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New Home, New Beginnings

An investigation into the resettlement and integration of
Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Wellington, New Zealand

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Abstract

New Zealand accepted 1000 quota refugees annually between 2018 and 2019, these refugees came from 29 different countries. The New Zealand refugee resettlement strategy, developed to support the integration of refugees into a new and unfamiliar society, uses a series of objective indicators to measure the level of success in this process. This approach has been widely questioned in the current refugee literature, as it does not take into full consideration refugees' perspectives into their own resettlement. The literature on place and how people form and maintain connections to places in their lives offers an opportunity for understanding how refugees resettle in their new homes. Such a social perspective allows refugees' perspectives to emerge. More specifically, the literature on place attachment, territory and transnationalism aids in forming the conceptual backbone of this research. This research particularly questions how refugees' sense of place is influenced by their experiences of displacement followed by resettlement in an unfamiliar setting.

The thesis focuses on the implications of place attachment for resettlement and identity using a case study of Tamil Sri Lankan refugees in Wellington, New Zealand. Data collection methods included interviews, observational and secondary data sources. As I, the researcher have experience of displacement and am a member of the Wellington Tamil Sri Lankan community, I encountered insider outsider tensions during the research process. I therefore offer some insight into how belonging to the same wider community as those being studied had an impact on my thesis and how tensions were ultimately mitigated or used as an advantage.

Key ideas, which have emerged from this research, include the role of 'familiarity', social network and self-identity as part of a broader sense of territoriality. Connections that refugees maintain to their homeland and how they impact their new life in their resettlement location are also analysed. The thesis aims to move away from the association of refugees to 'loss' and their portrayal as 'victims' to an approach which recognises the capacity of refugees to create a new territory and preserve connections to their homelands. The thesis also offers a critique of the use of objective indicators to measure successful resettlement and refugee's inclusion in society.

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என்னுடைய இந்த ஆய்வில் கலந்து கொண்டு சிறப்பித்த தமிழ் மக்களுக்கும், அன்பாக முழுமனத்துடன் தம் வீட்டுக்கு வரவேற்றுத் தேநீரும் தந்து உபசரித்த அனைவர்க்கும் நான் நன்றி கூற விரும்புகிறேன். எனக்கு உதவுகரங்களாக இருந்து உற்சாகப்படுத்திய என் அன்பு மிகு குடும்பத்தினருக்கும் நன்றி சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன்.

இலங்கை வாழ் மக்கள் யாவரதும் நிம்மதியான வாழ்வுக்கு இந்த ஆய்வு சமர்ப்பணம்.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The following chapter provides a general overview of this thesis while framing the rationale for researching this particular topic. The chapter begins by setting the background of the current understandings on displacement and refugee resettlement both globally and within New Zealand. This is followed by an introduction to the concepts, which underlie this thesis. The chapter concludes by posing the research objectives and providing a short outline of each following chapter.

1.1 New Zealand as a setting for refugee resettlement

This thesis critically examines the displacement of refugees and their resettlement experiences in New Zealand. The displacement of people from their homes, neighbourhoods, and homelands reaches new levels each year. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) provides oversight and operational support in refugee camps and during the initial phases of the resettlement process. The organisation estimates that there are currently 70.8 million displaced people worldwide, both internally and externally, in 2019. This is an increase of five million from the previous year.

War, violence, disaster and development are processes, that can cause families to flee their homes (Scudder & Colson, 1982). It is estimated that 80% of displaced people seek asylum in neighbouring areas, with Turkey being the country to house the largest refugee population in the world (World Bank, 2019). Many asylum seekers stay in neighbouring states to wait out their reason for displacement until they can one-day return. However, repatriation is not possible for all, leading to many refugees becoming stuck in refugee camps for several years. Resettlement to a third country is also an option. It should be noted that only a small fraction of refugees are resettled in a third country (Sourander, 2003). The UNHCR operates refugee camps while also resettling refugees in 27 participating resettlement countries. Refugee resettlement is highly political, and refugee quota as well as resettlement programmes tend to reflect a countries' perception of nationality and national security (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). Fluctuations in refugee policy are frequent with changing governments and public perceptions of refugees. For example, fluctuations are evident in The United States of America, where the quota reduced from 110,000 to 18,000 between 2017 and 2019 (Krogstad, 2018). The cut in refugee intake is reflective of views in both media and much of the academic literature that emphasises refugees as a burden to the state, that they threaten state security and are

psychologically damaged (Marlowe, 2010). New Zealand, a smaller country, accepts 1000 refugees a year at present with the annual quota set to increase to 1500 by July 2020.

1.2 A case for understanding resettlement in New Zealand

Immigration policies in New Zealand consist of a variety of entry categories, which have given way to a population of diverse migrants, students and refugees arriving into the country. As the refugee quota is set to increase, there is a need to evaluate the current refugee policy from the refugees' perspective. This thesis aims to critically examine the experience of refugees in New Zealand using a case study of Sri Lankan former refugees living in Wellington. Refugees from Sri Lanka have been arriving in New Zealand both through the United Nations (UN) mandated programmes. As the asylum seekers who apply for refugee status once they arrive in New Zealand (Bloom, O'Donovan & Udaheureka, 2013). Sri Lankan refugees are included in the planned intake for 2018 and 2019 (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). Sri Lankan Tamils are an ethnic group who are facing ethnic conflict and persecution in their homeland. New Zealand also has a significant population of Sri Lankan migrants who have arrived in Zealand through categories such as the skilled migrant scheme.

1.3 The theory behind this study and its significance

Displacement can occur from a variety of different reasons; however, researchers have found many similarities in how the process affects individuals and their responses. During the displacement and asylum-seeking process specifically, families move through different spaces and stages of relocation, from their homes to various camps before arriving at their resettlement location. Scudder and Colson (1982) provide a framework for understanding the stages of forced displacement. This framework breaks down the refugee journey and explores the psychological stress and coping mechanisms at each stage of the process. It is important to note that the time scale of displacement and resettlement varies depending on each context. Refugees and asylum seekers may have to continually move from place to place forming new connections to refugee camps and other such environments before needing to leave them again (Foote and Azaryahu, 2009).

The literature on sense of place amongst refugees has tended to focus on how displacement can influence and sever connections to the homeland. There is a lack of literature, however, on refugee connections to their resettlement site and the formation of these connections (Turton, 2005). Places are an important variable to personal identity by way of the attachment people can make with their environment and particular places. Shared experiences of a place are important to developing a sense of community and thus to facilitating long-term adjustment to resettlement (Foote and Azaryahu, 2009).

As refugees relocate to their new homes, they will have to go through the process of integrating into a new society. The integration process differs depending on the ethnic group of the refugees and the resettlement context. For this reason, this research is centred on the resettlement journeys of Sri Lankan refugees specifically. One should not view refugees as homogenous and assume similarity in their experiences (Ager & Strang, 2008). For the refugee community, resettlement defined as “the activities and processes of becoming established after arrival in the country of settlement” (Valtonen, 2004, p.70) can be a stressful process due to the forced migration situation. Resettlement of refugees around the world to areas where they, has resulted in a diasporic scattering of communities and distancing kinship ties (Sampson & Gifford, 2010). The role of place in refugee studies focuses heavily on loss and the destruction of connections to place caused by displacement (Sampson & Gifford, 2010). This thesis will focus on how refugees connect to resettlement locations, with attention to places outside of the home and work, referred to as ‘third places’ (Frumkin, 2003) and how these facilitate the integration process.

Successful resettlement for refugees in New Zealand is measured against objective quantifiable indicators as stated in the refugee resettlement strategy (Immigration New Zealand, 2013). These indicators include health and wellbeing, participation, self-sufficiency, housing, education and employment. The New Zealand Red Cross as well as various government agencies, which facilitate the initial resettlement of newcomers, uses this framework to judge the level of successful integration at the end of the six-month assistance period. Using the concepts, which seek to understand refugee links to their new home, can provide an understanding of the refugee experience from a different lens. Factors such as inclusion and security rootedness can help to understand the process by which an individual begins to feel at home in their new setting. The New Zealand resettlement strategy incorporates ‘inclusion’ into its overall objective statement. However, it offers little way of understanding or measuring refugees’ experiences of inclusion from the refugee perspective.

Another way of conceptualising people's connection to their environment is through the study of territory. The concept of territory in this thesis derives from the French concept of *territoire*, which has recently emerged in the Anglophone geographical literature. Territories are constructed in space through the networks, circuits and flows projected by groups in society (Raffestin, 2012). The concept of territory in this thesis provides a valuable way in which to understand community's activities, landmarks, emotional ties, and behaviours associated with their land (Del Biaggio, 2015). The concept of territory further allows researchers to examine how individuals and communities rebuild their lives following movement through a process referred to as reterritorialisation (Raffestin, 2012).

1.3 Objectives

This thesis aims to analyse refugee attachment and self-identity as a mean to better understand the integration and resettlement process using former refugee perspectives. The research questions the popular assumption that refugee journeys are centred in loss and instead aims to understand the key factors that connects a refugee to their new home and neighbourhood and how they these attachments are formed. This general aim can be broken down into the three following objectives:

1. What kind of sense of place do Sri Lankan former refugees display in Wellington?
2. How have they developed a new territory in New Zealand through the process of territoriality?
3. Why is the territoriality of Sri Lankan former refugees experienced in Wellington different to that experienced in their homeland?
4. What does former refugees' territoriality imply for their sense of belonging in New Zealand and their self-identify?

As inclusion and belonging are featured heavily in the New Zealand refugee resettlement strategy, these themes will be highlighted throughout the thesis. Aspects of place such as social capital, kinship ties and familiarity are also key to this research and are further explored in chapter 2.

Outline of the study

The following chapter of this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of diverse threads of literature surrounding displacement and refugee resettlement. Place attachment is used as a way to conceptualise resettlement and attachment to a refugee's new home and city and is discussed in this chapter. Chapter 3 outlines and analyses current resettlement strategies in New Zealand as well as the way in which successful resettlement is understood. This chapter also introduces Tamil Sri Lankan's forced migration out of their homeland, the culture they carry with them, and their resettlement in New Zealand. Chapter 4 introduces the methodological framework that underpins this thesis as well as my positionality as both an insider and outsider. The subsequent chapters present the findings of this research and discuss its implications in relation to the literature review.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The following chapter discusses the theoretical foundations over which this study is situated. The concept of place attachment and identity are explored in relation to involuntary migration and resettlement. Displacement caused by factors outside of one's control can disturb place attachment and ones' sense of belonging. Sense of place is a valuable concept for exploring one's resettlement in a new environment through understanding the types places and the people in those places that constitute new bonds. Literature in refugee studies and place have tended to focus on either loss or new bonds developed during integration. The following theoretical framework explores ways in which to understand refugee attachment to place to their country of origin, refuge and resettlement.

2.1 Conceptualisations of place

The study of place, which combines location, locale and sense of place, has played a vital role in human geography (Cresswell, 2014). Location addresses the 'where' aspect and locale refers to the more tangible elements such as the built environment. Sense of place on the other hand refers to intangible aspects of place such as the emotive bonds and attachment that people can feel towards a particular location (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009). Disciplines including sociology, anthropology, psychology and geography have explored different concepts and definitions in relation to the study of place (Cresswell, 2014). Concepts concerning place include place attachment, sense of place, sense of community, community attachment among other similar titles, which are sometimes used interchangeably (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Cresswell, 2014). The common trend seen in the various studies of place is the idea that associations and bonds are created between individuals and their environment. These bonds, formed through emotions and experiences of particular places, differentiate spaces from each other for individuals. Sense of place as a concept is important to geography as it can be woven into studies on culture, individual behaviours and meaning within geography. Place attachment has been used to examine distress and coping mechanisms expressed by refugees (Fried, 1963). Ng (1998), in her study of place attachment of migrants, uses environmental psychology to understand how migrants form attachments to new environments. Scannell and Gifford (2010) suggest that there is a growing interest towards the concept of place attachment particularly in relation to migration. This growing body of literature into mobility and place attachment has led to new

means of conceptualising the ways in which people connect to their surroundings and the impacts this has.

Altman and Low (1992) refer to place as a space that has been given meaning through personal, collective or cultural processes. In their definition of place attachment, the core elements include affect, emotion and feeling. Here the terms of the attachment are directly related to 'affect' and place refers to the 'environmental setting'. The bonds created through daily life routines in a long-term setting; most commonly in a residential environment (Feldman, 1990). Place may be explored on multiple scales from the home to the planet and from objects and landmarks to people. These bonds can be positive and give feelings of safety and security or may give negative emotions of fear and placelessness. If feelings regarding a place are positive, it can be said that the individual is attached. Negative feelings bring a sense of detachment and not belonging. Negative feelings towards a place are common for those who feel oppressed, face societal tensions and conflict in their environment. Connections to one's homeland and the places they hold dear to them can be both intentionally and unintentionally destroyed as bonds turn negative (Sampson & Gifford, 2010).

Fischer et al., (1977) and Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff (1983) relate places to anchors in life and self-identity. This means to say sense of place can support identity and self-definitions through the feelings of belonging that attachment to places can bring. Proshansky et al., (1983) consider place identity as a sub-structure of self-identity where self-definitions are formed from childhood and are created in reference to the objects, people and the places surrounding them. The 'self' relates to the total system of the conscious and unconscious perceptions of one's "past, daily experiences and future aspirations" (Proshansky et al., 1983). Fischer et al. (1977:139) see attachment to place "as individuals' commitment to their neighbourhood and their neighbours". Neighbourhood attachment here involves institutional ties, community involvement, social connections and positive subjective feelings.

Place attachment functions unconsciously, meaning individuals are generally unaware of emotions brought by specific places, making these connections difficult to assess (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Places are integral to one's identity but in very subtle ways. The ambiguity surrounding the definitions of place as well as the unconscious nature of attachment makes sense of place difficult to measure objectively (Steadman, 2003). It is only when an individual relocates or spends a prolonged away from a place that they become conscious of their

attachment through a feeling of loss. This is because after the creation of strong place attachments, distance away can cause a “stressful period of disruption followed by a post-disruption phase of coping with lost attachments and creating new ones” (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

2.2 Collective place attachment

Scannell and Gifford (2010), in their multidimensional framework for understanding place attachment, suggest that symbolic meanings of place can be shared and in turn found collective place attachments. Individual as well as collective and community identity can be very reliant on place and the shared experiences of specific places (Low, 1992). The perceptions individuals have of a place in connection with its attributes distinguish places from others as community spaces which can provide a sense of belonging for particular groups (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009; Manzo, 2003). Anderson (1991) describes community as imagined and constructed. There are often implications when using the term community that there are shared commonalities, which distinguish the group from others, which can be through shared culture, religion or language among other things (Cohen, 2013). Communities do not necessarily arise within the same space and people may feel they belong to multiple communities.

Collective and cultural place attachments can be passed down to the next generations as they transcend individual experiences (Low and Altman, 1992). The cognitive bond between a person and an environment includes the inherited beliefs of past generations and connects people to their places both emotionally and culturally (Altman & Low, 1992). Cochrane (1987) emphasises that individuals and groups behave in ways that serve to maintain or enhance their spaces. Shared experience of a place through celebrations, routines and personalisation are involved in developing a sense of community (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Community attachment is created when communities cultivate environments, which support individual, family and community ties (Low & Altman, 1992). Another reason people are integral to place attachment is because there has been some debate about whether attachments occurs primarily due to connections to physical places or the people and social networks in those places. Riley (1992) asserts that place attachment is a result of attachment to other people in the spaces. Proshansky et al. (1983) argue we do experience the physical realities of a place but also the social meanings and beliefs attached to it by those who live there and those outside. These social cognitions of place add to one’s place identity. Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) state that place attachment is time dependent where those who live in a place for a long time form

stronger attachments. Factors such as home ownership and social circles in the area also relate to stronger place attachment. Scannell and Gifford (2010) suggest that people form bonds with places that social networks, community relationships and group identity. When people connect to places through the people in those places, it may be referred to as a socially based place bond.

2.2.1 Public spaces and social interactions

The role of public spaces as a site of social interactions has been widely acknowledged as a key component to place making (Mehta & Bosson, 2010). There are many early theorisations of public spaces and place making, one of which is Oldenburg's concept of third places. Oldenburg (1982) first defined the concept of third places as sites outside of the home and workplace, with particular social characteristics. Places which are the site of social engagement such as 'third places' can foster emotional connections between people and their cities/neighbourhood. Third places have come to be investigated in geography as spaces that can foster community life (Frumkin, 2003). Third places can be "unique public spaces for social interaction, providing a context for sociability, spontaneity, community building and expressiveness" (Jeffres, Bracken, Jian, & Casey, 2009p.335). In Madgin et al (2016) recreational spaces were explored in relation to neighbourhood and place attachment. As seen in other forms of place attachment, the connection built with public and recreational spaces are described to be unconscious and are often taken for granted until they are lost. In a study by Manzo (1994) participants showed meaningful connections to places outside the neighbourhood such as a favourite bookstore or various landmarks in other cities. The study indicates there is no spatial limit to attachment as people can develop connections to places and things not in their vicinity or even the same city.

2.2.2 Impacts of displacement on attachment

Place attachment is not static in nature and may change in accordance with changes to one's surrounding environments. Attachment is preserved through continuing routines, interactions and experiences which work to keep humans connected to their environment (Cresswell, 2014; Foote & Azaryahu, ; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Factors such as relocation, loss of social connections, and disruptions to daily life can influence an individual's perceptions of place (Brown & Perkins, 1992). This section will focus on displacement as a disruption to the

connection individuals possess between them and their surroundings as it is a key theme in this study. As place is entwined with self-identity, changes in an individual's connection to place such as displacement may influence perceptions of self-identity (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Feldman, 1990). Individuals may refuse to move even when faced with considerable hardships in their neighbourhood such as war and the experience of a disaster due to the strength of their attachment (Feldman, 1990). The struggle with self-identity relates to the loss or interference with the type of attachments that provide people with meaningful connections to their environment (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Due to the unconscious nature of stable attachment, it is only when there is a disruption that people realise the nature of their attachment and the benefits of a place. The temporality of disruption, whether it is short term or long term and whether individuals see a possible end, has effects on how people cope with the changes (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Psychological coping mechanisms differ depending on whether an individual can see a time when they will be able to return to their homes as opposed to individuals permanently being uprooted. Brown & Perkins (1992) differentiated between the disruptions in connections people have to places caused by voluntary versus involuntary relocations. As it is planned, voluntary migration holds a level of choice; whereas involuntary migration is often sudden, meaning individuals have little time to process the situation.

Social, economic and political resources are lost due to involuntary displacement and may not be as easily re-built (Kibreab, 1999). Essentialist understandings of people and places associate displaced peoples with the land they have left behind. This, in turn, assumes displaced peoples' identity will always be in relation to loss (Malkki, 1992; Turton, 2005; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Recent understandings of identity and place have challenged the idea that a displaced person will forever identify as a refugee. Brown and Perkins (1992) assert that old attachment to people and places are not fully replaced when forming connections to new landscapes. Literature on transnationalism explored in the following section combats this idea and shows that there is a potential for people to be attached to multiple places. Essentialist understandings ignore the human capacity of being able to rebuild a life and in turn can reinforce the idea that refugees are out of place or do not belong in their resettlement site (Sampson & Gifford, 2010). When understanding the refugee-place connection, both the connection between the place they left behind and their desire to construct meaning with their resettlement location and new home should be considered (Brun, 2001).

2.3 Transnationalism

Transnationalism as a concept is still being defined and studied by various disciplines including geography. Early research on migration has tended to focus on integration and adaptation to the new society, however, towards the late 1900's scholars began to acknowledge "attachments migrants maintain to families, communities, traditions and causes outside the boundaries of the nation state to which they have moved" (Vertovec, 2010:574). This concept refers to the idea that 'trans-migrants' experience an interconnectedness as their "everyday geographies span social fields located in two or more nation states" (Huang, 2009:1). The concept is still evolving and begin explored under different contexts of migration and diasporas. Transnationalism has been well explored in the field of international migration and migrant communities, however, the field has paid little attention to refugees and their connections to their homeland (Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001). Through there is no clear typology of what constitutes as transnational activities, Al-Ali et al. (2001) note particular economic, political, social and cultural activities exhibited among their case study which connect refugees to both their home and host country. These include sending remittances, participation in political rallies, membership in social clubs and events to promote culture.

Migrants and refugees may now live in "social worlds that are stretched between or dually located in physical places and communities in two or more nations" (Hannerz, 1996 cited in Vertovec, 2001). The experiences and connections created in multiple places can influence one's identity. Transnationalism, often explored alongside identity as identities, is constructed through both internal and external factors such as their surrounding social world (Jenkins, 1996). Scholars often talk about transnational flows, an example of which are remittances, which migrants send to their families' overseas (Conway and Cohen, 1998).

2.4 Territory and territoriality

The terms 'territory' and 'territoriality' have varying theoretical framings across geography (Raffestin, 2012). Territory is conceptualised differently within Anglophone geography compared to its Francophone counterpart (Del Biaggio, 2015; Raffestin, 2012). Anglophone territory and Francophone 'territoire' have similar historical origins, however, they have grown to represent quite different concepts (Del Biaggio, 2015; Painter, 2010). Anglophone territory

has tended to coincide with notions of the bounded nation state. Conceptualisations of territory in Anglophone geography remains rigid and is associated with control, exclusion and boundaries. Antonsich (2009) discusses how globalisation has given new conditions of how we explore the world which has led to the concept of the nation state as a bounded space being increasingly disregarded. Antonsich claims that territory has not been explored under the new conditions provided through globalisation but has also been disregarded along with the nation state.

In more recent Anglophone literature there has been a greater push for territory to be reconceptualised under the terms of its French counterpart (Painter, 2010). Scholars argue that issues of multiculturalism, transnationalism and globalism have challenged national identity and the Anglophone concept of territory. It is growingly common for nations to have significant populations who have a different cultural background from the counties' majority. Antonsich (2009) argues that multicultural societies are clear examples of "people whose lives are suspended between different national territories, sometimes not belonging to any of them or, most likely, belonging simultaneously to all of them". Francophone 'territoire' is considered to have multifaceted connotations. The French 'territoire' is often translated to 'place' in English instead of territory (Del Biaggio, 2015). The concept of 'place' allowed for Anglophone geographers to explore the social, cultural and political dimensions of space (Debarbieux 1999, cited in Del Biaggio, 2015). However, this has been done in Francophone literature through the study of 'territoire'. 'Territoire' can be described as "abstract, ideal, livid, and felt more than visually detected and limited" (Del Biaggio, 2015). Another important term explored in this thesis is 'territoriality'. Raffestin (2012) defines territoriality as the key to the construction of territory. Territoriality refers to the activities that people carry out in space as individuals and collectively to construct their territory. Territory also encompasses the notion that society is constructed through the relations between people in society and the meaning they give to space (Rafestin 1986 cited in Raffestin 2012). Territory as a concept incorporates the previous concepts of place attachment, identity and community and is used to frame this thesis.

2.5 Perspectives and definitions of global mobility

Efforts to define and provide frameworks for the causation, scope and possible solutions of refugee waves have existed since the early 1900s and have been grounded in a variety of different disciplines (Skran & Daughtry, 2007). Refugee and migration studies have generally been fragmented due to the terminological debates on what it means to be a refugee and what makes someone displaced and seek asylum (Black, 2001). Refugee policy and laws have tended to have different definitions as to who counts as a refugee compared to the social sciences (Skran & Daughtry, 2007). The study of refugees has emerged in parallel with policy and laws surrounding stateless persons (Black, 2001). Displaced populations are not new to the 1900s; war, disasters and famine have caused the movement of whole populations. Early refugee studies tended to view the refugee as passive victims in need of rescue while focusing on studies, which aim to manage the refugee ‘problem’ (Ehrkamp, 2017). Brun (2015) argues that the experience of displacement and resettlement are similar to those of refugees. Refugee policy remains hostile in certain parts of the world where refugees are viewed as ‘security threats’. This is largely due to the ‘war on terror’ and the increasing need for states to control who enters their borders (Mountz & Hiemstra, 2014). Efforts to deter asylum seekers from entering state borders has also increased in recent decades (Ehrkamp, 2017).

2.5.1 Early understandings of the making of a refugee crisis

The early studies on displacement explored the European refugees displaced by World War One who are usually referred to as ‘classical refugees’ (Vernant, 1953). Studies have pointed out numerous differences between refugees and migrants, the key point being the lack of choice for the movement of refugees. Following the Second World War and the Cold War, Vernant (1953) argues that political events are the key cause of refugee crisis. Here he includes economic circumstances which may cause a family to move as political, as it is the state which impacts an individual’s economic distress and not a natural phenomenon. Prior to Vernant’s argument, economic hardships were not considered to be a cause of involuntary migration but more of a push force for voluntary migration. Simpson (1939) is one of the first to attempt to define and explore refugee processes, claiming that political issues are the sole cause of displacement. Economic influences and other attractions to foreign countries are believed to be incentives for economic migrants who choose to leave voluntarily (Jaszi, 1939). Mangalam (1968) refers to migration as a collective and permanent moving away by a group commonly

referred to as migrants. Eichenbaum (1975) explains that there are factors that push all migrants away from the country however for refugees, the decision to move is both determined and influenced by society.

Even though some early studies suggested that migrants are similar to refugees in that they both face factors enticing them to another country, more recent studies conclude that migrants do not have the same involuntary nature to their movement as refugees. Refugee decisions can be distinguished by the reluctance to uproot oneself or the lack of positive original motivations to move elsewhere. Peterson (1958) characterises the refugee experience as one where refugees do not have the power to decide whether to stay or leave. A recent debated example of what is considered as voluntary economic migration versus displacement is the Venezuelan refugee crisis where hundreds of thousands have fled to neighbouring Colombia due to the fallen economy (Freier, 2018; O'Neil, 2018). Aside from European and communist refugees, studies on refugees from Africa, Asia and the Middle East, grew in the 1960s. The Vietnamese exodus to the USA in the 1970s led to greater research into issues surrounding the refugee experience including psychological adaptation and dysfunction (Cohon, 1981).

Oliver-Smith and Hansen (1982) specify involuntary migrants as those who have been forced to move away from their homes and have therefore been displaced. Scudder and Colson (1982) provide a basic framework for understanding the process of relocation with reference to the coping strategies of displaced people. The key distinction between this framework and others is the attention to emotion and coping strategies involved in the period before, during and after the move. This framework encompasses the forced movement of people due to a variety of reasons including displacement due to disasters, war, persecution and redevelopment. The first stage, described as the requirement stage is defined as the process where external forces such as the government or even extremist groups make decisions and actions. These decisions can begin to put pressure on groups of people in society to the point in which they may yearn to be free from human oppression. This response from the groups affected is referred to as the transition stage in the Scudder and Colson (1982) framework. Next, comes the stage of potential development and is characterised by resettled people becoming more independent and going through the settlement process in their new home. The process of integration arises at this stage. The term integration has been widely used in current studies of refugee resettlement (Ager & Strang, 2008). Finally, comes the incorporation stage and occurs when resettled people are successfully integrated and feel at home. The timescale for this stage is highly variable and

may never be reached at all for some. This thesis will focus on the last two stages: the stage of potential development and the incorporation stage.

2.6 The resettlement process

Resettlement into a new society is described in the ‘stage of potential development’ and whether resettlement is successful is determined by the incorporation stage in Scudder and Colson’s (1982) framework. Psychological and sociocultural stresses are involved in the relocation and resettlement process and influence the coping strategies that people employ prior to and after relocation. Scudder and Colson (1982) argue that these stresses associated with resettlement accompany both voluntary and involuntary migration but in varying degrees. They argue the stresses of migrating to a new habitat are experienced to a lesser extent for voluntary migrants. Coping and coping mechanisms are reactions people have to various stresses, furthermore, similar stresses can result in varying types of coping mechanisms from different types of people (Aldwin, 2007). Within migration studies, resettlement is said to be successful if refugees manage to integrate into society. Ager and Strang (2008) have explored the integration of refugees into society and developed a framework of integration indicators and facilitators of inclusion. Through the process of integration, one may become more attached to their surroundings, and may one day come to feel at home. Understanding the successes and challenges of integration will shed light on how refugees form connections to their new home and neighbourhood and their place-making process. The Ager and Strang (2008) framework is a useful way of looking at integration as it separates factors of integrations into multiple levels. A refugee may be successfully integrated in terms of one aspect of resettlement but not as much in another.

2.6.1 Social capital and integration

Refugee populations have become minority groups in many receiving countries where their language and culture are not dominant. Being of a different social group in a new country gives refugees different vulnerabilities and capacities compared to other groups in the population (Marlowe & Lou, 2013). The process of integration is multifaceted and has been defined as the ability to participate in economic, social, cultural and political activities without having to leave behind their own ethno-cultural identity (Valtonen, 2004). Citizenship allows for refugees to be given basic rights and is a form of “policies of recognition”. However there

has been a shift in literature towards substantive citizenship which allows for 'policy of equality' which takes the ability to participate into consideration (Turner & Oakes, 1986). A refugees' position within society and their access to equal resources are factors which influence social inequality. As refugees go through the settlement process they can develop community ties with other refugees and migrants from their country of origin, providing them with social capital through networks, coping and support systems (Ager & Strang, 2008). Their political power and representation can also increase, as they become a resident as well as their socio-economic capacities.

In the framework provided by Ager and Strang (2008), social connections are said to be structures that allow for the removal of barriers to integration. Social bridges, bonds and links that refugees make are significant in driving the process of integration and reflect that refugees are highly feel a sense of inclusion in their resettlement process (Lamba and Krahn, 2003). The social bonds between family and their co-ethnic group give rise to social solidarity and may reduce feelings of isolation (Ager & Strang, 2008). Ethnic group solidarity and networks function similar to kin networks by providing newly arrived refugees with access to accommodations, connections to employment and can help reduce feelings of isolation (Lamba and Krahn, 2003). Social bridges are connections across communities which allow for cultural harmony. Social links are those with the state and authorities which dictate access to social services (Ager & Strang, 2008). The socio-cultural dimensions of resettlement include support, network and community engagement (Fozdar & Hartley, 2013). This also includes links with family, friendships and shared values. In their investigation of integration, Lamba and Krahn (2003) identified the importance of social capital on employment and health in a Canadian context.

The concept of social capital has also been influential in identifying the assets associated with social connection and trust (Keyes, 1998). Keyes (1998) has identified five dimensions of social wellbeing that also relate to resettlement. These include social integration, social contribution, social acceptance, social actualization, and social coherence. Social acceptance and coherence are heavily dependent on the perception of refugees in the resettlement society and their acceptance. Former refugees who feel socially integrated may feel comfortable in their neighbourhood and feel like they are a part of a healthy community (Keyes, 1998). Refugees have little to no choice in where they are resettled and often do not have any social connection to their host society (Stewart et al., 2015). Social networks have to be built from

the ground up for the refugee community. The reconstruction of a social capital base is essential for successful resettlement (Lamba and Krahn, 2003).

2.6.2 Politics and inclusion

The political atmosphere of the resettlement country and neighbourhood have an impact on the level of inclusion an individual may feel and therefore their level of place attachment. Immigration policy in receiving countries provides the foundation to understand the rights and the ability of former refugees to integrate (Ager & Strang, 2008). Understandings of nationality and conceptions of multiculturalism in receiving countries reflect how much of an integrated citizen a refugee may become (Ager & Strang, 2008). Notions of national identity can dictate acceptance into the community as well as the expectations that the state holds of them (Hale, 2009). There is a mutual expectation between the state and refugees with regards to whether the refugee is prepared to adapt to the new lifestyle (Ager & Strang, 2008). Arguments surrounding refugee acceptance is fuelled by negative media representations of the global refugee crisis. This affects the perceptions about refugees in receiving countries (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). Esses et al. (2013) examine the role that media plays in dehumanizing refugees by framing them as a burden to the country, rather than a benefit. Media discourses on the cost of refugees to resettle in countries places pressure on the refugee community to demonstrate the ability of beneficial citizenship.

The degrees of refugees' rights in terms of economic policy, welfare regimes and policy responses to a refugee crisis, can contribute to their exclusion within society as they represent social foundations (Percy-Smith, 2000). It is important to also consider secondary rights such as family reunification policy and equality in legislation. Bloch and Schuster (2002) explore how varying citizenship and residential status leads to differing access to social and welfare resources and how this contributes to the poverty experienced by refugees.

Chapter 3 contextual analysis

The resettlement context as well as the cultural background of the resettling group are important in understanding refugee experiences (Ager & Srtang, 2010). The following chapter details the changes in New Zealand's refugee policy overtime, the current refugee resettlement strategy and the context of the Sri Lankan refugee crisis. To understand the influences of involuntary migration on resettlement and people's territoriality, attention is paid to the social disparities in Sri Lanka and the life of Tamils under rebel rule.

3.1 Changing attitudes towards refugee resettlement

New Zealand reserves specific immigration pathways tailored for displaced persons and those fleeing persecution and wish to seek asylum in New Zealand. New Zealand recognises refugees based on the 1951 Refugee convention and amended by the 1967 Protocol as someone "owning to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country". New Zealand's changing attitudes towards nationalism, and who is welcome in the country is evident in its changes in immigration policy over time. New Zealand immigration and refugee policy has "evolved in response to changing global circumstances and needs" (UN High commissioner for refugees, 2014:2). New Zealand only accepted those of British decent to enter the country in the 1930's (Beaglehole, 2013). Exception was granted to those who had guaranteed work and owned a considerable amount of capital (Beaglehole, 2013). The 1931 Immigration Restriction Act did not allow for the acceptance of refugees fleeing rising totalitarian states in Europe to enter the country. It was only with the outbreak of World War Two that New Zealand accepted 1100 refugees fleeing Europe. This marked the beginning of a change in the attitude towards refugees and humanitarianism in policy. New Zealand ratified the 1951 UN convention in 1960, which led to a steady movement of refugees into the country. Formal resettlement programmes aimed at guiding the integration process began in 1986 showing an increasing concern for the general welfare of the refugee population (Beaglehole, 2013; Marlowe & Elliott, 2014). An annual quota of 750 was set in 1987 and continued until 2018 when the quota increased to 1000. This is expected to increase to 1500 by July 2020 (Immigration New Zealand, 2019). The increase in quota indicates a shift in the attitude towards the costs/benefits of refugees to the country.

“This will change lives and not just for refugee families. Refugees become great citizens, who bring valuable skills and experience to New Zealand and help make our country a more diverse and vibrant place.” – RT Hon Jacinda Ardern (2018)

A greater interest in the protection of ‘at risk’ groups is seen in the Immigration act of 2009, which determined the grounds of obligation towards refugee acceptance. This piece of legislation prioritises and sets minimum quotas for those with medical conditions, women at risk, and family reunification.

Quota refugees and convention refugees are the two main refugee categories. Quota refugees are those who have applied for refugee status while in an overseas UN mandated refugee camp. After going through a vetting process by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they arrive at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre for orientation. Convention refugees on the other hand apply for protection usually once already in New Zealand. Prior to seeking protection, they are referred to as asylum seekers. They must prove to be someone ‘who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion’ to be granted refugee status in New Zealand (United Nations, 1951). Quota refugees are granted permanent residence upon arrival and may eventually apply for citizenship. However, citizenship is not guaranteed. There has been a total of 8535 refugees resettled across New Zealand from 2007 to May 2018 (Refugee Quota Branch Resettlement Statistics, 2018).

Other pathways such as the ‘Humanitarian Migrant’ and ‘Community Organisation Refugee Sponsorship’ categories were trailed as pilot programmes between 2000-02 and 2017-18 respectively. Refugee policy also has shown a greater concern for reuniting refugee families with the addition of the ‘refugee family support resident visa’ in July 2002. Currently this category only accepts tier-one sponsors meaning refugees who have no direct family in New Zealand can sponsor a family member (and their partner and dependent children) to migrate to New Zealand (Immigration New Zealand, 2019). There is a quota of 300 places a year for this category. The majority of resettled refugees will eventually apply to be New Zealand citizens either because they feel New Zealand is their home or because they have lived here for a long time (Marlowe & Elliott, 2014).

3.1.1 The New Zealand resettlement strategy

Only quota refugees, upon arrival in New Zealand receive six weeks of orientation designed to support resettlement in The Mangere Refugee Resettlement Center . Immigration New Zealand (INZ), Auckland District Health Board (ADHB), The Ministry of Social Development (MSD), Auckland University of Technology, The New Zealand Police and Refugees as Survivors New Zealand (RASNZ) facilitate this programme. The programme includes sessions on Maori culture and perspectives, New Zealand police and law, living in a multicultural society, education and health (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE, 2019). The Auckland University of Technology also runs a schooling programme to prepare children for the New Zealand schooling system. The orientation programme and the Mangere facility itself is a unique approach to insuring refugees are not thrown into the deep end when they resettle around New Zealand.

After six weeks, refugees are allocated to various resettlement cities depending on the availability of housing. Due to limited social housing stock in Auckland, resettlement in the city has become restricted. It is common for refugees to be grouped by their country of origin and resettled together in the same site; however, this is not always the case.

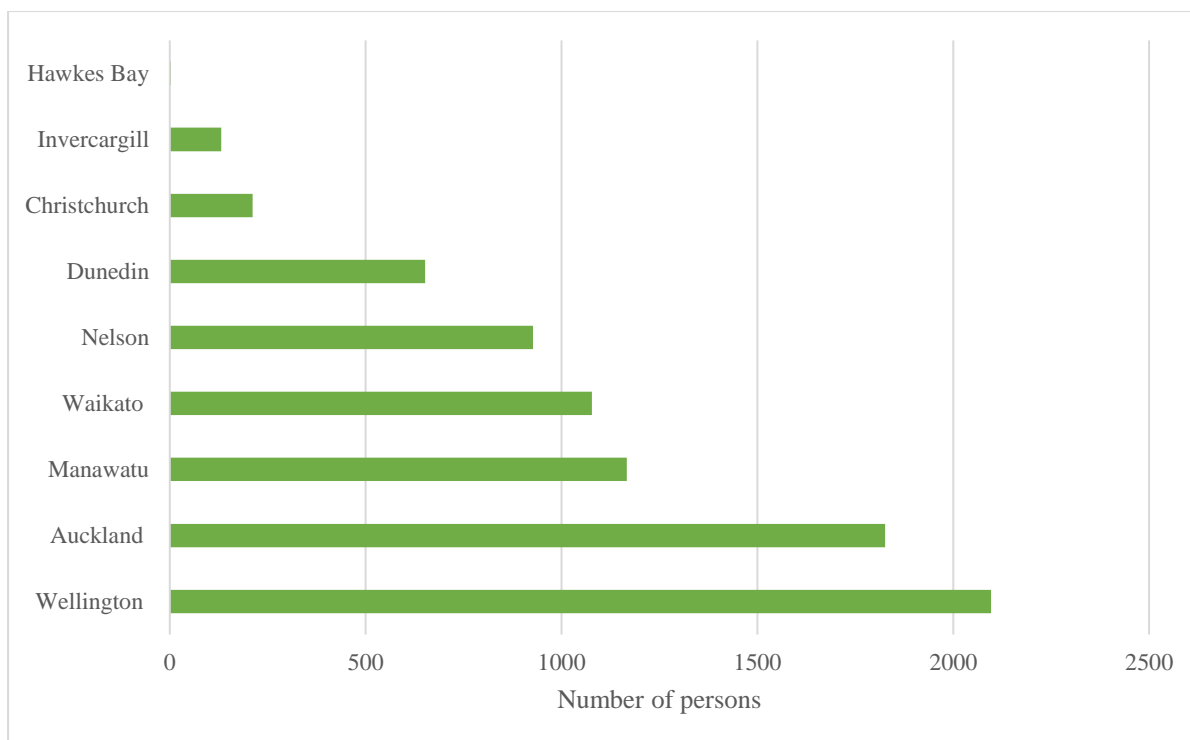


Figure 3.1 Quota refugees settled in each site between financial year 2009-10 to 2018-19. Adapted from Refugee and Protection Unit statistics pack, Immigration New Zealand, 2019

Figure 3.2 indicates the number of quota refugees resettled in each site. Some resettlement sites span regions such as Wellington where refugees are spread over smaller cities such as the Hutt City and the Wellington City suburbs. In Dunedin however, refugees are resettled in the city and suburbs of Dunedin. Even though Christchurch is the second largest city in New Zealand, it has been closed as a resettlement site due to the 2011 earthquake (MBIE, 2019). The Christchurch site reopened in 2019. Once in their resettlement site, The New Zealand Red Cross support refugees between six months to one year during the initial resettlement period (MBIE, 2019). Housing New Zealand provides initial accommodation and may house refugees for several years if they cannot move into private rental/ownership. Support for refugees on a community level is heavily reliant on community organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGO's).

On the other hand, when asylum seekers arrive in New Zealand, they are granted a work visa and must apply for protection to become a convention refugee. Asylum seekers do not receive the same level of support due to their status. The New Zealand Red Cross services such as the pathways to settlement and pathways to employment programmes are not offered to asylum seekers. Asylum seekers must also find their own accommodation. The Asylum Seekers

Support Trust act as the only hostel for asylum seekers and often finds themselves fully tenanted (Radio New Zealand, 2017).

Figure 3.2 shows the number of refugee and protection claims each year. The number of individuals claiming asylum through this process has risen to 510 claims in the financial year 2018-19; its highest number of claims yet (Refugee Quota Branch, 2019).

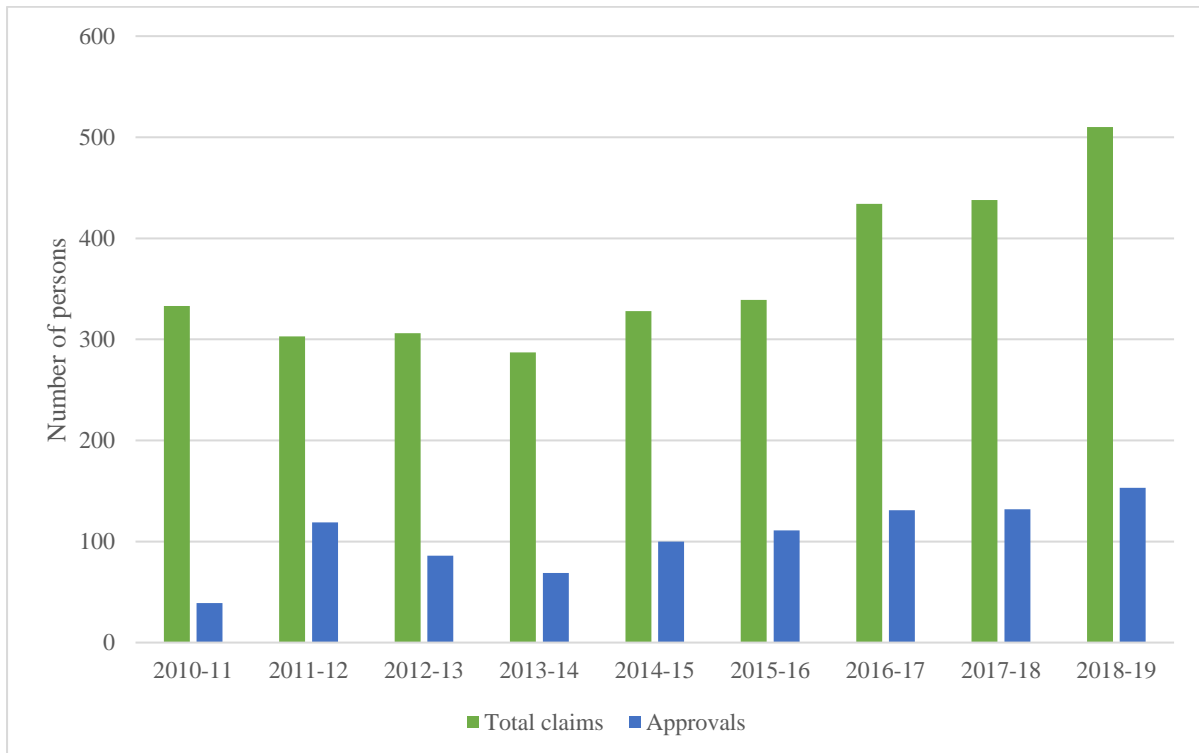


Figure 3.2 Total refugee and protection claims alongside category approvals by financial year . Adapted from Refugee and Protection Unit statistics pack, Immigration New Zealand, 2019

3.1.2 How is sustainable resettlement assessed in New Zealand

The current New Zealand refugee resettlement strategy came into effect in 2012 with an update on future priorities publicised in 2019. The resettlement strategy aims to lead families into self-reliance by assisting and assessing five key areas of resettlement. Government ministries such as the Ministry for Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) collect ‘resettlement outcomes’ data in partnership with the New Zealand Red Cross. Here ‘outcomes’ include housing, self-sufficiency, education, participation and health and wellbeing. These categories

are used as objective indicators to measure the successfulness of the refugee resettlement strategy over time.

“Refugees are participating fully and integrated socially and economically as soon as possible so that they are living independently, undertaking the same responsibilities and exercising the same rights as other New Zealanders and have a strong sense of belonging to their own community and to New Zealand.”

- The overarching vision for the New Zealand Refugee Resettlement strategy

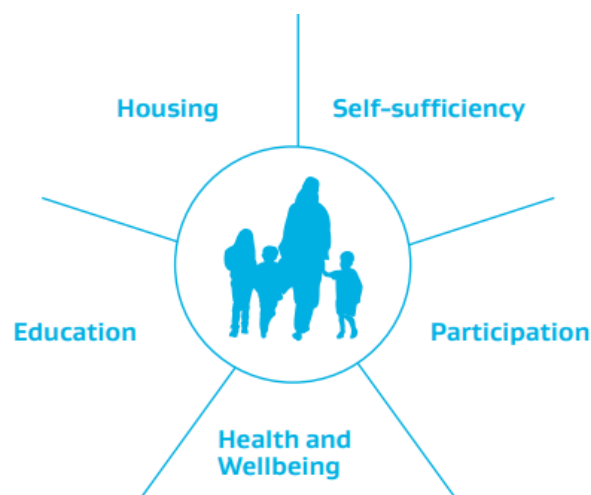


Figure 3. 3 Resettlement indicators, Immigration New Zealand 2019

The resettlement strategy is a “whole of government approach to delivering improved refugee resettlement outcomes” (UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2014:12). These resettlement outcomes are assessed annually against ‘success’ indicators established by the New Zealand Government (UN High Commissioner for refugees, 2014 pg.12). The literature review has explored the role of place attachment in forced displacement and resettlement (Brown & Perkins; Feldman, 1990). Valtonen (2004) and Turner (1986) address the need for qualitative forms of assessment that can investigate refugee perspectives to fully understand their own experience. The current refugee resettlement strategy emphasises objective indicators based on statistics collected by the government ministries. Self-sufficiency is measured by analysing the

proportion of working age refugees who are in paid employment or are supported by a family member in paid employment. Immigration New Zealand's outcomes update for 2017/18 shows an increase in those in paid employment and a decrease in the proportion receiving unemployment related benefits (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). The proportion of refugees receiving housing assistance is used to indicate housing 'success' rates. The quality of education is indicated by the proportion of school leavers who achieve NCEA level two qualifications. Health and wellbeing of refugees is measured through access to mental health services, the utilisation of GP services and the proportion of quota refugee children who receive age appropriate vaccinations. The above five resettlement outcomes do not give insight into an individual's wellbeing or their 'sense of belonging' even though the aim of the strategy stated above mentions this need. To understand these concepts, a greater understanding of the resettlement experience must be gained from listening to refugees' personal experiences (Ager & Strang, 2010).

3.2 Sri Lankan resettlement in New Zealand

The Sri Lankan population in New Zealand include those who have arrived under various migrant, refugee and protection categories over the years. It is difficult to determine the total number of Sri Lankan Tamils specifically due to complications related to identity and ethnicity in the New Zealand census. The question on ethnicity in the 2013 census gave the top eight ethnicities to choose from and a 'write in' box for other ethnicities. As Sri Lankan Tamils may identify as Sri Lankan, Sri Lankan Tamil or Tamil, it is difficult to determine the total population Tamils from Sri Lanka within the New Zealand population.

The 2018 census indicates there was a total of 16,830 people who identified as Sri Lankan in New Zealand. Wellington is the study area for this thesis due to its large Tamil population, and the researchers' own personal connection to the Wellington Tamil community discussed in the following chapter. For the Wellington region, the 2018 census indicates that there were 2520 Sri Lankans (not defined as either Singhalese or Tamil) residing in the region. Under the 2013 census where 1632 individuals identified as Sri Lankan in Wellington, just over 100 people identified as Sri Lankan Tamil and 156 people identified as Singhalese specifically. The Sri Lankan Tamil population increased by 35% from the previous census in 2006. Between the financial year of 2010-11 and 2019-20 310 Sri Lankan quota refugees arrived in New Zealand (figure 3.4) (Immigration New Zealand, 2019). In the same time period 162 Sri Lankans were

granted residence visas through the refugee family support category and 20 Sri Lankan asylum and protection claims were approved (Immigration New Zealand, 2019).

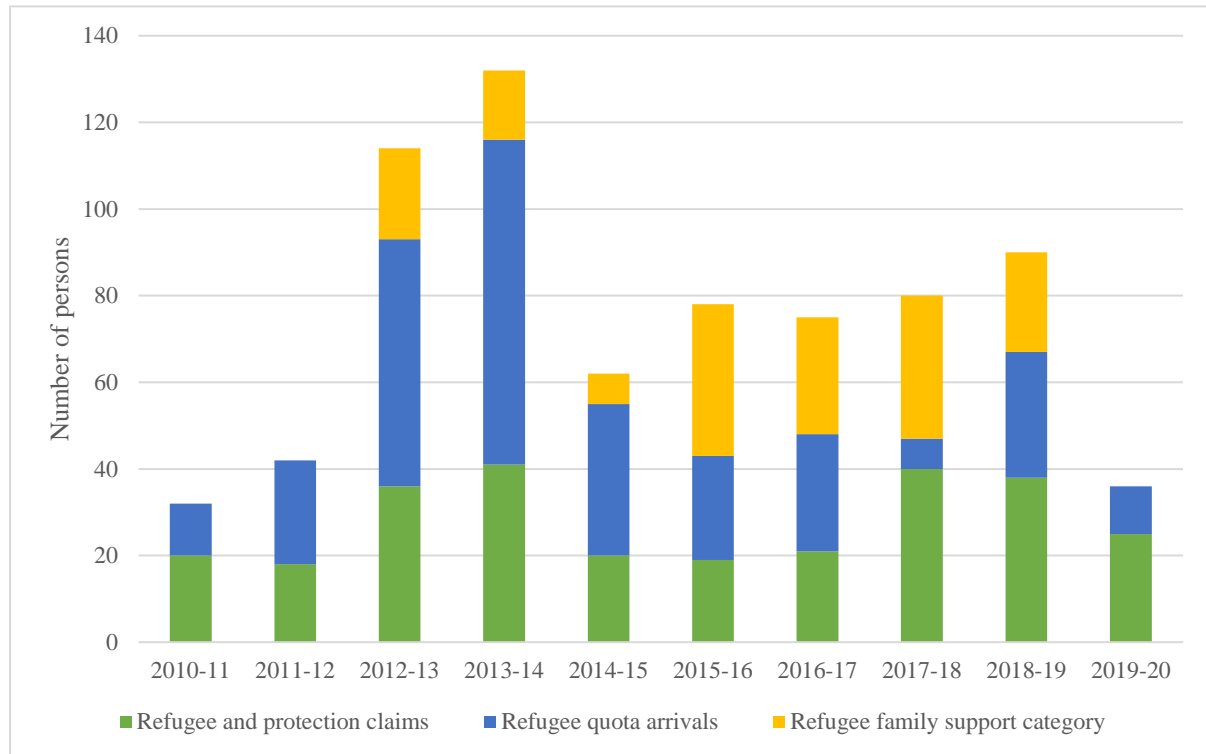


Figure 3.4 Sri Lankan refugee statistics by protection category and financial year in New Zealand. Adapted from; *Refugee and Protection Unit statistics pack, Immigration New Zealand, 2019*

Immigration New Zealand reports that there is a total of 119 Sri Lankan individuals resettled in Auckland and a total of 157 in Wellington from 2007 to May 2018 (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). Canterbury is the only other area in New Zealand to house Sri Lankan refugees with four resettlements. Sri Lankans were among the top five nationalities claiming asylum in New Zealand in 2018-19 with 38 claims out of which seven were accepted. Between 2010 to present, 20 out of 278 claims have been accepted from Sri Lankans. Those who are not accepted may lodge an appeal with the Immigration and Protection Tribunal.

In New Zealand, there are several Sri Lankan Tamil organisations such as Tamil Poonga in Auckland and the Wellington Tamil Society. Auckland and Wellington both have weekend Tamil Schools. The Tamil school in Wellington has 64 students and approximately 10 under 5

year old children at Wellington Tamil playgroup (Wellington Tamil Society representative, 2019).

3.3 Social disparities in Sri Lanka

The Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka is an island nation formerly under British rule located in the Indian Ocean. Sri Lankan society throughout history has been bubbling with tensions between the ethnic groups that populate the island (Kulandaswamy, 2000; Tambiyah, 1986). These tensions set the scene for the armed conflict, which left hundreds of thousands of people dead, internally displaced or forced to leave the country. This section aims to understand both the conflict and the life of Tamil people in Sri Lanka as it provides a background on their territory. The Sri Lankan government census uses seven ethnic identifiers; Singalese, Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil, Sri Lankan Moor, Burgher, Malay and other. The census taken in 1981 (during escalating tensions) shows that the Singalese made up 74% of the population and the Tamils made up 18.2% (Tambiyah, 1986). The Tamils are divided into the Sri Lankan Tamils who share an ancestral connection to Sri Lanka and Indian Tamils who arrived in Sri Lanka during British rule to work in tea plantations. Indian Tamils did not have an avenue to become citizens in Sri Lanka until the 2003 Grant of Citizenship to Persons of Indian Origin Act No. 35. Those who arrived in Sri Lanka prior to 1964 and their descendants were granted citizenship.

Conflict

Ethnic tensions between the two ethnic groups simmered down during British rule as they both joined force against the British. This unity continued for the first few years post-independence (Mambillay, 2017). Sri Lanka has been previously ruled by the Portuguese (1505-1658), Dutch (1640-1796) and the British (1815-1948) (Kulandaswamy, 2000). Prior to foreign occupation, Tamils and Singalese were ruled under separate kingdoms located in different regions of the Island. This spatial distinction is reflected on the Island today with Tamil majority cities located in the North and East of the Island. The first of many riots began in 1956 prompted by disputes over rights and the distribution of power within government (Bakke, 2012). What started as a political movement for a larger Tamil voice in government slowly turned violent. Many small guerrilla groups formed in retaliation to 'anti-minority' policies brought on by the Singalese government. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) was the largest of these groups formed in 1976 (Tambiyah, 1986). From 1985 onwards, conflict spread through the North and

East of the Island as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) rebels seized the Tamil cities (Mambilly, 2017; Tambiyah, 1986). The LTTE controlled vast parts of the northern and eastern districts naming this region as Tamil Eelam (Tamil homeland) (Figure 3.5).

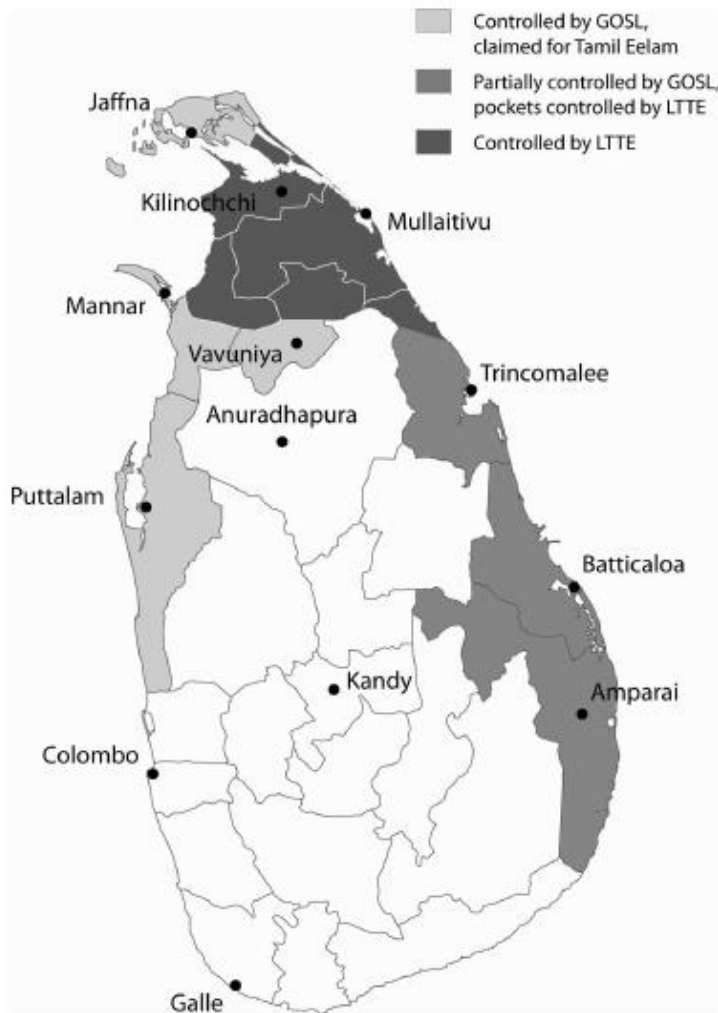


Figure 3.5. Approximate extent of territorial control in Sri Lanka as of June 2006. Taken from Stokke, 2006

The conflict impacted the towns and villages located in the shaded areas on figure 3.5. However, there were many riots and bombings in Sinhalese areas as well. Over 150,000 Tamils have been killed or have gone missing during the conflict (Udahemuka, 2013). The leader of the LTTE was killed by the Sri Lankan military in 2008 and the conflict formally ended in 2009. The majority of those fleeing Sri Lanka in the initial stages fled to India where there is a large Tamil population in the state of Tamil Nadu (Dasgupta, 2003; George, Kliever, & Rajan, 2015). The Indian government, however, declined citizenship to Sri Lankan Tamils

unless they could prove to be of Indian ancestry. Many refugees who fled to India during the conflict have been repatriated. Nonetheless, many remain in detention camps (Dasgupta, 2003). The more recent citizenship law in India also has excluded nearly 100,000 Sri Lankan refugees currently living in India (Reuters News Agency, 2019). Research conducted by George et al (2015) within Sri Lankan Tamils in India found some are willing to return to Sri Lanka with others sceptical of the Sri Lankan government's voluntary repatriation plan. The conflict proved very divisive among Tamils as some saw the rebels as heroes and some as terrorists. Depending on where someone lived on the island and their background, they may have been impacted by the war in different ways leading to different perspectives of the events and the parties involved.

During rebel rule of the Northern and Eastern sides of the island, public hospitals were either closed or running on insufficient resources. Primary and secondary education was however not as affected by the conflict (Maloney, 1992). Public schools in LTTE held territory were taught in Tamil medium with little teaching of English (Ross & Savada, 2002). Refugees arriving without tertiary education and children may therefore have little knowledge of English.

Tamil culture

Tamil is a Dravidian language spoken in both South India and Sri Lanka. However, there are some differences in accent, slang words, and culture between the two Tamil populations. Caste systems present across South Asia are also present in Tamil culture, but modern Tamil caste systems are comparatively watered down. Caste is historically a system that divides the populations by their ancestral occupation (Maloney, 1992). Sri Lankan Tamils, prior to British rule held strict caste systems where lower castes were barred from owning land and stepping foot far inside temples (Savada & Ross, 1990). Post British rule, lower castes inspired by Cuban communism rose up and demanded more rights. Lower castes may now own land and are allowed anywhere in temples. Stigma does still exist towards the lower castes and marriage between castes is often looked down upon.

The predominant settlement pattern of Tamil populations in India and Sri Lanka are nucleated un-walled villages where castes reside in separate sections. All villages have at least one temple that usually stands as the tallest building in each village (Maloney, 1992; Savada & Ross, 1990). It is common for families to reside in the same region or street in the village. The average household has a preference for a large extended family (Maloney, 1992). It is not unusual to live with three or four generations in one house (Savada & Ross, 1990).

Villages also have their own meeting place, crematoria, and in some cases a reservoir. Villages with Christian or Catholic communities also have churches which act as a landmark and community space (Savada & Ross, 1990). Religious celebrations throughout the year are held at both the household scale and the wider village scale (Maloney, 2009). The harvest festival in January is distinctive to the Tamil people and is celebrated both in the temple and household. Dipavali (Diwali) in November and Tamil New Year is widely celebrated in Mid-April.

Chapter 4 Methodology

Previous chapters have formed a conceptual and contextual framework for this thesis. To create an understanding of refugee perceptions of place and their experiences, a methodological approach which focuses on refugees' voices must be explored. The following chapter discusses the epistemological and methodological skeleton for this thesis. My positionality as both a researcher and a member of the community under investigation will be considered in relation to the implications this has on research methods. The data collection and analysis methods as well as their ethical considerations are also examined.

4.1 The philosophical backbone of this thesis

Philosophy and human geography cannot be separated as the latter is based on several philosophical assumptions or choices (Graham, 2013). This thesis is essentially based on the theory of place and place attachment, which has a concern for what places mean to certain people in certain contexts. To understand and answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1, the methodology for this thesis must allow for the understanding of human consciousness and the production of space. A social constructionist framework is adopted to address this need. Social construction is concerned with "social processes that shape our knowledge and understanding of the world" (Couper, 2015:108). Here social constructions are said to be built from the actions, perceptions and language of individuals (social actors) (Couper, 2015; Graham, 2013). Social constructionism is rooted in the belief that our understandings of the world are artefacts, which are derived from social actors. Artefacts are seen as the knowledge, concepts and phenomena, which come as the result of social actors (Curtis & Curtis, 2011). These artefacts, which make up our current understanding of the world is constructed and reproduced socially. Social constructionists go further than social realists in criticising positivism as a method of social investigation. Constructionism allowed for researches to consider social reality as an ongoing process constructed by social actors taking an anti-naturalist perspective on social phenomena (Couper, 2015). Debarbieux (1995) sees territory, which is a significant concept used in this thesis, as a social construct that connects space to a system of beliefs that gives it meaning. Peoples' territory and its meanings are understood to be constructed by individuals and are not only re-constructed but are also in a constant state of revision. Anything that is constructed can also be deconstructed. Social constructionists assert

that social phenomena are not inevitable or determined by nature but are an artefact of social life (Curtis & Curtis, 2011). Social constructionism is similar to humanism in many ways but holds more emphasis on collective social process whereas the latter emphasises individual experiences (Couper, 2015). Social constructionism views individuals and social actors as those who create the social world, therefore, there is no difference between folklore, science and individual perspectives (Curtis & Curtis, 2011). This thesis relies heavily on individual accounts and perspectives to understand a phenomenon. An approach, which allows for in-depth understandings of lived experiences as well as other forms of data such as policy documents, is the case study approach utilised in this thesis (Stake, 2000).

4.2 The case study approach

A case study is “intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units” (Gerring, 2004 p.342). The case study methodology is a robust approach to research design that aims to investigate a wider phenomenon using holistic in-depth investigation with either or both quantitative and qualitative means (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Zainal, 2008). Case studies enable the researcher to gain a broad view of a phenomenon within its context through the use of many sources of evidence within one or multiple cases (Noor, 2008). As stipulated in the previous chapter, the Sri Lankan refugees who have resettled in Wellington are used as a case study to investigate the territoriality of people who are forcibly displaced. This phenomenon is explored through a variety of data sources ensuring the case is investigated through multiple lenses, which allows for the multiple facets of the phenomenon to be understood (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Yin (2003) explains that a case study approach can be considered when the study objectives look to answer the questions of “how” and “why” regarding the phenomena. Yin also suggests that it is important in this approach to consider whether the researcher can or cannot manipulate the behaviour of participants. This relates to the idea of coercion and positionality mentioned later in this chapter. Another rationale for using a case study approach is that the context of the phenomena is important in its understanding (Yin, 2003; Zainal, 2007). In this research, the conceptual analysis shows that the resettlement context is vital in understanding resettlement experiences and processes.

The case study approach has been criticized for its lack of scientific rigor, reliability and generalisability (Noor, 2008). Generalisability or transferability relates to whether the findings

can apply to other related cases. Hay (2010: 93) argues that case studies can be generalised if designed appropriately and the data analysis approach is “attentive to the tension between concrete and abstract concepts”. If the case study is well explored through various modes of data sources, it can produce robust and credible conclusions. This case study has been designed considering the various resettlement sites and the populations of refugees in each site. The Greater Wellington Region has received the most quota refugees compared to the other resettlement sites. It also has a significant population of Tamils from different immigration backgrounds. As the researcher is of Sri Lankan Tamil descent and has grown up in Wellington, there is a level of access to the community derived from this.

4.3 Data collection methods

Interviews

The case study approach allows for a variety of different data collection techniques. As this research relies heavily on an understanding of refugee experiences and consciousness, interviews were employed as a form of primary data collection (Davies et al., 2002). Rishbeth (2014:100) states, “As researchers we venture into other peoples territory and ask to hear their stories ... A skilful interviewer draws out the contexts behind the anecdotes and helps the interviewee shape meaning from their own experience”. Interviews allow the investigation of behaviours, meaning, motivations and experiences while also tying in with social constructionist approaches to scientific inquiry (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Dunn, 2010). Detailed narratives and insights and the perspectives of place attachment may be drawn out from interviews with the right questions. An interview guide, designed prior to conducting interviews, lists a series of topic questions to draw out detailed accounts and perspectives of the participants. Semi-structured interviews were designed to allow for flexibility in discussions and questioning (Howitt & Crammer, 2011). Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to evaluate participants’ answers and respond with appropriate follow up questions (Dunn, 2010; Howitt & Cramer, 2011). Previous research focusing on place attachment and their methodology were analysed to create the interview guide (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). In this investigation, interviews were conducted with former refugees as well as representatives of organisations which work alongside refugees. Interviews generally lasted 60-90 minutes with notes taken during this time. A previous research projected as part of my BSc Honours dissertation in 2018 used both interviews and focus groups to understand refugee voices.

Through this experience, I found that Tamil participants were not comfortable enough in a focus group setting to share their stories in detail in front of many others. Instead, the discussion flowed more freely in follow up one-on-one interviews. This adds to the rationale of interviews as an appropriate research method for this community and this topic.

Secondary data sources

Secondary data sources also aid in the framing of a case and provide context to findings (Flowerdew & Martin, 1990). Many secondary data sources also aided in creating interview guides and planning of primary data collection. They can provide an understanding of the research framework which cannot be attained from primary sources (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). Data sources such as NGO reports, government reports, census data, news and media reports were used in the contextual analysis and findings sections of this thesis. Analysis of secondary data sources offer insight into how the topic is perceived by various group's whether it is the media, the NGO sector or the government (Flowerdew & Martin, 1990). As interviews are cross sectional, secondary data sources can provide historical context with snapshots of past data.

Observation

As a way of complementing the interview data, observation of places cited by participants was conducted. As stipulated previously, I, the researcher am a member of the Wellington Tamil community. My personal experiences growing up in Wellington as well as some observations are used in the analysis process for this research. Observations are a useful but often overlooked method in geography, which allows the researcher to understand and take part in the world in which the study takes place (Crang, 1997 cited in Kearns, 2008). Observations may serve many purposes: counting, complementing and contextualising. For this research, the former two purposes were the focus of observations conducted in sites quoted by interview participants. Observational data can be very descriptive and provides additional information on the places, that are important to participants. These descriptions include information on the sites, surroundings, sounds, smells and feelings experienced during observation. Such information assists in interpreting perceptions and experiences of place (Kearns, 2008).

4.4 Data analysis

The data collected in the form of interview notes and transcripts, secondary data and observational notes were be analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is widely used

to identify, analyse and report on themes found in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is done through the process of coding and organising the themes found in the data (Gibbs, 2007). 'Themes' capture significant reoccurring aspects of the data in relation to the research question. The analysis uses inductive reasoning, meaning, inferences on the topic are derived from the data itself (Miller & Goodchild, 2015). This form of inference begins with exploring and describing the data before looking for reason within the findings. However, this method does not guarantee conclusions (Miller & Goodchild, 2015). The findings are inherently data-driven as the data have been coded without trying to fit them within a pre-existing rigid framework. Inductive reasoning is often referred to as a bottom-up approach to inference. An inductive approach assures that the codes and patterns identified are robust and strongly interconnected with the collected data (Patton, 1990 cited in Braun & Clark, 2006).

4.5 The researchers position within research

The position of the researcher in relation to the object of research is important to consider for humanistic science (Flower and Martin, 2005). Hay (2010) argues that the voices of the participants may be mediated through the experiences and values of the researchers. The positionality of the researcher and those researched raises concerns of power and control, which can affect the interview process, and the interpretation of the data. The primary data collection method of interviewing involves a close and intimate role in data collection and analysis meaning that insider-outsider tensions must be explored (Merriam et al., 2001). A new generation of researchers who share cultural or linguistic ties to their object of research emerged in the 1980's leading to increased research on the benefits and shortfalls of insider research. Ramji (2008) argues that the 'cultural commonality' between the researcher and the participants may bring a level of trust, understanding and sensitivity. The researcher may also have empathetic understandings of the communities they are working with and have unique insights into it (Banks, 1998). There is a potential for easier access to the community and more willingness to participate due to an ability to build rapport with them, which may be difficult for outsiders. Merriam et al. (2001) explains that insiders are more likely to understand non-verbal cues, ask more meaningful questions and offer a more truthful understanding of the observed culture. However, being an insider also comes with its problems. Insiders may be too close to the topic to ask critical questions and may assume they know the culture fully. This can present itself as being bias towards the culture and even particular research outcomes.

Merriam et al. (2001) argue for avoiding the assumption that the researcher is automatically granted full access and acceptance if they are of the same cultural or ethnic group as the subject of research.

A typology provided by Banks (1998) suggests it is possible to be both an insider and an outsider to research. Aguilar (1981) and Narayan (1993) also contest the idea of an authentic insider and that positionality is not limited to the binary insider and outsider. As a member of the wider Sri Lankan community myself and as a researcher, I am positioned as both an insider and an outsider to this research project. This can be seen as both an advantage and as a disadvantage (Buckle & Dwyer, 2009). There are other factors influencing positionality even if the researcher is an insider because cultures are not homogenous and can have subcultures characterised by internal variation (Aguilar, 1981; Narayan, 1993). The indigenous insiders are those who are connected enough to the object of study that they can speak with confidence (Banks, 1998). The indigenous outsider is described to be someone who has assimilated to an outside culture but still maintains a connection to their indigenous community (Banks 1998). Even differences in education, social status, gender and age may outweigh shared cultural identity, and is also associated with insider outsider status (Narayan, 1993). Factors that can influence positionality specific to the Sri Lankan community can be caste, age and village location (as described in Chapter 3).

If a translator is involved, fairly representing the perspectives of the participants may become complicated (Marriam et al, 2001). Interviews with the community in this research project were held in either English or Tamil depending on the interviewee which may lead to a richer data set. A broader understanding of the case study context and culture of Tamil people is also possible with an inside point of view. I do however, have an emotional connection to the situation in Sri Lanka and the conflict they have escaped from. Even though I understand Tamil culture as a Tamil person, I might not understand the Tamil refugee subculture, meaning that cultural sensitivity is still important to consider (Asselin, 2003). Throughout this research process, I have maintained a level of objectiveness and neutrality. Members of the community who have a personal connection with me have not been recruited for this research due to concerns around coercion.

4.6 Ethical considerations

All research methods involve varying levels of ethical considerations (Hay, 2010). This thesis required careful consideration of research ethics surrounding human participants as it builds on the stories and experiences of those involved. Ethics and issues of power, positionality and accountability are relevant throughout the participant recruitment, data collection, analysis and research presentation stages. The following section covers these considerations.

During participant recruitment, issues of informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity as well as the right to withdraw came into play. An outline of the purpose and significance of the study as well as the research outcomes were provided on a participant information sheet (PIS) and on participant invitation. Participants were also informed of their rights to withdraw from the research, decline to be recorded and request to edit transcripts. This information was provided to participants prior to the interview so they were able to give informed consent to participate in the research. As interviews may discuss personal or sensitive subject matter participants were informed that identifying information about them and any identifying data from the research activities will be kept confidential and locked in cabinets at the University of Auckland. Complete anonymity was not possible in this research as the interviews were held face to face and the researcher knows the identity of all interview participants. Participants were made aware prior to their interview that anonymity could not be guaranteed to all. Key stakeholders may be identifiable as many work in the same field, where participants may know each other. If participants do not give consent for their names to be used in the thesis and following research outputs, participants will be reported in a way that does not identify them. The safe and confidential storage of data and its destruction was outlined in the Participant Information Sheets (PIS) and Consent Forms (CF) forms. The subject of this research was sensitive as the subject raised personal stories of hardship. In case of emotional distress, helplines for emotional support were provided in the PIS form. Participants were advised of the option to withdraw if they felt distressed. The possibility of a conflict of interest occurring has also been explored prior to the research activities taking place. Due to my positionality as a member of the Wellington Tamil community, there is the prospect of community members who have an existing connection to me showing interest in participation. However, as I have not been in a position of power or influence over potential participants, risk of coercion is limited. Indirect recruitment acted to mitigate potential chances of coercion towards community members.

4.6 Researcher reflections on the methodology in practice

Marriam et al (2001) and Banks (1998) both argue that the consideration of power dynamics is vital throughout the research process, from setting the objectives, conducting research activities to posing conclusions. Without a doubt, my status in relation to the participants has had a role on this research. For some context, my family arrived in New Zealand through the humanitarian migrant category and did not experience an overseas refugee camp. My family were internally displaced at many points in their lives and members of my family left Sri Lanka on asylum boats. All this before I was born, meaning I have no experience of the conflict or of refugee camps.

The use of interviews as a research method allowed participants to address these issues at the start of our conversations and build a good rapport. When meeting another Tamil person for the first time, questions such as which village are you from and what do you your family do are all-common.

Before an interview begins many participants question me on my family's background, and how I arrived in New Zealand. I found that after explaining my situation and acknowledging my limited understanding of the refugee journey, participants were able to find more comfort in sharing their stories. The rapport built prior to the interview through these conversations and sharing of experiences was helpful in building trust. There was a definite sense of need to prove my worth to participants so that they understood my intentions in hearing and accurately representing their voice in my analysis and research findings. There is an expectation of a high level of accountability that comes with the trust gained through the interview process, which should be upheld through accurate representation of participants' feelings.

Chapter 5 Findings

This chapter presents the findings from interview, observational and secondary data sources and are coded into themes present in the data. Several prominent themes have emerged from the collected data and these tie together the experiences of Tamil refugees on their path from leaving Sri Lanka and settling in New Zealand. The identified themes discussed in this chapter related to the various types of connections and links between former refugees and their surroundings. Connections to homeland is discussed in terms of both former refugees' daily life in Sri Lanka and their connection now that they have left. Ideas of territory and re-territorialisation of space have come through from the data. The chapter is organised into two broad sections to frame the themes present in the data. The chapter begins with developing an understanding of the current attachment and links to places in New Zealand for the community. The landmarks, spaces and activities is explored as well as issues regarding resettlement cited by participants. The territoriality of former refugees in Wellington is later explored in relation to their experiences and connections to place in Sri Lanka. All conversations with Tamil former refugees were conducted in Tamil and have been translated for this thesis.

5.1 Attachment to resettlement site

Neighbourhood

Conversations with participants began by addressing their daily lives and experiences in New Zealand. Discussions aimed to tease out the daily routines, activities, the places they go and the significance those places hold to the participants. Neighbourhood and neighbourhood attachment was a reoccurring theme. All families interviewed are currently or have previously lived in social housing. A group of the participants interviewed all lived in the same neighbourhood and have previously known each other from refugee camps in Thailand before arriving in New Zealand.

Participant three revealed their desire to move into private ownership in the future even though *“leaving the area does make me sad”*. The participant attributes the home itself, the social contacts nearby and the amenities in the area as reasons why she will find it hard to leave even though she sees home ownership in a nicer part of town as the goal. They go on to comment, *“it’s not the safest neighbourhood but we have spent so long here and it’s our home”*.

The family of participant one have recently moved to private ownership much further away from the area where they and the other former refugees were resettled. She commented, “*This place feels different, I got very used to the old area. It is becoming more okay for me now but it was hard at the beginning. I am still adjusting. No one is close by either*”. These descriptions of the neighbourhood show both a strong attachment to the area as well as to the other families that occupies the same street.

Other participants showed the need to know the neighbours around them or to have other Tamils nearby. Closeness to others is seen here to be an important aspect of what refugees require of their neighbourhood. Participant one mentioned, “*It was different before with other Tamils around me, we used to see each other all the time and it was nice to have several familiar faces. Now I only see them at the market or at Tamil school*”. Social life and neighbourhood were deeply interconnected in conversations. Tamil presence in the community provided a sense of familiarity for the participants and may aid in a feeling of security in the neighbourhood.

An elderly couple commented on the spaces they frequent by reflecting upon their time spent around their neighbourhood. “*We spend most of our time in the garden or walking outside ... we are old so we have to keep active by walking around the neighbourhood*” (participant six, 2019). As they do not know how to drive, there is a limit to their attachment range. Other than the temple, the couple’s daily lives revolved around the things in their immediate vicinity.

When questioned on daily activities, one participant shared “I go shopping and if my kids have programmes like Tamil School or other classes, I go there. If it is summer I take my kids to the swimming pool”. In terms of participants connection to the city of Wellington, participants mentioned their previous desires to move to Auckland because “people told us it’s like back home there, more shops and Lankan food, more temples and more people. Those thoughts were only at the beginning not now. We are fine here now” (participant four, 2019). This quote shows there is a need for the participant to gravitate to somewhere there is more familiarity such as the food and temples.

Preservation and maintaining connections

The theme of maintaining ones’ culture was given the most passionate of responses, was the issues around language and culture specifically in relation to ‘protecting’ the Tamil language. All Tamil participants engaged in the topic of struggling in English. The parents of children mentioned that their children turned into translators as they picked up the language much

quicker at school. However, even through parents seemed happy that their children picked it up fast; they were worried that this has led to a decrease in the children speaking Tamil at home. Participant two mentioned, *“At the beginning it was helpful because my children would help translate at banks and other places but now I can converse in English fine”*. Participant eight stated, *“I don’t want my children to be unaware of our heritage and language”*. Many voiced their frustrations on this topic with another mother stating, *“If I ask them a question in Tamil but they reply in English, it’s sometimes upsetting”*.

Participant one who throughout the interview repeated their thoughts on language and culture stated, *“Sending my children to Tamil school is important to me because in the village, my parents speak Tamil and I speak Tamil to them but I don’t want them to not be able to write or read in Tamil. I will send you to Tamil school until you are able to read a full letter in Tamil. I’m not sending them there to receive big awards, just to not forget our mother tongue”*.

The key theme seen in these accounts is the need for participants to make sure their language is passed down to the next generation and is not forgotten. The connection between Tamils and their language is significant. The Wellington Tamil society which runs the school aims *“To foster the advancement of Tamil Culture, Language, Literature and goodwill Tamils in New Zealand and other parts of the World”* (Wellington Tamil Society Inc facebook page, 2020).

Cultural practices

In relation to clothing, participants between 20 to 50 years of age, only wore traditional Tamil clothing for temple and community functions. Other celebrations where traditional attire is worn includes weddings, special birthdays, and religious ceremonies. Participant three commented on the lack of special events in comparison to back in Sri Lanka and stated, *“special events are quite rare, I have not been to a wedding in a while”*. Elder participants wore traditional clothes at home and while taking their regular walks around the neighbourhood. It is quite common to see a woman wearing a saree in public spaces in my observations. Observations conducted at the temple noted that there is a sign prohibiting western clothing from being worn inside the sacred areas of the main temple.

Sri Lankan food

Cooking Sri Lankan food at home is common for participants. When questioned on whether they go out to eat, the majority of the participants mentioned Indian restaurants in the area as well as the New Sri Lankan Takeaway store. As to where the children prefer to go, popular fast

food joints were listed. The elderly couple interviewed were the only ones who didn't go out to eat. On Sri Lankan food, A case worker from the Red Cross mentioned that Tamils want to cook Tamil food at home but that can be very expensive. Tamil products here not as cheap as expected for the participants. *“We teach them how to budget and swap out products, for example they can switch fresh tomatoes for canned ones in Winter. I find that a lot of Tamils get frustrated by the lack of the same vegetables and the price of Sri Lankan spices”*.

Many of the South Asian spice stores in Wellington did not exist when I was a child growing up in Wellington. As the population of South Asians in general have grown so too has the number of South Asian grocery stores.

The need to remember

“We need to remember the way we lived, my children need to know what happened and why” (participant one, 2019).

The theme of remembrance was repeated throughout conversations. The word ‘remember’ was mentioned in two contexts. The first in remembering heritage and language, the other in remembering the war. The latter however can be a divisive topic.

On top of the conversations with participants, there are two events which are evidence of this. There is the ‘muniveir thinam’, which literally translates to warrior’s remembrance. The day acts as a memorial day held annually where people reflect on the past, those who have perished and the events that took place. Children recite poems and stories based on the events and the Tamil perspective of the conflict.

There is also a minute of silence held at the beginning of all Wellington Tamil Society events. In my experience several Tamils society events have been cancelled during the height of the conflict in the early 2000’s. Even though the community members have moved away from the war, it remains as a big part of the community.

As mentioned earlier, this remains as a divisive topic. Participants had mixed feelings on this. In my experience of the Wellington Tamil Society, there are mixed feelings of the conflict and how it played out. As mentioned in the Contextual analysis, the Tamil rights movement began as purely a peaceful political movement, which turned violent. People in different villages also

had different experiences of the war. The need to remember is also related to foreign Tamils influence over Sri Lankan politics.

5.2 Connecting to people back home

Several methods were used by participants to stay connected to their homeland. Only a small fraction of those internally displaced by conflict were forced to leave the country. All participants have family still living in Sri Lanka either in their hometown or remain internally displaced elsewhere in the country. Families were also split up during the refugee journey. Participant three commented that most of their family is now in Canada. All participants mentioned the difficulty of having their family so far away especially those with parents still in Sri Lanka. Participants were “*thankful for viber and whatsapp*” for cheap and instant ways to keep in touch with the family. Participant four stated “*we don’t have to rely on phone cards which are becoming more expensive*”. This is reiterated by participant one who mentioned she is able to send pictures and call her family any time she wants. Sources from Auckland resettled community (ARCC) and refugee participants mentioned the anxieties felt by participants regarding the family back home. “*We do get worried about them, there’s no way to bring them here or anything and we cannot go back to see them*” (participant three, 2019). Some participants agreed that they find it too dangerous to ever return to Sri Lanka stating, “*don’t think its safe to return home, I don’t see that as a possibility*”.

“All my family are in Sri Lanka. We speak on the phone. I haven’t gone to see them yet. My mum is there and we have had much death and sickness in the family, but I have not been able to fully support her. The only thing I can do is call” (participant one, 2019).

Another way in which connections are kept with the homeland is through remittances. A representative from ARCC mentioned, “*even if you are earning little money, you might have to split that. Its part of some peoples duty to their family back home*”. Remittances are a key part of refugee budgeting. The frequency of remittances vary however as some families send them regularly but others send money home only during emergencies. Those who have elderly parents especially feel the need to send money home as “*most elderly don’t have a pension, mine don’t, they have only a little bit of money, so me and my brothers have to provide that*” (participant four, 2019).

Participants who have elderly parents especially feel the need to send money home. Much research has been conducted on the importance of remittances on diasporic communities (Ley, 2009). Many of those who were able to leave Sri Lanka were young, and had to leave their elderly behind. As it is common in Sri Lankan culture for young family members to care for the elderly, remittances act as a way for them to do that.

The influence of Tamils outside of Sri Lanka on politics

Politics and a continued interest in the political spheres of Sri Lanka was other prominent theme to emerge from the research. Due to the refugee crisis and the increase in global mobility, there is a large population of Sri Lankan Tamils outside of Sri Lanka. Analysis of news articles shows that even though these Tamils now live elsewhere and may not be directly impacted by Sri Lankan politics, passion towards the topic still remains. The following headlines are examples of the how Tamils outside of Sri Lanka connect to Sri Lankan politics.

Sri Lankan high commissioner responds

The Sri Lankan high commissioner in Ottawa, Asoka Giriagama, says Gotabaya Rajapaksa's election should not spark any fear in the Tamil diaspora

"This conflict was created not because of discrimination," he said. "The Rajapaksa regime wiped out terrorism. If there is no kind of terrorist groups who want to divide the country ... peace will prevail."

But Sarika Navanathan says people shouldn't ignore what the Rajapaksa regime did and what the war meant for Tamils in Sri Lanka.



Ken Kandeepan is on the advisory board with the Canadian Tamil Congress. He says the new government needs to hand over seized lands and free those who've been captured since the end of the war. (Sue Goodspeed/CBC)

Figure 5.1 CBC News headline (2019) taken from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/tamil-torontonians-mark-remembrance-day-amidst-tensions-over-elected-ruler-sri-lanka-1.5372017>

Toronto

As Toronto Tamils honour war dead, some fear Sri Lankan election could spark more violence



Wednesday marks the 10th Tamil Remembrance Day since the civil war in Sri Lanka ended

Kirthana Sasitharan - CBC News - Posted: Nov 27, 2019 6:00 AM ET | Last Updated: November 28, 2019



This Tamil Remembrance Day memorial, or Maveerar Naal memorial, is set up at the University of Mississauga's commemoration ceremony. Tamil student associations at the University of Toronto's St. George, Mississauga and Scarborough campuses had a joint memorial event. (Sarika Navanathan)

Figure 5.2 CBC News headline (2019) taken from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/tamil-torontonians-mark-remembrance-day-amidst-tensions-over-elected-ruler-sri-lanka-1.5372017>

In the Wellington context, an example of the concern for the state of Sri Lanka is the protest outside parliament in 2009 arguing for the New Zealand government to hold the Sri Lankan government to account for the genocide of Tamil people. The Tamil society has also cancelled many events in the past due to the ongoing war in the early 2000's. A member of the Wellington Tamil society stated, *"It doesn't feel right to be celebrating when there is fear of what is happening to our family back home"*.

Social connections

Many participants arrived in New Zealand with only immediate family as their close connections or they came alone. This meant they would have to build up a social circle around them from the ground up. There was a group of refugees already mentioned in this section who knew each other at a refugee camp and arrived in New Zealand together. They were resettled in the same neighbourhood and were able to have already strong connections from the beginning. On this participant one mentioned, *“At beginning when they were learning English and looking for jobs they had plenty of free time, however now, they have become too busy. One family talks about only meeting each other in person at the market or dropping kids off at Tamil school”*. She feels sad that she no longer sees the others from the neighbourhood as often but stated there was no time between her children and multiple jobs to see them. The participant followed this by underlining that it has been hard to form a social friend circle stating, *“I don’t really go to meet friends. I don’t have time for that. My children also don’t really go to friends’ houses or anything.”* (participant one, 2019).

Participant three commented on the same group stating *“A big group of us knew each other in Thailand and were resettled here together so at the beginning we were all close but now we each of us are getting busier. We are busy they are busy. Some have multiple jobs. So the feeling of friends has changed. We only see each other on odd occasions now”*. There were participants interviewed as part of this thesis who did not belong to the Wellington Tamil Society and did not go to events. On this participant eight stated, *“We don’t have children and so we didn’t see a need to join the society. We have a few friends but and I have my family”*. It is clear in these findings that building a strong social circle has become difficult for the participants.

The former refugees did however mention particular activities and events where they can see other families and connect. The events mentioned by participants include:

- The cultural programmes held twice annually, where children perform.
- The Pongal festival – celebrated in January and marks the beginning of the harvest season
- The annual sports event held for both children and adults
- Temple festivals – occur throughout the year
- New Year’s Day at the temple.

The temple

The Hindu temple in Wellington is located in the Suburb of Newlands. All participants interviewed are Hindu and mentioned the temple as a regular part of their week or month. The terms “mana thirupthi” and “aruthal” both relate to the English feelings of calm and relaxed. Many participants when describing the temple and the experience of going to the temple used these words.

“I go to the temple here too. I only go if I get leave or if it’s a festival. Because there is a temple here im able to feel calm and have a good ‘மனத் திருப்தி’ mind satisfaction, happiness, and relief”.

It became clear the participants were basing the calmness they feel now in relation to the stress felt in their everyday lives. The space was not only for spiritual purposes but one of wellbeing as well. Participant six remarked that coming to New Zealand and finding out there was a temple here was a shock but also offered a sense of relief. So far this chapter has picked up on several aspects of daily life and the everyday, as well as ways in which the former refugees practice their culture.

5.3 Reflecting on life in Sri Lanka

The village lifestyle

As discussed in chapter 2, often people may be attached to mundane aspects of place (Proshansky et al., 1983). Conversations with former refugees also explored their reflections of daily life in Sri Lanka. These conversations did bring up stories of the conflict, however participants mainly focused on life before the conflict reached their area.

“Every day I get up and first milk the cows and give it to the milk man before school... We were always told not to go to the far areas because that’s where the army might be. We never go to Colombo (the capital) either” (participant one, 2019).

There always was a sense of imminent threat even in the quiet and calm village society. All interviewed participants originated from various villages in the North and East of Sri Lanka.

Participants recounted regular functions and celebration. Tamil ceremonies such as weddings are very religious events but are also places where the whole village will gather and people who have left the village will return for the celebration (Maloney, 1992).

Participant three noted, *“There are regular festivals or ceremonies like coming of age ceremonies and weddings ... things I look forward to”*. Celebrations were a way for the entire village or extended family to gather, talk, eat food and rejoice. Participant four noted that family would return from other parts of the country for these celebrations and were sometimes the only time they can meet. They went on to say, *“Meeting became harder close to the time we left”*.

On other places where families and friends can meet, participant four mentioned the abundance of common spaces and open fields stating *“it’s a village so there is a large open space in the middle of the village where there are grounds for the children to play and the adults to talk. Not like here in Wellington. There are some parks but we don’t go that often”*. The market is another place where people can meet and was a common site of social interaction. Large markets are not found in all villages and are only common in town centres or the larger villages.

The temple is also mentioned as another site of common interaction. *“We go to Nalur Temple for festivals and we dressed up for those, but on normal days we go to the village temple. I prayed very often but also there is time to catch up and talk with family”* (participant two, 2019). Participant one mentioned, *“On the weekend we work in the garden and go to the temple. We go to the village temple but if there is a festival we dress up more or go to the bigger temple”*. Temples are a significant landmark in Tamil villages with Churches in villages where there is a large Christian community. The name for a temple usually includes the village name in them. Nalur temple mentioned above is located in the village of Nalur and is one of the largest temples in Jaffna.

Below figure 5.3 showing the Wellington Hindu temple and my village temple, figure 5.4 indicate some of the similarities and differences in the two spaces. Both temples are brightly coloured and decorated by sculptures depicting the various deities in the Hindu religion. The Hindu temple is built inside a warehouse whereas the temple in Sri Lanka is surrounded by an open space and is mostly open plan on the inside too. Both temples however do serve the same purposes. As with the market places seen on figure 5.5 and 5.6 there are more similarities than differences. Both are in the open space and act as place to buy food and to meet and greet friends.

Figure 5. 3 Kurinchi Kumaran temple in Wellington, New Zealand (Kurinchi Kumanaran facebook page, 2019)



Figure 5.4 Figure 1Durga Hindu temple in Jaffna, Sri Lanka (Authors own, 2018)



Figure 5.5 Market place, Jaffna Sri Lanka (Authors own, 2018)



Figure 5.6 Saturday flea market, Lower Hutt (Authors own, 2019)



Social interactions

While physical surroundings and landmarks are clearly a significant aspect of attachment for Tamil refugees, participants attachment to people the people whom they have left behind was a common theme. In the interviews with former, family was seen as a great source of daily social interaction even for younger participants. Maloney (1992) in his anthropological study of Tamil culture notes the closeness of extended family both culturally and spatially. It is common for relatives to share the same streets and live as “*kutu kudumbam*” (large families) where multiple generations live under one roof. “*Most of the time I was with my family, the houses of my family were all close together. I did leave the home early for marriage so I missed them a lot when I left*” (interview one, 2019). There seems to be a larger emphasis on family connections over friends “*I do see friends and we would go into town centre and go shopping but I think I spend more time with family ... Going to temple and weddings and those things were with family*” (participant two, 2019). Significant activities and visiting of landmarks mentioned above are mostly family oriented activities.

Riley (1992) discusses the notion that often people become attached to places through the people with whom they interact with in those places. “*I miss the village of course, but I left home young for marriage and couldn't return... when I remember the village I think of them... I do feel sad I left at a young age. I can't visit them either. I couldn't go to funerals of my family members or take care of them*”.

In Sri Lanka, participants were used to living in close proximity to family and external relatives and spend the majority of their spare time with them. The physical space of village is organised as small neighbourhoods separated by paddy fields. As mentioned in the contextual analysis, villages have a centre point with families residing close together. Villages are very closely knit and everyone knows each other. This setting is not present in New Zealand, let alone in the region of Wellington. Family in Sri Lanka were described to be “*a stone's throw away*” (participant one, 2019). In their new resettlement locations, the extended family dynamics are not present. Participants mentioned the significant adjustment needed to cope with the lack of an extended family as well as the distance they live away from people they know.

New social circles have to be built with their new community based on friendships. As many people were not dependant on friendships, in Sri Lanka, this is a somewhat new concept. As mentioned earlier in this chapter in section 1, participants noted that their social connections in New Zealand are different. Participants also noted the fading of friendships once their lives

became busier. These new dynamics and connection to people and places may be caused by the difference in relationships they are used to in Sri Lanka.

Chapter 6 - On the construction of a new territory

The New Zealand resettlement strategy aims to contribute to refugees' sense of belonging in their community and allow them to feel at home (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). However, the ways in which government agencies aim to understand and respond to resettlement is through objective indicators, which judge issues such as employment and housing as discussed in chapter 3 (UN High Commissioner for refugees, 2014). Measuring employment and such factors is important. However, there is also a need to understand the issue of belonging, which is relatively subjective and requires a deep understanding of refugee experiences. The emphasis on 'resettlement outcomes' which point towards 'successful' resettlement is consistent with refugee resettlement plans in other countries (Al-Ali et al., 2001; Bloch & Schuster, 2002).

This thesis argues a need to recognize refugee attachment and self-identity to better understand integration and resettlement. Often the connection between refugees and their homeland is assumed to be lost as the term 'refugee' is so closely associated to 'loss' within literature, policy and media (Malkki, 1995, Marlowe, 2009). The findings explored in this thesis point towards a different picture where there is potential for a strong connection to the new territory while maintaining and preserving connections to the homeland.

This chapter discusses the finding analysed in the previous chapter within the context of the theoretical framework. The first section explores the concept of territoriality and the Tamil community's construction of territory in New Zealand based off their lives at home. I argue that even though refugees are recreating and creating attachments to familiar aspects of their past homeland, it should not be considered as reterritorialisation. The process is more closely related to the construction of a new territory altogether. I follow this with discussion into the ongoing debate of whether refugees fit within the literature of transnationalism. The discussion will use the findings on refugee identity and the maintenance of connection to the homeland to understand whether refugees are attached to multiple places. The final section offers a critique of the current New Zealand resettlement strategy. This section explores place attachment in the context of resettlement and integration and whether special and experiential indicators of measuring integration.

6.1 Territoriality

In recent years, literature has re-emerged in Anglophone geography and leans towards the existing definitions of territory and territoriality in Francophone geography (Del Biaggio, 2015; Painter, 2010). The movement of population from one territory to another whether through migration or displacement offers a way for researchers to understand territoriality (Antonsich, 2009). The concept of territory in this thesis provides a valuable way of conceptualising a community's activities, landmarks, emotional ties and behaviours associated with their land (Del Biaggio, 2015). It is then useful to see how territory is reconstructed through a process referred to as reterritorialisation during resettlement. There is significant evidence presented in the findings to show the community is appropriating space in ways to preserve their culture while also taking influences from the new environment.

The findings of this thesis have documented several factors of attachment that former refugees have to places in Wellington both through reconstructing their experiences of place in Sri Lanka as well as through new experiences in New Zealand. There are many aspects of daily life in New Zealand as discussed in the previous findings chapter which do not necessarily relate or show similarity to the ways in which people connected to the places around them in Sri Lanka. Territory is constructed through activities that people both as individuals and collectively carry out in space through the process of territoriality (Raffestin, 2012). Aspects of territoriality for the Tamil refugees in Wellington can be seen in former refugees' recounts of everyday life as well as in space. The connection that refugees form with their neighbours and daily routines have many similarities to life back in Sri Lanka but there is also evidence that significant adjustments have been made.

Resettlement in an environment much different from the country of origin, mean that a significant level of adjustment is required. Differences in language, social capital, and culture add to the factors, which must be navigated in their resettlement site. A previous dissertation carried out in 2018 explored the need for many refugees to retrain or attain new qualifications to gain employment in New Zealand. In conversations as part of this research, the majority of participants mentioned that their family background was in farming and this was where their roots and knowledge lied. Participant five commented on how they are no longer able to practice as a maths teacher in schools in New Zealand due to their English competency. The Mangare refugee resettlement centre informs refugees of the major adjustments which need to be made such as the differences in the employment market and how to navigate such changes. A Red Cross case worker mentioned that they found particularly with the Tamil community,

that they want to get into the work force as soon as possible and become stressed when sometimes it takes up to a year to two years to get a job.

Social connections

Territory not only reflects the connection between people and places but also the relation between people and society (Raffestin, 1986). The social aspects of integration such as social bonds, bridges and networks aid in other aspects of resettlement and reduce feelings of isolation (Ager & Strang, 2008). Researchers in refugee studies have argued that refugees need to build social networks from scratch when arriving in their resettlement city, which in turn can prolong integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Lamba & Krahn, 2003). As mentioned in the contextual analysis, Tamil migrants and refugees have been arriving in New Zealand since the 1980's and created the Tamil society in 1992. The Wellington Tamil society has been welcoming to the arrival of new groups of refugees by throwing social welcoming functions. Participants noted adjustments having to be made to connect to this community and many do not feel like they need to. The findings section has noted that Tamils in Sri Lanka tend to surround themselves with extended family connections thus family is there main form of social interactions.

Many Tamil families arrived in New Zealand without wider family so must develop strong connections with the existing community for social capital. Participant eight noted that all their family who were displaced prior to themselves, all reside in Canada. She was not expecting to eventually be resettled in New Zealand after four years at a refugee camp. She recounted not knowing anyone here and feeling overwhelmed during the resettlement process. As the majority of her previous social connections outside of school were her family and extended relatives, meeting new people without the existing connection was difficult. Social flows are an important part of territory as they reflects the ways in which people connect. The findings shows that the social cohesion and social bonds are different for the Tamil community in New Zealand in comparison to what was experienced in Sri Lanka.

Changing ideas of caste

There have been many attempts in Sri Lankan history to rid caste and the disparities caused by the caste system within Tamil society. These attempts weakened the system as stipulated in Chapter 3, but did not remove it completely. Caste was evident in space, in people's attire and behaviours. Caste dictated the spatial organisation of villages and streets and the opportunities given to people of different castes. Coming to New Zealand, people were given the opportunity to leave caste behind to a certain extent. Only one participant spoke of caste, while saying that she still thinks about it and questions new people when they meet on their caste and village. It is ingrained in her views of Tamils and how to interact Tamils. In saying this however, she mentioned that her children are free from this and do not see caste in the same way. In my experience as a young Tamil, I was not aware of the concept of caste at all until my teenage years. Neither my grandparents or my mother taught me the word or what caste we belonged to. Children of different castes play and learn together at Tamil school, an opportunity not afforded to the elders in my family. The stigma may still exist within the elder members of the community but is not passed down further.

Factors of reterritorialisation

This thesis has explored the current daily lives of Sri Lankan former refugees in Wellington as well as in their villages prior to displacement. The findings of the thesis showed several similarities between refugees' lives in Wellington and in Sri Lanka. I argue that the appropriation of space within their resettlement site directly related to previous attachment experienced in their homeland. The strong attachment felt between Tamils and their home villages can be attributed to the strong ancestral preens of Tamils in Sri Lanka as well as the conflict and political tensions which threatened to uproot them from their land. The literature that focuses on refugees' loss of livelihoods and attachment fails to consider the deep-rooted territoriality experienced by refugees to their homeland. It is evident that even through distance has come between the participants and Sri Lanka, and parting was a traumatic experience, refugees try to maintain many connections to their homeland while also emulating them in their resettlement site.

How has the space been transformed?

Tamil migrants as well as refugees have been arriving in New Zealand since the 80's and have contributed to the construction of temples, a Tamil society and operating Tamil school. The Wellington Hindu temple was founded in 1992 and began in a small warehouse with five statues of deities. With the arrival of more Tamils from both Sri Lanka and India, the temple was upgraded into the more spacious structure it is today. The recreation of landmarks such as the temple acts as a way of maintaining a spiritual space as well as a way of reterritorializing space. The Tamil society was also founded in 1992. The Tamil society runs the Tamil school which when I first attended in 2001, has a maximum of 20 students. Currently the school enrolls 65 children. The school has operated in the same building as when I attended and remains significant in my memory.

Landmarks, which were not built by the Tamils, but existed in the landscape such as the community centre and Saturday market, have become essential landmarks for the refugee participants. The Morea community centre has been used by the Tamil society for the Tamil school for two decades. Other community groups use the facility for multiple different purposes. The market also is a common and shared space among the people of Wellington but provides a sense of familiarity and an opportunity to meet and talk like in the village markets. These two spaces have different meanings for the different groups that use it and are an example of how territory is not bounded and inaccessible for 'other' groups as described in Anglophone geographies. The spaces, which are a part of one community's territoriality can easily, also be a significant part for others.

Impact of conflict

The experiences of Tamil former refugees in their homeland specifically relating to identity and language reflect the current push by participants to home on to their heritage. The remembrance ceremonies, Tamil cultural events and the importance parents give on sending their children to the Tamil school are all ways in which former refugees act in order to preserve their heritage.

Particular laws passed by the Sri Lankan government such as the Official Language Act No.33 of 1956 commonly referred to as the 'Sinhala only act' heavily influenced the Sri Lankan Tamil identity within Sri Lanka and reflects the perception of Tamils by the Sri Lankan government

(Bakke, 2012; Mampilly, 2012; Savada & Ross, 1990). The law made Sinhala the official language of Sri Lanka replacing English. Many opponents of the law saw it as a way of undermining and discriminating the minority population (Tambiyah, 1986). Public service positions, which held high percentages of Tamil workers at the time, required compulsory knowledge of the Sinhalese language due to the law change. This led to a drastic drop in employment of Tamils in public service positions including within government positions, the army, doctors and engineers (Bakke, 2012). Many Tamils perceived the move as a way in which to associate national identity to the Sinhalese language and ethnic group and in turn framing the Tamil ethnic group as a minority 'other' group (Mampilly, 2012). The wide reaching perception that higher outside forces were limiting their language contributes to a stronger need for Tamils to maintain their language and pass it on to the next generation. Parents found the language barriers found in New Zealand very difficult especially as their children became more comfortable in speaking English over Tamil. Parents interviewed felt a need to push their children into keeping up their mother tongue and culture.

Such ethnic conflict affects the lives of individuals and communities in different ways. Black (2001) argues refugees strive to come to a position where they no longer identify as a refugee. As refugees are repatriated back to their homelands or resettle definitely in a new land, is there a need to keep labelling these individuals as refugees? When carrying out research as part of a dissertation undertaken in 2018, refugee advocates corrected me for using the term refugee when speaking of those who have permanent residencies and have permanently resettled in New Zealand. This reflects a common notion that refugees are forever associated with displacement. The term former refugee is used throughout this thesis, as many refugees do not want to be labelled as a refugee as they resettle into New Zealand (Zetter, 1998). A representative from ARCC also states, "When does the refugee journey end? People are not refugees forever". Within the Tamil community, from my personal observations, refugees are not referred to as such but instead as 'new arrivals'. It is evident from my conversations with participants that there is a need for refugees to not be termed as refugees as they build a life for themselves and move towards permanent residence or to citizenship.

However, in conversations with former refugees, even though they do not want to be identified solely on their refugee experience, it is evident that they do not want to forget their refugee journey as well as the events leading up to their displacement. Even though this would have been a traumatic experience which many want to forget, there is a need within the community to commemorate the fallen and remind children of the past conflict and the significant events

that took place. The emotions felt towards what may be a traumatic experience, shows the level of attachment felt towards their homeland and the experiences both negative and positive.

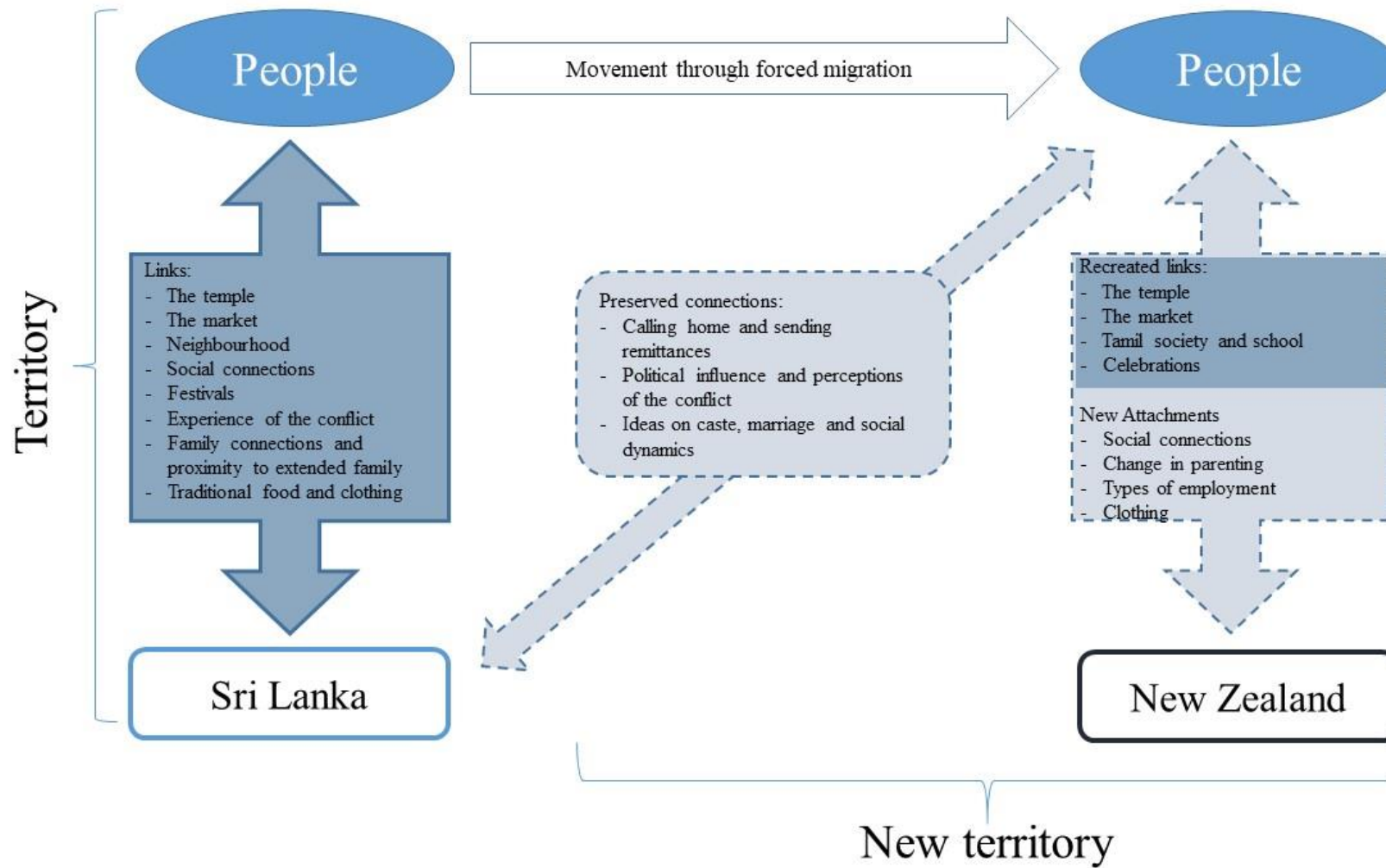
The contextual analysis presented in Chapter 3 discussed the differing perceptions of the war and the Sri Lankan government by the Tamil population. The main divisions lied in how Tamils felt towards the rebel fighters who are internationally labelled as a terrorist organisation. Findings show that this division persisted within the Tamil community in Wellington and has shown itself at Tamil society board meetings, the fallen warrior's commemoration ceremony and at the Tamil society events.

Types of attachment, which make up the new territory

The discussion so far has presented four classes of attachment and are visualised on the diagram (figure 6.1) below:

1. Place attachment of refugees while they were living in Sri Lanka. These include experiences of the everyday and wider cultural connections.
2. New attachment, which were formed between the participant and their resettlement location. Discussions of everyday life in New Zealand as well as observations shed light on the ways in which the participants have taken on aspects of New Zealand culture.
3. Attachment maintained with Sri Lanka post resettlement. Some of these connections have been shown in the findings and discussion to have the potential to change, such as the perceptions of caste.
4. Attachment based on old experiences of place, which presents itself in the new territory. These include the construction of new places such as the temple but also the utilisation of existing spaces as part of the new territory.

Figure 6.1 Diagram connecting the various attachments to place experienced by former refugees and the overall construction of a new territory



The diagram includes some significant connections between refugees and their home while they were living in Sri Lanka. As people have moved to New Zealand due to forced migration, particular elements of the connections are maintained. These maintained connections as well as the attachment former refugees form to their resettlement location and reconstruct their previous connections, forms the new territory. The double-headed arrows between people and places represents the way in which the environment influences people in the same way people construct their places.

Elements of reterritorialisation can be observed in the way former refugees have re-established, to some extent, their past lifestyle in New Zealand. However, several connections have been altered to suit the resettlement context and new attachment between former refugees and their new homes are evident. I therefore argue this process is not reterritorialisation entirely but one where a new territory is constructed with some groundings in past experiences of place. Previous attachment such as landmarks, festivals, clothing and such have not directly transferred.

6.3 Transnational identities and belonging

The literature on transnationalism has largely avoided refugee mobility and the connections between refugees and their homeland (Al-Ali et al., 2001). The literature that does exist focuses on political influences and advocacy of refugees towards their homeland. Al Ali et al (2001) argue that like migrants, former refugees also exhibit several behaviours, which are used as markers for transnational migrants. Many transnational migrants can freely travel back and forth between their two nations however, for many refugees this is not a possibility. The participants interviewed in this study either have not had an opportunity to travel back to Sri Lanka or do not feel that it is safe to return. Even though many cannot return, this thesis has identified several types of transnational flows between refugees and their homelands as well as transnational practices seen in New Zealand. Figure

Table 6.1 Summary of transnational practices and flows observed in the case study

Transnational flows	Transnational practices
Sending of remittances	Celebration of both western and Tamil festivals such as Diwali and Christmas
The use of social media in calling home	Wearing Tamil clothes during Tamil festivals and at temple, while wearing western clothes outside of these.
Continued participation in Sri Lanka's political sphere	Consumption of Tamil food both at home and at Indian and Sri Lankan restaurants
	Participation in the New Zealand workforce and political sphere

The study of refugees through the lens of transnationalism can offer much insight into identity both of refugees themselves and of their resettlement location. Vertovec (2001) argues that transnational spaces, groups and practices reflect and reconstruct ideas of national identity spanning multiple locations. The ability to perform these transnational practices sheds light on the ideas of national identity in the receiving country. There is significant evidence that refugees and the Tamil community at large feel welcomed in performing and appropriating their new land to suit their cultural needs. This thesis has given insight into the understanding of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism within New Zealand. Marlowe (2017) recognises the transnational practices of refugees and the connection between transnationalism and belonging.

6.4 The New Zealand resettlement strategy

The New Zealand resettlement strategy calls for refugees to have “a strong sense of belonging to their own community and to New Zealand” in its overarching aim. It also aims to understand refugee participation and integration both “socially and economically as soon as possible” in New Zealand society (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). The inclusion of the term sense of belonging towards their own community indicated an inherent interest in wanting refugees to be able to practice their own culture and language. Governments tend to measure strategies they propose across the board such as strategies regarding child poverty and housing stability

by using tangible and objective measures (Ager & Strang, 2008). It is understandable why objective measures are used, the data can be more easily collected and changes over time can be visualised on graphs. The resettlement strategy also utilises objective measures to analyse employment, housing and health data to understand integration. The use of these measures is useful for policy makers to inform policy. Integration, however, represents more than these factors and includes concepts of belonging, identity and sense of place (Curry, Smedley, & Lenette, 2017; Scannell & Gifford, 2017). The resettlement strategy's aim acknowledges belonging as an important consideration for refugee experiences in New Zealand. The strategy however does not provide a framework for the understanding of belonging in refugee communities as it does for the analysis of employment and other such factors. It may be useful to find ways in which to understand how former refugees are able to practice culture in New Zealand as a way of understanding their identity and sense of belonging.

Chapter 7 - Concluding thoughts

This chapter begins by summarising the key findings of the Sri Lankan Tamil case study presented in this thesis. It suggests a greater need to understand the daily life experiences of resettled refugees and the ways in which they construct a new territory. These considerations lead to a greater awareness of refugee identities, refugees' sense of belonging and the resettlement process. Chapter 1 introduced the main purpose of this thesis as an analysis of refugee attachment and self-identity as a means to better understand the integration and resettlement process. The general aim was broken down into four objectives and reviewed in this chapter.

To answer the objectives, an analysis of the relevant concepts and the Sri Lankan context was provided in chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Chapter 2 frames the concept of place, and transnationalism within the Francophone understanding of territory. The movement of people from one place to another through migration or, in the case of this thesis, forced displacement, offers an opportunity for a greater knowledge of how territory is constructed. Through the analysis of everyday transnational practises, Marlowe (2017) argues that researchers and practitioners can better understand the multifaceted aspects of refugee resettlement as well as refugees connections to the places they have left behind. Both territoriality and transnationalism and how they manifest in the refugee community can shed light on the sense of belonging and inclusion felt by refugees in the process of resettlement. As detailed in chapter 3, New Zealand employs a resettlement strategy created in 2012. The strategy aims to lead families into self-reliance by assisting and assessing the five key areas of resettlement. These areas include housing, self-sufficiency, participation, education, and health and wellbeing. The vision of the strategy targets refugees' 'sense of belonging to their own community and to New Zealand'. Through the interviews, participants were able to reflect on their experiences and whether they felt like they can practice, their culture be a New Zealander. As discussed in the previous section, Tamil refugees are able to freely participate in the Tamil community as well as within the wider community.

Objective one questioned the kinds of sense of place displayed by Sri Lankan former refugees in Wellington. The sense of place for the participants was discussed through considering the practices of the everyday. Interview questions focused on the daily routines, the places they go and the people they see. Refugees relate to places such as the restaurants, markets, temples and

to the neighbourhood they lived in. The findings also highlight several transnational practices exhibited by the community. These include the sending of remittances, connecting to family back home, the celebration of Tamil festivals in New Zealand and engaging in the Sri Lankan political sphere.

The second objective aimed to understand if there has been a new territory developed by the Sri Lankan former refugees. The previous chapter has discussed the concept of territoriality in the context of the participants and concludes the Tamil community has appropriated its new settlement to reflect significant aspects of their previous connections to place experienced in their homeland. The contextual analysis provided in chapter 3 offers insight into the resettlement context of New Zealand as well as the environment from which the refugees have left. The chapter also details the background information on the current Sri Lankan population of New Zealand as well as the ethnic conflict that resulted in the mass displacement of people within Sri Lanka. Analysis of the interview data indicates that the impact of the conflict on many Tamils and that the memory of the events play a role in refugee lives in New Zealand. Key elements of Tamil language and culture is explored such as the organisation of space, common Tamil practices and values. There is a strong attachment between the former refugees and their homeland even through there were many experiences of tumultuous times. There are however, several new attachments to place formed through resettlement between former refugees and Wellington. These include the way they use public spaces, how they connect to their family and friends and even some common Tamil behaviours.

The findings of this thesis show that the territoriality exhibited by refugees in Wellington is different to that experienced in their homeland. The third research objective asked why we possibly face such difference. As refugees progress through the resettlement timeline, they form new attachments to their resettlement site and begin to connect to aspects of the new territory such as their new social circles, new neighbourhoods, clothing and food to name a few.

Understandings of refugees' territoriality and their connections to place, the findings shed light on former refugees' sense of place and their sense of belonging in New Zealand. Former refugees are participating in New Zealand society while being able to continue their own cultural practices. They are able to construct their new territory within the existing New Zealand society. There is evidence that the Tamil community is welcome in performing and appropriating their settlement to suit their cultural needs. Former refugees' identity reflect New

Zealand and their new home as well as their old home in Sri Lanka. This is indication of a syncretic territory where refugees' new territory is an amalgamation or fusion of their past and previous experiences of place.

The thesis relies on the voices of former refugees and their lived experiences of resettlement in New Zealand as the key form of data. Chapter 4 built a methodological framework, which informs how refugees' voices can be used to understand the phenomenon being studied. A social constructionist framework was adopted for this research as it acknowledges human consciousness and behaviours in the production of space. Semi-structured interviews with former refugees in Wellington as well as representatives of organisations who work with alongside refugees. Secondary data sources such as reports and news articles as well as observational data complimented the data to produce a more robust analysis of the findings.

Research limitations and opportunity for further research

There were a number of strengths and difficulties encountered during this research. I have reflected on my positionality throughout this thesis, as it is an important consideration from the beginning to the end of the research process. Banks (1998) provided a typology with which to understand the different types on insiders and outsiders and the implications on research of each category. I believe I fit into the term 'indigenous outsider' where I have possess a connection to an outside culture but have maintained my roots within the Tamil community. As a member of the Wellington Tamil community, I have insider knowledge of Tamil history and culture as well as of the Wellington Tamil society. My family also has been impacted by displacement in Sri Lanka and members of my family left as asylum seekers. As I found through this research experience, this does not grant me full access to the community. This had both strengths and weaknesses. The use of interviews as a data collection method allowed for me to build trust with participants throughout the recruitment and interview phases of data collection. The conversations prior to the interview allowed for me to address my intentions behind conducting this research, details of the objectives, my personal background and the research outputs. During the data analysis and writing of this thesis, I needed to remain objective in reporting on the findings of this thesis.

A limitation of the thesis is that many Tamil migrants and refugees who arrived much earlier than those interviewed, were found to have been involved in creating the Tamil community

and culture in Wellington. The requirement process called for participants who have a refugee background however, those who responded to the invitation arrived within the last decade. It may be useful for further research to incorporate the views of earlier arrivals in the research.

It may also be useful for further research to include the voices of those in various government and local government positions. Although many government representatives were invited, due to availability and time, these interviews could not take place. Even though this research focuses on the stories of Tamil participants, the perspectives of those in government would have been a meaningful addition to the data.

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Appendix

Appendix one – Participant information sheets (PIS)

- a) Example of PIS given to:
community members with a refugee background in Wellington
- b) Example of PIS given to:
leaders/managers from participating organisations
- c) Example of PIS given to:
representatives from participating organisations



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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - Interview – Community members

Researcher introduction

My name is Meenanayaanie (Meena) Ilamurugan and I am a member of the Wellington Tamil community and Wellington Tamil Society. I am currently undertaking a Masters project in Geography at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. I am researching the topic “Investigating the resettlement and the place making process of Sri Lankans with a refugee background in New Zealand”. This research is supervised by Dr. JC Gaillard.

Research description

This research aims to understand the relocation and resettlement process of Sri Lankan refugees in New Zealand. Specifically, the research will focus on the positive connections to places that can be developed during the resettlement process. Sri Lankans with a refugee background who have been resettled in Wellington will be used as a case study to investigate the resettlement timeline.

Project procedures

This research will involve a face to face interview with you to share your experience and thoughts on issues related to refugee resettlement in New Zealand. The interview will last 60 to 90 minutes. Involvement is completely voluntary, and you have the option to not answer any of the questions if you do not wish to. You may also withdraw from the interview at any time and may withdraw any information given during the interview up to 30 days following your interview without giving a reason. The information obtained during this project will be used in a Master's thesis, a scientific article, conference presentations and an academic poster. The interview will be audio taped with your permission. You have the opportunity to edit the transcribed audio if you wish to do so within 15 days of receiving the transcript. The audio recordings will only be used to analyse the research objectives and aims and will not be provided to any others.

There may be a possibility of follow up questions asked through email after your initial interview. You have the option to withdraw from follow-up questions on the consent form and upon receiving the email with questions.

Data storage/retention/destruction/further use

The audio recordings taken during interviews will be kept for a period of six years before being destroyed. Consent forms will be kept in safe storage for a period of six years before being destroyed.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Findings will be reported in a way that does not identify the participant unless you expressly indicate that you wish to be named and you give your permission to be identified in the consent form. The researcher cannot guarantee that participants' identities will be kept anonymous due to the small community and possible knowledge of personal stories. Personal information about participants will be excluded from the dissertation, poster and academic papers arising from this research.

If you were distressed during the session and would like to speak to someone, you could contact the following number for support: Lifeline24/7 Helpline: 0800-543-354 or Wellington community mental health: 04-801-4830

Contact details and Approval wording

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For any concerns regarding the ethical issues, you may contact the Chair: The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, Research Office, Private Bag 92019 Auckland 1142, Telephone: 09 373 7566 ext. 83711. Email – humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON 6/08/19 for 3 years, Reference Number: 023421



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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - Interview – Organisation Manager

Researcher introduction

My name is Meenanayaanie (Meena) Ilamurugan and I am a member of the Wellington Tamil community and Wellington Tamil Society. I am currently undertaking a Masters project in Geography at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. I am conducting research on the topic of “Investigating the resettlement and place making process of Sri Lankans with a refugee background in New Zealand”. This research is supervised by Dr. JC Gaillard.

Research description

This research aims to understand the relocation and resettlement process of Sri Lankan refugees in New Zealand. Specifically, the research will focus on the positive connections to places that can be developed during the resettlement process. Sri Lankans with a refugee background who have been resettled in Wellington will be used as a case study to investigate the resettlement timeline.

Project procedures

This research will involve a face to face interview with a member of your organisation to share their experience and thoughts on issues related to refugee resettlement in New Zealand. Involvement is completely voluntary, the interviewee will have the option to not answer any of the questions if they do not wish to. They may also withdraw from the interview at any time and may withdraw any information given during the interview up to 30 days following the interview without giving reason. The information obtained during this project will be used in a Master's thesis, a scientific article, conference presentations and an academic poster. The interview will be audio taped with the organisations' and the interviewees permission. The interviewee will have the option to edit the transcripts. The audio recordings will only be used to analyse the research objectives and aims and will not be provided to any others.

I request that you give permission for the participation of your organisation in this project and for me to interview staff members who will act as independent participants who consent to take part. I also request that you give assurance that an employee's decision to

participate or not participate will not affect their employment or relationship with the organisation. Should you consent to the participation of your organisation, I ask that you may provide the student researcher with a referral or contact details of staff members who may be interviewed.

Data storage/retention/destruction/further use

The audio recordings taken during interviews will be kept for a period of six years before being destroyed. Consent forms will be kept in safe storage for a period of six years before being destroyed.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Findings will be reported in a way that does not identify the participant unless they expressly indicate that they wish to be named and they give their permission to be identified in the consent form. The researcher cannot anonymity due to the small field of your work and possible knowledge of personal stories. Personal information about participants will be excluded from the dissertation, poster and academic papers arising from this research. Agreed upon pseudonyms can be used to protect the identity of the interviewee.

Contact details and Approval wording

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - Interview – Organisation staff

Researcher introduction

My name is Meenanayaanie (Meena) Ilamurugan and I am a member of the Wellington Tamil Community and Wellington Tamil Society. I am currently undertaking a Masters project in Geography at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. I am researching the topic “Investigating the resettlement and place making process of Sri Lankans with a refugee background in New Zealand”. This research is supervised by Dr. JC Gaillard.

Research description

This research aims to understand the relocation and resettlement process of Sri Lankan refugees in New Zealand. Specifically, the research will focus on the positive connections to places that can be developed during the resettlement process. Sri Lankan’s with a refugee background who have been resettled in Wellington will be used as a case study to investigate the resettlement timeline.

Project procedures

This research will involve a face to face interview with you to share your experience and thoughts on issues related to refugee resettlement in New Zealand. The interview will last 60 to 90 minutes. Involvement is completely voluntary, and you have the option to not answer any of the questions if you do not wish to. You may also withdraw from the interview at any time and may withdraw any information given during the interview up to 30 days following your interview without giving a reason. The information obtained during this project will be used in a Master’s thesis, a scientific article, conference presentations and an academic poster. The interview will be audio taped with your permission. You have the opportunity to edit the transcribed audio if you wish to do so within 15 days of receiving the transcript. The audio recordings will only be used to analyse the research objectives and aims and will not be provided to any others.

Your participation in this research activity is completely voluntary. Your manager has given assurance that your employment/membership in and relationships with your organisation will not be affected by your participation or non-participation.

There may be a possibility of follow up questions asked through email after your initial interview. You have the option to withdraw from follow-up questions on the consent form and upon receiving the email with questions.

Data storage/retention/destruction/further use

The audio recordings taken during interviews will be kept for a period of six years before being destroyed. Consent forms will be kept in safe storage for a period of six years before being destroyed.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Findings will be reported in a way that does not identify the participant unless you expressly indicate that you wish to be named and you give your permission to be identified in the consent form. The researcher cannot guarantee that participants' identities will be kept anonymous, as others might be able to guess through personal stories. Personal information about participants will be excluded from the dissertation, poster and academic papers arising from this research.

If you were distressed during the session and would like to speak to someone you could contact the following number for support: Lifeline24/7 Helpline: 0800-543-354 or Wellington community mental health: 04-801-4830.

Contact details and Approval wording

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Appendix two – Consent forms (CF)

a) Example of CF given to:

community members with a refugee background in Wellington

b) Example of CF given to:

leaders/managers from participating organisations

c) Example of CF given to:

representatives from participating organisations

d) Interview schedule:

questions to guide the interviews



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CONSENT FORM - Community members

THIS WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Project title: Investigating the resettlement and place making process of Sri Lankans with a refugee background in New Zealand.

Name of researcher: Meenanayaanie Ilamurugan

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, understood the nature of the project and why I am participating. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research and I understand that my participation is voluntary.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time and to withdraw any data traceable to me within 30 days from the date of the interview. If I do decide to withdraw from this study, I will not have to provide a reason.
- I understand that I have the option not to answer any of the questions.
- I understand that the interview will take around 60-90 minutes to complete.
- I wish / do not wish to have this interview digitally recorded.
- I understand that I am entitled to request to stop the audio recording at any time.
- I understand that I am entitled to request a copy of the recording transcript, which I can edit within 15 days of receiving the transcript.
- I am willing/ not willing to respond to follow up questions over email after the initial interview.
- I acknowledge and appreciate that there is no guarantee of anonymity.
- I wish / do not wish to have my name in the research results.

- I understand that information gained will be used to compile a Master’s thesis, academic poster, conference presentations and an academic publication.
- I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings. If you wish to receive a summary of findings, please provide your email address _____
- I understand that the information given will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after research is completed, after which it will be destroyed.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS OF INTERVIEWS (Organisation manager)

THIS WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Project title: Investigating the resettlement and place making process of Sri Lankans with a refugee background in New Zealand. Name of researcher: Meenanayaanie Ilamurugan

I have read the Participant Information Sheet; have understood the nature of the project and why I am participating. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research and I understand that the participation of my organisation in this research is voluntary.
- I agree to give permission to the researcher for interviews with staff members. I give my assurance that participation in this research will not affect the professional relationship between myself and my staff, nor will it compromise their standing within the organization.
- I understand that I can withdraw my organisation from this study within 30 days of the interview. If I decide to withdraw my organisation from this study, I will not have to provide a reason.
- I wish / do not wish to have interviews with organisation staff digitally recorded.
- I understand that personal information will be excluded from any written and oral presentations in this research.
- I acknowledge and appreciate that there is no guarantee of anonymity.
- I understand that information gained will be used to compile a Master's thesis, academic poster, conference presentations and an academic publication.
- I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings. If you wish to receive a summary of findings, please provide your email or address _____

- I understand that the information given will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after research is completed, after which it will be destroyed.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON FOR
(3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER: 023421



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CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS OF INTERVIEWS (Organisation staff)

THIS WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Project title: Investigating the resettlement and place making process of Sri Lankans with a refugee background in New Zealand.

Name of researcher: Meenanayaanie Ilamurugan

I have read the Participant Information Sheet; have understood the nature of the project and why I am participating. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research and I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time and to withdraw any data traceable to me within 30 days from the date of the interview. If I do decide to withdraw from this study, I will not have to provide a reason.
- I understand that I have the assurance of my manager(s) that participation or non-participation will not affect my employment status.
- I understand that I have the option not to answer any of the questions.
- I understand that the interview will take around 60-90 minutes to complete.
- I wish / do not wish to have this interview digitally recorded.
- I understand that I am entitled to request to stop the audio recording at any time.
- I understand that I am entitled to request a copy of the transcript of the recording, which I can edit within 15 days of receiving the transcript.
- I am willing/ not willing to respond to follow up questions over email after the initial interview

- I acknowledge and appreciate that there is no guarantee of anonymity.
- I wish / do not wish to have my name in the research results.
- I understand that information gained will be used to compile a Master's thesis, academic poster, conference presentations and an academic publication.
- I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings. If you wish to receive a summary of findings, please provide your email or postal address _____
- I understand that the information given will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after research is completed, after which it will be destroyed.

Name: _____

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Question guide – general questions which can be tweaked depending on the interviewee

1. Semi-structured interviews with Tamil societies

- What do you see as the main barriers facing Sri Lankan refugees who arrive in New Zealand?
- How does your organisation support new refugees?
- Do you think that the Tamil former refugee community engage in community events?
- Do you think the Tamil school is significant for this community?
- What means do you think will help bridge the gap between refugees and other Sri Lankan migrants?
- Do you see wellbeing as a concern to this community?
- Are there any challenges that your organisation has faced when providing support to the refugee community?

2. Semi-structured interviews with government officers

- What are the integration policies/programs/projects of your organisation?
- What do you think are the main difficulties faced by refugees?
- How does the government help with the settlement process of refugees?
- What do you think are the main obstacles that refugees face in New Zealand?
- Do you assess refugees' access to economic, social and political resources?
- Is there any programmes facilitating community engagement for people with refugee backgrounds?

3. Semi-structured interviews with staff/managers of NGOs

- Are there any settlement or integrations programmes in place by your organisation?
- Are there any challenges that your organisation has faced when providing support to the refugee community?
- Do you see any issues related to the access to economic, social and political resources for this community?
- Do you think this has any impact on refugee wellbeing?

4. Semi-structured interviews with community members

- Did you know anyone in Wellington prior to arrival?
- Do you have regular contacts with other Sri Lankan Tamils?
- What places in Wellington do you visit regularly? Are these places associated with positive or negative memories?
- Do you engage in community events? Why or why not?
- Do you feel like a part of the community? Why or why not?
- Is there anything or anyone who has helped you to resettle into the community?