

Multiculturalism and Whiteness: Through the Experiences of Second Generation Cypriot Turkish

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Multicultural policies have enabled many migrants and their descendents to develop a sense of belonging to Australia. However, national multicultural policies also position the Anglo Saxon descendents as a higher civilised group who are more Australian relative to their 'ethnic' counterparts, who are confronted with ambiguity when identifying as an Australian. By adopting critical whiteness studies as an analytical framework we explore community dynamics by focusing on how the Anglo Saxon ethnic group maintains its dominance and privilege. We examine discourses that second generation Cypriot Turkish people in Australia use to construct their identity. Our analysis reveals the covert and often banal ways in which privilege is maintained. We suggest that whiteness studies provides a set of tools to extend critical community psychology because of its focus on unpacking how dominance is negotiated and potentially reproduced by those who have differential access to racialised privilege.

This article examines dynamics of inclusion and exclusion through the experiences of second generation Cypriot Turkish Australians. In the year 1973 the White Australia Policy, which favoured immigration from certain countries, was officially replaced with the national policy of Multiculturalism. Multicultural policies did not discriminate on the basis of race, culture and religion in relation to immigration to Australia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship [DIAC], 2007). Multicultural policies were also a reactionary move following migrant resistance to assimilation as they redefined their past in a new social and political context (Vasta, 1993). Multicultural policies afforded different ethnic groups the right to practice their cultural and religious beliefs (DIAC, 2003). These policies provided impetus for the construction of new discourses and the emergence of the ethnic identity. In Australia, the ethnic category embraces the identities of many migrants and the descendants of migrants in Australia. However, descendants of an Anglo Saxon background are ostensibly omitted from this category¹. Those of Anglo Saxon background are simply identified as

Australian, as not having an ethnic identity. On the other hand, for many migrant descendants their Australian identity is accessible if it is hyphenated with their ethnic identity. As a result people other than Anglo Saxon have noted ambiguity about their belongingness to the Australian community (Ang, Brand, Noble & Sternberg, 2006; Castles & Vasta, 1996; Sonn & Lewis, 2009; Vasta, 1992; Vasta, 1993; Zevallos, 2003; Zevallos & Gilding, 2003). These processes of identity negotiation, which we describe in this article, demonstrate the relational and contingent nature of ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity is conceptualised as a relational construct which is negotiated with ones world and other people, structures, social conditions expressed through discourses rather than something that is possessed (Hook, 2003; Verkuyten, 2005). Mama (1995) defines discourses as “historically constructed regimes of knowledge. These include common-sense assumptions and taken-for-granted ideas, belief systems and myths that groups of people share and through which they understand each other” (p. 98). Discourses position people in relation to each other socially, culturally, and

politically, -- ‘ethnics’ are positioned in Australia as the other to Anglo Australians who occupy a privileged, dominant and normative position (Hage, 1998; Sonn & Fisher, 2005). This normative and privileged position has been named whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993). Arguably, being positioned outside the dominant culture provides a vantage point from which to make visible dominance and dynamics of inclusion and exclusion (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Sonn, 2004). Challenging normativity and dominance is in line with a community psychology (e.g., Watts & Serrano-García, 2003) agenda that is aimed at deconstructing and transforming taken for granted discourses about race and ethnicity that position self and others in a broader context of power relations. In this article, we explore ethnic identity construction, with a focus on the negotiation of whiteness, from the perspectives of Cypriot Turks who grew up in Australia.

We draw on data from a research project that focused on dynamics of inclusion and exclusion and the discourses that construct the multi-hyphenated nature of the Cypriot Turkish Australian identity (Ali, 2006; Ali & Sonn, in press). In this article we examine the negotiation of whiteness through the experiences of second generation Cypriot Turks Australians. We consider two discourses that are used to construct Cypriot Turkish identity and examine how whiteness is reproduced and privilege maintained through the construction of other identities. Before this we provide background to the Cypriot Turkish identity and review literature on whiteness and whiteness in an Australian context. This is followed by examining whiteness from the vantage point of Cypriot Turkish lived experiences.

Cypriot Turkish identity and migration

Cypriot Turks are descendents of the Ottoman Empire, who remained in power until 1878 when Cyprus was ceded to Britain. During this period the island was governed under the Ottoman Millet system where

anyone who identified as other than Turkish had to pay extra tax shaping the modern bicultural community of the island (Hugg, 2001). Cyprus became an independent state in 1960 following an agreement between Britain, Greece and Turkey, which recognised the two ethnic groups as equal citizens under the new constitution (Gorvett, 1999; Hugg, 2001). However, this constitution collapsed during 1963 when the drive for the unification of Cyprus with Greece gained momentum and ethnic cleansing became widespread. In response, Turkey intervened to prevent the unification of Cyprus with Greece and to protect the Cypriot Turkish population (Peggs, 1998).

The island has since been divided into two, with two separate governments. However, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is not recognised internationally by any other country besides Turkey (Gorvett, 1999; Rotberg, 2003). Turkish Cypriots remain unrepresented in the international arena unlike the Greek Cypriots who represent Cyprus in international political and social arenas (Bamanie, 2002). Due to the conflict around the legitimacy of TRNC, the voices of Cypriot Turks’ and the representations of Cyprus have been restricted making Cyprus, for those who are not familiar with its history, a Greek Island with Cypriot Greek population.

As a result of these historical and political processes, Cypriot Turks who identify as a Cypriot lose their ‘Turkishness’ as Cyprus is represented as a Greek Island. On the other hand, identification as a Turk leads to the assimilation of their identity with mainland Turks. Although Cypriot Turks have strong ties with the mainstream Turkish community, they perceive themselves and are perceived by mainland Turks as different, on the basis that they are not from Turkey and differ in terms of speaking and cultural values such as level of secularity (Canefe, 2002).

Due to the inter-communal conflict of the 1950s and 1960s and the economical and politically unstable nature of Cyprus during the 1970s and 1980s following the ongoing

embargo imposed on TRNC, many Cypriot Turks have migrated from Cyprus (Robins & Aksoy, 2001). It is estimated that 40,000-50,000 people emigrated from Cyprus during this period (Küçükcan, cited in Robins & Aksoy, 2001). Cypriot Turks began migrating to Australia in early 1960 with the biggest influx in the late 1960s (Sayar, 1988).

Whiteness

Steyn (2006) wrote that critical whiteness studies has provided a site critiquing racial formations by tracing processes that have led to the ways in which white people are socially positioned relative to others. Part of the focus is to understand the implications for identity construction of those racialised into whiteness as well as understanding the mechanisms and process – semiotic, discursive, material and everyday ways – through which whiteness is produced and maintained. Frankenberg (1993) explains whiteness to be a position of privilege, a worldview and a set of cultural practices that are unmarked and unnamed and positioned as normative. Access to whiteness privilege and dominance intersects with other identity makers such as gender, sexuality, class, race, religion, ethnicity, history and socio political context (Frankenberg, 1993; Moran, 2007). Privileges associated with whiteness is not equally accessible by all people therefore the experience of whiteness and white privilege is not uniform (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007; Moran, 2007). Whiteness is a socially constructed phenomenon however it has real implications for ‘non whites’ in their daily lives and their identity construction. It also shapes whites’ sense of self and sense of others. The non ‘white’ experiences of daily life and opportunities are shaped by overt and covert forms of racism. They are aware of being different to the socially valued norm and experience themselves as the representative of their background (Moran, 2007; Noble, 2005).

Green et al. (2007) explain that whiteness is produced and maintained as whites have the power to construct knowledge,

decide who belongs to the nation and the power to name racism. For instance, knowledge around and the representations of Australia’s colonial history is a political endeavour shaped by the normative worldview of whiteness (Larbalestier, 2004). Whiteness also reproduces and maintains its position of dominance as it is linked with ownership of a nation whilst people who do not belong to the white category are made to feel unease with their sense of belonging to a nation due to the lack of representation at a national level (Green et al., 2007; Hage, 1998). Finally, whiteness constructs itself through antiracism practices because white people can assume the power to name what is and what is not construed as racism, and they can deny noticing race including their own racial position (Ahmed, 2004; Green & Sonn, 2005; Green et al., 2007)

Whiteness is not just shaped by daily life and current race relations but also shaped by local, national and international histories (Frankenberg, 1993). Whiteness is embedded in historical and global history of colonial expansion (Frankenberg, 1993; Grosfoguel & Georas, 2000). Social power relations and the present racial and ethnic hierarchies in contemporary world systems are still embedded in Western colonial expansion even though there is no colonial administration (Grosfoguel & Georas, 2000). For instance, in Australia exclusion is particularly evident for people who identify as Muslims (Ali & Sonn, in press; Aly, 2007; Casimiro, Hancock & Northcote, 2007; Elley, 1993; Fijac & Sonn, 2004; Hage, 1998; Humphrey, 2007; Mubarak, 1997; Poynting & Noble, 2004; Zevallos, 2003). The presence of Muslims in Australia is not a new phenomenon (Yasmeen, 2007) however; their visibility has increased following the global events of September 11, Bali and the London bombings (Yasmeen, 2007). This heightened visibility and exclusion is not just a result of the current global climate but rather has a long history of east-west relations. There has been a resurfacing of historical colonial discourses where the east has been constructed as the other

who is weak, barbaric and backward (Said, 1979).

Although the “white Australia policy” has been replaced with policy of multiculturalism, Australian identity continues to reflect colonial ideologies and discourses whilst heterogeneous social and cultural landscape of Australia is downplayed in nationalistic discourses (Green et al., 2007; Green & Sonn, 2005; Moran, 2007). Australian identity is defined by dominant white versions of reality, despite alternative discourses, as they hold and have access to “social, cultural, economic, political and symbolic power” (Moran, 2007, p. 211). Although this has created a sense of belongingness and inclusion into Australia’s landscape for ‘non whites’ it has not challenged the dominant position of the white cultural hegemony (Moran, 2007; Hage, 1998, 2003).

In Australia whiteness is covert. Standfield (2007) explains that the replacement of the white Australia policy, the adoption of multicultural policies, and the referendum acts as a discursive break from a history of racism and the beginning of benign racism. These forms of remembrance and the showing of the ‘goodwill’ of white Australians supports the benign racism, which is built on foundations of structural inequality that centres white Australians as the true citizens of the nation.

Multiculturalism obscures whiteness (Hage, 1998) and there is a denial of dominance, but dominance is maintained due to the normativity of whiteness (Green et al., 2007; Hage, 1998; Moran, 2007). This form of ‘repression’ is one of the mechanisms by which racial hierarchies and systems of knowledge are reproduced (Hage, 1998; Moran, 2007; Riggs, 2007a). In Australia, where whiteness is expressed in symbolic forms and as cultural racism, it is necessary to deconstruct our society’s discourses that shape subjectivities (Green & Sonn, 2005). One way to do this is to look through the lived experiences of ethnic minority groups, a key objective of critical race theory (Ladson-

Billings, 2003).

Ethnic minority groups not only recognise their own position in race relations but also the dominant group’s position, who may be blind to their privileged and normative position and who are generally oblivious to the effects of racism or the significance of race relations of Australian society (Fisher & Sonn, 2007; Frankenberg, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Moran, 2007). We suggest that we can look into the dynamics of dominance and privilege through the lived experiences of people who occupy liminal spaces (Ladson-Billings, 2003). To this end we explore dynamics of inclusion and exclusion using the lens of whiteness. We do this by examining discourses used by second generation Cypriot Turkish to construct their identity and how these discourses contribute to the reproduction of whiteness.

Methods and Data Analysis

Ten Cypriot Turkish participants from Melbourne were interviewed in 2006 about their identity and sense of belongingness. The participants were recruited through the networks of the first author who identifies as Cypriot Turkish. Four of the participants were men and six were women. All of the participants were born in Australia other than Julide who came to Australia at the age of three. They all identified as Muslims. It was an interactive form of interviewing where the interviewee and the interviewer were both identified as collaborators and co-constructors of knowledge (Burgess-Limerick & Burgess-Limerick, 1998; Burr, 1995).

Discursive analysis was used to explore the relationship between society and individual experience and unveil discourses that create and sustain patterns of privilege, power and of inequality (Burr, 1995; Collins, 2004; Karim, 1997). The particular approach employed was the ‘power and subjectivity’ approach developed by Parker (1992). In line with the aim and the theoretical orientation of the research this approach is concerned with power relations, experiences, and subjectivity, which is multiple, contradictory, fluid, and context

specific. Power is understood to be exercised through discourse rather than being a personal attribute or possession.

We identified four discourses that participants used to construct the Cypriot Turkish identity. These were identified as modern Muslim discourse, language, phenotype and ancestral and generational discourses (Ali, 2006). Similar to many other ethnic Australians, all four men and two of the women from this study did not express hesitation in calling themselves Australians by hyphenating their identity as Cypriot-Turkish-Australians. The remaining four females referred to themselves as Cypriot Turks living in Australia. They explained that they were Australian only because they were born and raised in Australia.

Findings

Here we focus on two of the discourses – the modern Muslim and phenotype discourses. This is not to say that the other two discourses play a less important role in the construction of whiteness. However, these two discourses were most evident in the data particularly due to the political issues in Australia. Initially, we discuss the ways in which the discourses are used to construct Cypriot Turkish identity followed by a discussion on how whiteness is able to maintain its dominant and privileged position through the Cypriot Turkish identity construction. All of the participants' names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

Modern Muslim discourse: "Religion makes us different but we are not that religious"

All 10 participants constructed themselves as modern Muslims. The excerpt here from Halide and Mehmet explains:

Halide

I think the Cypriot Turkish values are a lot more easy going, a lot more relaxed. Sort of reminds me of the Aussie laid back person attitude, relaxed compared to the Turkish Turkey Turk culture and their values because I find that they are a lot more dedicated to their

religion. They will practice; pray more, you see the Turkish women wearing scarfs, they visit mosques more, they will expect a lot more from their children they hang on to the practices. Cypriot Turks could be the same as the Turkish Turks, but they seem more strict not as easy going as us.

Mehmet

Religion makes us different but we are not that religious so I do not feel that different to an Australian. I am Muslim but I do not practice it. But it does make you different from the rest. Not eating pork singled you out. You can have an Australian Muslim because we don't really practice it anyway. We are a Muslim by name.

Although during the Howard period of government there was an emphasis on constructing good Muslims as moderate, the term 'modern Muslim' as it is used here arises out of relational understandings between themselves and mainstream Turks. This positions Cypriot Turks as less invested in religion in comparison to mainland Turks. Through the text we can see that being a moderate Muslim positions them as someone who is not physically different or have very different lives to Australians. This is comparable to the Tatar Muslims in the Netherlands who also draw on discourses that position them as similar to the mainstream group (Verkuyten, 2005). There is fluidity in their position as the other. Because their Muslim identity does not fit the stereotypical image of Muslim they can be part of the Australian society because their Muslim identity goes unnoticed. By being a modern Muslim they can be like 'Aussies'. "Religion makes you different to the Australian population but it depends on how religious you are" (Julide). There is a degree of access to white privilege as they note the benefits of

being a Muslim that do not fit the negative stereotypes of dominant public discourses.

However, their sense of inclusion is context-bound and conditional because whiteness intersects with other social identity markers that determine access to white privilege (Frankenberg, 1993). The modern Muslim discourse, although discrete and not so tangible to others and, besides the noted benefits of being a moderate Muslim, there is a sense of exclusion as members of Australian community through various processes. In the following excerpts we can see a sense of exclusion related to their Muslim identity through processes of stereotyping, scapegoating and othering (Riggins, 1997) of the Muslim identity. These processes work covertly to maintain white race privilege.

Stereotyping. These quotations illustrate how stereotyping of Muslim people by the media has led to a sense of exclusion for the participants (Karim, 1997; Van Dijk, 1997).

Halide

Due to September 11 incidents. I feel that a lot of people are hearing and believing what they see in the media and relating it and judging all Muslims which is quite sad because they are unethical crimes which none of us agree with. I went to this Christian function, I still had a great time but at the back of my mind I wonder if anyone has an issue with me being there.

Sami

I do not know what they are thinking about us. If you watch the bullshit news on (the commercial television stations) they are telling you pretty much every night of the week that we are bad and if you watch those and you believe it, which a lot of people do, they are going to make judgements.

Halide feels uncomfortable due to her

Muslim identity, an identity that has been constructed in the media as a deviant, evil and a threat. She feels like she is not completely welcome in this setting because how she might be perceived as a Muslim person. Sami also expresses concerns about how Muslims are being constructed in the media. He explains that people are going to make judgements based on the stereotypes that are presented in mainstream news.

The dominant discourses within social spaces focus on events that alienate the Muslim population. It does not give value to the everyday multicultural interactions. Instead, immigrants, multiculturalism and Muslims are constructed as problems that have to be dealt with by the white national subject (Hage, 1998). Whiteness maintains its dominance and patterns of privilege through knowledge construction (Green et. al., 2007; Riggs 2007b). In this case, their religious identification is associated with terrorism. The effect is a sense of exclusion and distancing of Muslim identity from normative constructions of Australian.

Othering. Although Cypriot Turks note the benefits of being a moderate Muslim, a sense of exclusion is also experienced through the process of othering.

Ayse

Interviewer: *Does your religion impact on your belongingness more so than your ethnic identity?*

Yes definitely, particularly because that singles you out as someone that doesn't celebrate Easter and Christmas and fasting in terms of Ramadan. So it is much more of an identifier for people. Um and although it would be further exacerbated if I was a much more strict Muslim in terms of wearing a veil so I think it acts as a further identifier in a negative way..

Sevda

Interviewer: *Why can't you be*

Australian?

Cause you are Turkish. You are Australian because you are born in Australia but you cannot be an Australian because you are not Australian you are not an Aussie. It is two different things. Like to say to someone I am Australian that means that they think you are Christian, Catholic or whatever. But you are not you are Muslim so you say I am Turkish but I was born in Australia.

Interviewer: So Australian doesn't represent who you are?

No, it doesn't. It doesn't because if you say to me that you are Australian I am going to straight away think you are Christian, Catholic.

These quotations highlight that Cypriot Turks are positioned outside of the Australian identity because of their Muslim identity and because they are not Christian. They are positioned as the others who do not celebrate the national religious celebrations (Barker & Galasinski, 2001; Nagel, 1994). They express exclusion and uncertainty about their belongingness to Australia because Islam is not a part of the symbolic representations' of Australia.

Whiteness maintains its patterns of privilege by othering other religious celebrations. Whiteness is experienced to be an ownership of a nation (Hage, 1998), which is achieved through promoting only the dominant groups' religious celebrations as central at a national level and others as on the margins, kept within the family or the community.

Scapegoating. This process was another way that led to a sense of exclusion for Cypriot Turkish due to their religion. In this case, Ayse is scapegoated and stigmatised because she was associated with terrorist acts for being a Muslim. In doing so, she expressed feeling less Australian, despite the Howard government claims that the fundamentalist Muslims were

being targeted as not belonging to Australia.

Ayse

Like, I remember during the Gulf war with a surname like Huseyin (pseudonym) we had people that would look up the white pages at Three am in the morning and just call and say is Saddam there?

Interviewer: In terms of being Australian did that make feel in any way less Australian?

Less Australian, yes definitely cause you are sort of targeted and stigmatised or blamed in a way for having a name, for having a heritage. And also when there was the questioning around the terrorism that has happened um the media associated that being Muslim means you support that sort of stuff and you are less Australian.

As objects of the moderate Muslim discourse, people are restricted and limited with what can be said as observed in the following quotation from Halil.

Halil***Interviewer: Has there been times where you felt excluded from the Australian identity?***

Ever since this September 11 thing and all has kicked up a bit of paranoia... you cannot just express you opinion. "Look John Howard, we are not American we do not have the problems that Americans do" you cannot sometimes say things. You can't sometimes say things because your surname is Ali (pseudonym) and "ah you're Muslim" and all the stuff. There are times where you hold yourself back from saying and doing things because you worry if it's going to be misinterpreted because of your perceived background.

The moderate Muslim discourse limits their sense of belonging to Australia. If it is not

observable they can be part of Australian community. The Cypriot Turks' sense of belonging as an Australian is nurtured by not bringing up issues that can challenge views so that their established sense of belonging is not disturbed. Halil feels like he needs to keep silent because he knows that if he is to challenge the hegemonic discourses about these issues his Muslim identity will overshadow his whiteness and Australianness and "be misinterpreted" because of his perceived background. This discourse restricts him in expressing his views concerning government decisions.

This example of being silenced and feelings of having opinions about national issues that are not presented in the public discourses is referred to by Hage (1998) as exclusion from governmental belonging. Halil is excluded from governmental belonging given he felt that he did not have a right to contribute his views to discussions around Australia's involvement in Iraq. Hence, when a person feels this way they are positioned as the other- the other to a national white majority. Ethnic minorities' views, particularly views that are not the norm are silenced and excluded from governmental belonging.

Phenotype: "Australians have more fair, blondish lightish colour hair"

This discourse was repeatedly used by the Cypriot Turkish participants to construct their ethnic identity. Even though Halide calls herself Australian she also notes otherness of her identity. This otherness arises out of her phenotype that is different to the Australian phenotype. For this reason she cannot call herself Australian. She can only call herself Australian through hyphenating Australian with her ethnic identity. Here we see the relational understanding of identity that is informed by racialised hegemonic discourses constructing the Australian identity.

Halide

Interviewer: So you wouldn't call yourself Australian?

I am Australian in that I was born in Australia and all my siblings were born in Australia but we are not Australian in that we do not look Australian. You need to have a particular look and colour that is more Australian um. Australians are more fair blonde lightish colour hair. There are many different colours but the majority are more blue eyed, blond, fair looking Australian people. I feel like I couldn't call myself Australian on its own, I am an Australian Cypriot Turk.

Ayse

Interviewer: Who is Australian?

For me it is around, I don't feel like, I do not look Australian so hence not accepted. For me it is not just about having or being Australian by birth or having citizenship but about looking like the norm. That to me is what defines an Australian in reality.

Feriha

Well when you see someone. If you see someone that is fair with the blue eyes yeah you wouldn't think of them being Turkish Cypriot. Like my son. A lot of people would think he is Australian.

Interviewer: To be Australian do you have to be a certain way?

... When someone looks at me they know I am a wog. They know that I am not Australian. You know, I am not that blond hair blue eye.

The phenotype discourse positions people in relation to the mainstream population depending on their perceived color. This phenotype discourse enables the privilege of whiteness to go undisrupted by limiting the social representations of Australians to people with certain type of phenotype. Similar to

research by Zevallos (2003), phenotype discourses informed who the real Australian is, that is someone who is white, fair, blond and blue eyed and as someone from the Anglo cultic background. The participants have certain Australian capital such as the language or accent however they have accumulated and acquired this capital unlike those who are 'naturally' white (Hage, 1998).

Participants who perceived themselves as having a 'white' appearance were able to pass as an Australian because ethnicity was not physically observable. They also noted the benefits of being "*the right colour*" (Halil) and blending in with the Australian identity. For instance, they know that you can be treated differently depending on your skin colour. In this case skin colour works in their favour.

Halil

I actually cannot think of any downside at all (to ethnic identity). But I think, the thing is that we are quite, how do I say this in a way, quite right looking. So we don't really stand out in a crowd in terms of what we look like. I don't really stand out in terms of how I look. If I was a real karasakal (dark featured Turk) maybe I'll be treated differently. That will have an influence on how you are reacted to. But cause you do not look different you do not sound different so you aren't different, but underneath you are.

Mehmet

I don't feel like a minority. I guess it is because I do not look very Turkish so I never felt persecuted or singled out. I guess I didn't have any problems there. I don't look different to what ever your average Australian is. If I was in a crowd no one would pick me out as different unless I told them my name.

Everyone has this general understanding of an Australian and I guess I fit into that.

Halil expressed feeling silenced about governmental issues due to his Muslim identity. Although he notes that he is "*quite right looking*" and the benefits associated with being white and a fair person he is well aware that his Muslimness can be a threat to his privileged position. Similarly, Mehmet also notes the benefits of his phenotype and the fragile acceptance as a white because his name can be an identifying marker of difference. These two preceding quotations demonstrates how whiteness intersects with other social identity markers (Frankenberg, 1993) limiting access to privilege even for people that are "*right looking*".

Using Hage's (1998) term, these two people are naturalised whites in that they have fair skin and they also have accumulated cultural capital. However, they can still be excluded from the Australian identity because they have 'different' names and a 'different' religion. This adds a level of complexity to Hage's explanation of naturalised and accumulated whiteness. One can accumulate cultural capital and also be white; however this is not sufficient to access the white privilege and governmental belonging because they are not of an Anglo-Saxon background, the aristocracy of all Australians (Hage, 1998).

Although in these preceding paragraphs we can see access and exclusion to white privilege whiteness is also being challenged by arguing the need for indigenous sovereignty. Indigenous Australians are used as a point of reference to position ethnic Australians and Anglo Australians as equal Australia. In doing so whiteness is challenged as it is positioned as another migrant ethnic category, just like all other migrant descendents.

Sami

Interviewer: What does Australian mean to you?

Australian means a person from another culture living in Australia, living in the land of Aboriginals. So basically an immigrant, someone from a multicultural society with heaps of immigrants. I think the only Australians are the Aboriginals. Until they are given their full respect I think only then could we all be Australians.... at the end of the day they are Poms or Irish or whatever No one is from here really. It only two hundred years. Dedenin dedesi (Grandad's, Grandad). That is it.

Taylan

Because everyone knows that you are not Australian. The only true Australian are the Aboriginals. You could call the British that came here Australian but apart from that everyone migrated here. If you say you are Australian you are either Aboriginal or you came here when the Brits came here or you just say the nationality that you come from and everyone basically assumes that you are born in Australia or you came from that country like your parents did.

Taylan also challenges the normative position of whiteness by positioning Aboriginal people as true Australians. However, he then moves and positions Aboriginals and British descendents equally. This example demonstrates how whiteness is negotiated however, whiteness is not problematised and white privilege is not challenged.

Discussion

The discourses discussed in this article demonstrate that the Cypriot Turkish identity like many other identities in Australia are positioned in relation to what Frankenberg (1993) explains a privileged group that is centred as normative and unquestionable, in

this case the dominant Anglo-Saxon ethnic group of Australia. Through these discourses they are positioned as the ethnic Australian, a hyphenated Australian. Cypriot Turks embody their position as an ethnic Australian and it is experienced as a natural category rather than a social category. Although these two discourses are clearly relational it is perceived and experienced as a determinist discourse, it is naturalised and it is experienced as common sense (Collins, 2004).

Participants' understandings of not being the right colour or from the mainstream religion arise through comparison to 'the white Australian'. The participants who embodied the naturalised Australian capital, that is skin colour (Hage, 2003), noted their greater access to privilege to other ethnics who can only accumulate their Australian cultural capital. Even though they have the accumulated capital that has transferred into national belonging to a greater extent in comparison to participants who were not 'the right' colour, governmental belonging has not been accessible. To some extent it translates into national belonging but not as a dominant member, with power to position others in Australia. Muslim identity in Australia does not convert into governmental belonging (Hage, 1998) as Halil and Mehmet have displayed. In comparison to the 'white Anglo Saxon Australians', other forms of accumulated whiteness or even natural whiteness is overshadowed (Hage, 1998).

In this data we can see that whiteness in Australia operates as a 'race' construct – it is in part based on skin colour. However, being white is not sufficient to access whiteness. This makes whiteness something beyond biological understandings of race. Whiteness is not just about being white, but also about belonging to a certain ethno-religious group. Consistent with Imtoul (2007), Muslim identity is positioned as the other to the real white Christian Australian. However, from these examples we see that you do not need to be identified as a Muslim to feel that you are excluded from being Australian.

By creating the ethnic identity and

delegating it as the other, patterns of privilege and power remain invisible and undisrupted (Hage, 1998; Vasta, 1993). Whiteness is maintained through national identity and belonging by othering groups that vary from the white category and positioning them on the margins of citizenship (Green & Sonn, 2005). Frankenberg (1993) and Green and Sonn (2005) explain that in countries people who hold power provide the categories that are used to include and exclude people.

Discursive strategies are employed to create and maintain power structures and to marginalise others by drawing distinctions and hierarchies between the privileged group and others (Van Dijk, 1997). White privilege is protected by constructing the other in terms of religion and phenotype. In doing so whiteness maintains its privilege as it is positioned as the normative and as the real Australians. White people are made to feel comfortable and at home with their nation and minority groups are uncomfortable and as aliens in their nation (Hage, 1998). This "Illusion of truth serves to warrant claims to white belonging in Australia" (Riggs, 2007b, p. 8).

In Australia, these discourses and the implications of being positioned as an other are much more covert because they operate under the discourses of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism to some extent has created space for migrant descendants. However, their integration is supervised; where the white Australian subject is the supervisor of the integration (Hage, 1998).

There are very real implications that arise out of racism and whiteness. Ethnic social minorities express uncertainty about their belongingness (Ang et al., 2006) as the national representations do not extend to them completely because national belonging is aligned with whiteness. The participants' experiences of exclusion at times have been clearly racially motivated or related to the socio-political climate around Muslims and Islam, however most of the time they experienced banal forms of racism. As Noble

(2005) showed, this leaves behind feelings of being uncomfortable in their everyday surroundings and not feeling at home. Noble, following Giddens, describes this as ontological security. Comfort and ontological security is not ascertained due to the lack of fit between the self and society, but requires that others recognise and accept you as rightfully belonging (Noble, 2005).

In summary, whiteness theory allows us to explore processes of inclusion-exclusion by focusing on the "dynamics of cultural racism, those symbolic and cultural resources and practices that may be everyday and often invisible to those close to the centre of power" (Fisher & Sonn, 2007, p. 31). The vantage point of the other is a lens into whiteness. In this case we have looked at how racism has been mapped onto ethnicity and religion. We have also identified practices of resistance and dominance through the experiences of the second generation Cypriot Turkish. In our view critical whiteness studies from the vantage point of those who have differential access to race privilege provides a useful lens for making visible and challenging cultural racism because of its focus on dominance and normativity.

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Note

¹ The Anglo Saxon category in Australia is socially and politically contingent. We use this category to refer to not only British descendants

but also Irish and Scottish descendents who were once omitted from the privileged category.

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