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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.

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## 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	

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	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.		

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