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Gender, (im)mobility and citizenship in a refugee women's driving programme: exploring emotional citizenry in Aotearoa New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

During resettlement, refugee-background women often become socially and spatially immobilised with heavy domestic responsibilities, lack of language skills, and lack of access to personal transport. To empower women to navigate spatial and social dimensions of resettlement landscapes, Wellington-based non-governmental organisation ChangeMakers Refugee Forum implemented a driving initiative entitled *Turning the Curve*. In this article we draw upon a mixed-method evaluation of *Turning the Curve* to explore differences within stakeholders' assessments of the programme's 'success'. Specifically, we highlight tensions around the temporalities of 'success'; with some individuals emphasising the achievement of a license in a set timeframe, and others supporting an open-ended approach. Paying attention to these temporalities enabled us to explore relationships between citizenship practices, patience, and waiting. We argue that *Turning the Curve's* curation of spatial encounters between learner drivers and driving volunteers enacts Askins' concept of emotional citizenry, and that the programme's disposition to patience and a quiet politics of waiting extends emotional citizenry beyond space *through time*. Through this disposition, more innovative forms of being together emerge and women's rights to the city are enabled. We conclude that other resettlement efforts could learn a great deal from the emotional citizenry of *Turning the Curve* as a means to enhance more gender-equitable outcomes from service provision and training during refugee resettlement.

Introduction

Many societies are struggling to effectively resettle the world's growing number of refugees, many of whom are women (for a definition of the term

'refugee', refer to UNHCR. 1996). These women can often become socially and spatially immobilised with heavy domestic responsibilities, lack of language skills, and lack of access to personal transport (Bose 2014; Martin 2008; Swe 2013; Urry 2012). Without the relevant knowledge and skills needed to navigate spatial and social dimensions of resettlement landscapes, refugee women's mobility and their right to participate in and contribute to everyday city life (Lefebvre 1991) are greatly restricted.

In Bose's (2014, 157) qualitative study of refugee travel behaviours, preferences, and needs in Vermont, USA, the author claims that 'a lack of access to desired and required destinations may lead to less optimal outcomes – fewer job opportunities, poorer health, and missed chances to improve skills and education'. These 'less optimal outcomes' were also evident in Swe's (2013, 232) research with Burmese refugees in Norway. Swe claimed that, 'One respondent revealed that she had had to give up her previous job at a hotel because no public transport was available, and she could not drive'.

Former refugees in Aotearoa New Zealand have expressed similar challenges. In 2011 a group of mixed-ethnicity refugee-background women located in the capital city of Wellington identified obtaining a New Zealand driver license as a top priority need for their successful resettlement, and claimed that a driver license would enable them to become independent, have increased education and employment opportunities, be able to respond to emergencies, increase social interaction, and better integrate into New Zealand culture (ChangeMakers Refugee Forum 2015).

In response to this need, Wellington-based non-governmental organisation ChangeMakers Refugee Forum (commonly referred to as ChangeMakers) implemented a driving initiative in 2012 entitled *Turning the Curve,* which aimed to assist resettling women to access and use the New Zealand road system safely, and to improve their confidence and wellbeing.

Other refugee driving programmes have also emerged in New Zealand, including the 'Auckland Regional Migrant Services Charitable Trust' road safety programme (which no longer operates), and the Refugee Orientation Centre Trust in Hamilton, which offers theoretical driving lessons (as per their website, October 15, 2020). On the Hamilton Migrant Services Trust website (October 15 2020) they offer a programme called 'Passport 2 Drive', which progresses to a restricted license but does not enable drivers to take passengers, and the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment has recently built upon *Turning the Curve* to implement their own 'Open Road' driving programme for resettling refugees (see the New Zealand Immigration website, October 15 2020).

However, *Turning the Curve* is unique because it preceded these other initiatives, was developed in response to refugee-background women's advocacy (whereby the women took an active role in voicing their concerns to

the local community), and is governed by refugee-background women. Additionally, it does not have a strict timeframe for achieving a license. Instead, the programme administrators focus on the individual emotional journeys of the female driver participants and encourage them to turn new curves at their own pace and feel in-control of their own lives. Thus, they demonstrate a unique disposition to patience. This disposition sits at odds with the New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Strategy outcome of self-sufficiency, whereby former refugees are encouraged to access new skills and employment as quickly as possible in order to economically provide for themselves and their families and reduce their dependency on state benefits or host society members (Immigration New Zealand 2013).

This deviation from mainstream time-bound resettlement praxis has led to tensions between different stakeholders' understandings of *Turning the Curve's* 'success'. Whilst some stakeholders have expressed frustration at the length of time it can take some of the driver participants to obtain a license, others have acknowledged the benefit of patience, which Procupez (2015, s63) defines as 'waiting while working to make something happen'. On the surface, patience may appear passive; however, researchers such as Jeffrey (see *The Guardian,* May 29, 2010), Pottinger (2017), and Procupez (2015) have argued that, when there is hope for the future or a specific goal to be reached, a disposition towards patience and waiting can become activist, as it can embody a sense of creativity, generate new understandings, and enable the formation of a collective subjectivity as individuals work together to enhance their prospects.

We expand upon these tensions around temporality and success throughout this article and argue that *Turning the Curve's* active engagement through patience across time and space fosters new forms of being together and feelings of belonging somewhere. In this manner, we propose that the programme is a pertinent example of Askins (2016) concept of emotional citizenry, whereby citizenship is extended beyond the formal political sphere to include the everyday embodied experiences, feelings, and friendships that are central to actually being a citizen and reaching one's unique potential.

In what follows, we review relationships between gender and (im)mobility within the resettlement context of New Zealand, and expand upon the notion of emotional citizenry as it relates to *Turning the Curve* and broader geographical conceptualisations of citizenship. We then present our design and implementation of mixed method evaluation research. In our analysis, we focus on the key analytical categories of time, success and patience as they relate to the practices of social citizenship and emotional citizenry. We suggest that the tension around the success of *Turning the Curve* reflects the competing temporalities at play within the New Zealand refugee resettlement context. In turn, these differences reflect wider tensions around the

politics of recognition, patience and/or waiting (Conlon 2011; Mountz 2011; Pottinger 2017; Procupez 2015).

Refugee-background women's (im)mobility in New Zealand

As a signatory to the 1951 United Nations (UN) Refugee Convention, New Zealand accepts 1500 refugees per annum for settlement (half of whom are female). Refugees accepted under the annual quota scheme are accorded the legal status of 'permanent resident', which confers the majority of legal citizenship rights, allowing them to live, vote and work or study in New Zealand indefinitely (as listed on the New Zealand Immigration website, November 18, 2018).

Upon arrival into the country, quota refugees receive a six-week orientation at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre in Auckland before being resettled into a furnished house in one of eight main urban centres or regions. Over the following year, qualified social workers, caseworkers, cross-cultural workers, and trained volunteers then assisted them to connect into key government and non-government agencies to access benefits, English-language classes, medical care and education, and help them to understand New Zealand culture, navigate local systems, and where possible, find work (As listed on the New Zealand Red Cross website, November 18, 2018).

Despite these efforts, it often remains difficult for former refugees to access their rights and fully participate in New Zealand society due to limited English language fluency, unfamiliarity with New Zealand systems, low incomes and host society discrimination (ChangeMakers Refugee Forum 2015). These barriers have also been noted in other studies internationally (Bose 2014; Swe 2013; Urry 2012), and make it difficult to obtain a driver license.

To drive in New Zealand, individuals must first pass a written test to acquire their 'learner license'. For former refugees with little English this is a significant challenge. Learners then need to practice driving with an acquaintance who has their full license, or employ a professional driving instructor, presenting more challenges for resettling refugees who have few personal contacts in New Zealand or lack the money to pay for lessons. Such barriers can prevent their progress to obtaining a 'restricted license' which allows drivers the freedom to drive unassisted; or a 'full license' where drivers are deemed safe to transport passengers (As listed on the AA website, April 04, 2016). These restrictions mean that former refugees in New Zealand often drive without the appropriate license, resulting in concern for their and other road users' safety (ChangeMakers Refugee Forum 2015).

Compared to their male counterparts, refugee-background women face additional challenges in learning how to drive. In their book on gendered

mobilities, Uteng and Cresswell (2008) mentioned that women are often considered to be less mobile than men as they are geographically restricted to the domestic sphere, and in a March 8, 2013 online blog refugee resettlement researcher DeSouza claimed that, 'refugee background women experienced a double burden of stress with half the support [as men], especially as they parented on their own'. For many refugee-background women who are trying to maintain traditional domestic roles, such as cooking, cleaning, and caring for their children, or who may not have control over their household finances, building connections with host society members or paying for driving lessons can be particularly difficult (Bose 2014; Martin 2008; Swe 2013; Urry 2012). Women may also regard driving to be a masculine activity depending on the culture from which they originate. A significant proportion of refugee-background women also enter New Zealand under the category of 'women at risk' and may be dealing with past experiences of violence and oppression. Such feelings may diminish a feeling of safety beyond the private sphere or lower self-confidence and hinder the acquisition of new skills.

As a result, refugee-background women generally have fewer opportunities than refugee-background men to learn English, access employment or activities in the public sphere, or connect their families to vital services and institutions. These constraints on their social and spatial mobility can lead to a dependency on welfare services and reduced wellbeing (Mugadza 2012; Zetter and Boano 2009). Politically, these constraints also limit refugee-background women's abilities to carry out the types of everyday activities familiar to other citizens (Purcell 2002; Staeheli et al. 2012; Yzelman 2016) thereby limiting their participation in their new societies.

Conceptions of citizenship

Over the past decade, the concept of 'social citizenship' has enabled a rethinking of what it may mean for migrants and refugees to relocate and build new lives, and access their legal rights, (Mortensen 2008; Nawyn 2011; Strang and Ager 2010). Social citizenship builds upon Lefebvre's (1966) concept of the 'right to the city', in which he argues that the opportunity to participate in social and political life ought not to be reserved for an elite population but available to all residents. It also takes into consideration Harvey's (2003) claim that, rather than simply enhancing access to resources, equal access to urban life involves increasing agency – enhancing one's ability to change the city and society. When applied practically, social citizenship commonly refers to the responsibility of host societies to ensure individual citizens' or residents' wellbeing, social inclusion, and access to civil rights through the bridging or connection of these people to institutions, services and networks (Mortensen 2008; Nawyn 2011).

While increasingly popular, feminist researchers Askins (2016), Munt (2012) and Wood (2013) have argued that understandings of social citizenship still need to be more inclusive, focusing on individuals' diverse experiences of *being a citizen*, and to what extent people emotionally *feel* like they belong. In different ways, each of them has advanced ideas about emotional citizenship, but this concept currently has far less purchase outside of academic circles.

Importantly, emotional citizenship acknowledges how individuals feel included and valued, or excluded and marginalised, within different socio-spatial environments, as well as how empathic social connections may enable or sustain effective resettlement outcomes. Through her work on befriending, Kye Askins (2016, 515) claims that, 'It is precisely the emotional that opens up the potential of/for making connections, and through which nuanced relationships develop, dualisms are destabilised, and meaningful encounters emerge in fragile yet hopeful ways'. Emotional citizenship may evolve from practices of social citizenship, but not necessarily. Where it is missing and people do not feel they are included, or that they belong or are valued, it may work to undermine the goals associated with social citizenship practices, such as in the provision of training courses like learning to drive programmes.

For us, an equally important concept is that of 'emotional citizenry', which reframes people's rights beyond the formal sphere through everyday mundane and informal practices (Fluri 2012; Leitner and Ehrkamp 2006; Staeheli and Nagel 2006) that foster belonging through recognition (Strang and Ager 2010) as well as through everyday practices such as befriending and encounter (Arpagian and Aitken 2018; Askins 2014). Emotional citizenry thus exceeds any fixed legal status of citizenship and moves beyond modes of service delivery and ideas of social bridging and capital common within conceptions of social citizenship, though it might enhance both. It is experienced through forms of caring, nurtured through interpersonal encounters as well as across distance (Arpagian and Aitken 2018; Askins 2014) in ways that enable recognition of 'the intimate as foundational to and within other realms' (Pain and Staeheli 2014, 345). Thus, emotional citizenry is involved in the remaking of society beyond normal productive practices of citizenship through the ways in which a politics of engagement is enacted (Askins 2016).

Emotional citizenry also recognizes the capacity of institutions and programmes to hurt those for whom they exist (Askins drawing on Waite, Valentine, and Lewis 2014) even as they seek to foster social and/or emotional citizenship. Frequently, such hurt occurs via their emphasis on managerialism, linear or time-bound delivery of services, and the often dehumanising processes of institutional form-filling, accounting and

surveillance. For example, the New Zealand refugee resettlement strategy has the well-intentioned goal of former refugees becoming self-sufficient, productive citizens as quickly as possible, however; this goal carries with it implicit host society assumptions about how long the acquisition of particular knowledge and skills should take. It consequently risks hurting or harming resettling refugees by pushing them to gain and apply new knowledge quickly, overlooking the complex and often messy gendered realities of their lives and the time it may take for emotional aspects of *feeling* like a valued citizen to evolve. These are important distinctions to make if better resettlement outcomes are to be realised, especially for women. To do this, we now explore ChangeMaker's refugee women's learning to drive programme, *Turning the Curve*, in more detail.

Turning the curve

Taking into consideration the complexity of refugee women's lives, *Turning the Curve* enables its participant drivers to progress at a realistic and comfortable pace and avoid the risk of additional stress or re-traumatisation. The programme includes annual driving training sessions with a range of speakers from various health and safety agencies and the New Zealand Police, after which 21 women are randomly selected from a ballot to become learner drivers (referred to as participant drivers in the rest of the paper).

   The women must be between the ages of 25 and 65, located in either Wellington, Porirua, or the Hutt Valley, possess a learner license, have access to their own (or an acquaintance's) roadworthy car, have attended initial training sessions, and be able to afford the $130 (NZD) exam fee plus the ongoing expenses of warranting, registering, and refueling a vehicle. Selected participant drivers receive lessons with one of the three professional driving instructors employed by the programme until they are deemed safe to practice on the road with a local volunteer. Interpreters are available for assistance whilst driving, and local sponsors donate the funds to pay for the professional lessons, which instructors offer at a subsidised cost. For individuals learning to drive outside the programme, no initial training sessions or sessions with volunteers are available; however, residents would usually rely on the support and knowledge of family and friends (Figures 1 and 2).

   Between its inception in July 2012 and the end of its third year in June 2015 (the period of our research), *Turning the Curve* provided 61 refugee-background women from the Wellington Somali, Sri Lankan, Iraqi, Kurdish, Afghani, Bhutanese, South Sudanese, Eritrean, Colombian, Ethiopian, and Burmese communities with the opportunity of learning to drive. Out of this total, 31 had obtained a Restricted License, and of these 31 women, eight had also achieved a Full License. These figures reflected an element of
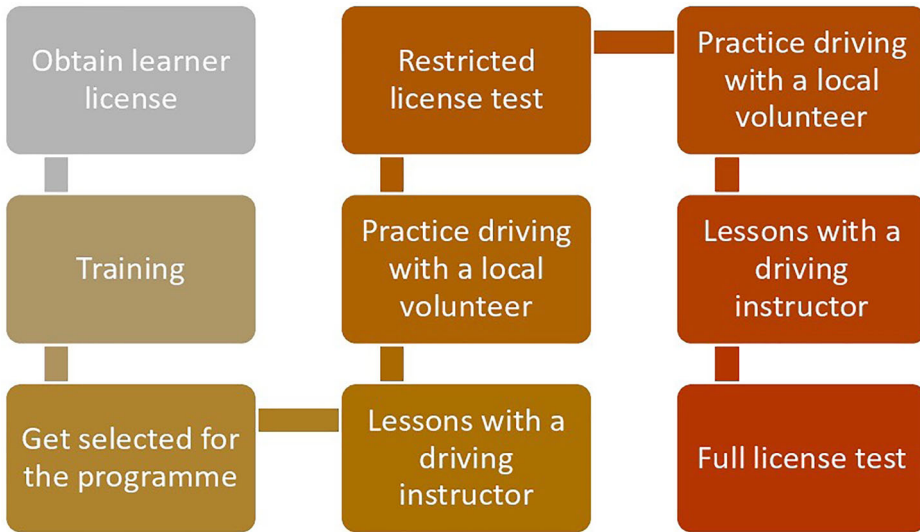
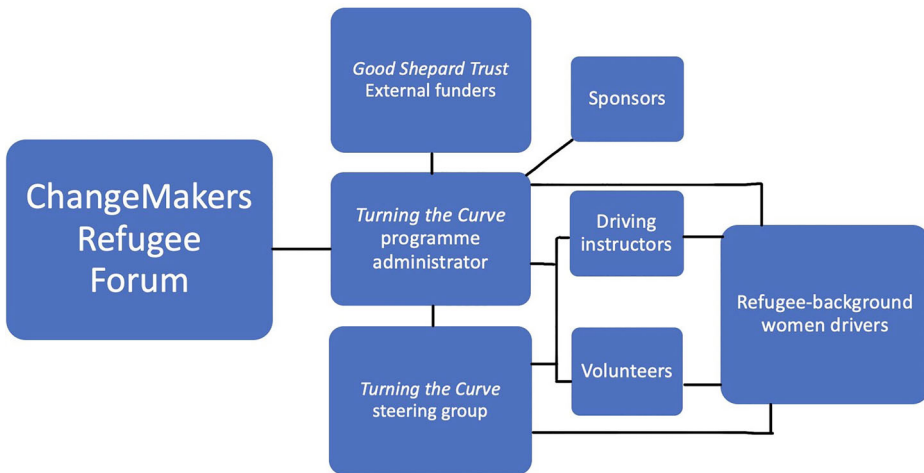**Figure 1.** Steps to obtain a license in 'turning the curve'

Figure 2. Stakeholder relationships

success for *Turning the Curve,* particularly as the programme's annual pass rate for women taking their Restricted License test in their first year of driving was 62.5 per cent; a rate slightly higher than the national annual pass rate of 60 per cent for restricted licenses (As listed on the AA website, April 04, 2016).

In 2015, the funders of *Turning the Curve*, the Good Shepherd Asia Pacific Trust, invited us to do an evaluation. They were particularly keen to learn more about the programme's success, sustainability and potential to be transferred to other urban centres in New Zealand. We discuss sustainability and transferability elsewhere (Kale and Kindon 2016), tailoring this article to

focus on the temporal tensions around different stakeholders' understandings of success.

Research design and implementation

Drawing upon *Turning the Curve's* women-centered focus, we aimed to take a feminist collaborative learning approach towards the design and implementation of our work, fostering non-hierarchical relations where possible (Coloma 2008; Collie et al. 2010; Hajdukowski-Ahmed et al. 2008; Martin 2008; Moss 2002). However, most refugee-background women driving participants had limited facility in English, and in reality, collaborative design was confined to interactions with ChangeMakers staff, the *Turning the Curve* programme's administrator, and a five-women 'steering group' who represented the interests of the participant drivers.

Once university ethical approval had been granted, we (the authors) facilitated a discussion with the steering group in a ChangeMakers' meeting room, to ask about their understanding of the programme's value, and their suggestions for conducting culturally-sensitive research. Over the following weeks, the first author continued to use this meeting room to carry out semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with ChangeMakers' general manager, an ex-staff member who had been involved in *Turning the Curve's* initial implementation and *Turning the Curve's* programme administrator. Questions covered the operational efficiency of the programme, personal programme experiences, and suggestions for the programme's future development. The lead author also carried out similar interviews with the three driving instructors employed by the programme to learn about how they viewed the women's progress during driving lessons and how these lessons might be enhanced to enable better outcomes in terms of gaining a driver license.

Because we did not have the time to interview all the driver participants in *Turning the Curve*, we used data provided by the programme administrator to select a purposeful sample of nineteen of the total 61 refugee-background women drivers for interview. Such purposive sampling ensured that women from diverse ethnic groups, age groups, and geographical locations were fairly represented in the research. Selected drivers were then contacted by the programme administrator and invited to take part in individual interviews in locations of their choice.

Responding to drivers' choices of where to be interviewed meant that interviews took place in women's homes. This choice also supported the steering group's advice that women would feel more comfortable in familiar surroundings and helped to create a more equal balance of power (Moss 2002; Valentine 2005). Women also chose the terms and conditions within which they shared information. For example, several women chose to have

the first author handwrite rather than audio-record their responses due to concerns about who may listen to the subsequent audio file. Having these options available meant that the interviews ran relatively smoothly and, despite university ethics classifying these women as being from a 'vulnerable' group, they spoke rather candidly with the first author. However, the women still hesitated when sharing constructive criticism of the programme as they did not wish to appear ungrateful for the opportunities that *Turning the Curve* had afforded them.

Four of the women also requested the use of interpreters. Whilst their help in enabling the first author to communicate across language barriers was invaluable, some translations were possibly indirect as a result. Some participants may also have potentially withheld sharing experiences with an interpreter from their own community to prevent gossip and protect their privacy (Temple and Edwards 2006).

In addition to the steering group discussion and individual interviews, a survey was implemented via e-mail with the 68 volunteers and 55 sponsors involved in the programme. Surveying was chosen as time restrictions prevented individual interviews with these participants. Seventeen volunteers and nine sponsors responded. Like in the interviews, survey participants answered questions regarding their own perceptions of the success of *Turning the Curve*.

Data from the group discussion and interviews were indexed noting key answers and verbatim quotes, and confidential copies were returned to participants. All data was then collated and coded inductively. Inductive coding enabled key themes to arise from individual analyses of the programme's value to fairly represent the diverse individuals, interests, and politics at play (Cope 2010).

A final evaluation-style report was delivered in 2016, in which themes were discussed within the framework of success, sustainability and transferability requested by Good Shepherd Asia Pacific Trust. This secured the programme funding for a further three years. Permission was also granted within initial ethical approval for us to write and publish this paper, assuming reference to individuals' names, ethnicities, ages, or other identifying factors were avoided to maintain confidentiality. Whilst the report shared valuable insight into the operations and outcomes of *Turning the Curve* so that stakeholders could continue to support and enhance the programme's implementation; the more critical analysis we develop here is important to produce new knowledge around the conception and practices associated with emotional citizenry currently being developed in feminist geography, as well as to acknowledge the unique emotional and social value that *Turning the Curve* brings to rethinking 'success' within refugee resettlement contexts in New Zealand and elsewhere.

Outcomes/findings

From our assessment, it was evident that driver participants highly valued *Turning the Curve*, saying how their licenses enabled them to, *'go wherever I want and come to work and be relaxed and other things, and visiting family members"*, and to *"care for my children, I can go shopping myself, if my husband is not in the home and my child is sick I can take her to the doctor'*. They also mentioned how they could attend English classes, places of worship and social gatherings. Thus, as theorised in existing literature, the mobility afforded to these refugee-background women through obtaining a driver's license has greatly enhanced their ability to participate in and contribute to society (Mugadza 2012; Zetter and Boano 2009), and access the basic rights that come with New Zealand permanent residency or citizenship.

Drivers and driving instructors also commented that a license enabled women who may otherwise be driving illegally to have the means and ability to drive safely on New Zealand roads. One driver stated that now she was, *'following the New Zealand rules of driving'.* Another safety benefit raised by a steering-group member was that, *'When it is at night, coming from the train is so dangerous, you know, some people don't really care about women. So if she's [a refugee-background woman] working in Upper Hutt she can't catch the train, she's now coming by her car, going by her car; so it is safety'.* This sense of increased safety is noteworthy in New Zealand where women are sometimes afraid to travel alone at night or in specific locations due to social issues regarding the sexual objectification of women, trivialization of rape, and victim blaming (Attenborough 2014). For refugee-background women who may also have been the victims of sexual war crimes prior to or during their migration, and who are frequently employed in night shift-work as carers or cleaners, the safety offered through driving takes on even greater significance within their resettlement.

One driving practice volunteer also commented that, *'Programmes like this reduce inequity, as they make getting a licence obtainable'*, and many stakeholders viewed getting a license as a milestone to becoming a true 'Kiwi woman' with all the freedoms that entails. Drivers made comments like, *'I feel more confident about myself and I think that I can do it … whatever you want you can achieve it if you really work for it'*; and, *'I feel I have all of my rights'*. One sponsor defined *'driving licenses as a ticket to full adulthood in our society',* whilst a steering-group member claimed that having a license is, *'a very good opportunity to women to be yourself … have your freedom, and you are like him* [a man]*, equal'*. Thus, by learning to drive, many stakeholders agreed that the women were empowering themselves by deconstructing infantilizing stereotypes about female refugees common in medical and media discourses (Ford 2012) and challenging wider gendered stereotypes of women as 'immobile' or 'passive' (Uteng and Cresswell 2008). Beyond this

form of resistance, the women were perceived to be taking control of their lives by choosing to actively embrace Kiwi feminist and social values of equality and independence (Caillol 2018; Collie et al. 2010; Showden 2011; Sniekers 2018).

In this manner, *Turning the Curve* was supporting social citizenship through members of the community empowering one another to access their legal rights and participate in everyday city life; and encouraging practices of emotional citizenship through enhanced feelings of trust, safety, confidence, recognition and self-worth. Obtaining a license and experiencing greater spatial mobility had also decreased family dependency and increased family productivity. As one of the drivers claimed, *'My husband really like it because now he is free too'*. Such comments indicate the 'multiplier effect' of the programme's value, whereby increasing female participants' mobility can enable them to also practice social citizenship as they increase their families' access to the city and support them to practice their own civil rights.

The value of *Turning the Curve* was also evident through ChangeMakers' inability to meet demand, with staff stating that, *'every year we have a backlog of women who want to become drivers'*; and in 2016 the programme was recognised through an award from the Chartered Institute of Logistics and Transport for its role in enabling former refugee women to become mobile on New Zealand roads. These comments and measures conveyed a strong picture that the programme design and level of instruction worked well to enable participant drivers to gain their licenses. They suggest that *Turning the Curve* enhanced women's subjective wellbeing, social inclusion, and access to civil rights through the practice of effective skills transfer.

Tensions between time and success

When asked about the success rate and time it took for women to obtain their licenses however, there were more divergent perspectives. One of the driving instructors stated that, '*I wouldn't say I'm happy with it, because it takes so long*', and a driving practice volunteer commented that, '*I have been a bit frustrated, especially as during the same period two of my children have passed their license but my driver has not!*' Other volunteers talked about how waiting for women to be test-ready impacted them personally with one stating that she was '*reluctant to travel across the city* [to have practice driving sessions with her participant driver] … *as petrol costs mount up'*.

In light of these concerns, some participant drivers and volunteers suggested that the programme administrator could enable volunteers to have, '*more practice in the car with a model driver* [someone identified as being very good]' to boost their confidence and teach them how to help others to learn good driving habits in order to speed up participant drivers' readiness

to sit their driving tests. Volunteers also claimed that more theoretical training was needed for participant drivers, including what is expected in the driving test, to help them successfully complete the programme more quickly. One noted, *'Once they* [the participant drivers] *understand how much they need to be able to do for the test, they apply themselves to the task and progress faster.'* A few stakeholders also recommended that a set timeframe should be implemented to achieve a license if the programme was to be labelled 'successful'.

Such suggestions were oriented to more effective service delivery to reduce the time that both participant drivers and volunteers had to invest in the programme, and reflected the urgency and impatience expressed through the wider New Zealand resettlement goal of getting former refugees to be self-sufficient as soon as possible after their arrival (Immigration New Zealand 2013). In this manner, the longer timeframes involved in supporting many refugee-background women to obtain their licences were framed as undesirable. Some instructors and volunteers conveyed as feeling that waiting for their drivers could be all encompassing and disempowering, with a perception that time was being 'wasted'. Yet, as Procupez (2015) has mentioned, passively and futilely waiting with no end in sight is very different to actively waiting and working to bring about change or accomplish a goal, such as supporting someone to achieving their license. Such objectives are often only obtainable with a certain level of hope and patience.

Some stakeholders' expectations that a license could quickly be achieved may also have reflected a masculine bias associated with how long male former refugees may take to attain skills and move into employment. Former refugee men have frequently had greater access to the public sphere in pre-settlement contexts and have more freedom to access language and other skill training upon resettlement as noted earlier. Such a bias overlooks the many additional challenges faced by women that can 'slow' their progress towards becoming mobile and independent (Uteng and Cresswell 2008). For example, one participant driver who had fled Iraq for Iran with her family at six years old, and then resided in three other countries before being resettled in New Zealand in 2013 with her two teenage sons, claimed that:

> *I needed to get my license to manage with two children, shopping, appointments, work. My culture does not allow women to drive; woman all the time is less, but I want to drive. Now when I tell my mum in Iran I can drive she can't believe it. Now my sister who's lived twenty years in Australia is learning to drive because I did. I pushed her. I tried the Restricted License once but I didn't pass because I was nervous. Then my car was vandalised outside the city council flats where I live. I fixed it at big cost. One month later it happened again. Lucky by the second time I had taken full insurance a few days before. The insurance said it was too expensive to fix and gave me money. Now I have to find another car to buy before I can try for the license again.*

Several women also faced challenges to make sufficient time for lessons and practice because of issues with their own or their children's ill health, or the need to take part-time or shift work to support their families. Others were affected by feelings of isolation and heavy domestic duties, marital conflict or breakdown, and/or ongoing concern about the wellbeing of loved ones left behind in refugee camps or conflict zones.

Participant drivers and one of the New Zealand male driving instructors noted other influential contextual factors, reporting that difficulties learning to drive were exacerbated by unfamiliar systems, road rules, language, social etiquettes, and cultural norms. For example, for women who rarely interacted with unfamiliar men, the male driving instructor said, '*I can see sometimes it's quite uncomfortable especially when their* [the drivers'] *husbands are at the door and they* [the drivers] *are getting into my car'*. Age was also noted as possibly having a bearing on how long it might take a woman to learn to drive, with one participant driver saying that, '*The young is easy to, but the old people it's not easy to learn*', and past trauma and previous negative driving experiences further affected some women's confidence and meant that they needed more lessons (see also Masood 2018).

To us, participants' comments indicated that the tensions around *Turning the Curve's* success lay in an incongruence between socially-constructed expectations of what refugee-background women 'should' be able to achieve within a set time frame, and what could realistically be achieved in the same time (without incurring undue harm), given their circumstances. Whilst many stakeholders inadvertently compared the women to other more advantaged citizens, who were privileged with local knowledge, existing financial and social support systems, and greater freedoms, the *Turning the Curve* administration recognised the inherent inequalities and varying capabilities that shape individual development, and conceptualised success as a relative analysis of individual progress. One of the ChangeMakers staff told us that, '*We are not measuring the success of the end outcome being the license itself … The programme really does focus on the journey for each individual woman as well'*.

Had *Turning the Curve* been designed in line with mainstream expectations, including the set timeframes that several stakeholders proposed, it would not have acknowledged these complex, messy realities and individual journeys. A time-bound emphasis on the linear transfer of driving information and skills would have favoured the success of women with easier family situations, less complex migration experiences, greater English language abilities and/or prior driving experiences, and many of the 61 women who had obtained their licenses at the time of our research would still be immobile. Furthermore, had participant drivers been asked to leave the programme after failing to pass the license tests after a set number of lessons or within

a designated time period, they would have lacked ongoing support for driving, and may have felt ashamed and lost confidence to try again at a later stage. This shaming could have had further negative implications for both their future spatial and social mobility (Casimiro, Hancock, and Northcote 2007; Forzdar and Hartley 2013) and everyday experiences of being a citizen.

Patience and the politics of waiting

In light of the tension between these different understandings of success and time, we have come to understand *Turning the Curve*'s practices as being founded in a disposition to patience. As former refugees, who had previously encountered borders, checkpoints, camps or detention centres, and the endless challenges of resettlement (Mountz 2011), the members of *Turning the Curve*'s steering group knew about patience and the agency involved in waiting (Jeffrey, *The Guardian* May 29, 2010; Pottinger 2017; Procupez 2015), and the programme's administrator with her background in community development embraced the emphasis on journeying together by '*persever[ing and] supporting the women*' (*Turning the Curve* sponsor).

The steering group and Turning the Curve administrator's disposition to patience meant that the women drivers were able to suspend their participation (and driving lessons or practice) for a period of time if personal or family needs made continuing too difficult. Such flexibility we suggest reflects Bergson's (2001, cited in Procupez 2015, s63) notion of duration in which he considers the temporal 'beyond a sequential or linear sense and [focuses] on the simultaneity in which past and present are lived'. Within *Turning the Curve*, the simultaneity of ways in which participant drivers' pasts and presents were being lived was recognised and accommodated through the programme's flexible responsiveness. It was a practice through which 'time open[ed] itself to difference, the new, indeterminate future' (Grosz 2005, cited in Procupez 2015, s63) as each woman's learning journey towards attainment of her license was different.

This inhabiting of a temporality that recognised the simultaneity of how women's pasts and presents were being lived meant that the programme effectively embraced the 'complicated entanglements of togetherness-in-difference' (Noble 2009, 46, cited in Askins 2016), and enabled even greater transformations to occur as trust was built through the lack of negative judgement or institutional sanction when participant drivers resumed their places on the programme. For many former refugee women who have had harsh experiences with authority (Collie et al. 2010) and institutional abuses of power both in their pasts and during resettlement, such acceptance and commitment to sustaining relationships offered an important counterpoint

to the capacity to hurt that is inherent within many bureaucracies and institutional forms of service delivery (Waite, Valentine, and Lewis 2014).

Time and patience were also invaluable in enhancing emotional encounters and processes of befriending (Askins 2014) between participant drivers and driving practice volunteers. Many women formed lasting friendships through their regular time together in the intimate and emotionally-charged spaces of their cars, and these encounters also served to expand participant drivers' spatial orientation and geographic knowledge as volunteers guided the women around familiar and new streets during practice sessions. These friendships and the distances they traversed demonstrate the importance of interpersonal contact between differently-positioned others and speak to the centrality of caring (Askins 2016) to the enhancing of drivers' spatial mobility.

Finally, the emphasis of *Turning the Curve* on patience with, and (active) waiting for, participant drivers to us beautifully illustrates the politics of engagement that Askins (2016) refers to within her discussions of emotional citizenry. It also resonates with 'feeling-in-common' discussed by Sarah Wright (2015) in relation to the development of a sense of belonging. Through the programme's practices of patience and (active or engaged) waiting, women were supported to continue to belong in the programme even as their lives changed. This affirmative sense of belonging was not conditional on a woman's status as active learner or achieved/licensed driver, nor was it conditional on how much time a woman took to learn and pass her tests. Rather the programme's disposition to patience represented a recognition *with* (Noble 2009, cited in Askins 2016) women whatever their point along their driving journey, or their unique circumstances, and it was through this recognition with, that social and spatial mobility as well as citizenship, was enabled.

Conclusion

By examining the relationships between time, success, and patience expressed by different stakeholders of the *Turning the Curve* programme, this paper has demonstrated the importance of attending to different temporalities within social and emotional citizenship. It has also drawn attention to the added value of emotional citizenry within resettlement practice.

For many stakeholders, the programme was successful because it moved beyond an emphasis on social citizenship and its focus on enabling access to knowledge and training. The programme also fostered women's emotional citizenship by attending to the feelings of participant learners as becoming-citizens. The relationships with driving practice volunteers were key to these feelings as well as the programme's commitment to supporting each

woman's unique learning journey towards obtaining her license, however long that might take.

In addition, the disposition to patience and waiting, we posit, illustrates an enactment and extension of Askin's concept of (2016) emotional citizenry. For example, *Turning the Curve* enacted emotional citizenry through the careful curation of a politics of engagement between participant drivers and driving volunteers. Within the intimate and emotionally-charged spaces of their cars, these women navigated being together in difference (Askins 2016). More significantly to us, *Turning the Curve* extended emotional citizenry through its active and activist (Pottinger 2017) disposition to patience and a quiet politics of waiting alongside participant drivers as they journeyed towards greater mobility. This caring disposition was manifest through the programme's responsiveness to the specificity of each participant driver's *changing life situation* and needs. The treatment of participant drivers as valued citizens allowed refugee-background women to turn new curves *at their own pace* rather than in a timeframe determined by external agencies. It also demonstrated sensitivity towards the simultaneity of (potential traumatic) pasts and present within women's lives and enabled their agency in managing their ongoing engagement with their learning in the programme. All these aspects were significant in the context of their prior forced, regulated and scrutinized mobilities and identities as refugees, and as women.

In contrast to this temporality and practices of emotional citizenry, the programme stakeholders working within mainstream understandings of efficient service delivery, and skill acquisition leading to enhanced social citizenship practices, were frustrated by the time some participant drivers took to learn to drive. Thus we concluded that *Turning the Curve*'s disposition towards patience and waiting offers an alternative approach that may enable more gender-equitable outcomes.

As feminist researchers have previously noted, mainstream institutions and their modes of linear time-bound service delivery (not just in driving programmes but across the sectors involved in refugee resettlement) may inadvertently hurt those they are designed to help if they fail to recognise the intersectional complexities of how different (im)mobilities and citizenships are produced, practiced and regulated. The expectations for participants in many mixed gender, time-bound driving programmes do not acknowledge the complexity of refugee-background women's lives, particularly those who may be most vulnerable or isolated due to age, single-parenthood or limited language ability. In these cases, men or the most well-resourced women are likely to succeed, undermining resettlement outcomes.

However, through *Turning the Curve*, former refugee women are obtaining their licenses and realising their unique potentials. While this may take place within a 'less-than-desirable timeframe' for some stakeholders, we argue that

the programme's extension of emotional citizenry across time (as well as distance) is noteworthy as an example of gender-responsive practice. It respectfully supports women's agency to access urban life (Harvey 2003) and means that it is not just the elites within the resettling refugee population that are able to access their right to the city (Lefebvre 1968).

From these reflections, therefore, we join feminist geographer Conlon (2011) in her call for researchers to interrogate the statis part of the mobility-statis binary more closely. From our work with *Turning the Curve*, statis – in the form of patience and waiting - may be far from passive or inefficient. It may be evidence of emotional citizenry at work, as well as lead to more gender-equitable resettlement outcomes.

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Notes on contributors

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