an acculturation strategy whereby the individual seeks to achieve both cultural maintenance and participation in wider society; assimilation a strategy whereby participation in wider society is achieved at the expense of cultural maintenance.

As Berry (1997, p.10) stresses, individuals do not always have a choice in the strategy they ultimately adopt. Integration can only be 'freely' chosen and successfully pursued by settling groups, often as minorities or members of a 'non-dominant' group, when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Thus mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained; non-dominant groups must accept the basic values of the dominant cultural group, and dominant groups must be accepting of cultural diversity and the rights of all peoples to their chosen cultural identification. The dominant group must adapt national institutions, such as education, health, and labour, to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society (Berry, 1997, p.11).

Definitions of 'integration' differ between scholars in the theoretical literature. The explanation I use is one derived from Berry (1997) and Kallen (1995) coupled with Valtonen's (2004) concept of 'substantive citizenship'. I will define an integrated individual as one able to participate completely in all spheres of society: economic, social, cultural and political, without having to relinquish their distinct ethnocultural identity and culture. This definition emphasises the importance of participation in society by settled individuals. While citizens of a migrant or refugee background may secure formal citizenship in New Zealand after five years, without the ability to exercise the political, civil and social rights citizenship entails, such a person is not fully integrated. The ability to exercise all aspects of citizenship is called 'substantive citizenship'. Breton (1992, in Valtonen, 2004) maintains that the fulfillment of one's substantive citizenship leads to the settling individual becoming integrated into the 'social, institutional and cultural fabric of a society' (p.74).

Berry (1984, in Rex, 1996) emphasises the role an individual's perception of their identity plays in the integration process. Integration, Berry (1984, in Rex, 1996) argues, is achieved, or at least a work in progress, when a migrant

individual expresses identification with both their ethnic group and their new nation, what is often called the holding of a 'dual identity' (Brewer, 1999, p.190). An integrated society can be seen as one in which cultural diversity and equal opportunity exist in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (Jenkins, in Rex, 1996, p.134).

Identity maintenance is a vital element of integration. For former refugees ethnic identification may be especially salient if it has played a role in their status as refugees. The community of Bhutanese former refugees in New Zealand chose to preserve their ethnic identity in Bhutan, and in so doing were made stateless. Because they were willing to become stateless rather than give up their identity, it is not surprising that in settlement their ethnic identification is of great importance. However, as "new" New Zealanders, members of former refugee communities may also feel the desire to fit in so as to belong in their new nation. For these members resettlement offers a future, and in order to fully enjoy this they must adapt to their new society.

Social Capital and Civil Society in Former Refugee Communities

Edwards (2004, p.1) states that collective action in search of "the good society" is a universal part of human experience. Civil society is the space of uncoerced human association, in the form of organisations and their relational networks, with the aim of achieving shared goals (Walzer, 1992, p.89). Such associations are facilitated by the existence of social capital, that is, the trust and shared values of members of a society that have interacted over time and created norms that have led to cooperation, openness and compromise between members (Putnam, 1993). Social capital assists the functioning of civil society in that it helps the achievement of goals 'that could not be achieved in its absence or could be achieved only at a higher cost' (Coleman, 1990, p.304). The "capital" is derived from the idea that these types of relationship bonds can be accumulated over time and may be drawn on for use in achieving certain goals at any time (Statistics New Zealand, 2001, p.10).

The concept of civil society has had, and continues to have, different meanings to different people, playing a different role at different times. The political right and left, as well as more radical 'third wave' thinkers, have all argued civil

society is vital to bringing about (their perception of) the good society. The definition of civil society used here will be based on a neo-Tocquevillan interpretation that sees a highly articulated civil society with overlapping memberships and identities as the foundation of a stable democratic polity. This can provide a defense against domination by any one group in society, and a barrier to anti-democratic forces. A dominant theme here, as Edwards (2004, p.7) points out, is the value of voluntary associations in curbing the power of centralized institutions, protecting pluralism and nurturing constructive social norms such as trust and cooperation among different groups.

Civil society is therefore particularly relevant to questions of refugee integration, for integrated minority communities make up an important section of a pluralist society. Participation by members of former refugee communities in civil society through the establishment of organisations representing their community may become an instrument for their integration, as well as a product of it. According to the DoL (2011a, p.18) 67% of former refugees living in New Zealand for ten years or more have been involved in an ethnic community group or refugee organisation. The Bhutanese community in Christchurch (along with communities in Palmerston North and Nelson) has recently codified their ethnic community organisation under the Bhutanese Society. To what extent this organisation represents the level of social capital within the community, how their leadership is organised, and what their goals are, will be examined in this thesis, in comparison to the lack of a similar level of community organisation among Eritrean refugees in Christchurch.

Direction of Research

In this thesis I examine the role social capital and participation in civil society play in the integration of members of former refugee communities in Christchurch, New Zealand. This involves examining how members of these communities maintain their ethnic identities and cultural difference in New Zealand, as well as what processes members use to adapt to the wider New Zealand society, and whether these processes lead to the establishment of a national identity. Most importantly I will be focusing on the question of whether

participation in civil society enables individuals and communities to exercise their substantive citizenship.

Throughout this thesis I aim to highlight the continuing salience of ethnic and national identity in today's post-migration world, especially for refugee communities who have lost their first homeland; as well as clarifying the divergent integration processes of former refugees from differing cultural and ethnic communities. My aim is that this research will add to the body of literature on refugee integration, however, it is differentiated by bringing together the study of identity and integration processes, with an examination of social capital in settled refugee communities and their participation in civil society. This research should ultimately highlight the importance of former refugee community mobilisation and involvement in civil society in the process of integration and the role settlement societies might have in facilitating this process.

In order to examine these areas of enquiry I advance the following hypotheses:

1. Individual identity is renegotiated by former refugees through participation in both their traditional communities as well as in the broader New Zealand society.

2. a) Former refugees in New Zealand attempt to garner social capital through community mobilisation in order to create a space for themselves within the wider New Zealand society.

   b) Members may then develop cross-community organisations to strengthen their ability to influence policy.

3. The mobilisation of communities of former refugees is a response to grievances related to integration, especially discrimination in the workforce, that such groups feel are insufficiently acknowledged and dealt with by the New Zealand state.

I analyse my hypotheses by exploring the self-identification of participants from the Bhutanese and Eritrean communities, the levels of social capital within the two communities, and the shape participation in civil society within these communities may be taking. This involves examining the existence and types of organisation within communities, and members' connection to them; the level of

trust and social connectedness between members of both communities; the formal and informal positions of power in the leadership structure of each community; and whether members seek assistance in adjusting to life in New Zealand from areas within and outside of their respective communities. Understanding factors that have motivated the development of former refugee community organisations, such as the Bhutanese Society, is vital for understanding how these communities are adjusting to New Zealand society.

The DoL (2009; 2011a; 2011b) views these organisations as instruments that enable members' voices to be heard in society and to influence relevant government policy. I explore the extent to which the mobilisation of former refugee communities is motivated by grievances with society as it stands, and a desire to change it for the betterment of their communities. Such grievances could include the inability to participate at an acceptable level in the economic sphere of New Zealand, seen as caused mainly by discrimination in the workforce. This type of collective action on behalf of members' rights is an important expression of a New Zealand citizen's democratic rights.

My research focuses on two communities of former refugees resettled in New Zealand since 2003: the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities in Christchurch. These two communities are recent arrivals to New Zealand. The first members of the Bhutanese community arrived in New Zealand in 2007 while Eritrean refugees have been settled in Christchurch since 1995, with the majority arriving between 2003-2010 (DoL, 2011b). The experience of acculturation and adaptation is therefore still of immediate concern for members of these groups: these communities are currently negotiating how to approach cultural maintenance (the extent to which cultural identity and practices are still considered valuable and relevant to their lives in New Zealand) and their contact and participation (the extent to which members should become involved with wider New Zealand society).

My fieldwork will be based on individual interviews with members of the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities. Members of both communities have a common background of prolonged refugee experience and a similarly short period of settlement in New Zealand. Both the Eritrean and Bhutanese

communities in New Zealand are small: by mid 2010 Eritrean quota refugee arrivals in New Zealand numbered 361, and Bhutanese 446 (DoL, 2011, Appendix B). The Christchurch communities at the beginning of this research numbered 80 and 250 respectively (A. Reynolds, personal communication, 5 May 2012). Neither Bhutan nor Eritrea have a history of migration to New Zealand and so new migrants do not have a settled community to fall back on. They therefore must negotiate the integration process themselves.

While this study labels Eritrean former refugees as 'Eritrean', and likewise with Bhutanese, it is acknowledged that such communities are internally diverse. Members are grouped together by virtue of their shared connection as refugees originating from the same state; however, members may differ in terms of culture, tribal alliances, religion, and even language.

The second chapter of this thesis is a literature review, providing an outline of the important concepts and theories used in this thesis; chapter III discusses the background of the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities and the variables that exist prior to members' arrival in New Zealand; chapter IV is a methodology of my research approach and participant analysis; chapters V to VII contain the analysis of my research material in regard to my three hypotheses; and the conclusion includes discussion of my findings, limitations and policy recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

There are several key terms used throughout this thesis, which, due to their vital role in this work and their somewhat contested nature in the literature, need to be explored and defined before further use is made of them. The first part of this chapter outlines these terms, which include ethnicity, identity, social capital, and civil society.

The second part of this literature review involves an in-depth examination of the theories of integration and acculturation. Some background into how these concepts have been applied to other similar research is also required in order to illustrate how I came to the particular hypotheses I did.

I: KEY TERMS

Ethnicity and Identity

The term "ethnicity" is derived from the Greek term *ethnos*. Tonkin et al. (1996, p.20) describe how the early Greek use of "ethnos" can be compared to the modern English use of "tribe", which is commonly used to refer to all political units not of the familiar nation-state kind. By the mid-Nineteenth Century terms derived from *ethnos*, such as "ethnic" and "ethnicity", had come to mean 'group of people with shared characteristics' (Tonkin et al. 1996, p.20) and soon became closely related to the discourses around race. Hitler's use of Nazi racial doctrines tarnished the term "race" in common usage and subsequently led to the widespread replacement of the term "race" with "ethnic". However, as Tonkin et al. (1996, p.22) point out, this shift in language had the unwitting effect of reviving the historical "us and them" duality that related terms had often held but that race did not. This stems from the way the term ethnicity has always been used, Tonkin et al. (1996, p.23) argue, to denote a strong bias towards difference and otherness; only certain groups of people are commonly referred to as being ethnic. This is not based on any inherent quality of the term, for, in reality 'everyone is ethnic' as Everette C. Hughes (in Tonkin et al. 1996, p.23) declared, and all groups that are self-identifying could be termed as such.

One reason "ethnic" is not a label seen as applicable to members of all groups is because it became commonly associated with minority populations early on in its usage. One was not referred to as ethnic until one became, often through migration, part of a minority group seen in contrast to a dominant culture: such as "Japanese Americans" or "French Canadians". Ethnicity may therefore be seen as contextual; someone who is 'ethnic' in one place may not be perceived as such under different circumstances.

Titles such as "Japanese American" point to the role that ethnic identification plays in linking the geographical and cultural backgrounds in the description of an individual. However, in a world where state borders are changing, ethnic identification continues to prove its flexibility and relevance as a term of description. Although increases in communication and migration have brought the populations of the world closer together, ethnic identity has remained a salient feature of people's self-ascription and outsider ascription. Kallen (1995, p.61) notes that although the term once encapsulated notions of race, geography, culture and human identity, in today's globalised world, ethnicity is no longer synonymous with national or geographical boundaries.

Certain concepts remain significant to ethnic groups. Most vital, Weber (1996) argues, is the subjective belief by members in their common descent, underpinned by real or imagined similarities in physical type and/or customs. Such beliefs are central to the continuation of the group and therefore it does not matter if such blood ties really exist or not. This conception of ethnicity emphasises the component of belief and myth in the formation of an ethnic group.

Under Weber's (1996) understanding, ethnic groups that have a shared memory of their community and origin based around peaceful succession, or emigration from a mother community, often have a very specific and extremely powerful sense of ethnic identity. Common language and the ritual regulation of life, as determined by shared religious beliefs, are conducive to feelings of ethnic affinity. This is often reinforced by outward displays of ethnic affiliation: dress, style of housing, food and eating habits. Such style choices display to outsiders the group's conceptions of what they believe to be correct and proper, and, above all, maintain members' honor and dignity. The conviction of the excellence

of one's own customs, and the inferiority of outsiders, is a conviction that sustains the sense of ethnic honor. It is also one, Weber (1996, p.37) states, which is similar to the sense of honor of distinctive status groups. However ethic affiliation and class camaraderie differ markedly in that the honor provided by ethnic belonging is accessible to anybody, regardless of status, who belongs to the 'subjectively believed community of descent' (Weber, 1996, p.37). This type of identification therefore enables unity across classes and a sense of belonging that is unassociated with one's economic position in society.

Almost half a century ago Barth (1994, (o.d 1969)) developed a highly influential theory of ethnicity, highlighting the importance of ethnic boundaries to ethnic identity over the relevance of the content of ethnic groups. This notion reaffirms the importance of the "us and them" duality inherent in the notion of ethnicity, and emphasises the relational nature of identity. One's definition of the self is important; equally important is the way one is defined by others. To Barth (1994) the most critical feature of boundary maintenance in ethnic groups, and therefore maintenance of the ethnic group itself, is self-ascription and ascription by others.

This conception of ethnicity sees it as a social construction and evolving tool, used by members as well as outsiders for identity fulfillment and categorisation. Nash (1996, p.24) draws on Barth's ideas, postulating that the mechanisms for maintaining the boundaries between ethnic groups are the cultural markers of an ethnic group, what he terms "index features". Index features are the outward displays of ethnicity that can be easily seen, understood, and reacted to in social situations, such as dress or language. Index features implicate or summarise less visible, socially apparent aspects of the group to wider audiences. They act as boundary markers by indicating who belongs to what group, and what the minimal cultural adherence level for membership is.

Kallen (1995, p.63) also expands on Barth's theory to argue ethnicity is an organisational strategy that enables members to satisfy their expressive and symbolic needs for group continuity and belonging. Ethnic identification is fluid and contingent, allowing members to "wear different hats" or emphasise different identities, depending on the situation or interest of the member. The

idea of ethnicity as based on the conscious choice, at least to some extent, of the individual helps to explain the ongoing salience of such forms of identification. In a world of technology, transient goods, and reduced religious practice, Kallen (1995, p.64) argues the need for rootedness and group bonding is primarily supplied through one's ethnicity.

The above conception of ethnicity stands in opposition to what is termed primordialist theory, which bases ethnic affinity on cultural 'givens' to which people attach an elemental quality. As opposed to ethnicity being fluid and flexible, Shils (1957) theorizes that ethnicity is based on objective tangible truths. To primordialists the cultural 'givens' of social existence revolve around kin connections, religion, language or dialect, and social practices (Geertz, 1973, p.259). Kinship contains, Shils (1957) argues, ''significant relational' qualities that can only be described as primordial' (p.142). This position bases the strength of the ties between members of ethnic groups not on social sources such as personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but in part on some 'unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself' (Geertz, 1973, p.259). Such attachments, Geertz (1973, p.230) furthers, are to primordialists natural and inexplicable, flowing from an almost "spiritual affinity" among members. The result of this conception of ethnicity is, however, that the interconnections of members of an ethnic group, and their affinity with each other, are inexplicable and cannot be analysed.

There are many theorists who therefore reject primordial sentiments as simply inaccurate (Eller & Coughlan, in Allahar, 1996). Primordialism fails to capture the reality that ethnic identities are capable of change and regeneration over time, that such identities are not a given but require 'creative effort and investment' (Hoben & Hefner, 1990, in Allahar, 1996, p.46) by every generation of members.

In this work I will follow the conception of ethnicity as socially constructed and flexible. The difficulty, and interest, of this study lies partly in looking at the multifarious nature of identity structures: ethnic, religious, and national. This analysis enables me to study the fluidity of ethnic identity in members of former refugee communities who come from foreign nations but are now settled in New

Zealand, and how such self-identification is maintained and how it evolves within this new context. Without the position of ethnicity as fluid and negotiable these changes in identification by members would not be explainable.

Social Capital

"Social capital" is a term used to explain the resource that stems from the innate sociability of human beings. The lives of human beings are made up of social interactions. "Social capital" describes how these social connections can be captured and made available for the pursuit of certain goals. This makes social capital, some argue, a social resource (Statistics New Zealand, 2001, p.10). The "capital" is derived from the idea that through contact, cooperation, communication and trust, something of value is accumulated over time and then drawn on when needed for use in achieving certain goals (Statistics New Zealand, 2001, p.10). The World Bank defines social capital as 'the institutions, the relationships, the attitudes and values that govern interactions among people and contribute to economic and social development' (World Bank, 1998, in Knorringa & van Staveren, 2007, p.2). The economic impact of such social relations, however, is not necessarily intentional; instead social capital should be seen, Putnam (2000) argues, as providing the foundation for civic engagement through three main elements: trust, norms and networks. Deakin (2001, p.71) argues that a conception of social capital helps explain how an environment of mutual trust, once created, can help build up a bank of resources that can be used to support a variety of organisations and initiatives that serve a range of different functions.

Social capital can be more easily discussed, Putnam (2000) argues, by distinguishing two types of social capital: capital that bonds communities, and capital that bridges between them. Bonding social capital emerges where there are strong social ties inside community organisations based on a shared identity, such as kin ties, ethnic groups, class or other identity boundaries. Bridging social capital refers to organisations that are made up of generalised social relationships across groups and classes. This arises from weak social ties across society in which individual and organisational behavior is embedded but where some sort of common value holds people together. Churches are an example of

an organisation that creates both bonding and bridging social capital; they bond their membership together under a shared religious identity, but also help to bridge across class and other barriers and enable people to obtain access to the wider society and its resources.

Because people usually gain access to social capital through participation in community associations the sorts of networks they are affiliated with often determine what sort of social capital they gain access to. Power relations are therefore present and intrinsic to the creation and use of social capital. Processes of inclusion and exclusion, inherent in all social relations, are equally present in the creation of social capital as in any other part of society. As a challenge to the issues associated with social exclusion, social capital is therefore problematic, Deakin (2004, p.74) argues. Social capital is accumulated through networking and contacting skills, but class, gender, location and ethnicity affect distribution of these skills. Those people that gain the most access to the most social capital, and are able to use it to their own or their community's wellbeing, may not be those in most need of it.

Knorringa and van Staveren (2007) warn that as with any form of capital, social capital is not without its abusers. It can be used in a multitude of ways, including some that are selfish or detrimental. Moreover social capital may not always take the form of conscious group building, such as in collective action; it may simply be the result of spillover from cooperation in any field. More worryingly, as power always plays a role in the creation of social capital, the possibility of exploiting these internal inequalities is always present (Knorringa & van Staveren, 2007). Such inequalities can be manifest in several ways: through the uneven distribution of different types of networks resulting in unequal access; in the social capital accumulated in networks used to disadvantage others; when the social capital of certain groups may benefit members but reproduce inequality or generate unintended consequences for others; when social capital has a leveling-down effect on people's aspirations, providing disincentives for individuals in a group to save and invest (Field, 2003, in Knorringa & van Staveren, 2007, p.3). Groups with strong social capital may increase external inequality by disadvantaging those not able to gain access to the group, for instance those groups based on race or gender qualifications.

For all its possible abuses social capital remains an important concept in democratic society. Not all people enjoy equal access to the rights accorded to them as citizens. The democratic state does, however, provide a platform and framework through which social mobilization can take place so that the common interests of those involved may be promoted in order to improve society (Deakin, 2001, p.71). Social capital is vital to collective action and therefore plays a vital role in civil society. For former refugee communities, bonding social capital may enable members to participate in the civil society of their new community, and therefore give them access to bridging capital as well. In community organisations that bridge as well as bond, some of these negative aspects of the embedded power relations in social capital creation may be challenged.

Civil Society

Collective action in search of the "good society" is universally relevant and arguably part of what it is to be human and to live communally (Edwards, 2004). Civil society is the process through which cooperative action, in the form of organisations and networks of organisations, can enable people to bring about change or achieve some collective goal. As Walzer (1992) puts it, collective action 'involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions, and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable' (p.89). Civil society has also, Edwards (2004) warns, since its inception been a notoriously ambiguous concept, its meaning often depending on the context and political leanings of the person using it.

Under different doctrines, civil society may constitute either a problem or a solution to society's ills. Civil society is still touted today by both the left and the right as a vital cog in the process of bringing about their conceptions of the perfect society. To those on the right it stands for a reduction in the role of 'politics in society' (Cato Institute, in Edwards, 2004, p.2) and the expansion of free markets and individual liberty. To left wing theorists, on the other hand, civil society represents more politics in society; it is the 'seedbed for radical social movements' (Edwards, 2004, p.3) and a way to organise a challenge to power,

authoritarianism, and the tyrannical market. Furthermore in academia it is touted as "our last, best hope" towards "good governance" (Edwards, 2004, p.3).

This conceptual confusion stems largely from different interpretations of the origins of civil society, which in turn are derived from two very different conceptions of the state. The first sees civil society as deriving from a "top-down" process issued by a hegemonic state, and the second as a "bottom-up" process from an active, self-conscious and variegated society (Cox, 1999, p.6). Cox (1999) argues that under the former understanding, civil society stems from the dominant economic forces of capitalism and its intellectual and cultural hegemony, and is therefore a mechanism for securing acceptance of the capitalist order among the bulk of the population. Under the latter interpretation, civil society is a grassroots movement that seeks to challenge the ruling order for the benefit of the working class. To Gramsci (in Cox, 1999, p.4) civil society encapsulates both notions: civil society sustains the hegemonic order but it is also the site where an emancipatory counter-hegemony can grow.

In today's democratic states, some theorists argue, civil society and voluntary association no longer seek to overthrow the hegemonic order but to mobilise for internal change, which in turn provides the state with a stabilising influence. Such voluntary associations have become a significant aspect of the concept of civil society, and their role in curbing the power of centralized institutions, protecting pluralism and nurturing constructive social norms such as trust and cooperation in society has been valuable since the enlightenment (Edwards, 2004).

In opposition to the above diametrically opposed positions Walzer (1992, p.97) argues that no particular notion of the "good life" can be associated with civil society. Human beings are social beings: they are citizens, producers, consumers, members of the nation and much more. The associational life of civil society is the 'actual ground where all versions of the good are worked out and tested' (Walzer, 1992, p.98). This is a vital concept since, as Walzer (1992, p.98) argues, the quality of a society's political and economic activity, and national culture, is inextricably linked to the strength and vitality of its member associations.

The recent so-called demise of community spirit, or civil society, has concerned both the right and the left. In some quarters the blame for this has been put on the growth of ethnic heterogeneity (Goodhart, 2004). This is based on the assumption that heterogeneity undermines social cohesion and makes established populations less trusting and less generous with resources and therefore more withdrawn from collective life (Putnam, 2000; Goodhart, 2004).

Whether or not the reduction in collective efficacy in recent years can be put down to a growth in ethnic heterogeneity has been the focus of examination by Twig et al. (2010). "Collective efficacy" is defined as the presence of 'social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good' (Twig et al., 2010, p.1424). Twig et al. examined this through analysis of two dimensions of collective efficacy: social cohesion and trust, and informal social control. Twig et al. analysed information from the British Crime Survey in order to differentiate between the effects of neighborhood disadvantage over and above neighborhood diversity. They found that while both disadvantage and diversity were associated with reduced levels of social cohesion and trust, and with informal social control, disadvantage is more important. Other research in this area echoes this finding, highlighting the fact that once allowance is made for local socioeconomic conditions, ethnic diversity was not associated with a decline in social capital (Letki, 2008). Anderson and Paskeviciute (2006, in Twig et al., 2010) have argued that greater ethnic heterogeneity should increase the likelihood of voluntary community associations, as individual groups cannot command majority support in such multicultural communities. Moreover it could be argued that while diverse communities as a whole may lack strong bonding social capital, the opportunity for bridging social capital is high.

The work of Theodore and Martin (2007) further illustrates that while there may be a decline in civil society in some quarters, it is very much alive in some of the most ethnically heterogonous situations: migrant communities. Civil society associations (CSAs) are most likely to develop out of communities with strong social capital, as CSAs are collective, voluntary, self-initiated, self-sustaining, autonomous from the state, and governed by formal or informal institutional rules (Diamond, 1994, p.6). Theodore and Martin (2007) looked at the role

community organisations play in immigrant incorporation, political mobilisation, civic engagement, and in improving neighbourhood quality of life. Migrant civil society incorporates community organisations, social movements, hometown associations, churches and faith-based groups, social clubs, and other organised groups that represent the interests of migrants and operate between markets, households, and the state. Theodore and Martin (2007) found that migrant civil society plays an important role in mediating the myriad of dislocations and conflicts brought about by mass migration. In New Zealand, for example, the NGO Refugee Services plays an important role in the migrant civil society, as do community organisations established by refugee communities themselves.

While civil society may be a contested notion, it remains a useful term for referring to the existence and practice of collective action by what are often disparate groups, in a bid to change society to achieve some shared goal. Contrary to what certain theorists and policy makers believe, ethnic heterogeneity does not necessarily stifle such action: to the contrary, in some cases, as Theodore and Martin illustrated, it encourages it. Migrant communities may have grievances related to practical issues with the arrangement of their new society, or feelings of exclusion, and they must therefore be the bringers of change. Former refugee communities may find themselves in a similar situation. In being resettled in a new state they may have been provided with a new home; however, in order to take full advantage of it through successful integration, society often needs to be made flexible to their needs. The establishment of community organisations to this end is therefore a vital and logical step towards achieving such change. Moreover, as civil society is the field of citizen-led change, and one important aspect of citizenship is political participation, participation in civil society by former refugee communities facilitates the process of members' achieving a substantive citizenship.

II: EXISTING RESEARCH ON THE INTEGRATION PROCESSES OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

The work of Berry (1997), Lucken (2010), Ager and Strang (2008) and Valtonen (1998; 2004), on the integration and acculturation processes of former refugees across different countries has been particularly influential in the formulation of

my research and framework for analysis. This chapter will provide an outline of the background of their research, their findings, and a discussion of the concepts of integration and acculturation and the framework Berry (1997) developed for the analysis of such processes.

In his 1997 work 'Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation' Berry outlines how cross-cultural psychology has demonstrated the important links between cultural context and an individual's behavioral development. Acculturation is the process whereby individuals who have grown up in one cultural context attempt to re-establish their lives in another through migration or resettlement. This concept, and its psychological consequences, has received substantial in-depth cross-cultural research. Berry (1997), one of the leading researchers in this field, argues that research has shown the results of acculturation to be highly variable and influenced by a number of factors, such as: the social and personal variables of the society of origin; the society these individuals settle in; and certain phenomena existing prior and post acculturation. The aim of Berry's inquiry is to build on the common notion held in the cross-cultural field that people's actions are usually related to cultural influences and expectations, and to look at what happens to those individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to live in another.

Lucken's 2010 dissertation, *Identity Matters: Bosnian Identity Maintenance in a Post-Migration Setting*, explores the processes of incorporation and identity maintenance among refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina resettled in Boston, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut after the 1992-1995 conflict in the Balkans. In particular Lucken (2010) focuses on how religious institutions helped to shape nationalist narratives, facilitate integration, and provide ethnic identity maintenance for Bosnian refugees. Lucken's (2010) study explores 'Bosnian religious and ethnic identities as they emerged historically and are maintained or diffused within a post-migration setting' (p.4). Lucken uses Berry's (1997) framework for integration and acculturation in her work to show that as migrants make roots in their new home, the things that have helped define who they are (their homes, families, language, and institutions) may have been left behind but the continuation of familiar traditions from home, and the support they draw from ethnic networks, cultural associations, religious

institutions, and employment opportunities during the integration process helps facilitate the reconstitution of their identities inside their new home.

In their research on the integration of refugees in the United Kingdom (UK), Ager and Strang (2008) introduced a framework that sees ten core domains reflecting the normative understandings of integration. In the UK, integration has been encouraged through a number of government projects stemming from a 2001 Home Office paper 'Full and Equal Citizens'. However Ager and Strang (2008) highlight the need for a more thorough definition of "integration" in a state's refugee policy in order for integration initiatives to be utilised in a coherent manner. In carrying out their research by interviewing both former refugees and British community members, Ager and Strang (2008) found that most people saw integration as the active "mixing" of people from different backgrounds. However many former refugees identified "belonging" as the ultimate mark of living in an integrated community (Ager & Strang, 2008, p.178). It was aspects related to belonging, such as feeling "at home" through friendly encounters with people they met on a daily basis, which had impacted highly on former refugees' attitudes towards their own integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p.180).

Valtonen's (1998) research on former refugees in Finland precedes Ager and Strang's (2008) findings, and was motivated by a similar need to find a solution to the mounting problem of integrating the small proportion of the Finnish population with refugee origins. In the mid 1990s immigration on humanitarian grounds had begun to rapidly increase in Finland, exceeding the rate of emigration. The national concern over the new refugee population was mainly due to the unfamiliar cultural backgrounds most refugees brought with them to the relatively homogenous Finnish society (Valtonen, 1998, p.39). As Finland has no history of labour immigration, refugee resettlement marked its first real immigration programme, and issues around multiculturalism therefore largely revolved around a humanitarian theme, relegating issues of integration to secondary priority (Valtonen, 1998, p.39). In a later study, Valtonen (2004) asked how the formal status granted to refugees translates into actual participatory activity and linkages in society, basing the answer to this question on primary data taken from two qualitative studies conducted 1993-1994 and

1997-1998. Valtonen (2004) found that phrases such as "cultural difference" (p.71) are often used as the basis for 'problematizing settlement difficulties narrowly and relegating them to the cultural and private domain of settling persons' (p.71). This is used to mask the main integration problems that are brought about through more tangible issues such as barriers to economic opportunity and unemployment. Integration, Valtonen (2004) found, required the negotiation of such tangible issues, like employment, because for former refugees, gaining access to the workforce represents more than simply a job: it is the realisation of their citizenship as full members of society.

Acculturation, Integration and Adaptation theory

Evidence gathered through cross-cultural psychology indicates that the best way to characterise acculturation is as a complex process of change in how people act in order to be in line with what is appropriate to their new setting (Berry, 1997, p.6). Members of migrant groups in all plural societies have to deal with the issue of *how* to acculturate, and the more recent the settlement, the more salient such issues are (Berry, 1997). The main acculturation issues that arise often come down to cultural maintenance: to what extent cultural identity and characteristics are considered to be important and their maintenance strived for; how should contact and participation be negotiated; to what extent individuals should become involved in other cultural groups, or keep to themselves. Strategies for dealing with these issues are not uniformly approached by all members of a community and are usually worked out on an *ad hoc* basis Berry (1997, p.7) argues that the changes in behavior manifest in acculturation can take several different forms; these include straight integration or assimilation processes, reactive processes (triggering resistance to change in both the settler group and in the wider society), creative processes (simulating the creation of new cultural forms) or delayed processes (initiating changes that appear in society more fully years later).

"Adaptation" refers to the psychological as well as outward appearance of changes that occur as a result of acculturation in individuals. Integration is the result of positive adaptation. Adaptation involves three interrelated aspects: psychological, sociocultural, and economic (Berry, 1997). In most acculturating

individuals, some long-term positive adaptation to the new cultural context usually takes place after a period of time. "Psychological adaptation" refers to the set of internal psychological outcomes, including a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health, and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context. "Sociocultural adaptation" refers to the external links between the individual and their new context, including their ability to deal with daily problems, particularly in the areas of family life, work and school. A more recent adaptive outcome has been added, "economic adaptation", referring to the degree to which work is obtained, satisfying and effective in the new culture.

Integration and Acculturation Research Frameworks

In his work on acculturation, Berry (1997, p.9) constructed a conceptual framework that posits four acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation, in a "yes" or "no" format (Berry, 1997, figure 1). This involves a positive or negative answer to two questions, posed in order to determine the participant's acculturation technique: Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics? Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society? Affirmation to both questions indicates an acculturation strategy of integration; disagreement with the first but affirmation of the second indicates assimilation; affirmation of the first but disagreement of the second leads to separation or segregation; disagreement with both is marginalisation.

   While the framework provides a clear illustration of the desired acculturation technique of the individual, Berry (1997) himself acknowledges its limitations. For instance, he admits that it is based on the assumption that settling groups in society have a choice in how they acculturate, which is not always the case (Berry, 1997, p.10). People rarely choose to become marginalised; instead it is more commonly the result of attempts at forced assimilation that leave resistant individuals with only exclusion or segregation as alternatives (Berry, 1997, p.10). Moreover integration can only be "freely" chosen and successfully pursued by settling groups when the wider society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Thus mutual accommodation is required for

integration to be attained: wider society must be accepting of cultural diversity and the rights of all peoples to their chosen cultural identifications, while the basic values of wider society must also be accepted by the settling groups (Berry, 1997, p.11). Wider society must have flexible national institutions capable of adapting areas such as education, health, and labour, to better meet the needs of all groups living within the plural society. There are also other constraints to the process that are outside of the settling group's control, such as the existence of physical features that may mark them out for discrimination and therefore discourage them from pursuing integration processes. Forms of acculturation strategy may also depend on the context or time period: an individual may be more likely to exhibit cultural maintenance inside private spheres such as their home or within the extended family than in public spheres such as the workforce (Berry, 1997, p.12).

Assumptions have been made previously in cross-cultural studies, Berry (1997, p.12) argues, that link acculturation with inescapable social and psychological problems for settling individuals. Berry disagrees with this, arguing that most individuals experience straightforward psychological changes during acculturation such as unlearning of behaviour that is no longer appropriate and replacing these with new behaviours and their appropriate context. Some moderate "cultural conflict", as Berry (1997, p.13) terms it, may accompany this; but it is unlikely that individuals experience the more severe 'acculturative stress' or psychopathology related to an inability to cope with changes in their cultural context to the extent where they suffer serious psychological disturbances such as clinical depression and incapacitating anxiety.

To Berry (1997) the key variables that should be attended to when carrying out studies of acculturation are: the society of origin; the settlement group's acculturation technique; the society of settlement; and certain variables associated with individuals within the group such as their cultural distance, pre-acculturation education and status. Both an individual's own experiences before settlement as well as the community background is highly relevant to how members and communities respond to their society of settlement; the strategies they employ to cope with such stresses have long-term consequences that

influence their eventual acculturation and adaptation. A settling individual's society of origin is relevant due to the fact that many cultural characteristics are taken with the individual from their home into the acculturation process. These need description in part to understand where the settling individual is coming from, but also so they can provide a comparison with the society of settlement in order to determine what level of "cultural distance" a settling individual is suffering from (Berry, 1997, p.16). "Cultural distance" refers to how dissimilar the host culture (in terms of language, religion, cultural practices, etcetera) is from the migrant's home culture (Berry, 1997, p.23). The greater the dissimilarity between the two cultures the more difficult adaptation will be, Berry predicts, due to the increase in cultural shedding and cultural learning the individual will require. The bigger the differences the more likely adaptation will trigger negative responses from some members of the settling community. Moreover, as Berry (1997) notes, an acculturating individual is not, for example, simply "Somali": the individual experiences that make up each person's being also makes the acculturation and adaptation process highly individual. However as Berry (1997, p.16) points out there has been no single study that has incorporated all of these aspects in looking at settling individuals' acculturation process.

Berry (1997, p.26) contends that empirical studies have shown that the major influences on the outcome of psychological acculturation stem from group-level factors such as what the motivation for acculturation was in the first place (voluntary or forced) coupled with outside factors such as the national immigration and acculturation policies, ideologies and attitudes of the dominant group in society, and social support, as well as individual level factors, in particular each individual's attitude towards the acculturation strategy adopted by the settling community (Berry, 1997, p.27).

Berry's (1997) framework will be adapted to my research and used to look at the acculturation strategies of the communities of Eritrean and Bhutanese former refugees in New Zealand. Chapter three is designed to provide an overview of each community's structure and refugee experience prior to arrival in New

Zealand in order to create a context for the later analysis of their acculturation processes and levels of integration.

Lucken's (2010) work offers some insight into the application of Berry's frameworks as they also influenced Lucken's ethnographic fieldwork. As already mentioned, Lucken's (2010) focus was the influence religion plays in the integration processes of Bosnian former refugees in Boston and Hartford. Research was conducted over the space of three years through structured and semi-structured interviews with 34 Bosnian former refugees. Lucken (2010) found that demographic variations within refugee communities strongly impacted integration outcomes. The highly educated, urban, multiethnic Boston population demonstrated higher rates of secularity and lower rates of religious practice and higher rates of integration, while the lower levels of education, rural origins and homogenous populations in Hartford led to the evolution of a "Muslim-centric" Bosnian culture, which negatively affected their integration process (Lucken, 2010, p.7). The higher levels of education and English language and the flow-on effect of higher levels of employment among the former group resulted in a higher likelihood of families moving to suburbs and making professional and social networks outside of their ethnic community (Lucken, 2010). Among the second group, those with lower levels of education, there were fewer employment options and members were more likely to live in close proximity to co-ethnics and spend most of their socializing within this group. Religious and cultural institutions and immigrant networks, as opposed to work and wider society connections, were therefore relied upon for identity reconstruction for these communities.

Positive experiences in employment, education, housing and health are the widely accepted key indicators of successful integration and are specified in the 1951 Convention in regard to the social rights of refugees. In their research on integration Ager and Strang (2008) use these areas as indicators; however, they argue it is problematic to see the achievement of any or all as a simple "marker" of integration. Instead they posit that these areas are merely the means of supporting the achievement of integration. It is the existence of a clear notion of nationhood and citizenship in the minds of those in the wider community, and in settling individuals, that is really important for the facilitation of integration, as

such notions shape the core understanding of the rights accorded and responsibilities expected of refugees. Ager and Strang (2008) emphasise the role of government in clearly articulating policy on nationhood and citizenship, and the rights accorded to resettled refugees, in order to foster an environment of acceptance that can enable successfully integrated individuals to emerge.

The national identity of the resettlement state therefore plays a key role in determining the working definition of integration that the state puts into place (Ager & Strang, 2008, p.175). State policy must be relevant to their conception of society and integration. In the UK, where Ager and Strang (2008) argue there is value placed on multiculturalism, society is seen as the sphere where different groups and cultural identities can coexist. Policy on integration reflects this by stating refugees must be: 'empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society, to contribute to the community, and become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities they share with other residents' (Ager & Strang, 2008, p.175). Such rights include: human dignity, equality, justice, security, independence, and freedom of cultural choice. The state protects these rights by providing refugees with citizenship, family reunification, and equality in legislation. This working conception of integration also comprises an element of responsibility on the individual's part: they must participate in society and adapt to a certain degree to the lifestyle of their new state. Integration is therefore a 'two-way process of change…it is about having the right conditions for and the actual participation of refugees in all aspects of life of the country of durable asylum as well as to refugees own sense of belonging and membership of European societies' (ECRE, in Ager & Strang, 2008, p.177).

Valtonen's (1998) study of the integration processes of refugees in Finland, on the other hand, emphasises the importance of facilitating the achievement of tangible goals former refugees arrive with, such as employment. While Ager and Strang (2008) stressed the importance of conceptual clarity in integration policy, Valtonen's work returns the focus to the achievement of practical goals in linking refugees to their new societies. A measurement of the level of integration of settled former refugees was conducted by Valtonen through analysis of members' participation in certain key spheres of society: the labour market or education; social interaction; organised activity (religious, cultural or political);

and cultural encounters. Quality of life was measured by looking at the harmony between the goals former refugees had in resettlement (which were based on participation in the above spheres of society) reported by members when they arrived in Finland, and their actual participation after resettlement. If participation was in line with these goals, integration was assumed to be proceeding in a satisfactory manner; a wide discrepancy between the participant's goals and actual participation indicated unsatisfactory conditions and poor quality of life. Valtonen (1998) questioned what barriers to participation in Finnish society former refugees encountered, as well as the attempts to overcome them.

Through her research Valtonen (1998) found that employment was the most salient feature of the integration process and was a major resettlement goal of the majority of her subjects. Despite a challenge in recent years by some sectors at the significance of work as a uniform lifelong experience in post-industrial societies, employment retains its central significance in former refugee communities and often contributes largely to both an individual's sense of self-worth and their credibility in the eyes of others. Moreover, for newly settled individuals, participation in the labour market is often the main way of fostering contacts and active participation in other societal spheres; it allows for contact with out-groups and gives scope for building social capital in the wider community. Valtonen's (1998) research indicated that those who remained unemployed for long periods of time, especially from the outset of resettlement, were at risk of becoming socially excluded from the wider society and therefore alienated or marginalised. Moreover, as France and Wiles (1997, in Valtonen, 1998) note, employment is a key representation for identification as a citizen. To be a part of the workforce is to be a part of something bigger than oneself or one's family, and creates a valued form of interdependence with society.

Valtonen's (2004, p.78) later data indicates that as an individual's uncertainties about settlement recede they become eager to take steps and sacrifices in order to "regularize" living and become "re-established" in wider society. This, Valtonen (2004) argues, can be understood as the 'empowering effect of Human Rights being restored in the settlement situation' (p.78). In order to regularise their lives, participation in the labour force is key, and the

fact that refugee communities consistently show much higher levels of unemployment than other groups is therefore a worrying trend. Dealing with the high unemployment of former refugees is fundamental, for it has been shown that it is the feeling of a lack of power, not cultural difference, which impedes integration (Williams, 1989, in Valtonen, 2004, p.89). Access at an early stage in settlement to important participatory areas such as the labour market and higher education would open up some of the most important resources for integration to settling communities (Valtonen, 2004, p.89). This requires a proactive rather than reactive stance by the state.

Valtonen (1998, p.41) also found that former refugees' own diasporic networks were useful resources in their efforts to improve their situation in their new country, especially in providing support when resettlement goals were not reached. Ultimately Valtonen (2004) found former refugees become the bearers of responsibility for achieving certain conditions conducive to their own integration. Integration stems not only from the pursuit of settlement goals, but also involves the concurrent struggle for conditions that facilitate these goals: emancipation, parity, interdependence and cultural integrity (Valtonen, 2004, p.87). Relevant to this is the level of participation by refugee individuals in certain societal spheres: the labour market; inter and intra-group societal interaction and relations; and involvement in civil society or political activity. Ethnic community organisations emerged in Finland about five years into the community's settlement, and were seen by participating individuals as a vehicle for articulating concerns over ethnic equality and the well being of members (Valtonen, 2004, p.82). For all these findings, Valtonen (2004) was, however, unclear of the extent to which such organisations facilitated integration and proposed any organisation would need to engage in 'expert need discourses' (p.82) entailing the expression of particular needs in the case of a more generalised social problem, for example unemployment, in order to bring about real change.

CONCLUSION

Berry's framework for acculturation and integration provides a good basis for approaching my analysis of the integration of members of the Eritrean and

Bhutanese former refugees in New Zealand. His framework will heavily influence my approach to examining how former refugees negotiate their ethnic identity maintenance in New Zealand and what behavioural changes indicate acculturation, which may lead to the creation of national identification. This makes it appropriate for a research approach based around in-depth individual interviews with members of such communities, so as to collect data from individuals attending to as many relevant variables as make up his acculturation framework. This includes discussion with members about their country of origin, the background of their displacement, their experience of resettlement in New Zealand, and their attitude towards integration and social support within their ethnic community as well as in wider society.

The existing frameworks in the literature are not, however, sufficient to capture the link between the social capital within former refugee communities, participation in civil society, and integration. I will therefore endeavor to expand and add to the frameworks used in the research above as far as possible. This is necessary, as currently this line of research in the field of the integration processes of former refugees has not yet been fully explored in the literature. There are precedents in the work discussed above; as Valtonen's (1998; 2004) research indicated, there was a strong link between failures in the integration process, namely long-term unemployment among former refugees, and their participation in ethnic community organisations in order to articulate their needs in the employment sphere, although Valtonen has not yet taken this line of investigation any further. Ager and Strang (2008) emphasised the role government articulation of integration and citizenship policy plays in creating understanding between former refugees and the wider community of both the rights and responsibilities of settling individuals. However, they failed to expand on the role that open dialogue between the state, former refugee communities and the wider community plays in the integration process and how former refugee communities need to have an equal voice in this through participation in civil society.

Moreover, beyond government documents aimed at policy and extrapolation of quantitative data, there is a gap in the New Zealand literature on refugee integration processes within this country. This study will bring together identity,

civil society and integration theory with qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews and study of members of two former refugee communities currently negotiating the settlement process in New Zealand. My aim is to provide a rich picture of the integration process of former refugee members and communities' and in particular of the role social capital and participation in community organisations play in their integration process.

As Berry has emphasised, society of origin and factors within the settling community play an important role in acculturation and integration. Therefore it is necessary to outline in the following chapter the background of the two communities of Eritrean and Bhutanese former refugees.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND: ERITREAN AND BHUTANESE COMMUNITIES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will look at the backgrounds of the two communities of former refugees, the Eritrean and Bhutanese, which I will examine in this thesis. These two groups are the best choice for examining the processes of integration of refugee communities through individuals' negotiation of their ethnic and national identities and community participation in the civil society of New Zealand due to their recent arrival in New Zealand. These processes may be harder to examine within well-established communities as members may fit more easily into patterns of integration already forged by previous members with a longer history in New Zealand. They may also be assisted in this process by earlier arrivals, which would influence their adaptation and acculturation processes. The Bhutanese, as the most recent community of arrivals to New Zealand, and the Eritreans, as relatively recent arrivals, are communities without long established members, and therefore provided the best examples for this study. Moreover the small size of both communities in New Zealand (the Eritrean population is approximately 361 and the Bhutanese 446 (DoL, 2011b, Appendix B)) makes it easier to conduct interviews and extrapolate findings.

Part I of this chapter focuses on the Eritrean community; Part II on the Bhutanese community. Each part is structured around the key themes associated with my hypotheses: identity, social capital and civil society participation. This chapter provides the background of each community's ethnic and national identity, social structures, and evidence of pre-existing social capital.

In order to understand how individuals may currently be approaching identification with and negotiation of a New Zealand national identity, each Part begins with an outline of the background of the members' ethnic and national identities in their country of origin. This background also enables discussion in the following chapters of whether a common identity, and therefore a sense of community, exists among the members resettled in New Zealand over and above their shared identities as members of a common country of origin. The indicators of a "community" among persons, evidenced through the connectedness, trust,

and shared values of members, are also seen as necessary for creation of social capital. In this way discussion of identity also leads to discussion of social capital.

Building a picture of the social structures of these communities before their exile, and how they might have changed during their camp or urban refugee experience, aids the analysis in later chapters of my second and third hypotheses through greater understanding of the configuration of the community's social capital in settlement. Elements that have influenced each community's structure, such as their relationship to their national government, their process of displacement, and refugee experience, are also necessary for developing the picture of the community and its members in settlement.

THE ERITREAN COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

Between the late 19th century and the early 21st century, Eritrea's history was one of colonisation and violent struggle for independence. In 1889 Eritrea, along with southern Somalia and Libya, was colonised by Italy during the European struggle for control over the Suez Canal. Italian rule brought together the large number of disparate ethnic groups and tribes that now make up contemporary Eritrea (Pool, 1997). In the later part of the 20th century the borders of Eritrea, drawn up by Italian colonisers, became the basis of Eritrean territorial nationalism and the nationalist claims for independence (Pool, 1997). After the expulsion of Italy by the British Commonwealth in 1941 Eritrea was granted self-governance in a federation with Ethiopia under UN Resolution 390. Ethiopia, however, coveting Eritrea's mineral wealth and its strategic position along the Red Sea (MoH, 2001, p.8), dissolved the Eritrean Assembly in an attempt to fully absorb Eritrea (Legum, 1983, p.7).

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), a Muslim Eritrean organisation initiated by exiled Eritrean students and workers in Egypt and Sudan, emerged in the early 1960s as the main militarized Eritrean liberation movement. In September 1961 the ELF fired on Ethiopian garrisons inside Eritrea, sparking what became the thirty-year war for Eritrean independence (Pool, 1997, p.11). By the mid 1970s the war had spread throughout the Eritrean state, creating refugees from

all backgrounds and ethnic groups (Kibreab, 2000, p.256). The diverse nature of those displaced was in part a result of the forming of a breakaway faction, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in 1977. This resulted in an internal power struggle between the EPLF and the ELF, which reached civil war proportions, culminating in 1982 with the ELF losing its precedence to the EPLF (Rock, 1999, p.129).

In 1991 the "Thirty-year War" officially ended, and in 1993, following a UN-sponsored referendum, Eritrea was recognised by the international community as an independent sovereign nation (Rock, 1999). That year the EPLF were democratically elected as the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) to govern Eritrea. By the end of the war over a quarter of the population of Eritrea, approximately 500,000 people, had been displaced as refugees into the neighboring countries of Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt (Kibreab, 1996). The first large groups of these refugees returned to Eritrea during the 1990s, while a small number were resettled in third states abroad. Between 1989 and 1997 approximately 180,000 refugees returned to Eritrea; 139,000 were repatriated from Sudan under the UNHCR's Programme of Refugee Repatriation (PROFERI) (Bascom, 2005, in Thillott, 2007). The Eritrean government worked closely with PROFERI during the 1990s with a focus on repatriating mainly camp-based refugees. However, in 2001 a Sudanese interior survey counted over 500,000 refugees remaining in the East of Sudan without any assistance from the UNHCR (Thillott, 2007). The Eritrean community began to be resettled in New Zealand with assistance from the UNHCR from 1994 onwards.

Part one of this chapter will outline the ethnic groups of Eritrea and the emergence of the Eritrean national identity. It will discuss the social organisation of these different ethnic communities and what effect exile had on the ability of communities to maintain traditional organising structures. It also explores whether this influenced the growth of social capital among Eritrean refugees in exile. This will provide a background for the examination of the social capital and participation in civil society in settlement of the community in relation to my hypotheses.

Ethnicity in Eritrea

Before Italian colonisation in the late 19th century, the territory of Eritrea was home to many diverse tribal groups and clans. When the borders were codified in 1890 they enclosed, as well as divided, a large number of groups of people with differing languages, cultures and religions, in a manner that left tribal affiliations across borders into the neighboring states of Sudan and Ethiopia. Moreover Eritrea, due to its geographical position at the cross roads of the Nile Valley, Red Sea, and the Ethiopian plateau, has historically been the site of much migration and many cultural influences. Eritrea's population today is derived from indigenous African tribes, several waves of different migrants from the Ethiopian plateau and the Arabian Peninsula, as well as the influence of European colonisers (Pool, 1997).

While small in numbers, at approximately 3.9 million people, ethnically Eritrea's population is complex and diverse with nine state-identified ethno-linguistic groups. These include the: Tigrinya, Tigre, Saho, Afar, Hidareb, Bileyn, Kunama, Nara, and Rashaida (MoH, 2001). While a multitude of cultures and ethnicities exist within the Eritrean state, two groups, the Christian Tigrinya and Muslim Tigre, are overwhelmingly dominant. These two are approximately equal in size and together they constitute over 81% of the population. The Saho and Afar each constitute 5% of the population, the other five minority groups each comprise 2% or less. As a result, Tigrinya and Tigre are the dominant languages of Eritrea, with over three quarters of the population first-language speakers of one or the other. Members of minority groups are often bilingual speakers of one or both on top of their own language (Fegley, 1995). Moreover while each ethno-linguistic group has distinctive cultural and ethnic qualities, many have historically intermingled and intermarried, in some cases to the extent where it is difficult to identify from which ethno-linguistic group breakaway tribes now belong. Naty (2002, p.574) gives the example of the Kunama communities of Bitama and Ilit who have intermarried with the Hidareb tribe the Beni-Amer and converted to Islam; the Kunama elements of the Bitama have all but disappeared,

whereas the Ilit still speak Kunama and retain many more of their cultural practices.

Religiously, Christianity and Islam dominate Eritrea, with an almost even split between the two, a result of the Tigrinya associating almost entirely as Christians while the Tigre and the majority of smaller groups mainly with Islam. A very small number also maintain traditional beliefs (Fegley, 1995). Christianity gained prominence in the highlands of Eritrea in the sixth century AD, brought by the Axumite Empire (Denison et al. 2003). In the late seventh century AD the Axumite Empire began to decline in power, and Islam began to grow in influence in the region through increased migration of people from the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt. Most of Eritrea's Muslim tribes converted to Islam between the seventh and 19th centuries. Tesfagiorgis (2011, p.145) contends that the intense political instability of the early 19th century saw many lowland tribes, namely communities of the Tigre, Bileyn, Kunama, and Nara, convert from Christianity to Islam in an effort to stand up to the continuous and violent raids by Christian Tigray. Islam provided the highland communities, Miran (2005, p.185) writes, with a 'new identity and a powerful counter-hegemonic force and ideology'. In general, however, religious affiliation has not had a homogenizing affect on Eritrea's ethnic and cultural diversity. As Miran (2005) writes, Eritrea's Muslim societies continue to reflect its 'kaleidoscopic historical configuration' (p.178): Muslims in Eritrea belong to different ethnic groups, speak different languages, and practice varying modes of production. Their social and political organisation also remains diverse.

Differences in ethnic, linguistic and religious adherence have not prevented the crossover of certain cultural practices among Eritrean communities. The ceremony surrounding coffee has commonalities among most Eritrean communities. Coffee is grown in the south of Eritrea and has also traditionally been imported from Ethiopia. In Tigrinya coffee is *bun* (in Ethiopia the ceremony is *Buna*) and preparation of it is both an important daily ritual as well as a special ceremony for certain occasions (Kifleyesus, 2002, p.267).

Eritrean National Identity

Eritrean national identity is built upon complex, and in many ways divisive, factors. Indigenous populations existing in Eritrea pre-colonisation were separated through tribal affiliations, language and religion. Colonisers from the Ottoman and European empires influenced the state from the 16th until the mid 20th century. Italy left an especially strong mark in the region. Its reign consolidated and secured Eritrea's borders, and while it did so with its own interests at heart, this influence left the Eritrean people with a state, and importantly, a sense of nationhood, worth defending.

The nation-building project in Eritrea was by no means fully developed under colonial rule. Most of the communities of Eritrea's ethno-linguistic groups are almost entirely rural. These rural communities experienced less integration into the national economy and Eritrean society as a whole during Italy's rule, as the colonial influence remained largely Asmara based. As Kibreab (1996) notes, before displacement to Sudan during the war for independence, certain rural communities had very little identification with the Eritrean state or a sense of national identity. Legum (1983) contends that the expression of Eritrean solidarity after the British proposal to annex Eritrea to Ethiopia can be seen as an expression of Eritrea's anti-Amharic sentiment as much as their feelings of camaraderie as "Eritreans", at least initially.

However the shared experience of the Eritrean people of suffering and subjugation under Italian colonial rule, along with Ethiopia's attempted annexation and the following war, provided a base of unity that nationalist leaders were able to use in an attempt to overcome divisive aspects of Eritrean ethnicity in order to create a strong sense of Eritrean national identity (Kibreab, 2000, p.253). Due to ethnic diversity, the nationalist project for Eritrean independence could not be based on an ethnic claim, so it was principally linked to rhetoric surrounding the right to self-determination and territorial integrity for a formally colonised people. Camaraderie between Muslim and Christian Eritreans, who fought together in the EPLF during the war, helped galvanize feelings of national interest (Miran, 2005, p.214). The fact that Eritreans were able to put aside their differences and win independence, Kibreab (2008, p.334) argues, proves to some extent the success of the Eritrean nationalist project.

Moreover, in an unexpected way the refugee experience during the thirty-year war enhanced the growth of this national sentiment for some tribal groups.

The refugee experience, Kibreab (1996) argues, further shifted many Eritreans' sense of national identity by pushing together those from both rural and urban areas and forcing previously divided groups to share the experience of being exiled nationals of Eritrea, an identity some experienced for the first time. The displacement of a large proportion of the population as refugees to neighboring countries could have severely negatively affected the social cohesion necessary for a sense of national identity to take hold among Eritreans. Some literature postulates, Kibreab (2000, p.250) points out, that the longer refugees remain in exile the more they become integrated into their host society, and the less inclined they are to maintain their national identity and strong links with their home country. However, in the Eritrean case, Kibreab (1996) argues, the opposite occurred: feelings of national identity, social cohesion and attachment to Eritrea remained strong among most refugees in Sudan, regardless of their length of exile and even among the second generation. Kibreab concludes this resulted from several interwoven factors, one key aspect being the weakening of traditional ethnic boundaries between Eritreans, due to the development of trans-ethnic social networks without reference to ethnic or religious identity inside the camps. The refugee experience, Kibreab contends, worked in many ways to break down such divisions and enable the development of trans-ethnic social cohesion. As large numbers of former refugees were repatriated, they took this back with them to Eritrea. Eritreans living in the diaspora also maintain a strong sense of Eritrean national identity, as evidenced by the large outpouring of support and money in the wake of the 1998-2000 border war with Ethiopia (Bernal, 2004, p.3).

As the Eritrean nationalist movement really took hold for many during the refugee experience, it may be less affected by borders than other types of nationalism. As Bernal (2004) concludes, in opposition to common assumptions around the decline of nationalism in a transnational era, Eritrean nationalism and transnationalism do not oppose each other but 'intertwine in complex ways in the globalised spaces of diaspora' (p.3).

Country of Origin

Religion, culture, and geography, have influenced the development of differing social structures among the ethno-linguistic groups in Eritrea. While religion and culture are obvious influences on social and political organisation, the traditional geographical location of Eritrea's communities affected their lifestyle and economic organisation, and has also played a decisive role in the subsequent differences and similarities in the social organisation of the many ethno-linguistic groups of Eritrea (Tesfagiorgis, 2010, p.168).

Due to Eritrea's geographical diversity, location has played a major role in determining the style of livelihood a tribal group developed; the lush highlands and areas around the Gash River enabled sedentary farming, while the dry lowlands and desert areas of the Red Sea zones supported only pastoral farming and a nomadic lifestyle. As sedentary farmers base their livelihood on the land, highly organised systems around land use and ownership are necessary and, Tesfagiorgis (2010, p.168) contends, became integral to the social, political and economic organisation of such communities. The Tigrinya, Kunama and Nara, together constituting approximately 55% of the population, are the only Eritrean communities to traditionally be dependent on settled agriculture. Communities of pastoral farmers on the other hand are dependent on their livestock for their livelihood, which requires movement over large areas following grazing availability and results in a weaker attachment to concepts of land ownership. Society for these tribes is structured around this transient way of life (Tesfagiorgis, 2010, p.168).

The sub-clan or village was traditionally the fundamental organising unit for the social, political and economic spheres of tribe members' lives (Smidt, 2006). For most ethno-linguistic groups these were led by a male chief, with their position either determined through age and bloodline or through election by male community members. The Kunama is the only group to differ markedly in their organisation and leadership style, which was based on democratic and egalitarian principles and matrilineage (Naty, 2002, p.573). Like the Bileyn,

Kunama society has no central chieftainships but clans were organised around elected assemblies and village elders.

Most traditional communities in Eritrea had an overarching communal focus, especially evident in the economic sphere. Clans or villages often managed resources (as well as labour in some cases) for grazing, agriculture and forestry, communally (Tesfagiorgis, 2011). In areas of settled agriculture, strict land tenure systems for individual land usage existed among all ethno-linguistic groups, usually based around a system whereby clans or villages own certain land and are responsible for its distribution to member families (Tesfagiorgis, 2011). Kibreab (2008, p.43) argues that the land tenure systems and common property resources, based on a system of cooperation in order to achieve a common good, fostered the necessary sense of cooperation, reciprocity and trust needed for the establishment of social capital and a civil society during the independence movement and refugee experience. Such communal economic organisation requires that members understand the interweaving of their individual needs with those of the community, and this can be translated into civil society in modern community settings such as the refugee camp. Moreover due to Eritrea's geography and settlement patterns, cooperation and trust existed not solely within ethno-linguistic groups but between groups as well, as members of different communities had to interact and cooperate for resources and space.

Inside the Refugee Camps and Urban Environment

Whether the social organisation patterns of communities can be transferred and re-established inside the environment of the refugee camp or in the urban refugee environment depends in part on the displacement and settlement process. Eritrea's liberation movement generated conflict that was protracted and irregular. Some aspects of it affected religious or ethnic groups unevenly, other areas of the war displaced communities indiscriminately. The prolonged and destructive nature of the conflict displaced refugees, who by the end of the war numbered approximately 500,000, in several different waves. The protracted style of conflict also meant that some refugees were displaced more than once as after repatriation conflict returned to their area. For example the

1998-2000-border war in south Eritrea that saw the further displacement of repatriated refugees who had returned after independence (Thiollet, 2007).

The time span and nature of the conflict in Eritrea meant refugees settling in camps or urban areas did so as disparate groups. Their relationships to one another was therefore not as stable as those where refugees are displaced as the result of one catalyst, such as the Bhutanese experience discussed in Part II. Over the thirty years of conflict different sections of Eritrean society became refugees as a result of different aspects to the fighting, which meant that those settled in the refugee camps were from diverse backgrounds and classes of society. However because of the different directions of dispersal Eritrean refugees did not experience refugeehood as one group. The Tigrinya from the south and some Kunama from Gash-Barka moved to camps in Ethiopia; those from the west of Eritrea such as some Kunama, Nara, Bileyn, and Hidareb moved across to Sudan where some remained and others continued on to Egypt; while some of those from the Red Sea zones crossed the water to Yemen. However these patterns of migration meant that in general communities migrated to camps together, which allowed some sense of continuity (Kibreab, 1996, p.61).

In order for former social organisation and structures to be maintained in the camps, refugees must settle among their traditional communities. Kibreab's (1996, p.60) study of Eritrean refugees in Sudanese camps show that on arrival in the refugee camp communities did remain cohesive and reflective of their village organisation. Most maintained communal organisation around one chief. Organisation and leadership continued to be based on the communal interests of the community (Kibreab, 1996, p.60). However, over time Kibreab (1996, p.61) reports, older social structures began to break down in the new environment of the camps. Under camp conditions traditional forms of social organisation designed for sedentary or pastoral communities were not relevant to refugee camp life and new types of social cohesion were necessary (Kibreab, 2000, p.260). Since the lifestyle of the camps did not revolve around sustenance from the land or livestock and resource management, most leaders were unable to play their traditional roles inside the camps. The new way of life required new forms of organisation and new institutions, and saw younger leaders with skills for interacting with aid providers as well as others from different tribes rise in

prominence. Tribal divisions weakened as people in camps interacted, and similarities, instead of differences, were acknowledged and emphasised. This can be seen in the development of certain aspects of traditional cultural expression and social interaction, such as the *Buna* coffee ceremony. A similar process to what Palmer (2010, p.324) identified with Ethiopian refugees and their *Buna* ceremonies occurred among Eritrea refugees, where during exile participants began to indentify the ceremony less as a regionally or ethnic-group specific ritual, and more with an overarching national significance.

Life in the refugee camps led to a growing awareness, especially among communities of rural Eritreans, through exposure to people and cultures from the outside world from NGOs and humanitarian organisations, of different societal organisation and the notion of individual rights. Chiefs' pre-existing moral and political authority over their community members weakened, with members no longer adhering to their decisions or seeking their guidance (Kibreab, 2000, p.260). Concepts of individualism rose and people began to work to maximise their own interests and enjoy the fulfillment of individual rights not subject to traditionally defined social roles (Kibreab, 1996, p.62).

While a sense of national 'Eritreaness' was emphasised under these conditions over traditional community, there was not a smooth transition from disparate ethnic communities to a unified Eritrean community. Instead many remained alienated from the Eritrean national project and the majority instead acted as individual families in regard to decisions such as repatriation and resource allocation (Kibreab, 1996, p.62).

Traditional social organisation patterns were even more strained for Eritrean refugees who left the refugee camps for settlement in urban cities in Sudan. Contrary to the assumed position of the hopeless refugee, Bariagaber (2006, p.42) argues that some of those fleeing Eritrea during these conflict periods did so in a considered way, using the little information and choice available to them, which for many meant trying their luck in urban centers rather than remaining in refugee camps. However urban life does not necessarily provide such individuals with an easier experience as refugees, or a better chance of securing resettlement to a third (Western) state, than camp life does, and it is often a difficult and drawn out process to gain recognition as a refugee. Moreover,

settling in urban towns could result in even less of a sense of "Eritreanness" as members mingle with neighbors and communities outside of the Eritrean refugee community, and their children's social group extends beyond their ethnic community.

In the Camps and Urban Centers

Civil society refers to cooperative action, generally taken through the form of organisations and networks of organisations, sought by people in order to bring about change or achieve some collective goal. Voutira and Harrell-Bond (1995) contend, through their analysis of camp-based refugees, that there is seldom a sense of political solidarity among the differing populations in refugee camps; instead, relations are heavily factionalised along inter- and intra-group lines. Voutira and Harrell-Bond (1995) surmise that this may be due to the differing opinions on what strategies should be followed in order to resolve the issues that led to their displacement. Moreover many factors of camp life can lead to intense suspicion among members, such as the allocation and securing of resources from organisations inside the camp. Those who can converse with aid workers in the camps are viewed with suspicion and jealously by those who cannot, and are seen as able to secure goods and services others cannot (Voutira & Harrell-Bond, 1995). The trust and sense of unity required to engender feelings of community and social capital, and consequently civil society, is therefore difficult to foster in the camp situation.

Kibreab's analysis of the experience of Eritreans in refugee camps in Sudan challenges Voutira and Harrell-Bond's conclusions. Over the prolonged period in exile of many Eritrean refugees, Kibreab (2000) argues the intensive contact and intermingling of different ethno-linguistic groups inside the camps led to the development of social capital among Eritreans. Tribal elders, Kibreab (2008) writes, were 'incessantly building crosscutting bridges to interconnect their communities across the social cleavages of ethnicity, religion and region in pursuit of what they perceived to be the common good' (p.1). The pre-existing notions of cooperation and trust in traditional communities, as discussed above, facilitated this. Under camp conditions new forms of social organisation,

networks, norms and values were able to arise. Kibreab contends that social capital flourished in the camps, stemming from the same roots as the growing national identity: tribal affiliations among refugees broke down as they became less meaningful to daily camp life, and in place of tribal memberships an overarching Eritrean identity began to gain salience and significance. This social capital, Kibreab (2008, p.3) argues, was also boosted by the understanding among diverse groups that in order to achieve both immediate survival in the camps and national independence for Eritrea, solidarity and cooperation were necessary. This supports Huysman's (1995, in Kibreab, 2008) theory that external pressure can create a harmonising effect in the internal sphere allowing for the creation of a nation's identity. These processes require the existence of social capital, which in the case of Eritrea was derived from the trans-ethnic and trans-religious cooperation and trust generated in response to the external pressures of Ethiopia and the refugee experience on the Eritrean camp population.

Kibreab (2008, p.4) notes that political organisations, the EPLF and ejected ELF, as well as a number of other smaller political groups, were excessively intolerant and competitive with each other and therefore lacked the civic virtue and non-partisan public spiritedness necessary for supporting this civil society among refugees, both in the camps and in urban environments. Communities with social capital are more likely to build dense networks of social relations that lead to the establishment of civil society associations (CSAs) (Kibreab, 2008). However Kibreab (2008, p.19) argues the possession of social capital by a community does not necessarily determine the establishment of CSAs; this is also dependent on that community's structure, such as laws guaranteeing the right to association. Tyrannical states may stifle autonomous CSAs because they reduce such a government's dominance over their societies' social, economic, political and cultural lives and offer people alternative perspectives and ideologies (Kibreab, 2008, p.21). Social capital among Eritreans in camps was blocked from developing into a full civil society as the EPLF, seeing civil society as a potential threat to its hegemony, maintained strict control over the associational life of refugees. Redeker (2008, p.477) describes how during liberation the EPLF worked to entrench its nationalist agenda and consolidate its

power over the political, economic and cultural spheres of exiled Eritreans' lives through propagating itself as a socio-political institution among Eritreans abroad. The aim, realised on liberation, was the creation of a highly centralized, nationalist, authoritarian state (Hepner, 2008). Hepner (2008) maintains the EPLF's skill in controlling Eritreans inside the state as well as the diaspora, especially in refugee camps, through the guise of development projects, state-approved non-governmental organisations, and handpicked religious leaders, meant they contained any forms of civil society that developed. This control was not, Hepner (2008) argues, in order to 'expand socio-political participation and rights… but rather to limit, control and repress them' (p.478), thereby limiting the development of local civil society among Eritreans and asserting the EPLF's control. Kibreab (2008, p.371) describes how only civil associations associated with or co-opted by the EPLF and later PDFJ flourished during and after the war of independence. Autonomous and horizontal associations as well as local-level grassroots groups were stifled, prohibiting the growth of civil society (Kibreab, 2008). Eritrean refugees living in urban environments in Sudan were further restricted in any attempts at garnering social capital by local authorities keen to prevent any assertions of rights by refugee groups.

In the Resettled Community

Repatriation has always been the main durable solution applied to refugees in Africa. However there are certain groups who, due to their status as high risk refugees and owing to an accepted fear of return, have been resettled in a third state. From 1994 Eritrean refugees began to be resettled in New Zealand. By 2001, 120 Eritrean refugees were resettled in New Zealand (MoH, 2001) and between 1999 and 2008 they made up 3 percent of New Zealand's quota of 750 refugees a year at a total of 274 (DoL, 2009). The refugees resettled from Eritrea in New Zealand make up two loose groupings. The largest group are the mainly Christian Eritreans of Tigrinya ethnicity who have spent much of their lives in refugee camps or living in urban areas of Sudan. From the late 1990s and into the 2000s a smaller group of political refugees who were active in their professional fields in Eritrea and fled persecution by the PFDJ have also been resettled in New Zealand.

After the EPLF's victory and the end of the war of liberation in 1991, refugees representing all tribal groups repatriated to Eritrea, Christian Eritreans, however, were vastly underrepresented. Eighty percent of those repatriated under organised programmes by the UNCHR and the Eritrean government, and sixty-one percent of those who self-returned, were Muslim (Kibreab, 2000, p.287). Christian Eritreans from the Gash-Barka zone, mainly Kunama, may have been reluctant to return after being targeted by the ELF during the conflict in ways reminiscent of past atrocities against their communities by Muslim tribes. Christian Tigrinya families with links to Ethiopian families are also over represented among those remaining in Sudan. Many of these families, especially solo-mother-led households who lost their husbands as soldiers in the thirty-year war, may prefer not to return due to complicated grievances surrounding whose side they fought for. By virtue of their alienation and need for resettlement such groups may have been excluded from the limited civil society fostered between the Eritrean communities in exile focused on repatriating. This may, however, provide a basis for the creation of a community in exile: the majority of those resettled are of a Christian background making the resettled community more homogeneous in nature than the Eritrean population as a whole.

The second grouping of Eritrean refugees who have required resettlement since the 2000s are those who have been persecuted by the PFDJ not because of ethnic identification but due to their occupations as journalists, opposition politicians and political activists. They are therefore more diverse in their ethnic background. This group may have had a very different refugee experience from the previous group, and may be more highly educated. As professionals they could have been predisposed through their close work ties to the Eritrean state to identify strongly with Eritrean nationalism and, as opposed to the above group, may not wish to be resettled elsewhere.

The community of resettled Eritreans in New Zealand is a diverse one. Some members have much in common; the majority shares the Christian religion. However, different parts of the community have been involved in a very different refugee experience. As a community, members' shared national background may provide a platform from which social capital may be established, if the divisive

aspects of ethnicity, religion, education and refugee experience, can be overcome.

IV: THE ERITREAN COMMUNITY: CONCLUSIONS

The long-running conflict and sporadic nature of the fighting in Eritrea during the thirty-year war has resulted in a background of long-term unstable displacement for many resettled refugees. Many of these children and adults were born in camps or as refugees in urban environments in Sudan or Ethiopia, resulting in two or three generations of family members brought up without citizenship of the state they resided in and the stable environment, education and other opportunities this provides. Such a long period of uncertainty may affect such peoples, both psychologically and physically, affecting their ability to form strong community connections in resettlement.

The ethnic diversity of Eritrea influenced the development of the Eritrean national identity, and, as was discussed above, the creation of social capital within the refugee camps in Sudan. While Kibreab (1996; 2008) argued that camp environment encouraged the growth of trust and ties across tribal barriers, which led to the development of social capital, this might have been the case primarily among those willing and able to repatriate. The actions of the PFDJ encouraged a type of national identification among Eritreans; however, this was focused on consolidating its own power and therefore also actively discouraged any outlet where social capital among Eritreans led to participation in civil society. This background enables analysis of my second and third hypotheses on the growth of social capital within former refugee communities in settlement and the motivations behind mobilisation of this capital towards participation in civil society.

Those who were unable to bridge divisions within the Eritrean diaspora, such as religion or ethnicity, may not have participated in strong feelings of "Eritreaness". These may have largely been the families that remained as refugees in Eritrea's neighboring countries long after the war had ended. As discussed above, this seems to have related mostly to Christian Eritreans who remained vulnerable after the war, often solo mother households, unwilling to return to Eritrea and offered resettlement to a third state. They therefore may

not have had much exposure to any social capital; however, they may have been united as their own smaller community, further enhanced by rejection from greater Eritrea. As this unity is largely based on members' shared ethnicity, language and religion, as well as the experience of rejection of the Eritrean state, it may be difficult to establish networks and associations that unite this group of Eritrean refugees with the second group: those that wished to return to make Eritrea their home, but whose professions made them targets of the Eritrean government. This is of concern to my first hypothesis, which predicts identification with a national identity in settlement requires connection to one's migrant community.

This concludes my discussion of the background of the Eritrean community residing in New Zealand. In the next Part I address the background of the Bhutanese community.

THE LHOTSHAMPA COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

In 2007, after the breakdown of the fifteenth round of ministerial talks between the governments of Nepal and Bhutan concerning the repatriation of Lhotshampa refugees, a joint mission between the UNHCR, WAP and the Nepali government saw a core group of resettlement countries agree to resettle 70,000 Lhotshampa refugees (UNHCR/WFP, Jun 2008, p.7). In 2008 the first group of Lhotshampa arrived in New Zealand. This was the culmination of a series of events that saw the displacement of 94,000 Lhotshampa, almost an entire population of people, from Bhutan in the early 1990s, and the subsequent need for their resettlment in nations across the world. Hutt's (2003) work, *Unbecoming Citizens*, provides a thorough description and analysis of the Lhotshampa experience, an area of study that is otherwise largely unaccounted for in the scholarly literature. Hutt's text is therefore used extensively in this work.

In this chapter the Bhutanese people of Nepali origin will be referred to as "Lhotshampa"; however, in other chapters of this thesis "Bhutanese" will be sufficient. These terms are not unproblematic, as the community's name has

historically been context-dependent and therefore changeable. In British colonial sources, Hutt (2003, p.6) notes, the Lhotshampa were referred to as merely "Nepali" or "Gurkhas". In the context of this work such names fail to differentiate Lhotshampa from the Nepali of Nepal and to capture the group's ties to Bhutan. The Bhutanese Ngalong use Lhotshampa or "Southern Bhutanese". However, an objection could arise from this being a Dzongkha ethnonym that could therefore be construed as obscuring something distinctively Nepalese about the group (Hutt, 2003, p.6). Hutt (2003) reports that the Lhotshampa themselves in the camps in Nepal or in Bhutan, used "Bhutanese Nepali", but did not object to Lhotshampa. In New Zealand they are referred to and refer to themselves as "Bhutanese"; however, as it is necessary in this chapter to be able to differentiate this group from other Bhutanese, the term that most clearly identifies their origins as Bhutanese *and* Nepali, Lhotshampa, will be used.

The processes that led to the displacement of the Lhotshampa from Bhutan in the early 1990s are rooted in the government's 'modernisation' project, initiated in the 1950s. These political reforms brought the previously marginalised population of Lhotshampa into the nation of Bhutan and allowed them increased access to roles inside the state. However, this quickly began to expose certain inconsistencies within the Bhutanese state, such as the relationship between the state and the different populations that constituted it (Hutt, 2003, p.160). Modernisation projects and nation building in nations that are ethnically plural and economically undeveloped are often theorized to lead to ethnic conflict, as they expose issues of differing access to education and power, often along ethnic lines, and lead to rearrangements that may leave previously advantaged groups feeling disaffected (Gellner, 1983). In the case of Bhutan, the beginnings of the emancipation of the Lhotshampa suddenly highlighted to the ruling Ngalong the potential for a loss of power to the demographically larger and less '"authentically" Bhutanese' Lhotshampa (Hutt, 2003, p.160). In 1961 the first 'five year plan' for economic and structural reforms inside Bhutan began, and by the sixth five year plan in 1987 different personifications of 'Bhutanese', such as the Lhotshampa, were targeted as no longer acceptable in modern Bhutan. The modernisation project codified a version of the Bhutan nation that, the

government argued required one overarching national Bhutanese identity, and they ensured this was based solely on their Ngalong culture (Thronson, 1993).

The assimilation attempts made by the government in the late 1980s stimulated the creation of a political consciousness in the Lhotshampa communities focused on the preservation of both their ethnic identity and their Bhutanese identity. The Bhutanese government perceived the Lhotshampa as a cultural, as opposed to an 'ethnic' threat, and their policies amounted to what Thronson (1993) describes as 'cultural cleansing'. In response the Lhotshampa began to use their social connectedness and cooperation for their mutual benefit: the preservation of their culture. This process of community level cooperation led to the establishment of several Lhotshampa civil society associations (CSAs), such as the People's Forum for Human Rights (PFHR) and the Bhutanese People's Party (BPP). They grew out of the desire of the Lhotshampa to secure both their cultural and national identity in Bhutan. This was expressed through large-scale marches and the community wide perseverance in wearing their traditional dress in the face of opposing government policy. The failure of the government's assimilation policies was followed in the early 1990s with the forced removal of all Lhotshampa settlements in southern Bhutan and the flight of the Lhotshampa as refugees across the border to India and then Nepal.

Part two of this chapter will examine the Lhotshampa identity and the processes of Bhutanese national identity creation, the social organisation structures of the Lhotshampa communities in Bhutan and the effect exile had on the ability of the community to maintain traditional organising structures. Whether the process of displacement from Bhutan and the refugee experience in Nepal influenced the growth of social capital among Lhotshampa refugees is pertinent in this study, as it provides a background for the examination in later chapters of the community's social capital in settlement and its process of participation in civil society.

I: ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Ethnicity in Bhutan

Since enacting the modernisation project in the 1980s the Bhutanese government has aspired to portray the nation as having one unified cultural

identity. In reality, however, the kingdom is very ethnically diverse (Hutt, 2003, p.4).

The majority of the population identifies as one of three main ethnic categories: the Ngalong, Sharchop, and Lhotshampa. While the terms Sharchop and Lhotshampa refer to the geography of their location in Bhutan, "Easterner" and "Southern Borderlander" respectively, Ngalong or "First Risen" relates to the origins of this ethnic group as the first Bhutanese community to adopt Buddhism. The dominant ethnic group in Bhutan, the Ngalong, has continually recounted a history of Bhutan centered around their linage and political domination of the state, which sees both the Lhotshampa and Sharchop populations in Bhutan marginalised from the history of their state. Until the late 1980s the three ethnic groups co-existed peacefully in separate regions of Bhutan: the Ngalong in the northwest, around the capital Thimphu; the Sharchops in the East; and the Lhotshampa in the southern lowlands.

While demographically a minority, at approximately 10-28 percent of the population, the Ngalong (including the central Bhutanese groups who have no specific ethnonym of their own but have extensively inter-married with the Ngalong) are politically dominant: their form of Buddhism is the state religion and their language, Tibetan-derived Dzongkha, has been the only official language of Bhutan since 1961 (Hutt, 2003, p.5). The Ngalong practice Buddhism under the Drukpa school of Buddhism, from where the term "Drukpa", which is usually used to refer collectively to all Buddhist Bhutanese, is derived (Hutt, 2003). The Sharchops make up approximately 30-44 percent of the Bhutanese population, and while they share the practice of Mahayana Buddhism with the Ngalong, they usually follow the Nyingma School instead of the Drukpa, which is the main area of cultural difference between the two groups (Hutt, 2003).

Nepali-speaking people outside of Nepal are in the majority in Sikkim in India, the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, and, prior to 1991, in the five southern districts of Bhutan (Samchi, Sarbhang, Chirang, Dagana, and Samdrup-Jongkhar). These peoples share the use of a Nepali language, their adherence to Hinduism and certain cultural similarities. However, the Lhotshampa, as with certain other Nepali groups, now constitute a distinct ethnic group. The Lhotshampa are often referred to as "ethnic Nepali" by the Bhutanese government, derived, Hutt

(2003) contends, from the Ngalong's desire to undermine the Lhotshampa's claim to belong to Bhutan and not from any factual basis. There are no certain records of the proportion of the Bhutanese population the Lhotshampa comprised before their displacement, but it is estimated to have been between 25-53 percent (Hutt, 2003, p.7).

While the Lhotshampa's arrival in Bhutan is disputed by the Bhutanese government (who claim it to be entirely within the last decade) and the Lhotshampa (who claim some families can trace their settlement in Bhutan back seven generations), most scholarly works indentify the majority of Lhotshampa as settling in Bhutan in the mid 19th century (Hutt, 2003; Sinha, 1998; Morris, 1935). Lured by the farming potential in the southern lowlands from Darjeeling and Nepal. The Lhotshampa's ancestors, the Kiranti of eastern Nepal, are one of the three main cultural groups in Nepal (Sinha, 1998, p.40). The Kirati are religiously Hindu and predominantly made up of the Rai, Gurung and Limbu tribes from eastern Nepal and Sikkim. There are several examples of how the Lhotshampa culture has evolved separately from the Kirati who remained in Nepal, such as the practices around funerals: the Kirati adopted the Hindu practices of cremating their dead while the Lhotshampa continue to bury their dead (Morris, 1935, p.210); the Lhotshampa have been influenced by Ngalong greetings and now receive people with a two handed shake, uncommon in Nepal (Hutt, 2003).

The Lhotshampa retained their quite separate identity from other Bhutanese in part due to constrictive measures by the Bhutanese government over their areas of settlement, including a boundary created by the Ngalong along the north border of the Lhotshampa settlements in Bhutan, which prevented those of Nepali origin from settling or owning land beyond it. This boundary was in effect until it was lifted by the National Assembly in 1975 (Hutt, 2003, p.61; Sinha, 1991). This seems to have been an attempt to isolate the Lhotshampa from the rest of Bhutanese society. The differing ways of life of the Lhotshampa and Ngalong, as subsistence farmers requiring the fertile lowlands and mountain people respectively, also meant they kept to different regions of Bhutan. Rose (1977, in Hutt, 2003, p.61) points out that, because the Lhotshampa had no way of integrating into the social or political life of Bhutan, and because they were

concentrated in one area, this settlement policy also resulted in alienating the Lhotshampa from their own state and government.

Bhutanese National Identity

Inside Bhutan, agency and nation building has been almost exclusively the domain of the ruling Ngalong population. This intensified from the 1950s as part of the Bhutanese state modernisation programme, where the southern region of Bhutan and its Lhotshampa population were brought into the Bhutanese state (Hutt, 2003, p.145). As a result, avenues of power began opening up for some Lhotshampa that had previously not existed, and by 1980 39% of the administrative staff inside the government were Lhotshampa (Hutt, 2003, p.161). By the mid 1980s the socio-political consequences of the modernisation project were becoming clear to the Ngalong and the government leaders began, Hutt (2003, p.161) describes, to adjust the consistency of this emerging pluralism. Membership in and admission to the Bhutanese state became restricted: the sixth Five Year Plan (1987-92) contained the justification that such measures were for the 'preservation and promotion of national identity' (Hutt, 2003, p.172). However the composition of this national identity was conceived and interpreted through the Ngalong lens, based on their socio-cultural and religious identity. The Ngalong values, symbols, architecture, dress, food habits, social customs, personal manners, and language, became identified as the Bhutanese national ones. Any acknowledgement of other Bhutanese cultures was excluded from this new all-encompassing national identity.

Under the 1985 Citizenship Act an understanding of the Drukpa customs, culture, and history as well as the ability to read and write Dzongkhag proficiently became necessary for gaining citizenship (Hutt, 2003, p.16). The Marriage Act of 1980 introduced punitive measures for Bhutanese who married those considered non-Bhutanese, which included both new migrants and those from Bhutan who no longer qualified as citizens. Civil servants who married non-Bhutanese could not be promoted beyond the post held at the time of marriage, be employed in the defense department or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or receive state scholarships or access to other facilities enjoyed by other citizens (Strawn, 1994, p.106). Children of marriages between Bhutanese citizens and

foreigners would not be eligible for citizenship. This impacted the Lhotshampa more severely than any other group in Bhutan as it had been common practice for young men to marry wives brought from Nepal or India.

As Sinha (1998, p.186) describes, it quickly became evident that the government saw the ethnically different Lhotshampa as the most serious challenge to their new conception of Bhutan. The King of Bhutan (in Hutt, 2003, p.270) justified this during the late 1980s and 1990s by claiming that, as a nation wedged between two giants (India and China), Bhutan must define itself through a unified cultural identity; it could not enjoy the luxury of cultural pluralism. Policies were therefore initiated to assimilate those outside populations into the Ngalong conception of "Bhutanese". The Lhotshampa and Sharchops were not allowed to participate in the Bhutanese state and remain ethnically distinctive; they had either to visibly conform to Ngalong customs or to surrender their rights to live in Bhutan (Hutt, 2003, p.164). The Sharchops however had the advantage of sharing a religion and other Drukpa cultural attributes and therefore did not pose such a "cultural threat" as the Lhotshampa. As a large population with an identity that related to an outside state (Nepal) and with a differing religion, the Lhotshampa, were in a conspicuous position. The Lhotshampa saw the King's decree in 1989 that all Bhutanese must conform to the Drupka code of values, dress and etiquette and that the Nepali language would be removed from southern schools as a clear attack on their cultural identity; they rejected the assimilation policies and attempted to peacefully protest their position (WRITENET, 1995). The cultural threat of such policies brought to the fore in their consciousness the importance of ethnic and culture identity for many Lhotshampa, and saw the growth in social capital among members as they communally stood against forced assimilation.

The state's response was to exploit the idea that, as relatively recent arrivals, the Lhotshampa did not qualify as "real Bhutanese" (Sinha, 1998, p.187). In 1988 the Bhutanese government issued a new census, justified by their claims of increases in immigration by Nepali to Lhotshampa areas. This census, the state argued, would be used to issue proper Bhutanese nationals with citizenship cards and address the problem of 'illegal migration into the southern area of Bhutan' (Hutt, 2003, p.153). In order to be registered in the census as Bhutanese,

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and not as an illegal immigrant, the Lhotshampa were subjected to harsh interrogation, having to produce a tax receipt dated from 1958 or earlier as proof they qualified under the previous Act, and a certificate of origin (Hutt, 2003, p.153). A series of lists were then drawn up depending on what level of citizenship a family or individual could prove: genuine Bhutanese citizen; returned migrant; "drop out" cases (people who were not at home at the time of the census); a non-national woman married to a Bhutanese man; a non-national man married to a Bhutanese woman; adoption cases; and non-nationals (Hutt, 2003, p.154). This census, Hutt (2003, p.154) argues, meant that many Lhotshampa lost the citizenship they had previously held. Some of those who had been registered as a "genuine Bhutanese citizen" but viewed as dissidents were downgraded, along with their families, to non-nationals, and Certificates of Origin became increasingly difficult to obtain. In the late 1980s in response to the continued refusal of the Lhotshampa to relinquish their cultural identity for the sake of their national identity, the government ended their attempts to assimilate the Lhotshampa population with the report that the census had detected the presence of over 100,000 illegal immigrants in southern Bhutan (Hutt, 2003, p.157).

II: SOCIAL ORGANISATION STRUCTURE IN LHOTSHAMPA COMMUNITIES

Country of Origin

The Lhotshampa, as descendents of eastern Nepali and as Hindus, maintained certain socio-cultural organisational structures from Nepal in Bhutan. Lhotshampa village organisation was traditionally based on a semi-elected *mandal*, or chief, system. The *mandal* was responsible for every day life in the villages. The appointment of the *mandal* was required to be submitted to the Bhutanese government for acceptance so that he could collect and pay the taxes of his village.

Social organisation involved a caste system, similar to other Hindu communities; however, Hutt (2003, p.97) maintains Lhotshampa caste divisions were looser than those followed in India. Subba (1989, in Hutt, 2003, p.97) argues this is because the settlement of Nepali in Bhutan in the late 19th century allowed members to leave behind traditional caste restrictions linked to land

ownership. Agrarian hierarchy instead became a more important organising factor. The timing of a family's arrival to Bhutan determined the role it played in farming the land, those with a 'higher class position have almost invariably a higher percentage of early migrants' (Hutt, 2003, p.97). The old ritual status of higher classes therefore became less important in Bhutan as the Lhotshampa social organisation became geared around their subsistence farming lifestyle and members' class became an expression of their role in farming, not caste.

The highest caste Brahmans did, however, regain some of their old status through the development of the Lhotshampa education system in the south (Hutt, 2003, p.97). Thereafter the Brahman group, the Parbatiyas, retained a certain degree of separation from the lower caste Lhotshampa as they took roles in literate employment while the latter remained largely agricultural workers. The Lhotshampa built and ran schools in the south, without the assistance of the Bhutanese government, from early on in the 20th century (Hutt, 2003). Higher education (for males) in Thimphu became common in the years after the political restructuring of Bhutan in the late 1950s allowed Lhotshampa access to education and employment in the capital.

The social organisation of Lhotshampa communities in Bhutan therefore revolved largely around their majority subsistence farming lifestyle and reflected their Hindu religion. The Bhutanese state traditionally had very little influence over this, apart from in its relations to each village's *mandal* for the collection of taxes.

Inside the Refugee Camps

In early 1992 the Nepalese government acknowledged it could not maintain the flow of Lhotshampa refugees crossing its borders and formally requested the UNHCR take over the running of the refugee camps (UNHCR/WFP, Jun 2008, p.5). The camps thereafter were managed by the UNHCR, the Nepali Ministry of Home Affairs, the World Food Programme (WFP), a number of other NGOs and the Lhotshampa themselves. By 1993, 84,254 Lhotshampa were living in eight camps across five sites in the Jhapa and Morang districts of eastern Nepal (Thronson, 1993). This number had risen to 107,923 in 2007 (UNHCR/WFP, Jun 2008, p.5).

As initially communities of displaced Lhotshampa established the refugee camps themselves, community leaders, *mandals*, continued to play a key role in the everyday organisation of camp life through Camp Management Committees and liaison with NGOs and through service delivery (Reilly, 1994, p.130). This was facilitated by the fact that the Lhotshampa were generally displaced to Nepal as whole villages and therefore were able to maintain similar communities and social organisation to what had existed before exile (Hutt, 2003; Reilly, 1994, p.130). Structurally this was achieved by each camp being organised into sectors, with each sector and sub-sector running under the imported leadership style of the members' villages in Bhutan, with former village heads/*mandals* leading their sectors (Reilly, 1994, p.130). Internal disputes among camp residents and the running of schools fell under *mandals* responsibility (Thronson, 1993). This organisational structure was repeated in the leadership of female-run committees, where the focus was on family, women and the welfare of members with special needs (Thronson, 1993). Children continued to be schooled as they were in Bhutan: the committee chose teachers from within the Bhutanese community, and class began with the singing of the Bhutanese national anthem (Reilly, 1994, p.137).

III: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The Exile Process

The tightening of criteria around Bhutanese citizenship and the pressure brought to the Lhotshampa population in the late 1980s greatly increased the political consciousness of the Lhotshampa. Pre-existing social capital among members seems to have been an important factor as government policies threatened the continued existence of their cultural identity. This social capital was based on the trust, shared values and norms arising from the close social ties the Lhotshampa had gained over interaction based on their common ethnicity and culture. Action was first taken through government endorsed lines of grievance resolution, whereby concerns about the harsh and unfair census process were taken to the Royal Advisory representatives for the south, Tek Nath Rizal and Bhandari, and a petition to the King was issued in 1988 (Hutt, 2003, p.199). When, however, the government rejected their petition, and Rizal fled to Nepal, his exile, and the increasing persecution of other members, became a rallying point for a certain group of Lhotshampa dissidents.

Civil society organisations, such as the People's Forum for Human Rights (PFHR), were established by this group of disaffected Lhotshampa with the aim of protecting their communities' cultural difference as well as their position in Bhutan through highlighting their cause to the international community. The pamphlets 'Bhutan: We Want Justice' and 'Bhutan: Where are our Human Rights?' were published from Nepal in 1989 (Strawn, 1994, p.122). In the latter Rizal lays out the Lhotshampa's grievances:

> 'We the Bhutanese Nepalese have a culture we cherish, a language we speak, a dress we wear, a religion we follow. They are ours. They are part of our identity. We shall not let any power take them away from us' (in Hutt, 2003, p.200).

In June 1990 exiled Lhotshampa established the Bhutan People's Party (BPP) in India, which, along with the PFHR, moved across the border into southern Bhutan to organise within Lhotshampa communities mass demonstrations against the government's assimilation policies. Several marches took place in the south in September and October 1990, the largest involving approximately 50,000 men, women and children (Hutt, 2003, p.204). All marches issued the same 13 demands, drawn up by the BPP, including: the unconditional release of political prisoners; democratic rights for the people; amendment to the

citizenship act; their right to their own culture, dress, language and script; freedom of religion; freedom of press, speech and expression; and the right against exploitation (Hutt, 2003, p.205). These were the first mass political movements seen in Bhutan's history (Hutt, 2003, p.205), and the first illustrations of the level of social capital among Lhotshampa members. However, Lhotshampa civil society remained the domain of a relatively small group of mostly educated young male dissidents. The majority of the Lhotshampa population, may have rejected the government's dress code and language imposition, but as subsistence farmers in small villages had neither the skills, nor the power to translate their social capital into effective civil society against increasing government harassment. As Hutt (2003, p.208) notes, in previous political agitations in Nepal during the Panchayat regime (1962-90) and in Darjeeling (1986-8), leaders from the educated urban class had great difficulty mobilising mass support in rural areas.

The publications of the PFHR and the demonstrations of 1990 had the effect of increasing the oppression of the Lhotshampa. Described by the King as having an "anti-national" agenda, the Lhotshampa people were presented as a clear threat to the Bhutanese state requiring increased police and military presence in the south. Reports of brutality and harassment increased and pressure on the Lhotshampa population to leave Bhutan, including by the removal of services and schools in the south, reached new levels (WRITENET, 1995). By 1993, 84,245 Lhotshampa had left Bhutan and registered in UNCHR camps in Nepal, and another 10,000-15,000 were thought to be living outside of camps in Nepal and India (Thronson, 1993).

In the Camps

The political mobilisation of the Lhotshampa in Bhutan in the late 1980s and early 1990s continued inside the refugee camps in Nepal, where the focus shifted to securing a return to Bhutan. Inside the camps Lhotshampa continued to identify themselves as Bhutanese; and as both Reilly (1994) and Hutt (2003) report, members observed the superiority of services, environmental conditions, and society in Bhutan over Nepal. Political activities and elections for political leadership within UNHCR camps were explicitly banned by the UNHCR (Reilly,

1994, p.130). However, many camp-based Lhotshampa remained active in seeking a political solution to their situation of exile. Some based their hope for this on evidence collected by the Nepali government from 1993-1994 from camp residents about their former occupations, addresses, education, property, and documentation of proof of citizenship that illustrated, the Nepali government claimed, that the Lhotshampa were Bhutanese citizens (Reilly, 1994, p.136).

The idle lifestyle of the camp and the continuing feeling of powerlessness among refugees at their situation saw an increase in the membership of a number of CSAs inside the camps from 1993 onwards (Thronson, 1993). Within the camps many new political and human-rights-based organisations were created to deal with the issues of camp settlement, causing, Thronson (1993) argues, more competition and rivalry than cooperation. Each group presented their own version of a solution to the refugee situation, and conflict and disharmony over claims of who spoke for the refugees as a whole increased (Thronson, 1993). As Kibreab (2008, p.23-24) describes, civil society represents, articulates and protects the interests of its members to win concessions from the state through bringing pressure to bear, through negotiation and advocacy in the furtherance of their goals or for the public good. The failure of the PFHR and BPP to achieve any concessions from the Bhutanese state, and the resulting displacement of the majority of the Lhotshampa, caused a crisis of confidence within those organisations.

In late 1991 internal division within the PFHR and between it and the BPP saw the PFHR re-brand itself as the Human Rights Organisation of Bhutan (HUROB), in order to distance itself from its close connection to the BPP. The PFHR was initially responsible for much of the refugee camp management and HUROB took over this role. The creation of HUROB led to much dissension and certain factions of the PFHR resurrected the organisation, and in so doing brought its mandate closer to the BPP (Thronson, 1993). This also caused animosity between the BPP and HUROB, who wanted to retain their camp-based support and activities. The original goal of refocusing the PFHR into HUROB was to emphasise the issue of the human rights of refugees over the political, and sometimes violent, policies of the BPP. To some Lhotshampa however, HUROB

was still too closely aligned with politics, and so the Association of Human Rights Activists (AHURA) was established in 1993 (Thronson, 1993).

This wealth of CSAs illustrates the ongoing high level of social capital among certain segments of the Lhotshampa refugee population, the continuation of the shared goal of return to Bhutan and the belief that cooperation was necessary to achieve it. The reality of channeling this social capital usefully within the context of an exile with no foreseeable end, and the failure of CSAs to mobilise the majority of the Lhotshampa people behind any one organisation remained.

In the Resettled Community

In the mid 2000s, after more than a decade in the Nepali camps, many Lhotshampa began to view their bid for a return to Bhutan as futile and turned instead to the option of resettlement in a third state. As one Lhotshampa man explained of their time in refugee camps in Nepal: 'It's killing time only...our lives are doomed. We cannot go ahead with developing our future' (Pagonis, 2005). This presented a challenge to the CSAs, now represented by the PFHR, BPP, HUROB and AHURA, whose fundamental goal was return to Bhutan. A split began to appear in the camp population between those Lhotshampa who wished to continue to press for a return to Bhutan, often the older generation, and the politicised members of the BPP, and those wanting a future outside of the camps for their children. A 72-year-old camp resident, head of a 26-person family, stated that his family still 'at this moment is not thinking about resettlement at all. We are only thinking about going back to our land in Bhutan' (Tan, 2008). However by 2007, after a further breakdown in talks between the Nepali and Bhutanese governments, 37,000 camp residents had applied for resettlement in a third state (Tan, 2008). In mid-2007 the UNHCR reported that those wishing to pursue the goal of repatriation had begun a policy of violent intimidation of those applying for resettlement, and more Nepali police were stationed at the camps to combat this (UNHCR/WFP, 2008, p.8). The BPP's attempts at enforcing unity among the refugee populations in order to maintain pressure on Bhutan to allow them return was not successful, and the resettlement of 70,000 Lhotshampa began in 2008 (Tan, 2008). The majority of the Lhotshampa population subsequently focused on achieving resettlement, not repatriation.

This caused some animosity among those still determined to return to Bhutan; however, ultimately those accepted for resettlement shared the common goal of desiring a future for their families outside of the environment of the refugee camp.

IV: THE LHOTSHAMPA COMMUNITY: CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of their resettlement to New Zealand in 2008, the majority of Lhotshampa families had experienced approximately sixteen years of life in a refugee camp. They suffered the psychological and physical effects of almost two decades of life locked out of their homeland in a kind of limbo. The assimilation attempts made by the Ngalong in the late 1980s set in motion the mobilisation of Lhotshampa social capital based on a growing political consciousness of their position in Bhutan and the need for preservation of their ethnic identity. With the rejection of assimilation into the Ngalong conception of Bhutan, the Lhotshampa were eventually made stateless; however, they maintained their communities during exile in Nepali refugee camps. In general the experience of resistance in Bhutan and displacement required the Lhotshampa community to act as a unified body, and the rather stable nature of camp life during the next sixteen years in Nepal facilitated maintenance of traditional socio-cultural organisation.

Factionalisation and division did, however, emerge during the uncertain years in exile. The failure of the Lhotshampa to remain within their homeland caused a crisis of confidence within its CSAs, the PFHR and BPP, and saw the emergence of new organisations, HUROB and AHURA, inside the camps, all of which claimed to possess the solution for return to Bhutan. The continuing failure of the talks between Nepal and Bhutan on the refugee solution also began to divide the Lhotshampa community as an alternative goal for some emerged, that of resettlement. In 2007 the failure of the fifteenth round of talks between Nepal and Bhutan confirmed to many that returning to Bhutan was an unworkable dream, and the resettlement offered by seven states, including New Zealand, was accepted by many families. This solidified resettlement as the new goal of the majority, and brought an end to the larger collective action around repatriation. The strong sense of a shared identity and experience among Lhotshampa may

enable the social capital among communities of those who left the camps to be refocused on the new goal of resettlement. Links to those who remained in the camps, however, could be destabilising to this process as resettled refugees may suffer guilt for abandoning the cause of repatriation. The Lhotshampa maintained certain aspects of social capital: trust, shared norms and their traditional social organisational structures and networks within the camps. There is therefore reason to believe social capital would be maintained within the community on resettlement, which could see the establishment of CSAs that may facilitate their integration into the societies of their resettlement.

This background contrasts with the experience of the Eritrean refugees, who came to the camps with quite differing cultural identities but may have experienced a more unifying process within the camps. These different experiences may affect each community's subsequent social capital creation in settlement and therefore their integration processes.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the identity-creation processes and the traditional forms of social and state organisation of members of the Eritrean and Lhotshampa communities now residing in New Zealand. It provides a picture of how their ethnic and national identities developed, in their state of origin, in order to offer depth to my analysis of my first hypothesis on identity reconfiguration in settlement in New Zealand. This background also enables an examination of the influences on these communities during their displacement and exile experience, and how their social capital and participation in civil society might have evolved during this period. Importantly, in relation to my second and third hypotheses, this chapter seeks to look at whether the background experiences of the two communities have provided a basis for social capital and civil society participation in resettlement.

During displacement, exile, and resettlement, communities may retain cultural practices and identities; however, these are to some extent flexible and develop within different settings and in relation to differing wider societies. The following chapters will look at how this process is undertaken by the Eritrean and Bhutanese in New Zealand, and how individuals renegotiate their social ties

within their migrant community and establish networks that may foster the growth of social capital within their communities. Settling migrant communities require adjustment on both an individual and communal level. Whether pre-existing social capital within the settling community facilitates the process of settlement, and therefore integration, by providing a basis upon which members can establish new identifications and maintain older ones will be examined in the following chapters in relation to my three hypotheses.

As this chapter has shown, members of the Eritrean and Lhotshampa former refugee communities in New Zealand may have shared the identification "refugee"; however, they have experienced very different processes of displacement and exile, on top of dissimilar cultural and religious backgrounds. The Lhotshampa's recent history has been one initially of a more or less unified group. In Bhutan they were isolated from the dominant Ngalong both geographically and politically, and their conflict with the Bhutanese government occurred over a relatively short period from 1988 to 1991 when the first Lhotshampa refugees arrived in Nepal. Members of the Lhotshampa experienced exile within closely aligned refugee camps in stable settlement patterns that allowed for social organisation based around elected representatives. However, there were also areas of disunity within the camp setting and division through the factionalisation of the movement to remedy their exile and return them to Bhutan.

The Lhotshampa's displacement and refugee experience differs markedly from that of the Eritrean community. Nationally Eritrea is diverse religiously and ethnically, and the community of those resettled experienced displacement and exile in numerous waves over a period of more than thirty years as a result of many different types of conflict during a long-running war. Those refugees resettled in New Zealand are only a very a small number of those who shared the experience of displacement and refugeehood; the majority returned to Eritrea or remained in Sudan. In almost direct opposition to the Lhotshampa camp experience, members of Eritrea's diverse ethno-linguistic groups achieved a sense of unity and social capital within the camp environment that they had not previously had (Kibreab 1996; 2008). However, the extent to which this was reflected among all camp residents, as opposed to primarily among those who

were able and willing to repatriate, remains unclear. What is clear is that those who became resettled in a third state did so as a result of their vulnerability and persecution, two factors that may have alienated them from participation in the social organisation within the camp. Refugees that did not reside in camps, but lived as refugees in urban areas in Sudan, may have missed out to an even greater extent on being part of an Eritrean community in exile, as they focused on daily survival and integrated with local populations. Those resettled do, however, share a national identity as "Eritrean", and may have built up a sense of community of their own, perhaps as a result of this alienation from the wider group, something that could facilitate social capital creation within their state of settlement.

These different refugee experiences may affect their respective processes of identity renegotiation and community reestablishment in New Zealand, their resulting levels of social capital, and therefore their ability to mobilise participation in civil society. However as both communities are currently negotiating resettlement, comparing their integration processes provides a rich portrayal of the role these differing elements in migrant communities' backgrounds play in the process. In order to explore the interplay of identity, social capital and civil society, and their effect on members' integration, the subsequent chapters of this thesis will involve the discussion and application of my field research, consisting of semi-structured interviews with members of each community, to my three hypotheses.

INTRODUCTION

My thesis examines the integration processes of former refugees, how such individuals approach identity maintenance and national identity establishment, and whether social capital within former refugee communities, and its translation to participation by the community in civil society, facilitates integration processes. These themes are explored through the advancement of three hypotheses:

1. Individual identity is renegotiated by former refugees through participation in both their traditional communities as well as in the broader New Zealand society.

2. a) Former refugees in New Zealand attempt to garner social capital through community mobilisation in order to create a space for themselves within the wider New Zealand society.

   b) Members may then develop cross-community organisations to strengthen their ability to influence policy.

3. The mobilisation of communities of former refugees is a response to grievances related to integration, especially discrimination in the workforce, that such groups feel are insufficiently acknowledged and dealt with by the New Zealand state.

In the first part of this chapter I discuss of these hypotheses and define their key concepts and how they will be measured in the analysis, to determine which criteria might be met in subsequent chapters. In light of research in the social science literature it became clear that semi-structured in-depth interviews would be the most appropriate method of amassing the information necessary for determining the truth of the hypotheses advanced in this thesis. Part two contains an outline of my interview methods and the justification of my chosen interview style.

While I am confident my method is legitimate, several issues complicated my research process. These include the issues of the 'interviewer effect' and the need of an interpreter for several interviews, which I attempted to overcome

through various strategies. A major complication for my research was also a series of devastating earthquakes (three months into the commencement of my thesis) between September 2010 and June 2011 in Canterbury. Part three discusses these limitations and my treatment of them.

Finally this chapter involves discussion of the make-up of my participants. Qualitative data is needed for the analysis of my hypotheses. This requires in-depth analysis of both the information generated from participants during the interview process, as well as an analysis of the individual characteristics of my participants, discussed below. Within a small study such as this, participant make-up, such as gender, age, education, and language, may have substantial implications for my subsequent analysis. Such characteristics also offer interesting insight into the two communities examined.

Other details relating to the methodology employed in my study are provided in the Appendices. A description of the participant sample size and confidentiality strategy is outlined in Appendix A; the interview schedule is provided in Appendix B; tables of participant characteristics in Appendix C; and participant consent form in Appendix D.

I: HYPOTHESES: KEY CONCEPTS AND MEASURABILITY

Hypothesis I

Individual identity is renegotiated by former refugees through participation in both their traditional communities as well as in the broader New Zealand society.

This hypothesis predicts that identity renegotiation for migrant individuals depends on both participation in and feelings of connection to their migrant community as well as wider New Zealand society. It indicates that the stronger relational ties a participant indicates they have to their migrant community, coupled with the degree of participation in wider society, the more likely they are to disclose the establishment of identification with the New Zealand national identity.

Members' connection to their migrant community is defined and measured by participants' positive affirmation of their community in Christchurch, evidence of socializing with other members, and participation in cultural activities or

festivals. Members' participation in wider society is defined through the differing levels of association they have with communities outside of their migrant group, such as education providers, workplaces, and others in their surrounding environment, such as neighbors, as well as social competencies such as getting around on their own, or on public transport. This will be measured by participants' competency with the English language, enrolment in appropriate education level and/or access to the workforce, and through discussing social interactions outside of the migrant group, and their freedom of movement.

Berry's (1992) frameworks of acculturation strategy assessment and acculturation research, as I discussed in Chapter II, were instrumental in formulating my interview question material around identity and community connection. By Berry's (1997, p.15) own stipulation, his aim is to emphasise the key variables required in studies of acculturation. These variables include examination of the individual's society of origin, their community's acculturation pattern, the society of settlement, and the variables exclusive to the individual: their age, gender, education, status, cultural distance (linguistic and religious), and personality, and moderating factors of influence during the acculturation process: length of settlement, attitude towards acculturation, coping strategies and resources, social support, and societal attitudes (see Appendix B).

Hypothesis II

a) Former refugees in New Zealand attempt to garner social capital through community mobilisation in order to create a space for themselves within the wider New Zealand society.

b) Members may then develop cross-community organisations to strengthen their ability to influence policy.

My second hypothesis requires an examination of the existence and strength of social capital within the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities in Christchurch. Social capital is manifest in three key ways: community unity, shared values, and trust. Evaluation of community unity was evidenced through: participants' perception of the unity of their community and the solidarity of members; the amount of time participants spend socializing with other members of their migrant community; whether there exists any type of community organisation

with a leadership or structured component. Evaluation of shared values among community members was evidenced through: the expression of similar cultural values by participants of the same community and evidence of their practice through participation in activities such as cultural festivals and religious worship. Evaluation of trust among members of each community was evidenced through: the type of interaction participants discussed having with other members of their community; whether participants evidenced reliance on community leaders or other members to assist with advice or problems. The earthquake on February 22, 2011 and subsequent aftershocks also provided an opportunity to assess community unity and trust through analysis of the type of assistance participants discussed receiving from their community during and after the earthquakes, as well as by evaluating how the community interacted with wider society after the disaster in order to assist their members.

In validating my second hypothesis the social capital evidenced within the community must be used not only by members of that the community, but also in interactions with wider society and in cross-cultural community organisation. This may be illustrated through the community's attempts at establishing a community organisation in order to represent the community to wider New Zealand society and the government. The second part of this hypothesis may be evidenced when members elicit recognition that their community has common goals with other migrant or former refugee communities and therefore that their organisation would be more effective with the development of cross-community ties.

HYPOTHESIS III

> *The mobilisation of communities of former refugees is a response to grievances related to integration, especially discrimination in the workforce, that such groups feel are insufficiently acknowledged and dealt with by the New Zealand state.*

The key themes contained within this hypothesis are mobilisation, civil society, and grievance. Mobilisation and civil society will be deemed present within the community in question when participants of this community illustrate awareness of discussion within the community of the need to organize, or of the

establishment of a community organisation. If participants are aware of such an organisation, further evidence of key themes could be provided by an explanation of the goals and structure of this organisation. The motivation behind the mobilisation and establishment of such an organisation can then be related to these goals, and further discussion with participants can illuminate whether motivating factors for the community were based on grievance or opportunity, or both. Additionally possible grievances that members and their community may have with wider New Zealand society and government were also broached in conversation, and participants' responses evaluated. The lack of community organisation or civil society ties evident in a community or in participants' individual knowledge, coupled with the expression of grievances, could indicate this hypothesis is invalid.

II: RESEARCH METHOD: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The primary research method by which the data for this thesis is collected is through in-depth individual interviews with members of the Eritrean and Bhutanese migrant communities of Christchurch. Over the course of ten weeks during October, November and December 2011, I conducted 27 interviews with participants from the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities of former refugees now living in Christchurch, New Zealand. These participants came from small communities with the Eritrean Community numbering approximately 30 people at the time of my research. However, pre-earthquake the population numbered around 80 people, while the Bhutanese community numbered close to 240, down from approximately 250 pre-earthquake (A. Reynolds, personal communication, 5 May, 2012). The 27 interviews thus would have, pre-earthquake, accounted for approximately 13% of the Eritrean community and 6% of the Bhutanese community. An outline of the topics around which my interviews were structured is provided in Appendix B.

I decided that my methodology would employ semi-structured in-depth individual interviews because of the element of personal contact this research style accorded me. This interview method allowed deep discussion, based on the self-narration by participants of their experiences with refugee life and

settlement in New Zealand, as well as their understanding of other topics central to this thesis such as identity and community unity and organisation.

The analysis contained in this thesis required me to understand an array of background elements that influence my key themes of identity, social capital and civil society, such as trust among community members, individual ethnic and national identification, and how each community's structural organisation affects individual members and their roles in their community. The use of a survey or other questionnaire would not be an appropriate method of obtaining this information. A survey could elicit one-dimensional responses from participants that would be of only marginal use for this thesis, and moreover, as a cross-cultural study, such questioning may not be suitably clear for participants. My research method required an interview style that was flexible and conversational, in order that participants felt comfortable covering all material relevant to my study.

In line with Caplow's (1956, p.167) writings on information interviewing, my interview technique was based on the following principals of interviewing: withholding the expression of value judgments; minimal question input into the interview flow; avoiding assuming answers of any kind; commanding an attentive and calm manner toward the participant; and attending to any ambiguities in participants' descriptions.

Lucken's (2010) research illustrates a precedent in the literature for the interview process in regard to research on former refugee identity maintenance and renegotiation in settlement. Lucken's (2010) work has informed my use of the semi-structured interview style in relation to gathering qualitative material for such a study. In her 2010 dissertation Lucken interviewed 34 former refugees living in Hartford and Boston using a mixture of individual and group, and structured and semi-structured, interview methods. Lucken (2010, p.33) divided her participants into categories based on her key theoretical themes of ethnic identity: Bosnian Muslim, Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb; and on religious faith: religious and non-religious.

Lucken (2010) recruited her participants through the use of a "snowball" selection process. For my study this method was not appropriate due to the small size of my participant pool and the bias this may create, since all

participants would be known to each other. Therefore in order to cover as random a sample as possible, and in keeping with approval by the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury, which required the use of community leaders in my recruitment process, I was assisted with a selection of consenting members from each community. This was provided by a Bhutanese community leader and, as no such role existed within the Eritrean community, a trusted Eritrean member. Keeping, as far as possible, a gender and age spread, participants were then randomly selected from the list of members provided. The assistance in my selection process of these two community members could result in the introduction of certain bias. My selection could not be truly random, for participants were vetted by these community liaisons. However as I was outside of both communities in a cross-cultural setting, this was deemed the most appropriate system for protection of participants. Moreover as my liaisons were well informed of my need for as random a selection of participants as possible, and my participant group displayed differing levels of education, life-experience and familial relations, I feel this was understood.

III: LIMITATIONS OF MY RESEARCH PROCESS

While, for the reasons outlined above, the gathering of information for the qualitative analysis in this thesis leant itself to the methodology I chose, the research process was not without limitations. These include difficulties related to cross-cultural interviewing, and the related factor known as the 'interviewer effect'; a secondary outcome of the cross-cultural nature of the data being the need for interpreters for certain interviews; and a third unforeseen complication to my research process, the disruption caused by a series of serious earthquakes, which struck Christchurch from September 2010. The above factors and the strategies employed for overcoming these difficulties are outlined below.

Cross-Cultural Interviewing

Any study involving refugee integration is, by definition, cross-cultural. And it is, therefore, the nature of this thesis. As discussed above, this had implications for my approach to participant recruitment. During the interviews themselves my position as interviewer outside of both the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities

may have had implications for both the participants and myself. In regard to myself, my role could have affected the questions I asked, the way I asked them and how I interpreted their answers; in regard to my participants, my identity as a young New Zealand woman, could have affected how participants construed my questions and how they answered them. The "interviewer effect" is a known issue in the social science field; no interviewer can avoid their potential bias to their investigation. As Dohrenwend et. al (1968, p.411) describe, both a lack of "status homophily", as well as too little distance between an interviewer and respondent, have been argued to produce biased results in interviews.

The methodology I employed in my interview process moderated, as far as possible, my role in the interviews. My interview schedule was flexible and largely based around self-narration by participants of their life prior to becoming a refugee, their refugee experience and subsequent settlement in New Zealand. Prompt questions were used in order to cover all necessary areas of investigation, however, as far as possible these flowed in relevant fashion from each participant's conversation direction, allowing them to emphasise areas and themes they saw as important. While I employed this style in an attempt to reduce my influence as the interviewer it is unrealistic to imagine I could entirely avoid interfering with participant's conversational flow in order that they cover the material necessary to my goals. Yet the minimum possible use of prompts was attempted.

While my being outside of both cultures investigated in this thesis may have complicated, to a certain extent, my research process, my distance also allowed for a more thorough analysis and comparison of the settlement processes of both communities, something my being a part of either culture could have affected. It also allowed for a more professional manner to be enacted during the interview process, as I could not sway participants with my background experiences. This may have enabled participants to be more open with me than they might be with members of their communities whose own expectations lead them to narrate their experiences to each other in a certain way. However, my outsider status also extended to language distance, which meant I required the use of an interpreter in a number of interviews where participants' English levels were too low for me to converse with them.

Translation

The language barrier between certain participants and myself meant I was reliant, for four interviews with Eritrean participants and five with Bhutanese participants, on an interpreter. As I was able to use two professional interpreters, one Tigrinya and one Nepali, for these interviews, I was able to limit, as far as possible, the interference of having my conversation interpreted. Moreover both interpreters were slightly removed from the community in question, offering, I hope, some level of distance for the participant. My Tigrinya interpreter was Ethiopian-Eritrean (as opposed to all participants who were refugees in Sudan) and having lived in New Zealand for much longer than the Eritrean participants interviewed, was somewhat removed from the community of settling former refugees. My Nepali interpreter, while speaking Nepali fluently and having worked in the language education of Bhutanese former refugees, is not Bhutanese, Nepali or a former refugee, herself. Both my interpreters were female, which was important as the majority of interpreted interviews were conducted with women.

With interviews conducted over two languages there is, however, always a chance of something being lost in translation. One factor mitigating this is that all translated interviews were extensive, running to the longest time frame of my interviews, therefore giving the greatest possible opportunity for covering the topics sufficiently. Another is that the semi-structured style of my interview allowed me to follow the translated flow of the conversation, hopefully allowing for the participant to cover extensively the areas important and meaningful to them.

While conducting interviews with the use of interpreters adds another dimension of possible influence to my research process, it was not possible to omit participants on the basis that their English levels were low. Relying on a solely English speaking participant selection would have introduced an even greater bias to my analysis. The key areas of my thesis, ethnic and national identity, social capital and civil society participation, may be experienced in quite a varied way for members with differing levels of English, therefore it was crucial that my research include speakers of all levels of English.

Earthquake

In the early stages of writing my thesis a series of large scale earthquakes devastated Christchurch. This impacted my work in several ways, which, on reflection, could be viewed as having both negative and positive results for my subsequent research. The earthquakes complicated my research process in ways that were mainly logistical; yet they also presented a unique opportunity to examine how the two communities responded to such a disaster. In many ways this was an unprecedented test to the social capital of each community and an opportunity to understand how settling communities react to disaster.

The earthquake period began on September 4th 2010 with a magnitude 7.1 earthquake (Geonet.org.nz, 2012), which was minimally disruptive to the first stage of my thesis. The most serious earthquakes began on February 22nd 2011, severely impacting my plan to begin interviewing in early March 2011. Quaratelli (2000, in Myers et al. 2008, p.272) defines disaster as when the 'routines of collective social units are seriously disrupted and when unplanned courses of action have to be undertaken to deal with the crisis'. The period following February 2011 was hugely disruptive to Christchurch residents, who remain living with the ongoing closure of the main centre of Christchurch city, large residential areas being rendered uninhabitable and employment options being drastically reduced. These factors, compounded with the emotional cost of dealing with the disaster, meant it was necessary to postpone the interviewing of participants for several months. When I eventually began, in October 2012, it was clear the remaining populations of both communities were quite differently affected.

Logistically the earthquakes impacted on my research by preventing my undertaking of interviews for some months while participants, and I myself, dealt with practical matters. After seven months I was able to reestablish my interview process as members of both communities felt up to it, during a period in which the aftershocks had quieted sufficiently. The reduced Eritrean population in Christchurch did, however, constrict my interview options somewhat. In October 2011 almost the entire Bhutanese community had returned to Christchurch; however, many families from the Eritrean community had moved to other New Zealand cities (Auckland or Wellington) or overseas to

Australia. The literature on disaster response (Blaikie et al. 2004; Donner & Rodriguez, 2008; Meyers et al. 2008) has shown that socially disadvantaged groups, in both developing and developed states, can be more vulnerable in the face of disaster and disproportionately susceptible to displacement. Both the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities could conceivably fit under the definition of "socially disadvantaged", and therefore vulnerable, being of a low socioeconomic status, racial minorities in New Zealand and new migrant groups. However, the demographics of the Eritrean community (as discussed later in this chapter) may lend to it a slightly higher social disadvantage rating in that most families in the community are also female-headed households. As discussed below, my research indicates, however, that the level of social capital a community has also impacts on its social vulnerability. As Donner and Rodriguez (2008, p.1091) state, there are many complexities to what makes a community "vulnerable", not all covered through notions of economic, cultural and social capital.

The 2011 earthquakes in Christchurch provided me with a unique opportunity to examine the reasons behind differences in the response of the two communities to the earthquakes, as well as participants' feelings towards how their community coped with the disaster. It also opened a window into each community, as well as the individual's relationships with wider society, through examining where and what type of assistance participants received in the days and months following the quakes. In many ways the after-effects of the February, and ongoing, earthquakes provided a fascinating dimension to my research. For it seems that by conventional social vulnerability assessment both the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities would be seen as relatively equally disadvantaged group; the Bhutanese community, however, displayed successful coping mechanisms post-earthquake, while the Eritrean community had very high levels of migration. Over half of the Eritrean population left Christchurch while only 4% of the Bhutanese community migrated (A. Reynolds, personal communication, May 5, 2012). One reason for the differing responses could conceivably be the very different levels of social capital within each community.

With studies based on small participant groups, such as the 27 people used in this thesis, analysis of the survey group is necessary in order to examine and identify the implications individual and group differences may have on the overall data. The analysis of my hypotheses in Chapter V involves contrast and comparison between the two communities of Eritrean and Bhutanese participants, therefore, it is also necessary to recognise in which areas the participant groups differ, and how this may affect my resulting analysis, so as to make any comparison as transparent as possible.

In correlating the information gained through my participant interviews certain questions arose in relation to the implications of the differing characteristics of my participants. These include: the age ranges, the gender distribution, the levels of education, differences in language use and translation, and different pre-NZ experiences. Below are several tables illustrating comparison and contrast of the data related to these areas.

Age Range

Table 4.1 contains the comparison of age ranges of participants from the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities in the 18-30 year old age group and 31-79 year old age group. The communities have been split into these two age ranges in order to see whether a comparison between the older and younger generation yields any information of interest in the analysis.

It is clear that within the first age group, those 18-30 years old, the spread of ages is quite similar. This spread illustrates Bhutanese participants representing a slightly wider spread, but of only two years younger and three years older than the range of Eritrean participants.

The older age group does, however, contain a disparity in the ages of participants from each group. The Eritrean participants have an age spread of 17 years, between 37 and 54 years old. The Bhutanese participants have a much larger spread of 38 years, between 31 and 79 years old. The Bhutanese group therefore represents a much larger range of ages, which may translate to covering a larger breadth of life experiences. The Bhutanese group contains three participants over the age of 55 years old, whereas the eldest Eritrean

participant is aged 54 years old. This could affect the data by representing a certain perspective contained by older participants for the Bhutanese group, and not for the Eritrean group.

This differing age range also indicates the different demographics of each community. While participant selection was random, some attempt at garnering a representation of ages was made. This age spread therefore indicates that there are likely differences in the two communities' populations, the Eritrean community being much younger and lacking the elder members present in the Bhutanese community. As discussed in the following chapter such differing demographics may help explain the communities' different levels of social capital and civil society.

Table 4.1

AGE RANGE OF PARTICIPANT AGE GROUP 18-30 YEARS OLD

	Age Range (Years)								
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	28
Eritrean Participants	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Bhutanese Participants	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1

AGE RANGE OF PARTICIPANT AGE GROUP 31-79 YEARS OLD

	Age Range (Years)													
	31	36	37	38	40	41	42	44	45	52	54	62	63	79
Eritrean Participants	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Bhutanese Participants	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1

Gender Distribution

The table below (Table 4.2) indicates the gender distribution of the participants in this study. The total overall ratio of female to male participants is as close to even as possible in a grouping of 27, at 13 and 14 respectively. However, within the two groups of Eritrean and Bhutanese, there is a slight gender imbalance. There are 7 female participants to 4 male in the Eritrean group, and 6 female to 10 male participants in the Bhutanese group.

Reaching a gender balance between both the communities and within the age groups was easily achieved within the 18-30 years old group, where there are 3 female and 3 male participants for both community groups. As the tables below indicate, however, this was not possible in the 31-79 year old age group. It was far more difficult to achieve gender parity in this group partly due to the influence of other factors, such as participant availability, age and English levels.

Each community's demographic also affected the gender balance in my participant group, especially in regard to the Eritrean group, as the process of collecting my 31-79 year old sample soon indicated the majority of families in this community are solo mother households. This meant that there is both a very small population of adult males available in this community, and that in representing the community in this study the participant group would necessarily contain a gender bias towards more adult females.

The older Bhutanese participant group on the other hand contained a bias in favor of males over females at 7:3. This was the result of both participant response and availability. In this age group more Bhutanese males were willing to partake in this study, and when it came to the conducting of interviews more of my male participant interviews were successful than those I attempted to organise (and re-organise) with female participants from the 31-79 year age group. This was partly the result of language proficiency; more Bhutanese adult males were able to communicate in English or felt competent to. As I was only able to conduct a certain number of interviews with the aid of an interpreter this negatively affected the number of interviews I could conduct with adult female Bhutanese participants. I feel the gender bias also indicates that male Bhutanese are more socially active outside of their community, and that they may be more comfortable with, and therefore more willing, to partake in such an activity as

talking about themselves in an interview setting. This may have implications for my subsequent analysis as the Bhutanese females who did not participate in this study may illustrate lower levels of social capital and integration; one indication of this may be the absence of their full participation in this study. However, the small study size and short timeframe of this thesis does not allow for further exploration of such concepts.

Table 4.2

OVERALL PARTICIPANT GENDER DISTRIBUTION

| | Gender Distribution | | |
	Female	Male	Total
Eritrean Participants	7	4	11
Bhutanese Participants	6	10	16
Total	13	14	27

GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANT AGE GROUP 18-30 YEARS OLD

| | Gender Distribution | | |
	Female	Male	Total
Eritrean Participants	3	3	6
Bhutanese Participants	3	3	6
Total	6	6	12

GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANT AGE GROUP 31-79 YEARS OLD

| | Gender Distribution | | |
	Female	Male	Total
Eritrean Participants	4	1	5
Bhutanese Participants	3	7	10
Total	7	8	15

Education

The table below illustrates the education participants completed prior to arrival in New Zealand (Table 4.3). Participants from both groups represent a variety of

educational experience; however, overall it is clear that the Bhutanese group is more highly educated with 13 of 16 participants achieving secondary or higher education, and 3 of the 13 completing a university degree, compared to 7 of 11 Eritrean participants achieving secondary education and none achieving above this.

Participants from the 18-30 years old age group indicate the fewest differences in education between the two communities, the overwhelming majority obtaining secondary school education.

It becomes clear, however, that within the 31-79 year old group Bhutanese participants have gained more access to higher education, while a small number from the elder end of this age group from both communities have missed out entirely on any formal education.

Although this sample may be too small to really identify any larger implications from either community, it should be noted that five out of six participants with no formal education are female, and six of seven of those with below secondary education only are female. Two out of three of the Bhutanese participants with a university degree are men. And almost twice as many male participants as female participants gained a secondary school education before arriving in New Zealand. Therefore it seems that within both communities there is a gender imbalance in education levels of members, with women having experienced less access to education before arriving in New Zealand. however it could also be, within a small study such as this, that the sample is uneven.

These results indicate a likelihood that both age and gender play an important role in the education levels of members and may have implications for my analysis. Illiteracy and education impact on the ease of learning a second language, and may, in line with my first hypothesis, therefore affect certain demographics of each community's access to participation in New Zealand society.

Table 4.3

OVERALL PARTICIPANT EDUCATION LEVEL ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

Highest Education Level Completed Prior to Arrival in New Zealand

	University	Secondary	Primary	None	Total
Eritrean Participants	0	7	1	3	11
Bhutanese Participants	3	10	0	3	16
Total	3	14	1	6	27

PARTICIPANT EDUCATION LEVEL ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND AGE GROUP 18-30 YEARS OLD

	Highest Education Level Completed Prior to Arrival in New Zealand				
	University	Secondary	Primary	None	Total
Eritrean Participants	0	5	1	0	6
Bhutanese Participants	1	5	0	0	6
Total	1	10	1	0	12

PARTICIPANT EDUCATION LEVEL ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND AGE GROUP 31-79 YEARS OLD

	Highest Education Level Completed Prior to Arrival in New Zealand				
	University	Secondary	Primary	None	Total
Eritrean Participants	0	2	0	3	5
Bhutanese Participants	2	5	0	3	10
Total	2	7	0	6	15

PARTICIPANT EDUCATION LEVEL ON ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND BY GENDER

	Highest Education Level Completed Prior to Arrival in New Zealand				
	University	Secondary	Primary	None	Total
Female	1	6	1	5	13
Male	2	11	0	1	14
Total	3	17	1	6	27

Language Use

Below is a table of the language preference of Eritrean participants. This table is included in order to illustrate a phenomenon, that the community is split in preference between two languages, Tigrinya and Arabic, witnessed only in the Eritrean community. This is not seen in the Bhutanese community as it has one dominant first language, Nepali. This is interesting for several reasons. Firstly because Eritrea has seven official languages that only two of which are used within the Christchurch community indicates the Christchurch community is not as diverse as a random population of Eritrean expats may be. In fact all participants, even those whose language preference is Arabic, expressed their ethnicity as Eritrean Tigrinya.

Secondly the dominance of two languages manifests itself in an interesting way. Participants' language preference, was connected to age, not religion or family. Participants from the age group 31-79 years old preferred their mother tongue, Tigrinya, and used this language almost exclusively, while those from the 18-30 year old age group all preferred Arabic, and said they spoke this language most of the time. While all participants could understand both languages, many discussed how, within families and the community, conversations between the generations were commonly conducted in two languages, with the older member speaking Tigrinya and the younger member responding in Arabic. When speaking to each other young Eritreans use a form of Arabic containing Tigrinyan words. Several of the older participants stated that they do not speak Arabic, although they understand it spoken, and vice versa for their youngest children. This is due, all participants concluded, to the younger generation being born, or at least growing up, in Sudan, where Arabic is the national language.

Language use in the Eritrean community is not related to religion, as only two of the 11 Eritrean participants were Muslim, one being from each age group. The elder Muslim participant's preferred language is Tigrinya (she understands spoken Arabic but does not speak it herself) while the other five Eritreans from the 18-30 year age group who prefer Arabic are not Muslim but Christian.

As discussed in the following chapter this indicates something of the community's cultural maintenance approach and community unity. Language maintenance was clearly not a priority during the growth of the younger

generation. Their preference for Sudan's national language over their mother's Eritrean language also indicates something of the level of integration sought by the younger generation in Sudan. It may also indicate a low level of unity of the Eritrean community in exile with the different generations not having a common preferred language.

Table 4.4

LANGUAGE PREFERENCE OF ERITREAN PARTICIPANTS

	Preferred Language		
	Mother Tongue (Tigrinya)	Sudanese National Language (Arabic)	Total
Age Group 18-30 Years Old	0	6	6
Age Group 31-79 Years Old	4	1	5
Total	4	7	11

Language Proficiency

Table 4.5 indicates the English language proficiency of the participants overall, and according to age. 'High conversational' refers to those able to have a high level discussion in English without any need for an interpreter; 'medium conversational' indicates the participant has some level of conversational English but still required the use of an interpreter for the interview; and 'low conversational' indicates participants whose English consists of very basic phrases to almost no understanding: during these interviews an interpreter was used.

In the course of my interviews four Eritrean participants and five Bhutanese participants required the use of an interpreter. The language proficiency of participants across the two communities was therefore relatively equal. As the tables demonstrate, of those requiring an interpreter from the Eritrean community three were from the 31-79 year old age group, and one was from the 18-30 year old age group. All were female. This could be partly explained statistically by the prevalence of females from the Eritrean

community. Yet this also points to the uneducated solo-mother, and therefore high-risk position, of most of the Eritrean families that came to New Zealand.

Of the five participants requiring translated interviews from the Bhutanese community three were female, one from the 18-30 year old age group, and two were males, from the 31-79 year old age group. With only a slight prevalence of females to males represented in the translated interviews not much can be construed of this demographic. As suggested above, however, these numbers may hide a much greater discrepancy in the language proficiency between genders in the Bhutanese community.

Tables 4.5

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AMONG PARTICIPANTS

	English Language Proficiency			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
Eritrean Participants	7	0	4	11
Bhutanese Participants	11	2	3	16
Total	18	2	7	27

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AMONG PARTICIPANTS IN AGE GROUP 18-30 YEARS OLD

	English Language Proficiency			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
Eritrean Participants	5	0	1	6
Bhutanese Participants	5	1	0	6
Total	10	1	1	12

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AMONG PARTICIPANTS IN AGE GROUP 31-79 YEARS OLD

	English Language Proficiency			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
Eritrean Participants	2	0	3	5
Bhutanese Participants	6	1	3	10
Total	8	1	6	15

CONCLUSION

Any type of research process reliant on information provided by people, especially in a cross-cultural context, must grapple with issues of communication and bias. Overall however, my interview process suffered in no clear or systematic way. I was able to conduct a sufficient number of interviews with participants from across ages, genders and ability levels. Apart from one major disruption, the series of serious earthquakes in Canterbury, my limitations were expected: cultural difference and language.

There is the possibility that through the 'interviewer effect', my being from a different culture, and the conducting of interviews in both English and through translation, affected the quality of the information I gathered. It is not possible, however, to conduct this type of research in a vacuum. All sorts of factors could influence the outcome of such interviews and the openness of participants. My feeling is that during all interviews participants were calm, focused, and importantly, happy to be discussing such material with me in such a way. I was able to cover all topics of conversation I intended, as laid out in Appendix B, and no participant expressed unease at any point during our conversations. With minimal input from myself, participants, in almost all cases, covered very relevant material naturally in a conversational way, allowing for a very easy flow of information. The fact that I gathered more than the necessary data for analysis of my hypotheses during my ten weeks of interviewing leads me to believe any limitations were minimal.

By far the most obstructive situation during my research came from forces completely outside of the process: the February earthquake and ongoing aftershocks. The devastation these caused led to a very difficult period and a protracted recovery process for a number of reasons. It heavily affected my thesis as it disrupted the start date of my interview process by seven months, as well as reducing the population of Eritrean families living in Christchurch. On the other hand, however, the earthquake provided an unprecedented and unintended opportunity in my research to examine, first hand, how two new migrant communities responded to the disaster and, in line with my hypotheses,

the impact of social capital and civil society networks on communities' and individuals' coping mechanisms.

As discussed above, in small participant selections, as used in this thesis, certain participant characteristics can have implications for the overall research findings. This chapter therefore included an analysis of my participant group make-up in order to both add nuance to my following hypothesis analysis and another element to the qualitative nature of this study.

During the course of my research I came across common issues relating to relying on people as my participants. Organised interview times were sometimes forgotten or postponed; however, overall my research experience was a very positive one. Even with the added complication of a natural disaster my interviews went smoothly and participants were candid and generous in the information they offered me. Very early on in the process it became clear the participants understood what was being asked of them, and felt comfortable sharing the story of their refugee experience and life in settlement in New Zealand. Overwhelmingly participants, especially older members of both communities, seemed appreciative of the opportunity to tell their story and their experiences to a member of their new home country in a way they may not have had the chance to do before. For participants who required an interpreter, this may have been one of the longest and most complex conversations they had conducted to this date with a New Zealander. For this reason I felt an even greater responsibility to use their information and experiences in the most meaningful way in this thesis, and to strive to produce an accurate analysis.

CHAPTER V

IDENTITY RENEGOTIATION

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter outlined my research process and the compilation of the data that form the basis for the analysis in this chapter. This chapter involves the application of the first hypothesis to my data, and discussion of its validity. This chapter, and the following two chapters relating to the second and third hypotheses, will contain analysis of the interview material (participants coded as outlined in Appendix A) and discussion based around comparison and contrast of the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities.

This chapter involves discussion of my first hypothesis:

> *Individual identity is renegotiated by former refugees through participation in both their migrant communities as well as in the broader New Zealand society.*

This hypothesis postulates that for settling individuals', identity renegotiation towards the creation of a national identity depends on participation and feelings of connection to both their migrant community and the wider society of settlement, in this case New Zealand.

In order to validate this hypothesis my research should indicate that the stronger relational ties a participant expresses to their migrant community, and the more aspects of participation they have with wider society, the greater identification with a New Zealand identity exhibited. Participation in wider society is conceived through measurements such as: competency with the English language; enrollment in appropriate level education; access to employment; and social interactions outside of the migrant group. Connection to one's migrant community is witnessed through positive affirmation of their community in Christchurch, evidence of socializing with other members and participation in cultural activities.

To assess this hypothesis, discussion with participants centered on their cultural maintenance strategy, the strength of their ethnic identification, perception of their community's unity in Christchurch, their level of social

adaptation in Christchurch, and national identification. My findings are explored using qualitative data, and splitting this chapter into three parts: cultural maintenance and community unity, social adaptation, and identity.

I: CULTURAL MAINTENANCE AND COMMUNITY UNITY

The majority of Eritreans in Christchurch are followers of Coptic Christianity; a minority of two families' in the Christchurch population are adherents of Islam. For most members of the community, social life and the ties between families largely revolve around attendance at a Coptic Church. All Christian participants interviewed attended church; after church on a Sunday was a time most indicated that they gathered with other Eritreans and with Ethiopians to make coffee and socialise.

> B-5 25:23: 'Yes, people in New Zealand are respectful of our culture. We know this because we have been in Sudan where we cant even go to church, but here there is church, mosque, everything. In Eritrea there are Mosque and Church, but in Sudan because it is a Muslim country it is very hard. We still have a Church in Sudan but its not as comfortable as here or Eritrea, you have to hide it. I had to change my name to a Muslim name to get a refugee ID card. I kept that first name when I came here but when I get my passport I'm going to change it back. Its good in New Zealand that you don't have to hide anything, can do as you like.'

The process of socialisation for the Eritrean community centers on the church; and while the Christchurch Coptic Church is not specifically Eritrean, it can also be seen as culturally reinforcing as the majority of the attendees are Ethiopian or Eritrean Tigrinya, two ethnicities that share much of the same culture. Weddings, Christmas and New Year were described as important cultural events for Christian participants, religion playing a large role in all festivals. There are not many other opportunities for members of the Eritrean community to access and participate in their cultural activities in Christchurch, although all participants indicated wider society was respectful and they felt they were able to practice their culture as they wished. The community has not established any schools or specifically Eritrean shops or activities.

Although religion plays an important role in the social life of Eritreans, Muslim participants did not indicate they felt left out of inclusion in the majority Christian Eritrean community. Participants from both religions mentioned that they socialized with those of the other religion, although not frequently due to constraints on their time from other responsibilities. For young men, playing sport together, mainly soccer, was also mentioned as a key-socializing event, regardless of religion.

> A-1 10:30: 'Yeah we all play soccer… its social, we text each other- 'lets go play'. We started a team, mostly Eritreans and some Ethiopians.'

Religious festivals and practices played an important role in how Muslim participants described their lifestyle; however, attendance at the mosque was not described with the same vigor as Christian members discussed church. Two participants in this study identified as Muslim, and they described their attendance at the Mosque as infrequent. This may be because the Mosque does not seem to be a central socializing mechanism for Muslim Eritrean members, which could be due in part to the many fewer Eritrean Muslims attending than at the Coptic Church and the fact that the two Muslim participants speak Tigrinya, not Arabic, and so miss out on possible deeper social interactions with other worshipers. The majority of other attendees at the Christchurch Mosque are from Arabic backgrounds.

Eritrean identity maintenance, for those of both religions, revolves largely around religion, and it plays an important role in most of the participants' lives, or at least their family life. Only one participant discussed his ambivalence towards church, and in doing so identified the link between religion and Eritrean identity, describing his mother as a "typical Eritrean" with her religious strength, while himself as not religious and therefore not Eritrean.

> A-4 11:45: 'we go to an Ethiopian Eritrean church, but for me I'm not so into it, my mother is typical Eritrean, typical Abyssinian, [church is important to her] but me I am Sudanese. I have never been to Eritrea or Ethiopia… so I don't know anything about Eritrea.'

Most young participants, and all young female participants, expressed a desire to marry within the Eritrean community while all older participants clearly

preferred their children to marry within the community, although this was sometimes supplemented with a reluctant understanding that their children will marry whom they wish to.

> A-2 8:19: 'No, I don't think so [consider marrying outside of the Eritrean community]… first it's not allowed in our culture, and my mum would kill me! The final decision is up to me, but I don't know, I don't think so. I prefer an Eritrean guy. More understanding, the same culture.'

The strength of the older generation's desire, and the uptake of this by the young female participants, for Eritreans to marry inside their community, indicates that a boundary between themselves and outsiders is being actively maintained by members of the community. Whom members of the Eritrean community can, and cannot, marry indicates who are seen as insiders and outsiders. Several weddings had been celebrated recently in the community between Eritrean and Ethiopian members, and one participant was married to an Ethiopian, indicating the strength of the relationship between the two communities and the level of shared culture and identification by members. The relationship seemed to be strengthened by a shared religion and language among elder participants.

The coffee ceremony is an important expression of Eritrean culture, and one that is also shared with the Ethiopian community. It is centrally prepared in all the Eritrean houses, of both religions, and this seems to reinforce certain important cultural and social ties.

> B-2 [interpreted] 18:10: 'yes I do it [the coffee ceremony] still, but in Sudan we used to do it three times a day, not here… there you have friends, people come and chat and talk, neighbors, you call them they come, they call you, you go. But here people are far, everybody is busy, I have to go to school. You make an excuse to do it when visitors come. Now I do about once a day. We get the green beans, fry them here, just like we did in our country.'

Cooking coffee and sharing the drinking with visitors is an important aspect to socializing in Eritrean culture. Cooking coffee has, however, so far been mainly the domain of the older generation; in all visits to households I did not witness the performance by anyone under the age of 44; however, when asked, younger women participants did acknowledge they cook coffee periodically.

A-5 26:44: 'yeah I do [the coffee ceremony] sometimes, we invite people around make coffee, that's the only good thing about Eritrean culture, I love the coffee. We get together and talk. Eritrean coffee is not about making a drink, because you can make a quick one with instant stuff how the kiwis do, its not about drinking a coffee, it is a social process, you gather your neighbors, sit under a tree, gossip…Yeah for me its okay, girls my age [23], we sit together and don't have to make coffee, but if our mums are here they say 'chatting isn't the same, why don't you make coffee?' It is better, there is a sense when you chat with coffee.'

The ambivalence of the younger female participants towards the ceremony may, however, indicate that the practice is becoming less central to the social lives of the younger generation. Whether or not this will be followed by the younger generation when they establish their own households is inclear.

All participants of the Bhutanese community indicated that they felt able to express their cultural practices in New Zealand, and that the wider society was welcoming and interested in sharing in this process. Most cultural practices seem to revolve around religion, mainly in the form of festival celebration. The community's willingness to involve wider society in their culture is evidenced by their recent open celebration of a festival involving members of Christchurch agencies and the public, the second year the community has encouraged the wider Christchurch public to join this celebration.

At different Hindu festivals, especially Dussehra and Diwali, as well as at other celebrations such as baby-naming ceremonies, participants discussed how the majority of Hindus from the community congregate together. Bhutanese children partake in learning and displaying cultural dance and attend a cultural school established by members of the community taught in Nepali, held on certain weekends. Teaching of the Nepali language to children and speaking it in the home is widely emphasised as important by participants with children.

C-5 21:40: 'it is very important I think, for my son to speak my language, my first language [Nepali] and he has to know some cultural things. We don't mean he has to adopt everything that we practice, after a time when everything has changed, but he needs to keep some good things, the important thing is our language. It is not good if he doesn't know that. We already don't

speak it very nicely, we speak Nepali mixed with English, because we are away from our ancestor's land.'

D-1 34:00: 'yes we can celebrate our cultural festivals here, all the groups welcome us and share our religion. They know the meaning of multicultural, we don't feel discrimination.'

D-4 29:35: 'New Zealanders they really respect to other cultures. One of our volunteers, they advised 'children they learn English very easily... soon they can speak it fluently. But they might forget their mother tongue. So as parents you should always talk in your own language when you are at home.' That was very good advice. We always speak our language, which is Nepali, at home, our children, they learnt English very quickly- they have enough time to talk with their friends, at school. At home we speak Nepali, and when we get together in the Bhutanese community we speak Nepali.'

D-5 23:06: 'if we have any sort of rituals to perform, or celebrations, we organise together and celebrate together... Dussehra is a community one [festival] we were together...Yeah we have to teach our younger generations, 'this is our culture, our system, our rituals', we should teach them otherwise they will forget them in the near future. So due to that we organise.'

While there is a minority of the community who practice Christianity, and therefore do not attend the festival celebrations, of the Christian participants interviewed, two of 16, neither indicated they felt isolated from the community because of their different religion. This may be because aside from festival celebrations much socialization within the community revolves around extended family networks and neighbors. In the 31-79 age group participants, family and Bhutanese who lived in close proximity were especially important factors in their social network. For the younger participants' of the 18-30 age group, socialization was more gender-and education-based rather than family-based, with sport playing an important role for males and a dancing group for females.

Apart from non-attendance at religious festivals, religion does not seem to be divisive or indicative of participation in the community. Some of the leadership roles in the Bhutanese Society are held by Christians, and even within families some members may adhere to Christianity and others to Hinduism. Culturally, however, one Christian participant did describe some confusion arising from the

difficulty he experienced with many Bhutanese cultural practices being linked to Hinduism and therefore not easily translated once a family converts to a different religion. As conversion to Christianity for most Bhutanese occurred recently, within the last 18 years while in the camps, cultural expression and the Hindu religion are still very linked.

> C-2 5:10: 'I don't even know my culture…[do you celebrate the festivals?] Well I do, but I am Christian, but I support the Nepalese culture, I am from Nepal so I don't ignore that, I support my culture and keep what is good about it.'

The conversion of some Hindus to Christianity could be argued to be an attempt at identity renegotiation for it can be seen as an expression of dissatisfaction with certain areas of Hinduism, such as the caste system. Such questions cannot be further explored here, however, as the Christian participant pool was small and members were not forthcoming with reasons behind their, or their families', conversion.

II: SOCIAL ADAPTATION

Eritrean participants described New Zealand society as difficult socially. While Christchurch people were described as generally kind and helpful, discussion of social isolation from both wider New Zealand society and other members of the Eritrean community was common among participants, especially among those from the 31-79 age group and in the younger participants' discussion of their mothers. Social life in New Zealand was contrasted with their memories of the society they had experienced in Sudan, where Sudanese people were remembered as very social and generous with both their goods and time, and participants enjoyed close bonds with their neighbors and friends.

> A-4 6:25: 'Sudan is not like other African nations… the people are nice, I'm not talking about the government I'm talking about the people, I am a Christian but I spent all my time with Muslims. I did not feel isolated, I felt accepted. The people are friendly and welcoming and generous, they share everything they have, if I had no food neighbors would give me theirs.'

> A-5 29:40: 'Yeah that's the only thing [sense of community] I do miss all the time, I do love New Zealand, I love to study and the government is helping us. But the only thing is the social is not like in Sudan, like here with the

neighbours, they don't know us and we know nothing of them. But back home your neighbor is your family, you make coffee, they come to our house, we go to theirs, our meals are one- my mum cooks her food, my neighbor does and we share. We are very close.'

B-2 [interpreted] 10:54: 'Sudan was nice, social life was good; neighbors and friends came over and talked all the time. We made coffee. Here it is not the same, I make coffee by myself... there if I made everyone would smell and come around and we would sit and talk. Here it's not the same. There if you run out of something, sugar or something, your neighbors would give you- here if my daughter and son are out I have to wait for them so I can go shopping, I can't ask my neighbours, I think about it but they never even say 'hi', so how can I ask them? That's the biggest difference. But I have to cope with life here, it is different but we have to accept it, we are not back there anymore.'

All Eritrean participants, across gender and age, expressed difficulty with socialising outside of work or school with other Eritreans and New Zealanders. Most participants did not know their New Zealand neighbors, an especially difficult adjustment for some compared to the importance of neighbors in Sudan. Some described how hard it is to get below the surface friendliness with New Zealanders: people were helpful when they were asked, but a deeper level of friendship was difficult to achieve, even among those with good English. In most conversations this was put down to the fact that New Zealanders' lives are busy, as opposed to lives in Sudan, because participants also talked of not socialising as much as they would have liked with other Eritreans. Eritreans described each other as "becoming kiwi" when they were too busy with their lives to visit each other and partake in long chats around the coffee ceremony.

A-3 8:45: 'it was a challenge for me, new culture, new people...everything is available apart from socializing. You don't know your neighbors, the people around you, where I came from it was different, you know everyone. It's hard to socialise here, you don't know what's going on, you just go to school and come home.'

A-5 32:37: 'The thing is people here are busy, very busy, they work, back home the mothers don't go to work, there is more free time to socialise. Even for us [younger people] we go to school [in Sudan] but there is more time after

school to socialise… It's different here, even people from your own country when they come here they change because it depends of the lifestyle in New Zealand- we go to school, come back [home], they are tired so they don't want to go out. Even me, I am a like a kiwi now… I am working now, and studying during the week, I come home, I'm busy too.'

However, all but one participant had positive feelings towards Christchurch. They talked of feeling at home, and several of the older age group said that the geography of Christchurch reminded them of Sudan. Their feelings towards Christchurch revolved around their better quality of life in terms of safety, material wealth, a house, and their children or themselves, having access to education and the opportunity for a good job in the future.

B-2 [interpreted] 23:30: 'New Zealand is good, it is safe.'

B-3 [interpreted] 7:31: 'I thank God we came here, I do not have to wash clothes with my hands, or worry about what to feed my children, thank God. I am grateful for this place I have… To be honest I wasn't hungry, I was young and worked, I washed all day and ironed the clothes all night, I never slept, so my children would not be hungry. But I never rest, I never had time for myself, I came here and I am very happy, my children can study and I can have time for myself now, I can rest…I can't even believe there is another place better than Christchurch, at first I felt bad and wanted to go away because I didn't meet Muslim people like me, with my language, but now they [Eritrean Muslims living elsewhere] beg me to come there and I don't want to. All the earthquake time I did not leave here.'

B-5 13:58: 'It took me three years for me to get my family here. It was such a relief for me…because life is hard in Sudan. The people are very loving towards each other because you have all left your country; there is a lot of love in Sudan. You miss that about Sudan, the social life. But it is also a nightmare, the political side. Life is difficult… it feels like home here, it's good to be in New Zealand. And especially when you have kids it's good.'

Ten of eleven of the Eritrean participants described the community as much less socially connected than the social networks they experienced in Sudan. The communities that participants' families were part of in Sudan were not, however, based around the Eritrean ethnicity but extended across ethnicities, Sudanese,

Ethiopian and Egyptian, and were based mainly on neighborhood and religion. In Christchurch, however, almost all participants discussed not feeling part of a real community because neighborly attitudes are different.

> A-5 32:55 'Sunday is the only day we get together, we go to church and meet our people there, it is the only time we have to meet up- at least I see them then, unless there is a wedding, we wouldn't see anyone!'

> B-5 15:55: 'We attend church every week...lots of Eritrean, Ethiopian and Egyptian families went there, too, but after the earthquake damage some Eritrean families now go to one near the airport. It's good to have the church to go to, if there is not much of a community at least we go to church on a Saturday or Sunday and meet there. And we have our New Year celebration when we all [Christian Eritreans] celebrate together, Ethiopians and Eritreans.'

Church was therefore the most common location of social interaction for Christian participants, and worked to reinforce Eritrean and Ethiopian community members' shared religious bonds. Greater geographical distance between Eritrean members' homes and their busy lives in Christchurch were usually the reasons given for the decrease in social connection outside of the church.

Participants from the Bhutanese community were mixed in their position on social adaptation. There was quite a clear relation, however, between participants' individual circumstances, particularly their education and work levels before arrival in New Zealand, and contentedness in their community of settlement and wider New Zealand society. Participants' feelings towards the host Nepali society, experienced during their life in the camp, were also mixed; many recalling in a very negative light the advantage locals attempted to take of them as refugees, others in a positive light related to being surrounded with their culture and language. Certain older Hindu participants, with little English, recalled most fondly the benefit of being surrounded by those practicing similar religious festivals and speaking their language, while younger participants recalled with frustration not being able to continue their studies and a disabled participant described the abuse he suffered from local Nepali.

Those with medium levels of English and average education in Nepali voiced the most positive feelings towards New Zealand society and the highest levels of integration. This was the largest group of Bhutanese participants, with 10 of 16 participants discussing very positive settlement experiences and visions of the future. As the excerpts included below indicate, these members describe New Zealand as a good place to live, with a good education system, a well-organised society, and the people as kind, helpful and respectful of their culture. Two participants described how the experience of being given a seat on the Christchurch bus by other New Zealanders, something they had never experienced in Nepal, stays with them as a symbol of New Zealanders' kindness. Participants who fit in this group, medium English and medium education experience on arrival in New Zealand, seem to approach their life in Christchurch with the attitude that while it requires hard work to gain proficiency in English, there is opportunity for upward mobility and improvement of their work and social status. They therefore exhibited very positive feelings about their settlement here.

> C-3 29:51: 'when we were back in Nepal we thought it [New Zealand] will be a good living standard for us. There will be lots of opportunities for us there for the future, have a career. When we were at the centre at Mangere I thought 'oh our life will be like this forever', but then we came to Christchurch and it was more homely. There were lots of Bhutanese in the community. Our aims and our living standards can be good, but we have to work. Everything is achievable in New Zealand, but we have to struggle for ourselves. No one will struggle for us. We have to be independent.'

> D-5 32:25: 'New Zealand is a good country; it respects each and every religions and rights of the human being. I am happy. I am sure they will accept me. People are helpful in New Zealand; even the elderly people are helpful, doing volunteer jobs. But in [Nepal] they do not do like that. The younger generation of New Zealanders are good peoples… if I get lost here if I ask anyone they will show me the way, in my country they would just say 'I don't know', New Zealanders are helpful…we like this place [Christchurch], it is beautiful. It is lovely… the peoples, the system, everything is perfect in Christchurch. We know this area, when we came here we traveled around; we know where the office, school, bus station is… everything.'

A smaller group of participants described feelings of isolation in settlement. This group included those who fit into the two extremes of the English proficiency and education spectrum: those without any formal education in Nepali and low English levels, 4 of 16 participants, as well as those with above average education in Nepali, high levels of English and with the experience of meaningful work in Nepal or Bhutan, 3 participants. The feelings of isolation seemed to stem from difficulties associated with adjusting to the new environments encountered on resettlement, Christchurch society and the re-conception of the Bhutanese community in settlement, both very different to what participants experienced over the last 18 years in Nepal.

For some of the participants with little formal education and low levels of English, all of whom are also from the 31-79 year age group, their inability to converse with most New Zealanders, and disappointment at their cultural distance from other New Zealanders, reduces their opportunities for participation in wider society and leads them to feel isolated. Their lack of command of the English language represents for many a loss of independence as they rely on family members when leaving the house.

> D-8 [interpreted] 6:26: 'I wanted to come here because I thought there would be lots of Nepali people here, but when I got here it wasn't the case…If I go left here or right, there are no Nepali people. Maybe if I had gone to school back in Bhutan when I was young I could now speak, but I didn't…I liked it [Christchurch] when I first saw it, but there is nowhere for me to go here. I don't understand where the bus leaves and goes to, I don't understand places in this city, its been nearly two years when we got here, the youngest grandson now speaks fluently, my son and daughter speak. But for me there is nothing.'

Participants with education and proficiency in English, while able to access wider New Zealand society, discussed feeling isolated from the Bhutanese community. One factor in this was the pool of their peers being reduced in settlement, another that the new environment away from the camp has meant, for some, changes to their social status within the Bhutanese community. This applied to some older participants who had previously held certain leadership roles in the camp, concerning the organisation of certain camp goods, which were now no longer necessary to the community outside of the camp. For some

who fit into this group adjusting to life in New Zealand with lower employment options, or having to re-study, was difficult both emotionally and socially.

Female participants with higher education and proficiency in English especially mentioned finding meaningful social connections with other women within the Bhutanese community in resettlement difficult. One participant explained she felt as if she were missing out on an important level of social interaction with her own people, because the pool of settled refugees in New Zealand is so much smaller and the women generally have low levels of education. Within the community in Christchurch several men fit the category of educated and able, and therefore had social equals to connect with; however, most Bhutanese women in New Zealand do not. As a young educated woman and mother among mostly uneducated mothers or younger un-married women, participant C-5 indicated that finding other Bhutanese women of her social status was difficult and made forming friendships in Christchurch within her community very hard. Because of the lack of satisfying relationships with the Bhuanese community C-5 feels alienated from her community; however, as her ethnic identity is important to her she constantly feels a pull back to the community she remembers in Nepal whose members are now spread across other countries, and therefore feels ambivalent about her connection to New Zealand.

> C-5 33:45: 'I was so bored there [at language class in Christchurch], the English was for a very low level and I had much higher level, I liked to be with other Bhutanese women but I was very bored. The others were of lower level so they liked it but I did not. Then I went to CPIT, that was quite good. But still I studied that kind of thing already in Nepal...I feel a bit lonely because here in Christchurch, there are not many people my age and my level, who have education and with young children, not many friends [in the Bhutanese community]. I miss my Bhutanese friends who were teachers with me in Nepal, they are now in Norway, US, Australia, Canada... staying in the camp is useless... but now I am missing my friends and relatives. Its good and bad being here.'

Some older participants, those over 50 years old with either higher than average Nepali education and work experience, or having held positions of respect in the

camps and therefore high standing in the Bhutanese community, but low English levels, also evidenced less integration with New Zealand. This was especially clear in these participants' failure to think of their future plans or make any settlement goals for themselves in New Zealand. Their background of achievement in meaningful work in Bhutan and/or followed by important work within the camp leadership during their refugee experience, gave them experience with high social status and respect. In some cases, however, this has not transferred well to their lives within the new Bhutanese community in settlement. Without sufficient levels of English these participants suffered a loss in status as well as their feelings of worth within their community, as younger members, with a command of English, become more useful and better able to interact with wider New Zealand society.

> D-7 [interpreted] 35:25: 'I was made a committee member. We set up counseling for single women, solo mothers, it was a place they could come and talk... I was a social worker, I have a certificate from that, UNHCR established it but we ran it...we [the women] were taught how to speak for ourselves, even the adults who had never had any education were able to go to school in the camp...Yes it is difficult [to adjust to Christchurch], I can't even make friends with my neighbours... I feel alone a lot. If I had English I could go out and do things for myself and get around... back in Nepal our neighbours were all around us, we always interacted... when I first came to Christchurch what I remember strongly was there were cars everywhere and no people, in Nepal in one car it would be packed full... New Zealand is very quiet, silent; too few people. People don't say hi, there are lots of people everywhere in Nepal... talking, laughing... there is a festival in Nepal for women, it is the most wonderful festival. We do celebrate it here; in my garage we had a little ceremony... it's difficult to organise when we don't have people to contact... people are busy, they might not want to come.'

> D-9 [interpreted] 55:14: 'I had lots of goals and lots of plans [in Bhutan], but they have all disappeared... My children have lots of plans and goals that they are slowly being able to meet; some of them are working and studying.'

This was not the case for all members with experience of a leadership role in the camp but now adjusting to living in Christchurch without a good command of English. Participant D-10 remained positive about his high standing in the

community. This may indicate that having a large extended family network in settlement plays a vital role in maintaining links to the community. Those participants who felt most isolated, D-7 and D-9 above, had either no or a very small extended family in New Zealand. It could also illustrate the effect individual variables such as personality and health, both physical and mental, play on individual integration.

> D-10 [interpreted] 22:04: 'I am studying English, I'm not really doing much but I do go to school. What to do? I am old, I go and watch and they tell me something but I am old now and I forget… but I am very happy here, I am glad that my family is all here. Now I am able to go around Christchurch by myself, I don't get lost. I can do what I want. [Does it feel like your home?] Yes it does… It is a little bit different for me, but yes I do have that level of respect in the community, not in wider community because I cannot speak English, but in our Bhutanese community I do.'

Because of the continued respect of his community and extended family D-10 continues to feel satisfied with his life and maintains feelings of being at home even in an unfamiliar environment and without much ability to participate in wider society.

While participants at the margins, both those formally successful and high achieving in the Bhutanese community and those with little education and English, are actively readjusting to the difficulties of settling, overall only four Bhutanese participants actually expressed negative feelings towards how the community is 'different' in settlement. For these participants (two from the 18-30 year old age group and two from the 31-79 year old age group, three of whom were women) factors relating to the community feeling less united were largely derived from the geographical distance between households, and the fact that other members were often busy, so not as available as might be ideal for socializing.

> C-2 3:10: 'I don't think so, it's [Bhutanese community] not as strong, we used to have heaps of people around, our houses were close, our houses here are further away. Yeah a bit [isolated from each other]… my uncle was already here so I felt happy, but some people had no one, no relatives.'

D-2 16:31: 'they are quite busy [other Bhutanese], it's not easy to get together. My brother was here so he helped me… it's not easy [resettlement], it depends on family, problems. [But you were happy to leave Nepal?] Yeah. But the rest of my family went to the USA, three sisters…[you must miss them?] Yes, so far away.'

D-7 [interpreted] 51:54: 'Of course New Zealand is better, there wasn't facilities there, here we have electricity and things. But socially it was better… even though we didn't have facilities I was happier there because of the social aspect was good.'

For these participants their own mobility could be an important factor in their feelings of social isolation. Two of the participants' homes were geographically quite distant from the majority of the community, and as both members did not have access to their own transport they found traveling to socialise difficult. Another had the sole responsibility of a dependent disabled son restricting her freedom of movement.

III: IDENTITY

All eleven Eritrean participants identified as ethnically Eritrean to some degree, nine strongly and two moderately, and all except one participant identified New Zealand as their home and to some degree as a New Zealander (Table 5.0). The participant who identified moderately with Eritrea also identified weakly with New Zealand, favoring Sudan where he was born and grew up.

A-3 12:45: 'sometimes I say Sudanese, sometimes Eritrean… [Would you also call yourself a New Zealander?] No. Yes, you can get your citizenship but to call yourself a New Zealander you should have something else, for me it is not just about the card, I was 22 when I came here, I had learned the Sudanese ways… my mother is a typical Eritrean… but me, I am Sudanese.'

Participants were asked for their primary identity; those who identified as Eritrean were described as strongly identifying with this identity, those who said they would identify as Eritrean secondary to another identity, such as New Zealand, Sudanese or Ethiopian, were described as moderate. Participant A-3 described a moderate to weak connection with the Eritrean identity, but as he indicated Eritrean as his secondary identity behind the preferred Sudanese, I

placed his Eritrean identification under moderate. Participants were then asked if they also identified themselves as a New Zealander: those who answered yes were described as strongly identifying with the New Zealand identity, those who indicated this could be possible but linked identifying as such with their gaining citizenship were described as moderate-linked to citizenship, and those who declined identification with New Zealand was described as weak-not at all.

Table 5.1

NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AS NEW ZEALANDER AND ERITREAN ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

| | | Identification as New Zealander | | | |
		Weak-not at all	Moderate-Linked to Citizenship	Strong	Total
Identification as Eritrean	Weak	0	0	0	0
	Moderate	1	0	1	2
	Strong	0	6	3	9
	Total	1	6	4	11

Four out of the eleven Eritrean participants currently identify strongly with the New Zealand national identity; while for the other six national identity and citizenship were inextricably linked. These participants all indicated they would describe themselves as a New Zealander when they had the assurance from the country of their belonging in the form of citizenship. Age seems to play a role in the importance of citizenship (Fig.5.1) for participants; the majority of those in the 18-30 year old age group linked national identity to gaining their citizenship, while a small majority of those in the above 30 years old age group were content to identify currently as New Zealanders.

Figure 5.1

New Zealand Identification and Age Among Eritrean Participants
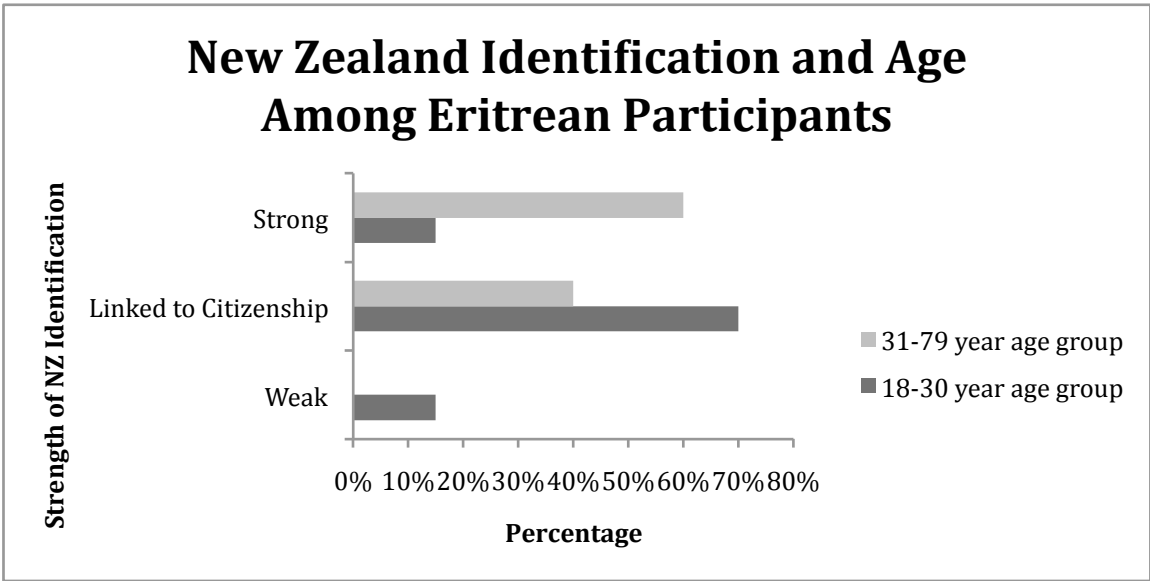
However, as two participants in the older age group have resided in New Zealand for much longer than the other participants, B-1 8 years and B-5 12 years, and have both gained their New Zealand citizenship, this could impact on their identity. Therefore when taking these two participants out of the comparison, (as illustrated in figure 5.2) there is much less difference in the responses of the two age groups to identification.

Figure 5.2

New Zealand Identification and Age Among Eritrean Participants
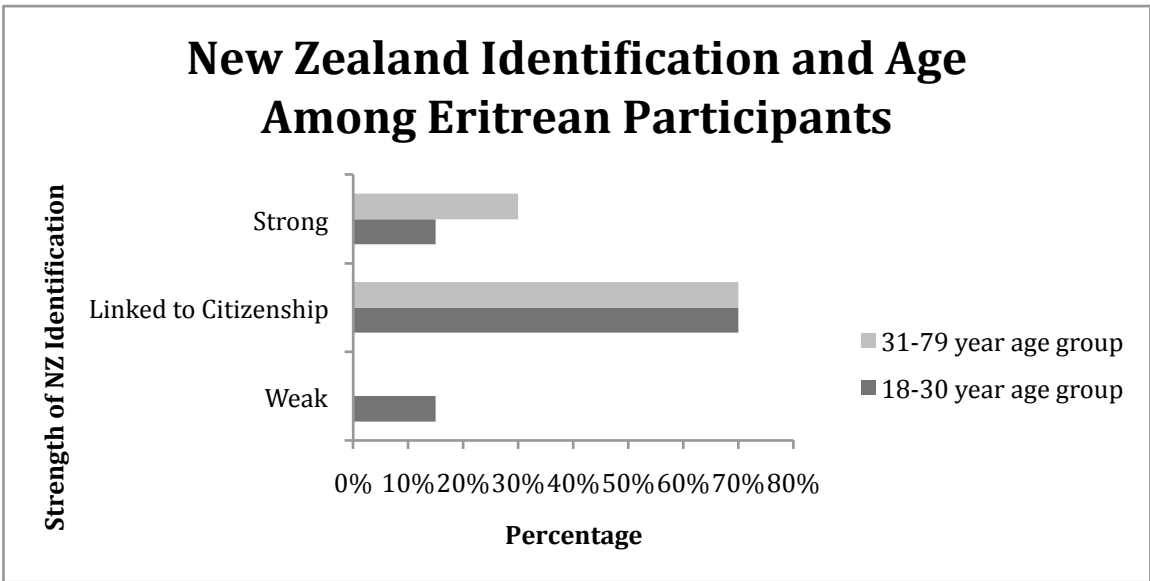
The two participants B-1 and B-5 both identified strongly with the New Zealand identity; B-1 also identified strongly as Eritrean while B-5 only retained

moderate identification with her Eritrean roots. This could be because of the complication of identities obtained since her birth in Eritrea: most of her life spent in Sudan; marriage to an Ethiopian, and an Ethiopian father, which may have reduced the importance of her Eritrean identity.

> B-1 3:51: 'My family came to New Zealand in the late 1970s, they are all kiwi now. But I came seven years ago, I was a resident, then a citizen- I am proud of that too, it is good, it's good to be part of the country... I'm a New Zealander now, I'm a citizen, that's all I need. Its hard to be a New Zealander, but you have to push yourself.'

> B-5 13:38: 'Yes I would [identify as a New Zealander], [as an Eritrean New Zealander?] No, just New Zealander.'

The majority of Eritrean participants, across gender brackets, related national identification to citizenship adding positive affirmations such as 'how proud' they will be when they gain citizenship and that when they get it they will think of themselves as a proper New Zealander.

Figure 5.3
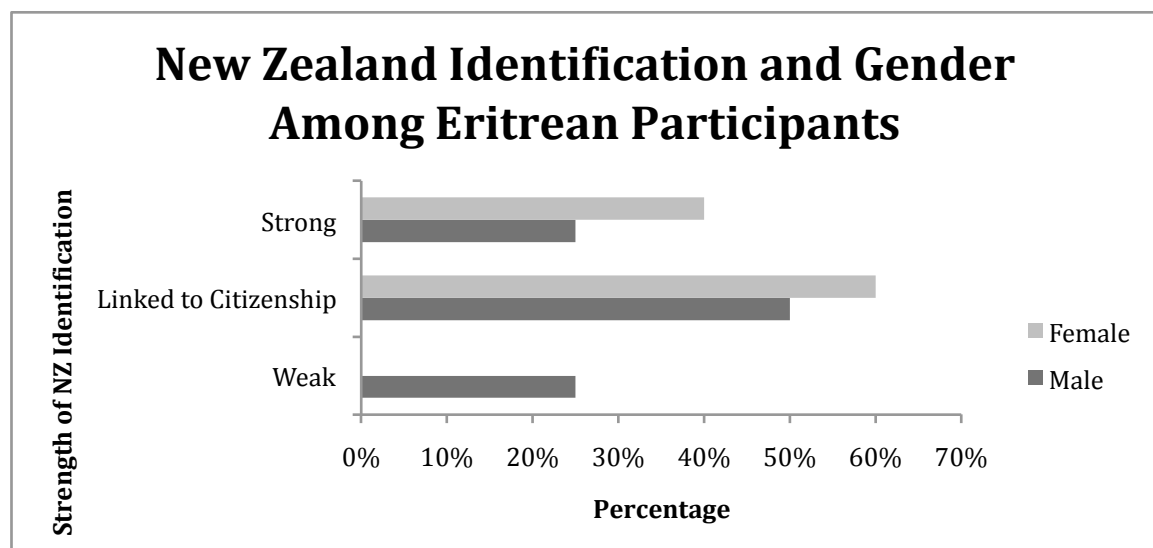
If we turn to gender, the results illustrated a very slight bias in favor of female participants identifying more strongly with the New Zealand national identity currently or in the future after achieving citizenship, and the only Eritrean participant to not identify with the New Zealand identity was a male (see Fig. 5.3).

A-1 6:37: 'I identify as Eritrean most of the time. Yeah, sometimes New Zealander… most people ask me 'where you from?' and I say, 'obviously I'm in New Zealand, but I am also from Eritrea'…I love Christchurch… Every time I come to Christchurch it feels like home'

A-2 6:28: 'yeah [I identify] as an Eritrean. [Do you think of yourself as a New Zealander as well?] Not yet, I don't have citizenship… when I get my citizenship I will think of myself as both, I can't wait!'

B-2 [interpreted] 23:35: 'I lived in Sudan for 20, nearly 30 years, but I wasn't eligible for citizenship. The New Zealand government brought us here, gave us residency, they consider us one of New Zealand, we can vote and in a few years we will be citizens. Sometimes I feel bad for being African because there are no human rights there… when I compare how long I was in Sudan it was a long time and I had nothing, I wasn't able to get citizenship, I was still a refugee. So of course I feel New Zealand is home…originally I am from Eritrea, that is my first country, but I feel like Christchurch is my second country. I don't want to live in another city, it feels like my home.'

B-4 [interpreted] 18:03: 'I am from Eritrea, I say Eritrean, I am not a citizen yet. [When you get your citizenship?] Yes, I would say both.'

The two participants who currently identified strongly with the New Zealand national identity, without citizenship, were both women. One was in the 18-30 year age bracket and the other the 31-79 year age group.

B-3 [interpreted] 15:30 'I feel like I am in my country [in Christchurch], it is flat land and beautiful…It is small and easy, not too complicated. It's [geography] just like Sudan, flat. It is an easy life.'

Two obvious differences between these two participants and the others is their religion (both women are Muslim) and their pre-New Zealand experience, as residents of a rural refugee camp in Sudan. This contrasts with the majority of other Eritrean participants, and the majority of Eritreans in Christchurch, who are Coptic Christian and lived as refugees in an urban environment in Sudan. Both variables may influence participants' willingness to identify as New Zealanders. These two participants were the only Eritreans to identify as Muslim; of the other nine, eight identified as Coptic Christian, and one as not religious, although he was born into a Coptic Christian family. Participants'

religious identities may affect their willingness or need to identify with a national identity.

Participants' experience as camp-based refugees may also have played a role in their being more open to identifying with the New Zealand identity for a number of reasons. Those experiencing only a camp-based life previously may have missed out on some national identification the other participants experienced while living in urban Sudan, making them more open to the New Zealand identity. Similarly those experiencing an urban refugee experience may have attached more to a Sudanese national identity and be more wary about reattaching in settlement in New Zealand, or conversely having experienced life in an urban setting without the safety of citizenship may be more aware of the importance of gaining citizenship in the urban environment before allowing themselves to identify with it nationally.

Of the Bhutanese participants all identified to some degree as Bhutanese and the majority also identified strongly with a New Zealand national identity, currently describing themselves as a New Zealander and Christchurch as their home.

Table 5.2

NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AS NEW ZEALANDER AND BHUTANESE ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

Identification as New Zealander

		Weak- not at all	Moderate- Linked to Citizenship	Strong	Total
Identification as Bhutanese	Weak	0	0	0	0
	Moderate	1	1	0	2
	Strong	1	4	9	14
	Total	2	5	9	16

Unlike the majority of Eritrean participants, who emphasised the link between citizenship and national identity, the majority of Bhutanese currently identified with the New Zealand national identity, the important factor behind this feeling being cited as the fact that Christchurch is 'home' and they can imagine their future in it. In line with the Eritrean findings, those who identified with a national identity did so with reference to what they perceived the New Zealand

state to have provided them: safety, a house, a future for their children and grandchildren, as well as the people being open and respectful of their culture. These feelings were expressed without regard to age, gender, or a participant's ability, through English proficiency, to participate in wider society.

Also as indicated by the Eritrean findings, religion may play a role in participants' willingness to identify with a national identity. The majority of participants identified religiously as Hindu, 14 of 16, and two as Christian. As the numbers of Christian participants was small, whether or not religious identity plays a role in participants' national identification is difficult to determine; however, the two Christian Bhutanese participants were the only participants to identify only moderately with the Bhutanese identity, and one also identified weakly with the New Zealand identity while the other linked his identification to gaining citizenship (Table 5.1).

Figure 5.4
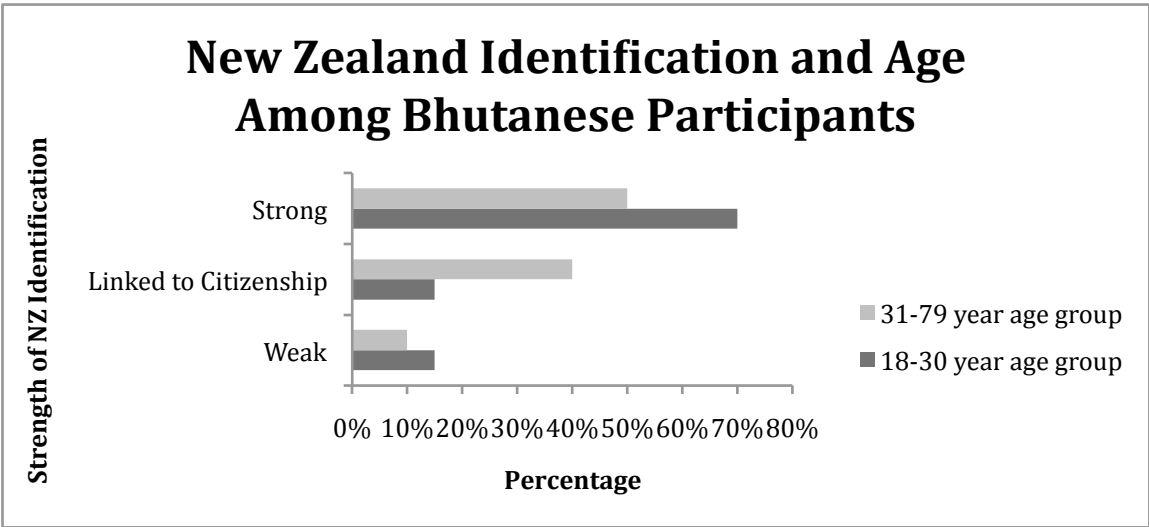
As illustrated in Figure 5.4, age did not seem to have much effect on Bhutanese participants' identification as New Zealanders. However, unlike many Eritrean participants from the 18-30 year age group, the results show that younger Bhutanese participants are less concerned with citizenship, and currently the majority identify with a New Zealand national identity.

> C-3 28:57: 'Yes, sure, New Zealander. That's why I informed my newborn child's ethnicity as 'Bhutanese New Zealander' on his birth certificate. He is born in New Zealand so he is a kiwi. We are migrated Kiwi, but he is born kiwi.'

C-4 [interpreted] 10:40: 'I say New Zealander Bhutanese. I am both, I am a Bhutanese New Zealander. Its hard, we were born in Bhutan, so Bhutanese, we lived so long in Nepal, so Nepalese… but New Zealand is our permanent home, so now I am New Zealander.'

C-6 7:05: 'I say I am Nepalese, but I am staying in New Zealand so nowadays I am a New Zealander, I say like that. [Do you feel like wider society is welcoming and supportive of your community?] Yes, that's why I say I am a New Zealander.'

D-5 26:49: 'this is my home, because if I cannot consider New Zealand is my home why would I come here? I am new here, slowly my internal heart is accepting New Zealand. It takes time.'

D-6 15:50: 'we identify as a New Zealander, we moved here to be New Zealand citizens, so we feel we are New Zealanders. We feel like it is our home… I love New Zealand, I love this city. This is my home, my homeland. I don't know about Nepal or Bhutan.'

D-8 42:10: 'I call myself a New Zealander now. I have safety here. I call myself a New Zealander. I don't have any other stress. I just want my children to study here. We have a house. I just feel sad about not being able to speak and to move around.'

A smaller group thought positively of the New Zealand identity, but would not call themselves a New Zealander until they gained their citizenship. Unlike the Eritrean results, of the five Bhutanese participants concerned with citizenship four came from the 31-79 year age group. The most obvious explanation for this is the refugee experience of the older Bhutanese generation. For these participants the connection between citizenship and their displacement from Bhutan in the late 1980s is still clear. The older generation of participants may remember this with more intensity than the younger group of 18-30 year olds, which might explain the importance they place on gaining citizenship before they would again allow themselves to relate to a national identity. For the one younger participant concerned with citizenship his reasoning revolved around the concrete identifying mark citizenship would provide him.

C-2 4:15: 'This is a good question [what identity do you call yourself]… I talk to my friends sometimes and I can't say what I am, I was born in Bhutan but I

lived in Nepal, now I live in New Zealand… I could say Bhutanese, Nepalese, New Zealander. Sometimes I say Bhutanese, Nepalese, and when I get my citizenship I will say Kiwi. I am proud to say that.'

D-4 27:06: 'Yeah, we are called Bhutanese, 'where are you from?' I say 'Bhutan', so people can recognise me, that I am from the Bhutanese community, but in general we are getting citizen of New Zealand, so we are New Zealanders.'

One participant did identify himself as a New Zealander; however, later in the discussion he emphasised the importance of gaining citizenship and the security this would give him of always knowing he belonged somewhere.

D-10 [interpreted] 29:06 'there is only one thing I am disturbed about, I recently heard that if it is not possible for myself or my children to learn English then we will not have the opportunity to become citizens, I am really worried about this. [Is gaining citizenship an important goal for you?] Yes, it is a very important thing to me, in Bhutan we weren't citizens, if we can't become citizens here then we won't belong anywhere. It is the whole reason we left Bhutan.'

In line with the Eritrean results there was no conclusive difference between genders in identifying with New Zealand; however, Bhutanese males illustrated a slight favoring of identification with New Zealand over female participants (see Fig. 5.5).

Two women, one from each age group, evidenced weak identification with New Zealand. In line with the Eritrean findings, however, both Bhutanese participants also exhibited weaker connections to their migrant community.

D-2 11:50: 'Yes I am Bhutanese. Not really a New Zealander…[in the future?] yes maybe…we are getting used to it [New Zealand society] now, it takes some time. It is not easy.'

Figure 5.5

New Zealand Identification and Gender Among Bhutanese Participants

(Horizontal bar chart. Y-axis: Strength of NZ Identification, with categories Strong, Linked to Citizenship, Weak. X-axis: Percentage, from 0% to 70%. Legend: Female (light grey), Male (dark grey).)

- Strong: Female ≈ 50%, Male ≈ 60%
- Linked to Citizenship: Female ≈ 20%, Male ≈ 40%
- Weak: Female ≈ 30%
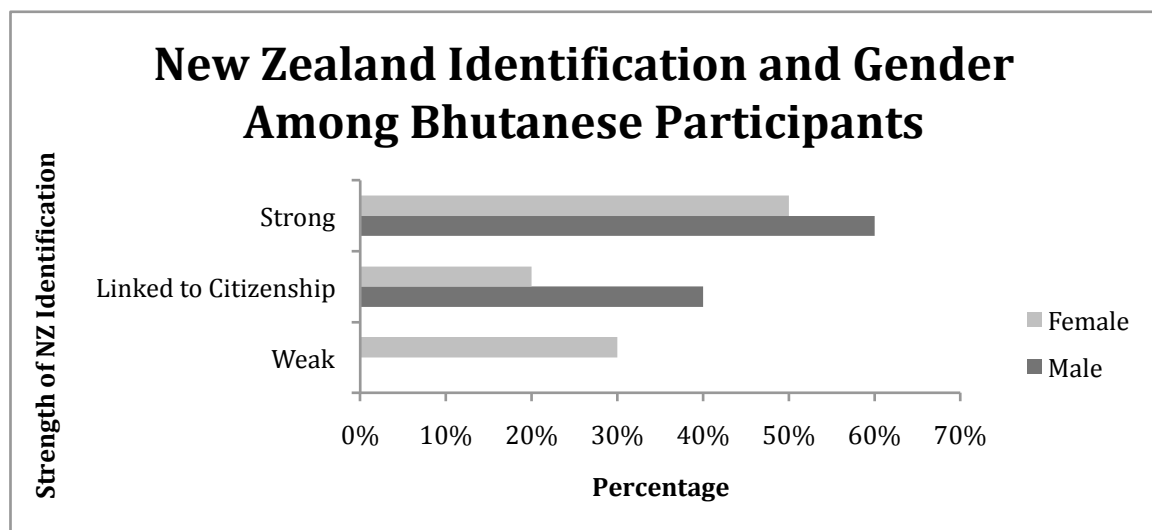
The willingness to identify with the New Zealand national identity seems, therefore, to be strongest among both Bhutanese and Eritrean participants who also feel secure and connected to their migrant community, as figure 5.6 illustrates. Mirroring the Eritrean results, (see table 5.0) both the Bhutanese participants who exhibited low New Zealand identification had weaker ties than other participants to the Bhutanese community. However all participants also have medium to high English, indicating access to participation in wider society is not the decisive factor.

Figure 5.6

Relationship between Migrant Community Connection and NZ Identifcation

(Scatter plot. Y-axis: Strenght of Connection to Migrant Community, 0 to 3. X-axis: Strength of NZ Identification, 0 to 3. Data points at approximately (1,1), (2,3), (2,2), (3,3), (3,2).)
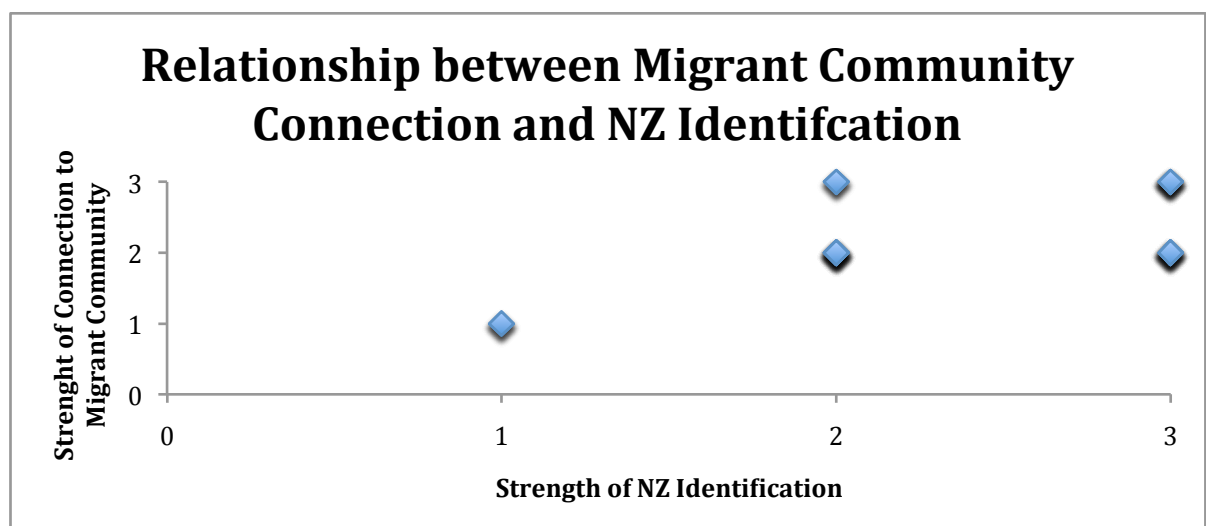
CONCLUSION

The above analysis of my interview data indicates that, contrary to my first hypothesis, there is no strong relationship between participation and access to New Zealand society, and the development of a national identification by former refugee individuals. The majority of the participants in this research illustrated identification with a New Zealand national identity, with language proficiency and enrollment in education having no effect on this. Instead national identification seemed to be sustained through notions of the safety and security provided by the New Zealand state in offering a home and citizenship to settled refugees.

Across age groups participants emphasised that New Zealand was 'home' because it offered them a peaceful country within which to become educated (younger participants) or educate their children (older participants) and therefore opportunities for their own and their family's future. For most participants, suffering many years without the security of citizenship, the opportunity to gain it in New Zealand was the most important factor in describing themselves as belonging to New Zealand.

The fact that cultural maintenance was encouraged and respected by New Zealand society also seemed to relax participants' attitude to identifying as New Zealanders. When discussing feelings of national belonging participants emphasised that the welcoming and inclusive nature of New Zealand allowed them to express their developing national identity on top of their ethnic identity: they were not forced to make a choice or sacrifice anything for it.

One factor that seemed to play a role in participants' national identification was the strength of their connection to their migrant community. Those who did not identify with the New Zealand national identity, one Eritrean participant and two Bhutanese, all shared similar characteristics: feelings of isolation from their migrant community in Christchurch but access possible to wider society because of proficiency in English and enrollment in study. While many participants discussed the changed nature of their communities in settlement, often noting that it was not as united as it was during the years of their refugee experience, overall the attitude of the majority of participants' was they were making

Christchurch their home and that they had sufficient social connections to their migrant communities so that a more unified community may be imagined for the future. The three participants with weak community and national identification, however, illustrated the least positive view of their ties to their migrant community. For a number of reasons, specific to each participant, it could be argued that these members had more reason than others to feel isolated from their communities; one participant, a young mother, felt she lacked social equals in the Bhutanese community in Christchurch; the other Bhutanese woman was a solo-mother of a disabled child; the Eritrean participant, a young man, felt socially excluded from the Eritrean community.

There was an interesting difference between participants of the two communities in their linking identification with the national identity and citizenship. Those who felt that gaining citizenship was vital before they would identify as New Zealanders were drawn, among the Eritreans, mainly from those from 18-30 years old, while from the Bhutanese this mainly concerned those aged between 31-79 year old. Aside from the concepts of security and acceptance inherent in becoming an official citizen, it may be that some participants construed this question through the lens of filling out documents, where one cannot use the term 'New Zealander' until they gain citizenship. It may be that the younger age group within the Eritrean population has filled out more forms than the older participants, and vice versa in the Bhutanese community, so that this notion of not yet being able to describe themselves as New Zealanders has been reinforced.

Although this was a small sample size, and the number of participants from each community's minority religions numbered very few (two Muslim participants from the Eritrean community and two Christian participants from the Bhutanese community) my findings seem to indicate religious affiliation does affect national identification. Within the pool of Eritrean participants Muslims were much more likely to identify with the New Zealand identity than the Coptic Christian participants. Within the Bhutanese community Christian participants indicated less identification with the New Zealand identity as well as weaker ethnic identification than other participants. It may be that Christian participants satisfy some identity need through their religious identification that reduces the

impetus to identify nationally, or that this particular religious affiliation impedes national identification.

Therefore the hypothesis: *Individual identity is renegotiated by former refugees through participation in both their migrant communities as well as in the broader New Zealand society* seems to be only partly correct. My analysis indicates that participation and connection to members' migrant communities may be an important factor, at least in the initial years of settlement, in the formation of a national identity, whereas participation and/or access to wider New Zealand society seems less necessary in the formation of such identification. This may be because feeling connected to their migrant community enables participants to face the settlement process feeling connected to something familiar, including to fellow community members negotiating the same difficulties, while without such support even the capabilities to function in wider society are not enough.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains analysis of my second hypothesis, which concerns the social capital of each community and cross-community cooperation proposing that:

a) Former refugees in New Zealand attempt to garner social capital through community mobilisation in order to create a space for themselves within the wider New Zealand society.

b) Members may then develop cross-community organisations to strengthen their ability to influence policy.

Social capital is a resource created through the social ties and expectation of reciprocity within a network of people linked through shared values and high mutual trust (Coleman, in Field, 2003, p.20). This hypothesis requires examination of the existence and strength of social capital within the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities. I approached this through participants' experience of their connectedness to other members of their migrant community, the levels of trust among members and the existence of shared values. The interview material will be examined for participants' perceptions of the unity of their community and the sense that they were part of a community; the evidence of shared cultural values among members, their interaction with other members on both a social and problem-based level. This hypothesis proposes that such social capital will be utilised by the community in their interaction with wider society.

In looking at the second part of this hypothesis, I examined whether participants understood (some of) the issues they faced as shared with other migrant groups or wider community organizations, and showed a willingness as a community to create cross-community ties for their mutual gain.

The series of devastating earthquakes occurring in Christchurch from late 2010 until late 2011 enabled me to examine firsthand the response of recent migrant communities to disaster, and what role community unity and social capital play in their vulnerability. Both individual and community responses in

the aftermath of the earthquakes indicated the different level of social capital within the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities, as well as, in some cases, unequal access to this capital by members. In relation to the second part of this hypothesis, the earthquake also offered an opportunity to analyse how the communities utilised cross-community connections to benefit their members in coping with the aftermath of the earthquakes.

This chapter is divided into three parts: the background of social capital within each community, social capital in settlement, and the development, if any, of cross-community cooperation between the community and wider society. Discussion in part one is based around the growth, or not, of social capital within each community during their refugee experience, in order to examine on what basis it may be reestablished in settlement. Part two examines how each community is currently displaying and building upon their background of social capital in settlement as well as building the leadership structures necessary for the development of a community organisation. It also discusses the factors that may be contributing to any differences in social capital evidenced by the communities. Part three looks at whether the communities are reaching out to make any cross-community ties of cooperation by focusing on the response by each community to the earthquakes. The earthquakes provided a lens through which to analyse each community's coping mechanisms and how the differing levels of social capital within them may have affected their members' responses.

I: SOCIAL CAPITAL DURING REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

During the course of my interviews no Eritrean participants discussed any sort of experience of social organisation or leadership structures in the Eritrean refugee community in Sudan, either in the camp or in the urban environment. The Coptic Church was the only institution of solidarity that members experienced during their time as refugees, and this obviously was relevant only for the Christian Eritrean participants. This was not a wholly Eritrean community experience, however, as the attendees shared a faith but came from different cultures and ethnicities. Some participants mentioned priests or church heads as possible sources of advice for their family's personal issues, however, in the main people relied on their neighbors across cultures and were not

represented by any particular Eritrean community leader. All participants whose refugee experience was urban-based emphasised the friendly welcoming nature of local communities of Sudanese and other migrants: a purely Eritrean community did not seem to be overly important or realistic under the circumstances of their living conditions. For participants of the 18-30-year-old age group, language preference further reinforces their connection to the Sudanese society; all participants place their use and fluency of Arabic above the Eritrean language of Tigrinya.

> A-2 14:35: 'We didn't have leadership and community like that [in Sudan], but all the people supported each other were like one community, there were many many Eritreans. Even though the church was Egyptian it was full of Eritreans, it's not like here, you can't see the Egyptians. But we didn't have like a community, we are not allowed, because the relationship between the two countries [Eritrea and Sudan] is not good, we do not have a relationship with the government [of Sudan].'

> A-3 8:10: 'people are so nice in Sudan… if you don't have a TV you just go to another person's house… where we lived was a city, like a suburb with over 200 Eritrean families, we can go to each other's house. We also were close to the Sudanese people; we don't feel like we don't belong to a community, we were friends with them… We didn't have any community leaders, no officials… no one would support you to do such stuff [be a leader], no, I don't remember anything like that.'

> A-5 3:35: 'you cannot make a community in Kassala [Sudan], there is no freedom. If you try to make a community and discuss about your situation as a refugee you are not allowed, the government is not going to allow you. We can't speak loudly like 'we need this or that'…we had a Coptic church, like in Christchurch, not an Eritrean church. We belonged to the Coptic church… we prayed there with a mixture, Eritrean, Ethiopian and Egyptian, and some Sudanese are Christian as well.'

> B-4 [translated] 11:28: 'No there is no [Eritrean] community like that because we were illegal there [Sudan]. Just local people, Eritrean, Sudan or Ethiopian or whatever, when someone dies or is sick or needs help we just help each other, it is not organised, we just do it…In Sudan everybody is your brother, your family, love and friendship is not anywhere like Sudan.'

Bhutanese participants, in contrast, even the younger members, discussed at length the type of democratic social organisation they established, through the help and teachings of the UNHCR, in the camps in Nepal. This experience in community organisation and trust building could have influenced how the community is reestablishing itself in Christchurch. While the community demographic and environment in Christchurch is quite different to what members experienced in Nepal, and the organisation of the Bhutanese society reflects that, this background may have provided the community with a foundation on which to build itself and may be an important factor in its successful organising so far.

C-3 6:49: 'the camp was like a country for us, there was a Camp Secretary, Deputy Camp Secretary… there were 9 sectors and every one had a Sector Head, in each sector there were four units, in each unit there were 100-150 houses. We elected these leaders. There was a committee also. [Was this similar to the organisation in your villages in Bhutan?] No, it was new in the camp, implemented by UNHCR, so the camps would be organised.'

C-5 13:44: 'our own community was organised, there were very educated people, older people, lots of people from different backgrounds. We had community leaders, there were many thousands of people living in the camps, so they divided the camp into sectors, a, b, c etc, then the sectors into subsectors, then into units, a-1, a-2, up to four… for each unit there was a leader. He will get the register to count the people, what are their ages, are they male or female. This is a volunteer job. He helps people to get to where their rations are distributed, and how much they get. For each unit there is a sub-sector head, he also looks after other things like problems if there is violence between husband and wife, or between people in the camp, or between people in the camp and the local community. Then there is also a big community office, divided into lots of different groups; my mum worked in the social division. The children, they went to school, educated people taught them, those who are illiterate, they could learn, old people, mum and dads can help in the community; people elected the Camp Chairperson and Deputy, they did many things.'

D-5 14:10: 'No [the organisation in the camp was not like in Bhutan], in Bhutan it is ruled only by the king. If we organise any sort of meeting, they wouldn't

allow us…maybe they were afraid of it. I don't know [where the camp organisation came from] because I was young… but maybe from the UNHCR… and other NGOs tried to teach us some system of democracy.'

D-7 [translated] 36:00 'In the beginning the committee was mostly men, because back in Bhutan women did not really go outside of the house, we were not used to participating… there was no democracy in Bhutan. Still there is none. So we [the women] were taught how to speak for ourselves, even the adults who had never had any education were able to go to school in the camp. I had never studied but I did in the camp, I was able to learn some written Nepali. So after the UNHCR stepped back we [the women] began to take part, a stance… we set up a group for women within the camp… there was like a uprising… emancipation of women's rights, we fought for women to have rights. The women's group was a chance for the women to speak… Some husbands were not in agreement with this, but most were, it became stronger. Before our culture was old fashioned and rigid.'

D-9 [translated] 24:00: 'the UNHCR wanted to set up a system for our community. They wanted us to elect a camp secretary; UNHCR helped us set up an election system. They had us elect someone to represent us for a women's forum, health, education, everything. That was how it was established. There was none of this in Bhutan; it was all new to us. Yes we were happy, we liked it. We were happy the UNHCR and the Nepali government came together to set this system up for us, there was a place for us to go if we had a complaint and we were heard. There was a Judiciary system if people had disagreements.'

While life in the camps clearly had many difficulties, several vital components of social capital, trust and social connectedness were created through the intense interaction of members, their ability to participate in electing their leaders, to be involved in the camp organisation and in their education programme. Such involvement may have led to enhanced social cohesion among Bhutanese, and a greater ability to adapt to New Zealand society where democracy and equality among women and men is the norm, along with an emphasis on education.

C-5 6:20: 'Only few did more study, it's very hard in Nepal. It was hard because we didn't have much money, but still I enjoyed it… Then I went back to the

camp and taught at the school to help our community, to teach our brothers and sisters... Most people with some education do this, it was important.'

Several participants mentioned the ways in which educated and uneducated members helped their community during their refugee experience, especially in regard to establishing and teaching in schools.

The Bhutanese community illustrated quite high levels of social capital prior to arriving in New Zealand. This was clearly facilitated by their refugee experience; many participants described how the UNHCR and other NGOs inside their refugee camps taught them skills associated with organising as a community and participating in improving the circumstances of their children through education and learning programmes.

Discussion with participants from the Eritrean community suggest that this community experienced very little encouragement during their time as refugees for the establishment of social capital. Most participants did not come from a camp-based refugee experience, and the only form of community involvement was participation in the Christian Church. The Muslim participants were camp-based before arrival in New Zealand. Contrary to the Bhutanese camps, however, these members recalled no participation in the organisation of their camps or the teaching of any democratic organisational skills to themselves or other refugees by the UNHCR and NGOs. Therefore the Eritreans resettled in New Zealand with a much lower level of social capital and less skills in community organisation than the Bhutanese.

II: SOCIAL CAPITAL IN SETTLEMENT

Eritrean participants did not express much evidence of social capital within their community in Christchurch. Most said they felt there was not much of a sense of a community, that there were no members within the community who took on any leadership roles or anyone in the community they or their family would go to if they needed assistance or advice. Instead they sought outside aid through registered channels such as their social worker or Refugee Services. This indicates there may not be very high levels of trust between members or a lack of practice within the community of relying on each other in such a way.

Participants not relaying memories of experiencing a sense of an Eritrean "community" during their refugee experience in Sudan, as discussed in relation to the first hypothesis, further pointed towards this. The lack of practical experience with democratic self-organisation and few opportunities to develop leadership capacities seems to be currently impacting on the establishment of the type of community that facilitates the establishment of social capital.

> A-1 15: 22: 'I know most of the [Eritrean] people here, they get bored because there is no connection to each other, everyone is so busy just working, they work, they come home, or school then home.'

> B-5 15:40: 'we didn't have a community in Sudan among the Eritrean refugees or others, but we knew each other, we helped each other as we could…we don't have a strong community here either, there is socialising among the Eritrean people here [Christchurch], but there are no leaders or anything, people just socialise together. If the community was bigger there may be people who could be leaders. And after the earthquake people are a bit down and many have left.'

A sense of community for Christian Eritrean members may be fulfilled through their connections to the church. The majority of participants emphasised the importance of attending church in Christchurch, as they did in their memories of Sudan. There does not, however, seem to be any indication of a movement within the Eritrean community to organise itself politically or culturally stemming from their religious practice. As discussed in Part I, going to church, and the gathering afterwards for coffee, are described by most participants as their main social event with other Eritreans.

> B-5 15:55: 'the community here is not strong… It may be because there aren't that many people, without many you cant be very strong, and now after the earthquake there are even less. It's good to have a community but it's just the way it is. We attend church every week, it used to be in Edgeware but it is damaged now after the earthquake. We go still though. Lots of Eritrean, Ethiopian and Egyptian families went there, too, but after the damage some now go to one near the airport, my family we still go to the one in Edgeware but now it is in a hall. It's good to have the church to go to, if there is not much of a community at least we go to church on a Saturday or Sunday and meet

However the fact that post-earthquake the congregation has split, with mostly Ethiopian-Eritreans remaining at the Edgeware church and more Eritreans choosing to go to one further away, indicates the community's unification through the church may not be completely solid.

Almost all participants from the Bhutanese community, on the other hand, expressed at least some degree of the three key aspects present in the establishment of social capital within a group: a sense of belonging to a community; having shared values with other members of the community; and some level of trust with other members. Participants did vary, however, in their opinion of the strength of the community.

All participants recognised their membership in the Bhutanese community, and the majority described aspects of community unity such as socializing often with other Bhutanese members; helping, alongside New Zealand agencies such as Refugee Services, new members to settle in Christchurch; getting together as a group for religious festivals; and participating or encouraging their children in the expression of their dance and culture at cultural days such as Refugee Day. While, as discussed in relation to the first hypothesis, some members said they do not feel the community is as cohesive as it was during their camp days in Nepal, there is a strong sense that the community is united in their shared culture, language and background, and most members discuss the community with a sense of familiarity and belonging. The establishment, in late 2010, of an official community organisation, the Bhutanese Society, may best exemplify the community's social capital. While still in its early stages at the time of my interviews, all but two participants were aware of the Society and all felt it had relevance to their lives in Christchurch. As an expression of social capital and a part of civil society, the Bhutanese Society will be discussed further in Part III.

C-3 23:37: 'I didn't think that there would be any other Bhutanese people in Christchurch when I first came, but when we were in Mangere a member of the Bhutanese community from Christchurch rang me and I talked to him. I

heard a Nepali voice, and my happiness was over the moon. He said there are Bhutanese here... I didn't know him before, still I would like to thank him because he called. We were in a totally new situation , totally new food, for five weeks. But he called and I knew we were going to Christchurch and there would be other Bhutanese.'

D-1 23:07: 'yes there was, I felt a connection to the other Bhutanese we arrived in Auckland with. At the time we were new, we did not know where to go, where all the families lived, but after a month we met more [Bhutanese] people at school, at refugee services, at the shopping mall... we see them, they helped us... Yes there are people, there is cooperation, there are general people in the community we can go to.'

D-6 9:10: 'We are here in Christchurch as one community, the Bhutanese community, members have been living here [Christchurch] since 2008 quite strongly.'

Through discussion with participants, and witnessing their homes and gardens, it is clear that members shared certain values and activities. One important activity is gardening, which seems popular across all families in the Bhutanese community. It is common for the community to gather to help dig in large gardens at each other's houses, or for neighbors to share plots in one family's backyard and garden together when some families do not have room in their own backyards. All plots are gardened in the same style and contain very similar vegetables, the staple being a type of green giant mustard, of which members share seeds, plants and leaves. The preserved form of this green is very popular in Bhutanese cooking. All Bhutanese gardens also contain rows of calendula plants, even Christian ones, which in Hindu households are used for making wreaths and decorating their houses at festival time.

Some of the more straightforward aspects of community organisation, such as festival celebrations, have been organised well by the Bhutanese Society, and all Hindu participants mentioned they partook in these community wide and organised celebrations.

C-3 23:08: 'yeah last time we had a big celebration for Diwali, lots of people came together and we danced and sing. There is no problem getting together to organise that.'

Trust between members of a group is an important aspect in the establishment of social capital as it is vital for the reciprocity contained in human capital, and necessary in order for members to rely on each other to aid in the overcoming of problems. While participants clearly relied on other members of the Bhutanese community for help with certain aspects of settling in Christchurch and helped each other in ways that indicate the building of trust, it is clear that the community is in the early stages of establishing strong bonds between members. Some participants discussed the difficulties common to communities made up of different types of people, with different needs and skills. Within a community of resettled refugees issues surrounding mental health are common; therefore, building trust among members can be a long-term project. Moreover as the community has only resettled refugees as its members, the community as a whole must first understand the systems of their settling society before they can help each other and especially vulnerable members. Bhutanese participants did, however, point out that the community is attempting to overcome the difficulties associated with settling, and membership and the establishment of trust is present in many of the participants' descriptions of their interactions within the community.

> C-4 [interpreted] 3:06: 'Yes I feel they [the Bhutanese community] are there for us, they help us still.'

> C-5 19:06: 'it is hard to understand each other [members of the Bhutanese community] now, we are new to each other, from different backgrounds: some are good people, some are bad people, some are from rich background, some are poor, some are educated, politically active. At the beginning it was very hard, it's hard to know, but now we are a little settled I hope we get stronger, we see there are good aspects… it's [the Bhutanese community] not like in Nepal, our time is so limited, everyone is busy in their own personal life, it is very hard to see each other. But I don't know what will happen in the future; at the moment people are new and struggling with their basic needs. But people are trying their best.'

> D-3 29:10: 'we had a lot of problems [as a community]… we came to a new country, it was a challenge for us… slowly when we come to know it becomes easier… at first we got support and help from the volunteers, now we have

been here three or four years, now it is our time to help the other families… those that come now. It will be better to help each other in the community.'

D-9 [interpreted] 45:46: 'we have been able to form a small committee within our community. What responsibility it has we are not sure, what it will be tomorrow we don't know; it is very early. My children don't really know much about it; even I do not really know what it is supposed to do. I think that other families all like the idea of a committee. But I don't know if they have much faith that it will function properly. It is still at the beginning, at this point people are still unwilling to let the committee know about their problems, but maybe in the future there will be some way to ensure confidentiality and people will trust it.'

Trust is also vital in the establishment of a leadership structure within a community. As mentioned in Part I of this chapter, several Bhutanese participants had experience holding leadership positions during their time in the refugee camps; however, as the community readjusts to life in New Zealand, most of these roles are no longer relevant. Different leadership figures are emerging, with skills appropriate for the community in settlement, acknowledged by these former leaders, such as a proficiency in English, enabling them to help other members of the community with services in Christchurch. Leadership figures often gain their positions of respect by assisting other members of the community to settle, such as through acting as translators and guides, and through liaising with other organizations also assisting in settlement, such as Refugee Services, Christchurch Resettlement Services and the Canterbury Refugee Council. However, these leadership figures have also gone a step further, and are working to articulate the community's wishes through the establishment of a community organisation, the Bhutanese Society. Through this organisation, leadership roles have been made official through an election system, where interested members put themselves forward for certain roles and are voted on by the community. The Society's organisational structure is centered on a President and other positions responsible for different aspects of settlement such as sports and education. Election through the Bhutanese Society also provides the community's representative at the Canterbury Refugee Council.

So far there have been some difficulties around the Society's election system for its leadership roles. However, as discussed by participants below, the problems surrounding the election of leaders in the Society's first year are well known by members, and those with complaints remained positive that the Society can rectify them.

> D-3 23:08: 'when we were a small group [when they first arrived] it was good, but now we are bigger [the community] it's very hard to be united, because different people are having different opinions… the government has registered the Bhutanese Society in Christchurch… but before that the community had a election… but it was not fair, not a fairly elected leadership. I was there but I don't have any family, any relations here, those that have many families… they will support that person and he will become the leader, if I don't have any family I won't be a leader. That sort of thing is inside the community. Another thing is those that became a leader will be near with the agencies and organizations, they will trust them, they will have to because they are the leaders… but those that are down, disabled, they don't understand what is the problem down there…'

> C-3 6:44: 'If it is fair I will be involved, but if not I will be neutral. If I participate it has to be fair for everyone, there should not be any problem or harm to any in the community. If it can be helpful for the community I will not only vote I will give my time too…[Have you heard there may be some issues with the fairness of the Society?] Yes, I heard last time there weren't many people involved in voting, in the constitution it says over 50% [of those over 18 years old from the community] need to be involved to vote, to be certified, but it didn't seem that way… We need to respect to the people who don't have much English, or transport, it needs to be pre-organised and organised.'

The community's leadership difficulties also highlight another important issue within the community. While the Bhutanese community as a whole seems to contain quite a high level of social capital, those who have a disability or are responsible for an immediate family member with a disability, described some marginalisation and less access to the community's social capital. Three participants from the 31-79 year age group fitted this category, one participant was himself disabled, one participant was the solo parent of a disabled child, and the other responsible for a disabled sibling. These members described less

participation within the community, less help from the community, and some spoke of feeling isolated because they had fewer social connections in the community outside of their immediate family. This could be due to the fact they are less mobile and so less able to meet with other members of the community and are thus left out of certain aspects of community organisation. It may also be influenced by the fact that those with disabilities may be seen as suffering from difficult problems the community does not yet have the capacity to cope with, something one disabled participant, D-1, described.

Certain other participants, without disabled family members, brought up the issue of unequal representation in the Bhutanese Society and access to help by disabled members of the community. The community, therefore, is discussing and working through such problems. As the community is in the beginning stages of establishing this formal community organisation, issues of inclusion, especially of the vulnerable, are currently still being worked through.

> D-1 36:26: 'yes, especially wider organisations have been very helpful for our family because they know what those in the worst condition [disabled] are facing. But the Bhutanese community they don't know, they don't know the way to help these people because we don't have the habit of doing so. We just came here two or three years ago and they are forming a group, sitting together, but they don't know how to communicate with wider people, with everyone in the community, how to get in touch with every person [those more marginal in the community such as the disabled]. Because we didn't get a chance to do so in the camp, people had their own jobs to do, had their own business to look after. Now they are trying to get together, to organise more as a community, like with the recent festival, Dusshera, the community organised it well. We are getting there.'

Another area of potential difficulty within the Bhutanese community could stem from a gap in cultural values between the Hindu and Christian Bhutanese. While participants did not raise this as an issue in socializing, the small minority of Christian Bhutanese, by virtue of their religious difference, does not partake in some of the important cultural Hindu festivals. The Hindu Bhutanese members exhibit strong shared values that stem from a merging of religion and Nepali/Bhutanese culture. Christian Bhutanese are, however, a very small

minority within the community in New Zealand, the details of which are however, currently unknown (A. Reynolds, personal communication, May 5 2012). As recent converts to Christianity, within the last 18 years while in the refugee camps in Nepal, they lack a history of associating the religion with their Bhutanese/Nepali culture. It is therefore unclear how these members negotiate their culture without Hinduism. Some values, around festival worship and food, differ from the majority of the Bhutanese community, meaning members may miss out on certain unifying aspects of the community in settlement in Christchurch, such as the participation in festival celebrations.

Neither of the two Christian participants said they felt their religious difference affected their position in the Bhutanese community; however, both were of the small group of four Bhutanese participants who felt weak connections to the community. Religious difference may therefore affect these members' access to the social capital created within the community. At the same time, the church may offer them access to the social capital of other communities. These members may be a minority within the Bhutanese community; however, in wider society Christians are a larger group than Hindus and may therefore offer other networks of support.

> D-2 9:00: 'No [did not participate in the recent festivals], because I am
> Christian... they serve idols. I used to be a Hindu when I was in Bhutan, when I
> came to Nepal I converted in the camp. Because my family converted, my
> parents, [you were still living with your parents?] I followed them... both of
> them died in Nepal. [Was your husband Christian too?] No he's not ... yeah it
> was difficult, different beliefs. He is not here with me. [Do you find it hard in
> Christchurch because most other Bhutanese are Hindu?] No I don't.'

Community Analysis

Several major differences between the two communities were observed during the course of my research, which may have played a role in fostering the growth of social capital within the Bhutanese community, as well as hindering its establishment in the Eritrean community. These are community size; the personal stress of members within the community; the makeup of the

community (member's gender, age, overall education level, extended family ties); and the community's background, especially its refugee experience.

The size of a migrant community must, to some extent, influence the social capital within it, for the capital generated by a group would be limited if the group had very few members with whom to interact. The Eritrean community in Christchurch is much smaller than the Bhutanese community, at approximately 30 persons versus 240 (A. Reynolds, personal communication, 5 May, 2012). This may have negatively impacted the Eritrean community in Christchurch. However, this does not explain why, before the earthquake when the community was much larger, at approximately 80 persons and over 15 families, it did not establish some sort of functioning leadership and social organisation.

The high numbers of Eritrean families who dispersed due to the earthquake itself, over ten families and more than half of the population, indicates that the level of community unity and social capital may not have been very high. The majority of those with citizenship left New Zealand to Australia, and those without it to Auckland and Wellington, where there are larger communities of Eritreans. It could be seen as indicative of the connection for these members to the community in New Zealand that so many left, not only Christchurch, but also New Zealand.

The Bhutanese community, at approximately 52 families, on the other hand, may have the advantage of being an optimum size, large enough to generate sufficient social capital and for there to be choice and expertise within the population for leadership roles, but not so large as to become unwieldy and divisive.

Another variable that may play a considerable role in the ability of members of a community to generate social capital is the level of personal stress or mental wellbeing of its members. Within the Eritrean community most families are missing an immediate family member, and the subsequent stress resulting from the government policy towards the reunification of family members, is very high. Immediate family division does not affect most Bhutanese families. After almost four years of settlement in Christchurch, most Bhutanese now also have some extended family in New Zealand, or Christchurch, or have some knowledge that more plan to be resettled in the future. Some extended families have been

divided when members are resettled to the US or Australia; however, generally Bhutanese family ties are much more intact in New Zealand than for Eritrean members. Only one Eritrean participant had any extended family in New Zealand, and almost all had an immediate family member, such as a father, brother, or son, remaining in Sudan that they have been attempting, unsuccessfully for a number of years, to bring to New Zealand. Both communities valued family very highly, and the separation of immediate family members was clearly highly distressing.

Certain aspects of the demographics of community members in settlement may affect social capital creation, such as their English ability, education levels, and age. However, as almost all these variables remain relatively similar between the two communities, as discussed in the previous chapter, I will concentrate on gender. The most obvious difference between the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities is that the former is visibly lacking in male heads of household. There is a significant absence of adult males in the Eritrean community, both as fathers and elders. Nine of eleven Eritrean participants were from solo-mother households. In some cases this was because the father or husband had been killed in the Eritrean war, in other cases because the reunification process to have their father brought to New Zealand was so far unsuccessful. This is not uncommon for Eritreans in New Zealand, as many families were settled here as high-risk refugees owing in large part to the family's solo-mother status.

Bhutanese refugees, however, have been resettled large-scale to several countries, and the community in Christchurch is made up largely of whole families; although some are solo mothers, a larger age range that includes elders is present. This difference may be significant for the establishment of social capital. As both the Eritrean and Bhutanese cultures are patriarchal, males are dominant in organisation and leadership roles: the lack of male heads of household may negatively affect social organisation in the Eritrean community as the elder women may lack the knowledge and skills to organise the community. The priest is a figure of spiritual leadership for the Coptic Christian community; however, in Christchurch this role is not filled by an Eritrean as there are no Eritrean priests currently in Christchurch.

The above variables may all have played a role in creating a challenging environment for the establishment of social capital within the Eritrean community. An overarching point of difference between the two communities, may, however, have created the most important barrier for the Eritrean community to organise in settlement: the refugee experience. Members of the Bhutanese community experienced being refugees together, all based in one of five solely Bhutanese refugee camps in Nepal. During these 18 years all members were exposed to a form of social and political organisation, taught and overseen by the UNHCR. This system was democratic and inclusive; as participants explained, camp leaders were elected, and their camps were organised through camp committees responsible for organising the teachers in the education system, for women's welfare and for resource distribution. Women's role in the community was emphasised by the UNHCR, who ensured they were involved in the voting system and in the camp committees. The ability and need for community organisation was entrenched in the Bhutanese community through such exposure and participation during their refugee experience. While settlement in Christchurch may require quite different community organisation and member participation, this background of community organisation provides the community with organisational ability and experience, as well as leadership figures with the skills to organise the community in settlement.

Eritrean families in Christchurch by contrast, in the main did not reside in a refugee camp before settlement in New Zealand. Most lived as refugees in an urban environment in Sudan with Sudanese and refugees of other backgrounds. Two of 11 participants came from a camp-based refugee experience; however, this is not indicative of the community in Christchurch where only two Eritrean families were camp-based refugees. As discussed by participants during my interviews, refugees living in both the urban and camp environment were actively discouraged by Sudanese authorities from forming any sort of organisation or even a sense of community where they could talk about their situation, how to overcome any problems, or participate in any democratic elections from which leadership figures might arise.

In the absence of such community organisation during their refugee experience, strong neighbor and friend relationships across ethnicities between

Eritrean, Sudanese, Ethiopian, and Egyptians, were established instead. This form of support resulted in furthering the lack of unification within the Eritrean community as members became practiced in looking outside of the community for their needs. Therefore, Eritreans in settlement have no background experience with responding to their individual problems as a community, or of community leadership figures organising on their behalf. Creating trust and expertise within the community necessary for building social capital in settlement is, as a result, all the more difficult without a background of doing so. The Eritrean community's experience in Sudan was highly social with the local population, however, it did not involve community organisation. Families interacted with their neighbors on a social level, but their wariness of authorities meant they kept their problems to themselves. Moreover, as refugees applying for resettlement in a third country their relationships with the local population may have been seen as transitory.

While social ties remain between Eritreans and Ethiopians, and with a small group of Egyptians, in settlement, new constraints on individuals' time, such as work, geographical distance, and study, now add increased barriers to the creation of close connections necessary for social capital growth in a new environment. While some participants from the Bhutanese community also mentioned that social ties among members in Christchurch are not as strong as they were in the camps of Nepal, the community's background of organisation and leadership has meant they are generally overcoming the difficulties of a new environment and able to use their social capital to work towards a space for the community in wider Christchurch society. This was not evident in the Eritrean community.

III: CROSS-COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

The second part of my hypothesis postulates that members of former refugee communities may, after mobilising in the form of a community organisation, then develop cross-community connections to strengthen their ability to influence policy. The Bhutanese Society in Christchurch is a fledging organisation, and as such is still currently working through the creation of cross-community ties.

One example of the strength of the organisation, and the social capital within the Bhutanese community, is its ties with other communities of Bhutanese in the two other centers where the population has settled in New Zealand, Palmerston North and Nelson. These communities have also established Bhutanese Societies, and the three organisations liaise with each other on their shared goals. In March 2012 they held their first joint meeting, hosted by the Christchurch Bhutanese Society, and chaired by its president ('First Joint Meeting', 2012). This joint meeting was held in order for the Societies to discuss issues concerning their settlement in New Zealand; over the course of several days they passed 12 resolutions relating to maintaining their cultural identity, establishing a shared and protected archive of their historical resources, and supporting the raising of occupational skills, including assisting women in obtaining their drivers license.

In line with my hypothesis, there is an understanding among certain sectors of former refugees that their communities have similar challenges to do with settling and integration, and that cooperation is essential for overcoming them. Bhutanese community members seem especially aware of this, and are involved in two refugee-led organisations to this end; the Canterbury Refugee Council (CRC), and Strengthening Refugee Voices (SRV). The CRC meet monthly, and has been functioning in some capacity since 2008, with a Chairperson and representatives from different communities. SRV is the CRC's main project to date, an initiative aimed at providing a forum for former refugee communities to express their problems and needs, and potentially for providing an arena for solving them. As yet the CRC has been involved in advocacy on behalf of individuals from certain refugee communities, on what seems to be an *ad hoc* basis (CRC member, personal communication, 14 June, 2012). However, it is early in their existence and representatives involved are positive the role of the CRC will grow.

SRV is made up from representatives of all interested former refugee communities. The Bhutanese Society cooperates by providing two members, and these representatives liaise with the SRV representative, who represents former refugee communities on the CRC. The SVR has begun planning certain programmes for community members, but has not yet undertaken any. The position of the SRV representative on the CRC is currently held by a member of

the Bhutanese community; the role involves bringing information about what is going on in the different former refugee communities to the CRC, reporting what help the communities need, and explaining what CRC can do for them. Bhutanese community members are therefore very involved in civil society, putting their social capital to use not only for their community but also on behalf of former refugees as a whole.

Until recently the Eritrean community did not have a representative on either the CRC or at the SRV, indicating the community was not seeking the assistance such organisations offer. Recently a young (under 18 years of age) community member has attended some CRC meetings. Her participation seems to stem from individual interest rather than as a full representative of her community, as her community members did not elect her to the position and participants in this study seemed unaware of the CRC or SRV. The Bhutanese community's higher levels of social capital, background of democratic organisation, and social composition, have enabled some members to become much more involved in civil society than members of the Eritrean community. In my interviews, however, no Bhutanese participants brought up either the CRC or SVR in discussions around community organisation. They are clearly not, at least currently, at the forefront of most members' minds. To date the CRC seems to function largely as a discussion point for members involved. It is early days, and these organisations may represent the beginnings of mobilisation by former refugees to cooperate in the process of influencing integration policy.

The Earthquakes

For the study of social capital within the former refugee communities of Eritreans and Bhutanese, the earthquakes in 2011 in Christchurch offered a unique opportunity to examine how each community responded to the disaster, and whether the higher levels of social capital and organisation within the Bhutanese community, as discussed above, manifest in a way that made the community less vulnerable in the months after the disaster. On the other hand the earthquake further illustrated a lack of community-based organisation within the Eritrean community. Members did not respond to the earthquake as a

community; instead, families received help from their church and neighbors individually.

The earthquakes created a pressing need within the Bhutanese community, and the Bhutanese Society responded by seeking aid from several wider community organisations, Refugee Services, Red Cross New Zealand, and religious communities in Auckland and Dunedin. Most Bhutanese participants expressed positive experiences of support from the Bhutanese community after the earthquake in February, and some members talked of enjoying the side effect of spending more time together in close proximity in the immediate aftermath. Within the Bhutanese community, organisation for community well being was extensive: leaders contacted or visited most families in person; families within the community in need were organised to stay at other members' (even unknown members) houses that were undamaged and had utilities; with support from the wider society (Refugee Services, the Red Cross and a Marae in Dunedin) a large group, who wanted a break from Christchurch, was organised to travel to Dunedin and stay together at a Marae; and a smaller group of higher risk families were flown, with the aid of the Red Cross, to Auckland to stay with a church group. Along with this, many members organised within their wider family and social group to stay together for several days in the immediate aftermath in the recovery centre at Burnside.

> C-1 11:20: 'a member of the Bhutanese community picked me up from school after the big earthquake… our house was fine so many members of the community stayed with us, there were about 12 people for a week.'

> C-3 37:25: 'there were three [Bhutanese] families with us on that night, they didn't have power or water so they came here to my house. It was a great opportunity for me to help one woman, with two children, she is a solo parent… I didn't know her before but I heard she was Bhutanese, that's why I offered her to come here. Now she comes to visit often, we go to her house. It's really nice.'

> C-6 8:46: 'we all met each other [members of the Bhutanese community after the earthquake] and checked they are ok, we all talked about it, we were all scared. We went to Dunedin for 15 days, it was really nice, we went in a big

group on two buses with lots of other Bhutanese and we all talked Nepali to each other all the time, it was really nice.'

D-4 40:48: 'all the Bhutanese families are close friends… after three days [we contacted them] when the phone lines were working again.'

D-6 18:30: 'it was a very tough time… specifically for myself, my community, my family, being new New Zealanders we feel so shocked and traumatized. Some families felt so scared and left their homes, some remained here with a strong heart, which was great and brave as well. I didn't feel very scared myself, but some of my family and community did… after it I visited my friends, community members and neighbors, 'how were they feeling?', to know they were okay.'

D-8 [interpreted] 34:45: 'my daughter picked us up and we went to Burnside High School to the [Recovery] centre for a week, our house was not damaged. Just because of the fear. The adults were scared, the children were. Better to all be together. There were lots of other Bhutanese families there. I was relieved to be with many other Bhutanese; there were lots of people from our community I could speak to. Yes, it was just like being back in the camp!'

D-10 [interpreted] 36:58: 'we all [immediate and extended family] went to Burnside Recovery Centre because lots of Bhutanese families live there and we were able to meet up. Then there was talk that there would be a bigger earthquake so we talked to the Red Cross and they organised for us to go to Auckland. We talked to the Red Cross as a community, someone organised on my family's behalf. About half of the community went to Auckland for one month. The Red Cross helped us a lot and we stayed at a church, we were able to stay and not pay rent…There were 55 of us staying there. Then we all came back together and went to our individual houses, now we don't feel so scared.'

However some participants with a disability or with a disabled dependent family member expressed feeling less supported and included in the community in the wake of the earthquakes. While these participants were informed about the opportunity for travel to Dunedin or Auckland, it was not clear that those with a disability were offered the extra support needed for making this sort of trip, and so they opted out. These participants, while their houses were not damaged, did not feel they received sufficient offers of social or psychological support from their community.

D-1 42:38: 'everything was okay here [after the earthquake], but my TV and everything had fallen over, the bathroom was damaged; we didn't have water for three or four days, one night no power... two from the Bhutanese Society came here to ask 'are you okay?' I said 'Yeah I am okay', they said 'Okay then we are going', I said 'Okay go, you are busy men'...[Did they support you in any other way?] No, they only asked two or three questions, they didn't come in or look around my home and say 'we will help you, we are the community, we will apply to those who can help you'... I was afraid but I didn't leave Christchurch, I have the right [disability] facilities in my house, a special toilet, bathroom, and kitchen. I have a TV and computer, I was worried if I go who will protect and look after my home? RMS said they couldn't help me with that; they were just helping with going and coming. But I thought 'no, that's not a good idea'. If a burglar came no one could replace my things. ..So I thought I won't go anywhere. But I know most of the community went to Dunedin and Auckland.'

D-2 19:00: '[the earthquakes] are not only my problem, everyone is suffering. No [Bhutanese community leaders came to check on her and her disabled son] ... Yes I heard others went [left Christchurch temporary] but my house was okay, most Bhutanese went to Dunedin and Auckland [temporarily] I heard... I didn't choose to go, I'm fine here. [Did Refugee Services offer you support?] Yeah they offered, they assist me [with her disabled son]. Yes, I don't feel like [leaving], until this home is collapsed.'

While the organisation by the Bhutanese community post-earthquake illustrated the high levels of social capital and ability of members to use it to effectively aid the community, it is clear that some community members are missing out.

All Bhutanese participants were emphatically positive about their feelings towards remaining in Christchurch. For the community as a whole, of approximately 57 families, only two or three families left post-earthquake to live permanently in other New Zealand centers. A common theme amongst most participants was that the earthquakes had not changed their minds about Christchurch because it feels like their home, and therefore they have a responsibility to help it recover, just as Christchurch society had provided for them when they first arrived.

C-2 10:40: 'I was really happy to be here [Christchurch] even after the earthquake, I want to be here always. Natural things happen, you can't do anything about it'

C-3 39:55: 'we didn't want to leave; there was no damage to our house... in the community three families left to Nelson and Palmerston North, to live. But we didn't want to. It's our home, we have to promote Christchurch, if everybody leaves it will be a ghost town. If everybody stays there will be more opportunities for everyone'

D-1 49:11: 'no, Christchurch is still good. The damaged area needs repairing, one day it will be better. But at the moment it's okay, everyone is here, why should I be too afraid? My neighbors are here, no need for me to be afraid'

D-4 47:50: 'we are lucky our house is safe, our family is safe... so we have to stay in Christchurch, a lot of people they are facing problems so we have to stay in Christchurch, we have to support them... it is our city, we have to support, we have to rebuild our city, when there was no earthquake the people of Christchurch they help us, they support us, we got different things to help our family members so after having earthquake we should not leave our city and go away'

D-10 [interpreted] 42:26: 'yes, we are happy to be home to Christchurch [after temporarily moving to Auckland immediately following the earthquake], Auckland isn't a nice place, it's too big and people accused me of stealing on the street! No one does anything like that to us here, they let us be free, and this is our place. Our neighbor comes over and cuts our grass, he is really nice...after every aftershock he comes over to check we are okay.'

The outcome for the Eritrean community of individual families' responses to the earthquake was quite different than for the Bhutanese community. Participants indicated that families responded to the earthquake quite individually, there was no community approach to checking on each other's welfare or organising temporary excursions from Christchurch, there was no community discussion about how to approach Christchurch in the aftermath of the earthquakes, no members gave advice about staying or leaving. While a couple of participants' families did stay at each other's houses for one or two nights immediately after the February quake, this was based on friendship rather than a community

response. The outcome of the earthquake was that most families moved permanently to different centers in New Zealand, Auckland and Wellington, as well as overseas to Australia. Many of those who remained in Christchurch temporarily visited Auckland or Wellington to stay with friends; however, again families made this trip individually and without the assistance of any wider community organisations, such as Refugee Services, Red Cross or religious groups. The population of the Eritrean community in Christchurch has therefore been dramatically reduced post-earthquake. This, and the individualistic approach to their moving, may in itself indicate the low level of social capital among members.

> A-5 40:45: 'they [those that left] said we have been through many struggles, it is just too much. Most of the people who left had young kids, it was just too much. Many moved to Australia or Wellington or Auckland, those that moved to Auckland or Wellington did so because they hadn't been here long and didn't have citizenship, those who did moved to Australia. They didn't want to say here, they were scared, they said they loved New Zealand, but it was stressful they didn't want to stay.'

However a number of Eritrean families have remained in Christchurch. For the younger group of participants, all of whom are enrolled in school, their plans for study in Christchurch seem to be part of their desire to remain in Christchurch. For older participants understanding the system and layout of Christchurch, as opposed to having to learn it in Auckland and Wellington, seemed the most important influence behind their desire to remain.

> A-1 30:18: 'Yeah, we know other families close to our house, they moved to Australia, others moved to Auckland... Wellington. Lots of families. Yeah, big change, we used to have parties, good times, we used to get along. But now not really, it doesn't feel like Christchurch [with so many gone]...Yeah, I still love Christchurch, want to stay here, even though I've only been here only for three years. I've been to Auckland, been to Wellington, but still I don't feel I like it as much as Christchurch, no [Auckland and Wellington] doesn't feel like home. Every time I come to Christchurch it feels like home, even though my family moved.'

A-3 26:40: 'I went to Wellington [after the earthquake] but I thought, nah, I prefer Christchurch… Christchurch is better. I'm quite sad they [other Eritrean families] left but still, I don't want to go there…No it didn't [change the way I think of Christchurch]… its boring, without a town centre. But I don't want to go to another city.'

A-5 38:25: 'we went to Wellington for three weeks… I was [happy to return to Christchurch], I love Christchurch, my family said, 'what about moving to Wellington?' But I said 'no, I love Christchurch!' It was my choice to come back… I never felt I wanted to stay there [Wellington]. I said 'no I want to go back', I said 'I'm sick because I'm in Wellington, I want to go back'… I like Christchurch, I don't want to leave.'

B-5 36:34: 'lots of families from our church spent that night and four more with the church, at the father of the church's house. There were lots of people, lots of children, it was good to be all together… we felt like we had lots of help from lots of people, neighbors, the church and the government. The government were very helpful, we didn't expect it but they were. That would not have happened in Sudan.'

The two communities responded quite differently in the aftermath of the earthquakes in Christchurch in 2011. This cannot be put down to the geographical location of the two communities. While some areas of Christchurch were affected quite severely by the earthquakes, the suburbs housing the majority of members of both communities were not among them. Although many experienced a lack of power and water for up to two days, and their houses may have sustained minor damage, they remained functional after the earthquakes. Two of the three Bhutanese families who moved to other parts of New Zealand had resided in a different part of Christchurch to the majority of the community and had had severe damage to their houses, while the majority of Eritreans who left were in undamaged houses in the same area with those who remained.

The Bhutanese community, maybe in part due to their large size, is demographically slightly more geographically scattered than the Eritrean community. All Eritrean families reside in suburbs south of the main centre, most within walking distance of at least one or two other families. The largest concentration of Bhutanese are in a suburb west of the main centre; however,

there are also pockets south and north of the centre, and some living quite centrally. The distribution of families from both communities depends on the availability of Housing New Zealand houses, through which the government provides subsidised housing.

While other evidence from the Bhutanese community indicated that they enjoyed higher levels of social capital among members than witnessed within the Eritrean community, the level of community organisation after the quakes clearly demonstrated it. Bhutanese members illustrated trust and unity, and community leaders had the organisational skills and connections with wider society necessary for seeing the community through the disaster in the best possible way. The fact that almost a year after the devastating February 2011 earthquake, the community remain almost entirely in Christchurch and community members respond with positive attitudes about their future in Christchurch, illustrates the success of the community's response.

For the Eritrean community, members' responses to the earthquake evidenced very low social capital. There seemed to be no community-wide organisation or discussion in the wake of the quakes and little unity in individual families' decisions to remain or move post-quake. Eritrean families suffered from similar difficulties as the Bhutanese community, but in this case the majority instead chose to leave Christchurch for other major cities in New Zealand, as well as overseas, which can be seen as further evidence of a lack of social cohesion within the community.

CONCLUSION

In the course of my research it became quite evident that social capital levels within the two communities of Eritrean and Bhutanese former refugees differ quite substantially.

It is evident that the Bhutanese community has much greater social capital on which to draw. As my second hypothesis postulates, former refugees will attempt to garner social capital through community mobilisation in order to create a space for themselves within the wider New Zealand society. This community is in the process of applying their social capital to the creation of a community organisation, the Bhutanese Society, with the aim of carving out a

space for their culture and members in New Zealand society. It is early days in its establishment, however, and the capital generated through the interconnection of members, their shared cultural values, and growing trust, is currently in some cases, uneven. Certain sectors of the Bhutanese community are less socially mobile or connected and as a result not participants, or beneficiaries, of this newly growing social capital. The community is, however, working through these limitations.

The Eritrean community, on the other hand, has very little social capital and evidences little mobilization of its members to establish itself within wider New Zealand society. The first part of my second hypothesis has therefore been validated in regard to the Bhutanese community, but not so in the case of the Eritrean community. As discussed above there are several important differences in the demographics of the two communities, and in particular, their refugee experiences, which seem to be the main contributing factors in the difference in social capital levels of the two communities.

The second part of this hypothesis postulates that members of a former refugee community would develop cross-community organisations in order to strengthen their social capital and use it to influence policy. While the Bhutanese community is in the process of establishing a community organisation, the Bhutanese Society, discussion with participants indicated this organisation is still in the early stages. The Society is also taking steps to cooperate with other refugee led organisations and participate in wider civil society through the CRC and SRV. These are also in the early stages of establishment and as a result have not contributed much to the former refugee communities they represent; however, they represent an acknowledgement by certain community members of their shared circumstances and a desire to cooperate to produce solutions.

The earthquake offered an opportunity for the Bhutanese Society to assist the community and make use of existing ties to other community organisations, such as Refugee Services, and create new ties, such as to the Red Cross. As participants indicated, the Bhutanese Society was generally successful in helping most members of the community, linking those in need to families with undamaged homes and organising long breaks away from the city for those who needed it. The emergency situation did, however, also highlight that there are

areas the Society needs to work on, including its support of the most vulnerable members, those that currently lack access to social capital within the community. Disabled members and families of the disabled voiced concerns around being left out of most of the assistance organised by the Society. It may be, therefore, that the Society still has a way to go in creating ties to appropriate organisations for all its members, and acknowledging the different needs of its members.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities in settlement in Christchurch and their level of social organisation and participation in civil society. As the previous chapter illustrated, there are quite differing levels of social capital within the two communities. As social capital is an important component of a community's ability to participate in civil society, the Eritrean community's low levels may impede the mobilisation of the community, even in the event that the community, or members of the community, experience grievances related to integration, such as discrimination in the workforce. Chapter VI found that the Bhutanese community, however, contains the beginnings of quite extensive social capital and has created a community organisation, the Bhutanese Society.

This chapter involves analysis of the motivations behind community mobilisation and civil society participation, as proposed by my hypothesis:

The mobilisation of communities of former refugees is a response to grievances related to integration, especially discrimination in the workforce, that such groups feel are insufficiently acknowledged and dealt with by the New Zealand state.

This hypothesis correlates community mobilisation within former refugee communities with grievances related to integration, particularly discrimination, based on the assumption that, in the face of insufficient support and processes by the government, former refugee communities will take it upon themselves to surmount such challenges. The validity of this hypothesis requires examination of the motivating force behind community mobilisation, where evidenced, including the type of mobilisation and civil society participation present in the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities.

Here it is postulated that in order for a community to become mobilised into participating in civil society, for instance in the form of a community organisation, some galvanizing force in the form of grievance must exist. The

grievance is postulated to be necessary to motivate members to expend time and effort in attempting to remedy their problem with the government or wider society, through social organisation. I propose that certain grievances with wider society, such as discrimination in the workforce, would be most galvanizing for a migrant community. Such mobilisation requires social capital within the migrant community, in order for members to organise together effectively around their common grievance.

The Bhutanese community has exhibited such organisation. This chapter explores the motivations behind their establishment of the Bhutanese Society, what role the Society sees itself playing within wider society, and whether, in keeping with this hypothesis, mobilisation was developed around grievances. Contrasting this with the Eritrean community's lack of organisation offers some insight into what elements are necessary for such mobilisation.

I: CIVIL SOCIETY IN SETTLEMENT

As discussed in Chapter V and Chapter VI, Eritrean participants illustrated high levels of adaption to Sudanese society. This was based on high levels of social interaction and connectedness, especially for those from the 18-30 year old age group, but lacked any form of social organisation or leadership. This may explain the lack of such features in the Eritrean community in settlement in Christchurch. Without any experience of community organisation, the Eritrean community may not know what it is missing, or may recognize this, but may not know how to rectify it. Members still remain socially connected in Christchurch; however, as discussed in Part I, most participants expressed that in Christchurch such connections are not nearly as easy as in Sudan.

> A-5 29:23: 'No, not really [organisation among Eritreans in Christchurch]…I don't know, I've never seen someone who is a leader, who could solve problems. I can't say we have a community, and people like that to go to.'

> A-3 18:10: 'there were a few Eritrean families when we came [May 2008] but the Eritreans here aren't in a community… us who came from Sudan we know the value of being together, like a family, but here they were kind of different, they came from Ethiopia or Eritrea. But us, we love to be together… we said 'let's make a community', because no one cared about the community… so we

didn't get help, we tried to create it, establish it. I don't think it worked well...
the Chairman was a guy [Eritrean resettled before 2008] but he didn't care
about the community much, he just cared about his work. If there is any
problem in the community, he wouldn't tell us anything about it, he was busy
doing his own work... [Why did you make him Chairperson?] Well we didn't
know him, when we first knew him... we thought he would be a good person
for it because, we were quite new and he had been here for a while... he knew
a lot [about Christchurch], but we were mistaken.'

As A-3 illustrates above, an attempt has been made by some members to create
something of a community among the Eritreans settled in Christchurch,
however, a failure in leadership saw this attempt fizzle out. Only one other
participant seemed aware of this attempt, and did not have any details to add to
the attempted process, which indicates the issue was not raised again, or at least
not widely, in the community. The failure was therefore both a lack of leadership
and social capital; without any Eritrean community members in a position able
to lead the community, it did not progress much further than a few interested
individuals, and without a basis of strong social capital among the community
members, the leadership failure could not be overcome. In Part II, the Bhutanese
Society's difficulties with leadership were noted; the community's background of
strong social capital indicates, however, that these problems may be rectified.
Certain participants discussed the issues and their opinions on overcoming
them, and importantly, even with the presence of such difficulties, their
continued desire for the Society to succeed and to be part of it.

The Eritrean members interested in establishing a community organisation
illustrated a low level of social capital; however, growth of this may have been
hampered by a lack of sufficient leadership. One reason for the failure in any
uptake of leadership by Eritrean members may come down to a similar interplay
of the reasons discussed in Part II for the community's lack of social capital, a
demographic lacking male heads of families and their lack of experience, prior to
arrival in New Zealand, of any social organisation structure.

Despite a lack of community organisation within the Eritrean community many
members mentioned common grievances, which could conceivably be the basis
for community mobilisation, although there was no evidence of any common

action currently. The two common grievances were discrimination and the difficulties surrounding the family reunification process. Four participants discussed discrimination they felt they, other Eritreans, or people of African descent in general, suffered in the workforce or in their neighbourhoods due to the perception they would not have good English or simply because of the colour of their skin.

> A-2 21:20: 'Of course, studying and getting a job, it is hard. Many refugees don't have jobs. Even if their English is good it's hard to get a job... I don't know why...People when they see you, I don't know, I think they feel like you can't speak English, they don't feel confident giving you a job. They don't even do an interview. From your name or something [Do you think the government should play a bigger role trying to overcome this?] Yes, of course.'

> B-1 28:30: 'if you have a good job they [New Zealanders] say 'hey, how did you get that job? We are New Zealanders and we didn't get that job!' but that's because they are lazy, they don't deserve it.'

> B-5 12:11: 'We have had some difficulties with some people, by that I mean racism, but I mean it's that way everywhere, not just in New Zealand. We used to have a neighbor here for three years, he was very difficult every day, racism, abuse. I was glad my children were young then. But apart from some of that it is good... My husband used to be a pharmacist in Sudan, but he didn't get that job here, they asked him to retrain but he had already done it years ago so he didn't want to. He trained in computer skills, but then he didn't get a job in that area. It's hard because when you train you want to work at that when you finish.'

All participants discussed the difficulties and stress associated with the family reunification process. Ten of 11 participants had gone or were going through the process, naming immediate family members, father, brother, son, who were left behind in Sudan and want to be resettled to New Zealand.

> A-1 20:32: 'I live with my mother... My father is not here, still back home, we are going through the process trying to get him here, the reunification process did not accept him. The refugee services are not really helping us... they tell us some things but they don't really work...Yeah the government, for those people that come to New Zealand, is okay. But there are a lot of people who left

their families back home... they want to bring them here... I don't know, the government, they don't agree. It is not just my family. For my dad, we are going through the process; they [government] are no help at all. Every time we write them a letter, they just reject it. We have tried for two years now; they say 'you guys, we don't believe you'. Yeah my mum, she always complains, 'why did we come here? They are not helping us at all', she says 'I will just leave you here and go back and be with your dad'. It is really hard, for us. It is okay, but for my mum it's really hard, she sometimes doesn't sleep at all. My dad he is getting older, and the life [in Sudan] it is really hard. Everything is good, but it is always there. That's the biggest issue, the hardest thing.'

A-2 16:55: 'the people still find it hard, they left some family back in Sudan, and the process takes some time... many left their dad, or brothers, like us. Before we came here we didn't think like that, we thought we are going to Europe or to western country, everything is going to be so easy, 'don't worry guys, in one or two years you will be here', we are going to have a lot of money. But when we came here everything was different... yeah it is depressing, but you know, it is the process... Those people [waiting for family to be reunited] they have a big problem with depression... It is a big problem here for the refugees... the people, they don't expect it to be like this; they thought everything is going to be easy [when they come to New Zealand]. It's not like that.'

B-4 [interpreted] 8:13: 'We came to New Zealand, they welcome us, fed us, they educate us and teach our children, give us a better life. But still because we left half our children without knowing it is hard to bring them here. It is hard to have a good life; we are still suffering, still crying; because half of the family is left behind. It is better, half of my children have a better life, a chance to study, but I suffer because I left him [son] where it is not safe... I cannot sleep or be happy. Life here is good but sometimes it is ruined by remembering the children we left behind.'

B-5 22:10: 'I spent three years concentrating on the reunification process so my mother and brother could come to New Zealand. Yes, the government was supportive, I feel like they were. It wasn't easy but it was good, some people have taken 13 years to get their family reunited...So mine wasn't bad, three years is nothing. Now the process is much harder, there may be a reason but we don't know- we just go through it and wait, and this can be difficult because

when you ask questions you don't always get an answer. You wonder what's going on? Yes, very much [a problem] for refugee families, we left our home, New Zealand is now our home but we left people behind in Sudan and it makes it hard to settle. Many people have a son, mother, brother, father behind. You can talk on the phone but you don't really know how they are, you worry and want them here. This is the biggest issue for families here.'

There are common issues of grievance, that the community, could therefore, organise around to bring their concerns to the government.

Inside the Bhutanese community, organisation and leadership are evident, as the community is currently in the early stages of creating the Bhutanese Society to represent all members in Christchurch. While participants expressed varying degrees of association with the Society, almost all were aware of it- in all, five out of six of the 18-30 year old age group and seven of ten participants from the 31-80 year old age group.

The goals of the Bhutanese Society were described by most of the participants who were aware of it as aimed at supporting members of the community and looking towards their future in New Zealand. As described by the Bhutanese Society in a press release of the first joint meeting between Christchurch, Nelson and Palmerston North Societies, their goals are: the maintenance of their culture in New Zealand; the facilitation of their community's integration through educating wider society about their community and culture; providing a forum for discussing the compatibility of New Zealand society and culture within their community; liaising with various organizations, both government and non-government; and enabling the community to lobby national and local government for a space to organise and present certain cultural practices, rituals and festivals ('First Joint Meeting', 2012). However, discussion with participants indicated there is less concrete knowledge and clarity around the Society and its goals among those outside of its leadership.

C-5 25:00: 'yes, a little bit [of knowledge of the Bhutanese Society], I haven't been to the meetings, they invite us but because I am very busy, with work and looking after my mum, I say 'please you do it, when I get a little more time I will come', it is important. I heard they are interested in looking after the

Bhutanese community, to preserve our culture and our language, they are working hard. Yes, I am very happy with what they are doing.'

C-6 6:17: 'Yes, we have meetings about the community, we talked together, my parents went, I stayed at home with my younger brother and sister. No, not really [interested in being involved], at sometime maybe... They are talking about making our future bright, how to study, live here, make our community.'

D-4 24:34: 'Yeah, we have some [social organisation]... but we don't want to follow what we had [in Nepal], we want to follow the rules and regulations of New Zealand because we are going to be the citizen of this country... In general we don't want to consider that we are separate... New Zealand is a multicultural society, people have different ways of thinking, different culture, we don't want to remain exactly as we were in our old ways, if we do there will be problem in the future. Within our community we need to be open, to share our ideas, to get ideas from the other people, use these ideas within our community... there is now a Bhutanese Society, we organised the community, we elected people. I am in charge of Bhutanese Community in sporting... People come to us if they need help, or advice. For me if they want to play soccer, especially boys, they talk to me.'

D-5 29:20: 'the Bhutanese community council [Bhutanese Society], we have General Secretary, and other posts. They are doing for our benefit; if I need advice we will get together and discuss how to solve this. They are trying their best; it takes time to start these things. They were elected, I heard, but I was not here. [The Bhutanese Society] are thinking to reelect next year... I am not sure of the goals but I think they are trying to develop the community, help the Bhutanese here.'

D-6 11:39: 'Some of our members are here who were involved in the committee or as camp leaders [in Nepal]... The Bhutanese Society, we were only a few numbers in 2009 and 2010, now numbers are more... around 56 families, when we did the election in around early 2010 we were only 35 families, we cut out whole families, those who could come were present, those who weren't able to come were not present. Most families were there for the election. Two persons were independent, one old man and one female, to count the voting. People were nominated as Chairperson, general secretary, treasurer, like that.'

In settlement the Bhutanese community is negotiating how identity in the community has changed since their camp experience, as well what members' needs and skills are in Christchurch. Problems with settlement and organising the Society were related by participants to issues around trust between members over family issues and the care of vulnerable members.

> D-9 [interpreted] 45:46: 'we have been able to form a small committee within our community. What responsibility it has we are not sure, what it will be tomorrow we don't know; it is very early. My children don't really know much about it; even I do not really know what it is supposed to do. I think that other families like the idea of a committee. But I don't know if they have much faith that it will function properly. It is still at the beginning, at this point people are still unwilling to let the committee know about their problems, but maybe in the future there will be some way to ensure confidentiality and people will trust it.'

The goals of the organisation seem to stem mainly from a desire to interact with wider New Zealand society and establish themselves in order for their culture to be maintained in their new setting, not due to grievances with settlement. This may be due to the fact participants could have been reluctant to air their complaints about wider New Zealand society or the New Zealand government in our interviews. It could also speak partly to the different demographics of the communities. Unlike participants from the Eritrean community no Bhutanese brought up having issues with family reunification. This was clearly not such an immediate grievance for Bhutanese members because most participants already had extended family resettled in Christchurch, or felt confident of their arrival in the foreseeable future. Some mentioned the difficulties with not having all their extended family in Christchurch; however, having at least one part of their family network meant this was not talked about with such pain as the Eritrean participants and this was not perceived as a grievance with the government.

The significance of cultural maintenance to Bhutanese members may, however, lie at least partly in grievance, as certain practices, such as burial rituals, are not currently allowed for by the New Zealand state. The importance of their Hindu burial ceremonies was emphasised by two participants, and is clearly on the agenda of the Bhutanese Society.

D-5 31:20 'We have certain rituals and festivals, some need to be explained like the rituals when someone lost their life… it is a special to us… whether the government allows us to celebrate it like we do, cremate, mourn for 13 days, we need to discuss these things with the government.'

The establishment of the Bhutanese Society indicates the community is organising at a community level with desires for participating in civil society. And, as seen with the response to the earthquake, some aspects of the Society and its interaction with wider society are functioning well. The inconsistent nature of the social capital within the community, as discussed in Part II, however, may impact on how representative the Bhutanese Society really is in action. Several participants raised concerns around how the organisation can be fair and representative of all members. Four of 16 Bhutanese participants were not aware of the Bhutanese Society, all of whom were isolated in some way from the centre of the community, with disability, age or religion as possible factors.

Due to New Zealand's refugee policy towards giving preference to high-risk refugees, a number of members of the community have disabilities or an immediate family member with a disability. The community leaders' approach to including such members, and their treatment of the problems faced by the marginalised, has so far led to mixed feelings about the competency of the organisation. As discussed in Part II, participants have identified that the leadership election process needs work, and through awareness of the problem these participants are hopeful for change.

While the marginalisation of the disabled, or families of the disabled, is a recognised concern in the community, other factors, brought up through my research, such as age and religion, were not discussed by members. It was clear during the course of this study, however, that some very old participants who suffer from low English competency not only had restricted access to wider Christchurch society, they also had a limited ability to participate in the Bhutanese community. One middle-aged Christian participant also indicated a very low level of interaction with the wider Bhutanese community, something she put down to her dependent disabled son, but which may also be compounded by her religious difference. As the number of Christian participants was small, it is difficult to extrapolate much further.

Despite the limitations exhibited by the Society so far, all participants who are aware of the Society were positive about its potential and what it could mean for the community as a whole in the future.

> D-3 28:28: 'if the community gets good leadership it will be good… they can do a good network with agencies and organizations and it will be better for us… more power for our community.'

CONCLUSION

Contrary to the hypothesis postulated here, the research conducted in the course of this thesis has indicated that community mobilisation within a migrant community is not always galvanized by grievance. In fact, the impetus for the establishment of a community organisation and participation in the wider civil society in the case examined here seemed largely positive, not negative. The motivating factor behind the Bhutanese community's establishment of the Bhutanese Society was the preservation and promotion of their culture in New Zealand, not any particular grievance they might have with wider society since their settlement. While some aspects of this cultural maintenance may become grievance-based, currently the organisation is based on cooperation with the New Zealand state and wider society for the betterment of the Bhutanese community.

My hypothesis is further refuted when examining the contrasting case of the Eritrean community. Participants of the Eritrean community discussed important grievances with the New Zealand state and society, surrounding both the experience of discrimination in the workforce and wider society and the difficult family reunification process; however, the community illustrated no mobilisation or organisation around these common grievances. My research indicates that in some cases the type of grievances associated with refugee community settlement, rather than motivating community mobilisation, may actually deter action. The stress associated with family reunification impedes the sort of attention and action required in the forming of social capital, as families concentrate their efforts on reuniting with their family members instead of interaction with the community, and, moreover, as discussed in Chapter VI, these

missing family members (usually males) may be those most responsible for the development of social capital within the community.

Through the course of my research it became clear that the level of social capital within the migrant community is a vital component in the organisation of a community towards participation in civil society. As discussed in Chapter VI, there exists a significant difference between the levels of social capital in the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities. Members of the Bhutanese community, while being settled in Christchurch for the same amount of time as most Eritreans (some members of the Eritrean community have actually been settled in Christchurch much longer), illustrated a much higher level of social capital than the Eritrean community. This seems to be a necessary component in the establishment of a formal community organisation and participation in civil society.

My research shows that strong social capital within a migrant community is dependent on several factors, both to do with the community's demographics in settlement and its background prior to settlement. Therefore participation by a migrant community in civil society may be more dependent on the community in question, rather than the environment provided by the wider society of their settlement. In this scenario it is not the relationship, be it grievance-based or not, that the migrant community has with wider society that gives impetus to the mobilisation of the migrant community. Instead the focus should be placed on those factors that influence the existence and growth of social capital, which makes it possible for the community to respond to either grievance or opportunities through community mobilisation and organisation.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

New Zealand has ratified the UNHCR Convention and Protocol, and taken in its quota of refugees for resettlement. The hope is to provide former refugees with a better life through integration into New Zealand society. Research into how communities of these refugees fare after they have been provided with a home in New Zealand is therefore of national importance. The widespread and growing number of refugees internationally makes successful resettlement through integration also an issue of international significance.

This work focused on the communities of Eritrean and Bhutanese former refugees in New Zealand. They are of particular interest, because, having settled in New Zealand during only the last ten years, they are some of our newest compatriots. Little research has been done on these communities' demographics or their lives after arrival in New Zealand. However, the findings in this thesis are relevance not just in discussion of these two communities; they also add to the body of literature on identity and social capital, both in terms of new migrant groups and for these theories more generally. Here I outline what my findings say about identity as a social construction and context-driven conception, in terms of ethnic and national identification, and how my study may have added to understandings of identity reformulation. I then summarise my findings on social capital and civil society participation in migrant groups, and what they add to understandings of these theories more generally.

In the realm of integration studies this subject is of interest, for little research has examined the role that social capital within migrant communities plays in integration, and on the impact of participation in civil society. Considering that integration and substantive citizenship are inextricably linked, such factors require examination.

The findings of this research may aid the settlement of future refugees in New Zealand and, hopefully, internationally. The greater the ease with which former refugees can integrate into their new societies, the more likely it may be that settlement countries will fulfill their international obligations to aid the UNHCR in providing this durable solution to these vulnerable individuals.

Findings

My conclusions are based on the findings of the original research I conducted during three months of in-depth interviews with 27 members of the Eritrean and Bhutanese former refugee communities in Christchurch in 2011. My analysis involved exploration of the relevance of three postulated hypotheses, concerned with former refugees' ethnic identity maintenance and their process of identifying nationally with the New Zealand identity; with the form social capital within the communities had taken in settlement and whether it translated into community mobilisation; and with the motivations behind such community organisation and mobilisation.

My first hypothesis explored identity maintenance and creation, postulating that identity renegotiation relies on participation and feelings of connection to the migrant community as well as the wider New Zealand society. I expected my data to indicate that the stronger relational ties a participant expressed to their migrant community and the more aspects of participation they have with wider society, the higher the likelihood of them expressing a New Zealand identity. In analysing this hypothesis a wide range of participant experiences were necessary, from educated individuals proficient in English, to members illiterate in their first language and with low English levels. This enabled me to examine the role such variables play in the process of identifying with a national identity.

As this study has shown, ethnic identification is very relevant to migrant populations. The majority of members of the communities involved in this study evidenced high levels of ethnic identification, and actively partook in boundary maintenance practices, a concept discussed in Chapter II. Dress seemed the least important of these, while language, marriage and the continuation of cultural and religious practices remained salient. A desire to socialize with other community members was evident among most participants; however, many discussed feelings of not being able to fulfill all their social needs, due to time and geographical constraints on other community members. Moreover, participants' thoughts of other members of their ethnic community in the diaspora, especially family members and friends, meant that for some, their community in New

Zealand felt incomplete and unable to fulfill all their social needs. Both complaints meant many members suffered from social isolation in settlement.

Feelings of social isolation were also mentioned by some, especially older participants, as barriers to adjusting to New Zealand. Different socialising practices, especially the importance of being close to neighbors, was mentioned across the board by participants. However feelings of identifying with New Zealand as home were high, and the security for the future that belonging to the state entails was clearly salient.

National identity creation among participants was high, and understood as necessary for establishing a life and future in New Zealand. It became evident through the course of my investigations that contrary to my first hypothesis, and the assumed position many states have taken on refugee integration, within communities identification with a national identity is independent of resettled individuals' cultural distance from the national society. My research shows that participants with greater cultural distance from New Zealand society, little or no English and little opportunity for participation in wider society, are not any less likely to develop identification with the national identity. Of my 27 participants, three expressed weak identification with a New Zealand identity; all literate in their own language and in English, and enrolled in education programmes or employment. My research indicated that participants' participation in and connection to their migrant community is the factor that plays the greatest role in their willingness to also identify nationally. Those participants who illustrated the weakest ties to their migrant community were much less likely than those who expressed good levels of community attachment to also identify with the New Zealand national identity.

My findings illustrate that ethnic connection is the necessary factor for formation, at least in early years of settlement, of a national identity. Connection to their ethnic communities seemed to provide participants with a sense of security and rootedness, which allows for the secondary identification as New Zealander to become established. This pattern of secondary identification has been discussed in the literature. Medrano and Gutierrez (2001) argue, in their work on nested identities of non-migrants in the European Union, individuals

with strong national identities were most likely to identify also with a European identity.

In the realm of identity reformation theory, these findings highlight the importance of preserving ethnic connections within migrant communities, as opposed to notions that strong migrant communities isolate members from wider society and impede integration. Such rootedness seems to enable members to generate a more relaxed attitude to integrating, allowing them to identify more freely with their settlement state. In the long term, however, access to and participation in wider society, especially through employment and education, is also necessary for building relationships with wider society and therefore feelings of belonging. My findings also indicate that a strong ethnic community may also provide a good footing for members to balance these competing desires: securing access to wider society as well maintaining ethnic connectedness and feelings of control over ethnic boundary maintenance.

Members of the Bhutanese community evidenced high levels of contentedness with their culture and ethnicity in New Zealand. While this may be in part due to the New Zealand policy of not discouraging ethnic groups from their cultural practices, it may also be that members appreciate the Bhutanese Society's role in maintaining their community's cultural difference. The Society provides a forum for discussion of the compatibility of their culture and New Zealand culture and society, and is beginning to take responsibility for ensuring the maintenance of the Bhutanese culture in New Zealand. This may enhance members' ability to integrate into New Zealand as it allows them to feel they are in control and able to participate in maintaining their culture in settlement. My research therefore builds on the theories of Kallen (1995), Nash (1996) and Weber (1996) to argue ethnic identity maintenance is sought by migrant groups and best aided through the presence of social capital within the community so that it may organise as a community around its preservation within society of settlement.

Another aspect of this discussion requires reference to Berry (1997) who highlights that in order for a migrant to successfully adopt integration as their adaptation strategy the host country must also play its part. While members within each community with high cultural distance still evidenced high levels of national identification, between each of the communities there are areas where

the cultural distance of the overall community from New Zealand society may be restricting the desire of members to fully integrate into society. This is especially the case in regard to participation in the workforce, where members of the Bhutanese community seem to be integrating more successfully than those of the Eritrean community. Several Eritrean participants voiced frustration at what they perceived as discrimination when applying for work. This prejudice may be due to the greater unfamiliarity with African culture by wider New Zealand society, as opposed to communities of Asian descent who share a longer history in New Zealand, such that Eritrean members have a greater level of cultural distance to overcome.

My second hypothesis was only partly supported by the evidence gained through the course of my research. Here I hypothesised that former refugee communities attempt to garner social capital through community mobilisation in order to create a space for themselves within the wider New Zealand society; and that secondly, these community organisations may then develop cross-community ties in order to strengthen their social capital.

In regard to the Bhutanese community the first part of this hypothesis has been validated, however, not so in the case of the Eritrean community. In conversation with participants from the Bhutanese community it is clear the community, or at least certain sectors of it, are putting social capital to use in the creation of a community organisation, the Bhutanese Society. This is motivated by a desire by community leaders to create a place for its members and cultural practices inside New Zealand society. The Bhutanese Society is endeavoring to preserve their cultural difference by creating a forum for articulation of it to wider New Zealand; assisting new arrivals to the community in settlement; and representing the needs of the community as a whole. Such an undertaking is evidence of a high, and growing, level of social capital within the community. This community moblisation is not without difficulties in its early stages of development: the community's social capital resources are uneven in their origin and application. However the community seems to be aware of such issues and attempting to overcome its problems.

On the other hand the Eritrean community evidenced very low levels of social capital and no community organisation in Christchurch. As Chapter VI discussed, there are several important differences in the demographics of the two communities, and in particular, their refugee experience, which seemed to contribute to the very different social organisation outcomes between the two communities. Along with community size, the makeup of the community (member's gender, age, overall education level, extended family ties, ratio of solo-mother households), and the number of Eritrean families waiting for immediate family members to join them in resettlement in New Zealand.

The second part of this hypothesis, that organisation leads to cross-community cooperation, was evident in the Bhutanese community. Although the Bhutanese community examined in this work is based in Christchurch, in New Zealand there are also communities in Nelson and Palmerston North. Each location has its own Bhutanese Society, run locally but with plans for the leadership of each Society to meet and consult nationally. The Bhutanese Society has a representative on the Canterbury Refugee Council, a forum for cross-community liaison with other former refugee communities. The 2011 earthquakes in Canterbury were a disaster that necessitated the Bhutanese Society to work in cooperation with other community organisations and NGOs. The Bhutanese Society spearheaded the community's response to the disaster, and community leaders liaised with organisations such as the Red Cross and Refugee Services. The Society utilised the community's social capital in the aftermath of the disaster; however, it also highlighted weakness within the organisation, as certain vulnerable sectors of the community were left out of its response.

My third hypothesis emphasised grievance with the New Zealand state as the mobilising force behind a former refugee community's participation in civil society; however, this was shown to be invalid. While participants from the Eritrean community illustrated several common grievances with the New Zealand state, and the Bhutanese community far fewer, it was the Bhutanese community, not the Eritrean community, that has mobilised as a community. The Bhutanese Society represents the beginnings of the Bhutanese community's

participation in civil society in New Zealand. Instead of being grievance based, the Society's goals relate largely to cultural preservation and the articulation of their culture to wider New Zealand society. It is possible that this may change in the future as the introduction of certain cultural practices to New Zealand society clashes with the rules and regulations of the New Zealand state. However as it stands the motivation behind the community's mobilisation is not grievance based, and as the Eritrean case indicates, grievance is not enough of a motivating force for this. Instead, as my findings show, social capital is the vital factor behind community mobilisation.

The literature describes social capital as a resource based on contact, cooperation, communication and trust, that can be drawn on to achieve some goal (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). In its two forms, bonding and bridging, social capital, Putnam (2000) argues, can indicate different forms of connection. In this research both forms of social capital appear in the refugee communities of New Zealand. The Bhutanese community in particular evidences participation in organisations that utilise both. The Bhutanese Society is based on the community's shared ethnic identity and is therefore facilitating the growth of bonding social capital among members, while their participation in other organisations, such as the CRC indicates the beginnings of bridging social capital. The Eritrean community, however, illustrated much lower levels of either type of social capital, as well as the type of community member participation that may facilitate the growth of either type. These differences in the formation of social capital in settlement between the two communities seemed to be driven by the different circumstances of each community: the Bhutanese community's unified refugee experience, during which members learnt skills in democratic organisation; as opposed to the Eritrean community's background, which was disparate, with members discouraged from organising as a community. The Bhutanese community's background assisted the growth of their social capital in settlement, because, when faced with questions of how the community should function in settlement, the Bhutanese Society could provide a forum for discussion and preservation of their culture and community. In turn, the growth of this organisation enhances feelings of connectedness among members, as well

as aiding them in their connecting with wider society, which further facilitates the growth of both types of social capital. Through such community organisation there are indications that Bhutanese members are becoming integrated into New Zealand society as they participate in many spheres of society and are able to realise their substantive citizenship. The importance of knowledge and skills around democratic organisation and leadership in migrant communities for the formation of community organisations is therefore emphasised by my findings.

While the Bhutanese community may have the advantage of experience and skills associated with organising, in settlement the Eritrean community has certain unifying elements that could have led to the establishment of social capital in settlement, but have not. In the course of this research the importance of other factors associated with social capital growth became clear. These include the demographic composition of the community: the Eritrean community seemed to suffer low social capital capabilities due to the lack of male heads of household and extended family networks, two areas utilised extensively in the Bhutanese community in their establishment of the Bhutanese Society. The distraction caused by the stress suffered by Eritrean families attempting family reunification also played a role.

This work illustrates that higher levels of social capital within a migrant community are linked with participation in civil society. It further highlights the importance of putting migrant groups' social capital to use, through participation in civil society. The Bhutanese community is advantaged in their integration process in New Zealand with their high levels of social capital. Through the work of Bhutanese members to establish the Bhutanese Society, both bonding and bridging social capital are being established in the community. Moreover, as the Bhutanese Society illustrates, bonding social capital can led to bridging social capital, for, as the Society grows, it entails interaction with other communities and organisations, and provides support to members participating in other sectors of migrant civil society, such as the Canterbury Refugee Council.

On the whole, at least in the early stages of a community's settlement, the findings in this thesis indicate bonding organisations to be more effective for the pursuit of former refugee community goals. For while organisations such as the Canterbury Refugee Council encourage representation, without a background of

bonding social capital within the community a community member partaking in bridging organisations does not achieve much for the community as a whole. As my findings show, in the aftermath of the 2011 earthquakes, the Bhutanese community illustrated bonding social capital leads to high levels of community resilience.

My findings support Valtonen's (1998) arguments in that ultimately former refugees become bearers of responsibility for achieving conditions conducive to their own integration. Importantly my research shows that the establishment of an organisation as a representative of the former refugee community, to work in cooperation with other NGOs, as well as government agencies, is a vital step in this process. Such community organisations play the key role of being able to engage in "expert need discourse", something Valtonen (2004) predicted is necessary in order for former refugee communities to bring about change in their societies and to better enable them to integrate into them. This study, therefore, fulfills a gap in the literature that exists between social capital research in migrant communities and former refugee integration processes.

Limitations

The small size of the Eritrean community in Christchurch, compared to those of other cities in New Zealand, may have an impact on their community's makeup. It may be that in Auckland and Wellington, where larger communities of Eritreans live, more opportunities for social interaction and higher numbers of male heads of household mean that there are higher levels of social capital growth. These communities therefore may be developing networks and social organisation in a similar vein to the Bhutanese community; they may not have shown up in this study because they have not trickled down to the community in Christchurch.

Due to time and size restraints on this thesis it was not possible to extend this study to encompass the whole of New Zealand, so such questions must be explored elsewhere. However, as mentioned, in the case of the Bhutanese community the establishment of the Bhutanese Society was not confined to only the larger community of Bhutanese in Christchurch. Eritrean participants, however, were not aware of communities of Eritreans in other cities organising

any community bodies. It could be predicted that if higher levels of social capital in the other centers were leading to some sort of community organisation, this may have extended to the Eritrean community in Christchurch, or at least be known of by Christchurch members.

Recommendations

I intended that this thesis provide insights into the integration processes of new migrant communities, specifically vulnerable communities of former refugees. I also hope that the insights provided by my participants into their lives as resettled refugees enables me to make certain policy recommendations that may increase their quality of life in New Zealand.

Feelings of social isolation among participants in this research were partly exacerbated by geographical distance among community members. Both communities experienced living conditions, prior to arrival in New Zealand, of close proximity to fellow community members, and where neighbors played an important role in their everyday lives. Almost all of the former refugees involved in this research resided in Housing New Zealand homes. I therefore emphasise the importance of closer ties between Housing New Zealand and resettlement services such as Refugee Services, and increased attention paid to where community members are housed. As most families, for at least the first two years of resettlement, are without their own transport, close proximity to other community members is vital for their socialisation and mental wellbeing. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter V and VI, vulnerable members of former refugee communities, such as the disabled and elderly, often continue to have very limited independence, something that can be partially remedied through housing these members close to other community members.

The situation that refugee communities experience before resettlement is out of the direct control of domestic governments; however, it is often within the realm of the UNHCR and other NGOs. These NGOS often play a critical role in the establishment of refugee camps and, as this study has shown, their efforts in organising and educating refugees while in the camp situation can impact the community's success in settlement. Democratic self-organisation inside camps and participation in leadership roles inside the camps is vital for imparting skills

and empowering community members, not only during the refugee experience, but also in resettlement. Participants from the Bhutanese community spoke of the positive impact such education had on their community's organisational structure, and as the findings of this study have shown, the community's high level of social capital in settlement is a legacy of this.

My findings have highlighted the importance of fostering social capital within these communities, so that their members may play a role in the wider society of their new home. Successful integration of former refugees in resettlement is vital for both the individuals involved, for the resettlement countries and for the continuation of the UNHCR system of durable solutions for refugees. While my research illustrated that there is a high level of identification with New Zealand in both the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities, only members of the Bhutanese community felt they were part of a unified community in Christchurch, and that the community was able to work towards carving out a space for themselves in New Zealand society where they can maintain their cultural difference. Moreover, while as new migrant communities both seemed vulnerable in the aftermath of the devastating 2011 earthquakes, the Bhutanese community showed high levels of resilience and in the long term has remained almost entirely in Christchurch. Eritrean members, on the other hand, did not illustrate any coping strategies as a community and a large number of families moved to other parts of New Zealand or overseas.

The advantages a migrant community with high social capital has in facilitating its own integration through an ability to mobilise, as the Bhutanese community here illustrated, make considerations by government of how to enable such communities to create strong social capital salient. Minimizing the factors that reduce or create barriers to the establishment of social capital, as far as possible, such as encouraging the reunification of fragmented families, is vital. Members of the Eritrean community examined in this thesis suffer from various stresses; however, those associated with being unable to secure the migration of immediate family members to New Zealand came across in all interviews with Eritrean participants as especially damaging to their mental health. While the harm caused to families separated in this way is only one of the mitigating factors reducing their ability to mobilise as a community, it is the most easily

remedied by the New Zealand state. I therefore strongly recommend that the government make such family reunification a priority in its approach to refugee resettlement. The importance of the support that family members, both immediate and extended, give each other in the settlement process in Christchurch was emphasised in my research; it is a vital factor in enabling former refugees to think of New Zealand as home.

Over the course of 10 weeks during October, November and December 2011 27 interviews were conducted with members of the Eritrean and Bhutanese communities of former refugees in Christchurch New Zealand. These interviews form the basis of the research needed for analysis of my hypotheses. The type of data needed for this thesis was both qualitative and quantitative, however, what was most interesting and salient for my analysis was each participant's emotional interpretation of their experiences both as refugees and in their settlement in Christchurch. Therefore in-depth semi-structured interviews with individual participants were the most appropriate form of electing the necessary information.

Sample

The sample of participants involved in this research numbered 27 in total, 11 members from the Eritrean community and 16 from the Bhutanese community. These participants were randomly selected, while as far as possible providing for gender equality and an age spread, through the assistance of community leaders from the Bhutanese community, and, as leaders were not available from the Eritrean community, trusted members assisted me.

All participants were from the age range of 18-79 years old. The lower limit of 18 years old was deemed appropriate as those younger may not have the insight or experience necessary to understand the concepts covered in the interview process. Participants included those from a range of life experience; able-bodied, disabled, solo parents, young parents of young children, older parents of young children, parents of adult children, parents of disabled children, adults without children, grandparents, young persons still living with parents or parent, young adults without children.

Interviews were predominantly conducted in English with those with medium to high conversational English. However, so as to avoid a bias by only interviewing members with sufficient English levels several interviews were also conducted with participants whose English levels are low through the use of a

interpreter. Four out of 11 Eritrean interviews were orally translated from Tigrinya through the use of an interpreter and five out of 16 Bhutanese interviews from Nepali to English. Including participants with low English levels was important for such a study focusing on integration, community makeup and social capital as language proficiency could greatly affect a member's stance and experience of such variables. Further information on participant characteristics is provided in Appendix C.

Confidentiality

All interviews were audio recorded and the resulting file transcribed and coded from A-1 to D-10 to preserve participants confidentiality. The code used for each participant is outlined below; a letter refers to their migrant group, A and B for Eritrean participants, C and D for Bhutanese participants; the age group each participant fits into is also expressed through their corresponding letter, A and C refer to those in the 18-30 age group and B and D to the 31-80 age group. Below is an outline of each participant's code, as well as their gender, age, arrival date in New Zealand, and month the interview was conducted. In the chapters of this thesis the numbers A-1, A-2 and so forth, are used to refer to all participants in this thesis.

Participant Code

GROUP A: ERITREAN YOUNG ADULTS 18- 30 YEARS

Participant A-1   Male   arrived 2008   October

Participant A-2   Female   arrived 2008   October

Participant A-3   Male   arrived 2008   October

Participant A-4   Male   arrived 2008   October

Participant A-5   Female   arrived 2008   October

Participant A-6   Female   arrived 2010   October

GROUP B: ERITREAN ADULTS 31-80 YEARS

Participant B-1   Male   arrived 2003   October

Participant B-2   Female   arrived 2008   October

Participant B-3	Female	arrived 2008	November
Participant B-4	Female	arrived 2008	November
Participant B-5	Female	arrived 1999	December

GROUP C: BHUTANESE YOUNG ADULTS 18-30 YEARS

Participant C-1	Male	arrived 2010	October
Participant C-2	Male	arrived 2009	October
Participant C-3	Male	arrived 2009	November
Participant C-4	Female	arrived 2009	November
Participant C-5	Female	arrived 2008	November
Participant C-6	Female	arrived 2009	November

GROUP D: BHUTANESE ADULTS 31-80 YEARS

Participant D-1	Male	arrived 2009	October
Participant D-2	Female	arrived 2009	October
Participant D-3	Male	arrived 2008	October
Participant D-4	Male	arrived 2008	October
Participant D-5	Male	arrived 2010	October
Participant D-6	Male	arrived 2008	October
Participant D-7	Female	arrived 2008	October
Participant D-8	Female	arrived 2010	November
Participant D-9	Male	arrived 2008	November
Participant D-10	Male	arrived 2010	December

The topics covered in my interviews were somewhat determined by the age of the participant, however where appropriate, each interview covered the following topics:

- Language use and proficiency
- Immediate family makeup and extended family network in New Zealand
- Discussion of the host society of their refugee experience, including their ethnic community's place within the wider society and their community's interaction with host members
- Camp or urban environment organisation during the refugee experience
- Education and work experience in country of origin and/or during refugee experience
- Position/status within community in country of origin and/or during refugee experience
- Education and work experience in New Zealand
- Current position/status within migrant community in settlement, where relevant how settlement affected the individual's previous standing within their migrant community
- Acculturation and integration attitudes
- Experience of New Zealand society
- Importance of cultural maintenance and religion, including their opinion on themselves or their child marrying outside of their migrant community
- Feelings toward migrant community unity/social interaction of members in settlement
- Migrant community structural organisation, including leadership, in settlement
- Existence of, knowledge of and participation in, migrant community organisations
- Individual settlement goals and their perceived attainability
- Feelings on ethnic identity maintenance and national identity establishment

- Possible grievances with New Zealand government
- Possible grievances with wider society in Christchurch, and/or wider New Zealand society
- Perception of belonging in Christchurch
- The impact of the recent September 2010 and February 2011 earthquakes on members feelings towards Christchurch, how it affected their sense of security and 'home'
- What impacted their choice to remain in Christchurch post-earthquake
- Feelings towards the support they received from their ethnic community, wider community, and support services

During analysis participants were divided into those from the Eritrean community and those from the Bhutanese community, and then within the communities into two age groups, 18-30 years and 30-80 years.

An overview of the participants characteristics are listed below in the first table, and in more detail in the second table. These details include, language preference, English language proficiency, whether the interview was translated, the participant's length of time in New Zealand, where the participant spent their time as a refugee, and their current education level and highest level gained prior to arrival in New Zealand.

	Total	Male	Female	Average Age	English proficiency: High	English proficiency: Medium	English proficiency: Low	Interviews translated	Average time spent in NZ	Camp based	Urban based
OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS											
Eritrean	11	4	7	33	7	0	4	4	4.7	2	9
Bhutanese	16	10	6	38	10	2	4	5	2.6	16	0

PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS

Participant	Age	Gender	First/Preferred Language	English Proficiency	Translated Interview	Time Spent in NZ	Refugee Experience	Education Current & Highest
A1	20	M	Arabic	High conversational	No	3.6	Urban- Sudan	High School & High School
A2	24	F	Arabic	High conversational	No	3.6	Urban- Sudan	CPIT ESOL & High School
A3	21	M	Arabic	High conversational	No	3.6	Urban- Sudan	High School & High School
A4	25	M	Arabic	High conversational	No	3.8	Urban- Sudan	CPIT Course & University
A5	23	F	Arabic	High conversational	No	3.8	Urban- Sudan	University & University
A6	22	F	Tigrinya	Low	Yes	1.2	Camp- Sudan	None & Primary
B1	37	M	Arabic	High conversational	No	8	Urban- Sudan	Employment & CPIT Course
B2	54	F	Tigrinya	Low	Yes	3.6	Urban- Sudan	ESOL & none
B3	44	F	Tigrinya	Low	Yes	3.6	Camp- Sudan	ESOL & none
B4	52	F	Tigrinya	Low	Yes	3.6	Urban- Sudan	ESOL & none
B5	41	F	Tigrinya	High conversational	No	12.8	Urban- Sudan	Employment & CPIT ESOL
C1	18	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	1.6	Camp- Nepal	High School & High School
C2	19	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	2.75	Camp- Nepal	High School & High School
C3	24	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	2	Camp- Nepal	CPIT ESOL & High School
C4	25	F	Nepali	Low	Yes	2	Camp- Nepal	None & High School
C5	28	F	Nepali	High conversational	No	3.25	Camp- Nepal	CPIT ESOL & University
C6	20	F	Nepali	High conversational	No	2	Camp- Nepal	High School & High School
D1	36	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	2.6	Camp- Nepal	CPIT ESOL & High School
D2	38	F	Nepali	Medium conversational	No	2.6	Camp- Nepal	CPIT ESOL & Primary
D3	42	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	3.7	Camp- Nepal	CPIT ESOL & Primary
D4	38	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	3.6	Camp- Nepal	Employment & CPIT ESOL
D5	40	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	1.7	Camp- Nepal	CPIT ESOL & High School
D6	31	M	Nepali	High conversational	No	3.2	Camp- Nepal	CPIT Course & University
D7	45	F	Nepali	Low	Yes	3.25	Camp- Nepal	ESOL & none
D8	79	F	Nepali	Low	Yes	1.7	Camp- Nepal	None & none
D9	63	M	Nepali	Medium to low	Yes	3.2	Camp- Nepal	ESOL & University
D10	62	M	Nepali	Low	Yes	1.75	Camp- Nepal	ESOL & none

CONSENT FORM

Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand: Conceptualizing the Integration Processes of Former Refugee Communities

Researcher: Rosemary Holly Griffin

Supervisor: Dr James Ockey

November 18th 2010

Consent Form

I have read and understood the description of this project in the information sheet provided and have asked the researcher any questions that I have in relation to this project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to the information obtained to be provided confidentially to Refugee Services and the publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved if the researcher decides to publish the work.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided. I can contact the supervisor or the researcher for extra information or questions I might have.

I understand information gathered for this work will be kept securely locked at the University of Canterbury and that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

I note that the project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee and that I can contact the Chair of the Committee if I have any complaints about the process.

NAME (please print): ………………………………………………………………

Signature:

Date:

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