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Adaptation of Cambodians in New Zealand Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development

Man Hau Liev

ADAPTATION OF CAMBODIANS IN NEW ZEALAND ACHIEVEMENT, CULTURAL IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies at the University of Auckland

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Abstract

This thesis has two foci: how Cambodians with a refugee background manage their new life in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and how an identity as a Khmer Kiwi transnational community has developed.

Analytic concepts — such as forced migration, cultural bereavement, adaptation, integration, diaspora, transnationalism, identification, and community of practice — are used to trace the trajectory of the contemporary way of life of Cambodians, their community development, and their cultural identity. The data gathered from mixedmethod research reveal the various opinions, strategies, coping mechanisms, and paths that Cambodian participants have adopted in order to adapt to life in New Zealand and still maintain their Khmer heritage. The majority of participants were proud of their personal achievements, and now have found normalcy in their new life.

Individual struggles to engage and integrate with multicultural New Zealand society have required negotiation and protection of group interests, and inevitably some of these have resulted in conflicts and fragmentation within the Khmer community. Religious practice, organisation, and leadership became the main driving forces for asserting Khmer community identity. Collective memory was harnessed to deal with shared cultural bereavement, and the quest for belonging lent momentum to the community's development and management of its identity. Khmer Theravada Buddhism has emerged as a means by which the majority of Cambodians can achieve their spiritual wellbeing, and has become a platform for various community identity developments within the New Zealand social and legal contexts. Gender roles and structures are a significant part of community development and of my analysis.

This development of Khmer identity in New Zealand is a new strand of Khmer identity: Khmer heritage, transnational experience, and 'Kiwi-ism'. Such transformation of identity reflects geo-political influences on integration in the form of belonging to and identifying with two or more groups. For example, the majority of participants proudly identified themselves as Khmer Kiwis. Their transnational lives have been enriched by their country of origin (Cambodia) and their country of residence (Aotearoa/New Zealand).

Key words:

Cambodian refugees, forced migration, adaptation, integration, transnationalism, Buddhism, Khmer identity, community development, and community of practice.

i

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ii

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Abbreviations	vi
Glossary of Khmer Words	vii
List of Figures by Page	X
List of Tables by Page	xii
Chapter 1 — Introduction	1
Introduction	1
Cultural Maintenance	2
My Position in the Cambodian Community	4
Outline of the Thesis	6
Chapter 2 — Theoretical Context of Refugee Resettlement	9
Introduction	9
Concepts of Refugee Resettlement	
Policies and Approaches to Refugee Resettlement	
Critique of Literature	
Conclusion	
Chapter 3 — Research Process and Methods	
Introduction	
Rationale and Aims	39
Framework and Assumptions	40
Approach of this Study	
Research is Political	45
Invitation and Leadership Consent to Participation	50
Research Tools	
Implementation and Individual Consent to Participation	53
Conclusion	
Chapter 4 — Cambodian Resettlement in New Zealand	
Introduction	65
History of Cambodia and Cambodian Refugees	

New Zealand Policies on Refugee Resettlement and Public Responses	77
Origin of the Khmer in New Zealand	
Selection to New Zealand	
New Zealand: First Impressions	
Refugee Resettlement Centre at Mangere	
Aspirations	100
Support Networks	105
New Zealand Attitude to Resettlement	106
Conclusion	111
Chapter 5 — Everyday Life of Cambodians	113
Introduction	113
Work and Economic Participation	114
Khmer Culture and Cambodians with Refugees Backgrounds	130
The Family in Khmer Culture	137
Cambodian Women's Life	158
Communication: Gossip and Reputation	167
Success and Status	170
Personal Opinions about Life	174
Conclusion	176
Chapter 6 — The Search for Khmer Identity	179
Introduction	179
Hope on Arrival and Awareness of Difference	181
Resettlement Networks and Khmer Social Connections	
Cultural Knowledge and Material Culture During the 1980s	190
Adaptation of Ceremonies and Rituals to New Zealand Customs	195
Relevance of Khmer Identity	201
Development of Khmer Associations and Cultural Identity	210
Khmer Cultural Identity	
Dual-belongings	
Conclusion	
Chapter 7 — Cambodian Community Development and the Role of Religion	222
Introduction	222
Crystallisation of a Community	223
Associations of Cambodians in New Zealand	227

Community and Social Reconstruction	
Religious Affiliation in Cambodian Community	
Khmer Buddhist Communities	
Khmer Buddhism as Cambodian Community Identity	
Development of Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand and its Routine	
Buddhist Religious Practices at Wat Khemaraphirataram	
Community Identity	
Repositioning of the Cambodian Association	
Community and Leadership	
Conclusion	
Chapter 8 — Conclusions: Khmer Kiwis and their Khmer Buddhist Transnational	
Community	
Introduction	
Reflections on Research Process	
Factors Critical to Successful Adaptation	
Khmer Kiwis	
Local Development for Socio-cultural Needs	
The Politics of Buddhism in the Khmer Community	
Compromised Cultural Practice in the Khmer Transnational Community	
Emergence of Leadership through Khmer Buddhist Community of Practice	
Emergence of a Khmer Kiwi Community Identity	
Conclusion	
Appendices	
Appendix 1: Participants Information Sheet — Advisory Committee	
Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet — Focus Group	
Appendix 3 : Participant Information Sheet — Postal Questionnaire	
Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet — Monks	
Appendix 5: Participant Information Sheet — Sponsors and volunteers	
References	401

List of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BLDP	Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
FUNCINPEC	Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendent, Neutre,
	Pacifique et Coopératif
ICCI	Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement
	(the present-day Refugee and Migrant Service — RMS)
IRC	International Rescues Committees
KPNLF	Kampuchean People's National Liberation Front
LRCRCS	League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
NZIS	New Zealand Immigration Service
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
RMS	Refugee and Migrant Service (previously known as ICCI)
SOC	State of Cambodia
UNBRO	United Nations Border Relief Operation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
USA	United States of America

Glossary of Khmer Words

Achar	អាចារ្យ	Khmer elder administrator of ceremony; ritualist.
Ajakh	អាជ្ញ	Daily Buddhist monk's prayer.
Anusangha Vacchāra	អនុសង្ឈវច្ចរា	An annual national meeting of the monks.
Barb	បាប	Bad merit.
Boun	បុណ្យ	Good merit or punya.
Brahma	ព្រះព្រហ្ម	One of the principal gods of the Brahmanic trinity,
	mounted on th	generally represented with four faces and four arms, ne Hamsa or sacred goose. Symbols associated with lisc, ladle, book, rosary, vase, flywhisk and sceptre.
Bodhi Tree	ដើមពោធិ	A papal tree or <i>Ficus religiosa</i> . The tree under which
	the Buddha ac	chieved Enlightenment.
Buddha	ព្រះពុទ្ធ	Founder of Buddhism; a north Indian philosopher,
	the law of rec Noble Truths	lhartha, who attained enlightenment and discovered iprocal origination of causes and effects, the Four and the Eightfold Path which lead to the end of n — Samsara and suffering.
Buddhism	•	Asian religion based on the teachings of Buddha.
Cambodia	ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា	English name of Kampuchea (Kambuja).
Cambodian	ទើរ	People of Cambodia – ជនជាតិ ខ្មែរ ប្រជាជនខ្មែរ
Chedi	ចេត្តីយ	A stupa or Buddhist monument of a funeral or
Four Noble Truths	The doctrine of sermon, viz. (ve nature, often containing relics or cremated remains. expounded (after the Middle Way) in Buddha's first 1) life is suffering — कृतु; (2) suffering has a cause; (3) be eliminated; (4) there is a path for elimination.
Five Precepts	សីលប្រាំ	Pancha Sila — បញ្ហៈសីលា — are the five basic
	taking that wh	s to refrain from (1) destroying living creatures, (2) nich is not given, (3) sexual misconduct, (4) incorrect 5) intoxicating drinks and drugs.

Karma	កម្ម	Actions with moral intention;	
	good karma leads to good merit or boun ឬណ្យ។		
Kampong	កំពង់	Pier, port, or village on the bank of a waterway.	
Kampuchea Khmer	កម្ពុជា ខ្មែរ	Formal name of Cambodia. Cambodians who are descendant of the indigenous	
	people living ភាសារខ្មែរ	in ancient Kampuchea and present Cambodia, or language of the Khmer.	
Khmer Krom	ខ្មែរក្រោម	Khmer indigenous living in Vietnam.	
Nain	លោកនេន សារ	รถการ Samaneir or Buddhist novice.	
Nikaya	និកាយ	Sect of Sangha, a body of monks sharing an	
	There are two	dition, and in agreement on matters of discipline. nikaya in Cambodia. Dhamayuttika-Nikaya is based on a strict interpretation of the rule of	
	This school pl	eya or discipline) and the various roles of the monk. laces great emphasis on education and meditation in Nirvana and less on pastoral and parish activities than	
	does the school	ol of Moha-Nikaya មហានិកាយ.	
Ramayana	រាមកេរ្តិ៍	Famous Hindu epic (Khmer: 'Reamker'); portraying	
	by the demon Hanuman. Sco	gle to find his consort, Sita — who has been captured Ravana — with the support of the monkey King enes from this magnificent tale have been widely used ntation of temples throughout Southeast Asia.	
Ramvong	រាំវង់	Khmer dance performed in a circle where couples	
0	follow one an		
Panhia	បញ្ញា	Intelligence and knowledge.	
Phchium Ben	ភ្ជុំបិណ្ឌ	A commemoration of the spirit of ancestors, this is	
	crescent of Se which is calle word 'Ben' is	in festivities of the Khmer calendar around the last eptember or October. The festival lasts 15 days, each of d a day of Kan Ben កាន់បិណ្ឌ. A Ben is an offering. The derived from Sanskrit pinda, or balls of rice to be souls of the dead. On the last morning of Phchium	

viii

	Ben, the majo	ority of Cambodians go to the temple to offer the food		
	for the spirit of	for the spirit of their ancestors.		
Phiku	ភិក្ខុ	Buddhist monk.		
Popil	ពពិល	A burning candle with melted wax on an upside-		
	down heart-sh	aped handle as a symbol of the union of God Shiva		
	and his conso	and his consort Uma: the candle represents <i>linga</i> of Shiva (or male),		
	and the upside	e-down heart-shaped handle represents yoni of Uma		
	(Shiva's wife	or female).		
Salar Chun	សាលាឆាន់	A hall for Buddhists offering food to the monks.		
Samadhi	សមាធិ	Meditation and focus.		
Sampot	សំពត់	Fabric panel worn round the lower half of the body.		
Sangha	ព្រះសង្ឃ	Buddhist monks or their community.		
Sila	សីល	Virtue or a precept.		
Simar	សីមា	A boundary.		
Stupa	ចេត្តីយ	A Buddhist monument of a funeral or		
	commemorati	ve nature, often containing relics or cremated remains.		
Theravada Buddhism	ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនារំ	ផ្នែកហិនយាន An orthodox branch of		
	Buddhism, als	so called "small vehicle" school, that spreads		
	southwards fr	om Nepal across to South Asia and Southeast Asia.		
Tontine	តុងទីន	A rotating saving and credit association (ROSCA) or		
	an informal fi	nancial network of 12 to 24 members who contribute		
	equal share of	f money to a pool and take turns to access the money		
	pool for their	needs through bidding.		
Tripitaka	ត្រៃបិដក	Buddhist canon, composed of: (1) Suttra Pitaka —		
	the monastic of	discipline; (2) Vinaya Pitaka — discourse; and (3)		
	Abhidhamma Pitaka — doctrinal analyses.			
Vihara	វិហារ	A ceremonial building which hosts the statue of		
	Buddha.			
Wat	វត្ត	A Khmer Buddhist temple.		

List of Figures by Page

Figure 4.1 — Map of Southeast Asia	67
Figure 4.2 — Bill Manson in Mak Mun, 1979	67
Figure 4.3 — Victims' skulls from a mass grave in Chheung Ek	69
Figure 4.4 — Victims' skulls in Chheung Ek, 2006	69
Figure 4.5 — Map of Cambodia	72
Figure 4.6 — Refugee camps on Khmer–Thai border	73
Figure 4.7 — Makeshift camp at Khoa I Dang	74
Figure 4.8 — Khmer refugees	75
Figure 4.9 — Refugee shelters, Khao I Dang	76
Figure 4.10 — A refugee family, Khao I Dang	76
Figure 4.11 — My life in Cambodia	78
Figure 4.12 — "In view of Kampuchean tragedy"	78
Figure 4.13 — Khmer Colombo Plan students, Wellington, 1975	84
Figure 4.14 — Khmer refugees, Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, October 1980	84
Figure 4.15 — A taste of freedom	88
Figure 4.16 — Mangere Refugee Settlement Centre, 1980	93
Figure 4.17 — Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, 1982	
Figure 4.18 — The Mayor of Manukau at the Mangere Refugee Settlement Centre	95
Figure 4.19 — Safe in Mangere	99
Figure 4.20 — Aspiration of first arrival	102
Figure 4.21 — Problems in resettlement	
Figure 4.22 — Factors helping adaptation	105
Figure 5.1 — Cambodians were flexible due to their limited English	115
Figure 5.2 — Khmer satay takeaway in Dunedin	123
Figure 5.3 — "Sweatshop's baker paid crumbs"	126
Figure 5.4 — "Pie maker joins the upper crust"	126
Figure 5.5 — A Khmer village with a Buddhist temple in the background	133
Figure 5.6 — Khmer Buddhist calendar and its events (King Ang Duong)	133
Figure 5.7 — An extended family of three generations	141
Figure 5.8 — National Refugee Day, Hamilton, 1984	141
Figure 5.9 — An epic of Ramker	144
Figure 5.10 — Peacock dance	
Figure 5.11 — A Khmer wedding in Hamilton, 1992	153
Figure 5.12 — A Khmer wedding in Auckland, 2003	153
Figure 5.13 — A wedding in Auckland, 2004	155
Figure 5.14 — A wedding in Auckland, 2004	155
Figure 5.15 — Cambodian women are docile and modest in public, 2005	162
Figure 5.16 — Women are masters of the kitchen, finance, and labour, 2006	162
Figure 5.17 — The role of women has been vital to the community's existence, 2004?	163
Figure 5.18 — Cambodian women do the footwork in socialisation, 2005	163
Figure 6.1 — Dr Nep Barom from the Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2001	
Figure 7.1 — A front page of KHMERNEWS	
Figure 7.2 — Prince Sihanouk and Princess Monique, Wellington, 1985	232
Figure 7.3 — Venerable Suthep Surapong, Auckland, 1989	236
Figure 7.4 — Venerable Suryat Detnarong, Mangere, 1985	236

Figure 7.5 — Wat Sovann Muni Sakor Khmer Krom, 2007	241
Figure 7.6 — Khmer Voice on Community Radio Station Planet 104.6FM	
Figure 7.7 — Soccer team	
Figure 7.8 — Peacock dance, 2004	
Figure 7.9 — Visit of French Catholic priests	
Figure 7.10 — Christmas party, 2004	
Figure 7.11— A seventeenth-century Khmer Buddha statue	
Figure 7.12 — Venerable Suthep, Auckland, 1990	
Figure 7.12 — Venerable Suttlep, Adexiand, 1990 Figure 7.13 — Plan for Wat Buddhajay Mohaneart, Wellington, 1985	
Figure 7.15 — Fian for war Buddhajay Monaheart, wennigton, 1985 Figure 7.14 — Lee Goffin with a donation of \$20,000 from the ASB Charitable Trust	
Figure 7.15 — Khmer Sangha and Reverend Ouch On (centre), Mangere, 1994	
Figure 7.16 — Wat Khemaraphirataram, Mangere, 2003	
Figure 7.17 — Wat Khemaraphilatarani, Mangele, 2003 Figure 7.17 — Monks are the media for merit-making	
6	
Figure 7.18 — Roles of the Khmer temple by Tan Seng An Figure 7.19 — Buddha statue, <i>Tripitaka</i> , and Sangha	
Figure 7.19 — Buddha statue, <i>Triphaka</i> , and Sangha Figure 7.20 — A two-hectare block of land for building a Khmer Centre	
Figure 7.20 — A two-nectate block of faid for building a Kinner Centre Figure 7.21 — A symbolic begging for food,	
Figure 7.22 — A Khmer Buddhist nun, 2004	
Figure 7.23 — The monks are the media for merit-making, 1990	
Figure 7.24 — A family brought food for offering at Phchium Ben, 2004	
Figure 7.25 — Cooking team for Khmer New Year, 2004	
Figure 7.26 — Children played while their parents organised the New Year, 2004	
Figure 7.27 — Young people played volleyball, Khmer New Year 2004	
Figure 7.28 — Ramvong at the Khmer New Year, 2004	
Figure 7.29 — The monks sit according to their seniority	
Figure 7.30 — Food offering, Phchium Ben 2004	
Figure 7.31 — People shared food after offering, Phchium Ben 2004	
Figure 7.32 — People helped themselves, New Year 2007	
Figure 7.33 — A community flag, Waikato Khmer Association, 1983	
Figure 7.34 — Khmer cultural dancer, Field Days in Hamilton	
Figure 7.35 — A community flag representing people from Cambodia	
Figure 7.36 — Wat Oudom Samagom Khmer, 2003	
Figure 7.37 — Wat Khemaraphirataram, 2003	
Figure 7.38 — Simar ceremony: cutting the rope, Mangere, 1990	
Figure 7.39 — Leadership of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association, 2005	
Figure 7.40 — Project management team, Mangere, 2003	
Figure 7.41 — A meeting for the <i>Simar</i> event, Takanini, 2003	
Figure 7.42 — Project presentation for Papakura District Council, Takanini, 2004	
Figure 7.43 — Construction team, 2003	
Figure 7.44 — A <i>yantra</i> at the ceiling for protection, 2003	
Figure 7.45 — The <i>Simar</i> (cornerstone) was wrapped in classic red silk, 2003	
Figure 7.46 — The Khmer Centre and Temple plan	
Figure 7.47 — Waikato Khmer Association before the split, 2002	
Figure 7.48 — A legal firm was used to settle the leadership issues, 2004	316

List of Tables by Page

Table 3-1 — Hamilton focus group	55
Table 3-2 — Auckland focus group	55
Table 3-3 — Response of participants by city	
Table 4-1 — Cambodians by years of arrival to New Zealand	85
Table 4-2 — Distribution of Cambodians by region	
Table 4-3 — Feelings and first impression on arrival	91
Table 4-4 — Opinions on Government assistance	107
Table 4-5 — Opinions on sponsors' assistance	109
Table 5-1 — Individual's aspiration to find proper job	116
Table 5-2 — Seek help when finding a job	
Table 5-3 — Employment by sex, aged 15 and over	119
Table 5-4 — Job status of respondents	
Table 5-5 — Occupation of Cambodians by sex, aged 15 and over	
Table 5-6 — Size of Cambodians' households	
Table 5-7 — Main elements of Khmer culture	
Table 5-8 — It is necessary to learn Khmer	142
Table 5-9 — Language spoken in Cambodians' homes	142
Table 5-10 — Reading language in Cambodians' homes	143
Table 5-11 — Children should be free to choose their spouse	152
Table 5-12 — Khmer people should be free to intermarry	
Table 5-13 — Social marital status of Cambodians	
Table 5-14 — Social contact of Cambodians with Kiwis	
Table 5-15 — Social contact of Cambodians with Cambodians	
Table 5-16 — Criteria used to compare success	
Table 5-17 — Defining success according to Cambodians	
Table 5-18 — Participants' opinions about their life	
Table 6.1 — Reasons of Cambodians to live in New Zealand	
Table 6.2 — NZ culture is more appealing than Khmer culture	
Table 6.3 — Cambodia is part of Khmer social life	
Table 6-4 — Gained NZ citizenship	
Table 6-5 — How Khmer identify themselves	
Table 7-1 — Various Khmer associations in New Zealand	
Table 7-2 — Cambodian ethnic and religious affiliations	
Table 7-3 — Buddhism is part of Khmer life	
Table 7-4 — Buddhism has to adapt to New Zealand way of life	270

Chapter 1 — **Introduction**

Introduction

The recent past of Cambodia is marked with tragedy and upheavals that precipitated a massive flight of refugees across the national border during the late 1970s. These refugees sought refuge under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and gratefully accepted resettlement in Western countries such as New Zealand. Newly arrived Khmer refugees, referred to as Kampucheans, became residents and began to rebuild their lives. These Khmer from Cambodia, henceforth referred to interchangeably with Cambodians, are one of the minority ethnic groups whose ongoing adaptation in a host country has not been widely studied or documented. Although public interest in resettlement rapidly fades when refugee arrival ceases to be news, the people's resettlement issues continue, and Cambodians have begun to learn how to manage their way of life in their newly adopted country.

Cambodians in New Zealand have often shared their concerns with friends and family about their identity and the adaptation of their people. These concerns are reflected in academic literature. A combination of these has led to a set of questions around which I have formulated my thesis.

1. How was the resettlement of Cambodians in Aotearoa/New Zealand accomplished?

- 2. What is the everyday life of Cambodians living away from their homeland?
- 3. What are their strategies and coping mechanisms for their adaptation?

4. How do Cambodian settlers identify themselves?

5. How has the Cambodian community developed in Aotearoa/New Zealand since 1975?

My main aim was to investigate and describe the various approaches that Cambodians with a refugee background took to manage their new life in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the identity development of their transnational community. As a researcher, I needed to "find a place to stand" through a research process which begins with the above concepts and ends with a meaningful text that extend existing knowledge (Dunne, Pryor and Yates 2005:11). I also needed to define my "stance of style of research" (Roberts 2007:19) or methodology with various forms of enquiry which would fulfil the aim of my investigation.

Refugees from Cambodia found a new life in a hospitable country called Aotearoa/New Zealand. Despite the support of the Government, churches, Kiwi volunteers, and assistance from the country's advanced welfare system, newly arrived Cambodians faced an unfamiliar Western environment, social system and people. In order to engage with the New Zealand culture, Cambodians have had to cope with dramatic changes in their lifestyle, including diminished access to their Khmer cultural heritage. They were strangers whose actions, reactions, and interactions frequently took place in an environment of extensive cultural difference, with assimilationist and discriminatory expectations manifesting in the background. Cambodians who were inculcated with their Khmer cultural memory began to question the very essence of their new life and their Khmer way of life in their new environment. The need to adapt their lifestyle as individuals within the context of the New Zealand societal framework induced them to imagine and explore various approaches for their survival and social recognition. Some Cambodians embraced the Kiwi lifestyle, while others, participating in the host socioeconomic system, responded to the challenge of rebuilding their Khmer way of life in New Zealand. These people made an effort to live as Cambodians in the hope that they could retain their Khmer heritage and maintain a Cambodian community. In doing so, they encountered various internal and external hurdles in terms of finding common threads for their Khmer cultural identity and the viability of their cultural existence.

Cultural Maintenance

Research and publication on "New Zealand's engagement with Asia in terms of migration has escalated markedly since the mid-1990s" (Friesen 2005:24). Since the beginning of the new millennium, there has been extensive international research on multiculturalism and ethnically diverse societies, mainly focusing on issues of the social and political inclusion of migrant groups. An emergent theme related to integration is the engagement of migrant communities (McGrath, Butcher, Pickering and Smith 2005:1) in terms of social cohesion, such as belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition, and legitimacy. Recent research on refugees by the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS), *Refugee Voices* (2004), shows that social networks can help newly arrived refugees combat the various problems they face during resettlement. The study found that the vast majority of refugees felt that it was important to maintain their own culture in order to preserve their cultural identity. They

met others through informal visits to family and friends, at cultural meetings and celebrations, and through religious observance. The majority of established refugees had shared aspects of their culture with other groups. Some refugee service providers felt, however, that New Zealanders in general "tolerated but not encouraged" the maintenance of other cultures (NZIS 2004:29–31).

Many migrant studies have concentrated on new permanent residents, often with a statistical focus. There is a need for more in-depth studies based on interviews and research into smaller local communities (Gustafson and Tarling 2005:3–7).

Research and literature on Cambodians is still relatively limited. Since their arrival in New Zealand, there have been only 13 studies identified with Cambodians (Friesen 2005:21). The most recent internationally published works on Cambodian refugees are personal accounts of the authors' experience in America and their reconnection with Cambodia (Himm 2003; Seng 2005; Ung 2005).

Almost three decades on, the challenge to the Cambodians and their approaches to living in New Zealand have created a community that is the subject of my study. During the course of this study, I have had an opportunity to investigate the adaptation of Cambodians in New Zealand society and the dynamism of their community development since 1975. In-depth observation and participation have enabled me to delve into the complexities of Khmer identity and the maze of convergence processes through which they have had to negotiate the internal diversity of their ethnic community existence.

In this thesis, I argue that the pressure to cope with resettlement has led to new ethnic networks and the formation of a new ethnic community to fulfil the socio-cultural needs of settlement. The effort to establish a Cambodian community has provided an identity and an organisational framework for their wellbeing and integration in the host community. A community's ethnic identity is not the product of one factor, but evolves according to the needs and circumstances of the community and the degree to which each member engages in the struggle for its recognition. Identity is a complex entity that has many layers and polarisations that an individual or a group of individuals choose in common. I argue that cultural memory and cultural amnesia, cultural materials, the nature of transnationalism, transnational imagination, the host community environment, and people as cultural carriers to some degree shape individuals and the identity of an ethnic community. Although it participates in the host community, the Cambodian community has asserted its identity in terms of religious groups and self-help associations, thus claiming space and a voice for its existence and the wellbeing of its people.

Cultural maintenance — preserving what is relevant to the Cambodians' new life in a new host community — has involved a redefinition of their identity that has entailed political negotiations. These negotiations brought about disagreement and conflict that led to the fragmentation of the ethnic community, which, although it seems destructive and negative, is claimed by the Cambodian leaders to have resulted in more competitive services and more diverse community representation from the various associations assisting different groups of Cambodians. Despite conflict and fragmentation, there is strong evidence of the positive contributions of religious groups and associations to the Cambodian community and to New Zealand society as a whole.

My Position in the Cambodian Community

The need to understand the Cambodian community and the commitment to share such knowledge in the refugee community of practice intensified my interest in conducting a systematic study of this community. One of the objectives of my thesis has been to recover the community stories of the past, with Cambodians the primary beneficiaries of the knowledge being produced. This exercise would also expand knowledge on Cambodian adaptation and provide a critical view for its future development. As a Cambodian, my positioning as a researcher within the Cambodian community was central to this study, in that I was both an outsider (an academic) and an insider (a member of this community through my ethnic ties). "Becoming a researcher", in this situation, I needed to define my role and stance through the "logic of enquiry" of lived cultures within the ethical and cultural contexts (Dunne, Pryor and Yates 2005:11).

My resettlement began when my Kiwi sponsors found me a job in 1980, a few days after my arrival in Hamilton, as a labourer at the Reporoa dairy factory, where I immersed happily in the Kiwi way of life and enjoyed working for two years. My Cambodian community involvement began when I moved back to Hamilton and a church approached me in 1982 to help with bridging communication for the family of an elderly Cambodian. At about the same time, I found my mother and two sisters in Khao I Dang Holding Centre in Thailand. With the generous assistance of the New Zealand Government, volunteers and Kiwi sponsors, our family was reunited in Hamilton in 1984. Their kind assistance enabled me to reflect on the process of resettlement for Cambodians in the Waikato region (Liev and McLaren 1983). Through the process of my resettlement, I met my fellow Cambodian

refugees and we became acquaintances and friends. By the mid-1980s, the Cambodian community in Hamilton had elected me as their leader to facilitate their community needs. My social-work interest superseded my business background, so that in the late 1980s I moved to Auckland to work with on-arrival Khmer refugees. At the end of 1988, the head monk of the Khmer Buddhist community based in Wellington approached me to lead a group of Khmer Buddhists in Auckland who were building a place for Khmer Buddhist worship at Mangere, and later, from 2002, to head the development of a Khmer Centre and its corresponding temple project in Takanini (www.cambodia.org.nz).

Personal long-term participation, observation and communication with individuals within the Khmer communities have enabled me to gain hands-on experience and an understanding of the complex community dynamics. As a facilitator in such projects, I have had the opportunity to live our Khmer way of life and to be exposed to the communal life of the Cambodians in which many stakeholders had conflicting interests (Liev 1995; Liev 1996).

Although I am a researcher, my role in the community is as a leader and therefore I am treated by members of the community as a member of their family and an insider. On the one hand, this "positionality" (O'Connor 2004:169) in the Cambodian community allows me to be exposed to different views and opinions that are often quite conflicting. On the other hand as a researcher, I have a duty to observe the ethics of the research process, to ensure that participants give informed consent to their participation, and to respect their confidences. My fellow Cambodians have often asked me "Why do you need to ask us for information, since you know more than we do?" or told me "You can speak on our behalf". One of the central issues of my insider/outsider position is how to gain their opinions, to value them without bias — commission and omission — and to formulate the research methodology for an insider to conduct such a study while recognising that my positionality in the community gives me particular views which I share with some, but not all, community members. Certain events and public incidents created a need to report reality and truth as an outsider, but as I see it. My accounts can be seen as part of the refugee learning process. In this respect, I become a community historian, trying to work without bias, who archives the events as ongoing concerns of this community's development. The awkward nature of my insider/outsider position created a delicate situation that resulted in the reluctance of some Cambodians to participate in this study. As an insider/outsider researcher, my positionality was precarious and required constant "reflexivity" on my personal status and stance, and this influenced my choice of

methods, my methodology, and the way I have presented this research text. "As researchers, we need to monitor our own sociality within a more fluid social as this informs how we make sense of our research experiences and represent them in text" (Dunne, Pryor and Yates 2005:87) and make a quality contribution to the body of knowledge of the field (Higgs 2001:45, 199).

Outline of the Thesis

Chapter Two begins with an analysis of the literature on refugee resettlement and adaptation, in order to provide a background on the adaptation of refugees in general and on the Cambodian experience in particular. The review contrasts refugees and migrants in terms of their background, their needs, the assistance required, and processes of resettlement. The arrangements and assistance — the main focus of the second part of the review — depend largely on the mercy of public policy and responses from various stakeholders that create an environment conducive to refugee adaptation. The third part of this chapter reviews literature related to refugee modes of adaptation, identity assertion, and their community development within the context of diaspora and transnationalism.

My methodology is described in Chapter Three. In order to gain necessary information with authenticity, I have used ethnographic field surveys to critically assess the resettlement process and the post-resettlement adaptation of people from Cambodia with refugee backgrounds. Participant observation, interviews, a postal survey, and use of existing statistics illuminated events and information on their socio-economic participation and cultural practices. Their involvement in my "mixed-methods research" (Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007:169) provided valuable information that reflects both individual achievement and the dynamism of the development of their community.

Chapter Four provides a geo-political overview of Cambodia and the socio-cultural conflict which led to the Cambodian refugee exodus during the 1980s. It describes the historical politics of New Zealand's commitment to refugee resettlement and its response to the Cambodian refugee crisis. Cambodian resettlement in New Zealand was due to the humanitarian commitment of New Zealand to act as a global citizen to resolve one of the international refugee crises. This chapter traces the arrival of Cambodians in New Zealand and their resettlement. These new settlers have had to adapt to a completely different socio-cultural and economic setting from that which they had left. Cambodian participants

have described their impressions, aspirations and their efforts to achieve successful resettlement.

The fifth chapter is about Cambodians: communication, participation, women's positions and rules, individual identity, and language. It begins with concepts of culture in general and refugee culture in particular, and is focused on individual adaptation and efforts toward integration. It addresses how individuals and families within the Khmer community live their lives in the New Zealand context. It examines the processes by which Cambodians interact, communicate and participate within their own community, as well as in the New Zealand host community. Continuity and change in patterns of gender and gendered social participation over time exemplify some of these interactions and changes.

Chapter Six focuses on individuals at the community level where they have few resources to maintain their cultural heritage, and their identity becomes an issue in the Khmer diaspora. This chapter examines the various factors affecting cultural maintenance and individual identity. It describes how the Cambodians assess their Khmerness and reassert their cultural identity. Their identity becomes clearer after they have re-established their transnational link with their homeland in 1993. In this chapter, I discuss the way Cambodians define themselves in the context of citizenship and dual-belongings in the context of transnationalism.

People from Cambodia, as discussed in Chapter Seven, have affiliations to various religions. This chapter describes these, and in particular focuses on Buddhism, as it has played the most influential role for a majority of Cambodians in New Zealand. Cambodian communities in various parts of New Zealand have made an effort to foster Buddhism to fulfil their spiritual needs, and have built temples as part of their cultural maintenance. Their efforts have raised various issues and complications due to differing personal views and degrees of participation and rejection within the community. The community development and leadership, described in the second part of this chapter, have encountered challenges from people within the Cambodian community as individuals compete for recognition, social rank and leadership. This competition has inevitably created friction and fragmentation within the community. The chapter describes the community in terms of its cultural maintenance, belonging, socio-cultural participation, leadership, and the conflicts which have led to the development of separate Cambodian communities, each of which assert Khmer cultural identity in the form of a Buddhist temple as their cultural centre. Throughout this process, they have also had to face new conflicting host values, norms and systems, which have provided the Cambodians with new options and choice.

Despite these problems, the Cambodian communities still find that maintaining their culture is crucial for retaining their identity within the New Zealand bicultural framework and for retaining global connections.

This thesis argues that after more than two and a half decades of hard work, the Khmer — who came as penniless, traumatised refugees — have made socio-cultural progress against the odds. At the community level, they have formed various dynamic groups and associations, and, in the process, have created opportunities to reassert their Khmer cultural identity. Despite this success, Cambodian Kiwis have had to negotiate a way to co-exist amongst themselves, and have had to learn to navigate the New Zealand system to achieve their aspirations. The trajectory of their development of identity, and the complexity of their ongoing Khmer cultural practice in New Zealand, has become my main focus.

I have used a number of theoretical perspectives to guide my interpretation of the experience of refugees and people with a refugee background through their adaptation. Throughout this study I also used culturally based Khmer explanations to complement existing literature. These culturally based explanations have enabled me to bridge cross-cultural understandings, illuminate the cultural backgrounds of the Khmer people, and enrich the quality of information and analysis. My literature review begins with a discussion of key concepts of refugee, resettlement, acculturation, cultural bereavement, and integration. These concepts shed some light on refugees as newcomers negotiating their adaptation through the host community and within their ethnic community. The literature on resettlement helps us to understand the legal and socio-cultural process of refugee adaptation. A focus on diasporas and transnationalism encourages us to ask whether a community with a refugee background is able to maintain their cultural practice and identity. The theoretical literature and concepts described and discussed in the following chapter provide a valuable background to and framework for this study on the adaptation of Cambodians with a refugee background in New Zealand.

Chapter 2 — Theoretical Context of Refugee Resettlement

Introduction

A refugee's life is a series of trajectories through uncontrollable situations that move him or her away from the home country to end up in an unfamiliar place of resettlement. People with a refugee background endure deprivation and separation from their homeland, their close friends and their relatives. Forced migration scatters them into various countries of resettlement. Lack of an ethnocultural community in the host society no doubt magnifies the cultural and psychological gulf between life in the past and the present (Abbott 1989). While they are grieving for the past, they are also trying to adjust to a new way of life and to improve their wellbeing within the socio-geo-political framework of the resettlement country.

Refugee adaptation must be viewed within a multi-disciplinary framework (Waxman and Colic-Peisker 2005). Researchers and practitioners have used the various theoretical approaches of sociology, anthropology, and social psychology to understand refugee adaptation (Berry 1987; Hein 1995; Canniff 2001; Doron 2005), participation (Lave and Wenger 2005), engagement (McGrath, Butcher, Pickering and Smith 2005), and ethnic identification (Anderson 2001). The personal and group identification process has been so complex that refugee settlement is intertwined with transnational aspects of diasporic refugee communities (Vertovec 2001b). Although assimilation theory deemphasised ethnic identification, more recent approaches have contributed to the "situational re-interpretation of ethnicity" (Anderson 2001:220). Kuhlman (1991:12) suggests that factors such as the characteristics of a people, their experience through the process of becoming refugees (Mortland 1994), and the framework of their resettlement (Castles and Davidson 2000) can all affect the development of their ethnic identification. The development of an ethnic community also depends on the socio-geo-political policies of the host community (Waitt 2003), and the degree of resiliency (Doron 2005) of the individuals as well as of the ethnic community as a whole. Despite their tenacity and resilience, refugees "need to go through bereavement, whether on a personal, family, or

community level" (ibid:182). The cultural bereavement process of forced migration sets refugees apart from voluntary migrants through the intensity of loss (Eisenbruch 2006).

In this chapter, I explain the concept of a refugee and the various attributes of refugee resettlement and adaptation. I will examine a number of theoretical perspectives that describe people with a refugee background, including their need to adapt to an unfamiliar set of practices, their degree of engagement with the host community, and their cultural affiliation that defines their way of life. Furthermore, various host community policies and attitudes towards newcomers and their community can constitute assistance or hurdles to the refugee's quest for integration. The last part of this chapter provides a background on the development of identity of the Cambodian community in diaspora.

Concepts of Refugee Resettlement

Refugees

Refugees "are an anomaly in a nation state-system" resulting from political conflict or war (Robinson 1998:3). They are the victims of abrupt socio-political upheaval. They are often depicted as "vulnerable victims" or "cunning crooks" in media and in academic literature (Horst 2002:3). Refugees' experiences include oppression, rejection, and loss of life. The difference between refugees and migrants, according to Gold, is a matter of continuum rather than simple categorisation. However, political and legal distinctions separate the categories (Gold 1992:ix). It is the absence of choice that distinguishes a refugee from a migrant (Beaglehole 1988:23). From the forced migration perspective and according to the 1951 United Nations Convention and the 1967 Protocol, a refugee is a person who:

... owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason 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; or who, not having a nationality and being outside of the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

Cartmail (1983) describes the problems of refugees: death, sickness, substandard living conditions, loss of family life, dependent status, lack of work, money or educational facilities, language inadequacy, culture shock, and so on. Refugee experience is a process of displacement, trauma and loss. Its impact is multifaceted, since it dismantles emotional, spiritual, and physical connections which lead to feelings of disorientation, nostalgia, and

alienation. Consequently, this may undermine a sense of belonging and the mental health of the refugee (Ministry of Education 2002:8). The displacement of refugees is described as "kinetic" (i.e., governed largely by external factors) rather than "dynamic" (i.e., actively self-managed). Even more in evidence is the push factor, "not only in flight itself but also in the resettlement process which is often governed by pressure exerted on the refugees" (Kuhlman 1991:10). Refugees frequently have to move to a region and area designated by resettlement agencies.

Westermeyer (1987:78-89) chooses the word "uprooting" to describe refugees' forced migration under the "push factors", compared to "migrating" for migrants who have made the choice to leave their countries and who choose where to live. Refugees are alienated and "are pushed from their homeland on personal grounds and are compelled to leave their country on well-founded fears of persecution". They "cannot return to their homeland as long as the causes persist that drove them away" (DeSantis 2001:1). Malcolm (2002:81) claims that refugees are unique in that they have an "X factor" which makes them daring enough to escape or move away from their home country in which the majority of people in the same circumstances stay. Refugees consider their plight temporary, and hope to return to their homeland when circumstances permit. They are forced to seek refuge, for their safety, within their own country, or turn to the nearest neighbouring country which usually provides temporary asylum to displaced persons until they can return to their homeland or until they are resettled in third countries (Robinson 1998:69). Although taking the initiative to escape, refugees are described by Gold (1992:17) as far from being a self-selected labour force. Instead, their numbers include many unemployable people: young children, elderly individuals, religious and political leaders, and people in poor mental and physical condition. There is substantial literature on refugees and their resettlement from which I have selected the following to shed some light on limitations, context, and directions for the framework of my research.

Literature on Forced Migration

Since the mid-1970s and throughout the 1980s "studies of the Indochinese refugees concerned themselves mainly with their immediate psychosocial and economic adaptation during the initial phases of resettlement and adjustment in the host societies" (Chan and Christie 1995:75–94). Researchers studied their subjects' unfolding psycho-social adjustment process, and the dilemmas and traumas encountered in their transit experiences, as well as their cultural and ethnic baggage. Social analysts produced information on the

refugee resettlement crisis "as it happen[ed]". Chan and Christie (1995:82) argue that "the immediacy of research activity as a 'fire fighting' response to the social crisis was itself a cause of many of its deficiencies and limitations". These studies generated instant information in aid of resettling and integrating groups with socio-cultural backgrounds largely unknown to the nation-states of the Western world.

In the 1990s, Cambodian refugees faced intense challenges in their effort to adapt to life in America, where they quickly became one of the most troubled and least studied immigrant groups (Smith-Hefner 1999). In New Zealand, North (1995) also notes that the settlement experiences of new immigrants from non-traditional sources, particularly of Asians, have been the subject of little research. Although there have been many studies post-1995 (see AsiaNZ website: <u>http://www.asianz.org.nz</u>), researchers in New Zealand have studied various Cambodians' experience and reported snap-shots of their issues from different perspectives (Crosland 1991; Higbee 1992; Liev and McLaren 1983; Liev 1989; Liev and McDermott 1991; Liev 1995; Lyon 1993; North 1995; and Tan 1995) rather than conducted a longitudinal study which would track the process of individual and community settlement and identity over an extended period of time.

Gold (1992) notices that while a number of works address the long-term adjustment of immigrants, refugees are frequently regarded simply as persons in need. Furthermore, he writes, "the definitions and concerns of agencies are imposed on the experience of recent refugees in such areas as mental health, self-sufficiency and community organisation, while the refugees' own views and the context that shapes them is ignored" (Gold 1992:x). Chan and Christie are concerned that "adaptation studies of this type have generally been atheoretical, episodic, largely cross-sectional, and countryspecific if not community-specific" (1995:75–94). The need to place analysis of the Indochinese experience within the larger historical context of prior refugee experiences elsewhere has also been largely neglected, hence the failure to establish an institutional memory for the broader field of refugee research. Researchers' overall aspirations are typically to generate immediate knowledge in order to structure state policies and solve problems. Chan and Christie call this "applied social science" conducted under a peculiar set of social circumstances — an urgent intellectual response to a situational, crisis-like poverty of knowledge about ethnocultural groups as newcomers to a pluralistic society. They call on researchers to "prevent further marginalisation of research on refugees as a scholarly discipline, [as] there is an urgent need to integrate refugee studies into normal

social science discourses on transnationalism, diasporas, identity, ethnicity, and ethnic entrepreneurship" (1995:75–94).

I have taken heed of these cautions in my research on the adaptation of Cambodians and their development of community identity in New Zealand. The concepts which follow — such as resettlement, multiculturalism, and transnationalism — are also described and discussed to provide a framework for my thesis.

Refugee Resettlement

In general, resettlement is the last resort when asylum or repatriation is impossible. Resettlement in a third country was the favoured solution to the Indochinese exodus in the 1980s. In order to meet international commitments, countries including the United States of America (the USA), France, Canada, Australia and New Zealand took substantial numbers of refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam for permanent resettlement in the 1980s and 1990s. According to Cartmail (1983:175), this was also due to the impossibility of local integration in Southeast Asian countries, where racial animosity, religious prejudice, political incompatibility and differences in cultural and historical background undermined local integration. Because of this incompatibility, 300 Khmer 'Muslims' (many of them converters of convenience) who resettled in Malaysia in 1986 had to be further resettled a year later in New Zealand.

On arrival, groups of refugees adopt collective characteristics. Kunz (1981:50) has coined the term "vintage groups" to refer to refugee groups which may consist of various smaller groups of people who have fled under different circumstances at different times, but on arrival form "resettlement cohorts" (Kuhlman 1991:10). Once they arrive for resettlement, there is no consensus on when a person ceases to be described as a refugee (Refugee Council of Australia 2000; Mortland 1994).

During the early stages of resettlement, homesickness and loneliness were two of the main complaints for newly arrived Cambodians in New Zealand. This was a particularly serious problem among elderly refugees and amongst those living in small towns (Liev 1995:119–120). In a report prepared for the Asia New Zealand Foundation, McGrath, Butcher, Pickering and Smith wrote that refugees faced discrimination during their resettlement (2005:8). While many of the factors affecting settlement are the same for refugees as for other migrants, there are some issues specific to refugees. Amongst these are backgrounds of trauma and grief, poor health, and disrupted education (Liev 2001:5–6).

In many respects, refugees begin their new life at the bottom rung of a new social hierarchy. McDermott noticed that newly arrived refugees in New Zealand are "generally fearful of authority, concerned to appear grateful and unlikely to articulate criticism of any aspect of the host country's reception" (McDermott 2000:4). Refugees in Norway, for instance, found that their competence was not recognised, and that they were instead reduced to faceless individuals whom the majority of the host community categorised as "refugees" (Fangen 2006): "This diminishment is at the core of the concept of humiliation" (Fangen 2006:69). The different kinds of humiliation that refugees might experience may be categorised into other concepts, such as discrimination, exclusion, derision, and stigmatisation. They are humiliated by being defined by a sense of "otherness". Experiences of humiliation were typical of all refugees in their first phase of settlement (Fangen 2006:81–90).

Refugees struggle to rebuild their lives while burdened by trauma. They experience multiple losses of structure to sustain their identities, and according to McDermott (2000:4) "many find the challenges of adaptation overwhelming". Westin and Nyberg (2005) found that people in Sweden were soon involved in a process of defining positions in relation to one another, negotiating identities, and seeking leaders, and these processes resulted in new bonds of friendship while at the same time ethnic and religious boundaries were emphasised "usually in a friendly manner, but sometimes in confrontation" (Westin and Nyberg 2005: 151). Cambodians in New Zealand share their resettlement stories in Chapter Four, while the resettlement issues which have an impact on their everyday life are reviewed in the following chapter (Chapter Five).

Cultural Bereavement

The massive loss of social structure and culture leads to distress and grief amongst displaced people and refugees. Eisenbruch (2006) defined this cultural grief as "cultural bereavement", i.e. the experience of an uprooted person or group resulting from the loss of human capital, social structures, cultural values and self-identity. The person or group continues to live in the past and suffers feelings of guilt over abandoning their culture and homeland, so that the memories intrude and mar the ability to get on with daily life. It is not of itself a disease but is an understandable response to the catastrophic loss of social structure and culture. This loss is one of the key reasons why Cambodians recollect, imagine, reconstruct and revitalise their cultural identity as discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis.

Eisenbruch's observations of Cambodians in Boston revealed existential problems of Cambodian youth at three levels: acculturation, alienation, and cultural bereavement (1989:101–105). He noticed that most of the efforts to understand the refugee experience focused on acculturation problems. It is important to recognise acculturation problems, because they affect survival skills in daily life. Eisenbruch raises the issues of the conventional model that acculturation problems lead to alienation, which may result in poor mental health. He claims that "if acculturation was promoted without due regard for the long term implications and for the preservation of the [ethnic] cultural frameworks of the community, then we might create illness rather than solve it". Eisenbruch calls for studies of the host society as well as refugee communities to determine how the host society itself changes when a new refugee community comes into it. This also means that refugees become involved in a "social movement" through which "a collective struggle ... against change" (Fuchs 2004: 39) is significant from both sides: the host and the refugee communities. Eisenbruch observes that speedy acculturation leads to cultural bereavement. Although refugees are pursuing their long-term objective, they are also afflicted by waves of living in the past: "They do not want to move on yet. Sure enough they want ... to emulate their peers, to have fast cars and designer jeans, but at the same time they want ... to have time and space to live in the past" (Eisenbruch 1989:105). Cultural bereavement is a very wide-reaching problem, because it affects clinical policy with individual children and families; it also affects resettlement policy with individual communities. Unless the individual, family, and community go through the bereavement process, they are not able to focus on the future.

Integration as a Mode of Adaptation

Berry (1987) expresses concern about the process of acculturation and psychological adaptation encountered by refugees. These processes change the original patterns of culture of either one or both of the groups within the geo-political and legal frameworks of the host community, at the group level and at the individual level. The process of acculturation depends on the value of maintaining cultural identity and on the value of maintaining relationships with other groups. These two values, through the process of adaptation, lead to marginalisation, separation, assimilation, or integration (Berry 1987:99–101). Berry's acculturation model defines integration as a "mode of adaptation" and uses adaptation as a "generic term … to refer to both the process of dealing with acculturation and the outcome of acculturation". Gordon (in Valtonen 1994:65) has

identified two levels of acculturation: adoption of "extrinsic" cultural traits (e.g., manner of dress and speech), and subsequent adoption of "intrinsic" cultural traits (such as religion and ethical values). Svanberg (in Valtonen 1994:66) defines adaptation as an ongoing and active process through which a socio-cultural system encounters a new environment, its people, and its institutions. This definition points to two critical issues: maintenance of identity, and interactions with other groups from which integration is one of the outcomes. A group maintains its identity yet becomes part of the host society to the extent that the host population and the refugees can live together in an acceptable way (Kuhlman 1991:5–6).

The term "1.5 generation" was first used to describe the adaptation of Korean children who accompany their parents to the USA and then who "later bridge the gap between the older generation and the American-born Koreans". Cao and Novas (1996:198–199) explained that "the 1.5ers from Southeast Asia fled their homeland as children, adolescents, or young adults, and later developed strong ties and deep roots in the New World". Most of the Southeast Asian 1.5 generation have been eager to adopt the American lifestyle, but their rapid assimilation has alienated them from their parents and grandparents. In Australia, lack of language was a cause of "conflict and alienation between youth and parents ... and made cross cultural and cross generation understanding impossible" so that "many youth expressed despair at having to juggle two identities" (Berryman, Hajaj and Ly 1998:46). Despite a strong correlation between mental health symptoms and exposure to war trauma (Mollica, Murray, Poole, Son, and Tor 1997), Cambodian adolescents in the USA did not exhibit any deterioration in social adjustment. A longitudinal study of Cambodian adolescents in Canada (Rousseau and Drapeau 2003) also found that social functioning appeared to be independent of exposure to war trauma. Stephen (1985) conducted a study at a special summer-school programme for struggling Cambodian students in Massachusetts, which concluded that the longer the students in his study were in the USA the more adapted they became, as they were able to use the American public school system, access various social services, and interact with others.

In his study in 1991, Kuhlman (1991:11) introduced "a comprehensive model of refugee integration" in which adaptation depends on the characteristics of refugees and their flight-related experience. Furthermore, the social and political frameworks of the host society and the length of their residence affected the cultural change of refugees and the host society. Owing to their degree of resilience, individuals as well as their communities have a critical role in their adaptation. Doron (2005) identifies seven components that

make up community resilience: a sense of belonging; control of situations; the ability to challenge and the ability to cope with change; maintaining an optimistic perspective; learning relevant skills and techniques; having strong values and beliefs; and community support in different forms. By addressing those components, Doron believes people can help refugees handle the grief process faster, and better prepare them for a more optimistic future (Doron 2005:182–184). These components can be used as factors to discuss Cambodian efforts to navigate various issues in adapting to the New Zealand host society.

Eisenstaedt (in Valtonen 1994:65) argues that individual adaptation has four aspects: learning of languages, norms, roles, customs; learning to handle new roles and situations; developing a new identity and status image; and switching over from participation in the institutions of one's own ethnic group to participation in the institutions of the host country. From this perspective, individuals have identity options regarding how they identify themselves within the country of settlement.

These four aspects provide useful attributes for assessing the way of life and the coping strategies of Cambodians in New Zealand. Volunteers, sponsors, social workers, community workers, government agencies and professionals help refugees begin their new life. These groups of people, who share the same concern for assisting refugee resettlement, learn to improve their practice, interact regularly and share their knowledge with the other groups, and in doing so have created a community of practice (Wenger 1998). Refugees become part of this community from which they learn and practice their new life in the new country of their resettlement. Refugees, with the help of these practitioners, begin to engage in a form of "legitimate peripheral participation" as a generative social practice where the newcomers inevitably participate in a community of practitioners and work their way toward full participation (Lave and Wenger 2005:29).

Policies and Approaches to Refugee Resettlement

Approaches to Resettlement

Each host country has its own philosophy or concept of settlement, which changes over time. Early studies of migrant settlement employ terms such as the American expression of "melting pot" to describe the process of integrating all nationals, races and cultures into one "all-American" identity. The University of Chicago's assimilation model of migration is based on the desirability of assimilation, since "it removes the social taboo and permits individuals to move into groups" and thus facilitates new and adventurous contacts. Hein cited the proponents of this model, Gordon (1964) and Park (1967), who claimed that the "overall pattern of group relations was the persistence of family and associations within ethnic communities yet pervasive adoption of American culture". But Gans (in Hein 1995:3–4), from his study on Italian Americans in Boston, argued that "although the second- and third-generation were culturally assimilated, they were not structurally assimilated" because their social interaction remains confined to their social enclaves. Hein asserts that ethnicity without a basis in family and neighbourhood is merely symbolic (Hein 1995:3–4).

During the 1960s and 1970s, a new school of thought based on ethnic resilience provided an alternative model. Ports (1980 in Hein 1995:5) and his associates supported this model, arguing that the economic, social, and political interests of immigrants are best served by retaining ethnicity and emphasising pluralism. Hein points out that assimilation is a myth because of the existence of inequality, and that refugees use ethnicity as a means for collective advancement (Hein 1995:5–7).

The term "mosaic" is used in the Canadian context to express the autonomy of ethnic minorities in the maintenance of their cultural identity. The multiculturalism which this promotes has been endorsed by social policy in Canada as well as in Australia (LRCRCS 1991:66).

Multiculturalism, a kind of corrective to assimilationist approaches, concerns "abandoning the myth of homogeneous and monocultural nation-states" and "recognising rights to cultural maintenance and community formation, and linking these to social equality and protection from discrimination" (Castles and Davidson 2000:5 in Vertovec, 2001:3). "Weak" multiculturalism recognises cultural diversity in the private sphere while a "high degree of assimilation is expected of ethnic minorities in the public sphere", whereas "strong" multiculturalism is marked by institutional recognition of cultural difference in the public sphere, including political representation (Vertovec, 2001:3). Thakur (1995:255) argues that the statement "Country X is a multicultural society" can be descriptive or evaluative:

... If the term is used in an evaluative sense it entails the additional notion that multicultural diversity should be fostered and encouraged, and that it is a proper task of government to do so."

He goes on to question the extent of multicultural practices in political, legal, bureaucratic and journalistic institutions, and the extent of marginalisation of "minority cultures" in those institutions, which can be reflected as "indicators of the attitudes and practices of the dominant groups in a society" (Thakur 1995:255–281).

A society is a "matrix of norms and interests" where there are usually many different "subcultures" within a nation state and where people are bound together with a sense of belonging or by shared identity, such as race, ethnicity, religion, language, class, status and power (Berger and Berger 1981:377). A community's shared vision can hold their vision, imagination and beliefs together in times of crisis (Gow 2005); thus, religion and spirituality are a means for community building and group identity with refugees (Doron 2005:188).

New Zealand's adoption of biculturalism is evident in its official recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi as binding Maori and Pakeha. Unfortunately, New Zealand has never formally adopted multiculturalism as official policy, although there was a shift away from assimilation in the early 1980s (Fletcher 1999:6–15). The Immigration Policy Review in 1986 stated that the aim of the new policy initiatives were to "enrich the multicultural fabric of New Zealand society through the selection of new settlers principally on the strength of their personal contribution to the future well-being of New Zealand" (Burke 1986:10). This was dismissed by some Maori as a ploy to undermine biculturalism which still needed to be addressed (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard 2000). Recently in Europe, multiculturalism has also been viewed by the dominant group in a negative way, in that it threatens "core national societal values" (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2005:3). Multiculturalism, from this perspective, represents a recipe for the destruction of national identity and the breakdown of social cohesion. A similar view has been expressed by a recent leader of New Zealand's National Party (Berry 2006).

In New Zealand, "The task of transforming a monocultural society into a genuinely pluralistic one, in which differences are recognised and rewarded, has proven more elusive and daunting than anyone imagined" (Fleras and Spoonley 1999:219 in Prickett, 2003:38). For example, the Chinese from the 1960s had to use different coping strategies to navigate discrimination and hostility where it was clear that Pakeha were culturally, economically, and politically dominant (Yee 2003:216). There was an "unspoken contract" in relations with Pakeha, in which Chinese had to meet four interrelated conditions: be a model minority, "know your place", avoid social dereliction, and practice normative behaviour. To gain acceptance, the Chinese used "placating"

behaviour in everyday public life in the form of "showing commitment', "blending in", "distancing", and "role play" (Yee 2003:215–235). This process has defined their identity as "Chinese New Zealanders". It took the Chinese 130 years to move from being a different and marginalised group to progress into "a minority eager to take its rightful place in the sun ... to be heard and equal" (Ip 2003:213).

Although there are some forms of multicultural accommodation in European countries, each national society is centred on monocultural norms "with exceptional pockets of what are often considered patterns of immigrant deviation" (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2005:10–11). Vertovec and Wessendorf argue that "the accommodation of diversity is a necessary, but insufficient, means toward creating a society truly multicultural in practice and identity". A multicultural society raised a fear of self-exclusion that is just a "pool of bounded uni-cultures, forever divided into we's and they's" (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2005: 11).

New Zealand's Refugee Policies and the Indochinese Intake

In May 1977, the UNHCR appealed to New Zealand to take some boat people from Vietnam; the government agreed on the proviso that they held UN status as refugees and had "occupation qualifications useful to New Zealand" (Grant 1979:186). Sir Guy Powles, the first Race Relations Conciliator in New Zealand, noted that "... most institutions in New Zealand are derived from and oriented towards the economic, social and spiritual ideals and practices of the white Anglo-Saxon. The status of the individual in the New Zealand scene depends largely on conformity with these ideals" (Abbott 1989:5). An aspect of this ethnocentrism is the pressure it places on minorities to conform. Despite its constitutional framework, Abbott writes, "New Zealand is less pluralistic than many other developed countries" (1989:5). New Zealand's attitude to refugees prior to 1975 was that they should meet immigration criteria, should be of practical use to society, and have the ability to be assimilated into the community (Liev 1995:101). According to Gallienne, "New Zealand's traditional immigration policy and the habit of acting in self-interest have been continuing influential constraints on the refugee policy". The whole concept was "when these people come to New Zealand they must quickly become New Zealanders and assimilate within the New Zealand society" (Gallienne 1991:114).

In 1977, 70 refugee families were selected from Southeast Asia under the criteria that "they have generally not more than four dependent children under the age of 18; ideally be literate; have an occupational background adaptable to New Zealand; and the

breadwinner be generally no more than 45 years of age" (Liev 1995:102). But after 1986, New Zealand's approach to selection for quota refugees became simple. Cabinet authorised the Department of Labour (Gallienne 1991:86) to administer the arrival of refugees while other groups held responsibility for their resettlement. Throughout the 1980s, New Zealand maintained a simple selection programme, and more relaxed liberal criteria for selection applied with "greater flexibility" than for those who applied in 1979 (Gallienne 1991:152). By the end of the decade, with large numbers of refugees coming in, more systematic provisions for resettlement were made. Hawley (1986) observes that in the first two years of the Indochinese refugee resettlement programme (1980–1981) people were scattered all over New Zealand; however, since then there has been "a move away from assimilationist thinking" and "pepper potting" due to secondary migration of refugees to the main cities (Trlin and Spoonley 1986:63).

Spatial Settlement and Community

New Zealand's policy of "pepper-potting" the refugees around the country diminished greatly after the end of 1980, as it had resulted in many new settlers being put into areas where they felt culturally and linguistically isolated (Gallienne 1991:173). In the mid-1980s, the approach changed as the assimilationist philosophy was discarded, former-refugee families increasingly became sponsors, and family reunification became a factor.

Increasingly, studies of refugees provide evidence that "families who understand and support bicultural identity development increase the opportunities for their children to lead balanced and productive lives" (Canniff 2001:293). In the period from 1980 to 1986, Gallienne noticed a rapid relaxation in attitude from a position of avoidance of competition between the new settler and resident New Zealanders to "one of cautious acceptance through the institutionalisation of resettlement practice and by the celebration of the new settler's presence and the contribution to the New Zealand community" (Gallienne 1991:199).

Resettlement outcomes may fall between assimilation and integration as Hein (1995) found in the case of Indochinese refugees in America: "There is not much integration and cultural loss as the assimilation model suggests, but there also is not much pluralism and conflict as the ethnic-resilience model would have one believe" (1995:9). Refugees tend to help each other. Hein (1995) explains that refugees adapt as groups rather than as individuals; they use "fictive kinship" to be treated as part of an extended family, which "enables isolated individuals or members of fragmented families to gain protection

and social prestige by association with a strong family" as a social network (Hein 1995:132; Korac 2005). Alongside the extended kinship approach, refugees from Southeast Asia have used mutual assistance associations (MAA) as the leading means of their participation in the adaptation process. "Most MAAs provide social services or maintain cultural tradition, although some have social, political, and economic functions" (Hein 1995:92–96). Despite the importance of MAAs for refugee communities, Hein notices that their very centrality often makes them the focus of community conflict, as those MAAs competed for funding and control. Community conflict and fractionalisation become common features in refugee communities in diaspora (Hein 1995; Liev 1995; Mortland 1994).

Community and Diaspora

In recent usage, diaspora has come to denote a people in exile due to a specific chain of events that has led to their exodus from a historic homeland (Westin and Nyberg 2005:147) or a segment of people living outside of its homeland (Connor 1986: 16-46). It is made of a social network (Karac 2005) of people who share a same ancestry and "in time the group develops a mythology about homeland" which serves to reinforce a distinctive group identity (Clifford 1994:302–308). There are various types of diaspora, and the three major ones are structured around entrepreneurship, religion, or politics (Bruneau in Dorais 2001:4). A refugee community in diaspora has the following characteristics according to Dorais (2001:5–6). The community has its origin in the fact that a large number of individuals were forced to leave their country by severe political constraints. Before leaving their country, people already shared a well-defined identity. The communities actively maintain or construct a collective memory, which forms a fundamental element of their identity. These communities keep more or less tight control over their ethnic boundaries, whether voluntarily or under constraint from the host society. Communities are mindful to maintain relations among themselves. They also wish to maintain contacts with their country of origin (Tölölyan 2000). The main issue for diasporic peoples is adaptation: how to adapt to the environment without surrendering group identity. This issue faced by the diasporic communities of antiquity is still apparent in modern times (Vertovec 2000:4-5).

While living in diaspora, refugees or exiles (DeSantis 2001:7) encounter a ceaseless struggle between "centrifugal forces", which strive to keep things various, separate, apart, different from each other, and "centripetal forces", which strive to keep

things together, unified, the same. Exiles living in America are characterised by a dialogical tension between the centripetal and centrifugal forces as they attempt to redefine themselves in a new land. They are struggling with "rich ambiguities" and "messiness" (Gow 2005:191) to define their emotional psychological state, their social identity, their sentiment towards their country, and their future. People live in a diasporic community with "continuity and change", and their "religious identity often means more to individuals away from home" (Vertovec 2000). A very first step in the community reconstruction process was to define oneself in relation to others. This could lead to unexpected and problematic outcomes in definitions of self and others, and in the attribution of status (Westin and Nyberg 2005:156). Identity in a diasporic community undergoes modifications as time goes by. Tölölyan's criteria and DeSantis's concepts are useful for further discussion on the Cambodian community in New Zealand as part of the Khmer diaspora.

The communities with refugee backgrounds from Southeast Asia have formed various self-help associations for their own problems, such as urgent social needs and issues of belonging. Families and neighbours have banded together to form local associations. According to Shirley (1982:136) this "locality development" has shaped ethnic community identity. For instance, Berryman et al. (1998:79) noticed that upon arriving in Australia, Cambodians "were given an identity that they never had before, that of 'ethnic [Khmer] Australian'. While this classification has the effect of denying a sense of belonging to non-Anglo migrants" it also "reinforce[s] community spirit and solidarity" (1998:79). Cambodians who arrived in Australia with a history of conflict still see multiculturalism as their best hope for the survival of their ethnic identity and their role in society. In doing so, they pull together their existing knowledge and cultural resources from local and national sources, and overseas friends and relatives. These interactions create transnational flows across their national borders.

Transnationalism

Resettlement becomes a global movement of forced migration with the result that refugees are cut off from their home territory. Refugees have "no fixed setting" and are "deterritorialised" so that *everything* that should normally define them in a socio-cultural context is non-existent, or rather, still back home and they still cling to it (Wahlbeck 1998:5). Their "shifting world" (Appadurai 1991:191) creates a change in social,

territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity in a receiving country. Their settlement manifests in the form of "landscapes of group identity" known as "ethnoscapes" (Appadurai 1991:191).

The members of a diasporic community have an international connection outside of their country. This transnational link provides support networks for their members and a chance to polish or reshape their cultural practice and identity. Over a period of time with the shift of political alignment or the relaxation of the sending-country policies on return visits, the members of the diasporic community have been able to reconnect with their homeland. Returning to visit and the constant connection through cyberspace reactivates the cultural maintenance of a transnational community. The transnational ties between members might concern: evaluation (e.g. friendship and cultural norms); transfer of material resources (e.g. lending, remittance and cultural materials); affiliation (e.g. membership in a club or a religious group); behavioural interaction (e.g. sending messages); movement between places (e.g. migration and travel); formal relations (e.g. authority); perceived biology (e.g. kinship or descent); or cultural maintenance (e.g. individual or community) (Vertovec 2001b:8–9). Like all transnational communities that are involved in the production of locality, identity and social viability, South Indian migrants based in Singapore maintain strong social and cultural ties with their village in India (Velayutham and Wise 2005). In Sweden (Westin and Nyberg 2005:163), thirdgeneration Gujarati still had a strong sense of unique identity and cultural continuity that may be traced back to their origins. The reality is that most refugees live and think transnationally: that is, ambiguously combine multiple national loyalties and identities (Gow 2005:192), and "the elements of transnationalism from the past being reproduced" in forms of cultural maintenance, international communication, and visits (Friesen 2008:58).

With the dispersal of family members in "the global arena", the Indochinese furnished a structural condition for "the articulation of a diaspora consisting of social networks of interconnected nodes" while they rebuilt their new lives and communities (Chan and Christie 1995:85). Chan and Christie have explained the identity options of the Indochinese while they were grappling with their past, present, and future. The Indochinese were "articulating their proper place within the triangular framework of the host society, the emerging Indochinese diasporas, and their homeland back in Southeast Asia". They lived "within and between two cultures": striving to integrate with the host country and maintaining loyalty to their home country (Chan and Christie 1995:86). Such a cultural practice creates a cultural space that expands across national borders and induces

the diffusion of an ethnic minority culture and the emergence of new identities. This "transnational syncretism" reflects the dynamic nature of all culture that has "fluidity and spatiality" (Faist 2000:201–215) and translocality (Velayutham and Wise 2005). Dorais (1998:107–125) describes some of the basic aspects of Vietnamese refugee community organisation in Canada, France and Denmark. These Vietnamese kept their links between their country of adoption and Vietnam in the form of transnational lives as they build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders.

Migrant Community, Religion, and Identity

In new places of settlement, people can reconstruct identities and learn to be residents or citizens of their adopted country. Migrants from a number of countries in Asia and the Middle-east find their desire to integrate into New Zealand society thwarted due to limited opportunities, and may thus feel isolated and excluded. These settlers — such as Chinese (Ip 1990; Ip 2003), Indians (Leckie 2007; Friesen 2008), Koreans (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007), Vietnamese (Moore 2002), and Cambodians (North 1995; Liev 1995) — use various means to create local and translocal links and support for their belonging and wellbeing.

The diversity within migrant ethnic groups in New Zealand (New Zealand Immigration Service 2004), Australia (Barnes 2001; Humphrey 1987; Waitt 2003; Gow 2005), and North America (Camino and Krulfeld 1994; Castles and Davidson 2000; Dorais 2001; Hein 1995; Ong 2003; Smith-Hefner 1999) is expressed through such things as occupational activities (Friesen 2008), the variety of cultural activities (Leckie 2007), a range of associations (Liev 1995; Leckie 2007), and diverse religious affiliation (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007; Greif (ed.) 1995; Higbee 1992; Leckie 2007; Moore 2002). These activities within an ethnic migrant community result in the different migrant groups responding to experiences of displacement, exile and migration in diverse ways, and designing a variety of new forms of association and belonging (Appadurai 1996 in Gow 2005:201). For instance, Leckie (1995:154) found that Indian associations in New Zealand provided social and cultural support, and have been an important site for the reproduction of ethnic identity. Language was significant in the maintenance of differing identities in the Indian community in New Zealand.

Humphrey (1987) wrote about how religious institutions have played an important role in helping migrants and refugees to resettle. For example, Sunni mosques in Australia have been important in facilitating the settlement of Lebanese migrants in Sydney

(Humphrey 1987:237), and Christian churches and the Inter-Church Commission on Immigration (ICCI) paved the way for refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam during the 1980s in adapting to their new life and participating in New Zealand society (Liev 1995). These groups of refugees (Abbott 1989), and recent migrants such as Koreans in Christchurch (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007:15), found it difficult to adjust and to make new friends or acquaintances outside of their ethnic group. They felt isolated, unfamiliar and excluded (Liggard 1996:39). These various groups found religious institutions — such as churches, mosques, or temples — as centres to facilitate their sense of belonging and to provide social support. Korean migrants formed Korean churches, Iraqi migrants introduced a Chaldean church in Manukau, and Indian migrants developed their Sikh temples or Hindu temples. Chinese migrants, Tibetan migrants and Vietnamese built their Mahayana Buddhist temples around Auckland; while Thais, Sri Lankans, Lao, Burmese, and Cambodians developed their ethnic Theravada Buddhist temples.

Churches, mosques, and temples provide avenues for their members to socialise, to belong, and to live out aspects of their ethnic way of life just like they did in their country of origin. In Christchurch, most Korean migrants "joined Korean churches because this was where they felt most at home", and churches also provided "a site for the acquisition of status within the New Zealand Korean community" (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007:22). Through churches, people gained social as well as spiritual comfort. Competition amongst the Korean churches was common, and each wanted to become bigger. It was reported that their churches were hotbeds of gossip and everyone knew everyone else's business (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007:25). Many Oromo refugees (from Ethiopia) in Australia could not understand why in Australia there was so much inter-group rivalry and spoke of a divisive "disease" the community "caught" after arriving in Melbourne (Gow 2005:200).

Leckie (2007:167) also observed in the Indian community that membership and leadership evolves through time due to shifts in focus: "This was not always smooth, as ethnic associations, like similar bodies, were periodically challenged by factionalism." Although situations were occasionally volatile, divisions would "usually be superseded through a common identity" with common interests and concerns. Leckie found that ancestral links underpinned these bonds. Then during the 1990s the Indian community diversified as many new associations emerged due to the different interests of regional and linguistic groups (Friesen 2008:54).

Ethnic and religious identity has also been reproduced in New Zealand through

international links with home countries and ethnic diasporic communities. Global networks have been a catalyst in the increased importance of visible religious activities in New Zealand, including Buddhism. International events such as Dalai Lama visits have facilitated the growing local profile of Buddhism in New Zealand.

Leckie (1995:159) has described the shifting identities of Indians in New Zealand, which reflected dynamics within the Indian communities where some sections aimed to restore the past or transplant identities, but others sought to renegotiate their identities in the context of contemporary New Zealand and with reference to changes in other diasporic Indian communities elsewhere. Their traditions had undergone transformation in New Zealand, and created cultural and institutional space for the expression of the diversity of ethnic identities (Leckie 1995:160).

The introduction of new ethnic and religious spaces in a host community may become an issue that disturbs the local council and residents. This development in the form of an ethnoscape, i.e. a mosque or a temple, may draw host community objections which result from unfamiliarity and perceived threats to the existing way of life (Humphery 1987; Dunn 2004). For instance, the objection to the development of a Chinese Buddhist temple in Wollongong, Australia, was due to "intolerance, ignorance, and prejudice by local council planning decision" and the location of the temple away from the city of Sydney was considered by the council as "out of place" (Waitt 2003:235). According to Waitt, "places are understood as multiple, contested, fluid and uncertain" and "it is socio-spatial practices that define places" or spaces. These practices result in "complex intersections" with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion since these spaces are conventionally imagined as non-confrontational, homogenous, and stable. Local authorities refused planning permission on the grounds that the proposals were "out of character" within the local neighbourhood (Waitt 2003:226–228). The ethnic community association needed to respond. In New Zealand, the process of building a Khmer Theravada Buddhist temple has also been subjected to similar issues that I will discuss in Chapter Seven.

The Role of Community Associations

According to Dorais, Vietnamese associations in Canada, Denmark, and France acted as "social and cultural mediators", by creating a Vietnamese "micro-milieux" within which refugees and immigrants found cultural values and habits with which they were familiar.

Community identity "endows the members with a consciousness of who they are, and also of where they stand in relation to each other, and in relation to the various ethnic, linguistic, political, religious and other components of society as a whole" (Dorais 1998:122). Dorais (2001) points out that the existence of an explicit multicultural and multi-ethnic policy in Canada enables genuine Vietnamese culture to subsist within the diaspora; ethnic groups are encouraged and expected to retain their culture and may officially participate in the management of ethnic relations.

Hein notes that the ability of Indochinese refugees to collectively manage their future is remarkable "because they had so little control over the events that brought them to the United States. Mutual assistance associations (MAAs) are the leading means of their participation in the adaptation process" (1995:92). In 1985, there was one Cambodian association for every 1,024 Cambodians in the USA. The primary functions of refugee associations evolved from typical associations providing social services to resettle refugees (early 1980s) to a cultural function in community building and community language education during the mid-1980s. According to Hein (1995), the activities of self-help organisations and ethnic leaders during the 1990s were often accompanied by intense conflict. He observes that Cambodian refugee communities were divided between older, traditional leaders who were selected by virtue of homeland characteristics and experience, and younger Americanised leaders who were professionally trained. Such conflicts were often resolved when the latter assumed control and transformed the MAA into an American-style non-profit organisation supplying social services through a combination of public and philanthropic funding. In some cases a more traditional form of organisation remained. Hein writes, "By working on problems prioritised by the community, rather than providing any services, an MAA can balance the competing goals of traditionalism and modernism" (Hein 1995:97).

Barnes argues that "resettled refugees can never be 'nationals' of the new country since they do not share its heritage" (2001:396). According to Barnes's research in Australia, when the Vietnamese refugees leave their homelands by necessity rather than by choice, their allegiance may still remain more with the country of origin than with the resettlement country (2001:396). Refugees have a complex hierarchy of family networks that extend over many national borders, including their relatives in their home country (Valtonen 1994). Valtonen's study has revealed that once refugees have resettled in a country, their social interaction creates three types of social association: the exclusive or "deviant" groups, with a limited circle confined within a set boundary; the open groups,

which interact selectively with some groups; the civic-minded groups, which seek cooperation in the whole ethnic community. The overall community encompasses the interactional circles or sub-groups to which people belong. These study findings reflect the interactional dynamics of the community as heterogeneous and distinct, but also including over-lapping highly cohesive sub-groups. Within their own social circle, individuals often turn to their friends or sub-group for mutual assistance and support. This intra-group interaction is seen as an ethnically resilient style of social adaptation to the new environment (Valtonen 1994:71).

Dorais (1998) argues that Indochinese refugees generally belong to at least one network of Indochinese friends and acquaintances. Valtonen elaborates that "The circle of family and relatives and such social networks make up the refugee's primary relationships and compensate for the relatively low levels of interaction with the host society, due to recent arrival, linguistic problems or lack of common interests" (Valtonen 1994:68). According to Dorais, adaptation is not synonymous with integration or assimilation. The only way for many exiled people to live a life in accordance with their deepest identity is to reconstitute a social and cultural environment that recalls as much as possible that of the homeland.

Cultural Memory

Refugees have brought their invisible bags of trauma and cultural heritage with them to their countries of resettlement. They have struggled to "determine what of the past is of value and what may be abandoned" due to their "reformulation" of their cultural and social values (Caplan, Whitmore and Choy 1992:20). "Cultural memory" can be understood as a "cultural experience" whose recall "can be seen as an activity occurring in the present in which the past is continuously modified and redescribed even as it continues to shape the future" (Bal 1999:vii, in Prickett 2003:31). Memories are formed and developed in an ongoing process of interaction between the past and the present (Sutton 2001:9). "Resettlement does not wipe out memory, but rather provides a medium through which it is reworked, and the memory of shared experience of uprooting helps to create a new form of identity" (Colson 2003:9). This ongoing process also involves "transnational imagination and moral obligation" (Gow 2005) that results in "identities in transition" and hybridity (Westin and Nyberg 2005).

Mortland (1994) describes Cambodian refugees creating their identity "par excellence" as they bounce back and forth between attempts at Americanisation and their struggle to re-establish "Cambodianess". Mortland writes:

To preserve themselves, Khmer refugees in the United States tack back and forth between what they perceive as traditional and what they perceive as new: exploring the new and creating their responses to it, retreating to the traditional as they revise it, sometimes clinging to reinvented tradition as to a life preserver, sometimes venturing forth. But always they are tacking between their creations of the old and the new — retreating, then again advancing, continually reinventing as they go. (Mortland 1994:11)

Mortland describes the way Cambodians define "Cambodianess", the process of becoming a "Cambodian refugee", the decision of "how to be Cambodian in America", the "mythical" definition of Cambodian, the "re-creating 'real' Cambodians" in America, and the maintenance of "Cambodianess" among Americans. The Khmer process of "collective becoming" has created "oases of neighborhood and home" in which the fundamentals of Cambodian life can be expressed in language, social relations, food, music, and ritual (Mortland 1994:5–27).

Khmer Identity

Many Cambodian American children, according to Ong, feel they are not able to "learn ways of being modern by following their parents' guidance" (2003:168). The children struggle to free themselves from what they perceive as their irrelevant environment and outmoded family codes, while the mainstream American way of life influences their individual identities. In her book, Seng asks during her teenage years "Where do I belong?", as she is a product of two cultures that are very opposed in nature. As a result, she had to live with her identity issues until she learnt to celebrate her biculturalism (Seng 2005:237–239).

The mid-1980s in New Zealand was the period in which the Khmer community with a refugee background began to be aware of the erosion of their Khmer language and culture (Liev 1995). Cultural erosion was due partly to the small scale of the Khmer communities. They became threatened due to the nature of dispersed resettlement in New Zealand and increasing emigration from New Zealand to Australia. The variation in degree of cultural maintenance has been observed from individual to individual, from family to family, and from community to community. Buddhism, language classes, and cultural performance became the salient features of the practice of Khmer identity in the Cambodian diaspora. However, by mid-1990s those language classes were discontinued due to lack of students.

Buddhism traditionally plays a central role in Cambodian life: "to be Khmer [Cambodian] is to be Buddhist" (Men 2002:223). Because of the impact of "Western notions of religion on transplanted non-Western faiths" there is a broad tendency to treat "religion as just another 'compartment' of life" (Vertovec 2000:32). This may lead to a process of searching for an adaptive strategy by distinguishing what is essential in the religion and what is not.

In America, Men (2002) noticed the changing of religious beliefs and ritual practices among Cambodians in diaspora. The Khmer construct and reconstruct their traditional beliefs to fit new socio-cultural and environmental contexts. Many Cambodian households still make offerings to their ancestor spirits who are remembered at every occasion, especially at every Khmer New Year and Phchium Ben — the commemoration day of ancestor spirits. Cambodians in the USA have experienced "conflicting social realities, unlike their villages in Cambodia where the religious system and social relations function … together as the core of the village community" (Men 2002:225). In the USA, social ties were loosened within the community as well as in the family due to employment opportunities in other areas. Although the majority of Khmer lived in close proximity to one another, they did not know their neighbours (Men 2002; Smith-Hefner 1999). According to Men, people would invite monks to their home to conduct private offerings rather than do so publicly at the temple because of personal security and safety reasons.

The changing practice and religious beliefs in the Khmer diaspora toward the end of the 1990s (Ong 2003) was also accompanied by a change in "specific contexts of subject-making": new citizenship as a "matter of figuring out the rules of coping, navigating, and surviving the streets and the public spaces of the American cities" in order to become a "good enough citizen" according to the new values, rules and norms (Ong 2003:xiv). The process of learning to belong demands newcomers "negotiate a different form of regulation, and be taught a new way of being cared for and caring for themselves in their new world" (Ong 2003:xiv). Their engagement with the refugee community as well as with the host community creates a sense of community membership and belonging. The changing degree of engagement creates "learning trajectories, developing identities, and forms of membership" as ongoing activities (Lave and Wenger 2005:35–36). In this respect, participation is not merely a condition of membership, but an evolving form of membership as identity is the product of long-term "living relations between persons and

their place and their participation in communities of practice" (Lave and Wenger 2005:53). This participation often entails tensions due to the fundamental contradictions in social and organisational production or in the formation of identities. Vertovec (2000:35) observes that "the possible trajectories of identity and tradition in diaspora are not mutually exclusive". They are taking place simultaneously worldwide, and often within the same diaspora. Ledgerwood (1990:135) notices that Khmer organisational and cultural logic underwent rapid change in the context of a dominant American cultural system.

Ong observes that the various agencies in the refugee industry — such as the medical services, social welfare organisations, church, counselling services and the courts — "converge … to shape Cambodian refugees into some kind of American citizen-subjects" (2003:190–191). In response to this complex mix of labelling, disciplining and regulating, the Khmer "variously internalise, reject, or criticise the [American] norms and standards for becoming autonomous, knowing subjects". Within the Khmer community in Oakland, women revive their "sisterly networks" and share information. They resort to gossip- and fear-mongering as strategies to shape public opinion, and to direct and curb unacceptable behaviour, such as domestic violence, abuse or premarital sex. Their personal experiences are not regarded as accidental events in a micro milieu, but rather in a broad structure where they assert their social legitimacy and shape identity for individuals as well as their ethnic community.

In their study on social identity formation in Australia, Markovic and Manderson (2002) argue that ethnic identity formation involves "managing personal and social identities" within the context of a given socio-economical setting. The reinforcement of ethnic identity is also influenced by the politics and identities of the ethnic communities of previous immigration. At the same time, structural barriers to integration into the wider society force immigrants into ethnic communities with which they compete for social recognition and economic power. The perception of their socio-economic inclusion and exclusion reflects their engagement within the resettlement country leading to the "racialisation and ethnicisation of social relations" (Barnes 2001). According to Markovic and Manderson, "the maintenance of native ethnic identity is imposed on immigrants, rather than being a voluntary choice" (Markovic and Manderson 2002:308). Immigrants draw boundaries based on their socio-cultural values and beliefs. On the one hand, people construct and reconstruct their identity due to such interactions with the socio-political and legal frameworks of the public system (Ibid:303–316). On the other hand, everyday practices form visible characteristics of immigrants' identity within a given private context

and level of socio-cultural participation (Puggini 2005:320). Co-existence between cultures and groups can be both integrative and divisive, as their different attitudes to social engagement and accommodation create conditions for co-operation and fusion, as well as conflict and differentiation (Kiong and Fee, in Tarling 2005:34).

Life in diaspora precipitates the creation of a shared history amongst refugees, through which they are involved in the "process of labelling, identity management, boundary creation and maintenance, management of reciprocity, manipulation of myth, and forms of social control" (Colson 2003:9). Return visits to the original homeland have a profound impact on individuals, who revise their "earlier construction in the light of their new experience, and their emotional attachment with their previous and current homelands" (Barnes 2001:408). Barnes notes that refugees who "have experienced pervasive social exclusion both in the country of origin and in the resettlement country are likely to remain in the latter purely because they have no better alternative" (2001:409). Transnationalism, on the other hand, refreshes and realigns the identity of an ethnic individual, and hence their diasporic community, within the socio-political framework of the country of their residence:

The Khmer in the United States, supported by the social and legal framework and inspired by liberal ideology such as freedom, equal opportunity, and citizen rights, "have managed to re-establish a variant of the village complete with religious institutions and social sanctions for everything from divorce to dating" (Canniff 2001:59–60). The core values and beliefs that defined Khmer culture have "undergone transformation in the diaspora" (Ibid 2001:59). The Khmer community appears on the outside: …like a small village with physical and metaphysical boundaries; a local epistemology that explains the way things are done in this setting; and the recognition that there are outsiders who may or may not be welcome. On the inside, the setting is infinitely more complex in the ways individuals and individual families negotiate the expectations both of the Cambodian community and the larger American society. Inside, this process of negotiation about what it means to be successful is constructed again and again (Ibid 2001:98–98).

Cambodians who join a community group with a set of connections and interests engage in a process of collective learning, to survive and rebuild their Cambodian identity. As a rule, according to Canniff, "the Khmer prefer to seek the middle way between a stressful, individually competitive life style, and one where the family and the community are at the centre of one's life" (Canniff 2001:xv).

The identity of resettled Cambodian refugees in Aotearoa/New Zealand was so "fragile and fluid" that its existence was threatened (North 1995:9). On the one hand, their

culture was "continually and incrementally being modified as they accommodate successively to the dominant cultures of international refugee camps, Aotearoa/New Zealand society, and the global encroachment of Western culture". On the other hand, the inter-generational transmission of Khmer culture was "uneven and weak" in the "Cambodian diaspora" (North 1995:9–12).

Critique of Literature

What Does the Literature Tell Us?

It is apparent that refugees have endured trauma and have had no control over some of the more significant aspects of their life-paths. Resettled refugees are fortunate to be accepted by the host country, which is often culturally different from their country of origin. The host community does its best as a global citizen to support the refugees in beginning their new life. While coping with the new system, people with a refugee background also endeavour to maintain their familiar way of life and their cultural identity. The literature on resettlement identifies structural barriers to the refugee effort to engage with the host community system. These newcomers use a group or community approach to fulfil their social and cultural needs within the existing socio-economic constraints. Such networks, as the literature reveals, raise awareness of identity issues from which their members and community practitioners negotiate the core concept of their ethnic and cultural identity.

The gap between the community member's aspirations and community reality is a source of frustration that requires a reconciliation of conflicting and competing values, beliefs, and attitudes. The attitude of the host countries toward multiculturalism and accommodation of diversity was not sufficiently positive to allow minority ethnic groups to keep their identity intact. The literature also shows that memory plays a significant role in defining the identity of an ethnic community in diaspora, and transnationalism refreshes their cultural practice. The paths to individual success and community transformation have been multifaceted in the Khmer community in diaspora, and this is likely to be true for the Khmer in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

What is Missing?

Although there is an abundance of literature on refugees and migrants in general, our knowledge of Cambodians with a refugee background in Aotearoa/New Zealand is limited. To complement existing literature, this thesis uses culturally based Khmer explanations and insights to illuminate the cultural context of the outcomes for Khmer people with refugee backgrounds. In addition, I have used this local conceptual knowledge in my analysis and interpretation alongside concepts derived from published studies on migration.

A fundamental question remaining to be answered is: How were and are Cambodians with refugee backgrounds able to adapt to the quite foreign Aotearoa/New Zealand environment as their adopted country? This question raises further issues about the external structural factors, such as policies, values, and socio-cultural practices affecting those Cambodians who struggle to maintain their Khmer cultural heritage. However, these poor and traumatised Cambodians seem to manage their life in spite of various disadvantages. Khmer identity is influenced by the cultural materials and memories that these Cambodians were able to recollect and reconstruct. But to what extent do these factors shape their identity? Identity management involves leadership and conflict resolution to redefine their identity, and I would like to know its outcomes, type of approaches and strategies that the various Cambodian communities have used to their advantage. In short: What has happened in the development of the Cambodian community?

Contributions of My Thesis

The outcome of this thesis will be a document written for Cambodians and other community practitioners with a Khmer focus. My study provides a record of the reality of their community development in order that it may be used for future reflection and action. The contributions of my thesis are:

- To promote fresh literature on a Cambodian community and its identity development in Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- To describe the reality of conducting research within a small, fragmented ethnic community for an insider researcher. As participation and access to relevant data became political, the insider used mixed-methods research to generate information that could by no means be available to outsiders.
- To examine the strategies used by a small ethnic community with a refugee

background to adapt to the reality of its host society.

- To consider relevant theory in the light of my research data.

As a result, my thesis has deliberately introduced Khmer identity in Chapter Six, and a discourse on Khmer Buddhism practice within the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, in Chapter Seven, where Buddhism has been chosen as a symbol of the assertion of community identity. My thesis provides an understanding of the practice of Buddhism and the adaptation of Khmer Buddhists in distinct places, times, and social contexts, where the host community and the ethnic community have a shared influence on the form and process of Khmer Buddhist practices. My work covers a range of topics and issues, including the history of Cambodian resettlement (Chapter Four), their socialisation (Chapter Five), patterns of social cohesion, the nature of refugee life, and elements of individual Khmer identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Chapter Six), and their effort to rebuild their ethnic community and leaderships (Chapter Seven); all of which are centred on an examination of the social and cultural mechanisms for reconstructing a Khmer identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The study of cultural bereavement, diaspora, transnationalism and the modes of adaptation enable insights into general patterns of religious transformation, and in particular the transformation of Khmer identity and Buddhism in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

I sincerely hope that this thesis enables readers to understand the Cambodian's adaptation path to living in multi-ethnic Aotearoa/New Zealand. Furthermore, this thesis lays groundwork for future research on the development of a community with a refugee background and its identity formation as multiethnicity is now commonplace (Vertovec 2000:9).

Conclusion

There is a need to refresh the literature on Cambodian adaptation in general and to emphasise the importance of ethnic identity in a transnational context. The Cambodian community has become a new constituent of the Aotearoa/New Zealand social fabric, and my thesis focuses on what is essential in the Khmer Buddhist tradition and its trajectories of collective identity. The task of comprehending and analysing the adaptation of the Cambodian community calls for an appropriate methodological framework, described in

the next chapter, to identify the various interrelated factors which have conditioned change among the Cambodians living in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Through this process, I have incorporated ethical considerations in devising ways to collect appropriate data and transform them into information that I believe will generate new knowledge on Cambodian identity development in a transnational community. I need to address the imperative of making sense of what is known and at the same time design a sound methodology and approach to establish what is not yet known.

Chapter 3 — Research Process and Methods

Introduction

My foci in this thesis are on how Cambodians with a refugee background manage their new life in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and how an identity as a Khmer Kiwi transnational community has developed. My main aim in planning and adapting my ongoing research process was to gather and authenticate information by way of logical enquiries that reflect "a high level of congruence between the various dimensions of research design and implementation, including the research structure and the research process" (Higgs 2001:208). Most researchers have at least one methodological approach they feel comfortable with as a favourite tool for conducting research. Some researchers sieve through various paradigms only to encounter the dichotomy of quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The difficulties evinced in adopting either a quantitative or a qualitative research method can be overcome if *both* methods are employed, in ways that generate and illuminate information in particular situational roles. Although participant observation on its own is a powerful method at all stages of my research process, I have "combine[d] qualitative and quantitative data to answer question of interest" (Bernard 2002:362). I have found it impossible, in my case, to favour a single method. This is due to the major challenge in designing this research posed by the lack of documentation and the factionalised nature of the Khmer community (Liev 1995:128). This means that, while the thesis topic was being formulated and from my initial fieldwork, it become obvious that I would be dealing with a complex, minority ethnic group with a refugee background whose members might not be open to participating in formal research (Liu 1982; North 1995). From this perspective, the methodology was determined by the nature and scope of the subject and the problems inherent to it (Mishra 2004:273). My methodology, therefore, needed to be practical within a technical and ethical framework that required delicate balancing between these two issues (de Vaus 1995:330). This challenge shaped the tools I chose, since I needed to gain the appropriate information and also the approval of academia, the community and potential participants.

Berg (1998:4) suggests triangulation, which includes "multiple data collection procedures, multiple theoretical perspectives, and/or multiple analysis techniques". Triangulation is a strategy of combining quantitative and qualitative methods to solve the same problem (Tarrow 2004:178). Triangulation is not a simple combination of different kinds of data, but is a research approach that mixes research methods to collect, counteract, identify, and validate different kinds of data into meaningful information. The implication of triangulation is that "researchers need to know the relative strengths and weaknesses of each approach in order to decide which method to select and how best to combine them when possible" (Singleton and Straits 2005:398). This raised the question of how I would choose an appropriate combination that would provide me with the tools to gain insights into the complexities of this investigation.

The methodology, therefore, had to be practical and able to deliver results which were critical and also worthy and relevant to the Cambodians with whom I would be working in this study. Because of the unique nature of the Khmer community in terms of its refugee background, group orientation, and community politics, special steps had to be taken in terms of the research design, its scope, confidentiality, and participation.

Consequently, I used various approaches along the qualitative–quantitative continuum for my research methodology. The research questions set out in the previous chapter enabled me to identify the research tools, the sources of data, and the type of questionnaire sample required for this study. The use of multiple research strategies and theories enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding of the outcome of this investigation. The first part of this chapter explains the research framework and discusses the politics of my research positionality as an academic caught in the particular challenges of being an insider/outsider within this community. The second part of this chapter describes the process of designing and conducting the research.

Rationale and Aims

The research questions outlined in the previous chapter generated a research framework through which to investigate Cambodian socio-economic participation,

cultural practice, and community development. Furthermore, these questions achieve the following specific aims of this research to:

- describe the historical development of the Cambodian community in Aotearoa/New Zealand since 1975
- identify the social and economic needs of the family, group, and community, and the socio-cultural networks which individuals develop to solve their problems and fulfil their needs
- identify the role of sponsors and the various agencies that have assisted individual adaptation and community development
- gain information on individual efforts to integrate in Aotearoa/New Zealand
- identify patterns and provide explanations for internal migratory movement during resettlement
- assess individual and community achievement in terms of socio-economic participation, cultural retention, and exchange.

Achievement of these objectives required an appropriate and delicate approach. Accordingly, I sought input into the research design of my project from stakeholders and Cambodian people. I formally approached ten registered and non-registered Khmer associations in the main cities of New Zealand and asked their leaders to participate in and endorse the project. My primary tasks were to define concepts and the framework of this research so that everyone would have a clear understanding of what was involved that they could bring to discussions and effective communication.

Framework and Assumptions

This study adopts a framework based on several sources. The "model of migrant settlement" by the Australian Committee of Review on Migrant Assessment (1981) (cited in Fletcher 1999:31) has identified the use of ethnic support and participation in ethnic group structures as one of the indicators of engagement and adaptation. Through this engagement, new settlers are able to achieve a sense of personal security and identification in the host community.

The settlement model of Best Settlement Practices (Canadian Council for Refugees 1998 report, cited in Fletcher 1999:34) has defined integration by using longer-term indicators with four dimensions: economic, political, social, and cultural. This model proposes that settlers access institutions and engage in efforts to redefine their cultural identity, adapt value systems, and reassess them as part of successful settlement.

One of the main tasks in this study was to clarify concepts which are "abstract summaries of a whole set of behaviours, attitudes, and characteristics" that convey something in common for the purpose of communication and efficiency (de Vaus 1995). The technical definitions of certain words — such as "integration", "resettlement", "adaptation", "community", "development", "Cambodian refugees" or "ex-refugees" — have to be specified and concrete to the point where we can develop tools and questionnaire items to tap into relevant and appropriate information. These concepts of adaptation and integration are multidimensional and can be categorised into specific acceptable variables or indicators.

Literature on refugee resettlement and integration has enabled me to construct a framework for this research design that is based on the following assumptions:

- The terms *resettlement* and *post-resettlement* are based on Berry's concept (1987). The post-resettlement concept, although it does not have a fixed timeframe, provides a dynamic framework from acculturation to socio-economic adaptation.
- Adaptation (Kuhlman 1991; Valtonen 1994:66; Gaunt 2000) is an ongoing process through which an ethnic community encounters a new environment, its people and its institutions. This definition raises issues of the maintenance of identity and relations with other groups.
- *Integration* refers to the situation or adaptation process in which the group interacts harmoniously with the larger society and still maintains its own identity (Valtonen 1994:66).

The study chose the terms "Khmer", "Kampuchean", "Cambodian" or "people with a refugee background from Cambodia" for the subject of study, instead of the terms

"ex-refugee" or "Cambodian refugee". An advantage of the chosen terminology is that it also encompasses New Zealand-born children.

Approach of this Study

Different forms of data and information were needed for my study to reflect and capture the fragmented nature of the Khmer community in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In such information-gathering, Singleton and Straits (2005:398) have identified the following questions as useful touchstones:

- "What is to be observed?"
- "Which and how many objects are to be examined?"
- "What are the phenomena of interest?"
- "How are answers to be decided?"

These questions demanded that I apply techniques and methods that were appropriate to my subject-matter, and that I should not apply them dogmatically (Singleton and Straits 2005:398). I needed to know not only how to use both qualitative and quantitative approaches, but also the relative strengths and weaknesses of the approaches, to enhance my study. First, I needed to explore the background of the people and the lived culture quantitative and qualitatively, and then employ secondary sources of data for statistical purposes in order to contextualise the quantitative results (Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007:33–34).

These needs and the complexity of the Khmer community led me to design a multifaceted research approach based on the qualitative–quantitative research continuum which would allow me to gain information on Cambodian adaptation from relevant sources and from my own participatory experiences while working within the community. On the one hand, the qualitative method employs such tools as descriptive studies, document studies, interview studies, observational studies and case studies. These furnished me with an "elaborate description of the 'meaning' of phenomena" over an extended period of time of the people and lived culture which is the subject of my study (Newman and Benz 1998:9). On the other hand, quantitative methods offered me empirical studies against which I could identify various attributes of a sample and give valid snap-shots of the subject at a point in time. "It is necessary

to adopt some standard by which one can measure whether the qualitative, the quantitative, or a continuum that includes both methodologies is the most effective mode in reaching truth" (Newman and Benz 1998:10). Design validity, according to Newman and Benz (1998:11) is "more likely to be built into studies when researcher is open to both paradigms rather than precluding one or the other". My main methodological focus is to select a mixture of methods which can generate an outcome that is true, valid and authentic. "Mixed-methods research", according to Creswell and Plano-Clark (2007:169), is not mixed-model research but a mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches and data. Data gained from various methods are then merged, connected or embedded to generate a more complete picture of the results (Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007:7–8).

My mixed-methods approach consists of five components:

- 1. A literature review that discusses adaptation issues and provides a scope and a framework for this study.
- An analysis of a series of Censuses of Population and Dwellings related to Cambodians from 1991 to 2001, to depict the demographic and socioeconomic development of the community.
- 3. Two focus groups in the Khmer language which functioned as a pilot study that gained qualitative information on members' experience and their views on adaptation.
- A postal survey using a bilingual questionnaire was sent to all participants. This survey collected information and opinions from a selected sample of the Cambodian community.
- 5. My own participant observation and discussion with individuals, communities, and others provides complementary information from other quarters with different perspectives. 'Others' included volunteers, sponsors, teachers, and people who have assisted Cambodians with a refugee background.

These five components are the different approaches I used to obtain such diverse information as experience narratives, explanatory histories, surveys, and case studies (Murray-Thomas 2003:18–56) from the Cambodians who were the subjects of this mixed-methods research. In my theory development, I also used culturally based explanations from Khmer custom and practice to complement the existing academic literature.

Consideration of research ethics was imperative to protect participants' interests and to ensure that their decision to take part in my research was informed.

Research Ethics

This research follows the framework and guidelines of the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee. It is mandatory to conduct such a study in accordance with these ethics guidelines when involving human subjects in order to safeguard them from physical, psychological, and socio-cultural harm.

Furthermore, this study involved people from Cambodia with refugee backgrounds who were traumatised and vulnerable. Some of them still have problems with language and struggle with hardship. This study also dealt with sensitive issues, especially around their personal livelihood, achievements, and opinions.

During the conception stage, the leaders of ten Khmer associations were approached and informed of the project. I invited them to form a Khmer advisory group for this research. Its role was to advise and participate from the conception of this project, its design and implementation, up to its completion. This way they shared power and ownership of the project. Since the advisors were the leaders of their community, they were also informants, guides, and facilitators during the implementation of the research. This partnership provided support persons to help prospective participants make informed decisions. Participants had access to assistance for anything they did not understand, including language problems, through a bilingual community-based support network. This approach enabled participants to make free and informed decisions about whether to accept or decline the invitation to take part in the project, or to withdraw their participation part-way through.

Participants' Cultural Attitude to Research

A Chinese proverb says "Before a stranger it is better to express only one-third of your opinion." For migrant populations, perhaps the proverb should be changed to one-fourth ... For refugee populations, one's whole opinion should probably be entirely withheld (Liu 1982:4, cited in North 1995:88). This view is enforced by a Khmer proverb that says "The tongue is the cause of happiness and problems" (អណ្តាតជាអាចិកន្លង កើតសុខទុក្ខផង ដោយសារអណ្តេត–*Andart chea art konlorng keurt sok tuk phang doy sar andart*). During the Khmer Rouge period, Khmer people learnt

to keep things to themselves and did not share any opinions or views even with close friends or relatives. People reminded one another in a metaphorical way "to plant a Kapok tree" (ជាំដើមក — Dam doeum kor), which means "to play deaf and dumb". This is why Khmer people rarely give their opinions in public or in a formal situation. They share secrets and gossip within their closed circle, but not with outsiders. When a leak occurs, the Khmer would say "Only 'the inside ghost' lends hands to 'outside ghosts' or outsiders" (ចោចក្នុងឲ្យដៃ — Khmouch khnung oy day). This insider is "the rust that destroys the iron" (ច្រោះកើតពីដែក ស៊ីដែក — Chress keut pi dek si dek).

Ethnic "insider" researchers gain acceptance or rejection quickly because of their status within their ethnic community due to their "initial badges of insiderness" (O'Connor 2004:173). In addition, allegiances, conflicts of interest, power imbalance, and disempowerment of participants bring about complications for insider researchers. As individuals, researchers should have more reflexivity and awareness of personal bias and research assumptions (Tolich and Davidson 1999:64). As an insider researcher, I needed to find an approach that was able to overcome the above issues and the barriers to participation.

Research is Political

Research is highly institutionalised through disciplines and fields of knowledge, through communities and interest groups of scholars, and through the academy (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Research in itself is a powerful intervention and intrusion. "It is important to have a critical understanding of some tools of research — not just the obvious technical tools but the conceptual tools, the ones which make us feel uncomfortable, to which we have no easy response" (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:24). Furthermore, defining community research is as complex as defining community. Tuhiwai Smith stresses that "in all community approaches process — that is methodology and method — is highly important … Processes are expected to be respectful, to enable people, to heal and to educate" (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:128).

Teariki and Spoonley (in Tuhiwai Smith 1999:174) argue "Research needs to be carefully negotiated, and that the outcomes of research need to be thought through before the research is undertaken." Tuhiwai Smith writes about "a point of entry into ... a society" for researchers where it becomes inevitably political. Even a relatively

simple task of gaining informed consent "can take anything from a moment to months and years" and "negotiating entry to a community or a home can be daunting for indigenous researchers" (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:136). Some community leaders (Liev 1995:39) have felt that they should not participate and that they should keep information about their indigenous practice within their own communities.

Bloch (1999:366) encountered various methodological issues when carrying out a survey of refugees (Congolese, Somali, and Sri Lankan) in London, and she has described the steps taken to enhance the validity and reliability of data collected. She reminds researchers of the need to go, as an additional stage, through gatekeepers who play influential roles in the data collection, especially in locating channels or starting points, in order to make contact with possible interviewees. Gatekeepers also help facilitate the research through their organisations and encourage potential respondents to participate. Identifying gatekeepers who work for and with refugee communities and who are able and prepared to facilitate the research is a lengthy process. Bloch (1999:377) has used co-ethnics in the research process, which raises "issues of objectivities and bias" in data collection. However, using interviewers from refugee communities who are active and well known within their own community is crucial to the success of the research, not only in terms of the research design but also in terms of being able to gain access to respondents (Bloch 1999:381).

Questions have been asked and objections voiced about researchers who have advanced their academic careers on the backs of minorities and who have served the needs of researchers and people other than the people researched. A researcher from the dominant culture may disempower the ethnic minority researched and render it socially disadvantaged. North (1995:107) has called for "people from the ethnic minority to conduct research among members of their own community", but this can have its own drawbacks due to factions and power differentials. Again, the more powerful may impose their points of view and use their social position to gain access to information.

Insider/Outsider Researchers and the Politics of Studying One's Own Community According to Tuhiwai Smith's criteria (1999), my project falls into "insider/outsider research", which needs constant reflexivity. At a general level insider researchers, just as outsider researchers, have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships, and the quality and richness of their data and analysis. The major

difference is that the insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis with their families and their communities. Insider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. It needs to be humble, because the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position.

O'Conner's self-reflection on the "conditionality" of status as an insider/outsider researcher in an Irish community in Australia provided an account of her "positionality" which had relative merits and demerits according to socio-geopolitical key indicators or "initial badges of insiderness" (O'Connor 2004: 169-175). These enhanced acceptance and participation. Moreover, O'Connor noted that the impact and validity of the insider's interpretation of results and presentation of study findings can be reduced if the positionality of the researcher was not heeded or the process of self-reflexivity not practiced (Davies, 2005). Her presumptions and selfperceptions of insiderness were contested, her memories of Ireland became fossilised, and her misinterpretation was confronted. The positionality was contingent, coexistent, and alternate within a same interactional event that illustrated insiderness and outsiderness were not the "sole prerogative of the researcher" (O'Connor 2004: 175). The awareness of conditionality evolved through a process of self-reflexivity that insiderness and outsiderness were neither hierarchical nor mutually exclusive. O'Connor concluded that self-reflexivity played a critical role in operationalising her journey of discovery. Researchers need to engage in critical reflexivity throughout the project so that positionality becomes apparent. I needed to be aware of this and to act consciously to overcome the above dimensions by having ongoing reflexivity (Tolich and Davidson 1999:64).

"One of the difficult risks insider researchers take is to 'test their own takenfor-granted views about their community'. It is a risk because it can unsettle beliefs, values, relationships, and the knowledge of different histories," explains Tuhiwai Smith (1999:137). She goes on to explain how the complexities of an insider research approach can be mediated by building support structures. Gaining indigenous community participation in such a study "requires a thorough knowledge of the research paradigm and an ability to mount a sophisticated and honest justification". Furthermore, spelling out the limitations of a project, the things that are not addressed, is most important (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:137–149).

In my case, the definitions of "insider" and "outsider" become blurred in such a diversified, factionalised, and antagonised community as that of Cambodians. A non-Cambodian researcher is an outsider and has a fair chance to access a community, since the position is seen as neutral and as bringing no harm or liability to the participant community. The outsider is neither friend nor enemy of the studied community and its leaders.

On the other hand, a Cambodian researcher can be an insider, an outsider, or even a "loner or trouble maker" according to their affiliation to one of the associations, organisations, or rival groups of the whole community. A Cambodian researcher is perceived as a friend to some groups and an enemy to others. My positionality became a double-edged sword which could have severely affected participation. From this perspective, a qualified ethnic researcher, although properly organised and equipped with appropriate methodology and resources, has no chance to have full participation or support, since affiliation to one group excludes the participation of others. Furthermore, individual participants avoid the trouble of getting caught in the firing line of rival group bickering. The ethnic researcher in this situation becomes an "agent of others" for the studied community, and this is the main reason behind non-participation. Although such a researcher may have good intentions to work with the best tools for the interest of the whole ethnic community, the potential participants can get caught in inter-group conflict or rivalry. Internal community politics are critical to an ethnic researcher who is vulnerable from the pressure of his or her ethnic people in the form of non-participation, sabotage or boycott.

Instead of providing only positive social capital for my research, my positionality was also endowed with social liability for my research. The insider researcher, in this situation, has no choice but to minimise the potential nonparticipation or exclusion rather than to maximise participation, by making various attempts to gain support from community leaders and individuals for their involvement. In my case, it became politic for me to involve every group of the Khmer community as I wished to defuse such animosity. I personally approached all Khmer groups and their leaders for their advice and participation. This gesture, I believed, would ease the inter-group politics and be seen as a reconciliation approach to Khmer community research. The outcome of their participation depended on the

degree of willingness to participate and to share their personal information as one of the stakeholders of this study.

As an academic researcher, I have to honour the ethical, critical, and methodological approach to my research practice and its credibility. In this manner I can eliminate potential pitfalls and errors in approaching and interpreting my own natives' point of view. First of all, this research was to be conducted in a crosscultural environment that needed negotiation and resolution of ethical and methodological issues among the factionalised groups of the community so that they would approve of and participate in the research.

I believed that this study would provide all participants with a reconciliatory opportunity and a neutral platform to enable them as partners to voice their views and opinions from all quarters of the Khmer community. This process would appease community tension and empower participants in terms of representation and respect, and their freedom of speech.

As an active member of the community under study, I also have a shared interest in knowing the reality of my community and its ongoing concerns. I remind myself of bias by commission that would lead to distortions of the various interpretations in my thesis. My focus on the Khmer community in Aotearoa/New Zealand was due to the need to know what their concept of Cambodianess is and how they live their life as Khmer in a country so foreign to them.

Participant observation during the period of this study brought insights into social roles amongst members, leadership, cultural expression, identity assertion, organisation behaviour, community issues, and transnationalism. I used various methods to record those activities in an unobtrusive manner and gained participants' verbal consent. As an insider, I often gained sensitive information that needed to remain confidential at the participant's request and in the interests of privacy. This bias has become an ethical issue that leads to selective reporting. Respect of participants' safety and interests was part of my research ethics, and their consent was paramount. In this respect, I have reminded myself to refrain as much as possible from bias by commission and by omission.

Invitation and Leadership Consent to Participation

Inclusion and ongoing consultation were my main concerns (Tolich and Davidson 1999:64) and I had to identify people and how many issues are to be examined, according to Singleton and Straits (2005:398). Letters of invitation and consent forms (Appendix 1) were sent to ten Cambodian registered and non-registered associations around the country in June 2002, and were followed by personal telephone calls and visits for the people in Auckland, Hamilton, and Wellington. Only five communities from Auckland, Hamilton, and Wellington were willing to participate in this study. Five other communities did not reply due to management issues, leadership crises, or internal friction.

The non-participation of some Cambodian associations and their close-knit members from my previous experience during my Masters research led me to face the reality of rejection as part of Khmer community politics and its antagonistic factions. Again, these groups chose not to become involved in the research process. Unfortunately, these associations chose not to use this opportunity to reconcile and to voice their concerns and representation. Those associations and leaders who did not consent to participate (two from Auckland, and one each from Palmerston North, Wellington, and Christchurch) became powerful gatekeepers for their members' participation. This separation was part of the community's development. Those who availed themselves of the opportunity (two from Hamilton, three from Auckland) agreed to form an advisory committee for this study, and acknowledged that rejection by default was expected from the groups that had declined to participate.

Thus my research position became precarious due to its entanglement with community politics, which would inevitably have an impact on participation. I approached the members of the Cambodian advisory committee for guidance. They suggested using formal and informal channels to bypass gatekeepers and directly reach potential participants. Yu (1985) and Yu and Liu (1986 in North 1995:104) have also raised the issues of written consent in respect to Southeast Asian refugees who had deep fear and suspicion regarding the signing of papers. The procedure of using a consent form, "ostensibly to protect potential participants, can in fact be injurious, generating high anxiety" (North 1995:104).

Members of the advisory committee were concerned about the concept of privacy: according to them, participants should not be required to give their name and

sign the consent form as "this would put them off" since they could then be identified by researchers. The advisory committee explained that whereas Cambodians were willing to share their opinions and gossip in an informal social exchange, when asked for the same information to be used in research or as a formal record they often declined to comment. To circumvent this, I used participant observation to complement the information collected through focus groups and survey questionnaires. The collected data was interpreted for this longitudinal study.

Research Tools

Each method that I employed had its own merit. The quantitative survey gave the breadth to the collected data, such as the population characteristics, and described the distribution of attitudes and opinions. The focus group discussions and participant observation provided access to complex situations and to a depth and richness of information through access to group interaction (Singleton and Straits 2005:399). This mixed-methods research enabled me to reach a wide range of participants and collect their diverse opinions, above all contributing to accuracy.

The methodology for data collection, especially when it involves a focus group and a postal survey, usually requires questionnaire development and design, pre-testing, bilingual interviewer training, sampling, verification and quality assurance, interpretation of data, and the politics of social research (Neuman 2003). It is important to ensure that questions are culturally relevant, and that members of the refugee communities are involved in its development.

Bilingual Questionnaire

While Bloch suggests (1999:381) a dual strategy of translating procedure and a modified form of "back translation", this study did not require this procedure because of my fluency in both languages. In order to minimise misunderstandings and language issues, this survey used a bilingual questionnaire to collect data (Appendices 1–5).

Designing a bilingual questionnaire was tedious and became complicated in terms of form and context. First of all, with a bilingual form, participants were able to read and write in their preferred language so that they could be sure about what they

were being asked and how they wished to respond. But the Khmer language needs more space, and to allow for this would be bulky and cumbersome. This led to the use of a multi-choice answer format in which participants needed to tick the appropriate box.

Secondly, there were translation problems when it came to technical terms or expressions such as "integration" and "assimilation", in that they have no counterparts in the Khmer language. Alternative simple words were used instead of technical words.

Thirdly, some people might not be able to read and write in either language. In this situation, it was assumed that there would be at least one member of the family or a friend who could read and write and would help them. In case of language problems, the study provided telephone numbers for communication, and the leaders of the local community were available to provide assistance.

Once these three issues were resolved, the study developed three types of questionnaires to reach participants: the focus group (Appendix 2), the postal Cambodian group (Appendices 3 and 4), and the postal volunteers group (Appendix 5).

Scope of Sample

At the time the research project commenced, the official Khmer population in New Zealand was relatively small. In 2001, a Khmer leader had reported to the guests and the Prime Minster at a Cambodian community hall inaugural ceremony in Otahuhu that there were about 6,000 Cambodians in Auckland alone. In reality, this number was greater than the whole Khmer population of 5,268 (Census 2001:97–123), which included Khmer migrants, overseas students, and 2,022 Khmer people with a refugee background who were the subject of this study.

Restricted to Cambodians with a refugee background living in New Zealand who had arrived before 1993, this study excludes recent Cambodian immigrants. Furthermore, it does not cover the clinical treatment of health, trauma, and mental health encountered by these Cambodians.

By December 2002, the number of Cambodians with a refugee background was less than 2,022, reflecting the departure of families that had rushed to Australia before the change of Australian immigration legislation in 2002.

Locating potential participants became an issue, as the majority of the Khmer associations in New Zealand did not have membership lists, making random sampling impossible. Because the Khmer community is small and dispersed, the Khmer advisory committee and I agreed to use quota snowballing (Bernard 2002) through the group network to reach potential participants. Leaders and facilitators were asked to select participants according to the quota variables: age, gender, and people with refugee backgrounds. Ten men and women agreed to participate in two focus groups, one in Auckland and one in Hamilton. Fifty-seven people from Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, and Christchurch agreed to participate in the postal questionnaire survey. Snowballing also became an alternative means to reach the members of nonparticipating associations in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch.

Implementation and Individual Consent to Participation

Focus Groups

Focus groups were intended to illuminate the opinions of participants, and this qualitative data also served as the starting point for framing the survey questionnaire.

I approached the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association and the Waikato Khmer Association for their permission to facilitate a focus group of five members from their respective areas. I did not have any problems with non-participation from the leaders and their members. When I briefed them, they were able to share their concerns, such as what their role would be, the project's credibility, and its outcome. At first, they did not feel that tape-recording should be used, since it was too formal and serious — like "the scene of a criminal investigation". They were afraid that recorded information could be used against them in the future. With face-to-face discussion, I was able to reassure them about their individual safety under the ethics guideline and the need for accuracy in original data for translation. This type of communication created a secure environment that was conducive to participation. The leaders agreed to select participants, arrange the time and place for the session, facilitate the focus group, and record their session.

I arranged a session to brief the facilitator in Hamilton about the role of a facilitator and the common ways to make discussion flow. We discussed framing the

topic, sharing discussion time among participants, pacing discussion, changing direction, and encouraging participation. The Khmer facilitator in Hamilton was familiar with this method since she had conducted a similar group for her own study. She was confident in conducting the Hamilton group on her own. The president of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association and I co-facilitated the Auckland focus group. The president suggested conducting the discussion at the temple on Sunday afternoon, since everyone was available after the communal service and the temple was an appropriate ground for such discussion. We discussed how to manage the timeframe so that participants could each have a fair share of the discussion, and to keep track of the group's focus and time.

A focus group was conducted in Hamilton in July 2002 and in Auckland in August 2002. All participants had received the question schedule one to two weeks prior to the discussion. Every participant received a bilingual information sheet, a consent form, and a questionnaire with the assurance of confidentiality and their right to withdraw. This allowed participants to read and raise any concerns about their participation and about issues related to the discussion. The facilitators were available to them for any assistance. Focus group participants filled in the consent form and signed it. They agreed that their discussion be recorded. Those involved were open to the purpose of the research and were not concerned about formality, confidentiality, or the consent form.

The focus groups were intended to be semi-formal group discussions with a Khmer bilingual facilitator. A semi-structured questionnaire with open-ended questions was used to facilitate a preliminary focus group discussion in the Khmer language (Appendix 2). This format enabled the study to obtain qualitative information about participants' thoughts and opinions on resettlement, cultural identity and integration. Later, participants received the transcription of their discussion in English for further comment.

The Hamilton group discussion (Table 3.1) was conducted in the house of the facilitator, and the Auckland group discussion (Table 3.2) was in the Khmer temple at Mangere. The setting of the Buddhist temple provided a serene environment that engendered familiarity and frankness. The discussion took place in a small *vihara* where everyone sat in a circle on the mat, in front of a human-size bronze Buddha statue. The facilitator and I briefed the group about the aim and the procedure of the discussion in Khmer, and then gained written consent from the members. Although

tape-recorded, people talked in an informal and friendly way since the facilitator and the members of the focus group had known each other for a period of more than ten years. Because of their trust, participants were not concerned about confidentiality and were willing to say their names and call each other by name. This relaxed, informal, and friendly environment resulted in excellent, natural discussions. Even people who were not invited to participate came to join the group. They sat quietly and listened to the group, and on some occasions they jumped into the discussion.

The Hamilton group's Khmer home environment enabled informal and friendly discussion, too. Because the facilitator and the members of the focus group had known each other for a period of more than fifteen years, their discussion also reflected the trust within the group. The participants called one another by their social ranks: aunty, uncle, and brother or sister (in - ming, in - pou, in - borng).

People from these two discussion groups shared their life experiences from first resettlement, which covered a period of over two decades living in New Zealand. They came from a wide variety of backgrounds, which provided quality information about their family life and their adaptation for this study.

Table 3-1 — Hamilton focus group						
Gender	Job	Age	Arrival	From		
Male	Lab assistant	50s	1980	Hamilton		
Female	Housewife	50s	1980s	Hamilton		
Female	Self-employed	50s	1990s	Palmerston North		
Female	Housewife	40s	1987	Hamilton		
Female	Student	20s	1990s	Hamilton		

Table 3-2 — Auckland focus group						
Gender	Job	Age	Arrival	From		
Male	Factory worker	50s	1979	Wellington		
Female	Housewife	60s	1980	Auckland		
Male	Community worker	50s	1989	Wellington		
Male	Self-employed	Late 30s	1987	Dunedin– Wellington		
Male	Welder	Late 20s	1988	Auckland		

The majority of the members in the Auckland discussion group were originally settled in Wellington and Dunedin. One member of the Hamilton group moved from Palmerston North to Hamilton. This composition also reflects the secondary migration up north that has led to a significant depletion of the members of Khmer communities in various parts of the country, especially Christchurch, Dunedin, and Palmerston North.

The qualitative methods used, especially in the focus group, were less structured and more intensive than standardised questionnaire-based interviews. There were some limitations, given that the sample of each group was small and that the information from those group discussions was not necessarily representative. Discussions with these groups provided qualitative information on participant experiences and their views on resettlement and adaptation. These discussions also generated new insights and perspective. A planned third focus group was dispensed with when it became clear that it was unlikely that it would elicit new information. The experiences that emerged from these focus group discussions were later used to refine and polish the final design of the postal questionnaire for all participants. The focus groups enabled individuals within the group to share personal accounts and experiences. Participants from the group were also able to share information about their participation with potential participants in the second stage of data collection.

Postal Questionnaire Survey

The second stage of data collection used a structured questionnaire, written in Khmer and English, to collect detailed information on resettlement and integration. The postal questionnaire (Appendices 3 and 4) was distributed by post or delivered by hand. There was a suggested return date, and closer to that date a reminder message was mailed or telephoned through to those who had not yet returned the completed questionnaire.

In mid-November 2002, I contacted Khmer leaders in the main cities of the North Island and the South Island for selecting postal questionnaire participants. Five communities from Auckland, Hamilton, and Wellington were willing to participate in this study. Leaders from the Cambodian Association in Auckland and leaders from Christchurch, Palmerston North, and Wellington did not return the form. These groups neither confirmed nor declined participation.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, how to reach the sample was an issue because of the complexity of overlapping memberships and because the majority of these associations did not have membership lists. Presidents or leaders of the participating communities were willing to distribute questionnaires according to the size of their membership. For communities that did not have current membership lists, it was generally agreed that the community leaders would use their networks to "snowball" and would distribute questionnaires by hand to the pre-defined number and profile sample: Khmer Krom (thirty — Auckland), Khmer Youth Trust (thirty — Auckland and Christchurch), and Hamilton (forty).

The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association agreed to share its New Zealandwide Cambodian membership list, the majority of whom live in Auckland and Wellington. I used this list to invite seventy participants by post, in Auckland (thirty) and Wellington (forty). For Wellington, the questionnaires were sent to the association's president, vice president, and secretary, and to ten other prominent stakeholders of the Cambodian community, among whom there were at least five former Colombo Plan students. These ten people were asked to snowball three questionnaires each to others in their social network.

The leaders of the five participating communities distributed questionnaires in November and December 2002 to participants who had enough time to fill in the questionnaire. The questionnaires were then returned in a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Assistance was also available to participants who had concerns or problems in filling in the questionnaire.

All of the questionnaires reached the potential participants, except four which were returned due to change of address or the recipient being unknown at that mailing address. The completed questionnaires were returned between late January and the second week of May 2003. During this period, community leaders were asked to remind participants to complete and return the questionnaires. Although assured about confidentiality and the right to withdraw, the rationale of this research, and the use of a bilingual format, people from the Cambodian community were reluctant to participate in a formal survey. Even where the leaders of the community supported the initiative and encouraged the potential participants, the response was not always guaranteed.

In contrast to the focus groups, the participants in the postal questionnaire group were cautious to sign the same consent form, or were not willing to sign the form although they returned the questionnaire.

The hand-delivered questionnaire group shared a similar response to that of the mailed questionnaire group. Although potential participants were briefed by their community leader(s), the majority of this group did not sign their consent or they declined to participate. The rationale behind the silence of both of these questionnaire groups was not clear.

By May 2003, one person had declined to participate and fifty-seven had completed and returned their questionnaires. Despite the assurance of confidentiality and availability of assistance, the response was different from city to city (Table 3.3).

Table 3-3 — Response of participants by city													
	Auckl	and	Hami	lton	Mana	watu	Wellin	ıgton	Christe	hurch	Dur	nedin	
Groups	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	Total
Youth (<35 years)	12	8		1	0	0	1	0	0		0	0	22
Middle age (35–55 years)	12	4	2	4	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	26
Senior (>55 years)	4	1	1		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7
Not specified	1	1											2
Total	29	14	3	5	0	0	1	2	2	1		0	
Response Total	4	3	:	8		0		3	3	3		0	57

The limitation of this survey method was non-response. Some people approached the researcher later and excused themselves from returning the questionnaires. The following were the reasons that people offered:

- It's too personal.
- It's not good for my business wait until I am retired, then I will fill in the questionnaire.
- I can't help you since the committee does not support your initiative.
- It's too detailed and you ask too much.

- We were too busy with berry-picking.
- We don't want to complete it, because it is not good for people to know about us (unemployment).

One monk in Auckland explained to me later, in April 2006, that while my project was great for the community there were other reasons that people did not participate: some of them did not care, others had a grudge against me or were jealous and did not participate in the hope that the project would fail. "In short they are selfish. That is sad."

There was a wide range of people among the fifty-seven Khmer men and women who returned the questionnaires. Mainly it was the head of a household who was willing to participate, and thus the opinions they expressed and the information they shared reflected the family life of 226 people. These represent about 10% of the population of 2,022 Khmer people with refugee backgrounds (2001 Census). Among these thirty-six men and twenty-one women, there were five business people, one former Colombo Plan student, nine community leaders, and a monk.

The majority of these fifty-seven participants (96%) came to New Zealand between 1980 and 1994. They were composed of the Khmer (77.2%), Khmer Krom (14%), and Chinese (8.8%). The majority of the participants were aged between thirty-five and fifty-five years (75.4%). Twenty-two participants (38.6%) were under thirty-five, and seven of them (12.3%) were over fifty-five years old. The majority of them were from Auckland.

The length of residence of the participants living in New Zealand ranged from twelve years to twenty-seven years. Twenty-three of the participants did not have any work experience when they came. At the time of this study, all participants, except one, were employed. Their occupations were various. Thirty-eight of the participants earned less than \$550 a week.

Participants who were not able to complete the questionnaire themselves sought assistance from friends or relatives to complete it. One participant contacted the researcher to help him to complete the questionnaire and was proud of his contribution. Those who completed questionnaires provided quality information relating to the adaptation and opinions of a group of refugee settlers from Cambodia. The data collected were precise and straightforward to interpret. Data from the questionnaires were coded; and, where appropriate, qualitative material was transcribed to form a rich information pool that can be variously analysed. The results have been collated and analysed to provide answers to the questions set out for this study. Despite these advantages, the self-administered questionnaires were prone to sampling problems, and the response rate of 33.5% (57 out of 170) was just above the average response rate of common mailed questionnaires (20%–30%). Although it is "entirely reasonable to analyse the data statistically and to offer conclusion about the correlations among variables", the response rate was "unacceptable for drawing conclusions about larger population" (Bernard 2002:246).

Postal Questionnaire to Refugee Support Workers

To gain the full picture of integration, this study also collected information from various agencies that have assisted in the resettlement of the Khmer refugees. Two resettlement agencies, two refugee educational providers, and a representative of sponsors and volunteers who had assisted Cambodian resettlement participated in this survey. One former head of a resettlement agency who was involved in settlement work with the Khmer refugees during the 1980s and 1990s excused herself from participating in this survey. Information from this perspective provided a balanced view of their efforts, the results of their resettlement work, and their suggestions for good resettlement practice.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was the third tool of my methodology. It involved the dual task of immersing myself in the community and then removing myself from that immediacy so that I could intellectualise what I had seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly (Bernard 2002:324). Through my everyday life and experiences in and alongside the Khmer community — especially in Auckland and Hamilton — I have observed how people behave and have listened attentively to their conversation at the various communal events and situations. I also seek to examine "social roles among group members", "organisations and organisational structures" and "group interaction" (Berg 1998:107). I have also reflected on my own behaviour and experiences so that I can minimise any intrusion and invasion of individual or group space and privacy. With individual or group

consent, I was able to watch and record their routines and sometimes photograph the events, providing me with valuable material for my study.

Through these years of my study, I have been invited to various family celebrations — such as birthday parties, weddings, house-warming parties, and barbeques — and participated in the various community events, such as New Year, Phchium Ben, and the flower festival hosted by different Khmer communities. These events require tracking sub-groups, observing, listening, and from time to time asking questions to clarify my understanding.

I have also had opportunities to be involved in serious Khmer matters, such as organising a communal meeting, mediating disputes, arranging funerals, organising relief for victims of natural disasters, and hosting formal dignitary visits. My appearance at these community events has become such a familiar sight that my visibility poses no threat. These opportunities have eased passage into these communities, and now my presence is welcome and valued. I also realise that, because of my position as one of their leaders, I have to be conscious not to use my status to influence participant opinions and behaviour, especially during a community meeting. I listen to their discussion in Khmer, take notes, learn about their concerns, and from time to time ask questions. For the communities that welcome me, my presence is witness to their commitment to share the history of their community development with outsiders. Information originating from four Khmer Buddhist temples, one Cambodian Chinese temple, and five Khmer associations have contributed various case studies and rich anecdotes to my thesis.

Participant observation opened things up and made it possible for me to collect all kinds of information that other research methods could not, from individuals, families, social groups and the whole community. Although participant observation was limited to providing information on current behaviour, it was the only research alternative which could illuminate and supplement other methods and provide the most accurate method of collecting purely behavioural data and cultural facts. Participant observation "extend[ed] both the internal and the external validity of what you learn[ed] from interviewing and watching people" and it "help[ed] you understand the meaning of your observation" (Bernard 2002:334).

My mixed-methods approach involved collecting and analysing both qualitative and quantitative data. Collected datasets from the survey, focus groups and participant observation were often complementary rather than exclusive. The questionnaire data illuminated and validated what I had learned during participant observation, and the combination of these data produced "more insight than either does alone" in my analysis (Bernard 2002:364). I used qualitative data from focus groups to support the quantitative survey, and I used findings from the survey to merge, connect and embed the data in my participant observation (Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007:7). The use of this "interactive continuum" (Newman and Benz 1998) or a mixed-methods approach (Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007) was the methodology I found most appropriate to study the Cambodian community with a refugee background. This methodology improved understanding of the complex web of attributes that have an impact on the adaptation of Cambodians and the development of their transnational identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Dealing with Anonymity and Identifiability in a Small Community

All anonymous quotes in this thesis come from the returned questionnaires, the focus groups, and the conversations from my participant observations. Since the Cambodian community is small, the majority of its members know each other. People are likely to be aware of the various issues in the community, and those issues can be traced back to the individuals who are involved. There were two ethics considerations to be taken into account when quoting or describing issues in this small community: anonymity and identifiability.

Instead of making up a participant's name for a quote, I used other nonpatronising generic terms and words — such as 'participant', 'man', 'woman', 'couple', 'monk', 'elder' or 'people' — to keep the individual's anonymity and confidentiality. People who were described in several instances also needed to be free from identification. Their names and personal attributes were not used, thus ensuring individual privacy.

My aim is to record the data and information as it happens and present it within an ethical framework, especially regarding confidentiality, and respect for the boundary of public access to private information. As an insider researcher, I am aware of potential bias through commission and omission, and I frequently remind myself to be neutral in interpretation and presentation.

Conclusion

My dual position as an insider/outsider handed me opportunities and challenges that required mutual respect, professionalism and trust to locate my positionality effectively within the ethical, technical and social spheres. On the one hand, my insider position endowed me with a great deal of social capital for my research; on the other hand, this insiderness was also embedded with liabilities that became a barrier to reaching potential participants beyond the gatekeepers. Owing to the complexity of the Cambodian community, the research timeframe, and my insider/outsider position, I used a mixed methodological approach to ensure the representation of my data collection of my research within the ethical considerations as my community is fragmented and prone to community politics. The implementation of this approach was not easy to achieve. It required considerable judgement in the choice of each method, whether quantitative or qualitative, and the combination of those methods according to their role and merit. The principal advantage of this mixed methodological approach was the supplementary role of these research tools which enabled me to collect a great deal of accurate data and information that included the depth and breadth of knowledge, the attitudes and opinions, behaviour — past, present, and intended — and classification of socio-economic variables of the Cambodians' ways of life.

My research positionality in the Cambodian community was circumscribed by people's willingness to participate. In order to maximise participation, I had approached all formal and informal Khmer leaders from all associations, community groups and temples to endorse and participate in this research and be on the research advisory group. This group supported my initiative and provided avenues for conducting this research in their group or association. Although I had encountered some hurdles with written consent from postal participants, I managed to gain the consent of fifty-seven families and the return of their completed questionnaires. In conjunction with these postal surveys, I used a mixed method of two focus groups, and participant observations to gain information and collect data needed to inform study of a small ethnic group with a refugee background in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This new approach has enabled me to collect different forms of quality information at different levels of the Khmer community. Although I met some rejections from some quarters of the Khmer community, I was encouraged by the majority of the Khmer

leaders and participants, as the chosen methodological approach was crucial to the success of my research.

As a result, participants shared with me their valuable time and information, making this collaborative study a unique contribution to the existing body of knowledge in Khmer studies, especially regarding cultural identity in diaspora and transnational communities.

My participant observation gave me an abundant collection of stories and experiences that other avenues would not have allowed. Through this process, I have identified issues of group membership, friendship, sub-group interaction, socialisation and community politics that are discussed in the next chapters. The findings from the mixed-methods approach presented in the following chapters reflect resettlement practices, the adaptation of Cambodians as individuals, and the development of their community.

Chapter 4 — Cambodian Resettlement in New Zealand

Introduction

The arrival of Kampuchean refugees in the late 1970s marked the beginning of the Cambodian resettlement in New Zealand. Refugee resettlement is the end of the forced migration process when refugees begin their new life in a host country after an initial stay at a reception centre. In this chapter, I describe Khmer people with a refugee background who came in various groups between 1979 and 1997, and their resettlement in various parts of New Zealand. These newcomers, with assistance from the New Zealand Government, volunteers and public social services, learned to adapt to a new socio-cultural and economic setting which was completely different from where they came from. Besides their resettlement issues, this chapter also describes their impressions, their aspirations and their efforts to make the best of their resettlement.

History of Cambodia and Cambodian Refugees

Kampuchean refugees were seen as very vulnerable individuals who had survived the atrocities of the Pol Pot-led Khmer Rouge regime (1975–1979). Images of refugees from Kampuchea at the time showed dirty, poor, skinny people struck by starvation, disease, and trauma (Figure 4.2). The mass media played a significant role in exposing the plight of Kampuchean refugees to the world, in the hope that an awareness of these people's problems would spur protection and assistance for the refugees. Between 1979 and 1981, 630,000 Kampuchean refugees walked across the Khmer–Thai border (Figure 4.5) to seek refuge in Thailand (Kiljunen 1984:47). However, this media exposure proved to be a double-edged sword, in that it labelled and sometimes stigmatised those who had lived through these traumatic experiences.

Kampucheans, Cambodians or Khmer

Cambodia's history is traced back to the beginning of the first century when an Indian prince invaded the country and married its queen, Liev Yee (tot tot). The best historical sources range from Sanskrit inscriptions and the Chinese annals, to the accounts of Chinese and Arab voyagers who visited the country (Burchett 1959:64; Zephir 1997). For several centuries, the Khmer assimilated the alphabet, literary language, mathematics, astronomy, aesthetics, and religion of India (Sheehy 1987:98–101). Unlike the Chinese influence which was imposed by force on neighbouring Vietnam, the Indianisation of Cambodia did not produce an identity crisis. Clearly, the Khmers' self-confidence, early myths, and animistic beliefs were indigenous: they had their own language, beliefs and culture. During the ninth century, King Indravaraman (877–908) was able to reunite the Khmer, and named his kingdom Kambuja Desa (nggitt@d) or, in short, Kampuchea (nggit) (Cambodia).

For centuries, the Khmer cultivated the most brilliant civilisation ever recorded in Southeast Asia (Sheehy 1987:98–101). Khmer civilisation flourished during the Angkor Period, beginning in 802 and lasting until the sudden, desolating capture of the Khmer capital of Angkor (Handleta) by the Siam (Thailand) in 1431 when Theravada Buddhism was introduced in Cambodia. The capital was abandoned and its marvellous culture vanished without a trace inside Cambodia for the next 400 years. The new capital moved eastward over time, until Phnom Penh (gang) became its capital, located on the west side of the Mekong River. Khmer civilisation gradually developed, but was beset by wars with its neighbours — Thailand and Vietnam and internal strife. Finally, King Norodom invited the French to take Cambodia (Figure 4.1) under its wing as a protectorate in 1885, and it later became a part of the Indochinese colony. The French administrative structure, language and educational system became official in Cambodia.



Figure 4.1 — Map of Southeast Asia http://www.gate1travel.com/southeast-asia/maps/SoutheastAsiaMap.gif Retrieved 02-07-2007



Figure 4.2 — Bill Manson in Mak Mun, 1979 (Department of Education 1981:25)

In 1953, King Sihanouk led Cambodia in gaining independence from France. The Cambodian constitution proclaimed Buddhism as its national religion — along the line of "People, Religion, and King". King Sihanouk abdicated soon after to become the head of state of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk strived hard to keep his country's neutrality even though the West and the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) did not favour such a stance (Burchett 1959). Sihanouk's nationalistic approach led to the use of the Khmer language in education during the 1960s and 1970s (Ross 1987).

Events Leading to the Refugee Crisis

In March 1970, General Lon Nol overthrew Prince Sihanouk. America and South Vietnam backed Lon Nol to alleviate pressure from South Vietnam and to allow for American troop withdrawal (Shawcross 1979). China, along with North Vietnam, backed the deposed prince and Khmer Rouge to fight imperialism. The Khmer Rouge, a fanatic Communist group, took over Cambodia on 17 April 1975. The collapse of the US-backed Khmer Republic government and its take-over by the Communist Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot resulted in a refugee crisis in Southeast Asia (Ponchaud 1979). A small group of Khmer people fled their country in 1975. Hope for peace was ruined when the Khmer Rouge drove out civilians at gunpoint from their towns and cities, and Prince Sihanouk was placed under house arrest. The Khmer Rouge completely destroyed the country's urban infrastructure, moved everyone to work in rice production, and 'cleansed' its society by killing its own people. About 1.5 million lives were lost due to starvation and killing (Figures 4.3 and 4.4) under the Khmer Rouge regime, which lasted less than four years.

One faction of the Khmer Rouge fled to Vietnam in 1977. With the help of Vietnam, a socialist regime composed of a Khmer Rouge breakaway group from the eastern zone of Cambodia toppled the Khmer Rouge government in 1979. People who stayed in the country under the People's Republic of Kampuchea tried to do their best to cope with hardship. Those who were not able to survive under this new regime fled to the border camps in Thailand until the border was closed in 1990.

The Plight of Khmer Refugees

From 1975 until early 1979, Cambodia endured a holocaust of unbelievable magnitude (Barry and Sussott 1986:xv).

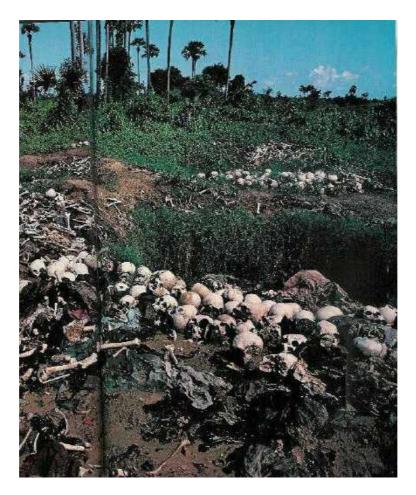


Figure 4.3 — **Victims' skulls from a mass grave in Chheung Ek** *National Geographic*, May 1982, Vol. 161, No. 5, p. 603



Figure 4.4 — Victims' skulls in Chheung Ek, 2006 Author's collection

Personal accounts from Cambodians living in New Zealand (Ea, Ing, Chea Kung in Cartmail 1983; Kanal and Jensen 1991; Kim 1989) and in America (Schandberg 1980; Dith Pran 1997; Ngor 1987; Pin 1987; Imam 2000; Siv 2000; Criddle and Mam 1987; Ung 2000; Him 2000; Himm 2003; Martin 1994; May 1986; Picq 1989; Szymusiak 1988; Sheehy 1987, Seng 2005; Ung 2005) have enabled better understandings of the refugees' personal experiences and trauma, and the reasons behind their plight.

Refugee Exodus and First Asylum

The fall of the Khmer Republic in 1975 to the Khmer Rouge pushed 50,000 Cambodians into Thailand (Kiljunen 1984:47). A further mass exodus followed in late 1979 after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime to the Vietnamese invasion in January 1979. This spill-over was due to the fear engendered by a Khmer socialist government backed by Vietnam.

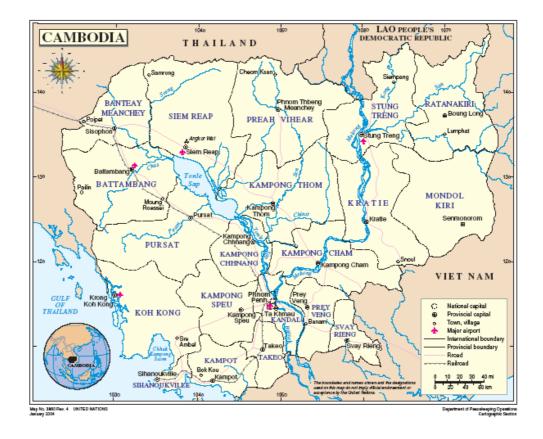
The reception of displaced Cambodians in various neighbouring countries was not positive, especially in Malaysia and Thailand. The displaced Cambodians had been pushed back by Thailand in 1979, whereupon thousands were killed or maimed by landmines and disease at Preah Vihear (Robinson 1998). At least four survivors from this incident managed to reach New Zealand after their second escape (Rina Kong, Ea, Kim Soklim, and Lang Ea). Lang Ea shares her story:

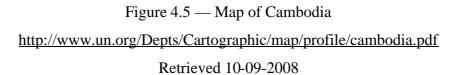
They [the government of Thailand] wanted to teach those of us who were left a lesson. They put us on a bus and dumped us at a top of a cliff in a forestmountain area right on the border of Cambodia ... With guns, they made us go down the cliff but it was mined. We saw many people dead, who had been forced to come down before us. We sat there for about a week, not moving. Luckily, the Vietnamese came through and marked where to walk safely.

Lang Ea and her family went back to their village in northwest Cambodia (Figure 4.5), but they were "thrown out as they were no longer on the 'official' list of residents" (Herrick, 2003, B5).

The family crossed the border again and found refuge at the Khao I Dang Red Cross Camp, where they stayed for nearly three years before being sponsored to New Zealand.

Between 1979 and 1981, 630,000 Khmer refugees walked across the Khmer– Thai border to seek refuge in Thailand (Kiljunen 1984:47). Some refugees were robbed and women were raped during their border crossing. The UNHCR, the Red Cross, and other NGO relief agencies provided humanitarian assistance to Khmer refugees in various holding centres (Figures 4.6, 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10), mainly Khao I Dang (43,000), Sakeo (24,500), Phanat Nikom (9,000), Mairut (14,000), and Lumpuk (2,000) at the Thai–Khmer border. By February 1982, only 93,500 Cambodian refugees (Figure 4.7) were living in the UNHCR holding centres in Thailand (Kiljunen 1984:46). Some Khmer refugees went to Vietnam and fled with Vietnamese refugees by boat to Malaysia. Phu Xe Hao and his brother Tan, who came to Dunedin in 1979, witnessed a pirate attack and deaths at sea before they reached the shores of Malaysia, where their boat was pushed to Pilau Bidong Island. In 1997, toward the end of the UNHCR resettlement programme, 235,493 Cambodians had been resettled in the West (Robinson 1998:295), and 4,446 of them had been resettled in New Zealand under the quota refugee programme (Department of Labour, Mangere 2000).





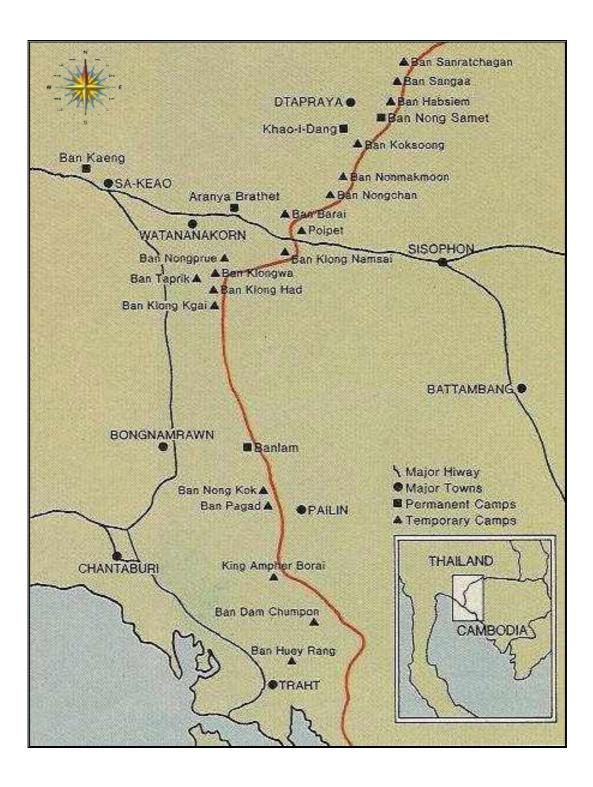
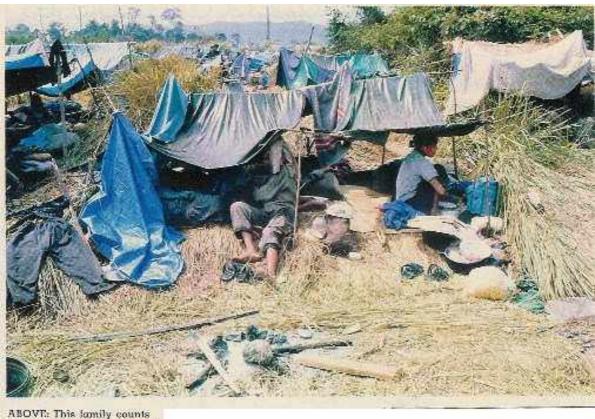


Figure 4.6 — Refugee camps on Khmer–Thai border (Ron Groves 1982)



ABOVE: This family counts us well estublished by camp standards. They have some cooking pots, shelter from the sun, a little firewood.

THE AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S WEEKEY-NOVEMBER 14, 19-1

Figure 4.7 — Makeshift camp at Khoa I Dang

The Australian Women's Weekly 14 November 1979, p.7



Figure 4.8 — **Khmer refugees** *The Australian Women's Weekly* 14 November 1979, Front page



16 Khao I-Dang camp, Thailand, in March 1980.

Figure 4.9 — Refugee shelters, Khao I Dang Keith St Cartmail (1983:113)



Figure 4.10 — A refugee family, Khao I Dang

Waikato Weekender Magazine 16 May 1986, p.1

New Zealand Policies on Refugee Resettlement and Public Responses

New Zealand's official response to refugees began in 1944, with the arrival of the ship *The General Randall* carrying Polish refugees from the Second World War. Successive governments have continued to respond to specific refugee situations over the ensuing decades, with groups accepted from Hungary, Chile, Uganda, China, Russia, Eastern Europe, Iran and Iraq amongst others. In the early decades of the refugee programme, the Government responded to refugee situations as requested or as appropriate (Cotton 1993:96). New Zealand refugee policy has been "more or less an arena for the conflict between traditions of humanitarianism, self-interest, racial prejudice and foreign pressure" (Gallienne 1991:4).

In 1977, following an approach by the United Nations, the Government accepted its first quota of Indochinese "boat people". Refugee settlement (Martin 1996:324) became an important issue in the late 1970s. Sir Robert Muldoon explained later that:

We decided we would select ... migrants [Indo-Chinese refugees] who we thought would best and speedily be absorbed into the New Zealand society with the least disturbance to either them or to us here. (Gallienne 1991:14)

The concept of refugee assistance was the close partnership between the Government and the community. H.E. (Aussie) Malcolm, then the Minister of Immigration explained:

The whole concept that we put together was one that said when these people come to New Zealand they must quickly become New Zealanders and assimilate within the New Zealand society.

The cross-section of community representatives on refugee resettlement committees shows the intent of the Government to control the resettlement process, and the desire for deep community involvement in "making" the new settlers into "New Zealanders" (Gallienne 1991:114). From the late 1970s until the beginning of the 1990s, New Zealand's acceptance of refugees was heavily influenced by its response to the refugee situations of Southeast Asia.



Figure 4.11 — **My life in Cambodia** by 14-year-old Pech Ouk (1989)



Figure 4.12 — "In view of Kampuchean tragedy" (Walker in Gallienne 1991:131)

Grant (1979) has observed that New Zealanders have often shown a high degree of compassion for refugees from Cambodia (Figures 4.11 and 4.12), and there had been a surge of public demand, particularly from church groups and specially formed interest groups, to take Indochinese refugees; a demand the Government found increasingly difficult to resist. New Zealanders seem to appreciate that, in this case, as a near neighbour their country has special responsibilities.

By January 1978, 535 Indochinese were settled in New Zealand, largely through the efforts of the Inter-Church Commission on Immigration (ICCI), the traditional agent for refugee resettlement. The Government declined to take more refugees until it had seen how the first groups had settled. By October, the ICCI had compiled a report outlining the success of resettlement and recommended an increase. In December, the Government announced it would take 600 refugees during 1979.

People from Cambodia owed their gratitude to Bill Manson, a Kiwi journalist who brought the reality of the Cambodian refugee situation at the Thai–Khmer border to New Zealand households. Once he returned from his assignment in 1979 at Mak Mun camp, he continued lobbying the New Zealand Government to resettle refugees from Cambodia. Early in July 1979, Bill Manson and his brother Hugo, both experienced television journalists, wrote to all of the country's 230 local authorities asking them to indicate the willingness of their communities to support a refugee family. The Mansons suggested a ratio of one refugee for every 1,000 citizens, or a total of about 3,200 Indochinese. Within two months, with more than half of the councils' replies returned, 80% had indicated support (Grant 1979:186).

In 1980, a nationwide New Zealand Herald/National Research Bureaux survey of 2,200 people, conducted to understand the public reaction to accepting refugees, found that only 34% of the sample were not in favour of refugees (Gallienne 1991:179; Liev 1995:103). According to Gallienne, community organisers spoke of how they had almost smuggled the refugees into the community. The Department of Labour endorsed this quiet, almost covert policy, where sponsors were found by word of mouth. Cartmail (1983:266) noted that one of the main reasons why sponsors including church groups, community groups, service organisations and members of the public — were in short supply was that the refugees were no longer "in the news".

From the 1980s, refugee schemes on humanitarian grounds were considered by the New Zealand Government in response to a request from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and following consultation with the

Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement (ICCI, predecessor of the Refugee and Migrant Service, RMS). The availability of long-term resettlement resources and the availability of sponsors determined the number of refugees accepted (Trlin and Spoonly 1986:5).

New Zealand's initial policy had been one of "pepper-potting" — settling refugees in different areas all around the country. This practice diminished greatly after the end of 1980, when it became apparent that it had put many new settlers into areas where they felt culturally and linguistically isolated (Gallienne 1991:173). In the mid-1980s, the approach changed as the assimilationist philosophy was discarded, sponsors increasingly came from former-refugee families, and family reunification became a factor. Throughout the 1980s, New Zealand (Gallienne 1991:152) maintained a simple selection programme with relaxed liberal criteria, which had greater flexibility than those applied in 1979. By the end of the decade, with large numbers of refugees coming in, more systematic provisions for resettlement were made.

The format of Cabinet decisions for each year subsequent to 1986 used the same criteria as in 1977, but with the number of 600 "Indo-Asian refugees" from Malaysia and Thailand, and up to 100 refugees in emergency situations. New Zealand's approach to selection was simple, and health has never been a criterion for selection. It has a reputation for flexible humanitarian policy. The Cabinet had authorised the Department of Labour:

- To meet the payment of fares and other costs associated with the exercise.
- To pay at the standard rates, volunteer interpreters who assist during the reception and orientation period.
- To arrange and pay for informative material to be made available to both refugees and sponsors.
- The Department of Education in conjunction with the Department of Labour to arrange full-time orientation courses for refugees.
- The Department of Social Welfare to grant emergency unemployment benefit for up to six weeks to all families.
- The Department of Health in consultation with the Department of Labour to arrange for full medical, X-ray, and dental examination of all refugees on arrival, a full immunisation programme, and any subsequent medical and dental treatment required. (Gallienne 1991:86)

The Department of Labour was responsible for most of the administration of the refugees' resettlement, while other groups had responsibility for finding them work and accommodation.

In 1987, a review of the refugee programme led to the establishment of an "annual global quota". Since that time, the level and composition of the quota has been established and published yearly by the Minister of Immigration (with the approval of Cabinet). The composition of the quota has normally been decided after consultation with the UNHCR, the RMS, and other such community bodies or agencies as may be deemed appropriate by the Minister and the Immigration Service (Cotton 1993:97). During the period of the 1970s to 1990s, New Zealand has accommodated 11,096 people from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (NZIS, Immigration Fact Pact, January 2001, Issue 14, p.8).

Usually people accepted for resettlement under New Zealand's refugee quota programme must be both formally classified by the UNHCR as "refugees" and in need of resettlement. Refugees must be nominated for resettlement in New Zealand by the UNHCR. The only exception is in the family reunion category, where a family member in New Zealand may nominate refugee relatives (Department of Labour 1995:25). Over the years, the New Zealand refugee quota programme has included a number of categories — for specific national, ethnic and religious groups, as well as special needs groups, such as "handicapped" refugees, people who have been in refugee camps for a long time, refugee boat people rescued at sea, and victims of pirate attacks.

Significant changes were made stemming from the review (Department of Labour NZIS, 1994:25). First, the Government established an annual quota of up to 800 refugees (now 750) for resettlement in New Zealand, subject to the availability of community sponsorship. This quota represents one of the highest refugee intakes per capita in the world. The Minister of Immigration was authorised to set numbers for specific categories within the quota, in consultation with other Ministers and agencies. Secondly, whereas previously only Indochinese refugees went through an induction programme at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, from the 1988/89 financial year all refugees coming under the New Zealand refugee quota programme have been able to attend the orientation programme, usually for their first six weeks in New Zealand. After this, they resettle with the help of volunteers (sponsors) throughout the country. In 1987, the New Zealand Immigration Service also assumed responsibility

for administering the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, which was recognised specifically as a facility for refugees.

Cotton (1993:97) writes "concerned people were genuinely moved by the horrors of Cambodia and the plight of the Vietnamese boat people, and other major refugee situations".

Origin of the Khmer in New Zealand

People from Cambodia (otherwise known as the Khmer) came to New Zealand in different groups. The first group was composed of Khmer students who came before 1975 under various scholarships. The second group was composed of various intakes of Khmer refugees under the humanitarian refugee scheme, and later became known as "quota refugees". These refugees came through the refugee centre at Mangere after 1979. The third group was composed of Khmer people who came to reunite with close relatives under the orderly departure programme or the family reunion scheme. The fourth group is composed of general skilled migrants, and the fifth group is composed of overseas students.

Stranded Khmer Students from the Colombo Plan

The first Cambodians to come to New Zealand were forty students under the Colombo Plan during the 1970s and one Ford Foundation student (Higbee 1992:63). These forty-one Cambodians were later granted asylum in New Zealand after the fall of Cambodia to the Khmer Rouge in 1975. These Cambodian students were isolated from their homeland and did not know the fate of their families. These young people, who had left their families for their studies and had expected to return to see their families, ended up in despair. They had to live in exile and were not able to go back to Cambodia as planned when they finished their study. In 1979, a small community of Cambodian people from the Colombo Plan group (Figure 4.13) initiated sponsorship for their members' relatives to come to New Zealand. Their relatives were found in various refugee camps in Thailand.

Khmer Refugees in New Zealand

A Khmer woman married to a New Zealander was the first Cambodian who came to New Zealand just after the fall of Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge regime in 1975. The Khmer Rouge allowed her to accompany her husband with a convoy of the last diplomatic groups and journalists en route from Poipet to Thailand (Swain 1998).

Apart from the Colombo Plan students, New Zealand initiated a Cambodian refugee intake in 1979. The first group of these Cambodian refugees came mainly from Thailand. This vintage group was composed of soldiers and their families who had fled Cambodia in 1975 and had lived in various refugee camps in Thailand. The second vintage group is composed of relatives of the Colombo Plan students who lobbied the New Zealand Government along with their sponsors and various NGOs. The majority of the members of this group, mainly from the urban areas, were middle-class technocrats and young adults with some tertiary or secondary education (Figure 4.14). The 1981 intakes onward formed the third vintage group, the majority of whom were from various townships and rural areas where few had had any formal education. Young adults and children from these vintage groups had had access to some basic education in the refugee camps.

Higbee (1992) has noted that the first and second vintage intakes of Khmer people who were selected for resettlement in New Zealand in 1980 were made up of young, educated people from urban backgrounds who fitted the immigration criteria. "These people were put under considerable pressure to assimilate into New Zealand culture" (Higbee 1992:64). Various humanitarian organisations argued that refugees should be selected for humanitarian reasons. Subsequent intakes were characterised by refugees with rural backgrounds. These latter groups began to outnumber the refugees with urban backgrounds (Higbee 1992:88).



Figure 4.13 — Khmer Colombo Plan students, Wellington, 1975 Courtesy of Mrs V. Nou



Figure 4.14 — Khmer refugees, Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, October 1980

Author's collection

The profile of the Cambodian community during the 1980s was characterised by a young population — 88% of the Cambodian population in Hamilton, for instance, was under thirty years of age (Liev and McLaren 1983:7).

In 1997, the UNHCR refugee resettlement programme for Cambodians came to an end. Besides the 4,446 Cambodian quota refugees, New Zealand also accepted people from Cambodia under the family reunion programme and as migrants. These groups do not go through the refugee resettlement programme.

During the period 1992–1998, 1,026 Cambodian migrants were settled in New Zealand (Table 4.1). By 1996, 636 Cambodians had been born in New Zealand (1996 Census, Ethnic Groups 1997:61). Despite migratory movements, the Cambodian population in New Zealand has been growing slightly due to immigration.

	Arrival of	1996	Year of Arrival	2001
	Refugees	Census*	-	Census*
Year of Arrival	**			
1965 and earlier		9		
1966–1970		3		
1971–1975	25	15		
1976–1980	659	399	1980 and earlier	324
1981–1985	2241	1038		
1986	192	174		
1987	333	216		
1988	644	243		
1989	177	402		
1990	70	252		
1991	295	159	1981-1991	1698
1992	50	180		
1993	0	69		
1994	0	123		
1995	3	180		
1996	0	30	1992–1996	654
1997	2			168
1998				213
1999				255
2000				285
2001				411
Not identifiable		186		255
Total	4446	3675		4266
*Source 1996 Census an Population Resident in N		pulation Dwellir	ng, Birthplace by year of	Arrival for

The population of Cambodians who came as refugees shrank from 4,446 since their arrival to 2,907 by 1996, and to 2,022 by 2001, although the general population of

Cambodians has increased. This number excludes their children who were born in New Zealand (1,026) and Cambodians who came as immigrants (2,234) (2001 Census, Ethnic Groups). This depletion is mainly due to the emigration of Cambodians with a refugee background to Australia.

Secondary Migration

North has explained that the sometimes difficult and disappointing experiences of new immigrants are reflected in secondary migration (elsewhere in New Zealand), remigration (to another country), together comprising onward migration, and return migration (to the country of origin) (North 1997:1). Refugees have regrouped themselves and drifted up north to the warmer climate or to live closer to their friends and relatives.

Since New Zealand's pepper-potting policy was discontinued in the early 1980s, Cambodian refugees have been resettled in the main cities of New Zealand (Figure 4.15). Auckland, Wellington and Hamilton continue to pull Cambodians from other centres, mainly Dunedin, Christchurch and Palmerston North. This second migration has also been due to employment opportunities (Liev 1995:111), "educational opportunities", and "above all ... to find a more familiar social environment in the company of people like themselves" (Thou 1989:42–46). Some have migrated to Australia after they were granted New Zealand citizenship after three years' residence. According to Thou, they hoped for "greater economic opportunities" and that life would be "less boring and lonely" (Thou 1989:44).

According to North, during the period 1992–1994 the number of Cambodian households in Palmerston North declined from some sixty-five to forty in less than two years, and the number of people fell to about 300–400 (Table 4.2). "A self perpetuating pattern then became established which fostered continued out-migration, until the very viability of the community was threatened" (North 1997:5). By 2001, only 192 Cambodians remained in the area.

Of the 700 Cambodians who came to Dunedin during the 1980s, only 128 were still living there in 2001 (Table 4.2); the majority of them had moved up north or to Australia. Higbee (1992:88) noted that in September 1991 the Khmer community in Dunedin had 115 households. By the end of 2001, only about two dozen households remained in the area. Auckland, Wellington and Hamilton have become the most popular places for Cambodians to live.

Region	1986	1991	1996	2001	
Northland	_*	1	9	6	
Auckland	675	1661	2001	2553	
Waikato	_*	409	621	762	
Bay of Plenty	_*	0	3	3	
Gisborne	_*	0	0	3	
Hawke's	_*	0	0	6	
Bay					
Taranaki	_*	0	3	30	
Manawatu	_*	365	192	192	
Wellington	_*	1115	1158	1281	
Tasman		0	3	36	
Nelson /		35	54	72	
Marlborough					
Canterbury	_*	245	195	192	
Otago		482	168	128	
Total	2256	4318	4407	5265	



Figure 4.15 — A taste of freedom

Otago Daily Times 29 October 1988, p.13

Selection to New Zealand

In general, Khmer refugees believed that the country of their resettlement was providing them with a new life and the hope that they would have a better future. Refugees from Cambodia did not have realistic information about New Zealand (Liev 1989:5). The majority of refugees from Cambodia had very little knowledge about this country. They had heard about America, Canada, and France, but not New Zealand. Some of them thought it was near Switzerland. By the time they knew they were accepted for their resettlement in New Zealand, they had only a rough idea that New Zealand is "near Australia" and that "there are plenty of sheep". No general orientation was given to selected refugees in terms of preparation while they were waiting for their journey to New Zealand, except during the period 1985–1988 when a Kiwi teacher, funded by Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA), taught English and orientation to prepare refugees for New Zealand (Liev 1995:104). Refugees often received letters from relatives and friends who wrote to them about life in New Zealand. Refugees in the camps received pocket money, the best pictures of their friends or relatives, and positive information about New Zealand.

The majority of Cambodians from my survey said that they were very happy when they saw their names on the selection list at the refugee camp. Only one person was very disappointed, since she had to come to New Zealand with her children instead of going to America where she really wanted to go. She had met a Khmer Kiwi who had helped her family to come to New Zealand. People told her that there was no rice to eat in New Zealand and, the moment the bus left the camp in Thailand, she cried all the way to Bangkok airport.

As the UNHCR and Thailand favoured repatriation, refugees were not allowed to learn English because they were expected to return to Cambodia rather than be resettled. Moreover, in the camps, people were told lies or bad things about the country of resettlement. This made some people want to go back to the border, but others had doubts and did not believe what they were told. Since they did not know for sure, these people would rather delve into the unknown by coming to New Zealand than go back to face a certain bleak future.

Their first real contact with New Zealand was the New Zealand selection team in Thailand, and then Air New Zealand staff who transported the refugees from Singapore to New Zealand. Once the aeroplane reached Singapore, the refugees began

to feel safe and to realise there was no point of return — and no more harsh treatment from the Thai soldiers, the Task Force 80. They had had a taste of freedom.

During the 1980s, New Zealand was a low-profile country compared to Australia, Canada, France and the USA. One thing that stood out about New Zealand, however, was the people on its selection team. In 1980, for instance, some interviewees did not believe the interviewer was an official, since the man wore a Tshirt, black shorts, and a pair of flip-flops, although he carried a briefcase and a bunch of documents. New Zealand officials were casual, laid-back and friendly. One of the refugees from the 1980 intake described the interviewer as a "good Barang [European] with a smiling face". Interviews were conducted in an informal and nonthreatening way, and New Zealand did not reject potential refugees on medical grounds. This humanitarian attitude to refugees has been the New Zealand trademark ever since.

On their way from Singapore, refugees began to be exposed to the New Zealand environment: the people, the way they spoke, the food offered to them on the aeroplane, and the aeroplane's air-conditioning. Khmer refugees were not assertive, but Air New Zealand staff proved to be sensitive to their needs. In one instance, a group of young men were afraid to ask for blankets, and so were curling themselves up and snuggling their feet into the seats' magazine pockets to keep warm. It did not take long for the flight attendant to realise their problem, and she provided each of them with a blanket. Then everyone had a blanket — in every single seat of the plane, one could see people covered head to toe with a light green blanket like "a large cocoon ready to hatch".

Air New Zealand and its staff assisted Khmer refugees on their voyage to the "third country" with care and welcoming gestures. Years later, Cambodians still remember the Maori tiki, Kiwi pin or deck of cards given to them by friendly flight attendants on their way to New Zealand. Staff even provided wheel-chairs for elderly people who were not able to walk off the plane. Refugees had their first experience of care and respect: as one said, "Even though we were refugees, they treated us exactly the same as other people on the plane."

New Zealand: First Impressions

The majority of participants in my survey were happy when they were told of their acceptance for resettlement in New Zealand (Table 4.3). Some Cambodians did not believe their good fortune in having the opportunity to resettle in New Zealand, a peaceful country. To them, life in Cambodia or in the refugee camp was like living in darkness or hell. Once they came to New Zealand, it was obvious that they had reached a safer place.

Everyone was impressed with the greenness of the New Zealand landscape as the aeroplane approached Auckland Airport in the morning (Table 4.3). All were excited to be reaching his or her final destination. When one woman saw islands encircled by the sea, she felt nervous that "the land would one day be submerged into the sea". Another woman described her feelings when she came out of the airport: "everything was different". She was excited, but at the same time she was also missing her home country and felt sorry that Cambodia is so poor.

One man was very happy because he had escaped death and survived. He had been in a refugee camp in Thailand for eleven years. He added that he came to New Zealand as a survivor. The beauty of this country impressed him. "New Zealand was bright, clean and colourful", remembered a woman who came here as a school-aged child in 1980.

Table 4-3 — Feelings and first impression on arrival								
	Feeling Wh	en Accepted	First Impression					
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%				
Very disappointed	1	1.8	2	3.5				
Disappointed	0	0	3	5.3				
Indifferent	7	12.3	3	5.3				
Нарру	7	12.3	16	28.1				
Very happy	40	70.2	30	52.6				
Not applicable	2	3.5	3	5.3				
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0				

Their hearts felt joy even when they came empty-handed. On arrival, they did not have clothing suitable for the cold weather. As a girl, Borany arrived at Auckland Airport in September 1980 and felt the coldness of the wind on her eyes and her face. She remembered thinking: "Is it this cold in New Zealand?" On the way from the airport, she noticed that lemons and grapefruit had fallen in abundance on the ground under the trees, and the houses on Massey Road looked very tidy and clean. People in New Zealand were big, and were all rushing and seemed very busy (Borany 1991:76). Khmer people often complained of "not being able to keep pace with" their Kiwi sponsors — as one person said, "We seemed to run behind the sponsors all the time when we first came."

Refugee Resettlement Centre at Mangere

For a while, an experimental, community-based resettlement programme was run in Rotorua (Grant 1979:187). A few groups of refugees from Cambodia went through the programme at Rotorua in 1980. After that, the only refugee reception area in New Zealand is at Mangere in South Auckland, where newcomers would undergo an orientation programme in their first month, including medical checks, cultural orientation and language courses. Refugees underwent a reorientation programme at the Immigration Department's Mangere Immigration Reception Centre (Figures 4.16 and 4.17), a workers' hostel that had been refurbished in early 1979.

Once the refugees arrived in New Zealand, they were taken from Auckland's international airport to the Mangere Immigration Hostel, where they would remain in quarantine for the first part of the immigration process — the health programme. A course in survival English was the next priority, before they moved out to live in the community where meeting their needs would become the responsibility of the sponsors and volunteers.

Mangere was the first home for Khmers when they arrived in New Zealand. They have good memories of the place and recall that they had lots of new things to learn. Cambodians who arrived in New Zealand had very few belongings. The New Zealand Red Cross donated them a cup and a personal bag each, and officials welcomed them (Figure 4.18). The newly arrived refugees were amazed to see a horse wrapped with 'a blanket' grazing in a paddock next to Mangere Refugee Centre. Some of the young men were impressed that New Zealanders were so caring even towards their animals.

There were many, many other strange things that the refugees had to come to terms with. The resettlement centre introduced them to many of these, in a comparatively sheltered environment.



Figure 4.16 — Mangere Refugee Settlement Centre, 1980 Courtesy of the Chhun family

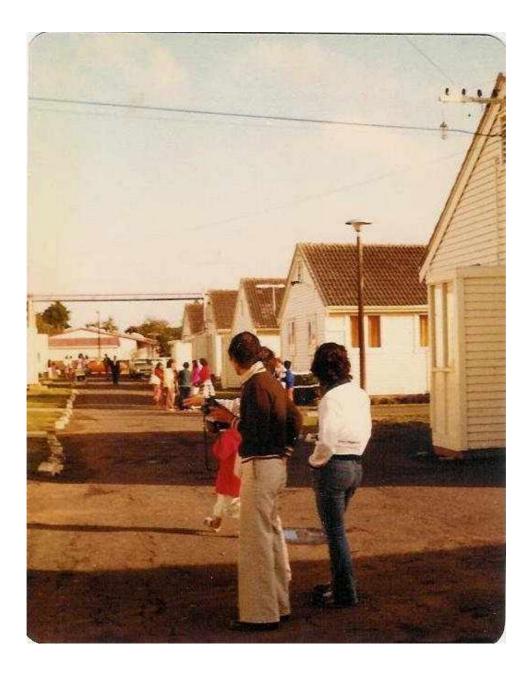


Figure 4.17 — Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, 1982 Author's collection





Mr Barry Curtis, with the help of interpreter Bohor Kong, talking to a group of adult students, wishing them well in their new lives in New Zealand.

Figure 4.18 — The Mayor of Manukau at the Mangere Refugee Settlement Centre

Manukau Courier, 26 June 1984, p.12

Some Cambodians with rural backgrounds did not understand the measurement of the temperature. An old lady who came in February 1988 asked her bilingual teacher: "How cold is the cold season in Dunedin?" The teacher replied: "It's very cold that it hurts your head like when you drink ice water in Thailand, and you need to wear two or three layers of warm clothes. But don't worry. There are heaters in a house that can warm you up." From the teacher's perspective, conveying meaningful information to this group of students was a challenge.

Cambodians were not used to the hostel food, either: the smell, the type, or the taste. Baked beans (they called it "sweet beans": សៀងផ្អែម — *seang phaem*) for breakfast was a novelty and the most foreign food they had ever experienced. Children were amazed and had fun putting their slices of bread on the conveyer for making toast. Queuing became a part of their new life.

Milk was the most popular drink amongst the refugees, but it gave them a stomach-ache because their stomachs were unable to cope with the sudden change of diet. Tea with milk was strange and unpopular with Cambodians. They would rather drink tap-water, which New Zealanders were not used to drinking at that stage. The Khmers would not complain about food from the kitchen, but would instead buy instant noodles from the hostel canteen out of their weekly pocket money. The kitchen hands were often not friendly, and gave a false impression that Pasifika people were rough and rude. In return, Cambodians would smile and silently withdraw rather than complain.

The first thing Cambodians would ask when they arrived was where East was, as the direction is important to them in terms of spiritual spatial reference for their wellbeing. Elders put the Buddha statue or picture facing East for their routine prayer. People who could not read English used the sun and East–West directions to identify places, buildings and offices in the camp. Knowing where East was acted like a familiar anchor for them in this very different environment they were encountering. Unfortunately, as the sun in New Zealand does not have a consistent trajectory and instead leans to the North, the Cambodians were confused; as one remarked, "It's confusing as I did not know East and West even I was here for weeks. The sun never passes over our head." A group of Khmer men from a holding camp in Malaysia got lost in Mangere town on their weekend outing and complained of not being able to see the sun as it was cloudy after they left the refugee centre.

For many, life at the centre — where two people shared a room — was the first time that they had had their own privacy and peace in a long, long time. For many, having a bed with a foam mattress, sheets and blankets was a luxury. For some, their first night's "sleep on the bed" was very cold — as they lay on top of the bedding rather than covering themselves with it! The trouble was that some of them did not realise that people sleep *in* beds in New Zealand.

Showers were also a foreign concept for people from rural areas. The process was further complicated by having both hot and cold water, and they became frustrated by the water being either too hot or too cold due to people sharing the bathroom. Some of them resorted to mixing the water to the desired temperature in a plastic bucket from the refugee camp in Thailand. Even though men and women had different bathrooms, women wore sarongs and men wore shorts when having a shower.

Toilet! It was a great leap from a long-drop in the refugee camp to a flushed toilet that people "sit on". Some were not confident about sitting on the toilet and would instead squat on it. When the hostel cleaners complained about this practice, a nurse provided toilet training to everyone in the morning orientation. A woman told me she had a bruised leg from falling off the toilet while squatting. She said that you can laugh now, but when she was there, going to the toilet was a challenge.

The majority of Cambodians were underweight when they first arrived. Their main complaints were headaches and tiredness. Blood tests and mantoux tests made them nervous and frightened. They worried that taking blood samples from them made them weak. Khmer women often complained about that and dizziness.

Children were impressed that their teachers welcomed them and did not use corporal punishment. They had a great time at school, but they struggled with English. Since people had no previous knowledge, they learnt English by relating it to Khmer sounds. Khmers had a problem in saying "bus"; they would say *Bah sork* (பலர்)— in Khmer, "hair-raising". Both verbal language and the body language of New Zealanders surprised and embarrassed them.

Volunteers or sponsors sent letters and warm clothes to the refugees. These sponsors made at least one trip to meet the refugees while they were at the Mangere Refugee Centre. During the 1980s, people from churches gave adults Bibles written in Khmer.

In talking about personal feelings and first impressions, a young man summarises:

Of course, when I first came to New Zealand, I was so happy. I went to the interview in the refugee camp and I learnt that I was accepted. I was so excited, even I had not come to New Zealand yet. I was so relieved. When I fled Cambodia to Thailand, I came to a camp. I had no food card and the Thai soldiers gave me a hard time. I never thought of having an opportunity to come to New Zealand. When I first came, I was very moving that the government of New Zealand looked after us with care. At Mangere they gave us health check and care, weekly pocket money, and after all found a sponsor for us before we left the Centre. When we left Mangere we got sponsors. The sponsors took responsibilities to arrange the welfare benefits for us. I would like to thank the government for caring about us to be able to live in New Zealand.

Another added:

I went through war and famine in my country. I did not have even clothes to wear during Pol Pot regime. When I came to the third country, the government provided us financial assistance, food and clothing. I was so moving, very happy and grateful.

Cambodians with refugee backgrounds compared their safe arrival to New Zealand

(Figure 4.19) as "born again" (ជួចកើតម្តងទៀត - dauch keut mdorng tiet). In the eyes

of these newcomers, New Zealand is different from Cambodia. The weather is cold, but the country is beautiful and peaceful. In general, Kiwis are pleasant, friendly, warm and welcoming.



Figure 4.19 — **Safe in Mangere** *Manukau Courier*, 8 July 1986, p.1 The majority of Cambodian refugees were very happy, but this feeling was mixed with a feeling of sorrow because of the hardship they had endured in their home country, and sometimes this made them sad and they would cry. Cambodians often have flash-backs because of the difference between New Zealand and Cambodia. Quite often, they "cried with joy and sorrow" because they saw the contrast between the two countries. Although they were still mourning their loss, most of them had aspiration and hope in moving on. They were grateful, quiet and did not want to disturb people and the New Zealand system, even if they did not feel comfortable with some of the new practices. They tried their best not to upset people. Parents had some worries because their children were still small. Another worry was that they did not know the language.

Aspirations

When Cambodians first arrived at the refugee centre, they sat together whenever they had free time. Children played on the road between hostel buildings. Adults often observed, talked, shared their aspirations, and asked each other about things that they had seen.

The Khmer refugees arrived here with "quite unrealistic expectations of their new life in Western countries", and their sense of relief at having reached a place of safety was overwhelming (Young 1990:1). Also Khmer people who had come earlier had given the wrong impression to the newcomers. These recent settlers would go to meet the newcomers at Mangere during the weekend. They brought Khmer food in their cars, and told their country people about their resettlement experiences. The majority of them fed newcomers with information that was sometimes distorted. They shared rosy information about their lifestyle, especially about what they were earning and their newly acquired car.

Participants from the focus group saw the obvious need to be fluent in English, as it was the prime factor for communicating with the host society. To them, "English is the root to achieve everything". "Without English, nothing can be done" in terms of "employment" and "independence". Otherwise, a man said, "I have to depend on the mercy of others." People who were thinking of returning to Cambodia when peace was established wanted to learn English as they could use it in New Zealand and

overseas. Parents saw the importance of the language for the future of their children. Parents encouraged their children to learn the language so that they were able to help themselves and help their parents. Young adults and educated people aimed to have a better life by gaining a qualification. One participant who came to New Zealand as a young man explained:

I want to be educated, have a job and have a lot of money. First of all I would like to go to school. When I finished school, I would like to have a house and a car. You know we have ambitions.

Adults who did not have any qualifications wanted to get on with their new life and make some money so that they could help poor relatives back in Cambodia.

Mature people wanted to be educated and know the English language, too. Unfortunately as one man explained, because of his age (fifties), he could not remember what he had learnt. He added that he would "like to do something useful for the Khmer community".

The results of the questionnaire responses provide a snap-shot of aspirations. When they first came, Cambodians wanted to find a proper job, gain a qualification, support their children through a good education, and be happy in New Zealand. To these respondents, emigrating or returning to live in Cambodia when peace returned was not an issue for them. Almost everyone (82%) wished to have a happy life in New Zealand (Figure 4.20). Very few of them thought of returning to Cambodia when peace returned. For these respondents, the thought of migrating was also very low. About 25% of these respondents aspired to run a family business when they first came. The four most common aspirations for adults on first arrival to New Zealand were:

- to be happy
- to get a good education for their children
- to find an appropriate job
- to be educated and gain a qualification.

Although some people were more realistic than others, the majority of the Khmer people from refugee backgrounds encountered difficulties in realising their dreams due to a lack of resources and appropriate skills. To achieve those aspirations, they had to overcome various resettlement issues.

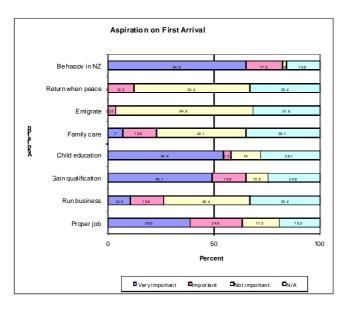


Figure 4.20 — Aspiration of first arrival

Resettlement Issues

The first Khmer refugee intake was in 1979. In 1984, sponsors organised through the Methodist Church and the ICCI in Dunedin the settlement of thirteen Khmer orphans in a large house. There were many problems with the resettlement of these young people (Higbee 1992:89). Adult refugees encountered language barriers (Liev and McLaren 1983), while the education system offered young Cambodians a chance to gain parity in education (Lyon 1993). Barriers to resettlement and their impact on Cambodian women's social and economic statuses were identified (Crosland 1991).

From participant responses in this survey, I have identified four significant factors that can assist or impede adaptation:

- individual factors, such as health, education and language proficiency
- environmental factors, such as local knowledge and support networks
- governmental assistance in housing, welfare and health

• socio-economic factors, such as skills and employment opportunities.

The degree of success people have in grappling with the various resettlement issues is influenced by these factors. Individuals themselves also contributed to their adaptation. Will, language proficiency, education, and past experience had positive impacts on their adaptation.

The Khmer people in my survey had encountered four major problems which were critical to their resettlement: their limited English; their lack of appropriate skills; their lack of local knowledge; and their lack of support. Other problems that impeded their resettlement were a lack of resources and poor health. Isolation, concern about age, and discrimination were not really significant problems for their resettlement (Figure 4.21). In contrast to the refugees in Australia (Ping 2001:21), Khmer refugees in New Zealand did not have problems with housing as they had access to state housing.

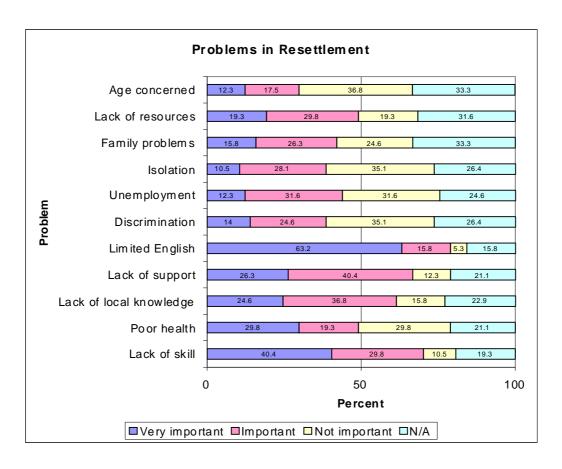


Figure 4.21 — **Problems in resettlement**

People gained local information from friends or relatives living in various part of New Zealand. However, there would come a point when the individual would have to deal directly with the host society, whereupon an immediate issue was language. As one man stated frankly: "What I can do best is planting rice. I don't know what I can do in this country. I can't even write my son's name in English" (Liev 1989:5). Young (1990) reports that all Cambodians face language difficulties. Because it was often difficult to find interpreters at the time they were needed, families encouraged their children to learn English "so they can be their permanent family interpreters" (Young 1990:1).

The experiences of Sok Lim Kim (Thomas 1989:1) illustrate the centrality of language and the complexity that can surround the learning process. After six weeks in the classroom at the refugee reception centre at Mangere, Sok Lim Kim a twenty-year-old Cambodian went with his family to Wellington where their sponsors were, and started school. He says:

At first I couldn't understand at all because my English was poor. The teacher would say something and I couldn't understand. They would give us exercises and I couldn't do them.

After attending a three-month summer course in English as a second language, Sok Lim found still found English difficult. It was hard to understand other students when they spoke fast and used slang and idiomatic language, but it helped when they spoke slowly to him. One year later, in 1989, Sok Lim still found the music on the radio strange. It was hard to understand the meaning of songs even though they used simple words. Sok Lim explains:

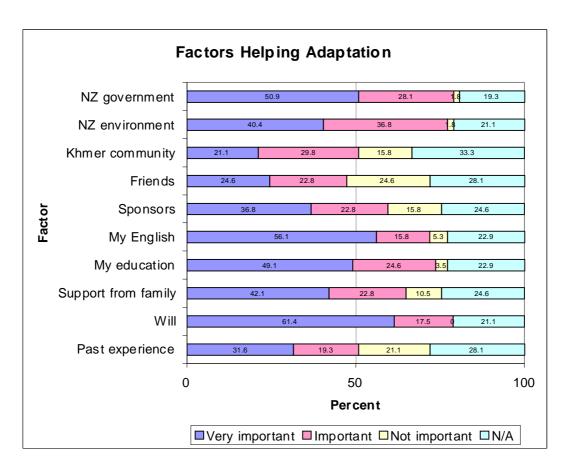
I have found it very difficult living in New Zealand. Everything is so different — the system of life, the cold weather, the food, and especially the language. (Thomas 1989:1)

The education system in New Zealand was very different from what he was used to. He explains: "In Cambodia you are always in the same class, and all learning the same subjects. Here you change classes and you can choose what subject you want to do." Sok Lim sums up his new life in New Zealand as "still confusing, but very good".

Support Networks

Support came from a variety of sources, both formal and informal, government and private. With resettlement, unavoidably came sorrow, hardship, strain and mixed emotions. Practical and sensitive support proved crucial to a positive and successful experience of resettlement. Key factors were acknowledging how hard the process would be and respecting the refugees' unique culture and individual strengths alongside the changes they were required to make.

Family support was one of the main factors assisting individual adaptation, with friends and the Khmer community playing a secondary role in refugee adaptation. The supporting role of the host society was also significant and far-reaching. The New Zealand Government's initial supports, with its welfare and state housing, eased resettlement hardship and enabled newcomers to feel safe and able to cope with their basic needs (Figure 4.22).





New Zealand Attitude to Resettlement

Ethnic Identity

New Zealand's attitude to refugees prior to 1975 was that they should meet immigration criteria, be of practical use to society, and have the ability to be assimilated into the community (Liev 1995, in Greif 1995:101). Aussie Malcolm told Gallienne (1991:114) in an interview in August 1987 that the whole concept was "when these people come to New Zealand they must quickly become New Zealanders and assimilate within the New Zealand society". According to Martin (1996:324), at first the traditional principle of scattering them throughout the country was followed, partly for traditional assimilationist reasons, but also because of widespread popular response to the appeal for sponsorship. In the early 1980s, the approach changed as the assimilationist philosophy was discarded.

In his opening speech at the inaugural conference on Refugee Mental Health in 1987, Dr Michael Cullen, then the Minister of Social Welfare, explained:

... for refugees, there is often strong pressure to "get ahead" in their new environment, and to fit in by adopting the cultural patterns and lifestyle of their host country. Pakeha New Zealanders who have only ever known one culture and language need to understand that it is not necessary to forget one culture to become familiar with another. (Abbott 1989:17)

The Minister reminded the audience of the importance to refugees of retaining their cultural values, language and traditions. He continued:

Rootless individuals who have lost their cultural background are also deprived of self-esteem and social well-being. In sustaining a cultural identity, our refugee communities enrich our wider society. The retention of cultural identity should be encouraged as an essential component of the resettlement process. (Abbott 1989:17)

Government Assistance

Our survey found that 79% of our participants believed the New Zealand Government's assistance had been important to their adaptation.

First of all, the Government granted the Khmer refugees permanent residency and the right to live in an environment of security and freedom. Secondly, the Government assisted them with health care, housing and welfare during the early stages of their resettlement. Thirdly, the Government provided their children with free education.

Table 4-4 — Opinions on Government assistance			
	Frequency	%	
Very important	29	50.9	
Important	16	28.1	
Not important	1	1.8	
Not applicable	10	17.5	
Not count	1	1.8	
Total	57	100.0	

The following are the comments of the members of the focus groups:

Thanks to the New Zealand Government, I was accepted to be here. I am very happy. When I came I had only a bag. I lived with my sponsors, and we rented a house for six months. Thanks to the welfare, I can afford to have a decent life. My children have got a job. Then we bought a house. I am in debt to New Zealand Government that I don't think I am able to pay them back. They helped my big family of seven people.

After a warm welcome, the government of New Zealand found me a place to live.

And six months after I came to Hamilton, a friendly immigration officer came to see my family to make sure I settled well.

In response to the needs of refugee communities, the Department of Social Welfare assisted them through its Community Social Services Unit in the form of financial funding for their operational costs and for cultural dance and Khmer language classes.

Host Community Assistance

The senior immigration officer at the Mangere Immigration Hostel (1980s) was Lyn Holland. Her work, while still hostel-based, encompassed the more important resettlement of the refugees once they had left the shelter of the immigration centre for the hurly-burly of the outside world. The follow-up welfare programme — each refugee or family was followed up after the first month, then respectively at six, twelve and eighteen months after arrival — was one of the most important aspects of refugee resettlement in New Zealand (Cartmail 1983:266). The Government said it knew of no examples of failure, since refugees had a house to live in and a job to support the family, and their children were able to go to school: this in itself was a success in human terms (Grant 1979:187).

Bunthan Chan, president of the Wellington Khmer Association, believes that the Cambodian people had "settled into the new life very well" (Department of Education 1982:23).

Sponsors and Volunteers

Refugee resettlement has an impact on both refugees and the host community. Initially, volunteers or sponsors were mainly people from a church or an interested organisation. During the 1980s, a group of sponsors would be responsible for a Khmer family. Sponsor assistance for resettlement was effective, although sponsors did encounter some language and cultural hiccups. Sponsors played an important role during refugee resettlement. They acted as socio-cultural advisors and were agents through whom refugees could access various social and public services.

Kiwi sponsors and volunteers were very important in terms of establishing external contacts beyond the refugee groups or community. Sponsors were the main channels through which employment for Khmer refugees was found, with the majority of Khmers finding employment through this informal network.

ICCI (and later RMS) was the main player in Khmer refugee resettlement. Their volunteers or sponsors assisted Khmer refugees in almost all aspects of resettlement. They helped Khmer refugees cope with life in New Zealand and to realise their aspirations. Tan (1995:ii) found that although "the majority of the sponsors had played the role of enabler, advocate, and friend during the first few years of refugee sponsorship", there "was high reported incidence of post-migration problems encountered by refugees during resettlement with only a few problems significantly improved [in] later years". During the early 1980s, with their sponsor's assistance, the majority of adult Cambodians found jobs (Farmer and Hafez 1989). Tan found that "after the first or second year of sponsorship, all the refugee families were quite or totally independent of their sponsors for enablement in terms of material and accommodation assistance. As the refugees became more independent and built up their network of friends, the role as a sponsor gradually diminished" (Tan 1995:86). Khmer participants (59.6%) from our survey explained that their Kiwi sponsors were one of the most critical factors in their adaptation. These volunteers were agents for their acculturation. The sponsors assisted them in almost every aspect of their resettlement: showing how to use electrical appliances, finding a family doctor, finding a school for children, and finding jobs for adult refugees. "The sponsors helped us to build our new life," one said.

Table 4-5 — Opinions on sponsors' assistance			
	Frequency	%	
Very important	21	36.8	
Important	13	22.8	
Not important	9	15.8	
Not applicable	13	22.8	
Not count	1	1.8	
Total	57	100.0	

The following is a typical family response when talking to me about their sponsors:

My sponsor came up from Wellington to visit us at the Mangere camp. He wrote me letters while I was at Mangere. Then he came up again to accompany us on the plane to Wellington. They are Christians. They helped us from finding a house and they paid three-month rents for my family. When we went to church on Sunday, people brought us clothes that we can choose at our ease.

My sponsors found me a job. They generously gave us a used washing machine, heaters, beds, beddings and blankets.

My sponsors enrolled my children at school. They took them to school and back home every day. They did that until my children had grown up. My sponsors really helped us.

Even when I had just come to Wellington, I should not say this, but ... you know us Cambodians we drank a lot. We had plenty of empty whisky bottles. We lived in a house up a hill. Every two or three weeks, my sponsors came to collect those empty bottles since there was a pile of them. At the beginning, Khmer people were so close. We socialised and took turns to go to a friend's place during each weekend. Our sponsors are so kind and understanding. They even helped to clear those empty bottles.

My sponsors arranged a family doctor for our family and found a translator when needed. The translators were ex-Colombo Plan students who assisted us with language.

My sponsor helped me to open a bank account. I did not know what to do with anything. They helped me with my banking. They even helped me how to take a bus. Do you know how long it took them to teach me? It took two days to get me familiar with taking a bus to work and back home. They were very caring. They even talked to the bus driver to look after me in case I got lost.

Teachers also helped my children who at that stage got their weekly benefits of \$3. The teachers helped my children to open a bank account so they can be familiar with banking and savings. The teacher was very kind and caring. So did New Zealanders in general.

A young man who came to Dunedin shares his view about his sponsor. Even after

many years and a move to Auckland, they still keep in touch:

When I came to Dunedin, everything was ready for us. My sponsors provided us what we needed. It was such a wholesome assistance.

I did not know how to do with most of the things. The sponsors helped me to apply for an IRD number. My sponsor opened a bank account for me and arranged my welfare benefit. They enrolled me in an English class. Then my sponsor sent me to an English Summer course in Wellington. I lived at the Warehouse.

When the course finished, I discussed with my sponsor about not going back to live in Dunedin. My sponsor was very understanding. The family helped me a lot during that summer and they told me about life in New Zealand. They even took time taking me to see the country before I moved to Auckland. We went to Wanaka.

Even nowadays, we still keep in touch and they come to see me from time to time in Auckland. They are very good and kind.

A female-headed family in Hamilton describes how their sponsors assisted the family to be independent:

My sponsors helped us about two years. I often went to see my sponsors when I was not able to understand any correspondences. They helped us in dealing with health issues too. Once my children can read and understand English, my sponsors let us deal with those correspondences. Now they do not come to see us, since they are also busy. And we have do things ourselves.

A young woman (Peacelink 1990:16) who came as a nine-year-old child in 1980 describes the people in Ngatea:

Ngatea is a very small town with very friendly and helpful people. They helped to get our new life off to a good start. When I first went to school, I could not speak any English — which was very difficult! Luckily New Zealanders are very kind and helpful.

The majority of the sponsors were "kind and understanding". Although many are Christians, they did not put any pressure on Khmer Buddhist refugees to convert to Christianity. Sometimes, however, the sponsor's beliefs could dictate the wellbeing of the Khmer family (Swain 1988:11). For example, in Wellington a Catholic sponsor objected to a fifty-year-old Khmer woman in Porirua having an abortion. The sponsor warned: "Don't you dare think of committing a sin. It's God's will." As a result, the woman ended up having the child. Swain writes:

In theory it's great that ordinary New Zealanders in the community are involved, but it's allowed the Government to do the whole thing on the cheap for 10 years, and sometimes it has caused suffering when people have been matched with the wrong sponsors (Swain 1988:11).

Abbott (1989:5) writes that although churches and a variety of community welfare organisations provided assistance, many in a voluntary capacity, refugee community leaders and professionals, such as language teachers, who worked closely with refugees were concerned that both informal and formal settlement services had major shortcomings.

The New Zealand environment and the New Zealand Government's assistance were the critical factors to the refugees' adaptation. "We need to provide services that will help refugees flourish in New Zealand, if we were going to take advantage of the fact that we accept them. We are losing so many of them [to Australia]" (Swain, 1988:11).

Conclusion

Atrocities of the Khmer Rouge regime and the Vietnamese invasion in Cambodia triggered a mass exodus of Kampuchean displaced people into Thailand. These traumatised aliens were pushed back into the infested minefields where some of them perished. Then the international community pressured Thailand, and as a result it provided sanctuary to them in various holding centres and the UNHCR granted some of them refugee status.

The cautious altitude of New Zealand toward Indochinese refugees changed when the UNHCR appealed for its members to defuse the refugee crises in Southeast Asia. By 1980, the Government relaxed its selection policy toward Cambodian refugees and provided a four- to six-week orientation programme at Mangere for the new arrivals. At the refugee reception centre, these newcomers found safety and peace and they began to realise their host country and lifestyle were different from where they came from. They were aware of their difference in appearance, language, and

food. They became conscious about their identity. They talked about their future and their children. While they lived in the refugee centre at Mangere, the newly arrived Cambodians interacted with others and established social links with their teachers, volunteers, and Cambodians living in the same areas. By the time the Cambodian intakes ended in 1996, 4,446 Cambodians had been resettled in the various cities of New Zealand. There was a migration from Dunedin and Palmerston North to the larger cities in the North Island due to the isolation of the small cities and for employment reasons.

Thanks to the New Zealand Government, Kiwi sponsors and volunteers, Khmer people with a refugee background have been offered a peaceful place to live and an opportunity to build a new life. In settling in, they encountered new practices and began to establish routines through which they faced cross-cultural issues. They learnt and worked their way forward, according to their individual needs. These needs were so diverse and intense that newcomers had to make practical choices. The choices that they made depended on social conditions and the personalities of individuals who had a great influence on how they conducted their way of life (Berry 1997). Under similar circumstances, some individuals might have chosen different paths or strategies.

In the next chapter, I describe the way Khmer people live their lives as residents, and how they have been exposed to acculturation through social contacts, television programmes, school and work. They have worked hard to re-establish normalcy, reclaim status, and reassess values. Khmer men, women, and children have found their roles changed and their values challenged. This complexity has been confusing, but they have begun to identify their path and realign their way of life by exploring new boundaries of friendship, participation and cultural expression. As they have worked their way through resettlement, Khmer people have different views on their success. Their efforts have also generated various social networks which have burgeoned into a new minority ethnic community in New Zealand.

Chapter 5 — **Everyday Life of Cambodians**

Introduction

Resettled refugees in New Zealand have the status of permanent residents. The constitutional framework of New Zealand places significant importance on respect for peoples' cultural, ethnic, and religious differences and their rights to participate equally in society. Cambodian residents are granted these rights; they get a decent place to live, and the majority are able to get a job that enables them to support their family. However, their everyday lives are full of new, unfamiliar situations as the English language becomes the main medium of communication outside their home.

Cambodians began their new routine participating in the New Zealand multicultural environment, allowing them an opportunity to venture into new sociocultural contexts and explore new practices. Work enables them to connect with the wider society and advance themselves economically. Their economic engagement has opened avenues for them and their families across various social interactions. Socioeconomic participation has thrown up various cross-cultural issues and has revealed the complexity of their cultural identity. Moreover, in becoming a minority ethnic group, their cultural heritage is being undermined. There are generational pressures as schoolchildren and young adults challenge their Cambodian way of life and cultural mores. "What is right?" and "What is wrong?" become heated debates in crosscultural and cross-generational discussions among the family members. Farmer and Hafez (1989) have found that refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam have commonly experienced behavioural and cultural changes and that the "[a]ttitude to these changes was generally unfavourable in the New Zealand [Indochinese] refugee community" (Farmer and Hafez 1989:183). Cambodians are concerned that through the process of resettlement, they identify, compare, contrast and contest their 'Khmerness' or 'Cambodianess' within the context of their host society rather than embracing it in its own right.

This chapter explores these fundamental issues of what is it to be Cambodian — and how to be Cambodian — within the reality of everyday life for Cambodians in New Zealand. It begins by looking at the socio-cultural background of Cambodians

within the conceptual framework of culture in general and of refugee cultures in particular. From this perspective, I look at the everyday life of Cambodians in New Zealand, paying close attention to their values and cultural identity. The details of their way of life have a significant effect on Khmer identity and self-esteem.

People who have worked with Cambodians, such as Dewes, have had difficulties in "grasping Khmer culture and the way it affects the way they behave and speak" (Dewes 2005:13). Ideology can be "the most difficult element of culture for outsiders to study ... and is not easily verbalised by the members of a culture" (Hopkins 1996:87). Researchers often use human behaviour as the manifestation of values and ideology, as "clues to cultural values" in situations of culture change.

One of the driving factors for adaptation is the engagement in economic activities that enable individuals to advance themselves and their family in New Zealand. This chapter begins by focusing on the economic participation of Cambodians in New Zealand.

Work and Economic Participation

On their arrival, many Cambodians found that their vocational skills were not appropriate for the New Zealand work environment (Liev 1989:225). Cambodians had no choice but to adjust to life in New Zealand in order to meet their urgent needs. In general, the majority of adult Cambodians were willing to accommodate difference. As a woman in Hamilton said: "When your horse dies, you have to walk." Cambodians were flexible and, due to the restraints factored in by their very limited English (Figure 5. 1), they were prepared to do any unfamiliar work.

At the refugee camp, people often said, "I am willing to clean toilets, as long as it made money to feed my family" or to meet their personal basic needs. But in the long term, my survey (2004) shows that the majority of Cambodians (63%) believed that it was important to find a proper job (Table 5.1). NOWTH, SHORE TIMES ADVENTISED, Tumpley, August 7, 1979 Page 33

Humour part of job

By Flona Cunningham Trying to find work for a man who speaks only a few words of English was one of the facing the inter-church group that brought the Ly family to New Zealand.

Ray Sadher and Peter Thompson of the Total Minwer and Cycle Costre in Milliord were somewhat neprefects/se when asked of they winds employ 1.9 Kheng.

However Kheng's opposite the knowledge of evoles, crathing with mathle fugers, a vanishing of English, and frantic sign language, oremotive all

showing considerable signi-of-lose. "It transpool that he was not in fact exofling the stenses of any collinary delight, but was rathle respressing the provides of some flowers on its behalf, for a set from it." Another incident that

In a sick friend. Another incident that sprags in the Hieropicot's mind was the day when kheng leathed over the short speedoor Rain. "Shorts hearned with delight and rabised such a degrand field 15 people for a day. In strys Seneral option at the door s. "there is sub-unit



Figure 5.1 — Cambodians were flexible due to their limited English North Shore Times Advertiser, 7 August 1979, p.23

Table 5-1 — Individual's aspiration to find proper job			
	Frequency	%	
Very important	22	38.6	
Important	14	24.6	
Not important	10	17.5	
Not applicable	11	19.3	
Total	57	100.0	

Those who would like to have a proper job or to go back to their own profession made any efforts they could to save money or invest in education. All of the participants from my survey agreed that they needed to start from the bottom and work their way up. A secondary teacher worked at a paint factory; a rice farmer worked at a processing plant or a sewing factory; and a qualified midwife (*Sage femme d'Etat*) worked in a garlic field:

After I came to Hamilton for two weeks [in 1983], a volunteer worker approached me to go to work at a garlic farm. The work was to pull out weeds. I got \$25 a day. And the man told me I have to pay income tax too.

Not everyone could find a job: an entrepreneur remained unemployed, and widowed women struggled to maintain the wellbeing of their young families and had to rely on social welfare. Those who were fortunate to have a job earned decent money to support their family and acquired new skills on the way. Old people who were not able to work stayed at home with the family. Individuals used any "fire-fighting" approach to overcome the urgency of their resettlement needs. A man in Hamilton told his story:

When I first came in 1980, I had no time to think about Cambodia; but for the survival of my family of six. I rode 30-kilometre trip a day to work with a one-speed bicycle donated by my sponsor's parish. I came home exhausted and can only wish for a better life.

Hope for a better life had kept their dream alive. One key example is whether individuals are able to find work that enables them and their family to participate in the wider community and to advance themselves in terms of wealth. Cambodians made any effort to make money and save it. The majority of them had their first job as labourers. I am employed. I had my first job as a labourer at a plastic moulding factory. Then I worked as a welder when I moved to another factory where I've made chairs, benches and seats for a bus, a train and vans.

I have a job for supporting my family. I had my first job about a year at Spincraft. I made cooking pots. Then I moved to another factory until 1990.

It was not uncommon for Cambodians in Wellington or Auckland during the 1980s to have a second job during the evening. Shift-work, over-time and evening language classes deprived families of time together. A five-year-old girl on Auckland's North Shore wrote in her schoolwork that she wished her father was not working during the weekend. Parents were busy with work that was improvised to meet the economic needs of the family. The work commitment of the parents also had a negative impact on children and family by preventing them from having quality time together. A young woman talked about her parents' work that left her, as the "oldest teenager", looking after her siblings after school. Individuals had to accommodate sibling care and assume extra roles while coping with personal needs and adapting to a Western lifestyle. Sibling care added more pressure on their resettlement problems. A male interviewee, whose parents were killed during the Khmer Rouge regime when he was five, praised his elder sister who looked after him and brought him up well in New Zealand. Some families had to look after their aging parents, too.

Formal Employment

Cambodian men and women who had grown-up children or no children went to work outside of the home. During the early 1980s, the majority of men and women from Cambodia were employed. Although the Cambodians had few appropriate skills for these jobs, they learnt on the spot and worked hard for their living.

Usually, their Kiwi volunteers and sponsors found jobs for the newcomers through their sponsor network.

After three weeks of my arrival at Frankton, I really want to work. I asked my sponsor to help me find any job that I can do. There were some sewing works; but I did not know sewing. My sponsor took me for a three-month training [period] and in 1990 he found me a job at a sewing factory.

But, as time went on, the majority of the interviewees of my survey (50.9%) tried to find a job by themselves and sought assistance from their sponsors (21.1%) to find a

job (Table 5.2). Family and friends were also the main sources of this type of assistance (12%).

Over the years, Cambodian workers became known as so hardworking and reliable that some employers in Hamilton and Auckland preferred to employ Cambodian workers. In Hamilton, for instance, they gained jobs though their friends at Bendon, Green Factory, Crystal Glass, K Market, Tegel, Portacom, and the box factory of the New Zealand Co-operative Dairy Company (NZCDC). Cambodian workers rarely complained and were willing to learn. The hard work and good working attitudes of Cambodian casual workers and fruit pickers were also appreciated by farmers. In return, some Waikato farmers supported these workers in their communal events; for instance, they lent gazeboes for their Cambodian workers' New Year celebration and other festivities. In Auckland and Wellington, Cambodians found jobs in various factories, such as car assembly plants, or worked with plastic moulding, sewing, and welding. People in Wellington and Auckland often had a secondary night job that involved cleaning or sewing at home. Some individuals, who were goldsmiths or auto mechanics by trade, worked from home during their spare time and gained extra money for their family. After 1993, the goldsmith became redundant — people just bought their ethnic jewellery directly from Cambodia.

	Frequency	%
Myself	29	50.9
Family	4	7.0
Sponsor	12	21.1
Khmer friend	3	5.3
Teacher	1	1.8
Not applicable	8	14.(
Total	57	100.0

By 2001, there were 801 employed women among 1,779 employed Cambodian people (Table 5.3). There are 729 men and 1,065 women who are not in the labour force, with 351 unemployed.

Table 5-3 — Employment by sex, aged 15 and over			
	Male	Female	Total
Full-time	810	558	1365
Part-time	171	243	414
Total employed	978	801	1779
Unemployed	177	174	351
Total labour force	1155	978	2133
Not in the labour	729	1065	1794
force			
Total	1881	2040	3924
Source: 2001 Census: Ethnic Groups, p.298			

My survey (Table 5.4) provided a similar profile of the participants' employment status. Cambodians with a refugee background have made some progress towards jobs more suited to their skills and aspirations. Twenty-five years after his arrival in New Zealand, this man who had begun work as a labourer proudly said:

My sponsor found me a job after I stayed home for a week after arrival (1980). I got a job even [though] I did not know English. I got my first net pay of \$200 a week. I was so happy. Wow \$200!!! At that stage, the unemployment benefit was just \$75. I rode a bicycle from Hamilton to work at Matangi. I was transferred to Terapa when the factory at Matangi was closed. At Terapa, I work until now as a laboratory technician at a dairy laboratory in a farm not too far away from the dairy factory.

Table 5-4 — Job status of respondents			
	Frequency	%	
Not specified	1	1.8	
Unemployed	8	14.0	
Employed	35	61.4	
Self-employed	9	15.8	
Retired	3	5.3	
Sickness	1	1.8	
Total	57	100.0	

A young woman with very little English who began her job as a farmhand had been offered a job as a shop assistant at a fruit market. While she worked there, the woman took language classes at night and did correspondence courses in management, and ten years later she became a supervisor at a well-known supermarket. The woman explained:

I did not finish high school in Cambodia, the war and the Khmer Rouge ruined my opportunity to have a good education. But with determination and perseverance I have overcome my language problem and have a good job now. This is due to my training and hands-on experience. I created a good reputation not just for myself but for my people [so] that my workplace took in more Cambodian employees.

Although the majority of Cambodians had a job during my research period, others were not able to go to work because of their family situation or are still looking for work.

Causal Work and Unemployment

Some women who had small children worked from home. In Auckland between the late 1980s and the 1990s, Cambodian sewing contractors were able to supply work for women at home as cheap labour. Women worked from home doing such work as sewing, making shopping bags, and ethnic gardening. The extra income this provided the family — 20 cents for an up-market shopping bag, 50 cents for a singlet, \$2 for a T-shirt, \$5–\$15 for a jacket — enabled the family to afford a family car or children's school uniforms, or to make donations to their community association, or send money to relatives in Cambodia. Besides making pocket money, these Cambodian women were also developing social circles. A woman said, "We learnt a lot of things through this informal network, we were more secure, and we enjoyed gossips."

Due to their personal circumstances, not all Cambodians could find a job. As a woman tells in the following story, the less fortunate ones needed to stay home to look after their baby or toddler:

I do not have any employment since I had to look after my one-year-old baby and three children. I took them to school. I am a housewife. But during summer holiday I go fruit picking. That the only job I have.

As recorded in the 2001 Census, unemployment in the Cambodian community was 16.5% of the total labour force (see Table 5.8). People in their late fifties found it difficult to find work. The majority of unemployed Cambodians did occasional work, such as lending a hand at a family shop, fruit picking, or odd jobs for the community.

Some examples include:

I came as a monk to New Zealand in 1989. Within three years, we were able to pay off the temple mortgage of \$90,000. Then the fourth year I went to Australia and America to collect various donations for building a vihara. In combination with other donations from our Khmer Buddhist community in Auckland, Hamilton, and Auckland we were able to build the vihara within two years. [Then he left the monkhood.] Even I have become a layman; I still work and serve the Cambodians Buddhist community and the Cambodians. As usual this is my conviction. I don't ask for any remuneration. I do this civil duty from my heart.

I went to school for four months in Palmerston North (1990). My teacher found me a part-time job at a restaurant. I worked there for five months before moving to Hamilton where I worked in a place for three years. I quitted the job due to my health.

I came to New Zealand during winter (1990) and I had to look after my grandma. During summer, I find causal work in an orchard as fruit picking.

I am still going to a class and I have a night job at a bakery (2002). I also work during the weekends.

Self-employment

From the mid-1980s, some families had enough confidence to start a family business from their family savings or from Cambodian rotating credit association pools: the tontine — តុងទីន.

A woman in Hamilton explained about her path to self-employment:

I worked until 1997 when I bought and run a bakery. I was self-employed for two years. I sold off the bakery after I hurt my shoulder. I still work part-time.

A Cambodian graduate from the Colombo Plan was the first to establish an Angkor Restaurant in Wellington (the first Cambodian restaurant), selling Cambodian food. He also ran an accounting firm. Another Colombo graduate launched a taxi business. This man, Kung Hun Theng, was responsible for introducing other Cambodians into the same business in Wellington.

In Dunedin, a Cambodian family began to sell satay to Kiwis in the central business district from their two caravans. In 1988, I was hosted by the family when I

went to visit the Cambodian communities in Dunedin. The family were so energetic that the daughter ran her own satay caravan. They worked very hard and made good money from their satay business (Figure 5.2). The family went on to make satay sauce and marketed it through various supermarkets. From satay, this family expanded their business into selling noodles under their franchised name, "Khmer Noodles". They expanded to Wellington and Auckland in 2000.

In Auckland in the 1980s, a few Chinese Cambodians began to run family dairies. One of them moved to a garden business, and later introduced his garden shop in South Auckland and a supermarket in Mt Albert. He also owns a few commercial buildings in Karangahape Road. He said his fortune was due to his hard work, not because he was clever. He went to the fruit market at four every morning when he ran his fruit shop.

The trend of running a family business was also due to redundancies resulting from the economic downturn in the late 1980s, when deregulation affected the apparel and automobile assembly industries. Family business groups had emerged: taxi owner-drivers, dairies, bakeries, fast-food shops, lunch bars, noodle shops, sewing contractors, and ethnic food shops. Some of them failed, but the majority of them have survived and prospered. Many families have increased their material possessions by buying a better car or a bigger house in a more affluent area.



Figure 5.2 — Khmer satay takeaway in Dunedin Song Seum, Dunedin, 2003

A familiar sight for many Otago University students during the 1990s was the green stand of the Khmer satay takeaway. Its owner Song Seum, like many refugees, came to New Zealand to escape war. By the early 2000s, his children were all educated and working as professionals.

<u>Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand</u> Photograph by Melanie Lovell-Smith Individuals' paths to self-employment varied, as this man explains:

I went to work at Tip Top making bread. The work was [so] physically demanding that I was not able to cope with it. I left the place after one week of work. Then I became self-employed as a community worker helping other Cambodian to go to access social services such as health, employment, social welfare, legal and financial services. I did everything as long as people asked especially for translation. It was my main work. Then I took time, about three months, to learn bread making. I registered my name at a translation company. The pay was not good. Later I registered myself at the MOT, and I worked as a recognized Khmer translator for people going to the MOT and the court. I have made some money from this job. Sometimes I did it for free for people who are in need and were not able to pay for the translation. I understand their hardship since I have had similar experience. For those who have no relatives or parents. I have helped them from filling forms or tax returns. When I helped them successfully solve their problems, they were happy. Some people paid me, but some did not. My work has grown since I do not cheat. I help people to buy a small business or shop. But sometimes some individuals are ungrateful. They look down on me and criticized me as a useless bum. When they become rich they are snob and forget that I helped them. I have learnt from those incidences and I was hurt from their words. I would like to prove them that I am not useless. I realized that I have to gain knowledge to improve my life. I have my own value too. I am not going to cheat anyone, to use short cut or to exploit others. My present job as an immigration consultant is based on these values. I will accept the pay only if the job is done with a contract to back up. I have worked hard to keep up my reputation. Now my job is running well. People respect me and I can make money. I had some savings that I bought my first house. Now I have got a lunch bar. I have two businesses so far. They have provided me with good returns. People trust you if you are honest, straight and you do the right thing and deliver results. If you cheated, like some people take client's money and spent it and did nothing, then god knows ... an axe!

A shop owner on the North Shore shared his story:

If you don't have a job, create one! I got redundant from a car factory after being there for about ten years. Then three friends and I formed a business running a restaurant in Otahuhu. But it did not go well, and we split. I went on to open a take-away shop on Symonds Street where my business went well. I employed two to three employees. I could afford to buy a nice car and a bigger house in Manukau Heights. I sold off my business and I went on holiday for a few months. Then I set up a new lunch bar in North Shore again.

This shop owner explained:

The business gives me freedom to be my own boss. But sometime it was not easy; you can lose money very fast if you were not careful. There was a guy who did well with his restaurant in Otahuhu; but he went down badly by losing all his bet at a Casino and he moved to Australia. Since the Angkor Bakery was introduced during the 1980s, there have been more and more Cambodians running family bakery businesses. The original owner of Angkor Bakery sold it as a franchise and moved on to run a café and lunch bar.

A bakery is a labour-intensive business that needs hardworking labourers. They are mainly the owner's relatives or friends, who are sometimes paid badly and feel exploited. A social worker in Auckland describes this situation as very common. Still, some workers would rather endure the poor conditions in the hope that they will learn the trade and be able to open their own bakery when ready. For those who have had an opportunity to raise the funds and run their own bakery, they are required to run it under New Zealand regulations, although sometimes they have ignored the law. A man from my survey (2004) admitted: "You can make more money if you are able to find loopholes. You can't survive, if you don't zigzag." An RMS senior social worker explained, "Newcomers had [such] an 'enormously strong work ethic' that they were sometimes exploited by people established in business" (2003).

In 2004, a bakery in West Auckland (Figure 5.3) was found guilty of hiring illegal Thai workers: "HARD SLOG with a package of \$4.70 an hour, working 12 hours a day, 7 days a week and without holiday pay" (Cook 2004). One man set up a bakery and ran it until its turnover looked good, whereupon he sold the bakery to other Cambodians who had about one month's training. He did that many times and made money, but he moved to Australia when he got a reputation for doing "fishy business". During the 1990s when the bakery business was thriving, competitors set up their shop just a few hundred metres away from an existing shop. Some of them failed due to poor product quality, lack of management skills, or an oversupplied market.

Although there have been some issues, the majority of the bakeries run by Cambodians have done fairly well. In 2004, Gold Star Bakery in Rotorua (Figure 5.4) won the 'Bakels Supreme Pie Award' out of 180 other bakeries; Bernie's Bakery and Café won the top prize for its bacon-and-egg pie five years in a row; and Brown's Bay Bakery won silver in the bacon-and-egg section. The brother of the Gold Star Bakery's owner said, "I taught him everything I know …" (MacBrayne 2004). There was other success, too. A Christchurch Cambodian shattered the world record for speed in muscle-shucking at the Havelock Mussel Festival in Malborough in 2006. He carved through 100 mussels in just two minutes and 15 seconds (Booker 2006:A8).



Figure 5.3 — "Sweatshop's baker paid crumbs" (Cook 2004) www.nzherald.co.nz/index.cfm?ObjectID=3583003 (Retrieved 2-2-2005)



Figure 5.4 — "Pie maker joins the upper crust" (MacBrayne 2004) www.nzherald.co.nz/index.cfm?ObjectID=3580821 (Retrieved 28/07/2004)

Mentoring is one of the nurturing exercises that Cambodian small family businesses have created in client-patron relationships with newcomers. As one taxi driver in Wellington said, "I learned the trades from him, and worked under his wings." Also the owner-operators of the business use their mentor networks, as indicated by one Palmerston North bakery owner who came to see his businessman friend in Auckland with the help of an accountant who assists him to do his accounts and financial reports for his Palmerston North shop.

The proponents of small family business believe in entrepreneurship: "You would not make money, if you worked for other people." If the business goes well: "You would be debt-free within three to five years. You can be your own boss and all the living expenses were paid by the business." When I asked people about the way they run their businesses, they said they would rather not to go into detail.

Professional Employment

To regain or reach a professional level, Cambodians need to retrain for the equivalent New Zealand qualification, as their Cambodian qualification is not recognised. The majority of them were teachers, nurses, and avionic technicians. Because their qualification papers were destroyed during the war, they did not have proof of profession. Some Cambodian professionals gave up hope of success because of their language problems, but a few of them persevered to regain their status by going through a long process that began with learning English. It took a Cambodian midwife in Hamilton more than two decades to regain her midwifery registration as she spoke no English when she came to New Zealand in 1982. Thanks to her English teacher, she was able to overcome her handicap, and enrolled part-time in the midwifery course at the Waikato Institute of Technology, graduating in 2004.

Teachers and volunteer home tutors have contributed to the success of their Cambodian students "beating the odds", as the newsletter of the Wellington ESOL Home Tutor Service wrote about Lin Chhim:

It's been a difficult journey from arrival in New Zealand as a Cambodian refugee with just a few words of English to registration as a comprehensive nurse. One of the great supports in that journey has been the Wellington ESOL Home Tutor Service, which has provided a tutor in English for Lim from her arrival in the Country 14 years ago to the present time (Wellington ESOL Home Tutor Service 1997:1–2).

As well as the home tutor, Lin received strong support from her family members who cared for her little daughter when Lin resumed her studies.

Younger people have better opportunities to receive formal education. The 1.5 generation and second-generation Cambodians are more educated than their parents. The majority of the participants in my survey are willing to support their children gain a good education. They work hard for their children's education, with the hope that their children will have better jobs and brighter futures. A teenage orphan adopted by a Cambodian family in Wellington gained his B.A. in Commerce. Some New Zealand-educated Cambodian professionals have qualified as accountants, architects, computer programmers, draftsmen, engineers, lawyers, marketers, nurses, chemists and teachers.

Table 5-5 — Occupation of Cambodians by sex, aged 15 and over				
	Male	Female	Total	%
Administrators and	57	51	108	6.07
Managers				
Professionals	33	21	54	3.03
Technicians	33	33	69*	3.87
Clerks	39	78	117	6.57
Services and Sales	102	195	297	16.69
Agriculture	42	18	60	3.37
Trades Workers	222	51	270	15.17
Machine Operators	237	171	408	22.93
Elementary	78	69	147	8.26
Occupations				
Not Elsewhere	138	114	249	13.99
Total	978	801	1779	100.00
* Summary from 2001 Census: Ethnic Groups, pp.321–322				

Although most of the Khmers were originally from rural areas, they have found jobs outside of the agricultural sector. The New Zealand Census 2001 showed that, in general, Cambodians are mainly in elementary occupations, trades, and services and sales (Table 5.5). Professionals and technicians make up less than 7% of the Cambodian workforce.

Some Cambodian professionals have been able to find an appropriate job in New Zealand, but the majority have left for overseas job opportunities, due to employment difficulties. The majority of the qualified engineers, mainly of the 1.5 generation and from Christchurch and Auckland, have found jobs in Australia, Singapore, and Thailand. Two Cambodian medical doctors moved to Australia where they can work within a larger Cambodian community in Sydney. One architect joined his brother in dealing Japanese car parts, and he "made more money than when he worked as an architect".

Personal Impressions of Employment

One accountant who became a managing director of a company in Auckland said the company kept him without any further promotion and he left not because of the money but because of the way the company treated him.

One of the issues in the workplace is discrimination. Although New Zealand adopted the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policy, one in five participants in my survey have experienced discrimination in their workplace. According to these participants, discrimination is difficult to prove.

Stereotyping is also an issue. A woman participant said:

Many occasions, people meet me in the corridor of my office and ask me to see the manager and I tell them who I am. They are a bit stunned. People seem to have a perception that a manager is white. Once they know who I am they become nicer and change their attitude and tone. They are even more surprised that I am a Cambodian.

Despite such occurrences, only 7% of the participants in my survey are not happy with their job. One in three of the participants have gained a job promotion. Discrimination in the workplace is perceived to be higher than discrimination in general. When asked what they did not like about New Zealand, 7% of the participants ticked "discrimination". And when asked what they liked about New Zealand, 10% of the participants ticked "equal rights" and "no discrimination".

In general, Cambodians are happy with their achievements. After twenty-five years of hard work, one man said:

My job is fairly well paid [so] that I am able to live comfortably. I like my job. It is neither difficult nor easy. I think I am going to work there until my retirement in the next five years.

Cambodians' attitude to work is to find a balance, so that, when they have enough money to cover their needs and become self-sufficient, they can relax. As one said: "When you die, you can't take it with you: http://wftgitigguffsms." Cambodians believe people cannot carry their wealth with them into their next life. As individuals grow better off, they pull together to help the members of their family. Those who were able to support themselves and their family interacted with other Cambodians and participated in their own community. They worked voluntarily and contributed their resources and skills to help the newcomers and to build their community, which in turn reflected their status and reputation. Besides working, Cambodians have familial duties to support and care for their family members. Employment was one of the factors that enabled Cambodians to advance socially, and people often used this economic status as one of the factors in comparing achievement with their friends or relatives.

Work and welfare assistance has enabled Cambodians from various backgrounds to establish themselves and maintain freedom to live their life in privacy. The majority of Cambodians would like to keep their Khmer heritage and to live according to their Khmer tradition. Their attempts to maintain their culture have created a sense of communal solidarity and belonging. Their private and communal life has enabled me to observe and to describe, in the following section, what they think, do, and produce at home and in their Cambodian community.

Khmer Culture and Cambodians with Refugees Backgrounds

Culture is a collective consciousness of ideas, beliefs, knowledge, values, experiences and rules that steer everyday behaviour and attitudes within a group. Culture is an institution of a society that shapes a society or community, and has its own externality, objectivity, coerciveness, moral authority and historicity (Berger and Berger 1972:85–87). These shared characteristics are considered to be central to the identity of the individuals who feel they belong to the culture (LRCRCS 1991:62–63).

Culture is learnt, not biologically inherited, and involves arbitrarily assigned, symbolic meaning. Culture has at least three components: what people think; what people do; and the material products they produce (Bodley 1994). "Material culture" (Hopkins 1996:17) includes "objects and process by which culture satisfies the most basic physical needs of a population", such as food, housing, clothing, transportation, health, and technology. However, I would add that material culture satisfies multidimensional needs and aspirations: identity, status, and spirituality. Material culture — such as books, music, songs, dance, and religious icons — are important for cultural maintenance. The processes of cultural maintenance, cultural adaptation, and cultural acquisition are varied and complex. People learn culture and they produce it in return. Culture, as a body of learned behaviours common to a given human society, acts rather like a template (i.e. it has predictable form and content), shaping behaviour and consciousness within a society from generation to generation. However, culture is variable and subject to change as people think, revisit, reflect, and justify. People will do, act and react according to socio-cultural constraints and setting.

Khmer Cultural Setting

Combining creativity and intellect with the gifts nature bestowed on the land the Cambodians inhabited, beginning as early as the first century AD, the indigenous Mon-Khmer combined their animistic beliefs with Indian Brahmanism and Buddhism to form a unique folk religion. Religion has always ordered the lives of Cambodians, but creativity is evident there as well. Chandler (1993) has reported that new beliefs, cultural patterns and norms were added to the Khmer cultural system without the old norms being rejected and without attempting to reconcile any inherent tensions — they were simply submerged into a type of cultural subconsciousness.

Many myths derive from that lost civilisation, and religion is integral to Cambodian thought. Brahmanism digresses and Mahayana Buddhism takes a turn before it gives way to Hinayana or Theravada Buddhism after the fall of the Khmer empire in the thirteenth century. Through this development, the Khmer practice has created a fusion of folk religion which becomes unique to Cambodians. Although the Khmer Rouge Pol Pot regime wiped out all religious practice during the second half of the 1970s, the Khmer in Cambodia revitalised Khmer Theravada Buddhism. One formal Buddhist belief remains unchanged in the Cambodian folk religion: the concept of merit. Buddhism (Headley 1990:112–122; Neveu 1993:94) has survived in Cambodia and has become the national religion: 96% of Cambodians are Theravada Buddhists. They conduct their daily routines according to the habitat and the seasonal patterns of monsoon and rice field work. The following pictures (Figures 5.5 and 5.6) are the twelve-month seasonal Cambodian festivities in Cambodia. Cambodian communal life is based on a lunar calendar that begins with the Cambodian New Year in April. Phchium Ben is unique to Cambodia in that no other Buddhist countries celebrate this festivity, as it is a fusion of Khmer folk spiritualism of ancestor belief with Brahmanism and Buddhism.

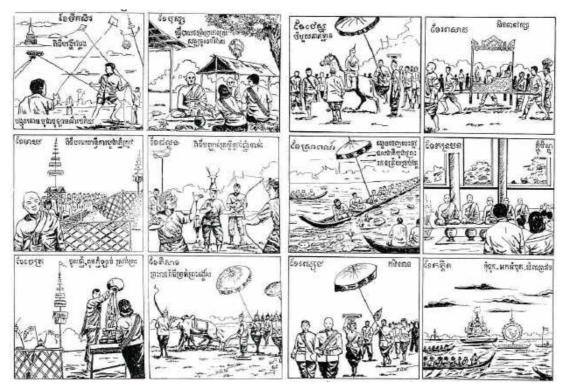
The rural and urban environments also shape the Cambodian individual and their communal life. Bit (1991:55–56) explains that Cambodian society incorporated two completely distinct subcultures: a rural area of peasants with the conservative lifestyle and values of the traditional Cambodian culture; and, in the urban areas, the French influence and the lifestyle of the élite. Social distance between these subcultures grew rapidly from the colonial period, and the lack of understanding between the two sectors of the other's problems, approaches in social life and dissimilar goals produced tension. Standards of living differed radically, from affluence in the urban settings to bare subsistence in the rural areas.

The social isolation of village life reinforced the fact that most villagers were related in some way. Living lifetime patterns of self-sufficiency on the margins of survival, and with no expectation of assistance from the outside, villagers had no need for interaction with the larger environment.

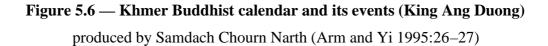
Ponchaud (1977) has provided a brief note on Cambodian mentality and behaviours. Cambodians, according to Ponchaud, belong to a race of brave warriors who ruled Southeast Asia during the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Even though the history of Cambodians since the fourteenth century is characterised by a succession of misfortunes, the contemporary Cambodians have a feeling of "fierce national pride rooted in a glorious past" (Ponchaud 1977:3–4). A strong feeling of pride — for the village, for the district and province — usually characterises Cambodians' community life (Headley 1990:88).



Figure 5.5 — A Khmer village with a Buddhist temple in the background



ព្រះរាជពិធី ឆ្នានសមាស នេះប្រេចប្បងឡើងតាមច្បាប់របស់ព្រះបាទសម្ដេចព្រះបារក្សារាមាឥស្សភា ជិបតីព្រះអង្គដួង ដែលសម្ដេចព្រះសង្ឃរាជថ្នាក់ទី? (ខ.ណ) ទ្រង់បានតិពន្លក្នុងប្រវត្តិវត្តទណ្ដាលោម (ច្រហ្មីវីវភ



Attitude and Beliefs

Bit (1991) has written about the Cambodian personality, and that their personality traits confirm "their healthy scepticism about relying on others for their own immediate survival". Also to surmount life's most difficult challenge, Cambodians were reminded "not to abandon the curved path and not to travel the straight path" (Bit 1991:124). In his clinical interviews with Cambodians in California, Bit asked the interviewees to rank a number of statements to help identify the Cambodian "ascendant personality". The following statements had the highest ranking:

- 1. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.
- 2. Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.
- 3. It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and there.
- 4. Most men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their property.
- Generally speaking, men won't work hard unless they're forced to do so. (Bit 1991:129)

The rule of conduct (Ponchaud 1977:5–6) in Cambodian society is not to behave "differently from others", but in general, to be "afraid of others" and "very timid". A Cambodian is "not afraid of keeping silent". This silence does not "reflect embarrassment, but happiness at being with others". "The Khmer like to be left alone, free from the presences of strangers." Emile Senart (cited in Bit 1991:28) comments: "Everywhere one senses a manifest preoccupation to disturb people's habits as little as possible, and to submerge deep indifference inside surface similarities." Cambodians would not stand up and be assertive. They would not confront each other face-to-face when they disagree.

Bit comments that "the sometimes contradictory results give impetus to the confusion in standards of moral development operating today" (Bit 1991:72). According to Bit, the ideal standards for proper behaviour follow the precepts contained in Buddhist teaching. But in practice, considerable variation from the Buddhist ideal occurs frequently. Religious rules could thus "be bent or interpreted to fit the predilections of the individual". Cambodians remind themselves and their children to "follow the course and the bend of a river [when rowing a canoe], enter a

country according to the local areas" (ចូលស្ទឹងតាមបត់ចូលស្រុកតាមទេស – chaul steung

tarm bort chaul srok tarm tes). This reminds everyone to adapt to the environment through which they are moving. In short, try to be the same and cope with any difference from whom and what they are. Cambodians are familiar with blending in when needs be and going with the flow.

While Cambodians blend in well with others and are flexible, Cambodians also remind themselves that "a fruit always falls close to its tree trunk" (fgtftfjff:#sgttufff) — *Pleir chheu chhrouss min chhgnay goll*). So, although the individual will be responsive to the needs of the outside environment, he or she will always cling to his or her own identity and roots. Historically, Cambodians are used to resisting assimilation from their neighbouring enemy countries and colonial masters to preserve their "Khmerness". For example, Romanization of the Khmer language was rejected by the Cambodians during the 1940s when Vietnam adopted Romanization of its Vietnamese language. In Vietnam, Cambodians living in the South — known as the "Khmer Krom" — still have their Khmer culture and identity.

Like other Asians, Cambodians are concerned about how their family name and personal image relate to Cambodian society. Cambodians refer to this social image in two ways: (1) as reputation — the family name and heritage (trất turn: —

keir chhmuos); and (2) as personal dignity or "face" (មុខមាត់ — moukmort) — which constitutes the "essence of [the] personality and dignity of a person" or individual ego. "Losing face" is a "serious [personal] injury" (Ponchaud 1977:4). These two elements are interrelated. Through the generations, the family reputation becomes the individual heritage that enriches "individual face". Individual good behaviour and deeds can also contribute to the family reputation. Bad behaviour can lead to an individual "losing face", and to his or her whole family "losing reputation". If this happens, they say, "we do not know how to hide the face" (មិនដឹងយកមុខ ទៅទុកឯណា —

mindeng yok muktauv tuk eynar).

The situation makes the whole family embarrassed and shamed — will ruin the family reputation (ខ្លួចកេត្តិ៍ឈ្មោះ — *khauch keir chhmuos*). Cambodians will do anything to protect their family reputation and name. They will gang together (កាន់ ជើង — *kanh jeunhg*: hold the feet), supporting their family members at any cost even if

they were wrong. Loyalty to the family group is more important than what is right or wrong. This commitment to family and group loyalty also manifests in New Zealand's Cambodian communities and becomes the main cause of community or group fragmentation. Due to losing face, a group of Cambodians broke away from the Waikato Khmer Association and respective groups to form the Waikato Cambodian Trust. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Refugee Experience

Culture exists in geographic and historic contexts. In the case of refugees (Hopkins 1996:8), "there is a triple set of contexts: the context of their own history and traditional culture, the context of the culture in which they are now find themselves, and the special context of refugeeism". Refugees come to the new country of their settlement with very few belongings, but with rich memories of their culture. They are cultural carriers who have to survive in a new socio-cultural setting.

A study of refugee adaptation or adjustment (Hopkins 1996:7) "is a study of learning in the broadest sense: refugees are faced with learning an entire new culture, a whole new way of life". They think and need to make "profound changes in their material, social, and ideological life". Hopkins argued that "the sociocultural setting" was the "primary factor in the success of the eventual adjustment". The members of the receiving culture can either facilitate or impede adjustment.

Indochinese refugees in the American model (Hein 1995) rejected assimilation by choosing between preserving homeland traditions and accepting those in the USA. Rather than transplanting traditions, they re-created communal institutions that were an "amalgamation of both cultures". Hein has found that integration is more likely to occur when refugees approach the new society as individuals. He noticed that the "collective adaptation" of Indochinese refugees in America used communities as a means by which to solve their resettlement problems. Refugees did not seek to maintain their ethnicity at all costs. They blended "aspects of American culture that [they] may find of value with element[s] of their native culture that they deemed worth preserving".

Hein concludes that adjustment of refugees to a new society "involves a dynamic polarisation between pluralism and integration". They recognise the "reality, even necessity, of difference and diversity in a society" and "at the same time, they

accept the inevitability, even desirability, of change and of becoming someone new" (Hein 1995:153–154).

Mortland has described the way Cambodians in the USA define "Khmerness" or "Cambodianess", the process of becoming a "Cambodian refugee", the decision of "how to be Cambodian in America", the "mythical" definition of Cambodian, the "recreating 'real' Cambodians" in America, and the maintenance of "Cambodianess" among Americans (1994:5–27). Many of the factors and drivers identified by Mortland can be found in similar forms in the New Zealand context, as we shall see later in this chapter.

The Family in Khmer Culture

Extended Family and its Members

Khmer society was a matriarchal society, and women have held a position of respect and equality in Cambodian society throughout history (Rooney 1994:25). Inscriptions recount the hereditary lineage of the ruler often passing through a matriline and the inheritance of property also being transmitted through the female line. Women figured in the government during the Angkor Period and were also prominent in the economic structure of the Khmer Empire. Bit (1991:28) has written that the "cultural drift of Cambodian toward paternalism, autocratic rule and ritualistic behaviour, most noticeable in the centuries of direct Indian influence, set the course for succeeding cultural development".

In spite of this change, matriarchy is still embedded in the Khmer society and women still have a dominant role in domestic issues in contemporary Cambodia. The most obvious example is the position of the woman in the contemporary Khmer marriage. In contrast to the widespread Indian practice, Cambodian women receive dowries from the groom's family, and the groom has to fit in with the bride's family and come to live with them. This is also in contrast to the general Chinese custom that holds that the bride moves to her husband's family. Legally, the husband is the head of the Cambodian family, but the wife has considerable authority, especially in the family economy (Headley 1990). The husband provides shelter and food for the family; the wife is 'in charge of the family budget, and she serves as the major ethical and religious model for the children'' (Headley 1990:88–89).

Young children are free, as they grow up without any rigid constraints. Cambodians would tolerate them and say "*vear min torn doeung kdey* — ាមិនទាន់ដឹងក្អី: she/he has not got any understandings yet". Children's "games emphasise socialisation or skill rather than winning or losing" (Headley 1990:94). Through their life, individuals would rather improve their stature against their own merits and be responsible for their own actions. "You can compare against yourself; you can't shit like an elephant" — to compare with others sometimes is not realistic. This has led to an individualistic concept of merit.

Contemporary Khmer culture has its origins in a multicultural society that has been influenced by the cultures of India, China, and France; and more recently by the experience of war. Even in spite of foreign influences and recent traumatic events, Cambodians have managed to preserve their core cultural identity and values. These cultural elements have also become embedded in the Cambodian spiritual and cultural way of life. Individuals are expected to conform to the cultural norms, and it is believed that ignoring them will not only upset the family, but also the spirit of their ancestors ($\mbox{gsm} - Daun Ta$) and ruin the family's reputation. For example, a few

years ago, a bride in Hamilton had such a severe headache on her wedding day that no medicine could relieve the pain. Then she went to her family room to pray to her ancestors and beg their forgiveness for not informing them of the wedding, and the pain went away. The woman (an anaesthetic technician) told her Cambodian friend (a nurse) later, but insisted that she did not believe in superstition.

Although there are different backgrounds and variation, the Cambodian family structure and its obligations remain much the same, as Headley (1990: 88) explains:

...a Cambodian nuclear family, consisting of a husband and a wife, and their unmarried children, probably continued to be the most important kin group in Khmer society. The family is the major unit of both production and consumption. Within this unit are the strongest emotional ties, the assurance of aid in the event of trouble, economic cooperation in labour, sharing of produce and income, and contribution as a unit to ceremonial obligations.

A larger grouping, the personal kindred that includes a nuclear family with the children, grandchildren, grandparents, uncles, aunts, first cousins, nephews, and nieces, may [be] included in the household. A survey conducted for this study in 2004 of the size of Cambodian households in New Zealand (Table 5.6) found that 42% had at least five occupants.

Table 5-6 — Size of Cambodians' households		
	Frequency	%
One	1	1.8
Two	12	21.1
Three	7	12.3
Four	13	22.8
Five	7	12.3
Six	8	14.0
Seven	8	14.0
Eight	1	1.8
Total	57	100.0

Some households have accommodated an extended family of three generations (Figure 5.7). The spirits of their ancestors are also part of their everyday family living. Cambodians offer food and fruit to their ancestors at home when they have a celebration or they eat special food. Parts of the soul of their dead relatives and family members stay with them. Some people experience visitations from their dead relatives or friends in their dreams. A woman in Hamilton told me that, in a dream she had, her friend's mother came to visit her with five mangos in her hand. The friend in Hamilton rang the daughter the next morning about her dream. The daughter was astonished since she had just offered five mangos to the monks in Auckland the day before. To Cambodians, dreams are real and a part of their daily life. They share their dreams with friends or relatives, and then act according to their interpretation of it. If they have a bad dream, they will see monks to avert potential misfortune.

At home, family members communicate in Khmer and English. Parents and grandparents have tried their best to bring up their children in the Khmer way and expose them to their Khmer heritage and language. Although generation gaps were appearing, Khmer parents retained their family closeness as much as they could.

Parents and Grandparents as Khmer Language Teachers

Elderly Cambodian people in New Zealand live with their family and go to the temple for their Buddhist routine. At home, elders speak Khmer to the members of the family, and in this way the family can benefit from learning Khmer as a spoken language. Cambodians say: "ភាសារសាប់ ជាតិសាប់ — Phearsar slab jeat slab": the language dies, the race dies. Therefore, Cambodians preserve their language at all costs to keep their culture alive. My survey in New Zealand finds that language is considered the main element of a culture, and art (Fig. 5.8) is the least important element (Table. 5.7). When asked to describe the elements of Khmer culture, participants had a variety of opinions.

Table 5-7 — Main elements of Khmer culture		
	Frequency	%
Language	25	43.9
Custom	6	10.5
Tradition	4	7.0
Buddhism	3	5.3
Good character	1	1.8
Family-oriented	1	1.8
Love your culture	1	1.8
Educate in Khmer	1	1.8
Angkor Wat	1	1.8
Arts	1	1.8
Root	1	1.8
Not specified	10	17.5
Don't know	2	3.5
Total	57	100.0

That Buddhism scored low in this survey (5.3%) could indicate that the participants take Buddhism for granted as a part of their life, as every Cambodian community constructs their identity around Buddhism. The belief that it is vital to preserve Khmer language is so strong that various Cambodian communities in New Zealand have attempted to maintain the Khmer language by running community classes. During the 1980s and 1990s, the Cambodian Association in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin ran Khmer language classes; however, these classes did not survive through to the new millennium. Although these classes have been discontinued, the majority of the people from Cambodia living in New Zealand believe that it is necessary to learn Khmer (Table 5.8).



Figure 5.7 — **An extended family of three generations** *Sunday News*, 13 July 1985



Figure 5.8 — National Refugee Day, Hamilton, 1984 Waikato Times, 1984

Since formal classroom learning was not viable, the Khmer language survives as a living language only in local Cambodian communities and homes. For Cambodians who have settled in New Zealand, the Khmer language is no longer their standard way of communication in the wider community, and has instead become a minority language. Moreover, the Khmer media of meaning and communication space has shrunken further within their households as everyone has to learn English during the evenings and weekends to meet their individual urgent language needs. Since arrival in New Zealand, the Khmer language has given way to English even in Cambodian homes. My survey showed that the levels of Khmer language used between parents and children are significantly different. Khmer was the spoken language mainly used by parents and adults (47%), compared to about a quarter of their children who still used Khmer language to communicate with their parents (23%) (Table 5.9). Among the adults, 35% did not read materials in Khmer at home. Few of their children read Khmer, and 55% of them read only material in English (Table 5.10). When asked about Khmer language, only 68.4% of our participants (Table 5.8) felt that it was necessary to learn Khmer.

Table 5-8 — It is necessary to learn Khmer			
	Frequency %		
Don't know	7	12.3	
Yes	39	68.4	
No	7	12.3	
Not applicable	4	7.0	
Total	57	100.0	

Table 5-9 — Language spoken in Cambodians' homes				
	Parents		Children	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Khmer	27	47.4	13	22.8
Chinese	1	1.8	7	12.3
English	3	5.3	20	35.1
Mixed	26	45.6	17	29.8
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0

Table 5-10 — Reading language in Cambodians' homes				
	Parents		Children	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Khmer	11	19.3	2	3.5
Chinese	1	1.8	1	1.8
English	19	33.3	31	54.4
Mixed	23	40.4	8	14.0
Not	3	5.3	15	26.3
applicable				
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0

Unfortunately, Khmer language that is spoken in a closed community becomes frozen in the time of that community's establishment in New Zealand. Newcomers describe the language used in New Zealand as archaic, featuring a lot of outdated words mostly from the 1970s. There is also a blending of Khmer and English, such as *"tauv* tori [go] shopping" and *"tinh* \hat{s} m [buy] ticket". Because of neglect and the constraints of its functionality, formal Khmer language is not known by the generation born in New Zealand after 1975, and the majority of them cannot read and write Khmer. Furthermore, they speak broken Khmer with a Kiwi accent.

Language erosion among the first generation and language lost to the second generation has become critical to the existing identity of being Cambodian. For those who are not able to speak Khmer, their identity becomes problematic because this young group would like to see themselves as "Cambodian" or "children of the Khmer". They argue that, although they have lost the language, they still mainly conduct their life in a Cambodian environment and still have "Khmer blood". Although generation gaps were appearing, Khmer parents have retained their family closeness as much as they could. They took pride in their children's educational accomplishments and displayed graduation pictures in the hall or lounge.



Figure 5.9 — An epic of Ramker Khmer Youth and Recreational Trust (2004) Author's collection



Figure 5.10 — Peacock dance Khmer Youth and Recreational Trust (2004) Author's collection

There has been resurgence within the 1.5 and second-generation Cambodians once individuals realised the implications of the loss of their language. Young people who interact with their community have started speaking more Khmer language. A Cambodian community worker, who gained his qualification in journalism from Christchurch, said he spoke more Khmer than English since he moved to Auckland. His involvement with the Cambodian community has enabled him to run a community radio show, a Cambodian soccer club, and a youth group, which has revitalised its Khmer identity through Khmer cultural performance (Figures 5.9 and 5.10).

Cambodians do not just confine their conversation in Khmer to the home. Nowadays people can hear Cambodians, especially in South Auckland, converse in Khmer while doing their shopping. Using Khmer language in public has also given Cambodians an advantage in shopping or bargaining. The members of the family or group are able to discuss the sale privately in public or in front of a salesperson, as one person explained: "They can hear us talking, but they can't understand our discussion. Using our Khmer language gave us freedom to exclude them as they were powerless to eavesdropping." The Khmer language used in this instance empowers Cambodians shoppers to their bargaining advantage.

Obligation

Smith-Hefner has described how a key feature of Cambodian parents' moral training involves "inculcating in children the proper attitudes toward superiors". This begins with the way children regard their parents. Cambodians say that children must learn that their parents are their "first gods", their "gods within the house". Smith-Hefner writes:

Children are said to owe "unlimited things" to their parents, because their elders sacrifice everything for their offspring in bringing them into the world and nurturing them. According to Cambodians, this "filial debt" is described as "so great that it can never be fully repaid".

Cambodian moral education focuses on filial obligation and, more specifically, on children's responsibility to reciprocate the care and affection their parents have showed on them. Reiterated over the life of a son or a daughter, this theme of unlimited debts serves as the linchpin of intergenerational morality within the family (1999:95–96). In New Zealand, Cambodians continue to hold on to these values and traditions. As a Cambodian living in Manukau said: "I can't put my mother in a rest home. It's not right to dump your old mother after those years that she had looked after us. It's too cruel to do that since she can't speak English and eat Kiwi food." It is not uncommon to see three generations living in the same household in New Zealand. In 2004, the majority (87.7%) of Cambodian participants in my survey for this thesis agreed that families should care for their elderly members. However, some younger respondents (12.3%) did not agree. In some cases, where children had refused to have an arranged marriage the parental respect had been disturbed.

Generosity and sacrifice are core Khmer values. To Cambodians, sacrifice is in the following cycle:

Individual sacrifice oneself for the family, The family for the commune, The commune for the country, and The country for oneself.

This cyclical responsibility does not always have the highest priority, but its appropriateness is assessed in the light of specific circumstances and interests.

In extended families spread across national borders, members still have an obligation to look after each other. For example, Cambodians send money to their relatives in Cambodia to rebuild the vandalised graves of their parents or grandparents. Farmer and Hafez (1988:180) found that 72% of refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam sent money to support their relatives overseas. This familial obligation created transnational relationships that involved remittance and visits. This transnational family link also strengthened individual culture and identity. Cambodians would rather send their savings to help their relatives in Cambodia to get a start in life than keep their money to themselves.

A woman in Hamilton concluded: "That is why we run away from Cambodia. Most of us left our family behind to save our own life. And now we are alive and made some money, we can send some money to assist my family at home in Cambodia."

Besides looking after their extended family, parents have a major duty to marry their children off.

Marriage

In Cambodia, young people have the opportunity to begin looking for future mates, but the choice of a spouse is a complex one for the young male, as Headley (1990) describes:

It may involve not only his parents and his friends, as well as those of the young women, but also matchmaker. A young man can decide on a likely spouse on his own and then ask his parents to arrange the marriage negotiations, or the young person's parents may make a choice of spouse, giving the child little to say in the selection ... (1990:95)

In her research on a Cambodian community in Dunedin, Higbee wrote in "From Sampot to White Satin" (1992):

The two families who are joined together by the wedding also play a very important role. This is shown by the way that the negotiations and rituals include all family members as well as the bride and groom. Even the spirits of the ancestors, the *neakta*, are included in the negotiations. A traditional Khmer wedding is not the union of two people during a special religious ceremony performed by a priest. It is a complex of different traditions and actions which, when re-enacted correctly, will join two families together ... (1992:19)

As a custom in Cambodia, after the spouse has been selected, a go-between (chau moha — ரிப்பி) meets with the representative (meba — பிரி) of the young woman's parents and broaches the subject of marriage. Then each family investigates the other to make sure its child is marrying into a good family. The families consulted an achar (ritualist) to ascertain the compatibility of the couple. Both sides agree to the marriage, and presents are exchanged and accepted at the engagement day (sdev dorndung — ស្ដីដណ្ដឹង). The groom's family has to negotiate (khan sla — ខាន់សា) the "price of the mother milk" which the groom has to pay in gold or money to the bride's parents for their parenting and care. In rural areas, there is a form of bride-service; that is, a young man may take a vow to serve his prospective father-in-law for a period of time from a few months to a few years. The girl's family has the right to end the engagement (phdach kon — ផ្លាប់កូន) if the young man does not behave well. Once the family is happy with the young man, the parents accept, and set the wedding date with the help of the *achar*. The date and time of the wedding are very important as they are prescribed according to Khmer astrology for the most auspicious time and wellbeing of the couple. Acceptance by the families also means that the couple has

support from both sides of the family for their life together, making the settling in of the newcomer easier — economically, culturally and spiritually.

The traditional Cambodian wedding is a long and colourful affair. It lasts from two to three days. The bride's family organises the whole ceremony and covers the costs of the wedding with the help of the dowry. Contemporary Cambodian weddings are now compressed into two days (Hill 2005:128–134).

On the first day, the groom's family and close friends go to the bride's house to offer fruit and food and formally confirm consent to the marriage. The formal wedding process begins when the *achar* announces the formal engagement and informs their ancestors and the guardian of the land and water (*krong pealy* — $[n/2 \pm m n)$) with food and drinks. Then the *achar* leads the procession for the parents to the ceremonial cutting of the hair of the bride and the groom (mn/2 + m n)) as the symbol of their last duty of care. Monks in their colourful traditional costumes are invited to this occasion to bless the couple. They tie the knot (*chorng day* — $\pi h i t$) as their parents and relatives proceed to tie a piece of red string around the wrist of the couple and make a wish for them. That evening the parents of the bride accept the "price of the milk" fixed during the engagement as the *khan sla*. This *khan sla* is the traditional official certification of the marriage. Once this finishes, the bride retreats to her room and the groom moves back to his quarters.

The next morning, the groom's party lines up on the street led by a wedding music band and the elders who then proceed to the bride's house. Again the groom's party brings fruit and gifts for the bride. Once the party is settled, the groom sits in the traditional posture behind a ceremonial pillow and pays respect to the monks and the bride's family, and patiently waits for the bride. The *achar* makes a call with the beating noise of a *Khmuoh* (tupt: — an instrument similar to the gong, but is used only for the wedding) and the music of "opening the curtains". The bride, accompanied by a lady, appears from her room and takes a seat to the left of the groom. A dancer performs the "sword dance" to fend off bad luck and misfortune from the couple. The monks bless them for the last time, and the *achar* performs his last wedding ritual by joining the hands of the couple and dipping them in a bowl of *sambour* (δ^{2} gi — water). The *achar* finally lights the candle and begins passing around a *popil* (ufinunfitu — a burning candle with melted wax on an upside-down

heart-shaped handle as a symbol of their union, nineteen times around the couple, before extinguishing it. The announcement of their union as husband and wife is followed by a sprinkling of areca flowers on them. Parents, relatives, and friends, one by one, tie the red string on the couple's wrists and make a wish for them (Figure 5.9). Once finished, the *achar* beats the *khmouh* again, and the bride leads the groom into her room as husband and wife. This is the re-enactment of the historic wedding of the first Khmer queen, who is the matriarch. The wedding ends up with a lavish feast at the residence of the bride or a restaurant, accompanied by loud party music during the evening, where guests are invited to the party and to donate money (*chorng day* that the couple. Throughout the wedding, the bride changes into many colourful and gorgeous costumes and gowns. The next morning, the couple prepares food and offers it to the ancestors of both families through the monks at the temple; in return, the monks bless the new couple.

As a married couple moves through their life, they have children, nurture and train those children, educate them, and marry them off. When they become too old to support themselves, they may invite the youngest child's family to move in. At this stage in their lives, they enjoy a position of high status; they help care for their grandchildren, and devote more time in service to the *wat* ($t_{\rm fl}$ — temple) (Ross 1990:95–97).

Dr Mai Van Trang, who lived in Hamilton during the 1980s, wrote "An Asian View of Cultural Differences":

We marry first, then love. You love first, then marry. Our marriage is the beginning of a love affair. Your marriage is the happy end of a romance. Our marriage is an indissoluble bond. Your marriage is a contract. Our love is mute. Your love is mute. Your love is vocal. We try to conceal our love from the world. You delight in showing your love to others. (Trang 1987:7)

The sentiments in this New Zealand Vietnamese poem are also common among the Cambodians living in New Zealand. As time goes by, there have been some changes as young-generation Cambodians become more familiar with the New Zealand way of life and become more vocal and transparent about their love affairs, but their approach to marriage is still maintained in a Khmer simplified form. The New Zealand Census — Ethnic Group 2001(p.207) showed that single male Cambodians (597) outnumbered single female Cambodians (484). The lack of female counterparts in New Zealand leads Cambodian families to search for future spouses for their sons in Cambodia. This transnational relationship can put stresses on the family through the complicated cultural process of finding a compatible couple who can love each other and live harmoniously together. From the mid-1990s, some Cambodian men and women have brought their spouse from Cambodia.

Marriage reflects the significant role of the family in Cambodian life. Family relationships are so crucial that they serve as the cornerstone for the individual's and family's wellbeing. These relationships — and the role of family in selecting partners — are so fundamental that they should not be overlooked or given insufficient weight. New Zealand, as a multicultural society that nurtures diversity and integration, must ensure that the continuing strong significance to Cambodians of this cultural value is not overlooked or undermined. Cambodian cultural ideals place the ability of the parents to marry off their children as a key way they can carry on their tradition as Cambodians.

Families who have managed to settle in New Zealand but have been unable to find a single Cambodian female for their single male family member have found the situation depressing. These feelings of deprivation have brought loneliness and distress to the individuals, and shame to the family that is unable to fulfil their duties as parents. Children are honoured to find an appropriate husband or wife who is happy to be part of the family and is accepted by the family. Parental involvement in engineering such unions can end the shame to the family and the distress felt by the single person.

Migration from refugee camps to New Zealand has made *achars* and monks hard to come by, further changing the shape that Khmer weddings have taken in New Zealand. On their arrival in Hamilton in 1980, a young couple were unable to have a proper Cambodian wedding. Instead, the family celebrated their wedding by just having the ritual of informing their ancestors of the couple's union (*Sein* — there). The couple went on to sign their wedding certificate at the Registrar.

Exposure to Christian sponsors in New Zealand has also resulted in the inclusion of Christian marriage rituals into Khmer traditions. Attempts by Cambodian migrants to assimilate into New Zealand society have shortened the length of weddings, and part of their format is now based on Christian and British traditions (Figure 5.10).

Cambodian marriage in New Zealand changes according to the circumstances and the time available. All weddings are celebrated during the weekend, as Cambodians say that now the weekend is *tgnay jear pelear loor* (ថ្លៃជាពលាល្អ— the good day). The process usually begins late-afternoon Friday, with Khmer marriage rituals until Saturday evening, ending up with a big dinner party at a Chinese restaurant.

Nowadays the wedding format is shortened, but the main events remain the same as in Cambodia, and spouses are always chosen with the parents' or next-ofkin's help. Some cultural materials, such as the two bunches of "flowers of areca" (magai), are replaced by the "New Zealand native flowers of Nikau palm" or just two bowls of rose petals. In some areas where the Cambodian community has no Khmer classical band, a sound system plays the ritual wedding music instead. The ritual of "passing around the *popil*" is shortened to three times only. The traditional Cambodian ceremony finishes at midday. Then the wedding party rushes off for their photo opportunity in a garden before they return to their party. From time to time at a wedding party, the young couple are able to greet and thank the guests in Khmer, and then will switch to English for the rest of the speech. The couple signs their marriage certificate with the celebrant either at the end of the ceremony at home or at the dinner party. Some couples celebrate their union with the Cambodian ritual process, including paying the "price of the milk" and having a party, but the couple do not sign a marriage certificate, so they live in a de-facto relationship.

However, despite all these changes, Cambodian weddings have remained Khmer, and still reflect Khmer beliefs and ways of thinking (Higbee 1992:19). The attitude of Cambodians toward a wedding is more or less relaxed. But when the wedding day comes, they want the Cambodian way. I went to a wedding in Manurewa where the mother of the groom said to her son, who had complained about his sore legs: "You have to fold your legs, bow your head, pair with your wife in front of the ceremonial pillow and pay respect to your ancestors. You have to negotiate with your

legs at least once in your lifetime as a Cambodian." Everyone laughed, knowing full well that he and his generation are not used to sitting in this posture. To be Cambodian, according to the lady, is to be able to continue or demonstrate respect to their ancestors and perform the Cambodian ritual at least once in his lifetime (Figures 5.11 and 5.12).

In New Zealand, the majority of the participants in my survey (84.2%) believe that their children should have the freedom to choose their future spouses (Table 5.11).

Table 5-11 — Children should be free to choose their spouse			
	Frequency	%	
Strongly agree	17	29.8	
Agree	31	54.4	
Not agree	4	7.0	
Not agree at all	1	1.8	
Not applicable	4	7.0	
Total	57	100.0	

Conversely, 8.8% did not agree that their children should have the freedom to choose their future spouses.

During the 1990s, the 1.5 generation Cambodians began to see their parents as being too conservative and too strict. I noticed that these young adults ignored their parents' advice and begin dating their Cambodian student friends and others. Some parents of these young men were upset, and, seeing those young Cambodian women as "wild", rejected the relationship. This sometimes led to family conflicts. There were cases of intervention from school counsellors to allow the girl to talk to her boyfriend on the family telephone. There have been cases when the young adults have run away from home. Cambodian tertiary students have plenty of time to be together. Over time, parents have softened their attitudes towards dating and marriage.



Figure 5.11 — A Khmer wedding in Hamilton, 1992 Author's collection



Figure 5.12 — A Khmer wedding in Auckland, 2003 Author's collection

The accessibility of mobile phones and the internet has furthered young adult Cambodians abilities to communicate freely with their friends. Parents have used international phone calls or sent overseas letters seeking spouses for their children. Recently cyberspace and the internet have opened another means for match-making. Last year, a Cambodian in Papakura found his spouse in Vietnam through a matchmaking website. The man went to meet her family in Vietnam and invited her to meet his family in New Zealand. They got married in Auckland and went back to Vietnam for their second wedding party.

Nowadays second generation Cambodians have more freedom than their older siblings in terms of dating and choosing their partner. Some of these Cambodians have begun dating people from other ethnic groups too. They bring their friend home to meet the family. They go out as boyfriend and girlfriend. They take more time toward having their formal union although the family has approved their courtship. The young women live with their parents until they get married.

Intermarriage

By the 1980s, there had not been much intermarriage between Cambodians and New Zealanders. "This is due to the fact that Cambodians tend to socialise together and not due to religious or cultural difference" (Thou 1989:42–46). By 2004, intermarriage was increasing. It is more common to see a Kiwi husband and a Cambodian wife (Fig 5.13 & 5.14). There are also some Cambodian men married to Kiwi women.

The majority of the participants in my study agreed (84.2%) that Cambodians are free to intermarry (Table 5.12).

Table 5-12 – Khmer people should be free to intermarry		
	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	15	26.3
Agree	33	57.9
Not agree	1	1.8
Not agree at all	2	3.5
Not applicable	6	10.5
Total	57	100.0

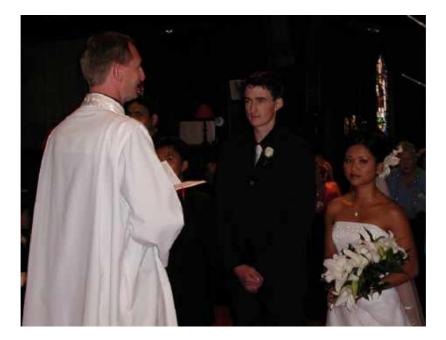


Figure 5.13 — A wedding in Auckland, 2004 Courtesy of the Kuy family



Figure 5.14 — A wedding in Auckland, 2004 Courtesy of the Kuy family

As time goes by, intermarriage has become valued, as a man in Auckland explains:

I have more Kiwi connection than everyone here. I have got a Kiwi daughterin-law and a Lao son-in-law. My Kiwi daughter-in-law was originally from England. My son-in-law is from Laos. When they moved in with us they eat our food. Even my daughter-in-law can cook rice very well. She likes rice very much. Now they moved to their own home. But my daughter-in-law still cooks rice. For me, such relation is very important.

Intermarriage has extended social relations among the Cambodians with others. This exposure enriches their social relations and understandings of different practices. They celebrate diversity and social tolerance.

Intermarriage between Khmer and Chinese was a feature during the late 1980s when people from China approached Khmer single women in Morrinsville, Auckland and Hamilton (Harris 1986:13). They married and some of them have children. However, the majority of couples divorced when the Chinese spouse gained his or her residence and citizenship. Again during the 1990s, some international students from Cambodia who married Cambodian residents broke up after they gained residency. This practice has warned Cambodian families to be cautious with visitors to New Zealand who seek a marriage of convenience. Unfortunately, divorce is not just confined to this group, it happens across the board for all sorts of reasons.

Divorce

In Khmer culture divorce brings shame to the family, and couples would endeavour to stay together as long as they can for the sake of their family and reputation. Women are forced to stay in the relationship due to economic reasons, as there is no welfare system to support them as a sole parent.

Divorce is a new phenomenon in the Cambodian community in New Zealand (Table 5.13). Forced marriage during the Khmer Rouge regime and marriage for convenience in the refugee camps were the main reasons for divorce during the early stages of resettlement. Some people found their previous spouse alive and sought separation and gained a divorce from their current spouse.

In recent years, new patterns of divorce have emerged among young couples. "About a quarter of the weddings that I attended during the late 1990s ended up in divorce," a woman said. As Cambodians take in New Zealand's way of life and feel secured, individuals have confidence to stand up against abuse and home violence. Usually, women file for separation and divorce with legal aide.

Table 5-13 — Social marital status of Cambodians			
	Never		
	Partnered	married	Separated
Male	951	597	42
Female	966	483	93
Total	1920	1083	135
2001 Census: Ethnic Groups p207			

A man explained to me that there are two sides of each story and said, "Violence, gambling, and drinking are the causes of their family problems." Some men and women are addicted to gambling. In such cases, people do not feel shame about the divorce. The majority of the divorces are genuine; but some are not as the couple uses it as a divorce of convenience.

During the 1990s, some couples found loopholes in the welfare system in which solo mothers were entitled to the domestic purposes benefit (DPB) and accommodation benefits. Those couples went through the court system to obtain their divorce. While the men went to work, earned an income, and lived away from the family, the solo mothers lived on the DPB. The majority of divorced Cambodian men remarry soon after with Cambodian women from Cambodia. I was told that people informed the authorities of these "divorces of convenience", and soon afterwards the social welfare and the immigration service tightened their service.

Married, separated or divorced Cambodian men and women conduct their life within the New Zealand legal and social framework with a hope of having a better future. They interact with their neighbours and other Cambodians. They use various initiatives to solve their problems and to advance themselves and their family.

Cambodian Women's Life

Cambodian women have a specific gender role in their family as well in the

Cambodian community. A Cambodian woman, who came in 1980, told her life story:

I left school at 16 and married at 18. Within two months I was pregnant. I was a housewife and did not need to go out to work as my husband had a good income ...

The Khmer Rouge supervisor called me and said they would like to take my husband away for a rest ... I never saw my husband again. I was eight month pregnant. My little boy was sick with diarrhoea; there was no medicine and no doctor and so he died, age six years ...

I met my second husband in the [refugee] camp ... It was not safe for a single woman in the camp.

I don't know anything about New Zealand ... I spent a month at Mangere Reception Centre. I was pregnant at that time ... my husband and I were not getting on well together ... I cried by myself. I didn't know who I could talk to.

We were given sponsors in the city and stayed with them for a short time till we got accommodation. After that I got a job. I couldn't speak or understand English ... I worked until I was seven months' pregnant, as I need money.

One year after my son was born, I returned to work. My husband and I were still not getting on well. We separated when my son was 18 months old. I cried a lot alone.

I went to English class at polytechnic for more than two years, but found it hard to learn as I had too much to think about.

I get upset or worried sometimes thinking about my future. My feelings are hard to share, so I keep quiet. I cheer myself up about good things in my life.

I am never bored. There is always something to do and I have a few hours' work a week. Now the main thing that worried me is I am not as good at speaking English as I could. Talking English helps me learn more quickly than reading or writing.

I am happy that my son was born here. I speak Khmer to him. I think it is important for both of us. He translates for me sometimes. He does well at school. He doesn't ask much about Cambodia, but I would like him to go and help there for a while when he is older and qualified.

I think I have been lucky. A lot of people died in Cambodia. Over 50 people from my mother's side of the family have disappeared. I miss my country and would like to visit some time, but I am happy to live in New Zealand. (Department of Labour 1994:48)

In spite of all these problems, this woman has managed her life well, as her two

children have graduated. Her daughter is married to a Kiwi and is now working in

America. Her son has become a computer programmer.

Cambodia's matriarchal society goes back to the first century when a queen ruled the Khmer kingdom. The mother is the effective head of the family.

Cambodians use the expression $\iota \uplus \iota \iota \iota m$ "mey bar" for elder or parents. The first word in the term ($\iota \amalg - mey$) means "female"; the second ($\iota \iota - bar$) means "male or father". The first word is the control or leading word and, although " $\iota \amalg - mey$ " literally means "female", it is an important word in Khmer language that in general means "important", "leader" or "head of". A wife in Khmer is " $\iota \amalg \amalg \amalg = mey$ phteah" or the head of the house — not the husband.

Cambodians see women as social actors or players who improve the husband, the family, and the community existence. Cambodians say: "As the roots of the seedling pull dirt away from the seedling bed, women pull men from misery" (សំណាមយោងដីស្រីយោងប្រុស — Samnarb yaung dey, srey yaung pruss). However, Cambodians also remind themselves about the odd ones, too: "who are the bottomless containers" (ស្រីកញើគុ: — srey kanchue thlous), the ones who ruin the family fortune and life. From this point of view, women are the source of both fortune and misfortune.

Cambodian women's behaviour was once prescribed by a very strict "Women's Code" (ច្បាប់ស្រី — *Chbab Srey*), which instructs women on how to be a good woman and a good wife. Men also have their "Men's Codes of Conduct" (ច្បាប់ប្រុស — *Chbab Pross*), which prescribes how to be a good son, good husband, a good boss and a good citizen. These codes, although archaic, still have a great deal of influence on Cambodians' lives. A Cambodian woman's duty is to look after her husband and family. Cambodian women's role as "បេឡះ — *mey phtah*: leader of the house" makes them responsible for managing the family household and the family's wellbeing. In spite of this recognition, Cambodian men, influenced by a male chauvinist view, often see Cambodian women as the "feeble sex" that "cannot even go around the kitchen" (ជើវមិនក្តុំចង្ក្រាន — *deur min chum chorngkrarn*).

Cambodian Women in New Zealand

Cambodian women with a refugee background have been in New Zealand for at least ten years. They have been exposed to the New Zealand environment, which is very supportive of rights and entitlement. Cambodian women have seen the rights of their "Kiwi women" hosts and become more assertive. In a family dispute, a Cambodian man told his friend, "You have to respect your wife in this country. Any woman knows her rights and would not live with you if you abused her." The man did not listen; his wife walked away with the children and filed for divorce.

New Zealand has a high rate of domestic violence and a system to help prevent and deal with it. This system helps Cambodians, too. The New Zealand social system has provided a safe haven to Cambodian women. They are safeguarded by New Zealand standards and are more secure than they were in Cambodia. First, New Zealand law has safeguarded women from domestic violence. Women know their rights, and their children will not tolerate abuse. In the case of any abuse, Cambodian women can approach their sponsor, home tutor, or friends for help. Secondly, Cambodian women can access Women's Refuge with confidentiality. Thirdly, the welfare service and legal aid provide a safety net for Cambodian women to survive in case of family break-up. Doctors and other health workers can also monitor and assist the wellbeing of Cambodian women who may suffer from domestic violence and abuse.

These above practices safeguard Cambodian women against home violence and provide an indirect restraint on men to abstain from violence and from dominating their wives. Beside this, Cambodians have understood their rights, and they exercise rights and duties to help women. A Cambodian schoolboy in Hamilton called the police to help his mother from home violence. A daughter in Auckland used the emergency number to call the police to save her mother from domestic violence. An emergency call (111) is a powerful tool that saves Cambodian women.

Although they are still concerned with keeping face and avoiding a bad reputation, Cambodian women have become more assertive as the New Zealand social system has helped them become more confident. The majority of Cambodian participants (96.5%) in our postal survey agreed that women and men are equal.

Cambodian Women in the Khmer Community

Behind every family and community activity, there are women. They are the movers and shakers of Cambodian life. Cambodian women have well-defined and respected roles and status in the development of any Cambodian individual, family and community: they are caregivers, partners, and back-stage actors. Cambodian women are regarded as better social negotiators and managers than their male counterparts. Their role is well respected and defined within their home and the community: master of the kitchen, finance, and labour (Figures 5.15–5.18). Although Cambodian women are docile and modest in public, they play a leading role in these three domestic areas, where men always take the back seat. These three areas have enabled women to become an invisible driving force in Cambodian community development.

Within the community, Cambodian women do the footwork in term of finance; and in human resources where they ensure that their children support and participate in community activities. Although women are not in the majority and do not have direct control in a committee meeting of any Cambodian association or community, women can indirectly influence their husband, children and relatives in the committee. Young men were directed by their mothers or aunts to do basic chores, such as driving, shopping, and decorating the temple. Young women prepare food at home to offer to the monk at the temple. Usually they dress up in Khmer costume for the occasion, enjoy companionship, chat and giggle with their friends.

The role of women in Cambodian community development has been invisible and taken for granted, but it has been vital to the community's existence. The majority of Cambodian temples built are due to fundraising by women and their contributions. Men usually play a symbolic and ceremonial role. Men and women enjoy their separate roles and work together harmoniously. They chat, they laugh, and they gossip.



Figure 5.15 — Cambodian women are docile and modest in public, 2005 Author's collection



Figure 5.16 — Women are masters of the kitchen, finance, and labour, 2006 Author's collection



Figure 5.17 — The role of women has been vital to the community's existence, 2004

Author's collection



Figure 5.18 — Cambodian women do the footwork in socialisation, 2005 Author's collection

Social Contact

To the Cambodians, "Kiwis are caring, friendly and pleasant." The majority of the Cambodians know and interact with their neighbours (Table 5.14). Our study found that only 9% of the participants did not socialise with other Kiwis at all.

Table 5-14 — Social contact of Cambodians with Kiwis		
	Frequency	%
All the time	13	22.8
Often	11	19.3
Sometimes	28	49.1
Not at all	5	8.8
Total	57	100.0

Language was not really a problem. A lady in Henderson shared her view: "Smile does not cost. For a while, my neighbours are familiar with us. They like us. We smile at each other. We share food."

A woman in Hamilton told me about her neighbours, and about culture exchanges.

We share plants, flowers, and food. One day my neighbour asked me how to cook rice since she likes it. I told her to buy a rice cooker and showed her to cook it. Now she has rice for dinner and I have sandwiches at work.

A man spoke about his social interactions with Kiwis:

My neighbours at Otara are Maori. If I go out, they keep an eye on my house. They are helpful. The old man is a casual construction worker. Sometimes he goes away for two or three days, leaving his wife and children at home. At work, I have interacted with Kiwi every day. I work as a consultant to help people to access appropriate services. I do my part on Khmer language and issues for the mainstream services. I also have a lunch bar and I serve clients with various ethnic backgrounds. I make them happy and my business grows. You can have a stone face at your clients, but they will not buy your food. I have served everybody — Samoan, Maori, and Pakeha. Sometimes I gave extra food to my customers who came before the shop closed. They are happy. I have also interacted with Vietnamese, Chinese and Korean. They came to see me for their tax returns. People will learn through the word of mouth, and my business has grown this way. Satisfied customers refer their friends. The majority of the Cambodians have made an effort to get to know their neighbours. A man from Hamilton shared his experiences:

I have interacted at home as well as at work with Kiwi New Zealanders who are sponsors, neighbours, friends, home tutors, teachers and parents of my children's friends. In general, I have had many friends. You meet more people when you go out of your home.

Long-term interactions have developed into friendships, with some Kiwi neighbours, teachers and sponsors becoming like family.

However, my survey showed that the majority of the Cambodians socialised primarily with their own people (Table 5.15). The remaining 5.3% did not socialise with their own people, giving reasons that included wanting to get away from trivial issues, problems and negativity.

Table 5-15 — Social contact of Cambodians withCambodians		
	Frequency	%
All the time	22	38.6
Often	22	38.6
Sometimes	10	17.5
Not at all	3	5.3
Total	57	100.0

In the Cambodian community, people greet each other according to their seniority, not by name. As the norm, acquaintances exchange personal information and ask one another about what an individual is earning or about the price of a possession, such as diamond ring, a car or a family house. Cambodians are open in their small talk, in a way that Kiwis or young-generation Cambodians may find intrusive and rude.

People socialise at social gatherings and at private functions, such as weddings or birthdays. Celebrating children's birthdays is a new feature in the Cambodian community. It is not just a family affair but a community event to which almost everyone is invited. Usually people do not invite monks to take part in the event, because it is not religious and is more Kiwi-influenced. Depending on family preference, they may host their guests at home or at a Chinese restaurant. Guests or friends give money in an envelope instead of a present, and the birthday boy or girl blows out a candle to conclude the festivity.

Friendship and Honesty

In general, Cambodians in New Zealand have relatives, friends and acquaintances here. They live in a circle of people who can support each other when needed. People pull together, get acquainted with one other, and in general became friends. These friends usually go on to form a social group or community of their own. Making friends is one of the routines during the weekend, when settled people visit newcomers to give their support. They bring rice, groceries, and fruit to the newcomers. This type of bond extends into long-term friendships, and people know that they can rely on one other. Unfortunately, any human relationship can turn bad when there is a conflict of personal interests: when friends cheat friends and abuse friendships. One example was when, in 1995, some members of a *tontine* absconded with the funds. They were described as "friends in disguise who betrayed to the group", and the absconders were "opportunists" and "cheaters". They had an attitude of "When the head was cooked, eat the head; when the tail was cooked, eat the tail" (gsngwafngw — *Chho-in kbal see kbal, chho-in kontuy see*

kontuy). The majority of Cambodians are honest: less than 9% of our survey participants considered dishonesty to be acceptable. Eighty percent did not agree that absconding with a *tontine* is acceptable.

Another example of a "bad friend" is the social climber. A friend introduced a man to work as a community worker and interpreter. However, this person would do anything to serve his own interests, even if it put others at peril, such as siphoning off the community's money to run his business. When his friend's mother died, he approached a couple in Morrinsville who were close friends of the deceased. The man told the couple that his friend had no money to arrange his mother's funeral, and that he was borrowing money on behalf of the family of the deceased woman. When the couple gave him \$6,000 towards the funeral, he used the money to trade in his old Mitsubishi for a white Honda Prelude, which he drove proudly to the funeral service. The family found out about the deception six months later when the couple asked for their money back. When the family confronted the man, he denied they had given him

any money, and he never paid back the money to the couple. "He is a crocodile" (អាក្រកើ *a kropeu* — Cambodians refer to an ungrateful person as a crocodile) and the "one who eats rice and destroys the pot" (ស៊ីបាយហោកឆ្នាំង — *see buy buok chhnang*). After this incident, this man moved on to work with another Cambodian community. A few years later, this man divorced his wife and went to Cambodia to marry a younger wife.

Such unscrupulous people, operating in a vulnerable community, can make people wary. A woman told me that friendship was mercurial like "a drop of water gliding over a lotus leaf" and that "true friendship rarely exists". Friendship is like a dove, "it perches only on the roof of the biggest house".

In general, Cambodians are trustworthy and value friendship. They take time to help friends when needed. Friends have fun together. Their bonds enable them to be included in their circle and they communicate. They learn, they discuss, they talk, and they share gossip.

Communication: Gossip and Reputation

Gossip — in Khmer $mn_J umunitian = Peak chor charm aram$ (hearsay) or $\widehat{s}munitian = -Niyeay deum$ (true but about bad things) or $\widehat{t}mnn_J = heik kay$ (defamation) — thrives in the Cambodian community. Various networks spread information — good or bad, true or false — around the community, where the spreading or exchanging of gossip implies belonging to the circle. Sharing gossip implies the inclusion and exclusion of people to a social circle consisting of "multiplex ties" within a "moral community", in which "membership … does not depend upon having a good reputation: only upon having a reputation" (Bailey 1971:6–7).

Gossip is a powerful medium that can rally people and can put pressure on individuals or on Cambodian community development. The reputation of an individual, family, group, or community is a common perception agreed by others within the community, based on a "common set of values" which share "a definition of the good things and bad things in life" that are set as "the rules for maintaining or undermining a reputation" (Bailey 1971:8–9). Reputation and status is one of the

167

reasons that some migrants join a church, and church is also a hotbed\ for gossip (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007).

As discussed earlier, like other Asians, Khmers are concerned about how their family name and personal image relates to Cambodian society. Cambodians will go to great lengths to protect personal dignity and family reputation, which are interrelated.

Mild gossip can be quite saucy and healthy. The Khmers are champion gossipers (ខ្មែរស្រុតទ្រុតមិនចោលចែច្រ — Khmer srut trut min chourl chechov), and the

Khmers in New Zealand are no exception. People spend hours on the telephone, or during the weekend sharing gossip. Topics, such as new material acquisitions, new cars, new houses, gambling, match-making, women's issues, individual health, teenage pregnancy, violence, divorce, personal grievance, and pregnancy float around kitchens at private and public gatherings.

Gossip is not limited to women: men also gossip. Word spreads fast about the individual who slept with a prostitute from Wellington, or which drug traffickers went to jail, or the woman murdered by her Kiwi partner, or how many married men have fallen in love with a singer from Cambodia and lost their money!

Negative Gossip Destroys Lives

Most gossip outside one's personal circumstances is about negative or bad things. Gossip can spread fast and grow out of proportion — as in the Khmer saying "One crow becomes ten crows" (ក្អែកមួយជាក្អែក៨បំ — *ko-eik muoy chea ko-eik dob*) — and

can ruin people's reputations and lives. For example, a woman's mother asked her to break off her engagement when another woman, who claimed to know the fiancé very well, claimed that he was "a divorcé and had a child". The rumours spread through a gambling ring and reached the temple where women shared gossip. It became hot gossip for a month, until the mother of the engaged woman decided to find out the truth. It was found that the divorcé was a man with a similar name to the fiancé's and who worked at the same place. However, the gossip had almost ruined the couple's relationship.

In another instance, gossip floated around the Cambodian community in Auckland that a woman was having an affair with one of the monks at Wat Khemaraphirataram. This serious allegation became so intense that the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association had no choice but to take action to rectify the situation. A group of leaders from the executive committee were led to believe that the claim was well-founded and decided that the accused monk should be moved to Wellington and the accused woman banned from the temple. This gossip shook the whole Cambodian community — the Auckland Cambodian Buddhist Association, other temples, and the Cambodian monk community. The chairman of the board of governors called a special community meeting, including the monks, in order to iron out the problem. The proponents of the gossip told the woman to move away from the temple, and went to meet the chairman just before the meeting to suggest that he accept their opinion without any evidence. The gossip sprang from the kitchen where the accused woman often prepared food and drinks for the monk. Others doubted that the couple had fallen in love since, although the woman always stayed at the temple, women live separately from the monks' quarter.

In the meeting, a man claimed: "Who knows what they are doing behind the closed door?" The chairman asked for everyone who could back up the claim, but no one fronted up. The chairman reminded everyone that people are presumed innocent until proved guilty, and that gossip can ruin people's lives. He set up a committee to gather evidence, but no evidence was found.

The above gossip could have ruined the Khmer Buddhist community and Wat Khemaraphirataram if the chairman had been biased and not taken appropriate action. One of the leaders who had raised the issue said that he wanted "to protect the interests of the temple" and "to safeguard the good reputation of the temple". "If it was true," he explained, "no one would come to our temple" and "we would become a laughing stock". The man continued: mnjumummum — *Peak chor charm aram* (gossip weeds out those doubts).

Good Gossip Raises Status

Gossips sometimes convey good news in order to អ្នកសរសើរ — ourt sor seur (praise) or to អ្នកអាង — ourt arng (show off). This type of gossip enhances reputation and status. People talk about themselves, about their children's success at school, job promotions, new acquisitions, a new car, a bigger house, or travel. People talk about their Kiwi neighbours who help them, their sponsors who are still their friends after twenty-five years, the family doctor who cares for them, and the teachers who educate their children.

During the late 1980s, several trendsetter Cambodians bought a Commodore for their family car. The majority of the executive members of the Cambodian Association in Auckland drove a Commodore. Women, especially in Wellington, needed to wear a diamond ring to wedding parties and social occasions or "people would not look at your face" (ក្រើមិនមើលមុខ – gay min meul mouk). At the beginning

of the new millennium, well-off Cambodians tended to drive a four-wheel-drive (commonly known as a "Remuera tractor"), and moved on to better homes in Howick or near the Regional Botanic Garden.

This type of status symbol makes the gossiper more equal in terms of reputation (មានមុខ — mien mouk : have face; មានមាត់ — mien mort: have mouth) and status (មានកិត្តិយស — mien kitiyourss), and hence inspires other Cambodians to follow suit. Such gossip sets up standards that spur on others to follow or catch up: to "want to be similar to them" (ចង់ដូចគេ — Chorng dauch gay) or "at least to be equal to them"

(យ៉ាងអន់ណាស់ស្អ្នីនឹងគេ ឬ

ប្រហែលនឹងគេ — yarng ornn nass smeu ning gay, reu proheil ning gay).

Gossip — good or bad, true or false — is intended to entertain and to share information within social circles. Gossip is also used deliberately to draw from individual situations explicit social frameworks and Khmer values of what is good or bad, what is right and wrong.

Success and Status

My survey (Table 5.16) found that the majority of Cambodians in New Zealand assess their success in several ways. They compare their status with that of: when they first arrived in the country (63.2%); people in their community (52.6%); and their pre-war living standards in Cambodia (50.9%).

Table 5-16 — Criteria used to compare success				
	Response %			
Compare success with	Not agree	Agree	No response	
People in Cambodia	42.2	35.1	22.8	
People in my community	28.1	52.6	19.3	
People overseas	45.7	26.3	28.1	
Neighbours	49.1	22.8	28.1	
Peers at work	33.3	42.1	24.6	
Own pre-war standards	21	50.9	28.1	
Own living in the refugee camp	29.9	45.6	24.6	
Own standard when came to NZ	17.5	63.2	19.3	

I had an opportunity to catch up with an acquaintance in Long Beach (in the USA) and he talked about success. "The success of the family and children depends on the parents," he said. He explained that "although the three children of my cousin in Hamilton have got a job, two of them failed to gain a tertiary qualification". The man still compared his own success with that of his cousin in New Zealand. The man's view of success is from the educational perspective that was his parents' prime objective.

Cambodian people's views on success are different. Success has various meanings to different people. The participants in my survey gave a wide range of meanings of their success. Some viewed success from a perspective which other people would take for granted: "being alive and safe", "having a life without threats", "being able to live here", "having a normal life", "being healthy", "having pride", and "being happy". This group (31%) defined success in terms of non-materialistic criteria. Their success is based on values with no economic value. The second group (14%) defined their success in terms of an individual who fulfilled familial and civic duties: "being a good citizen", "being a good spouse", "having own way of life", and "can mix with other cultures". The third group (38.7%) viewed success in economic terms, such as "being financially independent", "able to support the family", "own home", "having children well educated", "having academic achievement", and "having a good job".

Table 5-17 - Defining success according to Cambodians				
	Frequency	Percent		
Good citizen	3	5.3		
Financially independent	3	5.3		
Good spouse	2	3.5		
Pride	1	1.8		
Able to live here	2	3.5		
Life without threats	2	3.5		
Normal life	1	1.8		
Able to do well for yourself, family and others	1	1.8		
Own home	1	1.8		
Have children well educated	3	5.3		
Way of life	1	1.8		
Happiness	8	14.0		
Alive and safe	3	5.3		
Academic achievement	4	7.0		
Good job	10	17.5		
Healthy	1	1.8		
Can mix with all cultures	2	3.5		
Able to support family	1	1.8		
No comment	8	14.0		
Total	57	100.0		

The following are views on success from participants in our focus groups. They flesh out the results of the survey by including survival, happiness, living a useful life, living in a country, material wellbeing, and ability to practice Buddhism, as major achievements.

My first success is the acceptance of the government for me to come to New Zealand.

My first success is to be accepted by the government to come to New Zealand. Number two is to have a driver's license. Number three, I can speak and understand English and I can help others. Number four, I have got two houses. I have a lot of success. (Well then you got married.) Oh, yes. And also I have some money in the bank. I did not expect this success. Now I have to think about my future — a future plan and having a new car. During my first year of arrival, I have got a driver's license and I can take my family places since no one can drive. Also I have passed my exams every year. My success in my life is being able to live in New Zealand and having a chance to build a temple and paying off its mortgage. My other success is having a peaceful life and I am safe without worries. I feel peaceful in New Zealand and I have freedom to practise Buddhism and *sila* $\vec{b} to - virtue$. I can conduct Buddhist ceremonies and routines. The main thing is I have peace in my mind and I am happy even I die. The biggest success of my life is to have *sila* $\vec{b} to - virtue$, *panhia* to m – knowledge, *and samadhi* $\vec{b} to \vec{b} \vec{b}$ – meditation and focus. That is the real success.

When I first came, I did not expect to have a community with a temple with *Buddha, Dharma, Sangha,* and monks. Now we have got what we need. My success is that I have a place to conduct my Buddhist routines. To be able to practise my religion in a foreign land is the success of my later life.

I had doubts that Buddhism would wipe out after the Khmer Rouge regime. But now I am happy [since she can practise Buddhism here].

The main success of my life is I have survived the atrocity. I escaped from war. Being alive is one of my main successes. The other success is I am married and having a happy life together with my family. [He is adopted.] Now we have two children and well another half. Yeah, I have almost three now.

My success is the existence of the Waikato Khmer Association in Hamilton. It has been running well. [He was one of the founding members in 1982.] We have participated with this community. It has plenty of activities. From my family's perspective, my children have been educated. And for myself, my standard of living is not too bad. It is on the par with everyone's. I do not need help. I can do things by myself until I am retired.

You can speak English. You have a car and a house. You have finished your study. You even went back to Cambodia. That's a lot. Yes, I should praise my luck.

My successes are from do not know English language to know some, from renting place to owning a house, and from using old appliances to acquiring new ones. I have got a nice livelihood. These are the successes from our own efforts starting from nothing to having. My success is from do not know the language at all to know some and my children have been educated. The success is that I can go to the doctor's by myself. I have got a driver's license. If I want to go somewhere and I can go places by myself. I can buy a car by myself. I am happy. Also I went to America, Australia, Thailand and Cambodia.

For me success is that I used to live in a war-torn country and now I have been living in a peaceful country. The other success is to have an opportunity to live in a country that has law and everything you need from health service, transport, and even a vet for animals! These are successes that I can feel and can experience. My children have been educated and found their jobs over here or even overseas in the future. I have seen things done not theoretically but in practice and hands-on. On my part, the main success is in my children that I have brought them up well over here.

My first success is I can speak their language. Two, I can drive and I can help myself. I bought a house by myself and I went to Cambodia twice. My two children have achieved their academic successes and found a job. The other three children are still at school. I am very happy with my success. I believe that my children will be successful and they can do well for themselves.

Success, according to the majority of individuals, was viewed primarily from sociocultural perspective. They defined success from their survival experience and from having opportunities to live in normal life and functioned well in the community.

Personal Opinions about Life

Individuals have a wide range of criteria on which they base their rating of their life. They use words to describe their personal life experience and satisfaction.

I believe I have an easy and comfortable life in New Zealand since it has no war and it is safe. The standard of living is not bad. It is easy to live here.

My life is good. If I am sick, I have a proper health care. When I grow old, I still have security since we have pension. I feel very lucky to live in this country.

I have peace and my life is normal. It is not bad like living in Cambodia. I have free health care.

I have security. The government support me and I have lived in a safe place. People are healthy and have good hygiene. The houses are somewhat the same and everyone have a place to dwell. I do not think you can find a better place than here. I am very happy to live in New Zealand.

My life is full of happiness and has no worries. But I still have a feeling and concerns over my sister in Cambodia. She would have problems one day — maybe another war. I am still thinking of her. This has been the problem since we have been apart. From this perspective I have had a mixed feeling of happiness and sadness.

Nowadays my life is peaceful. I have had a decent life. I have possession, children, cars etc. I do not think I have missed anything. It is enough for me. My life is complete and full of happiness. I do not have any problems. I practise Buddhism every single week of the month. This is a noble life and it is better than a wealthy life that is not able to buy merit with money. No one can trade gold, silver or money for merit. Even a rich man can't. I am happy. My life is full of happiness that no one is able to steal it from me.

My life is good. For instance, if I was sick, I can go to the doctor and have proper health care. Everything is good here. I have steady income and the government let me live a decent life. Although I am financially poor, I still can live easily. If you are frugal then you can live decently and have some savings.

Even we are poor, we are not poor at all. This is my destiny (វាសនា -

veasna). We still have got steady income. If you are poor in Cambodia, you are really poor; you have got nothing. That is it. You do not really have a thing.

My life in New Zealand is better than my life in Cambodia in terms of security, housing, financial. Furthermore I have got a family with children. That is beautiful. You make money; once you pay tax accordingly, no one comes to threaten you about your earning. There is no problem in our life. If we want to have fun or a party, we can. We can do everything (msgubů barn moychorb). We do not have any worries wherever we go; well except traffic.

I am not sure if I was in Cambodia since I am not well. Over here, doctors give me their best care. They charge me at the family doctor. With my chronic illness, I would have problems in Cambodia. Specialists look after me when I am sick.

My life is complete and full of status.

Some participants expressed their disappointment in areas of discrimination (10.5%), poor English (8.8%), bad experiences with other Cambodians such as exploitation and cheating (7%), poor health (5.3%), and living apart from their relatives (5.3%). Other disappointments included not being able to get the right job, not succeeding at school, not succeeding financially, and not experiencing real Khmer culture. Other participants (42.1%) did not have any disappointments at all.

The participants of my study have identified various factors which helped them to succeed with their life. With support from their sponsors and the government, these participants (24.56%) expressed that good education, good English, and good knowledge have enabled them to achieve their success. Others (29.82%) said their determination and hard work led them to success.

The majority of these Cambodians said they have adapted well in New Zealand. Seven percent of the participants said they have been assimilated into the New Zealand way of life. Less than 2% of the participants have lived in isolation from any groups. Some of the participants (47.4%) said they have had at least some integration and another 40.4% said to have full integration into New Zealand society. They can fully participate in the New Zealand society and at the same time can maintain their Khmer cultural heritage.

In general, the participants of my study from Cambodia with refugee backgrounds were satisfied with their life.

Table 5-18 — Participants' opinions about their life				
	Frequency	%		
ОК	27	47.4		
Satisfactory	20	35.1		
Very satisfactory	7	12.3		
Very unsatisfactory	2	3.5		
No comment	1	1.8		
Total	57	100.0		

Conclusion

This chapter reveals various aspects of Cambodian people's life in New Zealand. For example, the way participants rated their life suggests that the majority of them are satisfied with their integration. Their experience is by no means representative or comprehensive and cannot be generalised beyond those who participated or the communities within which I worked, but the practice expressed by participants has enabled us to understand their way of life as Cambodians living away from their native country.

The government's social assistance, and support from volunteers and sponsors, has paved the way for the socio-economic integration of Cambodians in their new home country. Although there are some hurdles, like a lack of financial resources and limited English language, Cambodians accepted the challenge and the majority of them have managed to rebuild new lives in this hospitable country. Young-generation Cambodians have gained more education than their parents and they have an opportunity participate in the New Zealand labour market. Cambodians have contributed their newly acquired skills to the country's economy. Cambodian bakeries are now making the meat pie, New Zealand's classic dish, and winning national awards!

At home, Cambodians socialise within their own group and with their neighbours. They learn from each other and share food. Cambodian women have an important role in family affairs and management. They are protected from abuse and family violence. Children are more educated and Westernised than their parents. Although Cambodian parents are more relaxed towards their children's marriages, they are still inclined to keep their Khmer traditions. In New Zealand the wedding process is shortened, but the majority of the grooms still have to pay the "mother price of milk". This variation of individual practice in the Khmer diaspora reflects culture change at a micro level that is influenced by the host environment and time constraints.

As we have also seen in this chapter, Cambodians have learnt new practices and embarked on host cultural practices which are generally beneficial to their integration. They have also learnt that some of Khmer behaviours are not acceptable in these new circumstances. Furthermore, some parts of the Khmer culture have been neglected due to New Zealand's weak multicultural environment that did not encourage cultural maintenance earlier on. The language is being lost and cultural bereavement is apparent; consequently, Cambodians feel their identity has been undermined. Cambodian social support networks include family members, sponsors, volunteers, teachers, and friends. They learn, adapt, and share their experiences. As they communicate, they also share gossip, and good or bad issues become the topic of the day. No one is immune from them. Their social support network extends to newcomers, and they rework their groups and help others.

In general, Cambodians are happy with their life in New Zealand, and they see their personal success as the fruit of their hard work. However, as I show in my next chapter, Cambodians would like to maintain their heritage, but certain aspects of the New Zealand social and legal frameworks still inhibit the development of the Cambodian community. The Cambodian adaptation as a community is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 6 — The Search for Khmer Identity

Introduction

Since the 1980s, the Cambodians have been resettled in the main cities of New Zealand and have resided long enough to establish their ethnic communities. This chapter analyses the ongoing adaptation of Cambodians with a refugee background in terms of social network and forming a Khmer identity.

The first part of this chapter describes individual memory and thought toward Cambodia and the ways Cambodians in New Zealand struggle to accommodate sociocultural needs of their new life in the Khmer diaspora. In the second part of this chapter, I identify the various factors that enable the Cambodians to redefine their personal and social identities. Their Khmer identity has been refreshed, in the third part, thanks to the reconnection to their home country after peace settlement in Cambodia. The New Zealand environment, the international links, and home visits have reshaped Cambodians' identity as they adapt to their life in their new home country, New Zealand.

The various approaches towards adaptation are evaluated within the framework of forced migration and the transnationalisation of people living in diasporas. The reconstruction of a Khmer community identity is based partly on individual and group memories of times before they fled their country. Cambodians often use the terms $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}$ — *Tarm chormnarm* ("according to the recollection"), $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}$ — *Tarm thormdar* ("as usual") and $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}$ *karl pimun* ("*in the past*") to express their recall of their culture and customs or to describe how their life once was in Cambodia.

Khmer identity has been affected by two factors: the general experience of coming to a country as a refugee, and the particular historical circumstances of late twentieth-century Cambodia. The development of a Khmer identity in New Zealand has been a complex process, since at the same time Cambodians have had to adapt to the New Zealand environment which in return also offers identity options to the newcomers.

The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in the late 1970s created a refugee crisis and implanted in those Cambodians who fled the country a sense of "refugeeism". They felt compelled to flee their homeland, unlike the "willing migrant" who chooses when they leave their country and where they wish to go. With this refugee experience come feelings of rejection, threats, hardship, uncertainty, insecurity, powerlessness, exploitation, endurance, a journey for survival, and a stigma of social underprivilege. It means that the Cambodian community is composed of individuals from various areas of Cambodia and from many walks of life who must now find a way to consider themselves as one people. With refugee status comes, too, a sense that adapting to the New Zealand environment is crucial for their survival, so that people ask: "Is it possible and worthwhile to live as a Khmer in New Zealand?"

The circumstances that are particular to Cambodia have made the establishing of Khmerness in New Zealand even more difficult. First, the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge regime during the mid-1970s damaged Khmer cultural norms and values, as the Pol Pot regime destroyed the socio-cultural system of the traditional Khmer communal life and installed Communism. Many elders died then, and few people could remember their cultural and religious practice when they fled the country and came to New Zealand. Then, until 1993, there was no contact with Kampuchea. The initial isolation of refugees from their home country meant that there was no direct cultural exchange or link, and the effects of this were compounded by the minimal existence of any Khmer cultural identity references in the host country.

The isolation of the Cambodian community and Cambodians living overseas ended in 1993 when the United Nations sponsored a free and democratic election in Cambodia. Since then, Cambodians have had the opportunity to re-establish relations with their homeland. Home visits and the availability of modern telecommunication technology, such as telephones and internet and email links, have enabled Cambodians living overseas to refresh their identity. Transnational activities with their homeland after 1993 have played an important role in defining contemporary "Khmerness" for Cambodians in New Zealand.

My analysis begins with the strategy that Cambodians adopted on their arrival to adapt to their new life, and their use of memory as they attempted to define their Khmerness. The New Zealand environment, the isolation from Cambodia, and their meagre memory of cultural identity (due to the death of the middle-aged group) have had a great deal of influence on the dynamism of rebuilding the Khmer identity.

180

Hope on Arrival and Awareness of Difference

Acceptance for resettlement in a third country provides refugees with hope to have normalcy in their life and to move on. Refugees do not mind where that final destination might actually be: as Kanal and Jensen (1991:79) writes, "I did not know where New Zealand was ... [b]ut at the time we were happy to go anywhere, as long as it would get us out of Khao-I-Dang" (a refugee camp in Thailand). Another person, who found a sister living in New Zealand, expressed the desire of freedom in an anonymous poem, "The Happiest Day":

The mind couldn't cope But the thought remains Through forest and mountains Searching for a new roof In an alien land Where soon I departed With someone and Found freedom. (in *The Memory of Cambodia*, early 1980s?)

Individuals and groups had shared the camp experience and refugee culture: living in a confined camp, eating rationed food, having a daily supply of one bucket of drinking water, marking time in a mood of despair, and hoping for repatriation or resettlement.

Refugees who were accepted for resettlement in a third country were moved to a transit camp, but then waited months or years for their departure. In transit camps, individuals began to regroup and recollect things that would be relevant to them and to their expected livelihood in the final resettlement country. To ensure social support, they reinforced their social network in the camp with others who shared the same destination. They exchanged addresses with the people in the camp so that in the future they would have a connection with their homeland. Cambodians often reminded each other "to remember not to forget each other" (η tŋugn — koum *phleich gnea*) and "not to forget when we were poor" (η tŋugn m koum phleich grea kror).

Bonds between people during the forced migration had a significant role in their future communal life and support network. A man in Auckland explains:

We have known each other in the camp in form of friendship and camaraderie. He even gave me a farewell party when I left for New Zealand. Then he came here. This bond enables him to assist us with donation and expanded our Khmer network when I went to see him for building our temple.

In response to challenging situations when they came to New Zealand, Cambodians have adopted various paths or strategies during the different stages of their residency to adapt to new life in New Zealand.

Cambodian refugees began their new life at the refugee centre at Mangere, in Auckland. They saw themselves as "survivors" and hoped for a peaceful life in New Zealand. Cambodians consider the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre as the epicentre of the various Cambodian resettlements in New Zealand, as the steppingstone and the "anchor of their new life", and Mangere stood out in their shared memory. Mangere became one of the global nodes that Cambodians used as the reference for their postal address for their on-arrival social network. Although Cambodians were stationed there for only from four to six weeks, that time provided sufficient opportunity for them to become acquainted with others in their group and create a certain bond for their new Cambodian social network in New Zealand. Furthermore, the New Zealand resettlement service — the ICCI, and later the RMS matched them with their volunteers (sponsors) to create a formal link between the Cambodians and the host community.

During their sojourn at Mangere, Cambodians also became aware of the physical difference between themselves and their host people. They realised that society operated differently and that there were different ethnic groups in New Zealand, such as Maori, Samoan, Tongan, and Chinese. Cambodians knew they had to learn English, the official language, and learn about life in New Zealand in order to be able cope with their new life.

People began to say, "This country is different from ours." The awareness of differences became one of the salient points of reference for their ethnic identity discourse. Although Cambodians were used to living in a multicultural Cambodia, here they found they were too different from the host people who were New Zealanders: "Physically we are not much different from Chinese Cambodians. Compared to the Kiwi, we are so different." Cambodians began to use such communal words as "we", "our", and "ours" when comparing themselves with other

182

ethnic groups in New Zealand, whom they referred to as "they", "them", and "theirs". This awakening of Khmer ethnic consciousness was from within the group.

Physically, Cambodians are different from New Zealanders with European ancestors who speak English. When she came to Auckland airport, Kanal (Kanal & Jensen 1991:76–79) says: "It was also the first time I had seen so many European together in one place." She continues (Kanal & Jensen 1991:90):

More than anything at that time, I felt different from everyone else. I didn't want anyone to know that I was a refugee. I did not even want anyone to know that I was a Cambodian, because I thought that people would be aware of what happened in Cambodia, and what had happened to us.

Their journey of becoming refugees covers a large spectrum of dispossession, loss, suffering, dehumanisation, and distrust. It involves "processes such as labelling, identity management, boundary creation and maintenance, management of reciprocity, manipulation of myth, and forms of social control" (Colson 2003:1).

Cambodians with a refugee background have found it hard to adapt to life in New Zealand, even though there has been basic support given by the New Zealand Government and the local host communities. Cambodians were labelled "Kampuchean refugees" and were perceived by New Zealanders as people who needed help for their resettlement. Imagery projected by the mass media showed Cambodian refugees as a homogenous group of people who were weak, malnourished, and traumatised, who lived in huts and ate food supplied by the UNHCR. They projected an image that connoted "problems": poor health, lack of resources, lack of English, loneliness, and helplessness. This received image of "difference" and "problems" impeded self-esteem and confidence. As a result, to get support and confidence individuals joined siblings if they were also in New Zealand, and the family joined the network of volunteers and sponsors.

However, there was an awareness within the Cambodian community that they needed support from the wider community in order to cope with their past and adapt to the future. A young Cambodian student from Bayfield High School in Dunedin wrote:

The Poor The lonely The homeless Deserve sympathy From the kind. (Noun 1990:33)

Cambodians began to learn to live on their own with their sponsor's support. As one Cambodian man says:

When you have a broken leg, the help of a crutch would enable you to walk earlier. With the assistance from my sponsors, I can walk this new life.

Resettlement Networks and Khmer Social Connections

Due to the "pepper-potting policy" of spreading refugee groups around the country instead of in one area, Cambodians who arrived during the 1980s were drawn into their Kiwi sponsor's support network for resettlement needs. The first and second intakes of Cambodians were young people from an educated background. They were put under considerable pressure to assimilate into New Zealand culture (Higbee 1992:64). The majority of these first migrants became bilingual, and quickly became an essential social resource for the Cambodians, the sponsors, and the local social services. Soon, the Cambodians in the local area used them as de-facto spokespersons for their local social network.

Kiwi Sponsors Networks

The Kiwi sponsor support network was one of the contributing factors to the wellbeing of the refugees, and was a major influence for acculturation. A man from Dunedin explains his experience: "My sponsors provided us [with] what we needed. The family helped me a lot during that summer and they told me about life in New Zealand. They even took time taking me to see the country."

Cambodians were directly exposed to the Pakeha way of life. They began to use the cultural materials of New Zealand and learn the Kiwi ways of doing things. They learnt English; they learnt everything from using a toilet to using electrical appliances, from crossing a road to driving a car. But as they met different people and saw different practices, the concept of "the Kiwi way of life" began to be confusing. In the end, Cambodians seemed to look up to the white middle-class Kiwi as representatives of the New Zealand mainstream, although the Cambodians were aware of other ethnic groups. Even then, there were differences in the "mainstream". In one instance, Cambodian women in the kitchen showed newcomers how to wash dishes with hot water and washing liquid. They argued about not rinsing the dishes, since they saw that their sponsors did not rinse them. While preparing food, they had time to share information ranging from variations in their friends' lives in other areas, to serious issues such as family planning. They exchanged their experiences and commented on what was relevant to their situation.

Kiwi neighbours, of whom the majority were friendly and kind, also provided opportunities for the newcomers to see and copy their way of doing things.

The majority of Cambodians had English language problems, and so their conversational exchanges rarely passed beyond greeting. In general, they had to rely on translators and use their network to bridge the language barriers for their resettlement. The following experience of a family in Wellington, where various actors from different social networks assisted the family to adapt to life in New Zealand, is not unusual: "My sponsors arranged a doctor for our family and found a translator when needed. The translators were ex-Colombo Plan students. These people assisted us with language."

At the beginning, shopping or visiting a public service was done in groups: the sponsors, a translator, and the refugee family. A Hamilton woman says:

We followed our sponsors everywhere, in column like ducklings. My sponsor took us to the social welfare and then we went to our rented home arranged by their church. My sponsors helped us about two years. Once my children can read and understand English, my sponsors let us deal with those correspondences.

Parents or older people who did not have the opportunity to leam English tried to do their best in communicating with Kiwis, with varying degrees of success. A person in Wellington went to the butcher and said "I want your head" instead of asking for a pig's head. Another asked for "chicken spare parts" instead of giblets. In small towns, such as in Tokoroa, Te Kuiti, Raglan, Te Aroha, and Waihi, there were only a few Cambodian families. Eventually, these groups found a way to join friends or relatives in the main cities, when the isolation and language problems became too much.

However, a man in Onehunga, who came to New Zealand in 1979, argues that individuals are to blame, since there was enough assistance in learning English — in the form of sponsors and home tutors. This man says that: "People found [it] easy to have a translator and did not work hard enough to gain language independency." People became complacent and lost the will to strive for their freedom. "Age does not count," he says. "Even my sixty-years-old mother still can learn English, and later she was able to take a bus without any help. Some of us would rather leave the 'English department' to their children and rely on them."

Cambodian Networks

The assimilationist approach ended a couple years later. Since then, newcomers have been resettled in areas where there are some earlier Cambodian resettlements. This approach has eased the pressure on the newcomers, as they have had access to other Cambodians and have been able to use the existing local Cambodian network. This shift from Kiwi to Cambodian sponsorship has also distanced newcomers from having direct interaction with a Kiwi way of life. Newcomers have unconsciously drawn back to the Khmer cradle where they are fenced off from acute acculturation.

In addition, there was a feeling that "adaptation is a gradual process for refugees" (Tan 1995:85). Tan found that "after the first or second year of sponsorship, all the refugee families were quite or totally independent of their sponsors for enablement in terms of material and accommodation assistance. As the refugees became more independent and built up their network of friends, the role as a sponsor gradually diminished" (Tan 1995:86).

An ethnic group reconstructs its ethnic identity according to its needs and aspirations. Allahar (2001:197) has argued that the issue of "identity or identity formation is simultaneously psychological and political" since it is subjective in a social context, can be misunderstood, and sometimes disagreed with, which can lead to a political dimension. It involves social negotiation between "at least two opposing sides", of which the one with "greatest power will ultimately determine the outcome". Allahar explains that "depending on the social climate or environment in which they exist, ethnic groups in multiethnic societies will face differing degrees of pressure to assimilate or conform to the dominant culture" (Allahar 2001:206).

New Zealander participants in my postal survey who worked with Cambodian refugees described their adaptation. Once Cambodians have been exposed to life in New Zealand, "individuals began to absorb thoughts and practices that were valuable to them, blended them with their Cambodian way of life", and "kept their own culture in their own home". They "tried to copy Kiwi". They followed the guidance of their sponsors, and they learnt through trial and error. Newcomers "formed good links with their people", and learnt from friends and relatives who had come to New Zealand

earlier. They supported each other within the spirit of sharing resettlement and the need to face many new things and New Zealand's ways of life.

Within two to three years of their arrival, the majority of the Cambodians had gained some control of their life. At least one person in the family was able to manage their family transport and routine. Individuals conducted themselves in as Khmer a manner as possible in their private lives, speaking their language and cooking their ethnic food.

During the early stage of resettlement, in addition to the host sponsor support network, Cambodian refugees also utilised two other social networks: the Cambodian international network created before their arrival in New Zealand, and the Cambodian New Zealand social network that they had just created after their arrival.

International Networks

Cambodians were isolated from one another in their country of resettlement, and had also been cut off from their homeland. The international social network provided links with family members and friends who were also living outside the home country, Cambodia. Cambodians corresponded with each other by letter: sharing memories of the refugee camp, expressing their mixed feelings of joy and loneliness, informing each other about their new experiences, and sending some pocket money to those in need in the refugee camp. This connection created a link for psychological support and contacts for future family reunifications. In addition, this network could transmit information in both directions of their relatives who lived across the Cambodian border under the socialist Khmer regime of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK).

Home-grown Networks

Refugees in Canada and France generally belong to at least one network of friends and acquaintances (Dorais, cited in Valtonen 1994:68): "The circle of family and relatives and such social networks make up the refugee's primary relationships and compensate for the relatively low levels of interaction with the host society, due to recent arrival, linguistic problems or lack of common interests."

In New Zealand, individuals used their home-grown Cambodian social network to share and compare their resettlement experiences. This social space encompassed kinship and friends with whom they interacted privately. Evening English classes for refugees also connected the Cambodian refugee adult students. These informal local social spaces, although rarely visible, were the Cambodian community social spaces in the waiting. "At the beginning, Cambodians were so close. We socialised and took turns to go to a friend's place during each weekend." At home, people spent time during the weekend together, eating and sharing memories about their home, war experience, and hard labour under the Khmer Rouge regime, and refugee life in the camp. They shared the good times and the bad times in their life stories, laughed, and cried together. Some people wrote diaries or poems describing their feelings about being in New Zealand. Kanal (Kanal and Jensen 1991:76–79) describes:

When we were driving through Auckland, there didn't seem to be any people around, just houses. I had expected Auckland to be very crowded It really struck me that there were just no one around. New Zealand was going to be a very quiet country to live in. ... Back in Porirua, I often found it hard to believe that I was really there. It was if one moment I had been in Cambodia and the next I was in New Zealand.

Ung (1989:55–57) wrote:

In New Zealand people are kind, friendly, greet me with a smile. Some do not understand. They swear at me Tell me to go back where I come from. What can I say? I want to say I do not want to invade your country, Take away opportunity. It's not easy living in other people's land Forced to learn a new language Take up new responsibilities As never before In order to survive once more.

I wish people would understand The difficulties, trying to lead A life in a different country ... Powerlessness, acting mute and dumb Using hand and sweat Instead of mental agility Alienation, no recognition, no status. Disapproval, hostility from others. The above issues pulled Cambodians together into their local social network. At the community level, local social networks began to spread, and expanded from local to national social space in New Zealand. An interviewee from Avondale shares her early experiences: "Our first two or three years were very confused and busy; but we still can manage to keep in touch with friends and relatives within New Zealand and those overseas." Cambodians were aware that they were not able to go back to Cambodia; but they always hoped to return home at least once in their lifetime.

Similar to the Indians described by Velayutham and Wise (2005), Cambodians sent remittances home because of their moral obligation. Remittances sent home or to overseas relatives in need were scraped from their small household budget, which sometimes upset their sponsors, who believed that refugees should first take care of family in New Zealand who were still struggling with the hardships of resettlement.

To solve their financial problems, Cambodians lived frugally. They put a monthly equal share of \$100 or more into a rotating saving and credit association (ROSCA), known as a *tontine* — nhters. The members take turns to access the pool of money for their needs through an informal financial network of twelve to twenty-four members (Liev 1995). *Tontines* have become an alternative financial network for Cambodians, whereby they have the resources to buy a refrigerator, a family house, a family business, or tickets for an overseas trip. Unfortunately, some members have occasionally absconded with the *tontine* funds, a social worker who participated in my postal survey wrote, "where vulnerable members were ripped off with no redress". In general, the *tontine* is a stepping-stone to financial freedom. Recently, *tontine* members took legal action against members or organisers who had absconded with *tontine* funds. These actions have reshaped the ethical and legal aspects of *tontine* practice.

All Cambodian social networks at that initial stage were formed by families or a small group of friends. Cambodians used *puok* (nn) to refer to this type of group, where the name of a person or an area was used to identify a certain group, such as the Porirua group and the Johnsonville group. The word is also used to identify "vintage groups", such as *puok Site II* who came from Site II refugee camp, *puok Malay* who came from Malaysia, or *puok niset* which refers to the Colombo Plan student group. The size of the group still tended to be small, sometimes fewer than ten families, but its links were strong and cohesive. People who lived in isolation were pulled into the closest network, and moved to live in the same local area to shorten their geographic distance from the group. This created a second migration to the various suburbs of the main cities where the majority of the Cambodians now reside.

Cultural Knowledge and Material Culture during the 1980s

In general, Cambodians brought with them almost nothing except their cultural memory and a few belongings, such as a small Buddha statue, some jewellery, and books acquired at the refugee camp. Few Khmer texts survived the trips to New Zealand; Buddhist texts were rare and Buddhist literature was through oral transmission. As the importance of meeting settlers' cultural and spiritual needs — as well as those of housing, sanitation, food and income — came to be recognised, efforts were made to address this on community and government levels.

Refugeeism after Surviving the Pol Pot Regime

The experiences of war, starvation, hardship, loss of life, survival, struggle, and the need to strive are the milestones of the Cambodian experience. Any events, objects, and thoughts related to these issues distinguish the refugee settlers from non-refugee Cambodian migrants. Refugeeism has contributed a special strand of Cambodian people who came to live in New Zealand under the humanitarian resettlement programme. Cambodian people with refugee backgrounds often use these elements to identify themselves and differentiate themselves from other migrants. The Cambodian people with refugee background often talk about យើងកសាងជីវិតថ្មីពីជាតដៃទទេ — yoeung korsarng jivit thmey pi bartday totey: "we began to rebuild our life with an empty pair of hands".

Cambodian parents' thoughts and behaviours are influenced by their experience of refugeeism. Cambodian parents use their experience of refugeeism as a reference when dealing with others or with their children. Consequently, the children of refugees often see their parents as funny, sceptical, strict, frugal, and protective, since their parents base their standards, decisions, and actions within the context of their past refugee experience rather than the present. Those in the younger generation can find it difficult to understand why their parents tell them not to waste food or buy designer clothes, and often feel frustrated.

Secondhand Culture

The majority of early Cambodian migrants lived in rented housing in the various suburban areas. There was no Khmer social setting or familiar Khmer environment during the first two or three years of their arrival. Cultural expressions — Khmer music, worship, and family gatherings — were limited to private social space or the home. At home, women wore a floral sarong so that people were able to identify them as newcomers. Their rooms were furnished with donated furniture, and they wore donated secondhand clothes that were extremely unfamiliar to them. A young woman in Dunedin, who proudly wore a knitted hat with her hair tugged out through its two holes, was embarrassed when her English teacher politely told her it was a teacosy, not a hat. One man could not find his woollen jumper after he had washed it, but only a child-size one of the same colour drying in the same place: he washed it with hot water and it had shrunk.

Overall, Cambodians looked different, and their neighbours could identify them as "the Kampuchean refugee family" living down the street.

Food

Cambodians had plenty of time to work in their vegetable gardens, and they were able to plant cabbages, beans, and tomatoes — but no Khmer herbs or plants. Nor were fresh or dried Khmer ingredients and spices available in New Zealand supermarkets. An interviewee talks about buying "Sunlong Rice" in 250-gram plastic bags for the family as staple food during the early 1980s: he often cleaned out the whole supermarket shelf for his family needs. Although caring sponsors supplied unpolished "brown rice", as it is full of nutritional values, Cambodians consider such rice as suitable for animal feed or prisoners. Brown rice reminds them of their traumatic life and starvation during the Khmer Rouge regime, and that makes it hard to swallow.

A Thai shop in Mt Albert and Chinese shops in Auckland were the main ethnic food suppliers for Cambodians. Weekend shopping was everyone's routine. These ethnic shops became the interface for Cambodian social networks. An interviewee living in Glen Innes stocked up at least a dozen bottles of fish sauce and no fewer than two 25kg bags of rice when shopping because of having no means of

191

transport. The discovery of fresh lemon grass, shrimp paste, and fish paste at a Thai shop was the best thing for Khmer cooking. Within the next few years, every Cambodian house in Auckland and Hamilton had lemon grass, ethnic herbs and chillies grown in their garden, and they began to cook Khmer dishes.

Technology

Khmer language as the standard way of communication became a minority language. Khmer meaning and communication space had shrunken even within private households, as everyone was having to learn English during the evenings and weekends to meet their urgent individual language needs. Consequently, Cambodians conducted their lives in "a 'weak multiculturalism' ... their cultural diversity is recognised in the private sphere while a high degree of assimilation is expected" (Grillo 2000, in Vertovec 2001b:3).

Technology was to play an important role in redressing this balance. Khmer music and songs were rarely available in New Zealand. America, Australia and France were the centres for the Khmer culture outside of Cambodia, and, while Cambodia was still under a socialist regime, concentrated Cambodian populations in these three countries collected and reproduced various Khmer cultural materials, such as songs, music, books, posters, old movies, and new productions of contemporary music from *ChhlorngDen Productions* from Long Beach, USA. So, the first item many Cambodians bought in New Zealand was a radio-tape-recorder. This mean that when people received a tape or a book from their friends overseas, individuals were able to duplicate it and share it through their social network. They would also use it to play Khmer music tapes or record their conversation or speech to post to friends or relatives overseas. This type of exchange beyond the New Zealand border provided supplementary information about their overseas relatives and issues in Cambodia.

Parents and children competed among themselves for use of the radio-taperecorder. Parents or adults used Khmer language, whereas schoolchildren or students used English to fill their home environment. As soon as the parents or children had enough money, they bought at least a second tape-recorder for personal use in their crowded bedroom. When alone, individuals hummed along to a Khmer song or quietly whistled a Khmer tune to entertain themselves. Children did the same with the folk songs they had learnt at the refugee camp, and began to sing English rhymes and songs learnt from school. This practice also marks the departure of the younger

192

generation, extending their cultural boundary as they begin to embark on their host culture: music and English language.

By the mid-1980s, radio and television were the main carriers of New Zealand and Western material culture that reached Cambodian households. They brought English language and a new way of life to their living rooms. Those who were not able to understand the language just watched the moving pictures. Children took in the television culture naturally and began to understand spoken English, whereas, although the elderly people found television fascinating, they withdrew to their room for their evening prayer or rest.

Communication

An area regarded as crucial in this respect was language — not only the spoken language, but also the dissemination of Khmer language in written form. This required forums, such as that provided by the Department of Education, which promoted Khmer ethnic language and issues through its quarterly *Southeast Asian Bulletin*, to which some Cambodian refugees contributed articles.

For a non-Romanised language, it also required the means of written dissemination. First, the Cambodian community in Wellington imported a Khmer typewriter for Khmer-language printing. Then the Khmer typeface became available as a computerised font in 1984 when a Cambodian student in Hamilton obtained a font for Apple Macintosh from Judith Ledgerwood (then a Master's student from Cornell University, New York). Unfortunately, the cost of the computer impeded its use for Khmer language, and so the majority of printed materials were handwritten. By the end of the 1980s, Khao I Dang refugee camp (in Thailand) was the only source for Khmer-language materials for the New Zealand Cambodian community. Thanks to the ASB Charitable Trust's funding in 1990, the Khmer written system was computerised and Khmer community bulletins and newsletters were published.

Spiritual Wellbeing and Support

The wellbeing of early Cambodian settlers was compromised not only by being swamped with the unfamiliar, but also with the lack of recourse to familiar spiritual and community supports. "Uprooted from the circle of life, detached from previously stable social support system, and impeded in practice of their religion, these refugees experience a disjuncture that can bring on nightmares" (Britt, Castro and Adler 2006:331).

A good example of this is dreams. Dreams are significant in Khmer culture, so much so that an event in a dream can be shared with family and friends. It can be interpreted as a premonition of good fortune or misfortune, and hence measures can be taken to embrace the dreamt-of event or minimise the potential risks. Dreaming is thus an important instrument for Cambodian wellbeing. To ensure this, sometimes customary outside help is sought. For example, losing one's tooth with blood conveys that a close relative is about to die. Such a dream would disturb a person or family members, and their unease can be pacified only by going to the temple for a Buddhist monk's blessing. Unfortunately, no monks were available during the 1980s, which meant that Cambodians were denied fundamental spiritual support.

Incomplete Cultural Knowledge

So few Khmer cultural specialists ($\mu m \eta = a char$; $\mu = kru$) survived to travel to

New Zealand that community knowledge of Khmer protocol, cultural practice, norms, and traditional healing system was not complete. Even though each local community would assign someone as a cultural specialist (*achar*), since that master would not have full knowledge, his command of the practice was not absolute. The frame of memory reference would be the pre-war period, the war period, the Pol-Pot regime period, and refugee camp period. Differences of practice and the incomplete memory of Khmer culture and norms meant that everyone had their share or input in any cultural ceremony. People tended to refer to a period in which they were exposed to a particular practice for guidance on it. Consultation on-the-spot was common, and consensus defined the way to conduct a ceremony.

In Hamilton in 1985, an *achar* did not remember the direction of encircling the burial ground in a funeral process; everyone followed him clockwise until someone in the crowd stopped them and redirected the process. This is one instance of the various mistakes or deviations that were made in Khmer cultural practice in the early days of settlement in New Zealand. The one who had authority in cultural matters directed or shaped the way of conducting community cultural and religious events; if people ran out of ideas, then they aunay = obparkich: assumed that a procedure or an object was correct. Individuals would apologise to the spirits of their ancestors, such as "Please

194

forgive your children for not being able to conduct the matter correctly due to living in this foreign land. We beg you understanding and not to be offended."

Adaptation of Ceremonies and Rituals to New Zealand Customs

Cambodians also accepted some New Zealand ways of doing things. During the 1980s, the formal part of a funeral or a wedding was organised by the refugees' sponsors and was conducted in a Christian church. However, before and after conducting the service at the church, the Cambodians did their best to do what was supposed to be done according to the Khmer tradition: a Buddhist ceremony — with or without a monk — at its beginning, and a Buddhist ceremony at the end. Cambodians were willing to accommodate the New Zealand way to honour their sponsors: "my sponsors are my Kiwi parents", as one said.

Higbee (1992) also observed the similar practice in a Cambodian wedding in Dunedin where a traditional Cambodian wedding was conducted before the "official" wedding in church. The next morning the new couple went to the Khmer temple for a Buddhist blessing. By the 1990s, the majority of married couples had their Cambodian wedding at home and a wedding party at a Chinese restaurant.

Initially, the practice of the Khmer way of life and socio-cultural events, based on the lunar Buddhist calendar, was overruled by the Western calendar. Cambodians who came to New Zealand during the 1980s missed their first few Khmer New Years and social gatherings because of the lack of a formal social organisation. They celebrated "in spirit with their folk in Cambodia" and moved their celebration to the closest weekend. However, Buddhism is an integral part of Cambodian life and its presence has been reasserted over time. The arrival of two Khmer Buddhist monks in 1984, sponsored by the Cambodian community in Wellington and Auckland, reflects this assertion of the Khmer identity. Their arrival slotted in one of the missing pieces of the Khmer community's cultural jigsaw puzzle, and Cambodians around New Zealand pulled together to fund the construction of their first Buddhist temple in Wellington as their spiritual centre.

195

Thoughts of Home from the Khmer Diaspora in New Zealand

Although during the early 1980s there were social networks, the number of Kampucheans or Cambodians was not significant, and their Cambodian communities were not yet obvious. Being cut off from their country — Cambodia — and living in isolation, Cambodian exiles or refugees mourned the loss of their family and their homeland. Resettlement does not wipe out memory, "but rather provides a medium through which it is reworked, and the memory of shared experience of uprooting help to create new forms of identity" (Loizios 1999, cited in Colson 2003). The ethnographic record (Colson 2003:9) points to refugee camps and resettlement communities as the seedbeds most conducive to the growth of memory and the pursuit of the myth of return.

In 1982, a school boy in *Sakeo* refugee camp expresses his life through painting, and comments:

During the time of fighting, the Cambodians suffered a lot ... It is painful to remember. (The International Rescue Committee 1982:17)

A Cambodian woman in Wellington told Margo White from *Next* magazine (no date:51):

If I had stayed in Cambodia, I might be dead. So New Zealand is good. I can't say more than that ... I can't always be happy though. I still feel that I have lost something, that I've been upset all my life. Too much has been bad. I still have nightmares and I have to remind myself that I am safe. I have to be busy. It's dangerous to have time to think.

White writes: "Refugees are often terrified of their own thoughts and their memories of what was. Another time, memory can comfort." Good memories of home do not just comfort them, they also keep them romanticising their homeland and longing to be back there.

Cambodians long for Cambodia:

At the moment, I can't foresee when I'll ever go back there. But Kampuchean people always wish to see their home again. I intend to go to Angkor once more before I die. (Mey 1986:33)

Young Cambodian students have expressed their feeling in English when they first came to New Zealand. In 1990, Cambodian students from Bayfield High School wrote the following poems about their feelings about being away from Cambodia. Cambodia Many people died by Pol Pot When I am big I will fight For my country And keep My country in peace For ever And Ever. (Hong 1990:33)

I am sad Away From my country I am sad because I want to go back. (Phoeung 1990:33)

Sometimes Sometimes I go walking I think about Walking away To play Walking away From New Zealand To home To Cambodia. (Mey 1990:34)

Siv Leang Ung is one of those who during her spare time has written about her feelings and her longing for her homeland. In the poem "There is No Place Like Home", she describes her good and bad memories of Kampuchea and her new life in New Zealand:

Kampuchea ...

The air was fresh, mixed with fragrance of blossoms The sun shone over the green vegetation and the colourful flowers. Everything seemed calm and peaceful. How happy I was ...

There was humiliation, torture, killing Depriving of food And creation of diseases. My dear sisters died from malnutrition and diseases.

Suffering and pain forced my family To leave our country behind To find freedom in another land ...

Here in New Zealand is freedom and peace I should be happy, instead I am sad. Dreams of past experiences, and still live in nightmares All over again. I feel guilty enjoying the freedom Knowing my family and friends are left behind Still live in the dark ...

Yes, I am parted from my country But my mind will always be With my beloved country Where I belong. How I wish Kampuchea would be at peace again. Then I can return To see where I was born. (Ung 1989:55–57)

While Cambodian refugees living in exile have confronted distinctions between "ours" and "theirs" in New Zealand, they have also been torn between "here and there". These shared feelings have created tight bonds between the Cambodians in New Zealand. Everyone knows one another. They are cut off from their country and long for their homeland. The vision of going home surfaces whenever they were having problems. They have sought mutual support by creating various networks according to their needs: cultural, economic, social, and political. Their networks operate at the local, national and international levels; but all of these networks are outside of Cambodia— their home country.

The Cambodian communities in New Zealand are characterised by the presence of the following of Tölölyan's criteria (2000) of a community in diaspora:

- i. The community has its origin in the fact that a large number of individuals were forced to leave their country by severe political constraints.
- ii. Before leaving their country, ethnic people already shared a well-defined identity: the Khmer, the Charm or Khmer Islam, and the Chinese.
- iii. Cambodian communities actively maintain or construct a collective memory, which forms a fundamental element of their identity.
- iv. These communities keep more or less tight control over their ethnic boundaries, whether voluntary or under constraint from the host society.

- v. Communities are mindful to maintain relations among themselves.
- vi. They also wish to maintain contacts with their country of origin.

According to Tölölyan's criteria, the Cambodian community in New Zealand is part of the Khmer diaspora. While living in diasporic life, individuals are confronted with their "discovery of dualism" that on the one hand as a subordinate group insists on "culture-building" activities and thus strengthens the group solidarity, and on the other hand imitates the dominant group for their social mobility (Chan and Christie 1995:85). This dualism affects Cambodians who live in a diasporic community with "continuity and change" and "religious identity often mean[s] more to [the] individual away from home" (Vertovec 2000:17).

Refugees from Indochina became "claimants to the diaspora status", according to Chan and Christie (1995:86). They noted that the migrant "creates a new identity living within and between two cultures, striving to integrate with the country of resettlement, yet also simultaneously maintaining an outside affiliation or loyalty to the home country". Chan and Christie explain: "Such a framework requires the social analyst to pay attention to the immigrants' thought process (mental) as well as strategies (behavioural) enacted to negotiate their transactions with the larger system (homeland and country of settlement) and with various constituent immigrant institutions" (Chan and Christie 1995:86). According to Chan and Christie, the social analyst should focus on the "cultural-building" and "social mobility or integration" tendencies of immigrants, as well as on the process of the individual and the group concerned "making choice[s] out of a range of identity options on offer". Such a "fluid process" is a form of "identity flow" (1995:86). Blumer and Duster (cited in Chan and Christie 1995:87) use the term "social accommodation" as ethnic groups "align and realign, develop and reformulate their prospective lines of action toward one another" under the sociological, psychological, and political forces being experienced. A large number of studies (Itzigsohn 2001:281) have shown that migrants retain lasting ties with their countries of origin: "The identities and social practices of migrants transcend national boundaries."

When New Zealand's pepper-potting policy was discontinued in the early 1980s, refugees began to regroup and drift up north to Hamilton and Auckland from Palmerston North, Christchurch, and Dunedin, so that they could live closer to their friends and relatives. Since then, Cambodian refugees have been resettled in the main cities of New Zealand. Auckland, Wellington, and Hamilton continue to pull Cambodians from other centres, mainly Dunedin, Christchurch, and Palmerston North. This second migration was also due to the employment opportunities (Liev 1995:111), "educational opportunities", and "above all they moved to find a more familiar social environment in the company of people like themselves" (Thou 1989:42–46).

In addition, some emigrated to Australia after they were granted New Zealand citizenship after three years' residence. According to Thou, "they hoped for greater economic opportunities" and a life that would be "less boring and lonely" (Thou 1989:44). Their network of friends and relatives in the New Zealand urban area or overseas prepared them for their second migration. A male interviewee explained that the reasons for moving to Melbourne, Australia, were job opportunities due to the concentration of Cambodians in the area, and the Khmer cultural material available to people that New Zealand was not able to offer. Warm weather also improved his children's health. Finally, airfares to Cambodia were cheaper from Melbourne. The trans-Tasman networks have provided various comparative views about life across the Tasman and have created opportunities for transmigration. Very often, family members cross the border for holiday visits or for seasonal work.

Cambodians participants in this study who stayed in New Zealand gave their reasons for staying as follows (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 — Reasons of Cambodians to live in New Zealand				
	Frequency	%		
Freedom	1	1.8		
Well settled	3	5.3		
To make home	2	3.5		
Education	1	1.8		
Safe	2	3.5		
Easy to live	2	3.5		
NZ accepts us	1	1.8		
Good welfare	1	1.8		
Good weather	1	1.8		
Life-style	1	1.8		
Good environment	2	3.5		
Good people	4	7.0		
Peaceful	6	10.5		
Relatives	14	24.6		
Job	1	1.8		
Good country	6	10.5		
Good laws	2	3.5		
Total	57	100.0		

The above response highlighted the importance of family bonds among Cambodians living in New Zealand. They desired to live in New Zealand since it is a good peaceful country with good laws and people.

Relevance of Khmer Identity

After a decade of resettlement, Thou wrote "In Aotearoa we try to hold on to some of our traditions" (1989:45). This also implied that some other parts of traditional practice had been forgotten, neglected, or willingly dropped off from Cambodian's individual, familial, ethnic and communal lives. These changes were made in the effort to cope with life in the host community and the New Zealand system, especially in terms of English language, commitments, social interactions, housing, public services, and employment.

In New Zealand, Thou (1989:45) identified the "loss of cultural identity" as one of the main concerns within Cambodian families and communities: "We are struggling to keep our identity and maintain Khmer culture as we also struggle to be full citizens of Aotearoa/New Zealand." Cambodians in New Zealand were facing the same concerns as their compatriots in America, where Smith-Hefner (1999:141) had found that:

parents expressed their sorrow and dismay at those children who had lost or never learned their native language. Not to know Khmer, parents, [Khmer bilingual] teachers, and community leaders said is to risk losing one's identity as a Cambodian.

In response to these problems, Cambodian communities in Wellington, Hamilton, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Auckland introduced Khmer language classes in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. However, these were sporadic and were discontinued, for a number of reasons. There was an urgent need to cope with resettlement. Parents did not have enough time to spend together with children since they were busy with catching up with schoolwork. Parents also would like their children to succeed at school and so there was no option but to focus on English. Parents also had to learn English. Some parents were not able to take their children to their Khmer classes because of family commitments. Furthermore, the majority of the teachers were not well trained and were not able to produce a programme and materials that were appealing to children. Unfortunately, children perceived going to the Khmer language as "not cool".

Although the majority (68.4%) of the participants in my survey believes that it is necessary to learn Khmer, there is no evidence of learning Khmer language as a high priority. Some parents who had no formal education in Cambodia were notable in helping their children learn Khmer, and more-educated parents have not done better than the others.

The language issue is also part of the transmission of Khmer culture from parents to children. The role of storytelling which embedded Khmer values and morals also disappeared from the family social talks. The family time after dinner was filled with homework and television programmes.

So cultural practitioners, elders, and community leaders talk of their concerns about a second generation that is "neither Khmer nor Kiwi" (ខ្មែរមិនខ្មែរ គីរីមិនគីរី –

Khmer min Khmer, Kiwi min Kiwi), and parents talk about how their children "forget to be a Khmer" (ក្មោយជាខ្មែរ — *Phlich jia Khmer*). The younger generations counter

with comments such as "we are now in New Zealand", "Not me", "Khmer way is not relevant here", "rusty ideas", "I don't need to speak Khmer here", "Nothing is good about Khmer", and "Too many constraints to be a Khmer". The younger (1.5- and second-) generation Cambodians want to focus on the here and now.

My survey found that 35% of respondents agreed that the culture of New Zealand mainstream society was more appealing than Khmer culture (Table 6.2). This was due to the functionality of the cultural factors: language, music, clothing, convenience food, and social environment. The rest of our respondents, across all age groups, did not agree. This would indicate that, while there is significant risk to Khmer culture, there is also a stronger interest in its preservation

The fear of losing Khmer cultural identity and language led to a shift in focus of community leaders' roles from mutual community caregivers to socio-cultural engineers, especially in terms of social and cultural transplantation. These leaders focus their ability to maintain their culture and the opportunity to attract and maintain their members. Non-religious associations were not able to sustain their membership and existence, and so embraced Buddhism to attract membership and support. They

align with Buddhism and introduced a Buddhist temple as the main part of their Khmer cultural identity. Now that older members of the community have ensured that they are established in their country of settlement, they can focus on protecting a sense of where they have come from and, integral to that, who they are.

Table 6.2 - NZ culture is more appealing than Khmer culture						
	Age (years) of Participants					
	Under 35	35–55	Over 55	Not specified	Total	
Strongly agree	1	3			4	
Agree	7	8	1		16	
Not agree	10	7	3	1	21	
Not agree at all	3	5	1		9	
No comment	1	3	2	1	7	
Total	22	26	7	2	57	

This shift of focus among the Cambodian associations towards building a Buddhist temple as part of their cultural practice created discontentment, tension, and conflict that, as I discuss in the next chapter, led to the fragmentation of the diasporic Cambodian community in New Zealand.

Transnational Links

While Cambodians began their resettlement in various parts of New Zealand during the mid-1980s, some of their friends and relatives living in Cambodia under the Socialist regime of Hun Sen's government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRP) had the opportunity to go to the Eastern Bloc for training. As a consequence, letters were sent to Cambodians in New Zealand from East Germany and Russia when some Cambodian students and officials from the Socialist regime in Phnom Penh took up the opportunity to study in Vietnam and the Eastern Bloc. This allowed Cambodians in New Zealand to regain connections with their relatives or friends. Again, they sent money to those people by concealing money in a tube of toothpaste, a roll of film, a collar of a shirt, or even hidden in a cardboard box.

A Cambodian trainee who went to Vietnam on a scholarship in the mid-1980s wrote to his older brother in America, who in return sent his brother a nice pair of shoes in a cardboard box. The man went to collect the package from Customs, where a Vietnamese officer innocently asked him for the empty box. Knowing that money was sandwiched in the bottom of the box, the Cambodian student nicely explained to the officer that the box from his brother had "sentimental value" and so he found it difficult to give it away. He kindly proposed to donate a few dollars to the officer instead for him to buy a nice box at the local market. The student got his box, went straight back to his dormitory, and tore open the bottom of the box for his brother's money.

In return, Cambodians in New Zealand received letters and information from home, and materials of cultural importance, such as a scarf or a silk sarong. These cultural materials were very significant, since they were real and tangible — they could read the handwriting of their loved ones or smell the perfume on a scarf. These correspondence and remittances began a temporary transnational interaction of diasporic Cambodians. The link was intense, but had a short life due to the disintegration of the Eastern Bloc. The fall of the Eastern Bloc led to peaceful negotiation among the Cambodian warring factions, and, by 1993, all of the factions had agreed to a general election sponsored by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).

In 1993, the UNTAC paved the way for co-existence and a peaceful Cambodia. This change has created a two-way exchange for Cambodians across the borders, when in 1993 the State of Cambodia (SOC) opened its door to Cambodians in diaspora.

Transnational Political Organisations

Various political parties began to cast their nets to gather support from Cambodians living overseas. The Kingdom of Cambodia has opened its door by granting to overseas Cambodians with a refugee background a K-Visa with unrestricted rights to go to Cambodia. These Cambodians do not have a Cambodian passport. Since then, Cambodia has recognised emigrants' dual affiliation and acknowledged their private and public rights in Cambodia.

People were motivated to participate in general elections and to return to stand for various political parties. In New Zealand, the Sam Rainsy Party has been the most popular political party. Other parties include the Cambodian People Party — CPP, *Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendent, Neutre, Pacifique et Coopératif* — FUNCINPEC, and the Kampuchean People's National Liberation Front — KPNLF. Some people from New Zealand have gained prominent public positions in Cambodia.

The Cambodian Embassy of the Royal Government of Cambodia in Canberra, Australia, has also established links with the various Cambodian communities in New Zealand since 1997, and it also aims to protect the interest of the Cambodians in New Zealand. The embassy has periodically informed Cambodian-Kiwis of various political and social developments in Cambodia through the internet, printed materials and personal contacts.

Transnational Communities

The various Cambodian communities in New Zealand have often responded to various humanitarian causes such as flood relief (1990), social rehabilitation (since 1995), and religious exchanges with Cambodia (since 1996). The Cambodian communities always make efforts to fundraise and channel money through international non-government organisations (NGOs) or local NGOs, such as the Red Cross and the Cambodia Trust, and local temples in Cambodia. The Khmer Foundation, for instance, sponsored the design of the website of the Royal Embassy of Cambodia in Canberra and hosted it from New Zealand between 2000 and 2003.

The communities have also hosted various dignitaries and politicians from Cambodia, such as: Prince Norodom Sihanouk (1981); two French Catholic priests, Pere Venet and Monsignor Ramousse (1985), who reminded Cambodians not to forget their culture and identity; the leader of the Khmer Buddhist Liberal Party, Soeun San (1984); Dr Haing Ngor, a Khmer Oscar winner (1989); the Minister of Finance, Keat Chhon (1994); the leader of the Sam Rainsy Party (1996); the Ambassadors of the Royal Cambodian Government (1997, 1999); and the various officials who have come for training or conferences (Figure 6.1). In 2004, a Cambodian delegation came for a HIV/AIDS conference in Auckland, and also gave their presentation at the Khmer temple in Takanini. Cambodians in New Zealand have gained fresh information and understanding of Cambodian contemporary issues in Cambodia from these transnational relations. Furthermore, Cambodian communities have been able to host entertainers from Cambodia.



Figure 6.1 — Dr Nep Barom from the Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2001 Author's collection

Transnational Family Circuits

Cambodians are living in a world that encompasses humans, spirits, and deity. Illness and death illustrate these interconnections as well as transnational ones. One woman explained: "My son's spirit came to see me last night, told me not to live in sorrow, then he went back...". A few years later, she became ill. Close relatives flew from overseas to pay her their respects when she was very ill. Just before she passed away, the woman wished her children "to take her ashes back to Cambodia to be near her siblings and parents". The news of her death brought messages of condolence (in telephone calls and letters) from friends and distant relatives scattered around Australasia, North America and Europe. The original network of friends and relatives that extended across national borders provided support and shared information as part of their member's adaptation outside of Cambodia.

At the local level, every member of the community pulled together for her funeral and 100 days' service. These members donated their time and money to the family of the deceased. The family of the deceased announced at the completion of the service that "the family will donate the fund to a school in a village in northern Cambodia in honour of the lady and the Cambodians in New Zealand". Some families donated money to their local temple in New Zealand for its future development.

Cambodians also go overseas to attend their relatives' weddings or funerals. The closest family members collect money and donations from friends and relatives in New Zealand and go to support their relatives' needs. These overseas trips also provide them with opportunities to see and compare their ways of life. On their return, people tell others of the good things and bad things that they have seen.

Individuals have reforged links with members of their families. The dream of home visits has become a reality, and individuals have gone back and forth to visit their families. They have brought back to their homeland remittances from *tontines* or personal savings, as well as objects and ideas. On average, individuals in my postal survey reported that they took home \$5,000–\$10,000 of their family savings for their families in each visit.

Sometimes, family members in Cambodia have received financial inputs from relatives who have channelled their savings into the relative's business investment. A baker invested in his brother's hotel in Siemreap, and he travels frequently to see his brother. Another man runs a company in Cambodia, and shuttles back and forth to see his family in Auckland. He donates religious objects to Khmer temples in Auckland.

On their way back to New Zealand, their suitcases are loaded with items of Khmer material culture, such as sarongs, traditional silk material, religious books, Khmer music videos and CDs, and Khmer DVD movies, or a container-load of Khmer furniture. Sometimes, a son or daughter of their relatives in Cambodia comes with them as an international student.

Families have sponsored members of their extended family through the general migrant scheme, under the immigration points system, or the family reunification scheme where refugees can apply for their close relative to be reunited in New Zealand. Single men have come back to New Zealand with brides and later on sponsored their in-laws under the family reunification category.

Home visits of second-generation Cambodians and their families have become more frequent. Their visits have created transnational networks that extend family networks across borders. Reconnection with their homeland has polished the language and behaviour of these second-generation Cambodians: "My cousins helped me to correct my spoken Khmer." On her return to New Zealand, this young person told her family and Kiwi-ised sisters about Cambodia and the Khmer way of life that she had been exposed to from her visit. As a result, the family plan to visit their relatives in the near future, and they are more interested in Khmer language and way of life. The family now watch more Khmer DVDs. The family is proud of the change in her attitude and of their renewed awareness of their cultural identity.

The majority of participants in my survey (82.5%) agreed that Cambodia is part of their social life (Table 6.3). They still have interest in Cambodia and maintain links with their relatives and friends.

Table 6.3 - Cambodia is part of Khmer social life				
	Frequency	Percent		
Strongly agree	23	40.4		
Agree	24	42.1		
Not agree	5	8.8		
Not agree at all	1	1.8		
Not applicable	4	7.0		
Total	57	100.0		

The flows of border crossings have strengthened the various Cambodian migration networks in terms of frequency, direction, scope, intensity, and exchange of resources. People keep in touch with each other within their social circle; some people make home visits frequently, and bring back cultural items and knowledge back to New Zealand. For example, the Khmer Youth and Recreational Trust in Auckland formed a cultural performance troop. The dance troop is able to perform various classical Khmer dances since the Trust was able to import masks and ornaments from Cambodia. The chairman of the Trust explained that "The linkage with Cambodia enabled our youth group to perform Khmer classical items." With the grants from the ASB Charitable Trust, the trainer went to Cambodia and was able to buy proper masks, headgear, ornaments and costumes. Some of them were so fragile that they needed to be carried in the hand luggage.

These flows have had a great impact on the development of ethnic practice and Khmer identity in New Zealand. Transnationalism has extended Cambodian social networks across borders, and, as a result, has enriched the Khmerness of the diasporic Khmer identity.

As time goes by, English language has sneaked word-by-word into the Cambodian vocabulary. English words are now used in daily Khmer conversation. Since the improvement of Cambodia's international relations in 1993, English has been introduced to homeland Cambodians, too.

Telecommunication has been improved, and the cost of long-distance calls has become affordable. On average, in 2004, people called Cambodia once or twice a month. One male interviewee said that his brother calls his family every week; but the call is short. People make use of Telecom special offers (cheap weekend rates to America and Australia).

Many have begun using email. This instant connection has expanded the form, scope, and intensity of Cambodian transmigration or transnational networks. A man in a small town in Western Cambodia sent an email to his aunt in Auckland (2003) about her sister's illness; the sister in Auckland informed her relatives, collected money for them around Wellington, and arranged a money transfer through Western Union to her nephew in Cambodia. The fluidity of information flow and the timely access to resource transfer have given some peace to the lives of this extended family, even though their members are living apart.

In the public domain, Khmer-related websites (such as <u>www.gocambodia.com</u>) and Cambodian community websites, in Cambodia as well as overseas (such as <u>www.cambodia.org</u>), have provided valuable resources and points of reference for the Cambodians in New Zealand and their community development.

Development of Khmer Associations and Cultural Identity

Well after the first wave of refugee settlement, local associations survived as informal networks, whose main goal was to provide mutual support and assistance, and to stage social gatherings for ethnic celebrations. Their members' efforts to assist each other created a social exchange and a social bond, which encouraged their group to do well in their resettlement: employment, health, children's education, and family welfare. The social bonds also drew various social and political boundaries. The Khmer organisations and the politics of association and leadership are described in the next chapter.

However, those who stayed in the main cities began to strengthen their local social networks for wider social, cultural, and resettlement needs. Around the mid-1980s, a Cambodian group was emerging from the common threads and needs experienced in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Palmerston North. Hitherto, individuals at the grassroots level had joined forces for common practical causes, and in doing so had created an informal local social space. Flows of mutual support and communication had strengthened the relationship. Leadership was based on an individual or a small group of individuals who had had some status or position when they were in Cambodia or at a refugee camp. These leaders used their existing social networks or skills to create a Cambodian group that later on grew to become a local Cambodian association with a mix of anyone from Cambodia: Khmer, Sino Khmer, Khmer Krom and Cham.

In the public arena, besides providing individual assistance to newcomers, former Colombo Plan Cambodian students in Wellington became the main actors who raised awareness of Khmer identity and formed their community in 1980s. These Cambodians pooled together their social capital and quietly claimed a Cambodian community space in New Zealand. Their formal network was known as the Khmer Community of New Zealand, and had the leadership of those élites (gnstyff — Puok

nisett) who had been formally educated in the New Zealand system. Its three main objectives were to:

- 1. network with overseas Cambodian communities to liberate Cambodia
- 2. reunite and assist Cambodians in New Zealand, and
- 3. maintain Khmer culture.

On Khmer cultural identity, Bunthan Chan has written:

Just as a strong, healthy tree must rely on its roots ... a person must rely on his sense of identity if he is to lead a happy and meaningful life ...

Everywhere we go we bring these, from the colour of our skin to our behaviour and speech — just as root would cling to an uprooted tree. ...

At the moment our people are learning the Kiwi way of life, together with the rights and responsibilities of a good citizen. A rootless citizen would not be able to contribute very much to his new country. The important Cambodian roots, which we must nurture in this new country, are customs and traditions, Buddhism, culture and civilisation, and language and literature. (Chan 1982:23)

There is an acknowledgement that to be a Khmer in New Zealand one must maintain ties — and with it, the Wellington group might argue, responsibilities — to the homeland. This is not a purely political stance: it reflects the important role that memory plays in cultural maintenance. Parents have told children about life in Cambodia and their customs: "Sometimes my mother and father tell me about what it was like in Kampuchea when we had the New Year. Everyone went to the temple, and the celebration went on for three days" (Rina Lim 1986:10). In New Zealand, the Cambodian New Year celebration lasts less than a day.

Mulyvuth Moeung writes about Cambodian New Year as celebrated in Cambodia:

We take food to the monks in the pagoda. We play many popular games. ... Many people go to visit Angkor Wat ... other go to the seaside ... People are allowed to gamble ... We children like to play with firecrackers. We have a lot of food to eat. Our Cambodian New Year lasts for three days. Every year we have a lot of fun. (In *Memory of Cambodia*, no date: 3)

A young boy in the Khao I Dang Holding Centre (Thailand) writes:

Before the time of war, the Cambodians always kept their tradition. The temples, the festivals, and the games were part of our soul. I remember New

Years and how we used to celebrate. We tugged ropes, played games, and made offerings with incense and candles. I remember it because it was a happy time. (International Rescues Committees 1982:7)

That cultural identity is tied to origin, which in turn ties its members to the source (homeland) and commands some sense of responsibility. This wider, more formal focus (as exemplified by the Wellington group and its three objectives) brings with it political implications. So, by the mid-1980s, there was at least one formal Cambodian association in each city, and the three main (opposing) political parties of the coalition resistance had their network in New Zealand, with political supporters able to donate money for the liberation of their home country through the Wellington branch.

Ethnic Identity

King has written about the "baggage — cultural, spiritual, emotional, psychological" that migrants bring with them (King 1991:7). He defines culture as "the basis of the relationship between the individual and society, the values and the rituals through which people perceive and feel their identity; and by which society accepts or rejects them".

The nature of culture is, then, both inclusive and exclusive (King 1991:17). Walker describes how "members of the dominant groups use ethnicity labels for members of ethnic minority groups ... [which] may not always coincide with individuals' or groups' own labelling" (Walker 2001:15). Identity is a "political statement" that describes "cultural associations and origins" that reflect obligations and a commitment which is based on values, ways of behaving, and beliefs that "mark our difference from those around us" (Spoonley, cited in King 1991:146) and "convey to people how they are perceived by others" (1991:152).

Where important compulsions are at work to maintain ethnic affiliation, these compulsions are not imposed by the dominant society. In other words, the pressures that one feels to "be ethnic" come from within oneself and from the ethnic community rather than from the dominant society (Kibria 2002:3). Ethnic identity here arises from individuals perceiving themselves to be members of a group, rather than being classified as such by others. Ethnicity as a form of self-defined identity can be seen as a "mental construct as much as a physical experience of reality" (Tilbury, cited in Walker 2001:3). Berreman explains:

Ethnic identity is a matter of shared self-perception, the communication of that perception to others and, perhaps the most crucially, the response it elicits from others in the form of social interaction. Ethnicity, like all aspects of the social identity, is manifest both as that which is subjectively claimed and as that which is socially accorded. (Berreman, cited in LRCRCS 1991:60)

Belonging to a particular ethnic group brings with it expectations of loyalty and duty. Members of the same ethnic group can more or less recognise the reactions, values system and behaviour of the members of their group (LRCRS 1991:61).

Up until 1993, material culture from Cambodia was almost non-existent. During the first decade of their resettlement, Cambodians carried on their routine within the New Zealand socio-cultural setting and attempted to reconstruct their cultural existence. They began to identify any people from Cambodia in their area. A woman explains:

when we first came to Hamilton in 1980s, we rarely heard Khmer language spoken in the street or saw Asians. We approached any Asians, smiled at them and asked them if they were Cambodians. And I told them I am Khmer from Cambodia.

Not everyone was proud of being Cambodian because of the refugee stigma. A woman in Hamilton told her neighbour she was Indian; and a man in Auckland told others he was a Korean. And the Chinese Cambodians began to form their own groups and speak their Chinese language.

Sometimes during the weekend, people drove from Hamilton to the Refugee Reception Centre just to see if there was anyone they knew or anyone who was going to live in Hamilton: "We used to go to Mangere with bags of fruits for the Cambodian newcomers. We made friends and exchanged our address and phone number." People who had arrived within the same intake also kept in touch and created an informal network of Cambodians in their areas and New Zealand.

Individual Legal Identity

Cambodians who survived the Khmer Rouge regime and fled the country did not have identity papers — neither a birth certificate nor a passport. At the holding centres in Thailand, the UNHCR issued them a family tracing card and a tracing number: a TC number. Once accepted, they were given a transit camp number while waiting for their resettlement. On the last day before leaving Thailand, they received a letter of identity (now a Certificate of Identity — COI) with a permanent residence status.

Although Cambodians in New Zealand were granted permanent residence on their arrival, they were keen to apply for New Zealand citizenship as soon as possible. Within five years of their arrival, 57.9% of the participants of my survey had gained their New Zealand citizenship. The majority of the respondents (73.7%) had been granted citizenship within their first ten years of their arrival. Ninety four per cent of all participants had gained their citizenship.

Table 6-4 — Gained New Zeland citizenship				
	Frequency	%		
Yes	54	94.7		
No	2	3.5		
Not applicable	1	1.8		
Total	57	100.0		

People would like to "have an official citizenship paper to hold on [to for] protection" from New Zealand. Once they had it, they applied for a New Zealand passport. They use this passport as their personal identity paper in New Zealand and for travelling overseas. Having New Zealand citizenship and a passport does not change an individual's feeling and sense of ethnic affiliation, however. As one person explained:

I am a Khmer with a New Zealand citizenship. Even I am naturalized and have become a New Zealand citizen, I am still a Khmer. I can't change who I am, although I have a New Zealand passport. I am still a Khmer — a Khmer refugee. We have had a citizenship, but in the passport the country of origin is Cambodia where I was born. New Zealand is a place where I live and am legally belonged.

Citizenship and a passport are reassertions of the individual identity of Cambodians with refugee backgrounds. They claim a new identity and place where they choose to belong. Cambodians use their citizenship and passport for their legal identity. If they visit Cambodia, they are called the អាណិកជនខ្មែរទៅញសៀឡិន ("ethnic Khmer from New Zealand"); they belong to New Zealand and now are called ខ្មែរមានសញ្ជាតិញសៀឡិន ("Khmer New Zealand citizen"). In cases of civil unrest in Cambodia, such as in 1997, Cambodian Kiwi expatriates used their New Zealand passports as a safety net to get out of Cambodia during the emergency evacuation.

Khmer Cultural Identity

Identity, according to Mowe (1997:71, in Walker 2001), is based on what are recognised and accepted as shared qualities or similarities, which stand in contrast to other shared qualities. People's interaction within their community's and family's daily life manifests in different forms, and provides footprints or trails of their cultural and ethnical practice. Reflections from Cambodian life and routine enable us to describe Khmer practice and identity.

Elements of Khmer Identity According to Individuals

The focus group discussions with the participants in my study used the following shared characteristics and features to define Khmer characters:

Individual appearance

If we talk about Khmerness, first of all we talk about our look or appearance — the colour of our hair, the way we dress. We still wear our traditional Khmer clothes.

I am still a Khmer in blood and flesh. I have a flat nose and speak with an accent. I don't have a "long nose". I can't become a Kiwi. If you are genetically a Khmer, you are still a Khmer. Children of the Khmer are still Khmer. Nothing can change my origin.

Individual legal document, such as a passport

I am a Khmer with a New Zealand citizenship. Even [though] I am naturalised and have become a New Zealand citizen, I am still a Khmer. I can't change who I am, although I have a New Zealand passport. I am still a Khmer — a Khmer refugee. We have had a citizenship, but in the passport the country of origin is Cambodia.

Naming

Even my children who have been born here, I do not give them a European name yet. They have got a Cambodian name. For the future of my children, it is up to them to think and choose for themselves. It is their business.

Custom

We conduct our life within the Khmer custom, culture and norm. We cannot become [an]other ethnic[ity]. Although we have lived in this country, we are still living in Khmer way. We have conducted our life within the Khmer custom and more. We go to the temple. You can't throw away the Khmer way. No matter what I do and no matter where I go, I don't think I can change from the "Khmerness" (ศากตารัฐม — *Pheap chea Khmer*) or "Khmer way". I am still a Khmer.

Home environment

We talk about our home and things in your house — the décor and a religious item, such as incense sticks, incense pot and a Buddha statue. One more thing is about your garden. We have grown plants for Khmer ingredients for our Cambodian kitchen: lemon grass, Khmer mint, chilly, Kafir lemon tree, etc.

Food

We are Khmer because of our custom, food and rice. We cook and eat Khmer food. We do not eat potato but rice. For example, we eat meat but I can't eat [the] Kiwi way. Kiwi food is different from Khmer food even [when] we use same meat. European food is too rich and I cannot take it in. We are used to eating Khmer sour soup (gainfile - Mchoo grurng); we cannot switch to eat cheese yet. [Do you have fish paste (gainfile - prahok and gin - paork) in your food?] Yes. We have to supply our kitchen with them.

The above characteristics were also shared by the Cambodian participants in my postal survey, who also identified the following shared values, in order of importance, as the elements of the Khmer culture or identity: language, custom, tradition, and Buddhism.

Dual-belongings

What is "not Khmer"

The majority of Cambodians with refugee backgrounds came to New Zealand with almost nothing but their memory of how they had lived their personal lives in Cambodia. These people notice when their children and other Cambodians do things that are "not Khmer". They know what is not Khmer. For example, they would say "do the wrong way" (ធ្វើខុសក្សនតម្រា ខុសច្បាប់ទំណប់ គ្មានរបៀបរបប ឈ្មើយ), if a person behaved in the following ways :

• Behaviours, such as greeting (not greeting someone in Khmer, or just saying "Hello" in English), walking (pounding the floor), talking (using words which are not appropriate, such as using ordinary Khmer language when conversing with monks instead of using the language of the monks), speaking (mixing up languages), eating (making a noise with the cutlery, talking when eating),

gestures toward elders (walking with a straight body in front of elders), laughing (women laughing loudly), sitting (crossing legs, leaning rather than sitting up straight, sitting at the same level with elders), courtship (young people choosing their partner)

- Ways of thinking and expressions, such as "We are not in Cambodia anymore", "We don't need to follow the old way"
- Cultural products, such as food (less salty and sweet, using alternative ingredients and vegetables), home environment, clothes.

Individuals recognise Khmerness (ភាពជាខ្មែរ — pheap chea Khmer) in a wide range of elements of what they think, what they do, and what they have produced. Members of the family and friends would help explain and correct mistakes or unwanted behaviours. Within the community, gossip floats around about people who neglect being Khmer or who choose not to follow Khmer custom and mores. Nowadays, Cambodians in New Zealand are more relaxed and have freedom to assert their identity as they have begun to integrate into New Zealand society. Some parents say "My children are now Kiwi children" (ក្នុនកូនវាជាកូនយ៏វិអស់ហើយ — kaun kaun vea chea

Kiwi ors heuy). People are not always disappointed, though, as their expression also connotes the good aspects of Kiwi-isation, such as education, friendship, routine and employment.

Multiple Identities

Cambodian respondents to my postal survey also expressed their personal view of their identity (Table 6.5). Fifty-two percent of the respondents (thirty of the fifty-seven) identify themselves as Khmer Kiwi.

Table 6-5 — How Khmer identify themselves				
	Frequency	%		
Kiwi	2	3.5		
Khmer Kiwi	24	42.1		
Khmer	20	35.1		
Chinese Khmer	3	5.3		
Chinese Khmer Kiwi	4	7.0		
Khmer Krom	3	5.3		
Thai Khmer	1	1.8		
Total	57	100.0		

Over the years, Cambodians have become accustomed to their lives in the New Zealand setting: under New Zealand laws and in its environment. They are exposed to a different lifestyle and socio-cultural setting, in which they have an opportunity to live in a free and democratic country where they have true freedom and security. Furthermore, New Zealand and its society have given the Cambodians it hosts equal access to public services and places, and the opportunity to exercise their rights and duties as citizens of New Zealand. Most Cambodian adults in New Zealand have participated in more than five general elections and various local elections. They have exercised their rights and duties as New Zealand citizens.

Individual Cambodians feel various degrees of belonging to New Zealand as their country or their community. They have a flexible and shifting matrix of belonging. Cambodian men and women sided with Team New Zealand during the various America's Cup boat races. All Blacks are also their team when New Zealand played in the Rugby World Cup. When the All Blacks lost to the Australians, the Cambodian men and women were disappointed, and expressed their identification with New Zealand unconsciously: "Our team did not do well. Oz beat us again!"

Cambodians extended their ownership and belonging across national borders when they watched the Olympic opening ceremony in Sydney. Initially, Cambodian viewers said, "Our Cambodian team is so small." Then later, when the Kiwis appeared on screen, the Cambodian viewers said, "Our New Zealand team is big." These Cambodians claims of belonging with both teams reflect a self-proclaimed sense of belonging and ownership that they unconsciously feel towards both their country of origin and their country of residence. The fluidity of their belonging to both teams and nations reflects a dual-sentiment field of nationalism, which spreads across national boundaries. This "portability of national identity" (Sassen 1998, in Vertovec 2001b:12) enables Cambodians to benefit from multiple "belongings" or social memberships. This is also reflected, more problematically perhaps, in the tension of "social identification" under the "Dialogical Motifs" (DeSantis 2000) where the "exile identifies with old community and the new community".

The fluidity of their belonging also manifests across ethnic boundaries within the Cambodian community, too. Cambodians felt cheated when Chinese Cambodians proclaimed their Chinese identity when China did well, but retreated into the Cambodian community when things went against them. This identity of convenience has been seen as a "ticket for their protection". This view is also shared by Cambodian newcomers who have come to New Zealand after the termination of the Cambodian refugee programme in the beginning of 1990s. Language use is different here, in that Cambodians in New Zealand use old, plain Khmer, mostly without contemporary words. Middle-aged Cambodians in New Zealand who can read Khmer find it difficult to read Khmer newspapers or magazines from Cambodia — "too many big words", as one complained. The Khmer language register has been shrunk to the domestic, functional spoken language rather than fluent Khmer language.

Conclusion

Crossing national boundaries involves managing personal and social identities in new social settings. This process is facilitated by the social, cultural, and economic features of both the sending country and the host country. Refugees "draw ethnic boundaries and maintain native ethnic identity in their private lives partly in response to the difficulties they face in crossing other boundaries" in the host society, such as employment, education, and social interactions (Markovic and Manderson 2002).

This has also reflected New Zealand's "weak multiculturalism" practice whereby Cambodians found their cultural identity eroded. Cambodians often described their time in New Zealand in three periods: on-arrival acculturations (sinkor-swim period), post-resettlement reconstruction in diasporas (until 1993), and realignment as a result of transnationalism (post-1993). This periodisation related to the status of linkages with their homeland — Cambodia. These periods have had a significant influence in the New Zealand Cambodian community, and this change of status from an isolated community to a non-isolated community occurred after Cambodia welcomed the return of overseas Cambodians.

Beside the nature of the above links, Cambodian communities and their people have had to fulfil their various needs and adjust to life in New Zealand. The dual conditions have been the main contributing factors in shaping individual social networks, and the nature of the Cambodian community and its identity.

The strategy of Cambodians during the on-arrival stage was 'to go with the flow'. They were flexible and tried to adjust to the new situations. They sought and exchanged local, regional, and transnational information to assess their social and

cultural positions. The majority of the Cambodians found that the Kiwi ways of doing things did not accommodate Khmer cultural needs. The circumstances that are particular to Cambodia have made the establishing of Khmerness in New Zealand even more difficult. Until the late 1980s, Cambodians lived in their diasporic community. They tried their best to reinstate their Khmerness. By doing so, they reconstructed their identity by introducing mutual assistance associations and Buddhist temples in their area. They lived a life in accordance to their Khmer identity by reconstructing their social and cultural environment from their memory and cultural material available to them in New Zealand. The blend of Kiwi and Khmer ways of doing things, in isolation from Cambodia, has led to the formation of a unique identity. Although Cambodians have now reconnected with Cambodia, they notice differences between themselves and the Cambodians in Cambodia. This deviation has created a new strand, a unique hybrid Khmer identity, within Kiwi ways of life.

Cambodians' adaptation to the New Zealand environment has produced some changes in their attitude and behaviours. These acculturation changes in "extrinsic cultural traits" (Gordon in Valtonen 1994:65) were noticeable in their manner of dress and speech. Their dual-belongings have also affected their "intrinsic" cultural traits, such as religion and ethical values. Cambodians have become more liberal than before, as more individuals embrace freedom of expression, dating, mixed marriage, and freedom in religious belief. In contrast to Bit's finding in America (Bit 1991:129), the attitude to work of the majority of Cambodians in New Zealand is hardworking and trustworthy. Their achievement has proven their case. Pondchaud's comment (1977:5–6) that Cambodians in New Zealand are assertive and are prepared to stand up for their difference and values. Women have fronted up in the family regarding violence in the home, and have voiced their opinions and exercised their rights. Cambodians have demonstrated their abilities and effectively adapt to life in New Zealand.

The fluidity of their belonging to both nations reflects a dual sentiment field of nationalism, which spreads across national boundaries. The Khmer Kiwis have to some degree fallen into DeSentis's dilemma where they have to negotiate the conflicts of both cultures and ways of life. The majority of individuals who have claimed to embrace as much as they can of the Kiwi way of life have had to compromise some of

their Khmer heritage to gain their dual belonging. Their Khmer national and cultural events are celebrated during the weekend, at home or within their own community. Their middle path to individual adaptation enables them to create a comfort zone for them to live in within New Zealand society. Their individual success owes both to the host community support and the Khmer community endeavour that strikes a balance in the reconfiguration of their transnational Khmer identity. The Cambodians are able to maintain their identity yet become part of the host society to the extent that the host population and the Cambodians can live together in an acceptable way. From Kuhlman's perspective (1991:5–6), Cambodians are on their way to being fully integrated into the New Zealand society. Although the majority of the Khmers have been happy with their life and have achieved personal success, they still need to assert their Khmer identity at the community level along paths that are described in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 — Cambodian Community Development and the Role of Religion

Introduction

In recent years, New Zealand has adopted a more positive attitude toward multiculturalism which enables various ethnic groups to co-exist and maintain their cultural heritage. While Cambodians settled well in New Zealand, they were asserting their ethnic space within the context of the host society, their country of origin, and the emerging Khmer transnational community. They strived, in this respect, to integrate with the host country and preserve their cultural heritage. Similar to the finding of Chan and Christie (1995:75–94) among the Indochinese settlers in North America, I found that the Cambodians in New Zealand have had opportunities to choose a range of identities on offer. Some people deny their Khmer identity because of a perceived refugee stigma, some reclaim their Chinese heritage, some become Christians, and some try to keep their Khmer identity as much as they can. Amongst these different interests, people from Cambodia form their own social and religious networks and associations.

However, New Zealand has never formally adopted multiculturalism as official policy (Fletcher 1999). This stand still generates a weak multicultural environment which has denied Cambodians the opportunity to fully promote the maintenance of their Khmer culture. Their deliberations on their identity options have divided loyalty to past, present and future.

This chapter addresses community development, and particularly patterns of religious organisations in the Cambodian refugee community, and the leadership of these organisations. The first part presents a broad spectrum of the social and cultural characteristics of the community which have become woven into the New Zealand social fabric. I describe how Cambodian groups function in terms of communal life, social participation and leadership, and how this has led to the development of various Cambodian communities and the assertion of Khmer cultural identity. Among the various religions, Buddhism occupies the majority of space in the Khmer spiritual world, and it is embedded as an essential part of the Cambodian way of life. The second part of this chapter describes Khmer Buddhism in diaspora, and its Cambodian Buddhist community of practice. Examples are given of friction within communities, to show leadership and problem-solving in action, and to highlight the Khmer cultural perspectives which are brought to bear and how communities change as the adaptation process progresses.

In considering community development in New Zealand, I have drawn on a number of community development theories from Lev-Wiesel (2003:332) on social cohesion, from McMillan and Chavis (1986) (in Lev-Wiesel 2003:332) on membership and shared values based on a common history, from Doron (2005) on cultural bereavement, and from Shirley (1982) on local needs as the cause of community development.

In general, community development depends on social cohesion that can be expressed through a sense of belonging, social ties, solidarity, perceived social support, and rootedness (Lev-Wiesel 2003:332). Religion and spirituality are a means for community building and group identity with refugees (Doron 2005). Through the development process, new leaders emerged and conflicts became common (Hein 1995). These theoretical perspectives enable me to discuss the development of the Cambodian communities in New Zealand, in that religion is one of the main factors of their social cohesion or fragmentation.

Crystallisation of a Community

The history of the Khmer community in New Zealand began with the Colombo Plan Students who could not return to Cambodia. The majority of them were based in Wellington, and they became the cultural brokers and facilitators for Khmer refugee resettlement in the main cities of New Zealand during the 1980s. Soon after their resettlement, newcomers sprung up in their local area to assume local leadership and assist their community to form associations.

Former Colombo Plan Students

Unfortunately, these students became stranded in New Zealand when the Khmer Rouge took over Cambodia and correspondingly the New Zealand Government granted them asylum. One of the students, who came in October 1974, told me during Sometimes around May 1975, our letters sent to Cambodia were returned to senders. No one informed us anything about the event at home. Living in New Zealand was like living in a black hole that I did not know what happened to our family in Cambodia. One day, the New Zealand government granted us our permanent residency since we were not able to go back home. Life was so lonely, confused and depressed.

These students had left their families behind and now, due to the circumstances, were unable to know the fate of their family members in Cambodia. While living in Wellington, loneliness, homesickness, and the need for companionship pulled these Cambodian students together. They shared their personal concerns and organised social gatherings. They supported each other, and a strong bond formed between them. With the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, a refugee exodus was instigated and these students were eager to find the whereabouts and fate of their families.

The student social network became a resource pool on which the New Zealand Government could draw when New Zealand accepted sponsorship of their surviving compatriots and relatives from the Cambodian refugee camps in Thailand during the 1980s. These students played a very important role in their community when New Zealand subsequently introduced the Cambodian intake of refugees.

The majority of these students volunteered to work at various refugee camps in Thailand in 1980 so that they could have an opportunity to find their surviving relatives. Some former Colombo Plan students were not lucky, but some did find relatives. One male student explained that he found his mother just in time: the Thai authorities were about to dump her and 40,000 Cambodian refugees back into landmine-infested areas of Kampuchea in 1979. The man sat and cried helplessly until a Thai general helped to reunite him with his mother. Those former Colombo Plan students living in New Zealand who did find their family applied for them to come to New Zealand. Their relatives came in 1980, and some of them stayed for two weeks at a hostel in Rotorua. Since then, all Khmer refugees have come through the refugee centre at Mangere. Those who did not find their close relatives also helped their friends or distant relatives to apply to the New Zealand Government for their resettlement. It was thanks to these Colombo students that many Khmer refugees were accepted for resettlement in New Zealand.

Bilingual Cambodians

In New Zealand, Cambodian refugees who were not relatives of these students had a sponsor or sponsors arranged by the ICCI as the New Zealand Government began to put greater emphasis on helping new arrivals to overcome their initial resettlement difficulties. Once housed in New Zealand, some of them did not have a telephone and had to walk for miles or take a bus just to talk socially with other local Cambodians. This type of connection between Cambodians was usually the result of introductions by their sponsors or by meeting individuals attending the same language class, and this in turn developed into an informal social network. Sponsors often called on bilingual Cambodians to act as translators and cultural brokers, which also served to introduce newcomers to resident Cambodians. The sponsors also organised group gatherings or brought their Cambodian extended families to social events where refugees could meet their country people. During the early stage of resettlement, Cambodians "piggy-backed" on their sponsor's social network, usually a church group, to meet other Cambodians, and in particular bilingual Cambodians. Social events during the weekend were common. They cooked Khmer food, listened to Khmer music, and shared their concerns and experiences.

Each bilingual Cambodian had his or her own network that grew with time. They became the hub of the local Cambodian social network, and usually this network created a patron-client relationship. A similar emergent relationship has also been noticed by Ledgerwood (1990) in America. In Wellington, for example, this relationship was also created by the refugee sponsorship by former Colombo Plan students, who became local leaders or spokespersons. This group saw a need to introduce a formal association that began in 1982. They called their group សមាគមខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញសៀម្បិន — The Cambodian Community in New Zealand.

Leaders of Local Communities

From the time New Zealand accepted people from Cambodia in the mid-1970s, the Cambodian community has grown from 41 to 5,265 people (2001 Census). It is one of the not-so-small ethnic communities that are rarely visible. The second way in which Cambodian groups emerged was from common threads or needs by which individuals at the grassroots level joined forces for a common cause. The Cambodian community as a whole is composed of many strands of sub-communities or groups that share

some common interests with a leader or leaders. These groups can be overlapping or exclusive.

The definition of a community is based on its fundamental characteristics, such as social differentiation, geographic differences, the struggle over scarce resources, different lifestyles, and belonging (Berger and Berger 1981:120–165). The following are the common types of Cambodian community when people identify a certain group of Cambodians.

- *By region:* They call each other the Auckland Khmer, Wellington Khmer, etc.
- *By organisation affiliation:* Khmer association, Chinese association, Khmer Buddhist association, Youth Trust, etc.
- By social group: Former Colombo students (និស្សិត *nisett*), former refugees, migrants, and the second generation.
- By employment status: Employed and unemployed (ស៊ីលុយវដ្ឋ Si luy rott).
- By religious affiliation: Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, Confucian.
- *By ethnicity:* Khmer, Chinese Khmer, Khmer Krom (Khmer from Vietnam), Muslim Khmer (Khmer Islam/Cham).
- *By age:* old, middle-aged, young.
- *By financial interest in tontines* (Liev 1995).
- *By profession:* Taxi drivers, machinists, carpenters, berry-pickers, gamblers, bakers, painters, etc.

Local Cambodian leadership emerged from these various backgrounds according to the needs of their local or regional groups: social, cultural, ethnic, religious, and political. Its leadership was based on an individual or a small group of individuals who had had some status or position when they were in Cambodia, at a refugee camp, or newly established in New Zealand. Each of these groups has a leader or leaders, and sometimes a leader controls more than one group or community. For instance, a garment contractor can be a leader of a machinist group and the president of an association. A ringleader for taxi drivers can be also a prominent leader of an association. The group's shared concern has led them to form various associations to protect their common interests. As the members of the group interact and support each other, their activities become more pronounced and permanent. These Cambodian leaders used their existing social networks or skills to introduce a Cambodian group which later on grew to become a local Cambodian association. During the early stages of the refugee resettlement, only one association represented the Cambodian community in each city or region.

With time, however, the definition of "Cambodian community" became more complex. Cambodian socio-cultural and political networks overlapped and factionalised. The complexity of people's backgrounds and the multitude of leaderships have induced dynamism in the development of Cambodian communities. The idea of community is defined or imagined in multiple ways, as physical, political, social, psychological, historical, linguistic, economic, cultural, and spiritual space (Hall and Shirley 1982:135–163). Hall and Shirley identified three areas within the social change continuum: an individual dimension, such as modification in individual behaviour; a group dimension, such as policy change and distribution of resources; and a social structural dimension, such as historical, cultural, social, economic and political transformation.

The change begins with the personal troubles of individuals, and the groups that they are members of, and leads on to changes in the institutions and structures of society. According to Breton, cited in Dorais (1998), any ethnic community depends on the patterns of leadership, and the definition and preservation of a collective identity. The community's identity "endows the members with a consciousness of who they are, and also of where they stand in relation to each other, and in relation to the various ethnic, linguistic, political, religious and other components of society as a whole" (Dorais 1998:122). This also allows them to respond to their cultural bereavement (Doron 2005; Eisenbruch 2006) and design new forms of association and belonging (Appadurai 1996 in Gow 2005:201).

Associations of Cambodians in New Zealand

Cambodians were prompted to form their formal and informal associations by resettlement needs and by the sense of cultural bereavement of their members and the awareness of their rootedness. Their common values and shared cultural heritage gave impetus to the conception of Khmer associations. As shown in other studies, ethnic associations have been an important means of participation in the adaptation process, such as networking and social and cultural mediators. These associations often provide social services or maintain cultural traditions, although some have social, political, and economic functions as well (Hein 1995). As time goes by, the

associations become mature and, in the case of Khmer Kiwis, cultural identity is reaffirmed through religious associations, especially Buddhism (Liev 1995; Thou 1989). The Colombo students and bilingual Cambodians played an important role in the formation of the Cambodian community through their associations and the development of Khmer Buddhist temples.

Khmer Association of New Zealand

The Colombo Plan students formed the Khmer Association of New Zealand (សមាគមខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូសៀឡិន) that up until 1983 was the only Cambodian association in New Zealand. It was based in Wellington, and the committee members of this association worked hard in conjunction with the resettlement agencies to lobby the Government to accept the first group of Cambodian refugees, who came in 1979.

In the spirit of preserving its collective language and culture, the association bought a \$1,288 Khmer typewriter in 1981 from Germany, through a company in Paris, partly funded by a \$600 grant from the McKenzie Education Foundation. This acquisition enabled the group to print its own newsletters ដំណឹងខ្មែរ —

KHMERNEWS, a monthly publication in the Khmer language (Figure 7.1), and to disseminate useful information to Cambodians in various parts of New Zealand. The association also fundraised \$784 in 1981 to buy Khmer classical music instruments from a refugee camp in Thailand (*South East Asian E.S.L. Migrant Education News*, summer 1981:3–4).

Back in the 1980s, the Khmer Association of New Zealand was formal, well organised, and seen by its leaderships as superior to the other Cambodian groups in other cities. Although the Khmer Association of New Zealand sought regional memberships and support, the leadership in Wellington rarely asked other groups for their opinions.

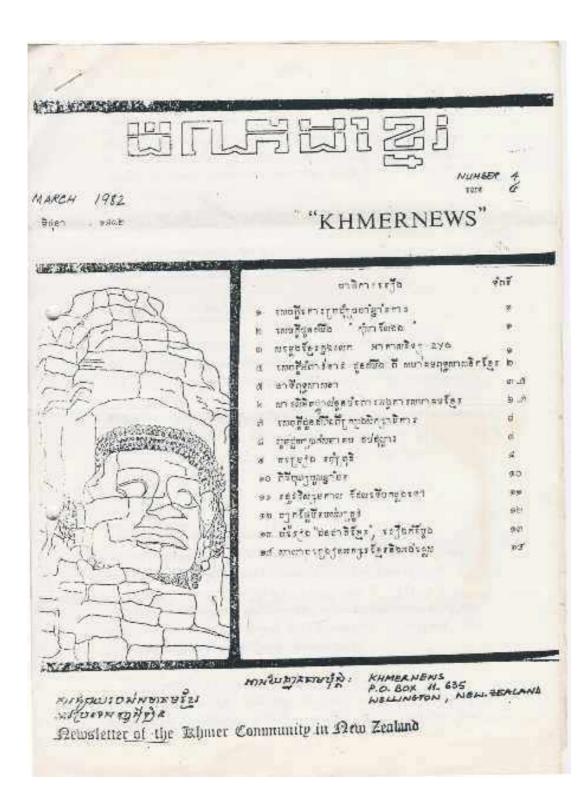


Figure 7.1 — A front page of *KHMERNEWS KHMERNEWS* — ដំណឹងខ្មែរ, No 4, March 1982

The fourth issue of *KhmerNEWS* (ដំណឹងខ្មែរ), a newsletter of the Khmer community in New Zealand, provided some information about the activities of the Khmer community in Wellington (March 1982). The article headings of that edition were:

- a. The association's annual general meeting (AGM);
- b. Formal resignation of the president;
- c. Khmer Voice, a Khmer language radio broadcast on 2YB;
- d. Formation of a new Khmer Buddhist Association in Wellington;
- e. Buddhism;
- f. A letter of support from an ex-refugee in Hamilton to the Khmer Community related to a proposed establishment of regional branches;
- g. Information from the Department of Education;
- h. Community membership fees of \$10;
- i. New Year song;
- j. Khmer New Year: Year of Dog;
- k. Holiday in Dunedin;
- 1. Enemy with a three pronged spear: Vietnam;
- m. Khmer song: Khmer Race; and
- n. Information about Khmer language classes in Wellington.

This newsletter also records three important developments in the Cambodian community in Wellington: a reminder of what is Khmer; the introduction of Khmer language maintenance and media; and the introduction of a registered Khmer Association of New Zealand as a legal entity in New Zealand.

The Khmer Association of New Zealand's constitution, as outlined in a draft copy written in Khmer in 1983, aimed to serve and protect the interests of the Cambodians:

- a. to support all activities in liberation of Cambodia for its independence, freedom and territorial integrity;
- b. to increase Khmer educational, cultural, and religious activities;
- c. to maintain an international Cambodian network.

The association promoted social support, cultural understanding, and friendships. The

association sent its monthly newsletters to all its members and new settlers living in various parts of the country.

In 1981, a Cambodian monk came to Wellington and resided in his uncle's home. The association did not have any resources, and soon after, in 1982, Khmer Buddhists in Wellington formed a Khmer Buddhist Association to support the monk.

Meanwhile, during 1982, various Cambodian political movements and their supporters began to work their way into the Cambodian communities in New Zealand, in the hope of gaining support for the various resistance factions that were fighting the Vietnamese-backed government in Cambodia. The Khmer Association of New Zealand in Wellington favoured the royalist faction and hosted Prince Sihanouk during the 1980s (Figure 7.2). Supporters of the republican and other factions broke away and formed their own groups in New Zealand, and hosted Son San, the leader of the republican Kampuchean People's National Liberation Front (PKNLF).

The outgoing president who resigned in 1982 was a royalist supporter and began political networking for the *Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendent, Neutre, Pacifique et Coopératif* (FUNCINPEC). Besides the Khmer Association of New Zealand, there were two other Khmer politically oriented groups — FUNCINPEC and KPNLF — that were working hard to recruit new supporters and members in New Zealand to fight against the Phnom Penh Socialist government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) backed by Vietnam. Again the leadership of these political groups was mainly based in Wellington, and politics in Cambodia continued to influence community organisations in New Zealand.



Figure 7.2 — Prince Sihanouk and Princess Monique, Wellington, 1985 Courtesy of Mrs In While the leadership of the community in Wellington was engaged in the resistance movement back at the Khmer–Thai border, people living in the other main cities of New Zealand faced resettlement issues. Political leaders from the various factions in Cambodia came to visit the Cambodian refugee communities in the main cities to drum up support, but they received little support from the Cambodians in New Zealand. The introduction of political factions opened up an opportunity for the groups in the main cities to identify themselves by either aligning with the Khmer Association in Wellington or by standing on their own. The Khmer Association of New Zealand in Wellington was so distant that the newly arrived refugees in those cities began to see the need of having a local association of their own that would serve their interests and their wellbeing better.

Local Community Associations

Because of the pepper-potting settlement policies of the New Zealand Government during the early 1980s, Cambodian refugees were sent to a range of cities and small towns. As a result, Cambodian communities sprang up in a variety of New Zealand locations. Soon afterwards, various groups of Cambodians in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Christchurch, and Dunedin formed their communities into associations, both registered and non-registered (Table 7.1). These associations' main goals were to assist the Cambodian refugees with their resettlement needs.

Although there was some informal discussion about having branches in those cities under the umbrella of the Khmer Association of New Zealand, the regional communities preferred to remain autonomous and not pay additional membership fees. As a result, people from Cambodia did not (and still do not) have a parent organisation representing them in New Zealand.

This autonomous locality approach to community development has its advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, the communities have a regional focus and are free to set goals that serve the local people, who initially were refugees and were sick of war and politics. These communities have aligned themselves closely with local government and operated effectively at that level. On the other hand, these communities have missed out on having a unified voice or influence in lobbying central government on their ethnic needs and issues. From this perspective, the community has grown with a missing link at the policy-making level. Part of this was the lack of people who could deal with English language and who have a general

knowledge of resettlement. The majority of the communities had a stronger link with the local resettlement agency, then the ICCI, which assisted refugees around New Zealand.

Waikato Khmer Association

The second-oldest non-religious group is the Waikato Khmer Association in Hamilton, which was formed in October 1982 with forty-five family members. It promoted the wellbeing of their members, cross-cultural understanding, and social harmony between people from Cambodia and the host community (Table 7.1). The association was formed by a group of young students and some educated Cambodians. They based their values on Cambodian traditions, and their main focus was their Khmer identity and integration. They stressed that the wellbeing of their group was necessary for its integration in New Zealand society (Liev 1988:22–24).

Wellington Khmer Association

By 1984, the Khmer Association of New Zealand had become weak, and had lost its nationwide interest and was focusing more on Wellington. As a result, the association changed its name to the Wellington Khmer Association (Table 7.1). The association lobbied to bring a middle-aged Khmer monk from Thailand, and he arrived in 1985 (Figure 7.3). In 1986, the Wellington Khmer Association reasserted its neutral position regarding politics in Cambodia by sending an open letter to all Cambodian associations in New Zealand, overseas Cambodian communities, and Cambodian faction leaders who fought the Vietnamese-backed government in Phnom Penh.

Cambodian Association (Auckland), Inc.

The Cambodian Association (Auckland) began its activities in 1984 and was incorporated in 1986. The Cambodian Association (Auckland) promoted social support and Buddhism for their members (Table 7.1). This group lobbied to build a Buddhist temple in conjunction with other refugee groups from South East Asia in Auckland, and fundraised successfully. However, the group was not able to realise its wish to build a common place to practise Buddhism, due to the diverse opinions on Buddhism of the various refugee ethnic groups.

The Cambodian Association in Auckland also promoted their Khmer cultural heritage and projected an image as the official or formal administration of a

Cambodian body outside of Cambodia. It was keen to represent every Cambodian in Auckland. The leaders were Khmers who had been educated in Cambodia — a teacher, a policeman, some government officers, and small businessmen. This group based its organisation on the Khmer government model, which was composed of various 'ministries', such as Foreign Affairs, Education, Culture and Mores, Finance, Women's Affairs, Religion, and Home Security. Any discussions and important meetings were tape- or video-recorded.

The Cambodian Association revitalised the Cambodian Buddhist community in Auckland and launched its campaign to host a Khmer Buddhist monk from the Thai–Khmer border camp. The arrival of Venerable Suryat Detnarong (Figure 7.4) in Auckland in 1985 raised various issues regarding the environment, the monk's residence, and the practice of Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand.

The Cambodian association sponsored the monk and accommodated him in a civilian residence while looking for a proper residence and hoping to build a Cambodian temple in Auckland. This group believed that they had the right to look after the monk, his routines, and the management of the future temple. Also the group controlled the monk's personal life, including his pocket money from personal donations. Tensions developed between the association and the monk over his autonomy. The monk believed he was responsible only to the king of the monks in Cambodia and to his superior in the Cambodian Buddhist hierarchy in New Zealand — the head monk in Wellington — not to the laypeople. Khmer Buddhism in Cambodia operates under the Buddhist Kingdom which is outside any government administration. Lay administration also does not have any power to control the temple, the Buddhist administration, or monks. The monk is the spiritual leader who can influence people (Inter-Church Commission on Immigration 1985:2).

In the same year that the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. was registered as an incorporated society, Venerable Suryat Detnarong broke away from the association and resided in a modified garage at a Khmer couple's house in Henderson. The family hosted the monk without any support from the association.



Figure 7.3 — Venerable Suthep Surapong, Auckland, 1989 Author's collection

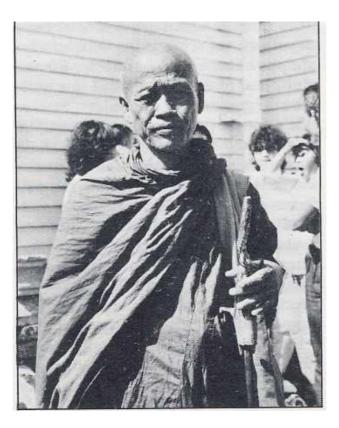


Figure 7.4 — Venerable Suryat Detnarong, Mangere, 1985 Author's collection

Table 7-1 — Various Khmer associat	ions in New Zealand
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ausastatenud	Waikato Khmer Association
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ត្តណកម្មការ ពុះករសិនិករទ័រ ដ៏លិងតុន The Wellington Cambodian Buddhist Trust	Wellington Cambodian Buddhist Trust
PO Bas 11635, Weilington, New Zesland	From 1985
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與克蘭柬埔寨 華裔康樂互助會 AUCKLAND CAMEDDIAN CHINESE KUNG LUCK ASSOCIATION INC.	Auckland Cambodian Chinese Kung
8 Hault Road, Otahuhu, Auckkand, N.Z. P.O. Bior 12250 Otahuhu Phone/Fax # 09-2700865	Luck Association From 1988
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Auckland Khmer Buddhast Association	From 1987
0.	
520	Auckland Cambodian Youth and Recreation Trust
Touth & Rescention Trust	From 2000
(INT)	Combodier (Klasse) Commerciate of
(AAA	Cambodian (Khmer) Community of New Zealand
	From 2003
People - Peace - Progress	Khmer Foundation
KHMER FOUNDATION Justice - Truth - Harmony	From 2000

Cambodian Chinese Kung Luck Association

Unfortunately, the wish for inclusiveness passed one group by. The Chinese Cambodian group in Auckland was frustrated that the Cambodian associations did not include Chinese components in their associations (Table 7.1). They felt that the Cambodian Associations (Auckland) did not care about people with a Chinese background.

In 1988, a Chinese Cambodian group in Auckland broke away from the Cambodian Association to form its own Cambodian Chinese Kung Luck Association. Its members are mainly Chinese Cambodians who are second- or third-generation Chinese born in Cambodia. The group bought a property at the corner of Massey Road and Buckland Road for its headquarters. Kung Luck opened Chinese language classes to members and promoted Chinese Cambodian identity and practices.

The division between the two communities — and the Auckland Cambodian Association's assumption that it is the official representative of the Cambodian people in Auckland — was thrown into sharp relief in what has become known as the Refugee Day Incident. In Refugee Week, July 1990, the ICCI (now the Refugee and Migrant Service or RMS) invited every ethnic refugee community in Auckland to celebrate International Refugee Day at the Auckland Port. Every organisation was to have its own banner and stall. When the Cambodian Chinese Kung Luck Association put up its Chinese language banner on their own Kung Luck stall, the Cambodian Association was upset as it did not want a Chinese language banner representing any groups from Cambodia. They complained that they had not given Kung Luck approval to put up a banner in any language but Khmer, and ordered the Kung Luck to pull the banner down. The Kung Luck leadership ignored their request.

A leader of the Cambodian Chinese explains: "We stayed together as one community until mid-1988 when we moved away from the Cambodian Association to form a Cambodian Chinese Association — the Kung Luck." This person gave the main reason for forming the new group as "to serve the niche of the Cambodian segment with Chinese origins. But we still come to the Khmer Buddhist temples for the Cambodian New Year and Cambodian national celebration."

Another example of division within the Chinese community came in 2001 when the Kung Luck group sold its headquarters on Massey Road and moved to a bigger and better place at Otahuhu with financial support from Cambodian Chinese businessmen. The present headquarters is now a two-storey building with an office, a kitchen, a lounge, and three classrooms. The second floor is used as a hall for meetings and social functions.

Kung Luck invited the New Zealand Prime Minister, the Chinese Consulate of the People's Republic of China in Auckland, and the Royal Embassy of Cambodia in Canberra to the opening of its headquarters. However, the Kung Luck leadership did not invite the senior officer from the Royal Embassy of Cambodia to make a formal speech like the other dignitaries, nor did they place him in the same row as the Consul of the People's Republic of China. Furthermore, no leaders from any other Cambodian groups or associations were invited to make a formal speech. This gesture was seen as a repositioning of the Cambodian Chinese Kung Luck Association away from the rest of the Cambodian community and its reassertion of Chinese identity and affiliation.

Soon after a new president took office in 2002, another group formed the Chao Zhou Association of New Zealand. This group would have liked to base itself at the May Ling temple in Vine Street (see below), and this was rejected by the temple. The leader of that Cambodian Chinese temple said: "We did not want them to take over our temple. Bad luck." But by 2006, the above group had successfully taken over the place and redeveloped the temple.

The Khmer Krom Association

About 300 Vietnamese citizens from Vietnam with a Khmer ethnic background and two monks came from the Thai Khmer border in 1994. The monks resided at the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association's Wat Khemaraphirataram (Figure 7.15) until they left the monkhood two years later. A Buddhist monk can leave his monkhood at anytime, so long as he gains permission to be released from his superior. The majority of this Khmer Krom group now lives in Auckland and Nelson. They formed the Khmer Krom Association (Table 7.1), and in 2001 bought a property at Mangere, for their temple called Sovann Munni Sakor (Figure 7.5). The property cost \$163,000. The Khmer Krom has worked very hard to get the temple established with its four monks and the Khmer Buddhist canon (
the Tripitaka) from Cambodia. The temple built a *vihara* in 2007.

239

Auckland Cambodian Youth and Recreation Trust

The team who ran the Khmer Voice radio programme of the Cambodian Association (Auckland) did not feel valued by the association. The team leader wished to revamp the programme into a talk-back format, but the association rejected his proposal. After this rejection the team leader went his own way, took the team with him, and formed another trust (Table 7.1). In 1998, this group introduced a second Khmer radio programme and organised a series of cultural activities, two soccer teams (Figures 7.6–7.8), and after-school programmes. Funding comes from Manukau City Council, Auckland City Council, the ASB Charitable Trust, and community funding.

The leadership comes from a younger Khmer generation. This group interacts with the New Zealand public by participating in soccer tournaments and cultural performances. Its Khmer radio programme voices their concerns and broadcasts useful information to Khmer listeners. Every year, this group puts on a paid cultural performance for the Khmer community.

Non-Registered Associations

Some Cambodian communities did not register as incorporated societies. These associations operate within a local Cambodian community and do not see any benefit from registration. Some associations have never been registered, and some associations have been struck off from the register but are still running in an ad-hoc manner. They still have their presidents and committees.



Figure 7.5 — Wat Sovann Muni Sakor Khmer Krom, 2007

Author's collection



Figure 7.6 — Khmer Voice on Community Radio Station Planet 104.6FM Auckland Cambodian Youth and Recreation Trust



Figure 7.7 — Soccer team Author's collection



Figure 7.8 — Peacock dance, 2004

Author's collection

Community and Social Reconstruction

A local community collective action usually gives impetus to a form of a self-help organisation at the grassroots level. This local development involves a broad crosssection of people in determining and solving their own problems (Shirley 1982:138). Similar to Shirley's concept of local development, the Khmers' concept of community is to help one another and has derived from common interests or threats in their resettlement, and, as the descriptions above indicate, with a local focus.

Khmers remind themselves that while there is individual freedom in times of peace, there is a brotherhood of individuals when they are under threat. នៅផ្ទះម្លាយទីថៃ នៅព្រៃម្លាយជាមួយ— *Nouv phteah mday titey, nouv prey mday chea moy* : At home we have different mother, but in the jungle we have the same mother. Everyone, by default, becomes a Khmer sibling (បងប្អូនខ្មែរ — *borng paaun Khmer*). The Khmer

join together for a common cause in the form of mutual assistance, where they unite under a common socio-cultural umbrella. It is not surprising that individual Khmers tend to join more than one association even when the associations are rivals, and that they use them as a socio-cultural insurance policy. Common causes and interests give impetus to community development.

Khmer community philosophy and values are mainly based on Khmer folktales and Buddhism. A series of Khmer language articles in the *Waikato Khmer Association Newsletter* and an article in English (Liev 1988:22–24) wrote about six coping strategies and Khmer values that the Khmer in Hamilton have used to support one another:

- Everything is changing. Be flexible and prepare for unpredictable events. Always have a contingency plan for the last resort.
- 2. Everyone has different background, but he or she as a human being can live in harmony with others by applying a simple gentlemen's rule. This is drawn from a Khmer folktale (- [បង្កុំរៀងព្រេងខ្មែរ), the story of a rabbit, a hen, a tiger, a hawk, and an otter. They are natural enemies but can live together in harmony under a same roof and share duties and responsibility to build a communal hut.
- 3. Tolerance and compromise achieve optimum social harmony. This is

based on a story of a musician who plays lute to Buddha and finds a middle path to life and enlightenment. The story says that a lute that has loose strings does not produce a good sound, whereas a lute with very tight strings produces high pitches and the strings tend to break. Only a welltuned lute can make good music.

- Unco-ordinated strengths and efforts invariably lead to failure. In the Khmer folktale of two disabled servants, a blind man and a crippled mate (มาอาก่ มาอิธ) get nowhere and fail to escape because they sit face-to-face and row the same boat in the pitch-dark night.
- 5. Everyone has weaknesses, but any individual can do at least one good thing. The co-ordinated use of individual strengths can make things happen. The blind servant and the crippled servant can make use of each other's strengths by having the blind man piggy-back the cripple in return for using the crippled man's eyesight. With their co-ordinated efforts, they can escape from their evil master although they are disabled.
- நீல் வில்லான் *Threu sre oy srass roborng*: If you plant rice, make a fence. Prevention is better than cure, and ignorance and carelessness lie at the root of many problems.

During the early stage of their adaptation, Khmers in New Zealand formed mutual assistance associations to cope with resettlement needs. The role of these associations was to be caregivers for their own people: translation services, social gatherings, lobbying, and negotiating on behalf of their people. The Khmer communities in New Zealand and America (Hein 1995:92–111) shared a similar approach to their community development by using mutual assistance associations as the leading means of their participation in the adaptation process. Once these associations had been established, the members began to strengthen their community with religious affiliation and cultural maintenance.

Migrants form various religious groups or join churches because "this was where they felt most at home" and churches also provide a site for the acquisition of status within their community. Through churches, for instance, Koreans in Christchurch gained social as well as spiritual comfort (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007). Khmer Kiwis are Buddhists, Confucianists, Christians, Muslims, or atheists.

244

Within each religious group, these Cambodians share their heritage and religion to support each other in the form of a network for their socio-cultural and spiritual needs. Religious affiliation has thus contributed to the development of the Cambodian communities as described in the following section.

Religious Affiliation in Cambodian Community

Three main official mottos of the Kingdom of Cambodia are nation (มาถิ – jeat),

religion (សាសនា – sasna), and king (ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ – preah mohar ksat). Since

Buddhism is the national religion in Cambodia, Cambodians are born into a Buddhist environment in which Buddhism is part of their life. Cambodia is nonetheless a multicultural and multi-religious society composed of Buddhists, Christians, Confucians, Muslims, and others. Nonetheless, Cambodians share language, custom, food, education, and livelihood, and identify themselves as Cambodians although they have different backgrounds and religions.

When Cambodians first came to New Zealand, these shared values and livelihoods enabled them to live as a cohesive ethnic group: Kampuchean refugees from Kampuchea/Cambodia. They spoke Khmer, and the majority of them were Buddhists. Today, while only three-quarters of Cambodians in New Zealand prefer Buddhism, Khmer Buddhist rituals remain a point of contact for the community.

In the 2001 Census, some 534 people or 10.7% of Cambodians in New Zealand claimed no religious affiliation. From my observation, they tend to be younger. This figure marked an increase of 157.5% from the previous census in 1996.

The 1996 and 2001 Censuses (Table 7.2) showed that Buddhism is still the majority religion of Cambodians in New Zealand.

Table 7-2 — Cambodian ethnic and religious affiliations							
	1996			2001			
Religious Affiliations	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Buddhist	1,473	1,533	3,003	1,833	1,914	3,744	
Christian	234	273	510*	213	252	462	
Hindu			-	6	3	9	
Muslim or Islam	39	33	75*	51	36	87	
Other	6	6	12	18	24	39	
No religion	186	153	339	279	255	534	
Object to answering	117	105	222	111	120	231	
Total	2,130	2,172	4,302	2,442	2,544	4,986	
2001 Census: Ethnic Groups, Table 1a, p.180 1996 Census: Ethnic Groups, Table 9a, pp.110–111 * Totals do not add up due to rounding.							

The increase in number and proportion of Cambodian Buddhists is also due to the influx of recent Cambodian migrants and overseas Cambodian students at the time of the Census. Beside Buddhists, there are Christians and Muslims in the Khmer community, too.

Cambodian Christian Community

Roman Catholic missionaries from Portugal introduced Christianity to Cambodians during the reign of King Preah Satha in 1585, but the mission was not successful (Ngea 1973:157) until the French colonisation in the nineteenth century which was able to reintroduce Christianity in Cambodia. By 1972, there were about 20,000 Christians in Cambodia. After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, missionaries from America, with some Cambodian pastors, began their work at the various holding camps at the Cambodian–Thai border. Some of those who converted believed that by accepting Christianity they had more chance to be selected for resettlement. Observers reported that "in 1980 there were more registered Cambodian Christians among refugees in the camps in Thailand than in all of Cambodia before 1970" (Ross 1990:124). French priests such as Father Venet helped refugees in the various refugee camps and visited New Zealand in 1984 (Figure 7.9).

Some individuals went through such acute pain and darkness that the message of Christ gave them hope as "Christianity doesn't point a finger at the sufferer and tell him that everything is his own fault" (Himm 2003:131). The majority of Cambodian Christians affiliated to Christianity after they came to New Zealand. The reasons range from "My sponsors and the Church help our family" to "Born Christian". Although the Refugee and Migrant Service (RMS) made it clear to sponsors that refugees must be free to practise their religion, Crosland writes that "From my experience I know that this advice is often ignored" and "Evangelists do refugees a great disservice when they attempt to take away their cultural heritage and identity as well as a crucial component of their support system" (1991:102–103). By 1996, there were 510 Cambodian Christians or 11.85% of the Cambodians in New Zealand.

The Cambodian Christians formed communities in Hamilton and Auckland, each with a Cambodian pastor. On Sundays, they conduct their service in Khmer with a Khmer Bible — at a rented community hall or a church. These Cambodian Christians recruit new members and have done outreach work within the Cambodian community.

Some Cambodian Christians hold influential positions in the Auckland Cambodian Youth Trust. The Trust assists school-aged children with their homework and promotes Khmer dances. They celebrate Christmas (Figure 7.10) and have Khmer Christian church groups. Some Cambodian Christians also go to Khmer Buddhist temples for social reasons. By 2001, the Christians had declined to 462 or only 9.2% of the Cambodian population (2001 Census). The Cambodian Christian population decline was due to half of the Cambodian Christians in Auckland moving to Australia with their pastor in 2001.



Figure 7.9 — Visit of French Catholic priests Père Venet and Monsignor Ramousse, Hamilton, 1984

Author's collection



Figure 7.10 — Christmas party, 2004 Courtesy of Auckland Cambodian Youth Trust

Charm or Khmer Islam Community

Charm is the Khmer Muslim ethnic group that once populated Champa (a vanished country), which is nowadays central Vietnam. There were between 150.000 to 200,000 Cham living in Cambodia just before the fall of Phnom Penh in 1975. Some of the Khmer Islam survived the Khmer Rouge regime and fled Cambodia to Thailand, and were accepted to be resettled in Malaysia. A member of the group described their life in Malaysia, where they "were circumcised and forced to live as a devoted Muslim", and that they were not able to endure their hosts' practices. They lodged their appeal to the UNHCR for resettlement. Two groups of about 300 Cambodian refugees from Malaysia came to New Zealand during 1988 and 1989. The majority of them who claimed to be Muslim renounced the Muslim religion when they came to New Zealand. Within five years, two prominent people from this group had become Christians. By 2001, there were only eighty-seven Charm or Khmer Islam (1.75%) (2001 Census).

It was reported that these Khmer Islam conduct their Muslim way of life at home according to the Koran: they pray daily, eat halal meat, and abstain from consuming pork and alcohol. Khmer Islam in Wellington often have their halal sausages couriered from a Muslim butcher shop in Sandringham, Auckland. These Khmer Islam do not have their own mosque, and join other ethnic Muslim communities as well as socialising with other non-Muslim Cambodians.

Cambodian Chinese: Confucianism and Buddhism

People from Cambodia with Chinese backgrounds have diverse religious affiliations within Confucianism and Buddhism. About 1,000 Cambodian Chinese have come to New Zealand. They are mainly of Tiachiev ethnicity, some are Hainanese, and a few are Cantonese whose families fled China during the Boxer Rebellion. An important part of the Chinese religion is a respectful attitude toward the spirits or gods, with the object of obtaining benefits or averting a calamity (Werner 1922:52).

The Chinese Cambodians have their own creeds and customs that are also based on the lunar calendar. The Chinese New Year is in February and is different from the Cambodians' New Year in April. Cambodian Chinese also celebrate the Moon Festival (late September) in their community. These two events are the main celebrations of the Cambodian Chinese community in New Zealand. In Cambodia, the Chinese Cambodians usually celebrate Ching Ming (around Easter), which entails an obligatory visit to the ancestor spirits at their tombs. Chinese descendants clean their ancestor's tombs and pay respect to the spirits with food and goblets of wine. In New Zealand, Chinese Cambodians celebrate it at home as a family gathering and by paying respect to the spirits of their ancestors.

Some Cambodian Chinese households practise Confucianism in New Zealand; but their religious practice, although significant, has not been tabulated in the New Zealand Census. The Auckland Cambodian Chinese Kung Luck Association's centre in Otahuhu celebrates their group identity and works to maintain their Chinese Cambodian heritage. A splinter Chinese group later broke away from the Kung Luck group to form the May Ling Chinese temple on Vine Street, Mangere. It is also in the process of building an ancestor worship centre for their group at Mangere.

The Chinese community has had a ritual specialist to guide them through various festivities, including weddings and funerals. Some Cambodian Chinese send their children to Chinese language classes run by the Kung Luck. Cambodian Chinese ancestor worshipers can buy their cultural worship materials, such as goddess figurines and cakes, from the various Chinese groceries shops such as those in Otahuhu and Manukau. Nowadays, they can buy a whole chicken or duck with head and feet or a whole roast pig for their ceremonial offerings.

Besides these religious communities, the Khmer Buddhist community has been largest Cambodian religious grouping since their arrival to New Zealand. Although the various Khmer associations were formed to assist their Cambodian members to adjust to their new way of life, Khmer Buddhists felt a need to have a common place for their religious practice and communal events.

Khmer Buddhist Communities

Khmer Buddhist Association in Wellington

In the summer of 1981, a young Cambodian monk came to Wellington and found it difficult to conduct his monastic life while living in a civilian dwelling in Newtown. He wished to remain a monk in New Zealand, and his family supported him

(Department of Education 1981:3–4). A Khmer Buddhist Association in Wellington was formed in 1982. The young monk left the monkhood about a year later. This showed that their first effort to support a Khmer Buddhist monk in Wellington was by no means simple. There were different opinions on how to support a monk in New Zealand, one of which was to have a middle-aged monk who was stable and not easily distracted by the material world. A new trust was formed in 1984 to sponsor a mature monk to Wellington.

Wellington Cambodian Buddhist Trust

Earlier in 1983 the Wellington Cambodian community Khmer bought a seventeenthcentury Buddha statue at an auction for its temple (Figure 7.11). The Buddhist community in Wellington, with the support of the Wellington Khmer Association, launched the Wellington Cambodian Buddhist Trust, registered in 1984 to sponsor a monk, the Venerable Suthep Surapong (Figure 7.12), who came to New Zealand in April 1985 (ICCI 1985:2). After eight weeks at Mangere, the monk resided temporarily at 250 Coutts Street, Kilbirnie, Wellington, before the trust built the present temple, Wat Buddha Jaya Mohaneart, at 8 Dart Crescent, Island Bay, in 1985 (Fig 7.13). By 1986, most of the active members of the previous Khmer Buddhist Association had resigned and the association wound up soon after.

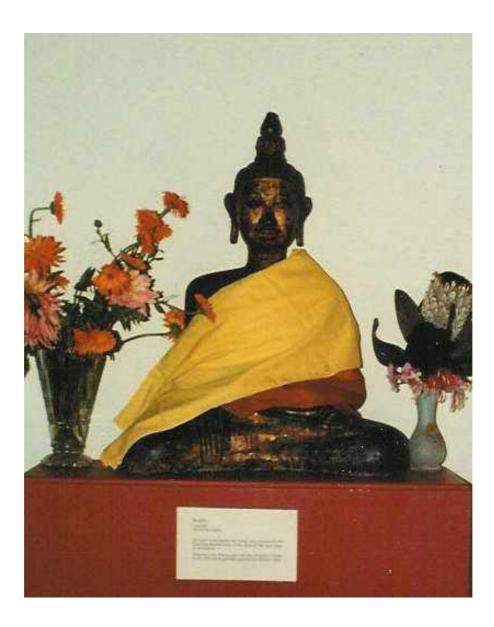


Figure 7.11— A seventeenth-century Khmer Buddha statue bought by the Wellington Cambodian community at an auction in 1983 — an anonymous couple lent the community \$6,000 to make the purchase

Author's collection



Figure 7.12 — Venerable Suthep, Auckland, 1990 Author's collection



Figure 7.13 — Plan for Wat Buddhajay Mohaneart, Wellington, 1985 A letter to the members, 1985:2

Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association

By 1988, three leaders from the Waikato Khmer Association had found employment in Auckland after gaining their degrees. The head monk in Wellington called prominent Cambodians and some members of the Cambodian Association for a community meeting in Auckland to form a Buddhist group. Buddhists from the Khmer community in Auckland and the Cambodian Association agreed to introduce a new Buddhist association in Auckland to create a platform for Khmer Buddhist practice in the greater Auckland area.

The Buddhist group elected as its leader the founding president of the Waikato Khmer Association. The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association was incorporated in 1989 and worked in co-operation with the Cambodian Association. The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association learnt from past experiences and aimed to foster an acceptable environment in which Khmer Buddhism can co-exist with Cambodian resettlement as well as with New Zealand society.

Unfortunately, the Cambodian monk in Auckland decided to move to Australia in 1989 after blessing the new association. Venerable Suthep came from Wellington to lead the Auckland community, and this Buddhist association has gained wide support from various Buddhist communities in New Zealand and from the ASB Charitable Trust (Figure 7.14).

The Cambodian Association (Auckland) saw this new association as a threat to their leadership and called the leaders of the Buddhist association the "wild roosters who strike out the local ones". But the Cambodian people in Auckland believed that this young generation of leaders was able to realise the community's dream of building a Khmer Buddhist centre in Auckland. The group gained wide support from Cambodians in New Zealand, especially from Hamilton, Wellington, and Palmerston North. The Buddhist association launched *Samaki* (กาษฎี — *Solidarity*), Khmer

language newsletters to promote its religious, cultural, and social causes. Within one year, the Buddhist association had fundraised enough money to put a deposit on a residence for the monk, next to Massey Homestead, at 7 Yates Road, Mangere (Figure 7.16). Reverend Ouch On — another Cambodian monk from Khao I Dang refugee camp (Figure 7.15), who had come in 1989 under the quota refugee programme sponsored by the Khmer Buddhist Trust in Wellington — moved to Auckland to lead the Buddhist community as the head monk at the temple at 7 Yates Road, Mangere.



Figure 7.14 — Lee Goffin with a donation of \$20,000 from the ASB Charitable Trust

The Bulletin of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association, April 1990



Figure 7.15 — Khmer Sangha and Reverend Ouch On (centre), Mangere, 1994 Author's collection



Figure 7.16 — Wat Khemaraphirataram, Mangere, 2003 Author's collection The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association gained in popularity, expanded its social work, and managed the operations of the temple known as Wat Khemaraphirataram (in short, "The Temple at Mangere"). The temple's cornerstones (\vec{n} in *Simar*) were laid according to Buddhist prescription in 1993. Although it was officially a Buddhist temple according to Khmer Buddhism, the temple did not have any status as a temple according to the New Zealand resource consent regime.

The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association's attitude toward the wider New Zealand community was to play things low-key, with little publicity about their temple. They worked hard to make their neighbours happy, and through the years gained their neighbours' friendship. This temple moved to 455 Porchester Road, Takanini, in May 2003.

Khmer Buddhist Association (Dunedin)

The Cambodian community in Dunedin and its leadership (Ke Phirum, 79 Manor Place) began its activities in the summer of 1982 (Department of Education 1982:17). In 1990, the Khmer Buddhist Association (Dunedin) was incorporated. The community in Dunedin sponsored a monk, Reverend Prom Phang, and bought a property for his residence (Higbee 1992). The monk stayed in Dunedin for less than one year before moving up to Wat Khemaraphirataram, where he had stayed for three years before he moved to Australia. The Khmer Buddhist Association (Dunedin) wound up in July 2002, and nearly all Khmer left Dunedin.

Khmer Buddhism as Cambodian Community Identity

Khmer Buddhism

Cambodia was exposed to Buddhism during the reign of Sri Mara in the second century. Brahmanism was the religion of Cambodia until the first Buddhist Khmer king, Suryavaraman I (1001–1051), during the Angkor period professed Mahayana Buddhism in its Indian form. The Khmer merged its Brahmanism concepts and rituals with Mahayana Buddhism, and later on with Theravada Buddhism. Khmer Buddhism also developed, becoming a unique combination of Buddhism, Hinduism, and local

According to Bunnag, the practice of Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia has been widely accepted by the masses in the form of wonsmus — *Moha-Nikaya*. In

1864, King Ang Duong introduced a reformist group known as ធម្មយុត្តិកនិកាយ -Dhamayuttika-Nikaya. These two nikaya (schools) are Theravada Buddhism. While the two factions share the same doctrine, the Dhamayuttika-Nikaya is based on a strict interpretation of the rule of conduct ($\Im \mathfrak{s} \mathfrak{w} - vineya$: discipline) and the various roles of the monk. This school places great emphasis on education and meditation in the quest for Nirvana, and less on pastoral and parish activities than does the school of Moha-Nikaya (Bunnag 2002:161). The primary merit-making activity is the study of the Word of Buddhism — the Buddhist scripture — and second is pastoral service. Unfortunately, contemporary Khmer Buddhism in Cambodia encounters various problems within the Moha-Nikaya sect, where there have been conflicts between the supporters of modern Moha-Nikaya Buddhism and their traditional counterparts (Pong 2004:i). In theory, monks should adhere to the prescriptions of the discipline (is w — vineya); however, in practice many of the most famous and credible fortunetellers and astronomers are monks. Khmer Buddhist practice undeniably appears to maintain a dual standard, in that these non-Buddhist activities have become embedded in contemporary Khmer society from Brahmanism. These non-Buddhist activities have become an issue in the Khmer Buddhist practice of some monks in Cambodia (Pong 2004:i) as well as in New Zealand and is an issue that I will discuss in the latter part of this chapter.

Although Cambodian Buddhists make up the majority (75%) of the Cambodian population in New Zealand (2001 Census), this proportion is lower than the proportion of Buddhists in Cambodia (95%) (<u>www.embassyofcambodia.org.nz/cambodia.htm</u>, retrieved 25 August 2004). In New Zealand, my postal survey showed (Table 7.3) that the majority of Cambodians (64.9%) agreed that Buddhism is part of their life.

259

Table 7-3 — Buddhism is part of Khmer life					
	Frequency	%			
Strongly agree	17	29.8			
Agree	20	35.1			
Not agree	10	17.5			
Not agree at all	4	7.0			
Not applicable	6	10.5			
Total	57	100.0			

To this Cambodian group, Buddhism is the centre of their life at home as well as within their Cambodian community. The Cambodian Buddhists implanted Buddhism here and have created a new community space and routines in New Zealand.

In Cambodia, Buddhist temples are built close to the villages. Villagers connect Buddhism with rites of passage and communal festivities. Buddhist values and practice, embedded in their minds, became part of their cultural memory when they fled the country to seek refuge in a foreign land. Cambodian refugees in Thai–Cambodian border camps began to build Buddhist temples as soon as they had a roof to sleep under. Every morning, the Cambodian refugees in the camp were happy to prepare food for the monks from the family's daily rations as their merit-making. The Cambodians insist in making merit (fig ungrigens — *thveu boun thveu tean*) in the form of a gift for their ancestors, the spirits of their relatives, and for their present and future life. This belief and its practice continue wherever the Cambodians go (Figure 7.17).

In New Zealand, two years after the first group of refugees arrived, Cambodians began their work to sponsor a monk. As usual, they needed to be in touch with the spirits of their relatives and to make merit, without which the wellbeing of Cambodians is vulnerable. At home in New Zealand, similar to the Indians' altar (Leckie 1995), Khmer people have an altar with a statue of Buddha and pictures of their deceased relatives either in their living room or their hallway. They light incense sticks every night and pray before they go to bed.



Figure 7.17 — Monks are the media for merit-making The monks blessed the crowd during a Cambodian New Year Celebration (2004)

Author's collection

Khmer Buddhist Temples as Khmer Institutions

Khmer people in New Zealand need a Khmer Buddhist temple for their spiritual wellbeing and their Khmer cultural activities (Figure 7.16). An article written in Khmer (Figure 7.18) by Tan Seng An in the 1980s for the Cambodian newsletter in Wellington (undated, p.7) gave seven reasons why the Khmer temple was very important to the Cambodians in New Zealand.

เองเป็นเกิม และเป็นเป็น เป็นเป็น เล้า វត្តភានាមរនេះមានសានៈ ប្រដោជន៍យ៉ាង៖ ប្រើខណ៌នាប់លក្ខមខ្មែរដើកនេះប្រទេសញ្ញេស៊ីលិន នីវត្តភានាម : > สาจีตา้อรื่อกูกะกุฐญาญอา สาหรัฐอณ์ราชกกะพอฏญากรอา ณราชสาจีก็อี้จีกุ้อาหรือกุจูบริณีจ จำองกาม ๆ ๒ - สากรัฐฉพราช (บสาสะรัฐรายสุมบส์ สรัฐสุทธิบานพบาามสายขฐา รสัยวีกุโฉ๊อลูร์พายฐีสาก ๆ ๓ - สากรัฐฉพราช รฐีบุญาจาล พราช่ฐพราชพูพ รุงญา กุณญา คงพบาลสพร์ (ชสากพรสุรัสณสา กุณพยารู้ รหายแลงรรรอรูรรณอรู้ญอากรุฐจานจานจาน จ វ - ជាមន្តីពេទ្យទាងផ្លូវចិត្ត នីថា បើកាលហាដូកហាមានទុក្ខព្រួយ ដែលកើតពីហេតុហាដួយ ព្រះលង្អនាចជួយ กร เพลา ยกรุณาพรา รหายบรรณร์จุกู กูพ ๆ 4 - สาทรัฐธรฐีชุญาจารบการทุงพรงผู้หรือพุทธญาชพรช่างสรีริตรจา ๆ อ. สากรัฐอรกกาลเรริงฎลย์ สาริพลษ์รัฐร ยายการบรกอรู่อสกรรณาญ ถึญ1:จระรุ่ยจะภูบรัฐร รมาอยุลญิสรญร ๆ ส - สาชพูกพัฒ รหฐาจุหลูงนหพางสินรงพ่รงรรสฎนกุ รัสพราท่รนรรรสินการกุรุพาพลา สิน รบานย์สาริพลย์รัตร ฯ Loanae เอี้อริโะกุรัก เฏเตฐมหล่งมีแบบไรโกโรเกรี่งการแล้วแล้งเป็นหลังมากการเปลี่ยน เป็นการ อร์ฐีการอารรัสพสากบระการสีสพธีรภากรรกอกุฐอสอ อิอสพสาลิสอ รีพออีอรรัชอตุอรพบกีบรรีอ พุยพบฎาพ เซียิลสีอทูลสณ่สาลิยุย ก็ทุลระงาสาลิรัสระธรรไมรจา, ๆ สาธ่ รถบังศาล

Figure 7.18 — Roles of the Khmer temple by Tan Seng An

(no date)

The temple is:

- i. A place where the monks can assist every Buddhist.
- ii. A place for Cambodians to meet, enjoy companionship, and share their concerns. This strengthens their bonds and solidarity.
- iii. A place for making merit and meditation.
- iv. A place or a Khmer mental-health clinic where the monks provide counselling.
- v. A place for blessing and offering things for our ancestors.
- vi. A place that can preserve and maintain Khmer culture: Khmer language classes and tradition.
- vii. A living museum and library for Buddhism and Khmer culture.

This article explained the role of the Khmer temple in Wellington in serving the needs of Cambodians in New Zealand. It is not just an education centre, but also a sociocultural centre that provides a holistic approach to the wellbeing of Cambodians and their cultural maintenance. As a result, the temple becomes the cradle for the development of Khmer identity.

As Thou (1989:45) has explained, Cambodian attitudes to settlement see Khmer culture preserved inside the Cambodian community in the form of Khmer literacy classes, dance performances, and festive activities such as the Cambodian New Year. According to Thou, the Buddhist temple (fg - Wat: pagoda) is the "best example for an educational centre, i.e., it is used for Khmer literacy classes, and as a social, medical, spiritual, and artistic centre. All private or socio-economic problems in the community usually find their satisfactory solution in the temple" (ibid).

In general, the temple is a place to make merit, and within it the monks play a role assisting laypeople to accumulate merit and to eradicate bad karma (Karman). The theory of karma is a general causal concept that holds that good deeds or good karma adds merit, and bad karma causes demerit. Individuals store their merit or demerit; they cannot cancel each other out, and can take effect immediately or sometimes in an unforeseen future or next life. For this reason, individuals need monks or *Sangha* to assist them in merit-making and fulfilling other spiritual needs. The monk is one of the main three tenets of Buddhism.

The Three Tenets of Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand

Buddhism has three tenets: *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sangha* (Figure 7.18). *Dharma* ([n:n:n]) is an ensemble of existing natural truth and law, of the doctrines and philosophy and practices that Buddha ([n:n]) had discovered. The *Sangha* ([n:n]) is the congress of monks — in Khmer, *Preah Sangh* — who are the carriers that perpetuate *Dharma* and Buddhist teaching. The monks are the front-line Buddhist practitioners who renounce the material world and act as media for laypeople to live as Buddhists.

Sangha (្រោះសង្ឈ)

The first tenet is the Sangha, or the congress of monks, which is composed of novices (ten = samanei or nein) and fully ordained monks ($\hat{\pi}_{II} - Phikhu$). A monk is ordained (\hat{u} \underline{u} \underline

In Khmer Buddhism there are no female monks ($\hbar_{\mathbf{p}}\mathbf{\vec{s}} - Phikhuni$), but there are nuns ($\mathfrak{gs}\mathbf{\vec{n}} - daunchi$). Cambodian nuns are not ordained, but abide by at least eight precepts. Nuns are regarded as belonging to the lay rather than to the religious section of the community. Nuns can live in a temple or in their family home. Cambodian nuns wear white clothes (Figure 4.22).

Since the arrival of the middle-aged Khmer Buddhist monks in 1984, Khmer Buddhism has pulled Cambodians together and reclaimed its prime role in Cambodians' lives in New Zealand. The monks have provided Khmer cultural media for individual merit-making and access to the Khmer spiritual network, linking Cambodians in New Zealand with their ancestors and the spirits of their deceased relatives in Cambodia (Figure 7.17). However, the atmosphere is not the same as that in Cambodia. A woman in Wellington said: "In Cambodia there are plenty of monks. Here there is only one monk. The atmosphere is different when there is only one monk" (Crosland 1991:111).

The reconnection with Cambodia since 1993 has improved the practice of Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand. Various Cambodian communities have sponsored Cambodian monks from Cambodia. This injection of a new breed of visiting monks has refreshed Khmer Buddhists in terms of their views and practice. These monks are more educated, as they have attended a formal Buddhist school, and can conduct the contemporary practice of the various ceremonies. Their formal knowledge of Khmer Buddhist practice from Cambodia has enabled the Cambodians in New Zealand to become aware of deviation and choice of practice in the new country. This has created opportunities for the Cambodians in New Zealand to realign their Buddhist practice: chanting, conducting a ceremony, and observing protocol.

Dharma (ព្រះធម៌)

The reconnection with Cambodia has, furthermore, enabled Khmer temples in New Zealand to acquire the second tenet of Buddhism: the *Tripitaka* ([n:t[ntden], the original Buddhist canon in Pali and Khmer. Until 2000, people could not buy *Tripitaka* — it is not for sale and it is a limited edition (Figure 7.19). It is the royal gift to a temple in Cambodia, and that temple has donated the *Tripitaka* with its 101 volumes to Wat Khemaraphirataram in Takanini, Papakura. *Tripitaka* is known as the "Three Baskets" of *Dharma* (the comprehensive Buddhist scriptures), containing the basket of discourses (*Suttra Pitaka*), the basket of disciplines (*Vinaya Pitaka*), and the basket of philosophical and doctrinal analyses (*Abhidhamma Pitaka*). These scriptures are the operational handbooks that provide the terms of reference for Buddhism and its temple. The acquisition of this founding text has completed the status of a Khmer Buddhist temple in New Zealand: "Without the *Tripitaka*, the temple is just an empty vessel." A monk ordained in New Zealand says, "*Tripitaka* has enabled me to have an

in-depth understanding of Buddhism. The more I read, the more I am aware of what I do not know. *Tripitaka* shows me the way" (Reverend Ouk, 28 August 2004).

Buddha (ព្រះពុទ្ធ)

The third tenet is Buddha. Although Buddha has achieved the state of non-existence or Nirvana after his death, his statue has become the icon of Buddhism that has a prime place in the main sacred building (insim - vihara) of the temple.

A temple will gain its formal status only when it has a *vihara* with the statue of Buddha. To gain such a status, a temple has to lay the nine foundation stones (\vec{n} = *simar*) of the *vihara* and the Ordination Hall (*upasotha*) according to the Buddhist prescription: one at the centre of the building and others at cardinal and inter-cardinal directions.

The development of New Zealand's Cambodian community and its Buddhist temples has encountered ongoing technical, cultural, and ethnic issues which were similar to those encountered during the development of a Buddhist Chinese temple in Wollongong (Waitt 2003). Every part of the temple has to comply not only with the prescription of the Buddhist temple building codes, but also with New Zealand legislation and resource management requirements. In Cambodia, the Ministry of Religion understands the need for a new temple and will grant the permit according to the availability of the site and the Buddhist building plan. There is no objection to having a temple built, and land is donated.

In New Zealand, people have to buy land that fits the Buddhist prescription and that conforms to the Resource Management Act 1991 and New Zealand standards. Only the Khmer Buddhist temple in Wellington has had a registered status in New Zealand; the remaining four are just the monks' residences. When Kiwi neighbours objected to a proposed Buddhist temple on Collin Street in Melville, Hamilton, the Khmer Buddhist group in Hamilton changed their approach and bought an existing community hall on Ohapau Road to accommodate their needs.



Figure 7.19 — Buddha statue, *Tripitaka*, and Sangha Author's collections

In Auckland, the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association has been applying for resource consent since 2004. Appropriate steps have been taken in drawing the site plan and the building plan (Figure 7. 20) to accommodate the cultural impact on the local neighbourhood and other impact assessments on the environment, such as noise, traffic (including parking), lights, storm-water and drainage. Cambodians have found it impossible to keep the temple's identity in its original form. The proposed temple roofs have to be lower than nine metres, and the golden roof needs to blend in so that it creates harmony with the local landscape. Cambodians have agreed to this requirement so long as they can have a place they can call a Khmer temple.

In order to get things right, the Cambodian community needs Khmer and Kiwi professional consultancies to conduct those studies, and their fees are expensive. The plan then needs to gain consent from the neighbours, some of whom are not willing to support the cause and have logged legal actions againt the development plan. It took "more than two years just to complete the consultation and paperwork" needed for the application for resource consent. Then it has to be submitted to the Papakura District Council (PDC) and the Auckland Regional Council (ARC) for a formal hearing, due to opposition from a group of residents to the project application (Figure 7.20).

The ARC categorises the Buddhist temple as a church, and therefore states that it is not allowed to be built outside of the metropolitan urban limit (MUL). This view is in sharp contrast to the Buddhist view of the temple as being not a church and wishing to build on its ideal site: a site chosen for its position outside an urban area for tranquillity and peace according to the "rules in the place-making of sacred spaces" (Waitt 2003). The concept of a multicultural society in New Zealand does not always accommodate diversity from the Khmer perspective. The issue is still dragging on, and the Khmer community has now run short of the money needed to hire an environmental lawyer to defend its case in the court as the neighbours have objected to its proposed plan. Instead of fostering diversity and multiculturalism, New Zealand's structural hurdles embedded in its planning legislation have compromised the dynamism of a small ethnic community development.

Even if the temple gains resource consent and building permits, the community still has problems making the place right according to Khmer custom and practice regarding sacred spaces (Waitt 2003). This is special because "such spaces are vested with identity ... that involves both the supernatural sphere and the power of group identity and personal identity" (Waitt 2003:227).

268

While waiting for the resource consent, Cambodian community life goes on. I had an opportunity to participate in a discussion (April 2004) about how to inscribe donors' names onto the main gate of the temple after its completion. One speaker expressed his concern that putting the names of big donors with the amount of money donated would alienate small donors. The speaker asked for a proper place for all donors. An *achar* (Cambodian elder administrator or a ritual specialist) suggested writing all the names on each section of the fence. A man suggested writing on a separate board erected near the gate. Another man would like to see them on the column of the main gate, to which a man replied: "From memory, any temple during the Angkor period (twelfth century) has its inscription on the main gate: names of benefactors, and their wishes. We can follow this old Khmer practice. And make a metal plaque on the main column of the gate."

Reference to the past with guidance from memory is one of the approaches by which Cambodians have attempted to follow Khmerness and reconstruct their contemporary identity in transition (Westin and Nyberg 2005) within the New Zealand environment.

Development of Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand and its Routine

Adaptation to the New Zealand Environment

The passage of life and rites of Cambodians follow the Buddhist lunar calendar that begins its new year in April. Other public festivities follow. The need for Cambodians to compromise with New Zealand practices has had a great impact on Buddhist practice. For example, a Khmer public religious ceremony, a Cambodian national festival, and wedding and funeral days have been moved to weekends instead of the exact day in the Buddhist calendar, because Cambodians cannot take time off to organise or participate during weekdays due to work commitments. As one man said: "Even the Maori as tangata whenua do not have a public holiday for their New Year — what do you expect if we are the 'Others'?"

Cambodians have to conduct their life in the New Zealand context and shape their practice according to new space and time constraints. Cambodians have become more practical and flexible, and apply their old strategy of "entering a river by its watercourse, entering a country by its landscape" (ចូលស្ទីងតាមបទ ចូលស្រុកតាមទេស—

Chaul stung tarm bort, chaulsrok tarm tes).

Table 7-4 — Buddhism has to adapt to New Zealand way of life					
	Frequency	%			
Strongly agree	5	8.8			
Agree	19	33.3			
Not agree	18	31.6			
Not agree at all	7	12.3			
Not applicable	8	14.0			
Total	57	100.0			

The participants in my postal survey (Table 7.4) had different opinions on whether Buddhism should adapt to a New Zealand way of life.

Those who did not agree that Buddhism should adapt to the New Zealand environment and lifestyle accounted for 43.9% of respondents. Another 42.1% agreed that Buddhism should change. This latter opinion reflected a realistic view of the situation of Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand, but this also has been seen as a liberalisation movement of Buddhism's strict practice.

There are issues that are new to Buddhism, such as television or the internet. People have discussed the ability of monks to access television or the internet in the privacy of their rooms where it is thought they might channel-surf to watch a soap opera or something else not considered appropriate. Finally, during a meeting in 2002 at Wat Khemaraphirataram, Mangere, Auckland, the head monk from Wellington suggested that "It [is] up to the monks' discretion to watch television or access to an internet. The monks know what is allowed to [be] watch[ed] and what is not".

Furthermore, parallel to the Asian migrant communities in Australia, a "decline in customary respect" (Moore 2002:134) has been noticeable within Khmer Buddhist communities in New Zealand. Although children come to the temple, they are free to roam and do not participate in Buddhist chanting, said Reverend Mam (6 September 2004).

Monkhood

Becoming a monk has been a rare occupational choice for Cambodians in New

270

Zealand. By 2006, only two Cambodian monks have been ordained in New Zealand, and one of them is only a novice. The Khmer Buddhist community has had six resident monks and six visiting monks from Cambodia; three in Wellington, one in Hamilton, and eight in Auckland. By the time of writing this thesis, two monks in Wellington and two monks in Auckland had left the monkhood.

Since there are not many Khmer monks in New Zealand and the demand on their services is higher than in Cambodia, Khmer monks have had little time for themselves to do their religious study. This constraint is also reported at the Giac Nhien Temple of the Vietnamese Buddhist community in Auckland (Moore 2002:132). During the evening, as a routine in Cambodia, the monks have to recite the *ajakh* (daily prayer) continuously 108 times with the help of a rosary of 108 beads. Each recitation lasts about one minute. In New Zealand, the majority of Khmer monks recite the *ajakh* once only. They have had to cut short this routine in order to make room for their non-religious study and English language learning. These inevitable compromises have not always been appreciated by others. One of the *achars* in Auckland complained that a "monk is too relaxed and that he rarely participates in temple works".

In New Zealand, the monks have to confine themselves to their temple and do not go begging food from Khmer Buddhist houses in the community. Instead, the temple organises a symbolic begging for food or *rob bart* once a year (Figure 7.21) as a reminder of the way of life of a Buddhist monk. The monks cook their own meals or seek assistance from people to prepare food at the temple.

People donate rice, salt, and sugar. Middle-aged women take turns to stay at the temple and buy groceries and cook breakfast and lunch for the monks. Monks cannot ask people to cook a preferred meal for them. This will break a rule of monkhood. For example, daylight saving changes the noonday for the second meal (lunch) for the monks when the clock is put forwards or backwards according to the New Zealand time convention. In contrast to Chinese and Vietnamese Buddhist monks, Cambodian monks are not allowed to have solid food after lunch. From midday until dawn, Cambodian monks cannot eat but can consume non-alcoholic drinks, such as tea, coffee, milk or Milo, and recently V-Drink. The new practice is to go along with the daylight saving convention: as one elder said, "We are now in New Zealand."



Figure 7.20 — A two-hectare block of land for building a Khmer Centre in Takanini, Auckland, 2003

Courtesy of Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association



Figure 7.21 — A symbolic begging for food, or រាប់ចាត្រ—*rob bart*, at Wat Khemaraphirataram, 2006

Author's collection

Owing to the New Zealand environment and the developing nature of the Cambodian community, Khmer Buddhist monks have had to adjust their lifestyle like anyone else. In response to the challenge of the New Zealand weather, Khmer Buddhist monks have launched some new winter outfits: a yellow beanie, a yellow polar-fleece jumper, and a pair of yellow socks have become extensions of the traditional saffron robe. Since Khmer monks are not allowed to drive any vehicle, some monks go to English language classes by bus and carry a mobile phone for their personal needs.

Organisation of Buddhist Religious Community

Each Cambodian association sponsors its monks, and the Khmer Buddhist monks' network in New Zealand is loose and has no formal hierarchy. Each temple is independent from the others, and there is no formal Buddhist body to look after Cambodian religious affairs. There is no formal line of responsibility and hierarchy, unlike the existing hierarchical model of Cambodian Buddhist administration in Cambodia.

Each temple in New Zealand has an abbot (เขาผลิศาม - chau adhika). A

Cambodian association manages its temple, except the one in Wellington, which is under the leadership of a monk — Venerable Suthep. Two temples in Auckland do not align with the leadership of the Venerable Suthep. When all of the Khmer monks gather in a public ceremony, the monks are ranked according to their monkhood's seniority; but they accept no orders and they conduct their business autonomously.

Because each association owns a temple, the religious sphere and nonreligious sphere intersect and create new opportunities for laypeople to interact in the temple's management. This is also due to the unco-ordinated hierarchy of the monks' network. Sometimes laypeople abuse their role and intervene in the monks' lives. Some community leaders believe their community owns the monks and should manage the monks' lives. In theory, the monks are independent of the control of any community leadership.

In one instance (2003), laymen from the executive committee of the Cambodian Association criticised a monk from its temple because they did not like the monk, although the monk committed no wrong. This ascendency of the secular leadership over the temple and monks did not unify the Buddhist monk community.

273

The monk was not able to stand the constant pressures and unfair criticism, and asked permission to leave his Oudom Samagom Khmer temple (fgaggutounau). A similar instance also happened at another temple (2002) because the monk conducted a session of fortune-telling for two women in his room rather than in public as expected. The two monks sought refuge at the temple of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association.

There is no formal Cambodian Buddhist body that can intervene or has any religious jurisdiction. Khmer Buddhist organisations in New Zealand are also independent of other Buddhist administrative bodies in Cambodia and New Zealand. The above instances led the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association to suggest a public forum to explore avenues to introduce a united Buddhist body for the Khmer Buddhist monks. The head monk of the Khmer Krom temple also believes that the Khmer Buddhist community should have jurisdiction to oversee Khmer Buddhist issues. This was also similar to Humphrey's finding (1987:239) in Sydney about the ascendency of the church over the secular leadership. In that case, an initiative to establish an umbrella organisation for the Khmer Buddhist monk community did not unify the Khmer community, but resulted in the proliferation of community associations and leadership contests within the whole community.

Implications for Monks and Religious Practice

The lack of a formal transnational link between the New Zealand Khmer Buddhism body and the administrative body of the Buddhism Kingdom in Cambodia originates from the political isolation of the 1980s and 1990s, which distanced the Khmer Buddhist monk community in New Zealand from their Khmer Buddhist Kingdom hierarchy or Khmer Buddhist Order. Since there is no administrative body in New Zealand, no Buddhist authority or registrar of the Khmer Buddhist Order can issue any official identity card for a newly ordained monk. Cambodian monks carry New Zealand passports and are officially ordinary citizens.

Secondly, the Cambodian Buddhist monk community in New Zealand has no formal link with other overseas Cambodian Buddhist monk communities. Thirdly, the Cambodian Buddhist community has no link with other Buddhist communities in New Zealand. The isolation of the Khmer temples in New Zealand and the lack of a formal Buddhist administration have weakened the development of Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand. Since the beginning of the movement in New Zealand, Khmer Buddhist monks have not been able to form an umbrella body or a Buddhist forum to regulate their existence, and to plan for their direction and for future Khmer Buddhist generations.

Fourthly, Khmer monks in New Zealand are mainly active in a ceremonial role. There is no attempt to do outreach work or to reach the younger Cambodian generation in order to maintain Buddhism here. Although young people have been at the temple, they come for social and ceremonial occasions. The new Cambodian generation has little understanding of Buddhism. This new generation does not know the Khmer Buddhist Pali language since it has a different register from the Khmer language spoken by laypeople. They prefer to converse with the monks in the standard Khmer spoken language or in English.

Fifthly, while the physical development of Khmer temples in New Zealand has been obvious, it does not necessarily indicate flourishing from a religious perspective. Just as various ethnic organisations have used religion to consolidate their position in Australia (Humphrey 1987:237), the Cambodian associations in New Zealand have used Buddhism and the temple to consolidate their existence and to reclaim their Khmerness and their community identity. The Khmer Buddhist temples have become cash cows of associations, as a means for cultural maintenance and for financial generation to support the existence of their associations. Their social movements become a collective effort to adapt to change. From this perspective, Khmer Buddhism is a means to achieve social goals for an association rather than an expression of worship. There is no forum for Buddhism discussion and formal Buddhist teaching. People go to the temple for merit-making.

The various difficulties indentified in my research leads me to suggest that the Khmer Buddhist community in New Zealand urgently needs to define its visions, policies, and positive actions in order to thrive in this country.

Buddhist Religious Practices at Wat Khemaraphirataram

Observance Days — Thgnay Sil

Observance days (ថ្ងៃសីល — *Thgnay Sil*) or *Uposatha* days are days when Buddhist monks and laypeople renew their dedication to their practice of *Dharma*. The monk's observance day, conducted fortnightly, is the day on which monks focus intensively on reflection and meditation, and when confession and recitation of monastic rules of conduct (*Patimokha*) takes place. Observance days for laypeople (ថ្ងៃសីល — *Thgnay*

Sil) are on the day of the full moon, the day of the new moon, and two days of the quarter moon each lunar month. A nun (Figure 7.22) observes the eight precepts. Buddhist lay-followers are expected to accept five precepts. On observance days some pious laypeople undertake further abstentions of the eight precepts (Lamotte 2002:41).

Every week on the observance day, grown-up children take their parents and other senior Cambodians to their temple to offer food to the monks and pray together for their deceased relatives, friends, and ancestors. Usually about a dozen senior people — mainly women — come to stay the night before, so that they can meditate and chant the merit verse (សុំសីល).

Before lunch, on the observance day itself, the *achar* leads the chants and people join in. There are seven stages of chanting process:

- offering merit-making objects to the *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sangha* (Figure 7.23) for ancestors and individuals (រតនះឬជា— Ratanattaya buja)
- paying respect and gratitude to Buddha (នមោតស ភគ្គវត្តោ)
- paying respect and gratitude to Dharma (ស្វាក្កាតោ)
- paying respect and gratitude to Sangha (សុបដិបន្នោ)
- asking the monks to chant the five precepts
- chanting of the five precepts (សីលក្រm-Pancha Sila) by the monks
- chanting of offering merits to ancestors.

This chanting is followed by offering food to the monks. Once the monks have finished their meal, the laypeople come together and consume the leftovers. The monks are free to carry on with their life.

Buddhist Communal Events

Achar, who are the Buddhist practitioners and Cambodian senior figures, conduct various activities mainly related to Buddhism. Achar act as a link between the monks and the laity, the religious and the secular worlds. They conduct ceremonies for fundraising and lead people in reciting sermons. They help solve people's problems, and were also known to be involved with the guardian spirits (gnm—*Neakta*) of the village (Pong 2004:4). They look after the temple and organise religious functions for monks and religious festivities such as:

- *Maga Buja* (មាយបូជា) (1) the day on which 1,250 monks came to meet with Buddha to discuss their discipline, or (2) the day on which Buddha informed his followers about the last day of his life
- Visak Buja (โชาอบูนา) the day of birth, enlightenment, and the death of Buddha
- Kathin (กษิธ) the offering of robes and other necessities to fulfil the needs of the monks.

The *achar* also promote the wellbeing of their community, and arrange and prepare all periodical Buddhist communal festivities, such as the Memorial Day of Ancestors (ភ្នំបិណ្ – *Phchium Ben*), the Cambodian New Year, and the Flower Festival

(บุณาฐา — *Bon Phkar*). Wat Khemaraphirataram does not celebrate the Moon Festival.

Once the date of the festivity is set for a festival, the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association and its members — middle-aged men and women — call a meeting to organise the festivity and circulate an invitation to the wider Cambodian community. There are various teams of volunteer members who undertake the following duties:

- heads of Buddhist protocol (អាចារ្យ achar)
- council of monks (ព្រះសង្ឃ Sangha) and nuns (យាយជី ដូនជី)
- elders, old men and women, (ពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ្ធ Buddhists)
- wishers and collectors (អាចារ្យទទួលជូនពរ achar)
- catering team
- security team
- traffic team
- entertainment and youth team
- public relations team.

These middle-aged Cambodians take on their assigned roles and positions with pride and take responsibility within their team.

In Cambodia, people prepare their own food for the various public Buddhist festivities. Women cook their family food at home and transport the food in traditional stacked containers ($m g_{LDT}\dot{n} - charn srack$) to offer lunch to the monks, after which they have their family meal. In New Zealand, although some families prepare food from home for offering (Figure 7.24), the majority of young families go to the temple and do not prepare food for the offering. They would rather donate money towards the celebration and enjoy genuine Khmer food at the temple. As a result, the temple has a cooking team to prepare food for guests and visitors for the festivity. On average, the attendances are about 300–500 people. The Cambodian New Year, *Phchium Ben*, and the Flower Festival attract more visitors and guests, with up to 700–800 people. To host such a crowd, the temple needs a team to organise the logistics and food during the period of festivity. The cooking team (Figure 7.25) prepares the food for participants for at least two days: the day before the celebration and the actual day of celebration.

During the day before the celebration, the kitchen is crowded with volunteers, mainly women who assist the cooking team. They prepare the ingredients with the help of electric grinders, replacing the more traditional mortar and pestles. Giant electric rice cookers and gas cookers speed up the process of cooking, and the food is always fresh and warm.

While their parents are busy with food preparation, the children play together in the playground (Figure 7.26). Food is in abundance, and visitors are free to help themselves to food and non-alcoholic drinks.

Some temples, such as Wat Khemaraphirataram in Takanini, have a large playground for children who occupy themselves on the swings and slides. When they are hungry and thirsty, they fetch food and drinks for themselves from the table near the kitchen. Teenagers and young adults mix and mingle. Some of them play *pétanque (jeu de boules)* or volleyball (Figure 7.27) at the back of the temple.

The majority sit around and watch their friends' team in action, or listen to the soft contemporary Khmer music played from the *salar chun* (សาณาตร์ — dining

hall). This is also different from Cambodia, where the temples play only classical Khmer music and the entertainment area is outside of the temple boundary where disco music and bands go on through the night.

During the morning of the day of celebration, the monks conduct their routine chanting and then have breakfast. The traffic safety team begins its duties, directing traffic and parking. Another team looks after the safety of the temple and directs people to the *Salar Chun*.

The *achars* organise themselves into two teams. One team of two or three elders sits at a table in front of the *Salar Chun* with a microphone, blessing people who donate money for the day. They record the people's names and donations. The other *achar* team get themselves ready for conducting the religious procession in the hall. The temple becomes busy at about nine or ten o'clock, when everyone moves into the *Salar Chun* for the actual ceremony. The monks then come to the stage, pay homage to the statue of Buddha, sit cross-legged and place themselves according to their rank (Figure 7.29).

The *achars* begin the call and lead the chant to pay homage to Buddha, *Dharma*, and *Sangha*. Then the monks reply with a chant and follow with the response chant of five precepts (បញ្ហុះសីលា សីលក្រាំ—*Pancha Sila*): abstain from taking life, being intoxicated, stealing, engaging in promiscuity, and telling lies.

The *achar* calls for the offering of food for their ancestors through the media of the monks (Figure 7.30). The monks receive the food and bless it for the spirits of the ancestors. They consume the food ($m\dot{s} - chun$) and return what is left over to its owners. People share food and eat together with their family and friends (Figure 7.31).



Figure 7.22 — A Khmer Buddhist nun, 2004 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation

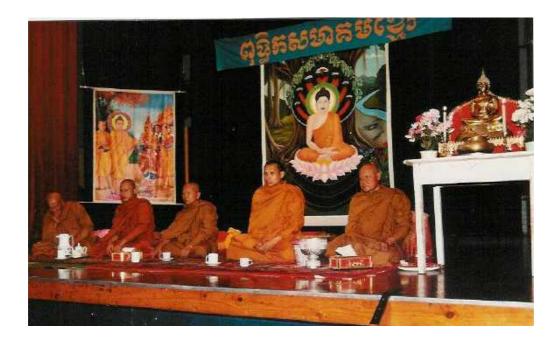


Figure 7.23 — The monks are the media for merit-making, 1990 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.24 — A family brought food for offering at Phchium Ben, 2004 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.25 — Cooking team for Khmer New Year, 2004 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.26 — Children played while their parents organised the Khmer New Year, 2004

Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.27 — Young people played volleyball, Khmer New Year 2004 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.28 — Ramvong at the Khmer New Year, 2004 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.29 — **The monks sit according to their seniority** Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.30 — Food offering, Phchium Ben 2004 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.31 — People shared food after offering, Phchium Ben 2004 Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation



Figure 7.32 — **People helped themselves, New Year 2007** Courtesy of the Khmer Foundation

The majority of people who came without food helped themselves at the long smorgasbord table prepared by the kitchen (Figure 7.32). The kitchen provides a smorgasbord breakfast and later lunch for everyone. There are no restrictions and anyone is welcomed — Cambodians consider such a gesture as part of their merit-making ($\[mathbf{iggnng}\]$ ($\[mathbf{iggnng}\]$ making ($\[mathbf{iggnng}\]$ mathbf{iggnng}\] making ($\[mathbf{iggnng}\]$ mathbf{iggnng}\] making ($\[mathbf{iggnng}\]$ mathbf{iggnng}\] mathbf{iggnng

Towards the end of the ceremony, the *achars* announce the amount received in donations, and the president of the association thanks the contributors for supporting the cause. The formal ceremony usually finishes during the mid-afternoon, but some people stay longer to help clean up.

The way that the Cambodians conduct their Buddhist events at Wat Khemaraphirataram is typical of the Khmer Buddhist community in New Zealand. Their communal routine has made them different from other ethnic groups. The Buddhist community routine is a part of the Khmer identity in New Zealand. Beside Khmer Buddhism, Cambodians have other socio-cultural features, such as arts, language, folkdance, and national cultural items which are unique to their community identity.

Community Identity

No matter who they are, Cambodians have at least one picture of Angkor Wat hung on the wall in their house. This picture is the symbol of the Cambodia or Khmer people that built that temple. It symbolises Khmer national pride and has appeared on many Khmer national flags. Angkor Wat is the heritage of Khmer people and Khmer national identity.

In 1982, the Cambodian associations in Wellington, Auckland, and the other main cities still flew the royal flag of Cambodia. However, at that stage, the United Nations recognised the communist flag of the Democratic Kampuchea of the Khmer Rouge government in exile. This disparity clearly had the potential to give rise to awkwardness.

In October 1982, prompted by an invitation to attend the Field Days at Mystery Creek, the Waikato Khmer Association in Hamilton decided to position itself as a neutral, non-political group and welcome all Cambodian political factions. The association, led by a group of young middle-class Cambodians, would not raise any Cambodian national flags, but instead chose to design its own community flag white Angkor Wat on a sky-blue background (Figure 7.33) — and fly it on such social occasions as the Mystery Creek Field Days.

The organisers of the 1983 Mystery Creek Field Days had invited various ethnic groups in the Waikato to participate in their cultural event. The Waikato Khmer Association had been invited to bring a group of Cambodians to the opening, and to have a Cambodian cultural stand for display and present a Khmer cultural performance. A group of leaders from Hamilton went up to Auckland to seek the support and participation of their countrymen. However, the leaders in Auckland would participate only if they wore suits; they would not agree to wear Khmer national outfits. This Mystery Creek incident marked the beginning of the assertion of a new identity for the Khmer community. The Khmer people in Hamilton were proud of their cultural heritage and Khmer social life. They had dance troupes led by Miss Sophea Dith (Figure 7.34), a classical and folkdance student from Khao I Dang, who trained her troupes every weekend in her family garage. The troupes performed at every Khmer social event and participated in various fundraising events, such as Telethons and National Refugee Days.

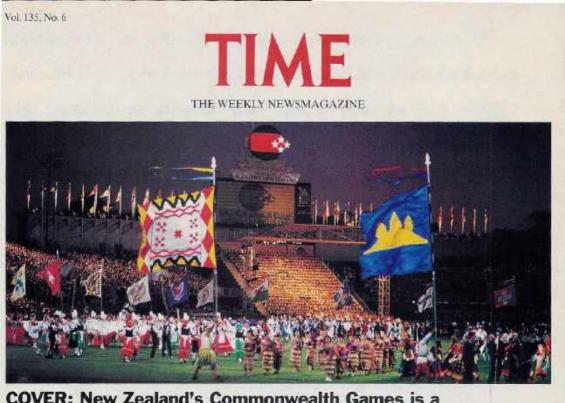
Again for the 1990 Commonwealth Games in Auckland, the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association and the Waikato Khmer Association decided to put up a new community flag — Angkor Wat with golden colour on the sky-blue background representing the people from Cambodia living in Auckland (Figure 7.35). This was in contrast to Cambodia where five factions flew different flags and fought one another.



Figure 7.33 — A community flag, Waikato Khmer Association, 1983 Author's collection



Figure 7.34 — **Khmer cultural dancer, Field Days in Hamilton** *Waikato Times* (12 November 1984:3)



COVER: New Zealand's Commonwealth Games is a showcase of excellence and of courageous performances by those with no chance of medals

Figure 7.35 — A community flag representing people from Cambodia

Commonwealth Games, Auckland, 1990

(*Time*, Vol 135, No 6 February 1990)

The group's stand for non-political alignment was uncompromised and bold. Members of Cambodian communities in various New Zealand cities also had mixed feelings about supporting Cambodian political factions. The majority of the associations chose to confine themselves to social work for the needs of their peoples' resettlement and were not aligned with any Cambodian political factions. At that time various media, such as newsletters and local radio programmes, were sporadically used to inform members or supporters who had no chance of returning to Cambodia about life in New Zealand and Cambodia. They became part of the Cambodian diasporas where they endeavour to maintain their cultural identity. The majority of the Cambodians did not have direct contact with their relatives in Cambodia other than by mail. Their main networks were overseas friends spread around Australia, Canada, France, and the USA.

The isolated operation of the various associations in New Zealand led to a common desire to have a Khmer umbrella body co-ordinate their efforts for more effective representation of Khmer interests in the public arena and to interface them with other ethnic organisations. This initiative was welcomed by the Cambodian Association and the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association. Leckie observed in the migrant community that membership and leadership evolves through time due to shifts in focus. "This was not always smooth, as ethnic associations, like similar bodies, were periodically challenged by factionalism" (2007:167).

Repositioning of the Cambodian Association

Proposal of Umbrella Organisation

During the late 1990s, the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association took a soft approach to promote a unified Khmer body with other groups in Auckland. The aim was to form a council that could co-ordinate the whole community in terms of representation and socio-cultural activities. It was also believed that they could pool resources to build a community hall for the whole Cambodian community.

The Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. launched a Khmer-language radio broadcasting programme on 20 October, 1997, to promote their activities through the 810AM Access Radio station. The Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. wrote to the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association on 9 March 1998, inviting them to work together in the spirit of true co-operation for the above cause.

The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association agreed to a public meeting hosted at Mangere Refugee Centre in May 1998. The first meeting was a success. As a result, the meeting called for a draft of a new constitution for a proposed Cambodian Council, which would be an umbrella organisation for co-ordinating Cambodian issues but which would have no control over any of the other associations in terms of management and finance. Both associations agreed to meet again to finalise the constitution under a framework in which every association could join as a partner with the same status, where they would be independent in their internal management, but co-operate at the community level to have a common Cambodian voice and actions.

Fall-out with Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association

The Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. disrupted the second meeting. Instead of following the set agenda and finalising the draft constitution, the association changed its course by attacking the leadership of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association and accusing them of corruption. The chairman of the meeting ignored the agenda and let the arguments continue.

The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association welcomed everyone to look at their audited accounts and at the savings they had accrued as a deposit for bigger premises. Towards the end of the meeting, the president of the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. put forward his view that the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. should become the parent organisation and take over the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association. The Buddhist association rejected the suggestion and informed the meeting that the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association was still open to further discussion on how to develop its Khmer community, but not on the terms set out by the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. Both meetings were video-taped by the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc.

Soon afterwards, on 7 November 1998, the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. used their 810AM community radio slot to launch a campaign to discredit the leadership of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association. The leaders of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist association chose not to get involved in this media fight, and kept quiet until the 1999 Khmer New Year celebration when they had their

annual general meeting (AGM). At the AGM, they publicly released an eight-page document to their members, describing the whole issue with full facts, figures, and detailing the false accusations of the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. The leaders of the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. were furious, but were not able to do anything. Their meeting conversation, recorded on tape, was sent by one of their members to a leader of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association. The rift between these two associations was now so great that their leaders found no benefit in attempting reconciliation.

In 9 November 1999, a group of elders invited the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association, the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc., the Cambodian Chinese Kung Luck, Khmer Christian, the Khmer Krom Association, and the Waikato Khmer Association to find a way to set up an association to assist old people in the areas of social activities, care and religious practice. The Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. sent a red letter (the colour a warning sign of a trouble from an adversary) declining to participate since members of the Buddhist association had introduced the idea. On the same day, the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. met to make its first move in order to campaign for the building of a Cambodian community hall.

Fundraising for a Community Hall

Year 2000 marked the point of no return for these two associations when the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. launched a campaign under the auspices of a community development committee for building a property for their head office and a community hall for the Cambodians in Auckland. The Cambodians in Auckland were supportive and began to contribute towards building a community hall. The association introduced a project development committee to find a suitable place for their community hall. Within eight months, in June 2001, the association bought a \$270,000 property at 105 Wyllies Road, Papatoetoe (Figure 7.36). The association was proud of the achievement, and with it gained support from some Cambodian businessmen.

Soon afterwards, the leaders of the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. changed their mind and sent a delegate to seek permission from the head monk in Wellington to introduce another Cambodian Buddhist temple in Auckland instead of the community hall. The head monk did not agree. The association went ahead anyway; it dropped the promise of building a community hall for Cambodians, and

substituted it with plans for another Cambodian Buddhist temple. The association converted various buildings into an office, a meeting room or classroom, and a residence for the monks.

Overall, the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. does its best to assist its members. It runs a Khmer radio programme and has introduced Khmer language classes for children, an English class for adults, and a Khmer classical dance troupe. Socially, they arrange wedding services.



Figure 7.36 — Wat Oudom Samagom Khmer, 2003 Author's collection



Figure 7.37 — Wat Khemaraphirataram, 2003 Author's collection

In its plans for a temple, the Cambodian Association began building a small *vihara* and sponsored two monks under its own umbrella, ignoring the authority of the head monk in Wellington. The introduction of a new temple — Wat Oudom Samagom Khmer (The Temple of the Great Khmer Association) — was a success. But the move upset the head monk and other people unhappy that the association had broken its promise of building a community hall from their fundraising campaign. It had used that money to build a temple instead. Some of the contributing members stopped their financial contributions, withdrew their membership, and went to join Wat Khemaraphirataram (Figure 7.37).

Internal Division of the Cambodian Association

The success of the Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc. had been due to its community development committee. However, this committee believed that the existing association must change its leadership. The leadership was contested, as the political prize was reputation and recognition as was the case in other similar contests (Humphrey 1987:238). Members of the executive committee began to make accusations against the president and intensified their work within the Cambodian community. Smith -Hefner (1999:26–27) has also observed similar situations in America, in which accusations against individuals, particularly those in leadership positions, acquire a special intensity whenever the individual plays an important role in Khmer political or religious life.

In 2002, the majority of the members of the committee lobbied the members of the association to vote for a new president at the annual general election. About 200 people came to vote, and voted to continue support for the existing presidency. The members of the community development committee were not happy with this outcome, and took any opportunity they could to discredit the re-elected president. Leaders of the committee began to run the temple without consultation with the president, and effectively took control of the temple. From the beginning of 2003, the committee had become the ad-hoc leadership of the Cambodian Association as the president has faded away from the scene. Six months later, they ordained a middleaged man to become a novice monk for their temple.

By the end of 2003, relations between the president and his committee members were so bad that the group voted out the president, not at an AGM, but with a public announcement at the 2004 New Year Party. Some Cambodians felt that it

was not fair to dismiss someone without any warning. Three interviews on the Khmer Voice radio in January 2004 were used as a neutral public media space in which the disputing parties could present their cases.

The deposed president and his supporters went on to form another association, the Cambodian Community of New Zealand, and took the community radio programme and the majority of the Cambodian members with them in 2004. Since then, that group has aligned with the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association.

The Cambodian Community of New Zealand runs its weekly Khmer programme from Access Radio, and organises various communal events such as hosting dignitaries from Cambodia, and fundraisings for natural disaster victims such as floods in Cambodia and the 2005 Tsunami in Thailand. This association has had good relations with the Royal Cambodian Embassy to New Zealand in Canberra.

Formation of an Umbrella Body for Khmer Buddhism Practice in New Zealand A difficult situation arose in November 2004 between the Cambodian Association and the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association concerning the location and service of a monk. The New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS), the Royal Cambodian Embassy in Canberra, and almost the entire Khmer community became involved. This situation convinced supporters that there needed to be a Khmer body to mediate or solve such crises.

In January 2006, the monks and the Khmer Buddhist community invited all Khmer Buddhist temples, Khmer associations and Khmer Buddhists to a first Khmer Buddhist symposium where they agreed to form a formal Buddhist body for assisting the Khmer Buddhist community and its practice in New Zealand. They have formed a Khmer Buddhist community of practice. This noble attempt, similar to Humphrey's finding in Australia (1987:240), has brought about greater co-operation among participants.

The Cambodian Association and its Wat Oudom Samagom Khmer did not join the symposium. Instead, the head monk of Wat Oudom Samagom Khmer went to Cambodia and sought appointment from the King of the monks in Cambodia as the Ambassador of the Khmer Buddhist Order of Cambodia to New Zealand. This official appointment surprised other temples, monks, the head of New Zealand Khmer Buddhist Order, and the Khmer Buddhist community in New Zealand. This rift continues and has been the focus for competition (cf. Humphrey 1987:238) and ongoing conflict within the community.

The second Khmer Buddhist symposium in January 2007 also invited all the monks and representatives from all Khmer Buddhist temples and associations, including the Ambassador of the Khmer Buddhist Order to New Zealand. Again, Wat Oudom Samagom Khmer and its Cambodian Association did not participate in this open forum. The Khmer Buddhist community of practice has worked together to improve the essence of Buddhism and its teaching.

The Second Khmer Buddhist Monk Congress, held on 14 January 2007, unanimously adopted the common declaration and agreed to take actions according to its three recommendations: the teaching of Buddhist discipline and Khmer language during the weekend, to form a Council of Khmer Buddhist *Sangha*, and to organise the structure of the *Sangha* within each temple.

The development of this council is the response to the lack of a formal body and is an assertion of the Khmer Buddhist community of practice that aims to maintain its Khmer Buddhism focus and representation.

Community and Leadership

The Khmer community is governed by two worlds: the spiritual world and civic life. The monk is the spiritual leader. He observes Buddhist law and has a position in the Buddhism hierarchy according to his monkhood seniority. Within the Khmer community, Khmers still observe the structures and hierarchy of Buddhist society, although routines and practices have to take into account the New Zealand context and perspective.

Civilians can be leaders, but they are supposed to respect the monk and would not challenge the monk's authority in his spiritual and religious practice. The Buddhist leadership and civilian leadership are thus theoretically exclusive. The head monk looks after his monks and the temple. They live on alms and donations. In return, the monks provide spiritual and religious service to Buddhist followers and laypeople. The monks do not own the temple; but they are the caretaker-leaders at the temple.

In general, in my observation, Cambodians do not like to confront difference. The leader's opinions are always considered the best and those which everyone will

follow. Where there is a conflict of interest or an argument, a compromise will commonly be reached. Where a compromise is not acceptable, one of the parties will withdraw quietly. This splinter group will refrain or cease to associate with the other group; at worse, they will formally organise a new group to serve their own niche.

There is a unique concept of leader or leadership in Khmer culture, and there are different words in Khmer to describe the head of something or a leader: i = mey; i = brorthean; i = brorthean; i = mey deuk norm; i = kru; i = lok. A member or a follower in Khmer language is $\eta = kaun$, meaning "children of".

The term "leader" (i = mey) has its origin back in the first century when a

queen ruled the Khmer kingdom. Khmer society is matriarchal, with the mother at the head of the family. In the Khmer term for elders or parents, twm — *mey bar* literally means "mother/female and father/male", and the first word is the control or leading word. Although *mey* literally means female, it is an important word in Khmer language to indicate "important", "leader" or "head of". According to Khmer culture, there are many leaders and leadership is assigned by functionality. For instance:

- **ug:** *mey phteah* is a wife or the head of the house, not the husband
- เษร์ก mey torp is the leader of the troupe
- មេជាង— mey chhieng is the supervisor
- กูรถ่าน kaun chieng is the general hand.

The concept of leadership from the Khmer perspective implies a mother–child relationship: affiliation, obligation, responsibility, care, tie, authority, and tolerance. In the Khmer social context, leadership implies a social contract or a bond that is always reciprocal. As a superior, the leader has a duty to look after and guide subordinates, who in return perform certain tasks for the leader. Ledgerwood (1990:145) used the term "patron–client" to describe this relationship.

I will discuss leadership from the socio-cultural perspective of "community leadership" that appears most relevant to Khmer community development. Melissa Horner, in her review of the development of leadership theory (Horner, 1997 in Kirk and Shutte 2004:236), concludes that the most current theory looks at leadership as a process in which leaders are not seen as individuals in charge of followers, but as members of a community of practice referred to as community leadership (2004:237).

From this perspective, community leadership is the leadership within communities of different people who come together in collaborative endeavour. On the one hand, the community leadership is composed of a wide range of practitioners and friends who have different backgrounds and expertise. On the other hand, they also have their own personal interests even though they collaborate. Tensions between person-centred leadership are echoed in the Khmer community. Social ties and friendship have united people around their leaders. When there is a major conflict of interest, friends become enemies, and sometimes enemies become friends.

Leadership and Friendship

Towards the end of the 1989, the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association had collected donations of almost \$10,000 toward building a temple at Mangere. When one of the prominent members telephoned the president at his home to borrow the temple money as a deposit for buying a family home, his request was refused. The member threatened to withdraw his assistance, and complained that he had put a lot of work into the Buddhist group and deserved to have the loan until the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association needed the money. The president replied, "Although you are my close friend and hold an important position in our association, I am not willing to pass on the money for your loan. I would love to do it if it was my money. But this is the association money, and I have no right to lend you even a single dollar from this public donation. If you would like to withdraw yourself from helping the association, I can't help. It's up to you!" His friend was upset, but did not leave.

The temple of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association collected around \$2,000 from a *Simar* ceremony in 1990 (Figure 7.38). The prominent member who had earlier asked to borrow from the association's funds was asked to deposit this money into the association account. Instead, he kept the money for his business. The president warned him, and a year later wrote a letter requesting he return the association's money. A meeting was called, which the man did not front up to, and the meeting decided to take legal action if there was still no response. He returned the money soon after. Although disappointed, the leaders were satisfied with the repayment. They were determined to have zero-tolerance on mismanagement and corruption, and the association members were pleased about this stand. The man moved away to join the Cambodian Association.

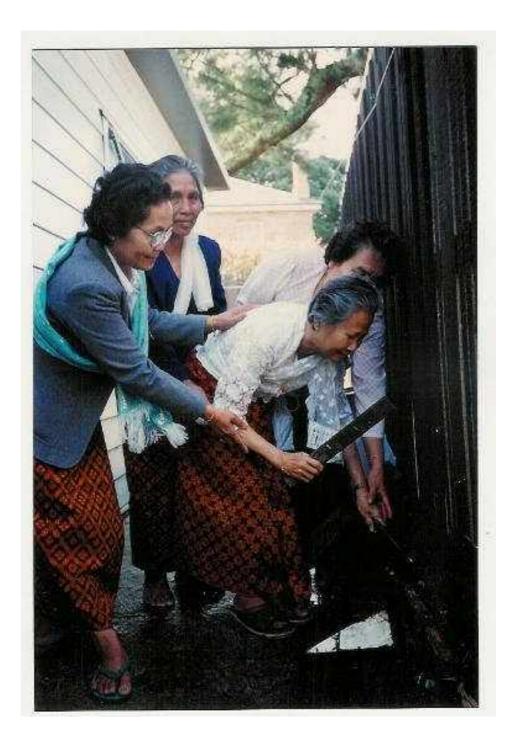


Figure 7.38 — Simar ceremony: cutting the rope, Mangere, 1990 Author's collection

Leadership and critical decision-making is necessary in any organisation, and in this instance the Khmer Buddhist community of practice is where monks, elders, Buddhists and other professionals join force to improve Khmer Buddhism in New Zealand. The following two cases reflect the situational nature of leadership and its conflict resolution.

Leadership and Decision-making Case Study #1 — the Temple at Takanini The building of a second Buddhist temple by the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association provides a good example of the nuances and practices of Khmer leadership and decision-making in action.

The new temple had its genesis when the Cambodian Association (Auckland) reneged on its promise to build a community hall and instead turned the funds raised to build a temple, and in the association's subsequent leadership conflicts. The association's change of heart had upset Khmers in Auckland and the head monk in Wellington. At one meeting, a prominent community member explained why people were upset. It was not wrong, he said, that the Cambodian Association planned to build another temple for their supporters, nor that there be more than one temple in the same area — what was wrong was that the association had broken its promise to build a community hall.

Khmer people in Auckland are very liberal, and some had supported all three of Auckland's Buddhist temples. Whereas the Khmer Krom temple's members come from Kampuchea Krom (South Vietnam), the two other Khmer temples' members are Cambodian. In terms of Buddhist practice and Khmer culture, there is no significant difference between these latter two temples; the only difference between these associations is the leadership and the style of management.

So, in April 2002, temple membership was fluid, people went to celebrate Khmer New Year at all of the temples, and every temple was crowded. Even so, the majority of the Khmer people preferred to spend most of their celebration at Wat Khemaraphirataram, the temple of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association at 7 Yates Road, Mangere, as there was space for traditional games and cultural activities.

Support for the Cambodian Association's Wat Oudom Samagom Khmer began to erode, however, in response to the association's leadership crisis during the second half of 2002. As a result, in October 2002 the majority of Khmer people went

to celebrate *Phchium Ben* or the Commemoration Day of Ancestors at the temple of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association. The elders and leadership saw that they would need to move to a bigger place to accommodate everyone. The head monk from Wellington came to help find a site for a new temple and signed a contract on behalf of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association for a site in Takanini. From his perspective, the monk had found an appropriate spiritual site according to Buddhist territorial rules (Waitt 2003:225) for building a proper Khmer Buddhist temple. The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association was also keen to use the site for building a Khmer cultural centre with recreational and social facilities.

By May 2003, the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association had moved its temple to a two-hectare farm estate on 455 Porchester Road, Takanini, and sold the old temple site. At the time of writing this study, the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association had lodged an application for resource consent for its temple.

Developing a Temple

The process of developing a Khmer Buddhist temple is complicated in terms of crosscultural practice and resource consent requirements. On the one hand, the development of the Khmer temple as a sacred space is prescribed under Buddhist text and spiritual site prescriptions; on the other hand, the project has to comply with the New Zealand laws and regulations. Development is further complicated by the decision-making process within the community and its leadership.

According to Khmer Buddhist practice, the monk and the elders used their lunar calendar to select the time and day on which to move in and bless the Takanini site, and lay the nine cornerstones to initiate a *vihara* (Inn). At this point the site would gain its rights or licence under the Buddhist canon to be a temple. The garage

was to be turned into a *vihara*, the horse stable to be converted into a meeting hall or *Salar chun* (ถาญาตร์), and the farm estate would become a temple.

However, according to New Zealand laws and building regulations, the blessed site is still a farm, and the association has to lodge a resource consent application before the site can be legally used for religious purposes. The Papakura District Council has been supportive and has encouraged the association to lodge an application as soon as possible.

The above cross-cultural and legal issues lie at the root of my discussion of

leadership and the process of building a Buddhist temple and community development, as do the variety of stakeholders and their various roles and inputs.

The Actors

The stakeholders of the Khemaraphirataram are the monks, the members of the board of governors, the president and the members of the committees, the members of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association, the Khmer people in Auckland and other cities, the neighbours, the Papakura District Council (PDC), the Auckland Regional Council (ARC), and the New Zealand public. The Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association is the legal owner of the property. The temple will be under the spiritual leadership of the head monk, who, in terms of Buddhist practice, is a caretaker of the temple but does not own or manage the temple. Buddhist laypeople — in this case the executive members of the Auckland Buddhist Khmer Association — manage the operation of the temple (Figures 39–42). The monks or *Sangha* use the temple and reside there. The temple and the association depend upon householders making donations to the temple and to the *Sangha* in order to earn merit to improve their *karma* and to garner blessings for themselves, their families, and communities. The monk's role is to perform his religious duties, and he is responsible to the head monk in Wellington.



Figure 7.39 — Leadership of the Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association, 2005 Author's collection



Figure 7.40 — Project management team, Mangere, 2003 Author's collection



Figure 7.41 — A meeting for the *Simar* event, Takanini, 2003 Author's collection



Figure 7.42 — Project presentation for Papakura District Council, Takanini, 2004

Author's collection



Figure 7.43 — Construction team, 2003 Author's collection

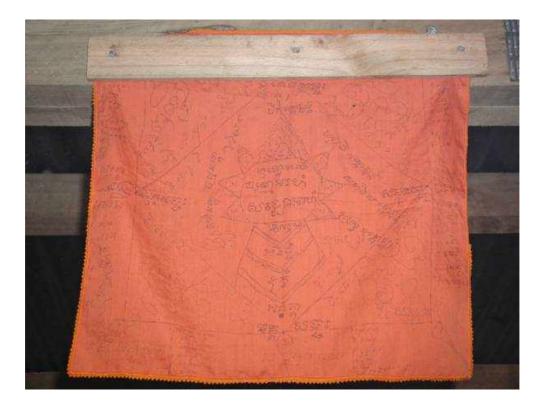


Figure 7.44 — A *yantra* at the ceiling for protection, 2003 Author's collection



Figure 7.45 — The *Simar* (cornerstone) was wrapped in classic red silk, Takainini, 2003

Author's collection



Figure 7.46 — **The Khmer Centre and Temple plan** Courtesy of Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association, 2003 Requirements to Become a Temple as a Sacred Place

Khmer people in New Zealand would like to have a proper Khmer Buddhist temple. The physical identity of the Khmer temple is architecturally different from that of a Christian church or a marae. A Khmer temple is also different from a Chinese Buddhist temple.

In order to become a temple, a site should conform to the building and construction rules prescribed by the Buddhist canon. The temple site should be safe and free from danger and intrusion. The temple is composed of a gate, a place for the monk congregation (tunt - vihara), a meeting hall or an eating hall (tunt hall = vihara).

salar chun), the monks' quarter (កុម្ពី — kud), a quarter for the nuns, the place for meditation (ខ្នមសមាធិ — Ktom samadhi), a place for laypeople, and a place to deposit ashes (ចេត្តីយ — Cheti) (Figure 7.46). A crematorium and a graveyard are outside of the temple grounds.

The final step to initiate a temple is a Buddhist ceremony to lay nine cornerstones or a boundary (សីមា — *Simar*) for the *vihara* (Figure 7.45). Once the

Simar stones are blessed and placed, the sacred site becomes a temple. This ceremony is one of the most important events in the life of a temple. No one wants to miss such a significant ceremony at which individuals have an opportunity to make wishes by giving away valuable objects or money for their merit. The ceremony ends up with a celebration and festivity.

The Buddhist elders ($\inf \inf \inf \int -achar$) and the monks found that the best day to lay the *Simar* was Sunday, 22 June 2003. Everything had to be ready for that date, especially the *vihara* (place for congregation of the monks) and the *salar chun* (eating hall) where there would be ceremonial gathering and eating.

The Building Process

Once the site of *salar chun* was defined, everyone was keen to get the building underway. The development project committee called a meeting to discuss the building of the *salar chun*. The meeting was attended by the project management

team, the project building team, the monks, the executive members of the Buddhist association, and the elders.

The leader of the project management team explained the technical and legal requirements for building a *salar chun* from the existing 19m x 16m horse stable. The project leader suggested lodging an application for resource consent and a building permit. To convert the stable as a farm building to a *salar chun* without a building permit would risk problems — at worst, the inspector would order the constructed building to be dismantled.

The elders explained that, since the ceremony is significant to the site, building a *salar chun* in time for the ceremony was necessary. Considering the size of the crowd expected to attend and the uncertainty of the weather, the elders felt that it would not be appropriate to use the existing stable, but to improve it would be the most desirable option.

The leader of the building team believed that the conversion or improvement of the stable would not be significant enough to bother the council. With the urgency of the celebration, the project should go ahead in two stages: building the roof and pouring a concrete floor.

However, the treasurer suggested using plastic sheets for the occasion and waiting until approval of the resource consent and building permit had been received. The management team agreed that the project should go ahead only if the council granted the permit, and the management team had doubts about the present building's condition.

The elders and the building team insisted that, because of the urgency of the celebration, it would be best to go ahead with the improvements straight away and face demolition later if the council was not happy. The meeting voted in favour of that resolution even though the management team disagreed with it. The monk did not agree, nor did he object to this decision.

Three weeks later the *vihara* was built, the new roof of the *salar chun* was completed, and its concrete floor was dried, at a cost of about \$10,000. A crowd of about 1,000 people came to celebrate the *Simar*, and people donated \$35,000 for the *Simar* day. The temple would lose \$4,000 if the council ordered them to dismantle the construction.

Responsibility for the Decision

The elders, with the support of the building team, became the decision-makers and leaders in this situation. The executive members of the association and the project management team, although they knew what they were doing, were rendered redundant or irrelevant in the urgency of the case. Although the monk was the spiritual leader, he quietly let the elders and builders take over since they could ensure a roof would be ready for the *Simar* day.

The group knew the risk of having no building permit and resource consent. The decision was not made from a short-term financial perspective, but from the longterm view of ensuring that people would be able to participate in the ceremony and backing up the building team. Losing a small amount of money was not an issue, since they would be making more money out of the ceremony. Nor was the risk of demolition significant compared to losing the support and participation of the building team and the Khmer community as a whole. Furthermore, they would learn from their mistake. At the end of the day they considered it a good trade-off so long as the *Simar* went well. This decision was based on gut feeling rather than on rational analysis. They would rather use the concept of trade-off than make a decision based on a norisk approach. Overall, the decision was to risk a good loss in order to make better returns financially, spiritually, and in human capital.

This process reflects a classic Khmer verse: *Phlouv viech kom borsborng*, *phlouv trorng kom oy chiol* (ផ្លូវរៀបកុំពោះបង់ ផ្លូវត្រង់កុំឲ្យចោល — "Should not give up the bended way, and should not throw away the straight way"). This verse reminds people to explore any ways that might affect the required results. Although the breach breaks the rules and regulations slightly, it is not significant. Furthermore, the straight way (following the building rule) would not produce a result, as it would not allow a place to be built in time for the *Simar* ceremony.

It also reflects another Khmer saying: Slaut slabb, viech vay mien phorp a yuk yoeun you (ស្ល្មតស្លាប់ រៀចវេមានកំពអាយុយ៉ឺនយូរ — "Gentle and straight you die, cheeky you have luck and long life"). In facing this dilemma, the decision-makers adopted an ethical approach to attempt to resolve the impossible or minimise the loss.

In this situation and according to Kirk and Shutte (2004), the Buddhist laypeople or the elders and the builders were the communal leaders within the Khmer community of practice. They took bold decisions and dared to bite the bullet. The majority agreed with those decisions, although the actions they entailed were not legal. Through a democratic process, the majority ruled and the management team lost the argument even though theirs was the right way to do things, according to New Zealand law. (This also gave the management team an excuse to give the council if a problem arose.)

The president and the management team are the community's interface with the outside community as public relations leaders (where their understanding of New Zealand practice and English is put to use). Thus, the management team takes the leading role in sorting out any problems outside of the Khmer community.

In the above case, while the elders took the leadership role in the decisionmaking, they still expected the management team to tolerate the reality of their "cheeky actions" and to take care of any external problems with the council that arose from their actions.

Leadership and Decision-making Case Study #2 — Two Temples at Waikato For migrant ethnic groups, divisive community issues are often due to competition amongst various groups who want to become bigger or whose leaders compete to become the supreme leaders of the larger group (Morris, Vokes and Chang 2007:22– 23) . These actions lead to friction, fragmentation (Leckie 2007), conflict and differentiation (Kiong and Fee, in Tarling 2005:34).

Leadership in conflict within an association is illustrated by another example in the Cambodian community development in Hamilton. In this case, the leaders of the Waikato Khmer Association (Figure 7.47) sought help from Kiwi supporters and made use of New Zealand legal services to solve their problem.

The Waikato Khmer Association (Figure 7.48) and Khmer Buddhists in the Waikato region agreed in mid-2002 that they needed to have their own temple in Hamilton so that they did not have to go up to Auckland to participate in Buddhist activities. Also, they wanted a place of their own from which they could run various community programmes, such as a Khmer language class, cultural performance practices, and classes on Buddhism. They believed that a new temple would foster Khmer identity and the wellbeing of their community members. The Waikato Khmer Association agreed to establish a Buddhist committee for the above purpose. The elected committee began work in December 2002 on finding a proper site for its temple. By the time the committee had found a site, however, the Waikato Khmer

Association had been stuck off from the registrar of the Companies Office and had to re-register. In April 2003, the committee bought a property on 250 Collin Road, Melville, on which to develop their temple. The head monk in Wellington endorsed the temple and sent down a monk from Auckland to cater for the needs of the new temple.

In May 2003, six people — the two monks, the president of the Waikato Khmer Association (ex-officio), two men, and the leader of the Buddhist committee — formed a trust (Aranhrangsy Buddhist Charitable Trust) and took over control of the temple. This formation upset the Waikato Khmer Association and its supporters. The leaders of the Waikato Khmer Association saw this move as illegal, since the association was the legal owner of the property. Furthermore, the Trust was using the Waikato Khmer Association's name to invite its members to the celebration of the Memorial Day of Ancestors in September 2003.

In October 2003, the newly elected president of the Waikato Khmer Association approached a law firm to assert the association's ownership of the property. The leadership of the Trust did not agree and began lobbying the Khmer community in Waikato to support the Trust's claim of ownership of the property. The Trust claimed that Buddhist Khmer people in the area had negotiated with the association to be their agent in order to purchase the above property. The association was the legal caretaker until the incorporation of the Trust. The association saw this claim as having no foundation. Two of the founding members of the Trust — the former president of the association and its treasurer — resigned. The association argued that the people who had formed the trust had misled the Khmer people in Hamilton about the ownership rights.

Leadership Challenge

While the issue was still being debated, the Trust made a counter-move to challenge the existing leadership of the Waikato Khmer Association. The leaders of the Trust believed that they had to move their people into the leadership of the association to consolidate their position against the existing leaders of the Khmer association. They would then work within the requirements of the existing constitution to invite its members to decide on the future of the ownership of the property. The people from the Trust believed that this democratic approach would solve the community's problems.

The elected president sent out a notice on 10 November 2003 for an annual general meeting (AGM) on 30 November, in the hope that a further twelve active members would be elected to association committees and would get rid of its vice-president and people from the Trust. The association sought assistance from a law firm and a few English-language tutors. I was invited as an observer by the vice-president of the association, who had been informed that he would have to be reelected. I did some background reading of the constitution and various documents I had been sent. I went to see both groups before the meeting and convinced them to cancel the AGM since it would dissolve the whole committee including the president and vice-president. I also asked them to find a compromise rather than to use a lawyer to monitor the process. The leadership did not agree with my suggestion and the AGM went ahead.

On arrival at the meeting, members had to fill in an application form in English and pay a membership fee of \$1. The meeting was conducted in English, since the president assumed everyone could read and write English. A team of lawyers conducted the procedure, and gave everyone five minutes to come into the meeting room. When I approached a door-keeper and asked his permission to go to the meeting as an observer, the door-keeper who used to be my acquaintance firmly refused to let me in because I did not live in the Waikato region. Suddenly, I became an outsider to the Waikato Khmer Association of which I was a founding member. The meeting was to be conducted behind closed doors. Looking through the glass door, I saw some people making arguing gestures at the lawyer who did not allow their members to attend the meeting. About five minutes later, everyone came out and had a meeting in a car park (Figure 7.48).



Figure 7.47 — Waikato Khmer Association before the split, 2002 Courtesy of the Waikato Khmer Association



Figure 7.48 — A legal firm was used to settle the leadership issues, 2004 Author's collection

The fact that the executive committee called an AGM, according to its constitution it led to its dissolution by default. Instead of dismissing the vice-president, and reelecting the executive committee, the AGM dismissed all of the executive members and called for a new election of leaders. It had cost the association more than \$4,000 by the time it was over. The losing group of leaders walked away to form another trust, the vice-president became the elected president, and unfortunately the association members had to pick berries to pay off the lawyers' fees. The Buddhist supporters said to those losers: "You threw the rice husk against the wind that hurt yourselves." One said "If you catch the snake by its neck, you have to hold it tight or it will bite you" (misnninggini i jintingingini). Supporters of those leaders were hurt and hoped to return the following year to exercise their rights

But, as usual, the people from the losing group went on to form another organisation, the Waikato Cambodian Trust, in April 2004, and its leadership then aligned with the Cambodian Association (Auckland). Soon after, it bought a property to build another Khmer Buddhist temple, and the Trust sponsors two monks to work for their group.

Personally, I came away with mixed feelings. On the one hand, I felt happy since people were beginning to make their own choice for their community. There was one more Khmer Buddhist temple in Hamilton. The Waikato Cambodian Trust, again similar to the Cambodian Association (Auckland), used a Buddhist temple to support their trust. On the other hand, I felt sad to see the Waikato Khmer community beginning to factionalise, and to see how various associations sought to control their temple in isolation and used Buddhism as their political tool to attract people for membership of their association or trust. I thought I did them a favour in finding a reconciliatory solution, but my involvement in this event landed me more problems as I was pulled into the regional community politics. This was also one of the pitfalls of participation when an insider researcher found it difficult to maintain neutrality.

Conflict Resolution and Leadership

The conflicts outlined above were solved in different ways. Negotiations were not focused on finding the best solution, but on winning over other parties and not seeking compromise. The losing party would rather back out and move away to form its own group. The break-away group in Hamilton formed another trust, the Waikato Cambodian Trust. A group in Auckland went on to incorporate another association, The Cambodian Community of New Zealand. The Khmer community had become so crowded that leaders are not able to accommodate everyone's differences and needs.

The attitude of "it is not possible to have two tigers in one hill" has been obvious in the Khmer community in New Zealand. Old acquaintances and friends have become foes. They have fought for their own turf in their "Little Cambodia". A young man who is distanced from this community politics commented:

No matter whether the leaderships is good or bad, they still have their followers. Right and wrong became blurred and they moved together to contemplate their group's interest. Right or wrong was irrelevant. People shifted camps according to their personal interest or to save face. They cannot co-operate as a united community.

Friends became enemies, and sometimes enemies became allies or friends. Also people shifted camps because some of them accepted the concept of an enemy of my enemy is my friend. These Cambodian associations or trusts can be seen as groups whose leaders have used Buddhism to attract supporters, formed isolated groups, and tried to undermine others.

Buddhist monks who used to be free from any layman control, have now become volunteer employees of a temple which is under the management of an association or trust. These monks also became polarised due to affiliation to a temple, and their relationships with monks from other temple were tainted. Instead of fostering Buddhism as a whole, some Khmer leaders become myopic and focus only on their group or temples, which in turn has denied Khmer Buddhism the opportunity to become stronger in the Khmer transnational community.

Conclusion

Cambodians share many cultural traits and a common history. Their sense of belonging, social ties, and the perceived social support from their groups give impetus to solidarity among individuals who act together to fulfil their socio-cultural needs. The majority of these Cambodians believe that they have adapted well and reported that they were satisfied with their lives. They embrace the Kiwi way of life and are able at the same time to regenerate their contemporary Khmer identity. As citizens of

New Zealand, the Khmer Kiwis have seized opportunities to engage in various socioeconomic activities and chose the country as their new home. Their individual and communal achievements are indisputably a success. These Cambodians have established a normal life and their communities have become visible. They are proud of their Khmer heritage. The group diversity resulted in multiple discourses and competition between sectarian groups, but this has created "chaotic order" (Gow 2005:196), in which groups have fenced themselves off from each other to protect their specific group interests.

The members of the Cambodian communities have a sense of group belonging that has enabled different associations to maintain their membership in the larger group. Membership and affiliation is fluid, as Cambodians have participated in various associations across the Khmer community. Belonging to multiple groups, and the mercurial nature of their membership, has generated a competitive environment for those associations and their management. Although the Buddhist associations share common values and a common history, the styles of management for the fulfilment of an individual's values by an association or temple are different. People's shared emotional connection has led to the emergence of a variety of leaders.

As the Khmer say: "Bours duoy wat chit duoy khlourn" (gotth tofg rgth tog s) — monks ordained in different temples have different thoughts. Their difference in opinions has provoked disagreements and fragmentation within the Khmer community as a whole. Their social ties and perceived social support within the fragmented groups led to the formation of new associations. Associations compete among themselves to gain ascendancy and, in doing so, fail in their common role of representing Cambodians in the public arena as they present a fragmented, not united, front. Efforts to co-ordinate these associations and get them to co-operate in the form of a unified, umbrella body have just begun, but two associations have rejected this effort. The existence of these associations in isolation has weakened the representation of Cambodians and the united voice of the Khmer community in terms of political participation in New Zealand.

Although Cambodians practise a variety of religions, the majority of Cambodians are Buddhist. The practice of Cambodian Buddhism in New Zealand can be seen as a form of the "re-spatialisation" of an ethnic group outside of their home country (Vertovec 2000:10). They have their ethnic, religious or spiritual space where they can belong and maintain their cultural identity. The Khmer identity endows its members with a consciousness of who they are, and also of where they stand in relation to each other, and in relation to the New Zealand society as a whole. In this respect, Khmer people have been involved in various social activities and their interest in having a centre for Khmer Buddhism has pulled them together to become a Buddhist community of practice (cf Wenger 1998).

Friendship and camaraderie have enabled group cohesion which has allowed their group leaderships to emerge through ability and expertise. As the community has become mature, it was inevitable that individuals have had enough confidence to assume communal leadership. This has sometimes led to intense challenge, confrontation and fragmentation of their community when friends became enemies. As community politics brewed up, groups of leaders walked away from associations to form new groups, none of which "was prestigious enough" to be able to co-ordinate the activities of others or represent them (cf. Humphrey 1987:238). They did not use violence, but used a legal approach for their conflict resolution. These groups then compete for their membership. Although this fragmentation seems to be negative, it has created a competitive environment in which members of the Khmer community can exercise a choice to belong, and are proud of themselves. They have accumulated social capital within their own groups, and own valuable communal property such as buildings and land in form of a temple or cultural centre.

The Cambodians are also re-creating their former routines and observances in the context of a new space and timeframe in which they have to make compromises with the host society. This can involve changes in the timing of festivities and in their duration, which is often shortened to be practical in the spirit of integrating into the New Zealand society. The Khmer community is in constant flux, but they have been able to reassert a contemporary Khmer Buddhist identity, and the majority of the Cambodians in this study believe that they have adapted successfully to New Zealand society. Cambodians' desire for recognition implies an acknowledgement of their difference, and their socio-cultural movements are a statement through which they can meet, argue, and deal with conflict within their communities.

Chapter 8 — Conclusions: Khmer Kiwis and their Khmer Buddhist Transnational Community

Introduction

This final chapter provides me with an opportunity to provide an overview of the key points in my thesis, to reflect on the theories and processes of community building in the context of migrant communities, and to make some final comments on my own research involvements. My thesis is an academic document, but it also documents the unique formation of Khmer Kiwi communities and the issues of positionality encountered by a researcher who originates from within these communities.

Aotearoa/New Zealand accepted 4,446 adults and children from Cambodia between 1975 and 1997, granted them permanent residency, and offered initial comprehensive assistance as a safety net for their resettlement. Soon after their arrival, these new residents settled down in the various parts of Aotearoa/New Zealand, began to mend their broken lives, and became a new addition to Aotearoa/New Zealand's multicultural mosaic. Their adaptation was by no means simple, but, owing to the early intervention and assistance from the New Zealand hosts, Cambodians who have a very different cultural heritage from the host society gained confidence which ultimately led to at least partial social inclusion. They moved on to become residents and citizens of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and embarked on their new way of life while they strived to live their Khmer way of life in their new home.

Cambodians were grateful for New Zealand's generous assistance. The Government secured their welfare, health care, and housing, and their children's education, while sponsors and volunteers connected them with Kiwi ways of life and social networks. Through this government and community partnership programme, the majority of these new residents gained employment which enabled their socio-economic advancement, and found strength to control their lives and to improve their standard of living. This was manifest by the acquisition of new household items, and family cars, and for many, the move from rental accommodation to owning a family home. Their resident status, and later the acquisition of New Zealand citizenship, legitimised their belonging to the society at large which has offered a range of opportunities for Cambodians to assert their identity.

The "portability of national identity" (Vertovec 2001b:12) has enabled Cambodians to benefit from multiple belongings and social memberships and rights.

In the home, they socialised with other Cambodians and realised that their Khmer way of life was diminishing due to alternative resettlement needs, the lack of cultural materials, or their inclination toward the New Zealand way of life (Hawley 1986; Abbott 1989; Liev 1995; North 1997; Thou 1989). On the one hand, younger-generation Cambodians became more Kiwi-ised than their parents and widened the generation gap. On the other hand, everyone had to cope with their urgent needs to learn English and learn new social norms and conventions to adapt to their new way of life. Their socio-economic engagement eased their inclusion within the New Zealand societal framework and endorsed their legitimacy. However, their adoption of some New Zealand ways encroached on their Khmer cultural practices and heritage even at home.

On the socio-cultural front, like exiles elsewhere, Cambodians living in New Zealand were characterised by a dialogical tension as they attempted to position themselves within the Khmer diaspora as well as within the New Zealand society. Cambodians faced a dilemma of forced choices between reviving their Khmer way of life and embarking on a new way of life in New Zealand. Cultural trade-offs were inevitable, due to the priority accorded to the New Zealand socio-economic reality, and paved the way for cultural fusion and fission. While geo-political events in Cambodia isolated the Cambodians from their country of origin, they were connected with other diasporic Cambodians in the other settlement countries and in New Zealand who had to recuperate, restore and maintain their culture according to their experiences, needs, visions, collective memory and imagination.

In the early 1980s, there were few Khmer cultural materials and no public communal cultural events or ethnoscapes which can be identified as Cambodian. During their resettlement, individuals felt isolated, and their collective memory and rootedness in Cambodia created a sense of belonging and social interaction in New Zealand. Memory, therefore, played an important role in their identity of being Khmer. Cultural practice was confined to the private home during their settlement, and it was difficult for Khmer cultural heritage to co-exist with the New Zealand way of life. There were major challenges to how Cambodians spoke their language, cooked their ethnic food, held on to their beliefs, and lived as Khmer, while New Zealanders in general tolerated but did not encourage the maintenance of their culture.

The isolation from Cambodia and the rest of the world encouraged internal social cohesion and shared interest in their Khmer diaspora. Among themselves, Cambodians have created local networks of friends and relatives. Individuals shared their experiences and learned from each other. Similar to Ong's (2003) findings on Cambodians in the USA and Morris, Vokes and Chang (2007) on Koreans in New Zealand, gossip played a significant role in shaping the boundary of social inclusion and in testing the doubts floating around the Cambodian networks in New Zealand. These local networks welcomed new arrivals and gave momentum to the formation of a local Khmer community in the form of various associations.

Cambodians accommodated a state of compromise: their resettlement would help them to overcome their economic hardship, but it would also erode their Khmer heritage. The trade-offs were obvious: Khmer cultural communal events such as Khmer New Year, *Phchium Ben, Kathin* and weddings or funerals were shortened and rescheduled to the closest weekend. Cambodians found it difficult to have a communal place and time to conduct their cultural and religious events, which enabled them to make merit and keep in touch with the spirit of their ancestors and family members who lost their lives during the Khmer Rouge regime.

Socio-cultural and spiritual needs, partly due to cultural bereavement (Doron 2005; Eisenbruch 2006), led Cambodians to establish local networks and associations that were based on ethnicity or religious belief. The majority of Cambodians in New Zealand are Buddhists. Together, they sponsored Khmer monks from Cambodia and established Buddhist temples that were managed by an association or trust, and these became the backbone of their identity and their ongoing community development. As time went by, the community has become mature, various leaderships have emerged, and further community fragmentation has been common. Creating unity in diversity was one of their concerns. In Auckland alone, in 2001 there were five registered associations, three Buddhist temples, a Chinese ancestor worship temple, and a church — to serve the Cambodian population of 2,553.

I have described how the Cambodian community has developed in New Zealand since 1975, and identified strategies, coping mechanisms and patterns of interaction within the ethnic communities and New Zealand society. Within their community, they scrutinised and reassembled their Khmer identity through collective imagination, memory and negotiation, from which emerged a Khmer Buddhist community of practice and contested community leaderships. Transnational links have reinforced contemporary

Khmer identity as well. The majority of the Cambodians in my study consider themselves Khmer Kiwi and have reasserted their Khmer Buddhist identity. The Cambodian adaptation confirms Tarling's comment (2005) that co-existence between cultures and groups can be both integrative and divisive. Cambodians' different attitudes to social engagement and accommodation have created conditions for co-operation and fusion, as well as for conflict and differentiation.

I have discussed how these settlers have assessed their cultural maintenance in terms of how their Buddhist communities are run, and I have used various cases to depict community development and leadership. Leaders have wrestled each other for domination, and more fragmentation has resulted. Often Khmer leaders did not compromise to resolve differences but walked away with their supporters to save face or to join or form another community. This pattern of conflicts has also been found in the various ethnic communities in Australia (Humphrey 1987) and the USA (Hein 1995; Ledgerwood 1990). Leaders and practitioners of each community protected their territory and interest, which subsequently created a demarcation of sub-divisions of Khmer community. Local Cambodian communities in recent years still work in isolation, and so far do not have a consolidated body to represent them at the national level and to co-ordinate their common interests.

The Cambodian community is complex. Through the process of this research, I found that, although a sound methodology helps to achieve good results, the task of undertaking research can be vulnerable to political agendas. This study has enabled me to draw various conclusions on methodology in terms of my positionality and the mixed-methods approach, the various factors that affected the adaptation of Cambodians in New Zealand, their shared memory and imagination which enabled them to reconstruct their cultural identity, the re-spatialisation of the Khmer community by creating an ethnoscape in the form of a Khmer centre or temple, and its leadership formation, challenges and roles.

Reflections on Research Process

My positionality, due to my ongoing community involvement and affiliation hindered the research process when some quarters of the Khmer community declined to participate. My impartiality as an expert witness in *tontine* — a rotating savings and credit association

(ROSCA) — and as a mediator in marital disputes from the late 1990s onwards has sometimes created more enemies than friends. The losing parties in these situations believe that I have favoured the other party, and as the result they did not return my questionnaire.

I also found out that some Cambodians were too reserved to talk about the financial aspects of their life. Any questions about personal finance, income and housing were met with suspicion, and a decline in potential participants. People did not want to share information on these issues, because they feared retribution from the Inland Revenue or welfare agencies.

As an insider researcher, I faced presumption issues (O'Conner 2004) from potential participants that an outsider researcher would not face, as my affiliation with a certain group excluded or distanced me from other rival groups. Participants' allegiances and conflicts of interest, arising from complicated community politics, predated and affected my research. Even a reconciliatory approach to use members of opposing factions as project advisors was declined. Ethnic insider researchers gain acceptance or rejection more quickly because of their prior status in their ethnic community.

To overcome such hurdles and to establish an ethical framework within the complexities of community representation and politics (Mackenzie et al. 2007), I sought consent and endorsement from various leaders and gatekeepers (Bloch 1999) and used a mixed-methods approach to investigate the development of the contemporary Cambodian community in New Zealand. My task was to seek information on personal views on resettlement, on peoples' lives as Cambodians in New Zealand, and their roles in the formation, existence and operation of the Cambodian community, as active members of this community. Constant reflexivity also allowed me to resolve methodological issues and to make an informed interpretation of what I experienced, observed, felt and presented in this thesis.

My mixed-methods approach used two focus groups as a pilot study, a postal survey, and participant observation as an interactive continuum of mixed-methods research methodology to gain information. I could merge, connect and embed these strands of information to illuminate Cambodian settlers' approaches to living a Khmer life in New Zealand, the process of defining their identity, and the dynamism of leadership in building their Khmer community. I also had to ensure that my dual position as an insider/outsider researcher of the Khmer community would not compromise the standard of my methodology and the quality of collected data and information. Demonstration of informed consent was also an issue with a community with refugee backgrounds. Some participants

were reluctant to sign the consent form, although they filled in the questionnaire. This experience was similar to that of Liu (1982) and North (1995) in their research with refugees. The participants from focus groups were familiar with the researcher, and signing a consent form was simple. For the various associations and temples which allowed my participant observation, my presence in the community became a fixture and seemed natural to them as I was an insider as well as a researcher.

Non-participation in the postal survey limited the representativeness of data, which by default became a bias by omission. As I was thus not able to describe the experiences of those individuals and associations who did not participate, the generalisations that can be drawn from this aspect of the study are thereby limited. For those who agreed to participate, their response from the postal survey enabled me to reach individuals with whom I was not able to have direct contact. Fifty-seven respondents shared with me their family life history, their aspirations, their resettlement issues and assistance, citizenship, household activities, housing, employment, income, social participation, personal view on identity, values, and the outcome of their adaptation. The quality of data was very good, although there were some omissions or missing values.

The mixed-methods approach allowed me to redress the omissions from nonparticipation as they were partially compensated for by my participant observation. Also, contacts through personal networks helped triangulate required information, and enabled me to by-pass those who were using their position in their communities to block participation and filter information. Although some associations formally declined participation, some of their prominent members were willing to participate through layers of personal networks. They shared inside stories of their groups beyond those gatekeepers. This multifaceted approach, in combination with the existing body of literature and data from various censuses, created an alternative platform from which I could gain relevant information and data across the whole Khmer community, and access valuable materials for this longitudinal research. One thing that can be learned from this experience is that, although there are obstacles and problems in studying a factionalised community, an insider researcher should not be discouraged by the complexity of community politics and rejection. There is always an avenue within research ethics and methodology that can reach participants beyond gatekeepers and gain reliable information.

The focus groups were the most pleasant and effective form of sharing information and discussion in Khmer. Throughout the session, participants were free to talk, and the outcomes were rich and interactive due to the facilitator's training and skills. The well

respected and friendly facilitator, and the familiar venue, created a safe atmosphere in which participants could share their stories and views in a more effective way.

Participant observation was time-consuming, as a researcher can observe only one thing at a time. Nonetheless, participant observation was a rewarding method, providing fresh, hands-on experience of various situations, whether pleasant or tense. People's actions or discussions provided not just the contents of the subject, but also the unspoken aspects of their approach or body language that were manifested along the way.

Sharing the same language and custom made my observation easy and effective. Time was fluid in the meetings or events that I attended. Committee meetings were always at least one hour late and dragged on until the issues were resolved. The presence of the monks in those meetings soothed the atmosphere. I noticed that time slowed as the Cambodians transformed themselves away from their fast-moving and time-conscious Kiwi environment and returned to their Khmer cocoon in which the passage of time was irrelevant.

Outside of those meetings, I interviewed people and observed the events and people's participation in them. While they were able to tell me what they were doing, when I asked the reasons behind what they were doing, some of them did not know and referred me to the monks, the *achars*, or more educated people. Some others would say they followed the way of their elders as tradition: t g m u s conv g s m i n u g m u g

Data and information gained from this mixed-methods research, in combination with my involvement in ongoing community work, has enabled me, with interdisciplinary perspectives, to identify the various events and factors that have assisted or impeded the development of the Cambodian community in New Zealand since 1975. The complexity of the community and my positionality in it constricted the choice of my research framework.

The concepts of integration and transnationalism allowed this study to harness this conceptual framework for analysing impacts of Khmer resettlement from different

perspectives, and gave opportunities to assess people's views on their life trajectory and the outcomes of their adaptation in the context of cultural maintenance and identity management. Although the concepts are broadly defined, I was able to use it as a guide for my work on Cambodian's social cohesion, belonging, identification, realisation, inclusion, legitimacy and participation as citizens of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Factors Critical to Successful Adaptation

Government assistance in the form of welfare benefits and state rental houses provided a safety net for newcomers and alleviated resettlement issues. The involvement of volunteers and sponsors eased refugees' acclimatisation, acculturation, and their engagement and inclusion in the New Zealand socio-economic sphere, including in employment, access to public services, and use of local amenities. The majority of the sponsors were liberal and patient, and Cambodian settlers were grateful for their valuable gifts of time, understanding and assistance; and these relationships resulted in long-lasting friendships.

Unfortunately, some Cambodians had to leave the first place of their resettlement because of unemployment or isolation. They rejoined the network of their Cambodian friends or relatives in larger centres. While such moves disappointed some volunteers, it was also a sign of individuals regaining their confidence and becoming independent. Cambodians who moved away from Christchurch, Dunedin, or Palmerston North explained that there was nothing wrong with the place; the people were friendly and helpful and the support system was great, but they needed to move in order to find employment rather than be spoon-fed from the welfare system. As a man from Christchurch says: "The dole doesn't make you feel good." "It's better to be a seasonal berry-picker in Hamilton, than to have no job," said a man from Palmerston North.

Cambodian groups burgeoned in the main cities of New Zealand due to availability of employment and the support network of fellow Khmers. Adults went to work, and children went to school. Adults went to evening English classes, and some had a home tutor. In 1985, a survivor of the Khmer Rouge regime became the first Khmer student other than the Colombo Plan students to complete a university degree in New Zealand. By 2001, 126 Cambodians who had gained a degree from a New Zealand university still lived in the country (2001 Census: Ethnic Groups: 238) while other Khmer graduates went to work overseas because of employment opportunities. Although it looks minute compared

to total New Zealand emigration, this migration created a loss which has been critical to Khmer community development as a large chunk of a potential new generation of leadership has been depleted.

Initially, almost all Cambodians worked in the processing and manufacturing industry. Women with young children worked from home, making paper-bags and sewing, to make extra money for their family needs. Although Cambodians had individual bank accounts, they also saved their money in the form of a *tontine*. Once they had saved enough money, they bought a new home appliance, a family car, a family home (by 2001, 1,119 people lived in their own home), or a family business.

The economic downturn of the late 1980s led to the closure of car manufacturers in New Zealand. Former Cambodian car assemblers used their redundancy money to start a family business, such as a bakery or a lunch bar. Alongside this, there was a move away from the main cities, and small businesses, especially bakeries and fruit shops, were set up in various townships, such as Ashburton, Nelson, Whangarei, Orewa, Paeroa, Raglan, Rotorua, Thames, and Huntly.

At home, the majority of Cambodians tried to transfer themselves back into a Cambodian setting. Adults spoke their language to children, but the children's replies were usually in English. As the home environment was flooded with English materials and media — such as magazines, newspapers, radio and television — generation gaps widened as schoolchildren took in the host culture and language.

Cambodian parents were concerned about the erosion of the Khmer language and their Khmer way of life, but they had no choice as they and their children needed to learn English to succeed at school and to survive at work. Older siblings played an important role in taking care of their younger siblings. Although gaps were appearing, Khmer parents retained their family closeness as much as they could. They took pride in their children's educational accomplishments and displayed graduation pictures in the hall or lounge.

Cambodians made friends with fellow workers, neighbours and Cambodians in their area, and created social networks for companionship and support in diaspora. They spent time together during the weekend, shared Khmer food, gossiped and exchanged their views about life in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Although they had known each other just for a relatively short time, Cambodians in this country had a high level of mutual trust and support that cemented their group bond and social cohesion.

A series of factors assisted Cambodians in their adaptation. The on-arrival resettlement programme and volunteer support in the community was a crucial driving

force in rehabilitating Khmer refugees in a foreign environment. The New Zealand Government and volunteers found a way of assisting Cambodians to become full and active residents. The people's willingness to make new friends and start new jobs and, later, businesses, gave them a head start for their new life. Their life was tied to their homeland, their refugee experience and the country of their residence. The majority of Khmers accepted reality and accommodated their new way of life, while at the same time they used their ethnic network to preserve their heritage according to the availability of time and space. Their flexibility has enabled them to adjust to the New Zealand socioeconomic conditions and to learn to exercise their rights and duties as residents, and later as citizens.

Khmer Kiwis

The majority of Cambodians gained citizenship within five years of resettlement and pledged allegiance toward their new home country. They have exercised their rights and duties by participating in local and general elections. They were no longer at the periphery of the New Zealand society, but had gained a legitimacy and inclusion which made them very proud to be New Zealand citizens. They had acquired a formal legal identity, equal rights, and freedom of movement and expression. About half of the Cambodians who came to New Zealand as refugees eventually moved to Australia after they had gained their New Zealand citizenship. From this perspective, citizenship did not just mean living in the country, but also gaining a connection to the country which they can use as a stepping-stone to freedom of movement outside of the country of citizenship. The Cambodian participants who wished to remain in New Zealand found it was a good, peaceful country with good people and a good environment.

Cambodian settlers made new friends through their sponsors, school, and work. Their engagement with New Zealand society in the form of employment, socialisation and citizenship paved the way for their socio-political participation and freedom (McGrath, Butcher, Pickering and Smith 2005). There were individuals who stood in local body elections and for a political party in the general election, but success here has yet to be achieved. They have kept in touch with local members of Parliament and approached them for assistance. The New Zealand environment and its social and legal systems have had a significant influence in shaping Cambodians' way of life and their cultural identity in this country. Khmer Kiwis have to a certain degree changed what they think, their way of doing things, and what they produce. One outcome of this legitimacy and inclusion has been the increasing use of emergency numbers (111) to call the Police for protection from violence in the home. Cambodians have begun to have confidence in using the legal system to settle their disputes, such as in *tontine*, divorce, and criminal matters. One family successfully took a sponsor to court and charged him with child molestation.

The majority of the Cambodians are proud of their survival and resettlement success. From the legacy of peace, war, flight, and resettlement, they often shared their life experiences with friends and relatives. Their storytelling revealed the legacy of loss, trauma, pain, and adventure which brought them as refugees to New Zealand. They still had tears in their eyes and lumps in their throat even three decades on, when sharing the epics of their traumatic loss of loved ones and their life prior to their arrival in New Zealand. Sharing stories of their resettlement became more pleasant and comic when they ridiculed themselves over their cross-cultural mishaps and cultural misunderstandings. They laughed until they shed tears. They were proud of their personal achievement, which began with their "bare hands" and now found peace and normality in their routine.

Most Cambodians are proud of being Khmer. They continue to celebrate their communal events, in which Khmer Theravada Buddhism plays a major part. Ceremonies and events described in the previous chapters can be seen as forums that maintain and transmit Khmer heritage and community cohesion, and express Khmer identity.

As the world has become more fluid, national boundaries make less difference to the potential for transnational life. Khmer Kiwis see their dual-belonging as a bonus they can have the best of both worlds and embrace the best practice of their new country. Khmer women have become more assertive and independent. Men have become more tolerant and have curbed their domestic violence. Young adults have more freedom in dating and in choosing their husband or wife. Intermarriage has been on the increase. Children have gained higher education. Occasionally, families enjoy fish and chips, or have pies when going fishing or on a day trip. And recently Cambodian bakers have won various national pie-making competitions. A Christchurch Cambodian shattered the world record for speed in mussel shucking. Personally, Cambodians have found their new life rewarding and peaceful.

Khmer culture at home has been in a state of flux as it intermingles with Kiwi culture. Khmer Kiwis take sides with the New Zealand teams in international matches or competitions. They watch the evening local news, and at the same time keep up with the news in Cambodia through their broadband internet. They send email or text messages about any concerns to relatives or friends who are overseas or in Cambodia, and they make a trip to Cambodia if necessary. Cambodians have taken in these elements of New Zealand practice and culture, as a form of the gradual adoption of Kiwi culture in their integration in the New Zealand society. My finding in this respect is similar to the findings in America by Hein (1995), Hopkins (1996) and Smith-Hefner (1999) that Cambodian settlers' adaptation is neither harshly assimilationist nor the successful retention of their identity fully intact. The Khmer, through imagination within the New Zealand reality, choose a middle-path in their identity management, and make it up along the way from both cultures to suit their preferences and needs. The majority of participants in my survey were pleased with their adaptation and were proud to call themselves Khmer Kiwis as they pulled together to create a common space for a contemporary Khmer way of life in New Zealand.

Local Development for Socio-cultural Needs

During the early 1980s, Cambodians conducted their Buddhist communal celebrations and rites of passage without the presence of a Khmer monk. They needed Khmer Buddhist monks and a place for their wellbeing.

As their local social networks grew, around the mid-1980s Cambodian settlers became incorporated into associations in an ad-hoc manner. Their main goals were to provide social and cultural gatherings, and support for local Cambodian diasporic life. They sponsored monks and fundraised to build a place for Khmer Buddhist worship. With the help of their monks, the majority of Cambodians began to reassert their Khmer identity in the form of a community of Khmer Buddhists. Their shared values in Buddhism and Khmer cultural interests shaped the identity of the group, and Cambodians began their quest for community development. These Cambodians introduced Khmer Theravada Buddhism and temples as the pivotal centre for their shared identity management within the boundary of their diasporic community. Besides Buddhism, they kept cultural heritage that was significant and necessary to their contemporary life and dropped what was trivial and not important, as they saw fit. People used gossip to address various doubts about individuals and issues in their community. On some occasions, gossip without good foundation led to argument and confrontation that finally destroyed group cohesion when there was loss of face. Gossip was used in informal group forums to shape and share their values on unacceptable behaviour, such as promiscuity, love affairs, cheating, misconduct, gambling, and petty crime, on particular people living within their group, and on community practice.

On occasion, Cambodians have had to invent their identity and practice when appropriate. For instance, they made up a community flag instead of the national flag of Cambodia, and flew it during the Field Days in Hamilton in 1984 and at the opening ceremony of the Commonwealth Games in 1990. Khmer arts and aesthetics were shaped by local community events, in forms of decoration, clothing, music, dance, and the presentation of food. They still had strong Khmer cultural elements and were still appreciated by the Khmer Kiwis.

The Politics of Buddhism in the Khmer Community

Khmer Buddhist practitioners have been confronted, on the one hand, by the external environment as the host society directly and indirectly imposes restrictions on the development of the Khmer Buddhist community. On the other hand, these practitioners have been confronted by various associations or trusts which did not follow Buddhism as a practical guide to personal enlightenment, but as a tool to consolidate power over group leadership and status. From the interaction of people and their adaptation of Buddhism, Khmer community politics is fused with Buddhism. The reality of Khmer Buddhism is found not just in the words and practice of Theravada Buddhism, but in the manipulation of Buddhism by some Khmer leaders and organisations who have moulded it to achieve their own goals. These associations or trusts have fused power with Buddhism to maintain the lead in the Khmer community by having a Buddhist temple as their stronghold since it can generate excellent financial returns.

Cambodian temple supporters are also a part of these politics, since they take sides with their leaders and oil the wheels of these associations or trusts in the name of Khmer Theravada Buddhism. The need to save face — since losing face is a "serious [personal] injury" (Ponchaud 1977:4) — by those leaders and their rivals, has given momentum to competitive Khmer Buddhist community development. This dynamism has increased the

number of Khmer temples in Auckland and Hamilton, but the quality of the practice of Buddhism and its role as an ethical guide is still in question.

Compromised Cultural Practice in the Khmer Transnational Community

Khmer cultural practice and Buddhist practice in New Zealand were readjusted and updated when overseas Cambodians were allowed to visit their home country after 1993. Their return visit to Cambodia and the coming of new Khmer migrants to New Zealand created permanent transnational links for the Khmer Kiwi community with their homeland. Khmer cultural practice has been scrutinised, modified, and relaxed to fit their transnational life in New Zealand. All of the Khmer public events — such as Khmer New Year, *Phchium Ben* — are held on Sundays and celebrated at the temple. Khmer weddings have been held on Saturdays and shortened.

The building project of the Khmer Centre at Takanini is an example of transplanting an ethnic culture in the context of a host society, where the legal and administrative systems are Eurocentric and expect Buddhist practice to comply with the New Zealand context. For instance, the Auckland Regional Council (ARC) objection to the location of a Khmer temple at Takanini outside of the metropolitan urban limit (MUL) assumes that a Khmer Buddhist temple is similar to a Christian church that is in the city. In fact, a Khmer temple is always built outside of the city or township, but as time goes by the city or township grows and surrounds the temple. The original height and colours of the buildings also needed to change in order to conform to resource management restrictions. Furthermore, similar to a case in Australia involving temple construction (Waitt 2003), its neighbours were not happy with the plan and formed an association to object to the development. The local Kiwis saw this development as a threat to their local environment. Cambodians have found it impossible to keep the temple's identity in its original form, and Cambodians are disappointed that New Zealand, as a multicultural society, appears to be lack tolerance in accommodating cultural diversity.

Another example of objection was when the Waikato Khmer Association had to relocate its temple to Ohaupo as its neighbours in Melville did not support their resource management application. In response to this objection, the group used a different strategy: it bought an existing community hall in Ohaupo since that does not require any resource consent. But the group still needs to renovate the place to conform to the building consent regulations.

This pressure has created more challenge for those Cambodians who are determined to reassert their Khmer identity in the form of a Khmer Buddhist temple. As a result, Cambodians from various backgrounds and expertise have come together to face this challenge and have formed a Khmer Buddhist community of practice with the aim of reclaiming their Khmer Buddhist identity.

Emergence of Leadership through Khmer Buddhist Community of Practice

Various professionals, monks, Khmer Buddhists and laypeople were pulled together by the threat of cultural erosion and the lack of opportunity for Khmer cultural practice in New Zealand. Three groups have emerged as communities of practice. Their leadership has emerged from their individual expertise and has formed with the purpose of redressing cultural bereavement (Eisenbruch 2006) and being able to live in a way that expresses their Khmer heritage.

Since 2004, engineers, architects, draughtsmen, teachers, lawyers, planners, surveyors, and Khmer leaders were pulled together by their shared aspiration in having a Khmer Buddhist centre in Takanini. They shared their knowledge from various backgrounds to form a body of knowledge which they hope will convince the regional authority to grant their resource consent. This group's interest is to make a communal space to preserve Khmer character and introduce an icon which represents Khmer heritage. Their efforts to lobby and find the best practical compromise solution for the acceptance of Khmer design in the form of Khmer Buddhist style have created a contemporary Khmer building design and architecture, to form a Khmer ethnoscape which can co-exist harmoniously in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The shared interest in having a high standard in Buddhist practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand led to a formation of the Khmer Buddhist Council of New Zealand in 2007. Members of this group were to meet every three months to oversee the best practice to promote Khmer Theravada Buddhism. Buddhist monks and Buddhist laypeople from various temples around New Zealand will meet once every year to discuss in a public forum ways to improve their religious practice and the exposure of Buddhism in the Khmer community. This group focuses on Buddhist teaching and practice. This is heavily

dependent on the future role of the monks within the Khmer Kiwi community and the local interpretation of Khmer Buddhism.

Khmer families and individuals have been the main cultural carriers who have successfully brought up their families in Aotearoa/New Zealand with a Khmer heritage. Thanks to the endeavours of these individuals and families, Khmer culture survives within the New Zealand environment.

These three groups have joined forces with members of their community to live their life as Khmer through cultural communal rites and celebrations. Cambodians laypeople, Khmer Buddhists, elders, monks, and Khmer professionals — interact and exchange their cultural knowledge and practice through communal events. Their meeting, planning, preparation, discussion, organisation, and celebrations have become a living medium of transmission of Khmer culture and practice which has the potential to enable inter-generational Cambodians and friends to maintain, manage and develop their unique contemporary Khmer identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand and live happily as Khmer Kiwis.

Emergence of a Khmer Kiwi Community Identity

Khmer refugees, like other refugees, were uprooted (Westermeyer 1987:78–89) and faced various unfamiliar issues during settlement. Their adaptation to the New Zealand socioeconomic environment was by no means simple, and Cambodians used a communal approach to work their way through their plight. Factors such as the resilience of a people, their experience such as bereavement (Kuhlman 1991:12; Eisenbruch 2006; Doron 2005) through the process of becoming refugees (Mortland 1994), and the holistic framework of Cambodian resettlement have affected the development of their Khmer ethnic community identification. Resettlement does not wipe out their memory (Colson 2003:9), but rather acts as a catalyst for Cambodians to reassemble their memory of shared experience of their past, which fine-tunes into a new strand of Khmer identity within the New Zealand context.

Cambodians are here to stay and call Aotearoa/New Zealand home, even though they remain connected with their country of origin through transnational activities. This study adds the transnational experience of Cambodians to the expanding literature on international migration. As the Cambodian transnational community in Aotearoa/New Zealand becomes fluid, its links consolidate, and the Khmer Kiwis have the potential to

enjoy the best of both worlds. This study also reveals that transnational links have encouraged other Cambodians to resettle in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

This thesis adds knowledge of the experience of Khmer Theravada Buddhist practice outside of Cambodia. Cambodians with a refugee background have used religion and cultural practice as a means to assert identity. These combined features allowed Cambodians living in diaspora to enhance their spiritual wellbeing, move on with their life, and consolidate their adaptation. Transnationalism has revitalised Khmer Buddhist practice, strengthened religion in diaspora, and given a new hope for cultural maintenance. This study also reveals that adaptation affects the host community, too, with the newcomers and the host community needing to find an acceptable way to live together.

The Cambodian community maintains their Khmer heritage within the space and time restrictions dictated by New Zealand social and legal frameworks. Fortunately, Cambodians have not been discouraged by the weak multiculturalist environment. In their New Zealand home, the Cambodians have embraced their new way of life, within which they have found a possibility to fuse their positive and relevant Khmer cultural components to enrich their personal and communal life. By 2006, the Cambodian community had grown to 6,918, to become the seventh largest Asian group in New Zealand, and Buddhism is still the religion of the majority of this group (Statistics New Zealand 2007:4). Through the years, Khmer Theravada Buddhism has emerged as one of the salient features of the Khmer Kiwi community identity.

Conclusion

The findings of my study provide an account of the practicalities of Cambodian community development in the context of contemporary multicultural New Zealand society in which the New Zealand Government and volunteers have facilitated the inclusion of the Cambodians from their arrival. Cambodians strive to engage as citizens, while at the same time they choose to live their Khmer way at home and within the community.

The process of an insider researcher conducting research within a small, fragmented ethnic community needs to consider political appropriateness as a crucial factor alongside sound technical approaches and methodology. As participation and access to relevant data become political, an insider needs to use a combination of methods in order to achieve trustworthy accounts. An insider researcher needs constant reminders about objectivity to ensure the representation and quality of information.

This study has indicated that an ethnic community with a refugee background still has to face structural hurdles — such as the Resource Management Act 1991 and neighbouring community objection — in an endeavour to maintain its community identity many years after its first establishment in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Instead of fostering diversity and multiculturalism, New Zealand's structural hurdles have compromised the dynamism of a small ethnic community development.

Efforts by Cambodians to adapt to the requirements of the New Zealand way of life and at the same time attempt to maintain their Khmer heritage have not been in vain, but illustrate the hard road to reforming their identify. Differing responses to such obstacles have also fragmented the community and revealed differing priorities. Some Cambodian organisations may be seen to have skilfully hijacked Buddhism to guarantee the existence of their leadership over fostering Buddhism as a shared Khmer community identity. Khmer Buddhist monks who have taken sides with their organisation have similarly fragmented the Buddhist monk community. However, recent developments in the Khmer Buddhist community of practice in some sections of the Cambodian community give hope for a revitalisation of Khmer Theravada Buddhism in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The identity of the Cambodian transnational community of the future depends both on the responsiveness of New Zealand's regulatory and social frameworks and on the wise exercising of power by Khmer leaders. The course of community development depends on the support of the Khmer members and newer migrants who began to integrate into New Zealand society. The Khmer way of life in Aotearoa/New Zealand has created a hybrid strand of Khmer identity that is physically and fundamentally fused with local practice. The degree of Khmerness is dependent on their contemporary identity management, according to the willingness of the Khmers to maintain their heritage and the attractiveness of the New Zealand culture on offer.

My thesis provides an understanding of the Khmers living in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the practice of Khmer Theravada Buddhism, and the adaptation of Khmer Buddhists in distinct places, times, and social contexts. It shows how the host community and the ethnic community have a shared influence on the form and process of Khmer Buddhist practices, which have developed into a shared identity of Cambodians in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

It is hoped that this thesis enables Cambodians in Aotearoa/New Zealand to identify more clearly some of the elements that make up the jigsaw puzzle of their community's development and adaptation to living in multi-ethnic Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Participants Information Sheet — Advisory Committee
Appendix 2 : Participant Information Sheet — Focus Group
Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet — Postal Questionnaire
Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet — Monks
Appendix 5: Participant Information Sheet — Sponsors and volunteers

Appendix 1: Participants Information Sheet — Advisory Committee

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND		Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland
•		Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET		

Title: Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand

Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development

To: Mr. / Mrs. / Ms. _

My name is Man Hau Liev. I am a student at the University of Auckland. I am conducting a research project as part of a PhD Degree in Development Studies. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my thesis on Cambodian Community Development and have chosen this field because of my interest in working with people from Cambodia. As part of my thesis I am conducting group discussions and interviews with people from Cambodia and would like to learn about Cambodian refugee settlement here since they came to New Zealand.

You are invited to join as a member of an advisory committee for this research, which will begin soon this year. I would appreciate your assistance and your role will provide guidance and monitor this research process in terms of socio-cultural understanding from designing, testing, interviewing, processing and presenting of the end results. I would prefer to audio/videotape the meeting but this would only be done with your consent and could be turned off at any time or you can withdraw information at any time. It is possible that, because of the small size of the community, Cambodians might recognise individuals from either descriptions of events, from biographical details or descriptions of people. But I would like to assure the confidentiality of your comments, and will endeavour to do my best to persuade the committee to do so. You are under no obligation at all to be selected. Also you may withdraw yourself, or your data without giving any reason within four weeks after the completion of the data collection.

The advisory committee is composed with a maximum of ten members who each of them represents the following organisations or groups: the council of the monks, Cambodian Association (Auckland) Inc., Auckland Khmer Buddhist Association, Cambodian Chinese Kung Luck Association, Recreational and Youth Trust, Khmer Krom Association, Waikato Khmer Association, Wellington Khmer association, Cambodian business group, and Khmer women and senior group.

If you do wish to participate and be interviewed please let me know by filling in a Consent Form and sending it to me as soon as possible or phoning me on Tel: (09) 267 2877 after working hours. You will be informed, upon your acceptance, the date and venue of the first meeting.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries, or wish to know more, please phone me at home at the number given above or write to me at:

Department of Development Studies

The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland. Tel 373-7599 Dr. Ward Friesen Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson My supervisors are: School of Geography and Department of Sociology Environmental Science Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612 Assoc-Professor Julie Park The Head of Department is: Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland. Tel. 3737-7599 extn

For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7999 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

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តោរពវានលោក លោកស្រី_____

ខ្ញុំបាទឈ្មោះ លីវ ម៉ាន់ យ៊េរ៉ា ជានិស្យិតបណ្ឌិតផ្នែកអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ នៅមហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្នកខ្លិន។ ខ្ញុំបាទធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវដើម្បីធ្វើនិក្ខេបទថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិត អំពីលំនាំជីវភ ាព

របស់អតីតជនភ្យៀសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន សមខ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរនឹងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម។ មូលហេតុនៃការសិក្យានេះគីខ្ញុំបាទមានការចាប់អារម្ម ណ៍លើការវិវត្តន៍លូតលាស់នៃសង្គមខ្មែរយើង និងការរក្យាវិហ្វាធមិខ្មែរយើងនៅប្រទេសញស្យេទ្យិននេះ។

យោលទៅតាមបំណងខាងលើ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមអញ្ជើញលោកនិងលោកស្រីដែលជាជនជាតិខ្មែរយើង ចូលរួមសលការជាមួយខ្ញុំបាទក្នុងសមត្ថភាពជាសមាជិកនៃគ ៣ កម្មការត្រួតពិនិត្យ ដែលមានតួនាទីជាអ្នកណែនាំផ្តល់មតិនិងត្រួតពិនិត្យដំណើរការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវរបស់ខ្ញុំបាទដែលនឹងរៀបចំធ្វើដំណើរការ ដែលនឹងចាប់ ផ្តើមនៅឆ្នាំ២០០២នេះ។ កិច្ចពិភក្សានេះមានរយៈប្រហែលជា១ម៉ោងកន្លះ។ ដោយសារសហគមខ្មែរយើងតួចនោះគេប្រហែលជាអាចស្គាល់ បុគ្គលខ្លះៗតាមរយៈព្រិត្តិការណ៍តាមប្រវត្តិប្តតាមរបាយការណ៍ តែយើងខ្ញុំសូមបញ្ជាក់ថា យើងខ្ញុំនឹងរក្សាជាសម្ងាត់នូវឈ្មោះបុគ្គលនិងម្នាស់យោបល់។ លើយបើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីអនុញ្ញាតិផងនោះ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមថតអាត់ដើម្បីសំរួលការសិក្សា។ លោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានសិទ្ធិគ្រប់ពេលនិងបិទម៉ាស៊ីនថតឬក៏ដកខ្លួន ឈប់ធ្វើសម្ភាស ឬក៏លុបខ្សែអាត់សំដីវិញ។ លោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានសិទ្ធិនឹងដកខ្លួនពីគណកម្មការ ឬដកយកសំដីឯកសារ

ដោយមិនចាំជាច់មានមូលហេតុក្នុងរយៈ៤អាទិត្យក្រោយពេលពិភក្សា។

តណកម្មការនេះមានសមាជិកដូចតទៅ: តំណាង១អង្គពិតណសង្ឃខ្មែរ, តំណាង១នាក់ពិសមាតមខ្មែរនៅអ្នកខ្លិន.

តំណាង១នាក់ពិពុទ្ធិកសមាគមខ្មែរនៅអ្នកខ្លិន.

តំណាង១នាក់ពិសមាគមចិនខ្មែរ_ខាំងឲ្យាក់នៅអ្វកខ្លិន. តំណាង១នាក់ពិសមាគមយុវជនខ្មែរនៅអ្វកខ្លិន. តំណាង១នាក់ពិសមាគមខ្មែរក្រោមនៅអ្វកខ្លិន. តំណាង១នាក់ពិសមាគមខ្មែរនៅជិកាតូ. តំណាង១នាក់ពិសមាគមខ្មែរក្រោមនៅដៃល្លីងតុន. តំណាង១នាក់ពិក្រុមពាណិជករនៅអ្វកខ្លិន និង តំណាង១នាក់ពិក្រុមព្រិខ្ធាចារ្យខ្មែរនៅអ្នកខ្លិន។

ខ្ញុំបាទមានជំនឿថាលោកន៏ងលោកស្រីន៏ងមិនទើសទាល់នឹងសលការនេះ។ បើសិនជាលោកន៏ងលោកស្រីយល់ព្រមចូលរួមនោះ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រី មេត្តាបំពេញពាក្យយល់ព្រមហើយបញ្ជូនតបតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រដែល ជួនភ្ជាប់នេះចែកទានផង។ កាលបរិច្ឆេទ. កន្លែងនឹងការប្រជុំ និងជំរាបថ្ងនតាមក្រោយ។ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមថ្លែងអំណរគុណដ៏ជ្រាលក្រៅចំពោះសមានចិត្តដ៏សច្បុរសនឹងពេលដ៏មានតម្លៃរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រី ដែលញ៉ាំងឱ្យការសិក្យានេះមានដំណើរការបា នប្រសើរ។ បើសិនជាលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានចម្ងល់ ឬមានសំនួរផ្សេងៗ សូមមេត្តាទាក់ទងនីងខ្ញុំបាទតាមអាស័យដ្ឋានខាងក្រោមនេះ

Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland.

ฐรุงธฏุรู้ถารเฉข oé_bodbaad ฐ obe_boodaano ฐ มีเรียง man.hau@xtra.co.nz

អ្នកត្រូតពិនិត្យ	Dr. Ward Friesen		Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson	
	School of	Geography and	Department of Sociology	
	Environm	ental Science		
	The Univ	The University of Auckland		
	Private B	ng 92019		
	Auckland		Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612	
The Head of Depar	tment is:	Assoc-Professor Julie Park		
		Department of Development Studies		
		The University of Auckland		

Tel. 3737-7599 extn

បើមានមន្តិលផ្នែកសីលធម៌សូមលោកន៍ងលោកស្រីមេត្តាទាក់ទងន៍ង

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office - Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7599 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

222 THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND		Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
CONSENT FORM សេចក្តីយល់ព្រមជាសមាជិកនៃគណកម្មការត្រួតពិនិត្យ		

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS សេចក្តីយល់ព្រមនេះគឺអង់ពល់ទក៦ឆ្នាំ

Title:	Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand	
	Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development	
ឈ្មោះគម្រោងសិក្យា:	លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្សេទ្យិន	
	សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម	

Researcher:	Man Hau Liev
អ្នកស្រារំជ្រារំ:	លីវ ម៉ាន់ ល៉ៅ

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered. ខ្ញុំតានទទួលនឹងយល់ដឹងពីតម្រោងសិក្សានេះ។ ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពនឹងសាកសូរនឹងចម្លើយ។

- I agree to take part in this advisory committee.
 ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមចូលរួមជាសមាជិកនៃគណកម្មការត្រួតពិនិត្យនេះ
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me at any time up to 4 weeks after the meeting without giving a reason.
 อู้สืนชาอู่มายสกอุธชายอีนสายหายผู้เอาบง่อู่กุนายะเกณะมาติสุญญายายถึงอู่ผู้อิญเสายเชืออำอาอัฐญัษูณณลุฯ

Signed:ហត្ថលេខា:

Name:ឈ្មោះ (please print clearly)

Date: ពាលបរិច្ឆេទ

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

អតុញាតិពីគណកម្មការផ្នែកសីលធម៌នៃមហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្នកខ្លិន នៅថ្ងៃទី១៩មិថុនា២០០២ រយ:ពេល៣ឆ្នាំ ចាប់ពី២០_៦_២០០២

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet — Focus Group

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND		Department of Development Studies
THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND		The University of Auckland
		Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET		

Title: Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand

Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development

To: Mr. / Mrs. / Ms.

My name is Man Hau Liev. I am a student at the University of Auckland. I am conducting a research project as part of a PhD Degree Development Studies. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my thesis on Cambodian Community Development and have chosen this field because of my interest in working with people from Cambodia.

You are invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. As part of my thesis I am conducting group discussions and individual interviews with people from Cambodia and would like to learn about your settlement here since you came to New Zealand and would like to know about your ideas and opinions on how to improve future settlement.

I would appreciate your participation and would like to interview you. You are under no obligation at all to be interviewed. Interviews would take about an hour to an hour and half at the time and place of your convenience. I would prefer to audio/videotape the interview but this would only be done with your consent and could be turned off at any time or you can withdraw information at any time. It is possible that, because of the small size of the community, Cambodians might recognise individuals from either descriptions of events, from biographical details or descriptions of people. But I would like to assure the confidentiality of your comments and will endeavour to do my best to persuade the group to do so. Also you may withdraw yourself, or your data without giving any reason within four weeks after the completion of the data collection.

If you do wish to participate and be interviewed please let me know by filling in a Consent Form and sending it to me or phoning me on Tel: (09) 267 2877 after working hours. All information you provide in an interview is confidential and your name will not be used.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries, or wish to know more, please phone me at home at the number given above or write to me at:

Department of Development Studies

The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland. Tel 373-7599

My supervisors are:	Dr. Ward Friesen	Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson
	School of Geography and	Department of Sociology
	Environmental Science	
	Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612	
The Head of Department is:	Assoc-Professor Julie Park	
-	Department of Development	Studies
	The University of Auckland	
	Private Bag 92019	
	Auckland.	Tel. 3737-7599 extn

For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7599 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND		Department of Development Studies
		The University of Auckland
	PARTICIPANT INF	Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
		កចូលរួមធ្វើសម្ភាស
ឈ្មោះពម្រោងសិក្យា:	លំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំំ	ខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្បិន
	សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងកា	រអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម
តោរពជូនលោក លោកស្រី		
ខ្ញុំបាទឈ្មោះ លីវ ម៉ាន់ លើ1	ជានិស្យិតបណ្ឌិតផ្នែកអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ នៅមហារិឲ្យ	លេ័យអ្វកខ្លិន។ ខ្ញុំបាទធ្វេីការស្រាវជ្រាវដេីម្បីធ្វេីនិក្ខេបទថ្នាក់បណ្និត អំពីលំនាំ
•	ខ្ទរនៅប្រទេសញូស្សេទ្យិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាព	•
2	៣ទមានការចាប់អារម្មណ៍លើ ការវិវត្តន័ល្ វ ត	
រប្បធម៌ខ្មែរយើងនៅប្រទេសញុវេ		
2	-	ាជនជាតិខ្មែរយើង ចូលរួមសហការធ្វើសម្ភាសពិភក្យាជាមួយខ្ញុំបាទ ដែលមា
	•	សលការនិងការផ្តល់មតិរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីជាបច្ច័យដែលកាត់ថ្លៃមិន
		ងជាប្រវត្តកំណត់ ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍នៃសង្គមខ្មែរយើង ដែលអាចយកជាមេរ្យេនដើ
ម្បីជួយសំរូលដល់អ្នកជំនាន់ក្រោ	•	
ខ្ញុំបាទមានជំនឿថាលោកនិងលេ	ាកស្រីនិ៍ងមិនទើសទាល់និ៍ងសហការនេះ។ កិ	ច្ចសម្ភាសពិភក្យានេះមានរយ:ប្រហែលជា9ម៉ោងកន្លះ។
•		រយៈព្រិត្តិការណ៍តាមប្រវត្តិប្តតាមរបាយការណ៍ តែ
យើងខ្ញុំសូមបញ្ជាក់ថា យើងខ្ញុំតិ		
		ស៊ីអនុញ្ញាតិផងនោះ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមថតអាត់ដើម្បីសំរូលការសិក្យា។ លោកនិងលេ
	ម៉ាស៊ីនថតឬក៏ដកខ្លួនឈប់ធ្វើសម្ភាស ឬក៏លុា	
	2	ចំមានមូលហេតុក្នុងរយ:៤អាទិត្យក្រោយ ពេលពិភក្សា។
	2	ាកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តាបំពេញពាក្យយល់ព្រមហើយបញ្ចូនតបតាមស្រោមសំបុ្រ
តដែល	•	
ខ្ញុំបាទសូមថ្លែងអំណរគុណដ៏ជ្រា	បជ្រៅចំពោះសមានចិត្តដ៏សច្បូរសន៏ងពេលដ៏	មានតម្លៃរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី ដែលញ៉ាំងឱ្យការសិក្យានេះមានដំណើរកា
•	•	ស្វមមេត្តាទាក់ទងនឹងខ្ញុំបាទតាមអាសំយដ្ឋានខាងក្រោមនេះ
Department of Developm	nent Studies	
The University of Auckl Private Bag 92019	and	
Auckland.		
ប្តូទូរសព្ទខ្ញុំបាទលេខ ០៩_២៦ព	ໄອ໔ ៧៧ ນີ້ 0,໑໕-໑ຉຉຌຆຆ໐	ប្ញូ អ៊ីមែល man.hau@xtra.co.nz
អ្នកត្រួតពិនិត្យ Dr. V	Ward Friesen	Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson
	School of Geography and Environmental Science	Department of Sociology
	The University of Auckland	
	Private Bag 92019	
	Auckland.	Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612
The Head of Department	tis: Assoc-Professor Julie Park	
	Department of Development	Studies
	The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019	
	Auckland.	Tel. 3737-7599 extn

បើមានមន្តិលផ្នែកសីលផមិសូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តាទាក់ទងនឹង

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7599 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

NEW ZEALAND	CONSENT FORM	Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019, Auckland
	សេចក្តីយល់ព្រម	

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

សេចក្តីយល់ព្រមនេះនឹងដំកល់ទុក៦ឆ្នាំ

Title:	Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand
	Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម
Researcher: អ្នកស្រារព្រាវ:	Man Hau Liev សឹវ ម៉ាន់ ហ៊េរ៉

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

ខ្ញុំបានទទួលនឹងយល់ដឹងពីគម្រោងសិក្សានេះ។ ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពនឹងសាកសួរនិងចម្លើយ។

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me at any time up to 4 weeks after returning the questionnaire without giving a reason.

ខ្ញុំដ៏ងថាខ្ញុំអាចដកខ្លួនថយនិ៍ងដកយកចម្លើយរបស់ខ្ញុំក្នុងរយះពេល៤អាទិត្យក្រោយពីបានបញ្ជូនសំណុំចម្លើយដោយមិនចាំបាច់ផ្តល់មូលហេ តុ។

 $\hfill\square$ I agree to take part in this research.

ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ

 I agree/do not agree that the interview will be audio/video taped ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រម មិនយល់ព្រម អោយកេថតសម្លេង រីដេអូ

> Signed: លត្ថលេខា: Name:ឈ្មោះ

(please print clearly)

Date: កាលបរិច្ឆេទ

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19
June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036
អនុញាតិពីតណកម្មការផ្នែកសីលធម៌នៃមហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្នកខ្លិន នៅថ្ងៃទី១៩មិទុនា២០០២ រយៈពេល៣ឆ្នាំ ចាប់ពី២០_៦_២០០២

Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand

Focus Group Questionnaire

សំណូរយោបល់ក្រុមពិភក្សាអំពី

លំតាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភៀសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញស្យេឡិន

- Could your share with us your early impressions of New Zealand? សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយពីការចាប់អារម្មណ៍ពីប្រទេសញូស្យេ៍ទ្បិននៅពេលមកដល់ជាដំបូង?
- What were your aspirations when first came to New Zealand?
 តើលោកតឹងលោកស្រីមានបំណងយ៉ាងណាដែរនៅពេលទើបនឹងមកដល់ប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិនជាដំបូង?
- 3. Could you tell us about your sponsors and their assistance? សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយរើអ្នកធានានឹងជំនួយរបស់អ្នកធានា?
- 4. Please tell us about your past and current residence in New Zealand? សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយពីកន្លែងស្នាក់នៅ(កន្លែង,ផ្ទះ)កន្លងមករហូតដល់សព្វថ្ងៃនេះនៅប្រទេសញស្យេទ្យិន?
- 5. What are things that you can do by yourself now that you needed help with when you first arrived? សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយពីអ្វីៗដែលអាចផ្អើបានដោយខ្លួនឯងមិនចាច់ពឹងតេដែលអ្នកច្លាប់ពឹងកាលទើបមកដល់?
- 6. What are things that you still need help with? សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយពីអ្វីៗដែលមិនអាចធ្វើតានដោយខ្លួនឯងហើយនៅតែពឹងគេ?
- Could you share with us the history of your employment? សូមលោកន៍ងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយពីប្រវត្តការងាររបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រី?
- 8. Please tell us about your participation with people from Cambodia? សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយពីទំនាក់ទំនងរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីជាមួយនឹងជនជាតិខ្មែរ?
- Could you tell us about your interaction with other ethnic groups and New Zealanders? សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តានិយាយពីទំនាក់ទំនងរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីជាមួយនឹងអាណិកជនផ្សេងៗនឹងជនជាតិញស្ប៉េទ្យិន?
- 10. How do you identify yourself now? តើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីយល់ថាសព្វថ្ងៃនេះខ្លួនលោកនឹងលោកស្រីជាជនជាតិអ្វីដែរ?(ខ្មែរ.ចិន.ចាមថ្មជនជាតិញស្យេទ្យិន)
- 11. How do you define success in your life? តើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីទាអ្វីទៅជាជោគជ័យនៃជីវិតរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រី?
- 12. What are your best achievements in New Zealand?

តើអ្វីទៅជាសមន្និនឹងលទ្ធផលដ៏ប្រសើរបំផុតរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទៀន?

- 13. What are your greatest disappointments in New Zealand? តើអ្វីទៅជាការសោកស្ដាយនឹងអាក់អន់ចិត្តបំផុតរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន?
- 14. How do you feel about your life in New Zealand? តើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានអារម្មណ៍ប្តួយល់យ៉ាងណាពីជីវិតរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន?
- 15. What would you like to do in the future? តើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានបំណងនឹងធ្វើអ្វីដែរទៅអនាគត?

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation.

យើងខ្ញុំសូមអររគុណដ៏ជ្រាលជ្រៅចំពោះពេលវេលានិងសហប្រតិបត្តការរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី។

For further inquiry please phone: 09 – 267 2877 or email to: man.hau@xtra.co.nz

បើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានចម្ងល់ប្តសំនូរបន្តែមសូមទូរសព្ទលេខ០៩_២៦៧២៤៧៧ឬផ្ញើរអ៊ីមែលតាម:

<u>man.hau@xtra.co.nz</u>

Appendix 3 : Participant Information Sheet — Postal Questionnaire

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND	Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland
	Private Bag 92019, Auckland.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title: Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development

To: Mr. / Mrs. / Ms. _____

My name is Man Hau Liev. I am a student at the University of Auckland. I am conducting a research project as part of a PhD Degree in Development Studies. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my thesis on Cambodian Community Development and have chosen this field because of my interest in working with people from Cambodia.

You are invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. As part of my thesis I am conducting a postal survey with people from Cambodia and would like to learn about your settlement here since you came to New Zealand and would like to know about your ideas and opinions on how to improve future settlement.

I would appreciate your participation and your completion of this questionnaire. You are under no obligation at all to complete the questionnaire. It is possible that, because of the small size of the community, Cambodians might recognise individuals from either descriptions of events, from biographical details or descriptions of people. But I would like to assure the confidentiality of your comments. Also you may withdraw yourself, or your data without giving any reason within four weeks after the completion of the questionnaire.

If you do wish to participate please fill in a Consent Form, complete the questionnaire and return them with the envelope provided. All information you provide in this questionnaire is confidential and your name will not be used.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries, or wish to know more, please phone me on Tel: (09) 267 2877 after working hours or write to me at:

Department of Development Studies

The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland. Tel 373-7599

My supervisors are:	Dr. Ward Friesen School of Geography and Environmental Science Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612		Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson Department of Sociology
The Head of Department is:	Assoc-Professor Julie Park		
	Department of Development The University of Auckland	Studies	
	Private Bag 92019		
	Auckland.	Tel. 3737	-7599 extn
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For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7599 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND		Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland
		Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
	PARTICIPANT INFORMATION ។ ដំណីងសំរ៉ាប់អ្នកចូលរួមធ្វើសម្ភាស	SHEET

ឈ្មោះជម្រោងសិក្សា:

លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេឡិន

សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវិឌ្ឍន៏សហគម

តោរពជូនលោក លោកស្រី_____

ខ្ញុំបាទឈ្មោះ លីវ ម៉ាន់ ល៊ោ ជានិស្យិតបណ្ឌិតផ្នែកអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ នៅមហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្វកខ្លិន។ ខ្ញុំបាទធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវដើម្បីធ្វើនិក្ខេបទថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិត អំពីលំនាំ ជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញុស្យេទ្យិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍សហគម។

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ផលបែ	ាត់នៃការ	ត់កែវាអេ	ះព	ខំពាទអានការ	ការអោរអព	ທໍ່ເດົ້	ការវិវត្តន៍លូតល	ពត៍រំនៃតា	កែមខែរហៅង	និងការវកព
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វប្បធម៌ខ្មែរយើងនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិននេះ។

យោលទៅតាមបំណងខាងលើ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមអញ្ជើញលោកនិងលោកស្រីដែលជាជនជាតិខ្មែរយើង ចូលរួមសហការបំពេញសំនួរខ្ញុំបាទ ដែលមានបំណងដក្រ សង់បទពិសោធន៍ផ្សេងៗនិងទស្សនៈរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី។ សហការនិងការផ្តល់មតិរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រីជាបថ្វ័យដែលកាត់ថ្លៃមិនបាននេះជាកំណ ប់មរតកចំណេះដឹងក្នុងបទពិសោធន៍នៃការតាំងលំនៅថ្មីនិងជាប្រវត្តកំណត់ ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍នៃសង្គមខ្មែរយើង ដែលអាចយកជាមេរ្យនដើម្បីជួយសំរូលដល់អ្នក ឯនាន់ក្រោយៗទៀត។

ខ្ញុំបាទមានជំនឿថាលោកន៏ងលោកស្រីនឹងមិនទើសទាល់និងសហការនេះ។ កិច្ចបំពេញនេះមានរយៈប្រហែលជា១ម៉ោងកន្លះ។ ស្វមបញ្ជាក់ថា យើងខ្ញុំនឹងរ ក្យាជា

សម្ងាត់នូវឈ្មោះបុគ្គលម្នាស់យោបល់។ លោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានសិទ្ធិគ្រប់ពេលនឹងដកខ្លួនឈប់ធ្វើ ឬក៏លុបសំដីវិញ។ លោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានសិទ្ធិនឹងដក យកសំដីឯកសារដោយមិនចាំចាច់មានមូលហេតុក្នុងរយៈ៤អាទិត្យក្រោយពេលពិភក្សា។

បើសិនជាលោកនឹងលោកស្រីយល់ព្រមចូលរួមធ្វើនោះ ខ្ញុំតាទសូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តាថំពេញពាក្យយល់ព្រមហើយនិងឆ្លើយបំពេញសំនួរហើយសូមមេ គ្នាបញ្ជូនតបតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រដែល ជូនភ្ជាប់នេះចែកទានផង។

ខ្ញុំបាទស្វមថ្លែងអំណរគុណដ៏ជ្រាលជ្រៅចំពោះសមានចិត្តដ៏សម្បុរសន៍ងពេលដ៏មានតម្លៃរបស់លោកន៍ងលោកស្រី ដែលញ៉ាំងឱ្យការសិក្សានេះមានដំណើរកា របាន។

បើសិតជាលោកតឹងលោកស្រីមានចម្ងល់ ឬមានសំនួរផ្សេងៗ សូមមេត្តាទាក់ទងនឹងខ្ញុំបាទតាមអាស័យដ្ឋានខាងក្រោមនេះ

Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland.

ฐรูเพยู่รู้ถาดเพอ oé_bolodala ฐ ook_boodaao ฐ มีเดง man.hau@xtra.co.nz

អ្នកត្រួតពិតិត្យ 🗌	Dr. Ward	l Friesen School of Geography and Environmental Science The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019	Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson Department of Sociology
		Auckland.	Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612
The Head of Depart	ment is:	Assoc-Professor Julie Park Department of Development The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019	Studies

Auckland.

Tel. 373-7599 extn

បើមានមន្តិលផ្នែកសីលធម៌សូមលោកនិងលោកស្រីមេត្តាទាក់ទងនឹង

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7999 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

Development Studies
of Auckland
19, Auckland
)

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

សេចក្តីយល់ព្រមនេះនិងដំកល់ទុក៦ឆ្នាំ

Title:	Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development
ឈ្មោះពម្រោងសិក្យា:	លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភាស្រខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម
Researcher: អ្នកស្រារំជ្រារំ:	Man Hau Liev លីវ ម៉ាន់ លើរ

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

ខ្ញុំបានទទួលនឹងយល់ដឹងពីគម្រោងសិក្យានេះ។ ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពនឹងសាកសួរនឹងចម្លើយ។

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me at any time up to 4 weeks after returning the questionnaire without giving a reason.

ខ្ញុំដ៏ងថាខ្ញុំអាចដកខ្លួនថយនិ៍ងដកយកចម្លើយរបស់ខ្ញុំក្នុងរយះពេល៤អាទិត្យក្រោយពីបានបញ្ជូនសំណុំចម្លើយដោយមិនចាំបាច់ផ្តល់មូលហេ តុ។

 $\hfill\square$ I agree to take part in this research.

ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ

□ I agree/do not agree that the interview will be audio/video taped ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រម មិនយល់ព្រម អោយតេថតសម្លេង រីដេអ្

Signed: លត្ថលេខា:

Name:ឈ្មោះ (please print clearly)

Date:កាលបរិច្ឆេទ

Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand Postal Questionnaire សំណូរយោបល់តាមសំបុត្រអំពី

លំតាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភៀសខ្លួនខ្មែរតៅប្រទេសញសៀឡិន

Aims

This questionnaire is intended to gain information on your opinions and experiences during resettlement.

Its contents are completely confidential. There is no need to put your name or address on this questionnaire.

សំណូរខាងក្រោមនេះមានបំណងន៏ងសូមយោបល់នឹងរៀនសូត្របទពិសោធន៍របស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីពិការមកស្នាក់អាស្រ័យនៅទីនេះ។

ដំណឹងដែលបានទទួលនិងរក្យាការលាក់ការដោយមិនអាចរកម្នាស់ដើមឃើញ។ លោកនិងលោកស្រីមិនចាំបាច់ចុះឈ្មោះប្តូអាស័យដ្ឋានលើ សំនូរទ្យើយ។

Information

This questionnaire is composed of five parts. Your opinions and participation is highly appreciated.

ដំណិ៍ងអំពិសំនូវ

សំនួរនេះមាន៥ភាគ។ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមស្វាគមដោយកោរពនូវ យោបលន៏ងសហប្រតិបត្តការរបស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រី។ Please return this questionnaire with the stamped envelope provided. សូមលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមេត្តាបញ្ជូនចម្លើយនេះទៅវិញតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រដែលបិទតែមជូនភ្ជាប់ជាមួយនេះស្រាប់។

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation. យើងខ្ញុំស្វូមអរគុណដ៏ជ្រាលជ្រៅចំពោះពេលវេលានិងសហប្រតិបត្តការរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី។ For further inquiry please phone: 09 – 267 2877 or email to: <u>man.hau@xtra.co.nz</u> បើលោកនិងលោកស្រីមានចម្ងល់ប្លសំនួរបន្តែមសូមទូរសព្ថលេខ០៩_២៦៧២៨៧៧ប្ញូផ្ញើរអ៊ីមែលតាម:

<u>man.hau@xtra.co.nz</u>

PART ONE ภาต 9

PERSONAL INFORMATION ពត៌មានផ្ទាល់ខ្លុង

I.Personal information. (Please fill in appropriate boxes)បុគ្គលិកលក្ខណ:(សូមមេត្តាង្វរហុំប្លបំពេញក្នុងតារាង)

Sex 189		Male បុរស		Female ស្ត្រី		
Age អាយុ						
Marital status សភាពគ្រួសារ			ingle Widowed នៅលីវ មេមាយ		Divorced លែងលះ	
Your ethnicity ពូជសាសន័របស់អ្នក	Khmer ខ្មែរ	Kh. Krom ខ្មែរក្រោម	Chinese ថិន	Charm ថាម	Other ផ្សែង	
Your spouse's ethnicity ពូជសាសធ័របស់គ្រួសារ	Khmer ខ្មែរ	Kh. Krom ខ្មែរក្រោម	Chinese ថិន	Charm ទាម	Other ផ្សែង	
Number of children ចំនួនក្លួន						
Refugee camp name / Country ឈ្មោះជំរុំ-ប្រទេស						
Year of arrival to New Zealand ឆ្នាំមកដល់ប្រទេសញ្វូស្វេម៉្សិន						

II. Early impressions and aspirations ការយល់ឃើញនឹងបំណងនៅពេលមកដល់ជាដំបូង

A. How did you feel when you were told you were coming to New Zealand? តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណាដែរនៅពេលគេច្រាប់ថាអ្នកត្រូវបានមកប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមតូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Very disappointed	disappointed	indifferent	happy	very happy
អន់ចិត្តជាខ្លាំង	អន់ចិត្ត	ឲម្ ម ពា	រីករាយ	រីករាយជាខ្លាំង

Please explain: សូមបញ្ចេញយោបល់

B. What was your first impression of New Zealand?
 តើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណាដែរនៅពេលទើបនឹងមកដល់ប្រទេសញស្យេទ្យិនជាដំបូង?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមគូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Very disappointed	disappointed	indifferent	happy	Very happy
អន់ចិត្តជាខ្លាំង	អន់ចិត្ត	ធម្មតា	រីករាយ	រីករាយជាខ្លាំង

Please explain: សូមបញ្ចេញយោបល់

C. What were your aspirations when you first came to New Zealand? តើអ្នកមានបំណងយ៉ាងណាដែរនៅពេលទើបនឹងមកដល់ប្រទេសញូស្សេទ្យិនជាដំបូង?

(Please tick one box only for each row)(សូមគូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយផ្លូវ)

	Very important សំខាត់បំផុត	Important សំខាត់	Not important មិនសំខាន់
To find a proper job រកការងារធ្រីមត្រូវ			
To run a family business រកស៊ីមានយាងផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន			
To gain a qualification and get a good job រេវ្យនយកសញ្ញាមត្រហើយរកការងារលួ			
To support my children for good education ព្រោមជ្រែងកូនឱ្យតានរៀនសូត្រខ្លងខ្លស់			
To stay home and look after my family នៅផ្ទះថែរក្សាត្រួសារ			
To emigrate to America or Australia ទៅរស់នៅសលរដ្ឋអាមេរិកប្តអូស្ត្រាលី			
To go back to live in Cambodia when peaceful ទៅរស់នៅស្រុកខ្មែរវិញកាលណាសត្ថិភាព			
To be happy in New Zealand មករស់នៅញូស្យេទ្យិនដោយសុខសាន្ត			

D. What made you believe that you could adapt to life in New Zealand? តើអ្វីទៅធ្វើឱ្យអ្នកមានជំនឿថាអាចសំរបសំរូលជីវភាពបាននៅប្រទេសញូស្យ៉េទ្យិន?

(Please tick one box only for each row)(សូមគូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយក្នុង

	Very important សំខាន់បំផុត	Important សំខាន់	Not important មិនសំខាន់
My past experience បទពិសោធន៍របស់ខ្ញុំ			
My determination and will ការឥស៊ូនីងការផ្តាច់ចិត្តរបស់ខ្ញុំ			
My family's support គ្រួសារខ្ញុំពួយជ្រោមជ្រែង			
My education ការសិក្សារបស់ខ្ញុំ			
My English ភាសាររអង់ម្លេសរបស់ខ្ញុំ			
My sponsors' assistance ការជ្រោមជ្រែងពីអ្នកពានារបស់ខ្ញុំ			
My friends' support ការព្រោមព្រែងពីមិត្តរបស់ខ្ញុំ			
Cambodian community assistance ការព្រោមព្រែងពីសហគមខ្មែររបស់ខ្ញុំ			
New Zealand environment is good ប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិនរស់ស្រួល			
New Zealand government assistance ការព្រោមព្រែងពីសំណាក់រដ្ឋាភិបាលនៃប្រទេសញូស្សេទ្យិន			

E. What made you believe you might have problems in adapting to life in New Zealand?
 តើអ្វីទៅធ្វើឱ្យអ្នកមានជំនឿថាអាចមានបញ្ហាក្នុងការសំរបសំរួលជីវភាពនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន?

(Please tick one box only for each row)(សូមតូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយផ្លូរ)

	Very important សំខាន់បំផុត	Important សំខាន់	Not important មិនសំខាន់
Lack of appropriate skill ការខ្វះខាតចំណេះ			
My poor health សុខភាពមិនល្អ			

Lack of local knowledge ការមិនដឹងពីស្ថានភាពស្រុកគេ	
Lack of support ខ្លះការព្រោមព្រែង	
My limited English language ការខ្វះចំណេះភាសារអង់គ្លេស	
Discrimination ការប្រកាន់ព្វាវសាសន័	
Level of unemployment in NZ ការមិនមានការងារនៅប្រទេសញូស្សៅទ្ឋិន	
Isolation ការរស់នៅងាច់ផ្ងាយពីគេ	
Family problems បញ្ហាគ្រួសារ	
Lack of resources	
My age រាយុខ្ញុំ	

F. Have you got New Zealand citizenship? តើអ្នកបានចូលសញ្ជាតិញុស្សេទ្យិនហើយឬនៅ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Yes	No
បាន	មិនបាន

G. If yes, how long have you got your citizenship after your arrival in New Zealand?

បើអ្នកបានចូលសញ្ជាតិហើយនោះ. តើអ្នកចូលប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំក្រោយពីមកដល់ញូសេវូទ្យិន?

____years.ឆ្នាំ

PART TWO ກຳຄັບ

RESETTLEMENT การถา้นอิดงเธานาฐี

III. Sponsorship and assistance ការធានានិងជំនួយរបស់អ្នកធានា

 A.
 Who mainly assisted you during your resettlement in New Zealand?

 តើអ្នកណាខ្លះជួយអ្នកច្រើនជាងគេនៅពេលអ្នកមកតាំងទីលំនៅជាថ្មីនៅប្រទេសញស្យេ៍ទ្យិន?

(Please tick one box only for each row)(សូមតូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយក្នុង

	<u>a</u> . 1		5
	Stronly agree	Agree	Disagree
	សមស្របតាំងស្រុង	សមស្រប	មិនសមស្រប
Myself			
ដោយខ្លួនឯង			
សាលទ្ធជាជ			
My sponsors			
ររួកពាតាខ្ញុំ			
`			
My spouse or pertner			
My spouse or partner			
ប្តិ៍ឬប្រពន្ធខ្ញុំ			
My family members			
ក្រុមគ្រួសារខ្ញុំ			
01-0,			
My children			
ញ <u>្</u> ធខ្ញុំ			
My parents			
វីពុកម្តាយខ្ញុំ			
៤អំពេរដំណេទ័			
My neighbours			
អ្នកជិតខាងខ្ញុំ			
· · · ·			
Mytoschar			
My teacher			
ព្រខ្ញុំ			
Community worker / translator			
រដ្ឋការបារ អ្នកបកប្រែ			
ផ្ទីលោះប្រ			
ព្ចកមាិកខ្មែរ			
Cambodian Friends ព្វកមាកខ្មែរ			

Friends at work ពួកចាំកន្លេងធ្វើការ	
My class mates ពួកមាកពីសាលា	
Health worker / Doctor ព្រូពេទ្យ	
My ethnic association សមាពមន្មែរ	
New Zealand social worker ភ្នាក់ងារសង្គមកិច្ច	
Other ផ្សេង	

B. From whom did you seek helpe in the following areas?
 เล็มูกเอารกณาฐพฎษณภายการอาษเกาะอาษเกาะเอะ?

(You can tick **more than one box** on each row) (អ្នកអាចក្លុសរើសយកច្រើនប្រអប់ក្នុងមួយផ្លូវ)

	Finding a job រកការងារ	Filling forms បំពេញសំណុំរឿ ង	School Enrollmen t ចុះឈ្មោះវៀន	Legal advice ឱ្យមពិជ្យឹងឲ្យា បំ	Finance & banking ផនាដារ	Buying a house ទិញថ្នះ
Myself ដោយខ្លួនឯង						
My spouse or partner ថ្តីឬប្រពន្ធខ្ញុំ						
My family members ក្រុមក្រុសារខ្ញុំ						
My children ក្នុនខ្ញុំ						
My parents ក្រុមគ្រសារខ្ញុំ						
My neighbours អ្នកជិតខាងខ្ញុំ						
My teacher						
Interpreter / community worker អ្នកបកប្រែ						
Cambodian Friends ពួកទាំកខ្មែរ						
Peers at work ពួកម៉ាកនៅកន្លែងធ្វើការ						
My class mate ពួកចាំកពីសាលា						
My lawyer / consultant អ្នកច្បាប់						
My sponsors អ្នកពានាខ្ញុំ						

New Zealand social			
services			
ភ្នាក់ងារសង្គមកិច្ច			

C. When was the last time you sought help from your sponsors? កាលណាដែលជាពេលចុងក្រោយបង្អស់ដែលអ្នកទៅរកអ្នកធានាឱ្យគាត់ជួយ?

year កាលពីឆ្នាំ_____

D. What type of help did you seek from your sponsor? តើជំនួយអ្វីដែលអ្នកទៅរកអ្នកផានាឱ្យគាត់ជួយ?

IV. Residence and household លំនៅផ្អាននិងគេលជន

A. Please name the places where you have lived in New Zealand and fill in appropriate boxes
 សូមរាយឈ្មោះកន្លែងទាំងអស់ដែលអ្នកបានរស់នៅក្នុងប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន

ដោយបំពេញចម្លើយក្នុងតារាងខាងក្រោមនេះ

	From	Rent or	\$ per	
Place, Town or City	(date)	Mortgage	week	Reason for leaving
កន្លែង. តំបន់. ឬក្រុង	ពីឆ្នាំ	ជួលផ្ទះប្ញទិញ	ឈ្នួលផ្ទះ	មូលហេតុដែលឈប់នៅឬចាកចេញ

 B.
 Do you own your own home?
 Yes
 /
 No

 តើផ្ទះនេះជារបស់អ្នកឬ?
 មែន
 ,
 មិនមែនទេ

If No, please go to D. เบียิธเ้ยธญษบธูเรา่งัฐม D

C. If you own a house, how did you find the money for the deposit on your house? បើផ្ទះនេះជារបស់អ្នក តើអ្នកមានមធ្យោបាយបែបណាដើម្បីមានប្រាក់ទៅកក់ធនាគារ
 (You can tick more than one box) (អ្នកអាចតូសយកប្រអប់ខាងក្រោមលើសពីមួយ)

My savings	Combined savings	Tontine	Borrow relatives	Borrow friends
ប្រាក់សត្សំខ្ញុំ	ថ្វលលុយគ្នា	លេងតុងទីន	ខ្ចិបងប្អូន	ខ្ចិ៍មិត្តភក្ត្រ

D. How many occupants are in your household? សមាជិកប៉ុន្មាននាក់រស់នៅទីនេះ?

(Please list them in boxes below)(សូមបំពេញចម្លើយក្នុងតារាងខាងក្រោមនេះ)

Relationship to you	Age	Job or education level
ទំនាក់និងអ្នក(ប្តីប្រពន្ធ,កូន.បង.ប្តូន,ក្មួយ។ល។)	អាយុ	ការងារឬក៏រឹតសិក្សារ
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		

E. What is your usual household weekly income after taxes? (Please tick one box only)

សូមអ្នកតូសបង្ហាញពីប្រាក់ចំណូលគ្រួសារសារុបប្រចាំអាទិត្យក្រោយកាត់តាក់

នៅក្នុងតារាងខាងក្រោមនេះ សូមគូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ

\$250-499	\$500-750	\$751-1000	\$1001-1250	>\$1250

V. Languages ភាសារ

A. How do you rate your spoken English language?
 សូមឱ្យក៏រិតចំណេះនិយាយនៃភាសារអង់គ្លេសរបស់អ្នក។

(Please tick one box only) (សូមគូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Bad	Ok	Good	Very good	Don't know
មិនល្អ	មព្យម	ល្អ	ល្អណាស់	មិនដឹង

B. How do you rate your reading in English language? សូមឱ្យកំរិតចំណេះការអានតៃភាសារអង់គ្លេសរបស់អ្នក។

(Please tick one box only) (សូមតូសរើសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Bad	Ok	Good	Very good	Don't know
មិនល្អ	មផ្យម	ល្អ	ល្អណាស់	មិនដឹង

- C.Do you intend to learn more English?Yes/Noតើអ្នកមានបំណងនឹងវេរូនភាសារអង់គ្លេសថែមទៀតទេ?ចង់,មិនចង់
- D. Languages used at home הואסזונוֹנוֹנגוֹמַ: (You can tick more than one box on each row)
 (អ្នកអាចតួសរើសយកច្រើនប្រអប់ក្នុងមួយផ្លូវ)

	Khmer ភាសាវខ្មែរ	Chinese ភាសារថិន	English ភាសារអង់ព្លេស
What language do you speak at home? ផើអ្នកនិយាយភាសារអ្វីនៅថ្នះ?			
What language do your children speak at home? តើក្នុនអ្នកនិយាយភាសារអ្វីនៅផ្ទះ?			
What language do you read at home? តើអ្នកអានភាសារអ្វីនៅថ្នះ?			
What language do your children read at home? តើកូនអ្នកអានភាសារអ្វីនៅថ្នះ?			

E. Is it necessary for your children to learn Khmer?តើកូតអ្នកចាំបាច់រៀនភាសារខ្មែរទេ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Yes	No	Don't know
ចាំបាច់	មិនចាំបាច់	មិនដឹងដែរ

VI. Education ការសិក្សា

A. What was your highest formal education before you came to New Zealand?

សូមអ្នកតូសបង្ហាញនៅក្នុងតារាងខាងក្រោមនេះពិកំរិតសិក្សាខ្ពស់បំផុតរបស់អ្នកមុនពេលអ្នកមកប្រទេសនេះ

(You can tick one box only) (អ្នកអាចតួសរើសយកប្រអប់តែមួយ)

None	Primary	Secondary	Vocational	Tertiary
គ្នាន	បថមសិក្សា	មធ្យមសិក្សា	សិក្សាវិជ្ជាជីវ:	ឧត្តមសិក្សា

B. Have you attended any formal education courses in New Zealand?
 តើអ្នកដែលបានទៅបំពេញការសិក្សានៅសាលាក្នុងក្របខណ្ឌនៃប្រទេសញស្យេទ្យិនទេ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមក្នុសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Yes	No
បាន	មិនបាន

C. If yes, what qualifications have you have obtained? Please tick relevant boxes.

បើអ្នកបានទៅវៀននោះ តើអ្នកបានទទួលសញ្ញាបត្រអ្វីដែរ? សូមតូសក្នុងប្រអប់តាមត្រូវការ

School	Six form	U.E.	Vocational	Diploma	Bachelor	Post
Cert.	Cert.		Certificate			Graduate

VII. Employment ការងារន៍ងវិជា្ជជីរ៉ះ

 A.
 What were your main jobs before you came to New Zealand?

 តើអ្នកធ្វើការងារអ្វីខ្លះដែរមុនពេលអ្នកមកដល់ប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន?

សូមបំពេញចម្លើយក្នុងតារាងខាងក្រោមនេះ

Job	Position	Place / town / city	Length of time in
ប្រភេទការងារ	មុខដំណែង	កន្លែង.តំបន់ .ក្រុង	Job
			រយៈពេលធ្វើការងារ
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			

 B. Can you please list the businesses or jobs you have had since your arrival in New Zealand? សូមអ្នករេវូបរាប់ពីមុខរបរការងារចាប់តាំងពីពេលអ្នកមកដល់ប្រទេសញ្ទូសេវូទ្យិន?
 សូមបំពេញចម្លើយក្នុងតារាងខាងក្រោមនេះ

Job	Position	Place / town / city	Who helped	Length of
ប្រភេទការងារ	មុខដំណែង	កន្លែង,តំបន់ ,ក្រុង	to get job	time in
			អ្នកណាជួយរកការឱ្យ	Job
				រយៈពេលធ្វើការ
				ងារ
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				

C. Are your presently doing? (Please tick one box only) តើអ្នកធ្វើការងារអ្វីដែរសព្វថ្ងៃនេះ? (ស្វមត្ថសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Looking for work	Employed	Self-employed	Retired
កំពុងរកការងារធ្វើ	ធ្វើការឱ្យតេ	ធ្វើការរកស៊ីខ្លួនឯង	រ៊ីត្រែត

 D. What is your usual weekly take home income or community wage? (Please circle)
 តើប្រាក់ចំណូលរបស់អ្នកបានពីការងារឬលុយរដ្ឋបានប៉ុន្មានដែរ?(សូមគូសហុំយកប្រអប់តែមួយ)

(less than \$250), (\$250–300), (\$300–350), (\$350–400), (\$400–450),

(\$450-500), (\$500-550), (\$600-650), (\$650-700), (Over \$700)

E. What sorts of things do you look for in a job?តើអ្នកសង្កត់លើចំណុចអ្វីខ្លះពេលរើសរកការងារ?

(Please tick one box only for each row) (សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយក្នុង

	Agree strongly ស្របទាំងស្រុង	Agree somewhat ស្របខ្លះៗ	Neither agree nor disagree ពាក់កណ្ដាល ៗ	Disagree somewhat មិនស្របខ្លះៗ	Disagree strongly មិនស្របសោ ៖
Wage ព្រាក់ខែ					
Close to home កន្លែងជិតផ្ទះ					
Skill related ការងារទាក់ទងនឹងចំណេះ					
Type of job ផុនឬបែបការងារ					
With company of my friends or relatives មានអ្នកស្គាល់ឬញាតិមិត្ត					
Have room to be promoted មានលទ្ធភាពនិងដំឡើងមុខងារ					

F.How do your rate your current employment or unemployment?តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍បែបណាដែរពិសភាពការងាររបស់អ្នក?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Very unsatisfactory	unsatisfactory	Ok	satisfactory	very satisfactory
មិនពេញចិត្តជាខ្លាំង	មិនពេញចិត្ត	ផម្នុតា	ពេញចិត	ពេញចិតជាខ្លាំង

Please explain: សូមបញ្ចេញយោបល់

G. Have you gained any promotions? តើអ្នកដែលមានបានឡើងមុខដំណែងទេ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមគូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Yes	No
មាន	មិនមាន

H. Have you experienced any discriminations in your work place?តើអ្នកដែលមានឲ្យបការប្រកាន់ពួជសាសន៍នៅកន្លែងអ្នកធ្វើការទេ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមគូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Yes	No
មាន	មិនមាន

Please explain: សូមបញ្ចេញយោបល់

I. Do you plan to change you job in the near future?
 តើអ្នកមានបំណងនឹងផ្លាស់ប្តូរការងារនៅពេលអនាគតដ៏ខ្លីខាងមុខ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមគូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Yes	No	Don't know
ផ្លាស់ប្តូរ	មិនថ្លាស់ប្តូរ	មិនដឹងដែរ

PART THREE ភាគ៣

COMMUNITY NETWORKS AND PARTICIPATION

ទំនាក់ទំនងសង្គមនិងការចូលរួមចំណែក

VIII. Social participation

A. Do you socialise with your Kiwi friends? តើអ្នកទាក់ទងសេពគប់នឹងមានមិត្តភក្រុជនជាតិតិរិទេ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

All the time	Often	Sometimes	Not at all
រាល់តែដង	ជាញឹកញាប់	ម្លងម្កាល	ដ្នា នទាល់តែសោះ

B. Do you socialise with Cambodians? តើអ្នកទាក់ទងសេពកប់នឹងមានមិត្តភក្ត្រខ្មែរទេ?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមគូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

All the time	Often	Sometimes	Not at all
រាល់តែដង	វាញិ៍កញាប់	ម្តងម្កាល	គ្នា នទាល់តែសោះ

Please list any clubs, associations, organisations or political parties including Cambodian associations in which you actively participate:
 សូមរាយរាប់ពីខ្លិប. សមាគម. អង្គការ.នឹង គណបក្សនយោបាយខ្មែរនឹងមិនមែនជាខ្មែរដែលអ្នកចូលរួមចំណែក

Name of organisation	Position	Time spent per
ឈ្មោះអង្គការ	មុខងារក្នុងអង្គការ	week
		ចំណាយពេលក្នុងមួយអាទិត្យ

1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

D. What are things that your association has done?
 តើសមាតមរបស់អ្នកបានធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះ?

E. What are things that your association should not do?
 តើសមាគមរបស់អ្នកមិនតួរធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះ?

 F.
 Are you happy with your association?

 តើអ្នកសញាយចិត្តនឹងសមាគមរបស់អ្នកទេ?

(Please tick one box only)(សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Very happy	Нарру	Not happy
សប្បាយចិត្តណាស់	សប្បាយចិត្ត	មិនសប្បាយចិត្តទេ

 G.
 What are things that your association should do?

 តើសមាគមរបស់អ្នកត្សរធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះ?

IX. Becoming a sponsor

A. Have you sponsored anyone to New Zealand? (Please fill in appropriate box)

តើអ្នកដែលបានធានាអ្នកណាមកប្រទេសញូសេ្យទ្បិនទេ? (សូមគូសយកតែប្រអប់តែមួយ)

Yes	No
បានជានា	មិនបានផានា

(If yes, please fill in appropriate boxes)សូមបំពេញចម្លើយក្នុងតារាង់ខាងក្រោមនេះ

Relationship	Date	Reasons
ទំនាក់ទំនងនិងអ្នក	ឆ្នាំចានា	មូលហេតុ
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

B. Do you have any problems with sponsorship? (Please tick one box only)
 តើអ្នកដែលមានបញ្ហាក្នុងការធានាទេ?(សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយផ្ទរ)

Yes	No
មានបញ្ហា	មិនមានបញ្ហា

C. Do you have any problems with people you have sponsored? (Please tick one box only)

តើអ្នកដែលមានបញ្ហានិ៍ងអ្នកយកមកទេ?(ស្វមត្វសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយជួរ)

Yes	No
មានបញ្ហា	មិនមានបញ្ហា

Please explain: សូមបញ្ចេញយោបល់

PART FOUR ภาติ๔

SOCIAL IDENTITY លក្ខណ:សំំំំំំំំំំំាលំជនជាតិ

X. Identity

លក្ខណ:សំពាល់ជាតិខ្លួន

A. How do you identify yourself? តើអ្នកយល់ថាអ្នកជាជនជាតិអ្វី?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមផ្លុសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយថ្នូរ)

Kiwi	Cambodian	Cambodian	Chinese	Chinese
ឃីរី	Kiwi	ខ្មែរ	Cambodian	Cambodian
	ខ្មែរឃឹរី		ខ្មែរចិត	Kiwi
				ខ្មែរចិនឃីរី

If other, please write here:

បើផ្យេងឲ្យេតសូមសរសេរកន្លែងនេះ

- B. What are the main elements of your Cambodian culture?
 តើអ្វីទៅជាចំណុចពាតុសំពាល់ជាខ្មែរ?
 - ງ_____ ຫ_____

Values and beliefs ពម្ភៃនិងជំន្យើ

A. Would you agree with the following statements? តើអ្នកយល់ស្របនឹងឃ្លាខាងក្រោមនេះទេ?

(Please tick one box only for each row) (សូមផ្លួសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយផ្លូវ)

	Strongly agree ស្របតាិងស្រុង	Agree សមស្រប	Not agree មិនសមស្រប	Not agree at all មិនសមស្រប ទាល់តែសោះ
Sons and daughters have to look after their old parents កូនប្រុសស្រីត្រូវតែរក្សាឪ ពុកម្តាយចាស់				
Adult sons and daughters are free to make their own decision ពុនប្រុសស្រីអាយុគ្រប់ការមានសិទ្ធិនិងសំរេចចិត្តដោយខ្លួនគេ				
Sons and daughters can marry other ethnic people កូនប្រុសស្រីអាយុគ្រប់ការអាចជ្យបការនឹងជនជាតិដំទៃ				
Man and woman are equal បុរសស្ត្រីមានសិទ្ធិស្មើគ្នា				
Tertiary education is necessary ឧត្តមសិក្សាជាការចាំលច់				
Rich people are good role models អ្នកមានលុយជាមនុស្សគំរូ				
Being dishonest is okay as long as no one knows មិនទៀងត្រង់មិនជាអ្វីទេបើគេមិននឹង				
Absconding from a tontine is acceptable រត់ចោលតុងទីឧជាអំពើធម្មតា				
Gambling is part of Cambodian culture ល្បែងស៊ីសងជាទំនៀមទំលាប់ខ្មែរ				
People do not need to work hard here តេមិនចាំពាថ់ប្រឹងធ្វើការខ្លាំងនៅស្រុកនេះ				
New Zealand culture is more appealing than Cambodian culture វប្បធម៌ញូសេរ៉ូម្សិនទាក់ទាញចិត្តជាងវប្បធម៌ខ្មែរ				
It's better to learn only English ជាការល្អផេវៀនតែអង់គ្លេស				
I have encountered racial discrimination ខ្ញុំមានថ្នបប្រទះការប្រកាន់ពូជសាសន័				
Buddhism has to adapt to a new situation ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាត្រូវតែបត់បែនទៅតាមស្ថានភាពផ្ទី				
Buddhism is an important part of my life ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាជារបស់សំខាន់នៃជីវិតខ្ញុំ				
It is an necessary to have my ethnic assocation មានសមាគមជាតិខ្ញុំជាការចំាលចំ				
Cambodia is an important part of my social network ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាជារបស់សំខាន់នៃបណ្តាញសង្គមខ្ញុំ				

PART FIVE ភាព៥

THINKING ABOUT YOUR RESETTLEMENT

មតិពីការរស់នៅរបស់អ្នក

XI. Successes and Disappointments ជោគជ័យនឹងការខកចិត្ត

A. How do you define success in life? (in which areas)
 តើអ្នកសន្មត់ថាជីវិតអ្នកមានជោគជ័យដោយប្រការណា?(លើអ្វី)

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B. With whom do you usually compare your success? តើអ្នកប្រៀបពាបជោគជ័យរបស់អ្នកនឹងអ្នកណាបូរបស់ណាមួយ?

(Please tick) (សូមក្លុសយកក្នុងប្រអប់)

	Strongly agree ស្របតាំងស្រុង	Agree សមស្រប	Not agree មិនសមស្រប
--	------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------------

With my people in Cambodia ជាមួយគ្នាខ្ញុំនៅស្រុកខ្មែរ	
With my people in my community ជាមួយផ្ទាខ្ញុំនៅទីនេះ	
With my people overseas ជាមួយគ្នាខ្ញុំនៅបរទេស	
With my neighbours ជាមួយអ្នកជិតខាងខ្ញុំ	
With my peers at work ជាមួយអ្នកធ្វើការជាមួយខ្ញុំ	
With my pre-war standard of living ជាមួយនឹងក៏រិតជីវភាពរបស់ខ្ញុំនៅពេលមុនសង្គ្រាម	
With my standard of living in refugee camps ជាមួយនឹងក៏រិតជីវភាពរបស់ខ្ញុំនៅជុំរុជនភ្យេសខ្លួន	
With my standard of living when first came to NZ ជាមួយនឹងក៏វិតជីវភាពរបស់ខ្ញុំនៅពេលមកដល់ញូស្យេឲ្យិនជាដំបូង	

C. What are your most important achievements in New Zealand? តើអ្វីទៅជាសមន្និនឹងលទ្ធផលដ៏ប្រសើរបំផុតរបស់អ្នកនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន?

(Please tick one box only for each row) (សូមក្លុសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយផ្លូវ)

	Very important សំខាន់បំផុត	Important សំខាន់	Not important មិនសំខាន់
Having a proper job មានការងារត្រឹមត្រូវ			
Able to run a family business អាចរកស៊ីមានហាងខ្លួនឯង			
Gained a qualification តានទទួលសញាចត្រ			
I am well off / rich ខ្ញុំមានធ្ងរពារ			
Able to support my children for good education ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពទ្រទ្រង់ក្នុនឱ្យបានវ្យនខ្ពស់ល្អ			
Able to stay home and look after my family ខ្ញុំមានលខ្ធភាពនៅផ្ទះរក្យាក្រុមគ្រួសារ			
Able to do well in life ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពកែលំអជីវិតខ្ញុំ			

Being happy in New Zealand ខ្ញុំមានសុភមង្គលនៅញូស្យូម្យិន	
Having a good job ខ្ញុំមានការងារល្អ	
Being able to help others ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពជួយអ្នកដទៃ	
Being able to help my community ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពជួយសហគមខ្ញុំ	
Having a good house ខ្ញុំមានផ្ទះល្អ	

D. What factors helped you to achieve them?
 តើកត្តាអ្វីខ្លះដែលជួយអ្នកឱ្យមានជោគជ័យខាងលើនេះ?

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E. What were your worse disappointments in New Zealand?
 តើអ្វីទៅជាការខកចិត្តជាងតេរបស់អ្នកនៅញូស្យ៉េឡិន។

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F.	What factors caused those disappointments?
	តើកត្តាអ្វីខ្លះដែលបណ្តាលឱ្យមានការខកចិត្តខាងលើនេះ?

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G.Who helped you solve the problems?តើមានអ្នកណាជួយដោះស្រាយបញ្ហាខាងលើ?

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H. How would you rate your life at present?តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណាដែរពីជីវិតរបស់អ្នកនៅពេលនេះ?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមផ្លួសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយជួរ)

Very unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Ok	Satisfactory	Very
មិនពេញខិត្តទាល់តែសោះ	មិនពេញចិត្ត	ផម្មតា	ពេញចិត្ត	satisfactory
				ពេញចិត្តណាស់

	as made your adaptation to New Zealand easy? ដែលថ្នួយសំរួលការរស់នៅរបស់អ្នកតាមបែបបទញូស្យេទ្បិន?
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What h	is made your adaptation to New Zealand difficult?
តើកត្តាអ្វីខ្លះ	as made your adaptation to New Zealand difficult? ដែលជាបញ្ហាក្នុងការរស់នៅរបស់អ្នកតាមបែបបទញ្ចូស្យវទ្យិន?
តើកត្តាអ្វីខ្លះ ១	• •
តើកត្តាឆ្វីខ្លះ ១ ២	ដែលជាបញ្ហាំក្នុងការរស់នៅរបស់អ្នកតាមបែបបទញ្ <u>ូ</u> ស្យំទ្យិន?
តើកត្តាអ្វីខ្លះ ១ ២ ៣	ដែលជាបញ្ហាំក្នុងការរស់នៅរបស់អ្នកតាមបែបបទញ្ចូស្យំទ្យិន?

K. How do you rate your resettlement in New Zealand?តើអ្នកយល់ថាការមករស់នៅរបស់អ្នកនៅញសេរូទ្យិនយ៉ាងដូចម្តេចដែរ?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយក្នុង

Very unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Ok	Successful	Very successful
គ្នានជោគជ័យទាល់តែសោះ	មិនមានជោគជ័យ	ផម្ភតា	មានជោគជ័យ	មានជោគជ័យជាខ្លាំង

L. How do you describe your adaptation? តើអ្នកយល់ថាលំនាំជីវភាពរស់នៅរបស់អ្នកតាមបែបញស្រ្យទ្យិនជាបែបណាដែរ?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមគូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយជួរ)

Assimilation	Full integration	Some integration	Separation	Marginalisation
ក្លាយតាមឃីវិទាំងអស់បាត់ជាខ្មែ	រស់ស្នើជាខ្មែរឃឹរី	ជាខ្មែរបន្តិចនិងជាឃីវិបន្តិច	រស់ដាច់ជាខ្មែរសុទ្ធមិនចុះសំរុង	មិនចុះសំរុងជាខ្មែរនិងជាឃិរី
			ជាឃីវិ	

M. What are things you like about New Zealand? តើអ្វីទៅដែលអ្នកចូលចិត្តប្រទេសញូស្យ៉េឡិន?

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N. What are thing you don't like about New Zealand? ពើអ្វីទៅដែលអ្នកមិនចូលចិត្តប្រទេសញុស្សំឡិន?

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XII. Intentions or future goals បំណងទៅអនាគត

A. Would you encourage your relatives to come to live in New Zealand?
 តើអ្នកនឹងជំរុញបងប្អូនអ្នកមករស់នៅប្រទេសញស្សេទៀនទេ?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយក្នុរ)

Yes	No	Don't know
និងជំរុញ	មិនជំរុញ	មិនដឹងដែរ

B. Have you considered moving overseas? តើអ្នកដែលតិតចាកចេញពីប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិនទៅរស់នៅបរទេសទេ?

(Please tick one box only) (សូមតូសយកក្នុងប្រអប់តែមួយក្នុងមួយផ្លូវ)

Yes	No	Don't know
ព្លាប់តិត	មិនដែលគិត	មិនដឹងដែរ

C. What factors have caused you to remain in New Zealand? តើអ្វីទៅដែលទាក់ទាញអ្នកឱ្យនៅតែរស់នៅក្នុងប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន?

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D. What would you like to do in the future?
 เถ็มูกษาธชัณานธินเซิมิมีใช่มเขามรกสถ?

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E. What do you think of the future of your community for your children's generation?

តើអ្នកមានយោបល់យ៉ាងណាដែរអំពីអនាគតរបស់សហគមខ្មែរជំនាន់ក្នុនចៅអ្នក?

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XIII. Other comments

យោបល់ផ្យេងៗ

A. Do you have any further comments?
 តើអ្នកមានយោបល់បន្ថែមទៀតទេ?

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Please return this questionnaire with the envelope provided.

សូមលោកនិងលោកស្រីមេត្តាបញ្ជូនសំណុំចម្លើយនេះទេវិញតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រដែលជូនភ្ជាប់ជាមួយនេះស្រាប់។

For further inquiry please write to: เช็เฌากธินณากุณียายณ์ญายใฐยนูขยุญญ่ญขอาก่อนกาย

Man Hau Liev 4 Ribot Place Manurewa East Auckland 1702

Or phone: 09 – 267 2877 or email to: man.hau@xtra.co.nz

បូសូមទូរសព្ទ 0៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ បូក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ man.hau@xtra.co.nz

ខ្ញុំបាទនិងជំរាបតាមសំណួរដោយមេត្រីភាព។

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation. ខ្ញុំតាទសូមថ្លែងអំណរគុណជាអនេកច្បការចំពោះពេលដ៏មានតម្លៃនិងសហប្រតិបត្តការរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី។

Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet — Monks

NEW ZEALAND		Department of Development Studies			
W		The University of Auckland			
		Private Bag 92019, Auckland.			
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET					

Title: Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand

Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development

To: Mr. / Mrs. / Ms. ____

My name is Man Hau Liev. I am a student at the University of Auckland. I am conducting a research project as part of a PhD Degree in Development Studies. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my thesis on Cambodian Community Development and have chosen this field because of my interest in working with people from Cambodia.

Your organisation is invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. As part of my thesis I am conducting a postal survey with people from Cambodia and would like to learn about your community settlement and integration here in New Zealand and would like to know about your idea and opinions on how to improve future settlement. I would like to ask your organisation permission to approach your individual members through your membership lists or networks. I would appreciate your organisation participation and the completion of this questionnaire. You are under no obligation at all to complete the questionnaire. I would like to have a follow up interview with you if needed. You are under no obligation at all to be interviewed. Interviews would take about an hour to an hour and half at the time and place of your convenience. I would prefer to audio/videotape the interview but this would only be done with your consent and could be turned off at any time or you can withdraw information at any time. It is possible that, because of the small size of the community, Cambodians might recognise individuals from either descriptions of events, from biographical details or descriptions of people. But I would like to assure the confidentiality of your comments. Also you may withdraw yourself, or your data without giving any reason within four weeks after

If you do wish to participate please fill in a Consent Form, complete the questionnaire and return them with the envelope provided. All information you provide in this questionnaire is confidential and your name will not be used.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries, or wish to know more, please phone me at home at the number given above or write to me at: Department of Development Studies

The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland. Tel 373-7599

the completion of the data collection.

My supervisors are:	Dr. Ward Friesen School of Geography and		Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson Department of Sociology		
	Environmental Science		Department of Sociology		
	Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612	Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612			
The Head of Department is:	Assoc-Professor Julie Park				
	Department of Development Studies				
	The University of Auckland				
	Private Bag 92019				
	Auckland.	Tel. 3737	7-7599 extn		
For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact:					

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office - Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7599 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

NEW ZEALAN	D				Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland
					Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
		PARTICIPANT IN			HEET
		ពត៌មានសំរ៉ាប់អ្ន	ក្រសូលរួមផ្ទេ	លម្ភលេ	
ឈ្មោះពម្រោងសិក្យ	า:	លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតិតជនភ្យេស	ខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រ	បទេសញូស្យេទ	ຍິີຍ
		សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងកា	រអភិវិឌ្ឍន៏ស	ហែជម័	
តោរពជូនលោកប្រធាន	3				
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•				•	សាវជ្រាវដើម្បីធ្វើនិក្ខេបទថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិត អំពីលំនាំ
		ប្រៃទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាព			
		ានការចាប់អារម្មណ៍លើ ការវិវត្តន័ល្ងត	បាល់នៃសង្គម	រខ្មែរយើង និងកា	រវរក្យា
វច្បធម៌ខ្មែរយើងនៅប្រ	<i>y</i>			0.1	A A A .
					យើងជាសមាជិកក្នុងបញ្ជីរបស់លោកមកចូលរួម
	•				ាកប្រធាននឹងសលការី។ សលការនឹងការផ្តល់
				•	នការតាំងលំនៅថ្មី និងជាប្រវត្តិកំណត់ការអភិវ
		វាមេរ្យេនដើម្បីជួយសំរូលដល់អ្នកជំនាន់	-		
•					ណ្វរនេះមានរយៈប្រហែលជា9ម៉ោងកន្លះ។
		តេប្រហែលជាអាចស្គាល់បុគ្គលខ្លះៗតាម 			
•	•	ាជាសម្ងាព់នូវឈ្មោះបុគ្គលនិងម្ចាស់យោ	ថលំ។ហើយថ	ប៊ីលោកប្រធានន៏រ	ងសលការីអនុញ្ញាតិផង
នោះខ្ញុំបាទសូមធ្វើសម្ភ ភ					d
					រុក៏ដកខ្លួនឈប់ធ្វើ សម្ភាសឬក៏លុបខ្សែអាត់សំ
		ងដកខ្លួន ឬដកយកសំដីឯកសារដោយមិ		•	
		•	រូមលោកប្រធ	ាននិងសហការីវេ	លាកមេត្តាបំពេញពាក្យយល់ព្រមលើយបញ្ជូនត
បតាម ស្រោមសំបុត្រាំ				. ~	
` _	ណដំជ្រាលជ្រេ	វាចំពោះសមានចិត្តដ៏សច្បុរសនឹងពេលដំ	មានតម្លៃរបត	រលោកប្រធាននិ៛	រសលការី ដែលញ៉ាំងឱ្យការសិក្សានេះមានដំ
ណិរការបាន។			~ ^		
		ល់ ឬមានសំនួរផ្សេងៗ សូមមេត្តាទាក់៖ Studior	ទងនឹងខ្ញុំបាទផ	ពមអាស័យដ្ឋានខ	រាងក្រោមនេះ
Department of De The University of		Studies			
Private Bag 9201 Auckland.	9				
ក្មមនិសារ ខ្មែរសារខ្លំ ហិទលេខ 0	ឌ្ "គេ១៧គេ៥	៧៧ ឬ ០២៥-៦୨୨៨៣៣០	ឬ អ៊ីមែល	man.hau	@xtra.co.nz
		u			
អ្នកត្រួតពិនិត្យ	Dr. War	d Friesen	Assoc-Pa	of. Cluny Ma	acpherson
		School of Geography and		Department	of Sociology
		Environmental Science The University of Auckland			
		Private Bag 92019 Auckland.	Tal 272	-7599 extn. 8	0610
The Head of Dep	artment is:		Tel. 575	-7399 extil. c	5012
		Department of Development The University of Auckland	Studies		
		Private Bag 92019	-	-	
មើមានមនិពរនៃទតវិល	ផមិតមេហោង	Auckland. និងលោកស្រីមេត្តាទាក់ទងនិង	Tel. 373-	-7599 extn	
របកពេតចិ៍ពេឌើពេពព	ក០ហ្វឹ០ហេប្រ	កកសការទំរាក់ស្ថានពានរាជវា			
		39	85		
		50	55		

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APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND		Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland				
		Private Bag 92019, Auckland.				
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET ពត៌មាននិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃចូលរួមធ្វើសម្ភាស						
ឈ្មោះតម្រោងសិក្យា: លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យៀសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន						
	សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវិឌ្ឍន៏សហគម					

ប្រពេនព្រះពេជពុណ_____

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាឈ្មោះ លីវ មាន់ លោី ជានិស្សិតបណ្ឌិតផ្នែកអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ នៅមហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្នកខ្លិន ធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវដើម្បីធ្វើនិក្ខេបទថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិត អំរើលំនាំងី រំភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញុស្សេទ្យិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍សហគម។

មូលហេតុនៃការសិក្យានេះគីខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាមានការចាប់អារម្មណ៍លើការវិវត្តន័ល្ធតលាស់នៃសង្គមខ្មែរយើង និងការរក្យារំប្បធម៌ខ្មែរយើងនៅប្រទេសញូស្ស៉េឡិ ននេះ។

យោលទៅតាមបំណងខាងលើ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាស្វមនិមន្តព្រះតេជគុណចូលរួមសហការធ្វើសម្ភាសពិភក្យាជាមួយខ្ញុំករុណាដែលមានបំណងដកស្រង់បទពិសោធ ន័

ផ្សេងៗ និងទស្សនៈរបស់ព្រះពេងគុណ។ សលការនិងការផ្តល់មតិរបស់ព្រះពេងគុណជាបថ្ខ័យដែលកាត់ថ្លៃមិនបាននេះជាកំណប់មរតកចំណេះដឹងក្នុងបទពិស សាធតំនៃការតាំងលំនៅថ្មី និងជាប្រវត្តិកំណត់ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏នៃសង្គមខ្មែរយើង ដែលអាចយកជាមេរ្យេន ដើម្បីជួយសំរូលដល់អ្នកជំនាន់ក្រោយៗទៀត។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាមានជំនឿថាព្រះពេងគុណនិងមិនទើសទាល់នឹងសលការនេះ។ កិច្ចបំពេញសំណូរនេះមានរយៈប្រហែលជា១ម៉ោងកន្លះ។ សូមបញ្ជាក់ថា ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណានិងរក្សាជាសម្ងាត់នូវព្រះនាមម្ចាស់យោបល់។ ហើយបើព្រះពេងគុណអនុណ្ញាតិផងនោះ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមថតអាត់ដើម្បីសំរូលការសិក្យា។ កិច្ចសម្ភាសពិភក្សានេះមានរយៈប្រហែលជា១ម៉ោងកន្លះ។ ព្រះពេងគុណមានសិទ្ធិគ្រប់ពេលនិងបិទម៉ាស៊ីនថតឬក៏ដកខ្លួនឈប់ធ្វើសម្ភាស ឬក៏លុបខ្សែអាត់ ពុទ្ធដីការវិញ។ ព្រះពេងគុណមានសិទ្ធិនិងដកខ្លួនឬដកយកសំដីឯកសារដោយមិនចាំបាច់មានមូលហេតុក្នុងរយៈ៤នាទិត្យក្រោយពេលពិភក្សា។

បើសិនជាព្រះតេជគុណយល់ព្រមចូលរួមធ្វើសម្ភាសនោះ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមព្រះតេជគុណមេត្តាបំពេញពាក្យយល់ព្រមហើយបញ្ជូនតបតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រដែ លក្ខន ភ្ជាប់នេះចែកទានផង។

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមថ្លែងអំណរគុណដ៏ជ្រាលជ្រៅចំពោះសមានចិត្តដ៏សច្បុរសន៏ងពេលដ៏មានតម្លៃរបស់ព្រះតេជគុណ ដែលញ៉ាំងឱ្យការសិក្យានេះមានដំណើរកា របាន។

បើសិនជាព្រះតេជគុណមានចម្ងល់ ឬមានសំន្ទរផ្សេងៗ ស្វូមមេត្តានិមន្តទាក់ទងនិងខ្ញុំកុរណាតាមអាស័យដ្ឋានខាងក្រោមនេះ Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland.							
ប្តូទូរសព្ទខ្ញុំបាទលេខ ០៩_២៦៧២៩	ଗାରା ପୂଁ ୦୭୫-୨୨୨୯୩୩୦	ប្ញូ អ៊ីមែល	man.hau@xtra.co.nz				
អ្នកត្រួតពិនិត្យ Dr. Ward	d Friesen	Assoc-Pi	of. Cluny Macpherson				
	School of Geography and Environmental Science The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019		Department of Sociology				
	Auckland.	Tel. 373	8-7599 extn. 8612				
The Head of Department is:	Assoc-Professor Julie Park Department of Development The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland.		-7599 extn				

បើមានមន្តិលផ្នែកសីលធម៌សូមលោកន៏ងលោកស្រីមេត្តាទាក់ទងនឹង

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7999 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

222	THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND
-	

សេចក្តីយល់ព្រម

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

សេចក្តីយល់ព្រមនេះនិងដំកល់ទុក៦ឆ្នាំ

Title:	Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand
	Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development
ឈ្មោះជម្រោងសិក្យា:	លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យ៉េឡិន
	សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម
Researcher:	Man Hau Liev
អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ:	លីវ មាំនំ លើរាំ

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered. ខ្ញុំតានទទួលនឹងយល់ដឹងពីតម្រោងសិក្សានេះ។ ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពនឹងសាកសូវនឹងចម្លើយ។

- I agree to take part in this research.
 ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមចូលរួមគម្រោងសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ
- I agree to provide my community membership list for this research.
 ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមផ្តល់បញ្ជីសមាជិកសំរាប់គម្រោងសិក្យាស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me at any time up to 4 weeks after the meeting without giving a reason. อู้สีนชาอู้มายสกออุธชพธินสกุฒกุษฐพิมษณ์อู้กานและเกณ๔มาธิกฎเกาพที่ใช้ผู้ผู้ติญเสาพษิธฮาตาช่างผู้ญัยงเกลุฯ
- I agree/do not agree that the interview will be audio/video taped รุ้เขญ่เกษ ษิธุณญัเกษ เมาเซเลซุลุณฐุษ วิเนมู

Signed:ທ_ືສຸເ໙ອາ:

Name:ឈ្មោះ

(please print clearly) Date:កាលបរិច្ឆេទ

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

អនុញាតិពីគណកម្មការាំ	ផ្នែកសីលធម៌នៃា	មហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្វកខ្លិន	តៅថ្ងៃទី <i>១៩</i> មិថុនា២០០២	រយៈពេល៣ឆ្នាំ ចាប់ពី២០_៦	_000g
THE UNIVERSITY A	ALLOY LAND				

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND	Department of Development Studies
W	The University of Auckland
	Private Bag 92019, Auckland.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET ពត៌មានសំរ៉ាប់អ្នកចូលរួមបំពេញសំណួរសម្ភាស

ឈ្មោះគម្រោងសិក្យា:

លំនាំងីរំភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្សេំឡិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម

កោរពជូនលោក លីវ រិទ្ធី ប្រពានពុទ្ធិសមាតមខ្មែរនៅអ្នកខ្លិន

ខ្ញុំបាទឈ្មោះ លីវ ម៉ាន់ លើរ ជានិស្យិតបណ្ឌិតផ្នែកអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ នៅមហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្នកខ្លិន។ ខ្ញុំបាទធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវដើម្បីធ្វើនិក្ខេបទថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិត អំពីលំនាំ ជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភៀសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញុស្យេទៀន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម។ មូលហេតុនៃការសិក្យានេះគី ខ្ញុំបាទមានការចាប់អារម្មណ៍លើ ការវិវត្តន៍លូតលាស់នៃសង្គមខ្មែរយើង និងការរក្យា វប្បធម៌ខ្មែរយើងនៅប្រទេសញុស្យេទ្យិននេះ។

យោលទៅតាមចំណងខាងលើ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមអញ្ជើញលោកប្រធាននិងសហការីរបស់លោកដែលជាជនជាតិខ្មែរយើងជាសមាជិកក្នុងបញ្ជីរបស់លោកមកចូលរួម សហការជាមួយខ្ញុំបាទដែលមានចំណងដកស្រង់បទពិសោធន៍ផ្សេងៗ និងទស្សន:របស់លោកប្រធាននិងសហការីតាមបែបសំណួរសម្ភាសនេះ។

បើសិនជាលោកប្រធានន៏ងសហការីយល់ព្រមចូលរួមនោះ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមលោកប្រធានមេត្តាចែកសំណួរសម្ភាសទៅវា្ធនសមាជិករបស់លោកចំនួន ៤០នាក់ ដើម្បីបំពេញពាក្យសំណួរនេះចែកទានផងហើយសូមបញ្ជូនសំណៅសំណួរដែលបានបំពេញតាមស្រោមសំបុត្របិទតែមស្រេចដែលវា្ធនភ្ជាប់នេះចែក ទានវិញផង។សូមលោកមេត្តាចែកវា្ធនតាមឈ្មោះប្តូតាមអាយុន៏ងភេទដែលចែងតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រនេះស្រាប់។

ចំនួនទាំងអស់ ៤០នាក់ សូមលោកមេត្តាចែកវានទៅតាមប្រភេទសមាជិកជំរើសតាមតារាងខាងក្រោមនេះចែកទានផង។

តារាងជំរើស				
ប្រភេទសមាជិក	ស្ត្រី	បុរស	សារុប	
អាយុតិចជាង ៣០ឆ្នាំ	៥នាក់	៥នាក់	9081n	
អាយុពី ៣០ទៅ៥០ឆ្នាំ	៥នាក់	៥នាក់	9081n	
អាយុពី លើសពី៥០ឆ្នាំ	៥នាក់	៥នាក់	9081n	
អ្នកជំនួញខ្មែរ	່ ອຣາກໍ	២នាក់	៤នាក់	
បុគ្គលិកសមាគមខ្មែរ	ເບລາກໍ່	៤នាក់	ວຣາກໍ	
សារុបចំនួនសមាជិក	9 ย ์ธาที่	២១នាក់	៤០នាក់	

ខ្ញុំបាទសង្ឃ៍មថាលោកប្រធាននឹងមេត្តាអនុគ្រោះនឹងអធ្យាស្រ័យតាមសំណូមពររបស់ខ្ញុំបាទជាមិនខាន។

ខ្ញុំបាទស្វមថ្លែងអំណរគុណដ៏ជ្រាលជ្រៅឲុកញាមុនចំពោះសមានចិត្តដ៏សច្បុរសនិងពេលដ៏មានតម្លៃរបស់លោកប្រធានន៏ងសលការី ដែលញ៉ាំងឱ្យការសិក្យារ នះមានដំណើរការបាន។

ពុំគួរសូមលោកប្រធានមេត្តាអភ័យទោស។

សូមជូនភ្ជាប់ជាមួយនូវសេចក្តីពោរពនិងភាពរភាពដ៏ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ពីខ្ញុំបាទា

លីវ ម៉ាន់ ល៉ៅ

បើសិនជាលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានចម្ងល់ ឬមានសំនួរផ្សេងៗ សូមមេត្តាទាក់ទងនឹងខ្ញុំបាទតាមអាស័យដ្ឋានខាងក្រោមនេះ

Man Hau Liev	ប្ត	Department of Development Studies
4 Ribot Place Manurewa East Auckland 1702		The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland.

ឬទូរសរ្តខ្ញុំតាទលេខ ០៩_២៦៧២៨៧៧ ឬ ០២៥_៦១១៨៣៣០ ឬ អ៊ីមែល man.hau@xtra.co.nz សំណូំពរសមាសភាពគណកម្មការត្រួតពិនិត្យនៅក្រុងអ្នកខ្លិន លោក លីវ រិទ្ធិ លោក អ៊ីច អ្នន លោក លីម សារ៉ាត លោក លីម ថ្លល លោក គេប្រា លីម។

បើអាចធ្វើទៅបានសូមលោកមេត្តាចែកឈ្មោះដែលមានខាងក្រោមនេះចែកទានផង។ បើសិនជាមិនអាចបានតាមឈ្មោះទេនោះ សូមលោកមេត្តាចាត់ចែងត ាមបំណងរបស់លោកចែកទានផង។ សូមអរគុណ។

តារាងជំរើស	-			
ប្រភេទសមាជិក	ស្ត្រី	បុរស	សារុប	
អាយុតិចជាង ៣០ឆ្នាំ	៥នាក់	៥នាក់	908ាក់	
	និងអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត	និ៍ឯអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត		
អាយុពី ៣០ទៅ៩៩ឆ្នាំ	៥នាក់	៥នាក់	90នាក់	
	ប្តអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត	ប្តអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត		
អាយុពី លើសពី៩៩ឆ្នាំ	៥នាក់	៥នាក់	90នាក់	
	និងអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត	ប្តអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត		
អ្នកជំនួញខ្មែរ	່ບຮາກໍ່	២នាក់	៤នាក់	
	និងអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត	ប្តអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត		
បុគ្គលិកសហគមខ្មែរ	່ອສາກໍ່	៤នាក់	៦នាក់	
	ប្តអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត	ប្តអ្នកផ្សេងទៀត		
សារុបចំនួនសមាជិក	9 ៩ នាក់	២១នាក់	៤០នាក់	

Appendix 5: Participant Information Sheet — **Sponsors and volunteers**

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND New ZEALAND	Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
	Private Bag 92019, Auckland.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title: Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand

Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development

To: Mr. / Mrs. / Ms. _____

My name is Man Hau Liev. I am a student at the University of Auckland. I am conducting a research project as part of a PhD Degree in Development Studies. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my thesis on Cambodian Community Development and have chosen this field because of my interest in working with people from Cambodia.

You are invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. As part of my thesis I am conducting a postal survey with sponsors who have assisted people from Cambodia and would like to learn about your experience in helping refugee settlement here since they came to New Zealand and would like to know about your ideas and opinions on how to improve future settlement.

I would appreciate your participation and your completion of this questionnaire. You are under no obligation at all to complete the questionnaire. I would like to have a follow up interview with you if needed. You are under no obligation at all to be interviewed. Interviews would take about an hour to an hour and half at the time and place of your convenience. I would prefer to audio/videotape the interview but this would only be done with your consent and could be turned off at any time or you can withdraw information at any time. Also you may withdraw yourself, or your data without giving any reason within four weeks after the data collection.

If you do wish to participate please fill in a Consent Form, complete the questionnaire and return them with the envelope provided. It is possible that, because of the small size of the community, Cambodians might recognise individuals from either descriptions of events, from biographical details or descriptions of people. But all information you provide in this questionnaire is confidential and your name will not be used.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries, or wish to know more, please phone me on Tel: (09) 267 2877 after working hours or write to me at:

Department of Development Studies

1	1	
The University of Auckland		
Private Bag 92019		
Auckland. Tel 373-7	7599	
My supervisors are:	Dr. Ward Friesen	Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson
	School of Geography and	Department of Sociology
	Environmental Science	
	Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612	
The Head of Department is:	Assoc-Professor Julie Park	
	Department of Development	Studies
	The University of Auckland	
	Private Bag 92019	
	Auckland.	Tel. 3737-7599 extn
For any queries regarding ethica	l concerns please contact:	

For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact: The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7599 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND		Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland
		Private Bag 92019, Auckland. FORMATION SHEET ធានាចូលរួមធ្វើសម្ភាស
ឈ្មោះជម្រោងសិក្សា:	លំនាំជីវិភាពរបស់អតីតជនភា្យស	<i>N D</i>
	សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងកា	រអភិវិឌ្ឍនិសហគម
តោរពវា្ធនលោក លោកស្រី		
់ ាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេំសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅ	ប្រទេសញូសេ្យទ្បិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជា	
មូលហេតុនៃការសិក្យានេះគឺ ខ្ញុំបារ វប្បធម៌ខ្មែរយើងនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេ	រមានការចាប់អារម្មណ៍លើ ការវិវត្តន័ល្ងត ទ្យិននេះ។	លាស់នៃសង្គមខ្មែវយើង និងការរក្យា
យោលទៅតាមបំណងខាងលើ ខ្ញុំ ង់បទពិសោធន័ផ្សេងៗនិងទស្សនៈរ	រាទសូមអរ្បើញលោកនឹងលោកស្រីដែលវ បស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីដែលជាអ្នកចានា	វាជនជាតិខ្មែរយើង ចូលរួមសលការបំពេញសំនួរខ្ញុំបាទ ដែលមានបំណងដកស្រ l សលការនិងការផ្តល់មតិរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រីជាបច្ច័យដែលកាត់ថ្លៃមិនបាន ភ្នកំណត់ ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏នៃសង្គមខ្មែរយើង ដែលអាចយកជាមេរ្យេនដើម្បីជួយសំរូល
ចាំបាថ់។ សម្ភាសនេះនិងកំណត់ពេ		ថ្លៃបំពេញនេះមានរយៈប្រហែលជា១ម៉ោងកន្លះ រួមនឹងការធ្វើសម្ភាសបើសិនជា មាកស្រី។ សូមបញ្ជាក់ថា យើងខ្ញុំនឹងរក្យាជាសម្ងាត់នូវឈ្មោះបុគ្គលម្ខាស់យោបល់
។ លោកនិងលោកស្រីមានសិទ្ធិត្រប់ពេ	លេនិងដកខ្លួនឈប់ធ្វើ ឬក៏លុបសំដីវិញ។	លោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានសិទ្ធិនឹងដកយកសំដីឯកសារ
ដោយមិនចាំបាច់មានមូលហេតុក្នុង	រយៈ៤អាទិត្យក្រោយពេលពិភក្សា។	
	•	លោកស្រីមេត្តាបំពេញពាក្យយល់ព្រមហើយន៏ងឆ្លើយបំពេញសំនួរហើយស្វមមេត្តាប
ញ្ជូនតបតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រដែល ឮ ខ្ញុំបាទស្ទមថ្លែងអំណរគុណដ៏ជ្រាល ន។		វ៉មានតម្លៃរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី ដែលញ៉ាំងឱ្យការសិក្សានេះមានដំណើរការបា
Department of Developme The University of Aucklar Private Bag 92019	ent Studies	ទងនីងខ្ញុំបាទតាមអាស័យដ្ឋានខាងក្រោមនេះ
Auckland. ប្តូទូវសព្ទខ្ញុំតាទលេខ ០៩_២៦៧២	୯୦୦୫ -୨୦୦୯୩୦୦	ថ្ម អ៊ីមែល man.hau@xtra.co.nz
អ្នកត្រូតពិនិត្យ Dr. W	ard Friesen	Assoc-Prof. Cluny Macpherson
	School of Geography and Environmental Science The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Auckland.	Department of Sociology Tel. 373-7599 extn. 8612
The Head of Department i	Department of Developmen The University of Auckland	
	Private Bag 92019 Auckland.	Tel. 373-7599 extn

បើមានមន្តិលផ្នែកសីលធម៌សូមលោកន៏ងលោកស្រីមេត្តាទាក់ទងនឹង

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office — Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7999 extn 7830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036

HE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND		Department of Development Studies The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019, Auckland
	CONSENT FORM សេចក្តីយល់ព្រម	

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS សេចក្តីយល់ព្រមនេះនឹងដំកល់ឲុក៦ឆ្នាំ

Title: ឈ្មោះពម្រោងសិក្យា:	Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand Achievement, Cultural Identity and Community Development លំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញូស្យេទ្យិន សមទ្ធិសង្គម ភាពជាខ្មែរ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៏សហគម
Researcher:	Man Hau Liev
អ្នកស្រារំជ្រារំ:	លីវ មាំន់ លើាំ

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

ខ្ញុំបានទទួលនឹងយល់ដឹងពីគម្រោងសិក្សានេះ។ ខ្ញុំមានលទ្ធភាពនឹងសាកសូរនឹងចម្លើយ។

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me at any time up to 4 weeks after returning the questionnaire without giving a reason.

ខ្ញុំដឹងថាខ្ញុំអាចដកខ្លួនថយនិ៍ងដកយកចម្លើយរបស់ខ្ញុំក្នុងរយះពេល៤អាទិត្យក្រោយពីបានបញ្ជូនសំណុំចម្លើយដោយមិនចាំបាច់ផ្តល់ម្វុលហេ តុ។

 \Box I agree to take part in this research.

ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ

 I agree/do not agree that the interview will be audio/video taped รู้เชเงิเกษ ษิธเชเงิเกษ เมาเชเลงสุดเบรูษ ไเนมู

> Signed: លត្ថលេខា:

Name:ឈ្មោះ (please print clearly)

Date:កាលបរិច្ឆេទ

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 19 June 2002 for a period of 3 years, from 20/06/2002 Reference 2002/036 អនុញាតិពីគណកម្មការផ្នែកសីលធម៌នៃមហាវិទ្យាល័យអ្នកខ្លិន នៅថ្ងៃទី១៩មិថ្មនា២០០២ រយ:ពេល៣ឆ្នាំ ចាប់ពី២០_៦_២០០២

Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand Sponsor Questionnaire

សំណូរយោបល់អ្នកធានាអំពី <mark>លំតាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភៀសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញសៀម</mark>្សិន

Aims

This questionnaire is intended to gain information on your opinions and experiences as a sponsor who has assisted refugees for their resettlement.

Its contents are completely confidential. There is no need to put your name or address on this questionnaire.

បំណង

សំណូរខាងក្រោមនេះមានបំណងន៏ងស្ទូមយោបល់នឹងរៀនស្ទត្របទពិសោធន័របស់លោកនឹងលោកស្រីដែលជាអ្នកធានា(ស្តន់សំរ)

ដែលបានជួយការមកស្នាក់រអាស្រ័យនៅទីនេះដល់ជនភាស្រខ្លួនប្ញក្រុមគ្រួសាររ<u>អ្ន</u>ក។

ដំណឹងដែលបានទទួលនឹងរក្យាការលាក់ការដោយមិនអាចរកម្ចាស់ដើមឃើញ។ លោកនឹងលោកស្រីមិនចាំបាច់ចុះឈ្មោះប្តូអាស័យដ្ឋានលើ

សំំំំំំនូរទៀយ។

Information

This questionnaire is composed of 14 questions. Your opinions and participation is highly appreciated.

ដំណិ៍ងអំពិសំនួរ

សំនួរនេះមាន១៤ភាគ។ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមស្វាគមដោយពោរពន្ធវ យោបលនិងសហប្រតិបត្តការរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី។ Please return this questionnaire with the stamped envelope provided. សូមលោកនិងលោកស្រីមេត្តាបញ្ជូនចម្លើយនេះទៅវិញតាមស្រោមសំបុត្រដែលបិទតែមជួនភ្ជាប់ជាមួយនេះស្រាប់។

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation.

យើងខ្ញុំសូមរររគុណដ៏ជ្រាលជ្រៅចំពោះពេលវេលានិងសហប្រតិបត្តការរបស់លោកនិងលោកស្រី។

For further inquiry please phone: 09 – 267 2877 or email to: man.hau@xtra.co.nz

បើលោកនឹងលោកស្រីមានចម្ងល់ប្លសំនូរបន្តែមសូមទូរសព្ទលេខ០៩_២៦៧២៨៧៧ឬផ្ញើរអ៊ីមែលតាម:

man.hau@xtra.co.nz

Adaptation of Cambodian Refugees in New Zealand

Sponsor Questionnaire

សំណូរយោបល់អ្នកធានាអំពី

លំតាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភៀសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញសៀឡិន

1. What are the reasons you participated in volunteer resettlement work with Cambodian refugees?

សូមអ្នករាយរាប់ពីមូលហេតុណាខ្លះដែលអ្នកស្ម័គ្រចិត្តជួយធ្វើជាអ្នកធានាដល់ជនភាស្រខ្លួនប្ញក្រុមគ្រួសារអ្នក?

a._____ b._____ c.____ d. e.

What was your understanding of refugee needs at that stage?
 ឆើអ្នកមានយល់ដឹងយ៉ាងណាពិសេចក្តីត្រូវការផ្សេងៗរបស់ជនភៀសខ្លួននៅសម័យនោះ?

- 4. What were the main problems of people from Cambodia?
 អ្វីទៅជាបញ្ហាធំៗរបស់ជនភៀសខ្លួននៅសម័យនោះ?
 - a.______ b.______ c.______ d.______ e_____
- What were your main problems in helping them?
 អ្វីទៅជាបញ្ហាធំៗរបស់អ្នកក្នុងពេលអ្នកថ្នយជនភា្យសខ្លួននៅសម័យនោះ?
 - a._____ b._____ c.

- d._____ e.____
- What was your achievement after the first period of six months? តើអ្នកបានសំរេចលទ្ធផលអ្វីខ្លះក្នុងរយៈពេល៦ខែដំបូង?

6.

10.

a.______ b.______ c.______ d.______ e.

7. What can you say about the resettlement and adaptation of people from Cambodia?

តើអ្នកមានយោបល់យ៉ាងណាអំពីការស្នាក់អាស្រ័យន៏ងលំនាំជីវភាពរបស់អតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួនខ្មែរនៅប្រទេសញុស្យេទ្យិន?

8. What are the obvious changes of their identity? តើអ្នកបានសង្កេតឃើញមានការផ្លាស់ប្តូរឬក្នុលភាពជាខ្មែរបែបណាខ្លះ?

Do you have any on-going commitments or participation with community development for Cambodian refugees?
 តើអ្នកនៅតែមានទំនាក់ទំនងប្បាយកិចការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍សហគមខែរទេ? តើអ្នកធើអីខះ?

- តេអ្នកនៅតេមានទនាកទនងប្ញុជ្ជយកច្ចការអភវឌ្ឍនសលជមខ្មេរទេ? តេអ្នកច្វេអ្វខ្លះ?
- What are their main problems? អ្វីទៅជាបញ្ហាធំៗរបស់អតីតជនភ្ញេសខ្លួននៅពេលនេះ? a.______ b.______ c.______ d.______ e._____
- What are your main problems in helping them?
 អ្វីទៅជាបញ្ហាធំៗរបស់អ្នកក្នុងពេលអ្នកថ្ទួយអតីតជនភ្យេសខ្លួននៅពេលនេះ?
 a.

C		b
e.		C
What are the trade-off and rewards as a volunteer? เล็มูกยาธิธารีเยเนกซร์มีรียิงจุตเยเนกซร์มีอะระหง่มูกกุษณษฐภากมูกตรกา a		
เก็มูกขายถตรเป็นเขาสล์มีอี่สะอุยบุนเขาสล์มีอะระบงผมกลุ่มงษฐภายมูกตามการ a		е
เก็มูกขายถตรเป็นเขาสล์มีอี่สะอุยบุนเขาสล์มีอะระบงผมกลุ่มงษฐภายมูกตามการ a		What are the trade-off and rewards as a volunteer?
a.		
b.		I
c		
d		
e		
What can be learnt? มีเอาใช่เอมูกติธญิธญิธญิธญิธญิธญิธญิธญิ a		
អ្វីទៅដែលអ្នកបានរៀនសូត្រពីបទពិសោធន៍នេះ? a		
a		What can be learnt?
a		អីទៅដែលអកបានវេវុនសត្រពីបទពិសោធន័នេះ?
b		
c		
d		с
e Do you have any other comments? ເຕັສຼາຕອາຣເໝາບເດັບເຊັຍແຊ່ງພາງເອງສເອ? 		
តើអ្នកមានយោបល់បន្តែមផ្សេងៗទៀតទេ?		
តើអ្នកមានយោបល់បន្តែមផ្សេងៗទៀតទេ?		Do you have any other comments?
urther inquiry please phone: 09 – 267 2877 or email to: <u>man.hau@xtra.co.nz</u> ទើងលោកស្រីមានសំណូរបន្ថែមឬចម្ងល់សូមទូរសរា្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		
ានិងលោកស្រីមានសំណ្ របន្ថែមប្តូចម្ងល់សូមទ្ រសព្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		ខេធិ៍ពេននេះកាលក្លានន័ននៅភ្នាំនេះ
តនឹងលោកស្រ៊ីមានសំណ្ទរបន្ថែមប្តូចម្ងល់ស្វមឲ្ទរសព្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		
កនិងលោកស្រីមានសំណ្ឌរបន្ថែមប្ចូចម្ងល់សូមទូរសព្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		
កនិងលោកស្រីមានសំណ្ឌរបន្ថែមប្ចូចម្ងល់សូមទូរសព្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		
កនឹងលោកស្រីមានសំណ្ទរបន្ថែមប្តូចម្ងល់សូមទូរសព្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		
កនឹងលោកស្រីមានសំណ្ទរបន្ថែមប្តូចម្ងល់សូមទូរសព្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		
ានិងលោកស្រីមានសំណ្ របន្ថែមប្តូចម្ងល់សូមទ្ រសព្ទ ០៩_២៦៧ ២៨៧៧ ឬក៏អ៊ីមែលទៅ		
hau@xtra.co.nz	ì	តិ៍ងលោកស្រីមានសំណួរបន្ថែមឬចម្ងល់សូមខ្ រសព្ទ
	h	nau@xtra.co.nz
	•	ជំរាចតាមសំណូរដោយមេត្រីភាព។

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