

---

# To Speak or Not to Speak? The Dilemma of Heritage Language and Identity for the Culturally Hybrid Generation

---

Zozan Balci

Supervisors:

Associate Professor Christina Ho

Distinguished Professor Alastair Pennycook

University of Technology Sydney

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

*Doctor of Philosophy*

2020

## Certificate of Original Authorship

I, Zozan Balci, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

Signature:

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

Date: 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2020

*To my sister  
who walked this journey with me*

# Table of Contents

Certificate of Original Authorship .....	2
Table of Contents .....	4
Abstract .....	6
Acknowledgements .....	7
Chapter 1: Welcome to my World .....	8
1.1 Introduction .....	10
1.2 Research Questions and Relevance .....	15
1.3 Research Design .....	17
1.4 Key Findings .....	18
1.5 Limitations and delimitations .....	22
1.6 Introduction to Participants .....	24
1.6.1 All they see is black: Claire Oshiro .....	24
1.6.2 Being 'a half': Theresa Szabo .....	27
1.6.3 Hating a part of myself: Kai Adroulakis .....	31
1.6.4 A guest in my own home: Leena Bansal .....	35
Chapter 2: Walking Down Memory Lane: A Methodology .....	39
2.1 Participant Selection Criteria and Recruitment .....	39
2.2 Sensory Ethnography and Life History Interviews: Taking a Walk Down Memory Lane .....	41
2.3 Grounded theory .....	49
Chapter 3: The Ghosts of Our Past: Conceptualising Heritage as Capital .....	54
3.1 Introduction to the Chapter .....	54
3.2 Pierre Bourdieu's Concept of Capital: A Language Is Worth What Its Speakers Are Worth .....	59
3.3 Parental motivations behind Heritage Language Transmission .....	67
3.4 Pride, Guilt and Shame: Second Generation Perceptions of Heritage .....	86
3.5 Chapter Summary .....	100
Chapter 4: Eternal In-Betweeners: Narratives and Lived Experiences of Hybrid Identity .....	103
4.1 Introduction to the Chapter .....	103
4.2 Definitions of Hybridity .....	108
4.3 Why Can't I Be Both?: Hybridity and the Push for Single Affiliation .....	114
4.4 The Desire for Certainty in Identity .....	117
4.5 The Double-Whammy of Non-Belonging and its Social Implications .....	123
4.6 The Politics of Preservation and its Impact on Cultural Hybridisation .....	134

4.7 Chapter summary .....	140
Chapter 5: Race and Visibility: Narratives of Lived Experience .....	144
5.1 Introduction to the Chapter.....	144
5.2 Experiencing One’s Race and Visibility .....	145
5.3 The Significance of Intersectionality.....	154
5.4 Visibility Through Foreign Names .....	158
5.5 Of Wogs, White-Washing, Turbans and a Black Miss Japan.....	161
5.6 Chapter summary .....	179
Chapter 6: Affect Theory and Habitus: Not to Speak <i>is</i> to Speak .....	181
6.1 Introduction to the Chapter.....	181
6.2 Affect Theory and Habitus: Bourdieu with a Side of Garlic Sauce.....	184
6.3 Imposed Censorship and Self-Censorship: Erasing Themselves .....	190
6.4 The Importance of Interpersonal Relationships .....	209
6.5 Chapter Summary .....	218
Chapter 7: Conclusion: A Generation that Could Change the World - If We Let Them.....	221
7.1 Mapping of Findings to the Research Questions.....	221
7.2 Recognising and Nurturing Cultural Hybridity: A Discussion .....	225
References .....	240

## Abstract

This study argues that the acquisition and use of heritage languages among Second Generation migrants is often disrupted due to narrow identity frameworks which prioritise singular affiliation with either host or heritage society. Based on qualitative data gathered from young adults who were exposed to at least two heritage languages throughout their childhood and adolescence, this study aims to demonstrate how the structurally embedded tensions between maintaining diversity on the one hand and maintaining homogeneity on the other interfere with the potential of cultural hybridity.

The data captures the diverse difficulties, uncertainties, feelings of non-belonging and lack of autonomy experienced by such individuals. It problematises notions of 'passing' and 'positioning', highlighting that the need to adopt such practices to fit into an artificially constructed framework of identity is both worrisome and demoralising. Through the conceptualisation of heritage as capital, a discussion of visibility and an analysis of identity-related affective responses, it provides an insight into the lived experience of hybridity and the way parents, teachers, heritage community and the host society respond to them.

It exposes powerful stories of race, including notions of 'whiteness', 'white-washing' and the 'one-drop rule' and also provides an insight into how visible differences between parents and their children impact relationships, identification and language patterns. This study confirms that prevailing ideas of singular affiliation and 'national identity' ultimately impact hybridity and multilingual repertoires at a great personal expense.

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my principal supervisor Dr. Christina Ho for her support, patience and motivation. Her knowledge and guidance were invaluable resources to me and my research, and I could not have imagined having a better teacher and mentor for my PhD journey.

In the same way, I would like to thank Professor Alastair Pennycook for his insights and encouragement, but also for asking the kind of tough questions that allowed me to widen my perspectives. It was truly a privilege to learn from a leader in the field of linguistics.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr. Susan Oguro who has always made time for stimulating discussions to deepen my research, as well as to Dr. Bhuva Narayan for supporting my research activities and inviting me into my faculty's research community.

I also thank Dr. Emi Otsuji who provided invaluable feedback and discussion especially in the early stages of my candidature.

I would also like to use this opportunity to thank the University of Technology for funding my research and providing the infrastructure necessary to complete my project.

This thesis would not have been possible without my participants who have entrusted me with their stories and shared a tear or two with me along the way.

The PhD journey would have been a lonely one without the many friendships; I am thankful for the jovial chats in the HDR kitchen as we were all procrastinating, and I am grateful to all my friends who got me away from my desk to remember to enjoy life as well.

Special mention must be made of my partner Cristian who got me out of many PhD panic attacks with his good-hearted, kind and calm nature.

I owe more to my older sister than I can ever repay, for holding my hand and being my only ally for most of the growing-up-mixed journey.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank the people who made all this possible: My parents. I am the first in my family to graduate from a university. None of what I have accomplished would have been possible without their dedication, love and sacrifice.

## Chapter 1: Welcome to my World

Last year, I ordered a DNA kit to discover my ethnic ancestry; I did this partly because I was curious, but mainly to slap the results into the face of the next person who asks me “Where are you from?”.

Unrelated to my research, I recorded the instances of me being asked where I am from, and also recorded the number of follow-up questions and disbelief that are triggered by my answer. On average, this occurs once per day. It happens in taxis, doctor’s offices, job interviews, in class, in grocery stores and in bars. My personal record was at a conference in New Zealand at which I was asked nine times in a single day: at my hotel reception, the taxi, the registration desk, twice at morning tea, twice during afternoon tea, in the elevator, and finally, in the taxi back to my hotel. In all nine instances, I had to answer a follow-up question.

So, on average, once per day, for as long as I can remember, I have been asked “Where are you from” followed by a disbelieving “Really?” followed by another question in the hopes of getting a different answer. These questions can be dead-pan racist, for example “you don’t look German”. Sometimes, the person endeavours to come across as more worldly, like “Oh, I didn’t realise Zozan was a German name” (like there was any such chance), or “do I detect an accent?” (you don’t). In short, my life has been a bit like the movie *Groundhog Day* in which I am caught in a loop, repeatedly reliving the same day.

So, where am I from?

According to official documents, I was born, raised and educated in Germany. According to my mother, I am Turkish because she is Turkish, and it goes by whatever your mother is. According to my father, what makes me special is that I am a little bit Italian. According to my DNA test, I am from Turkey, Italy, Central Asia, Ashkenazi Jewish and a 0.9% sprinkle of Middle Eastern. According to everyone else, I’m just generally “not from here” regardless of where I find myself.



This study aims to tackle some of the complexities of a life lived in-between national, cultural and ethnic identities – a hybrid identity.

As the reader might have guessed from my introduction, this thesis does not strictly follow academic convention, and it is worth explaining the specific authorship choices made in this thesis. My reasons for breaking academic convention to favour a narrative writing style is because this study not only seeks to provide new insights into the lived experiences of mixedness and language learning, but it also seeks to innovate the ways in which we write and read about it. As argued by Richardson (2000), as qualitative researchers we write to be inquisitive, to learn things we did not know before we wrote about it. For this reason, Richardson encourages us to innovate, explore, and experiment with new forms of writing. The phenomenon studied in this thesis has produced biographical and ethnographic data which is deeply personal and full of raw emotion. In the gathering of this data, participants often recounted their stories in tears and shared thoughts they said they had never said out loud before. It was my intention to write a text worthy of this humanity, and stripping it of all emotion in order to provide a traditionally formal account would do us a disservice in creating meaning. It would be counterproductive to use conventional writing methods to understand such unconventional data, a view that is supported by Choi (2017) who suggests that “there are not, and cannot be, set rules or models for writing one’s particular experiences” (p.72). I refer to her 2017 work in which she eloquently describes not only the benefits of reflexive writing but its necessity to better understand the vulnerabilities and contradictions emerging in personal accounts.

With the way I have relayed my findings in this thesis, I have sought to offer a style of writing that is personal in such a way that it provides a truthful reflection of what was said, remembered and experienced. In presenting my research in this way, I endeavour to further the reader’s understanding of very personal and unique social conditions while doing justice to those who have opened their hearts to provide this data.

In this introductory chapter, I will introduce myself as well my participants, and provide an overview of the research approach, questions and findings. In all subsequent chapters, I use

personal narrative in the architecture of the thesis, using my own story as a way into the various themes discussed in this study.

## 1.1 Introduction

**Welcome to my World. Allow me to start my thesis by introducing myself to you.**

My name is Zozan. This is a Kurdish name, which my 8-year old sister put in a hat from which my name would be drawn when my mother was pregnant with me. My sister found this name in a Turkish children's book about a Kurdish girl and was so fascinated with it that this was her choice.

Do I think 8-year olds should be allowed to suggest names for their siblings?

Absolutely not.

But my parents, ever the social democrats, felt this was fair. And so, my name was drawn, and despite not being Kurdish, I have a Kurdish name. A name which, I want to make very clear, is also mispronounced, unknown and mistaken for a boy in Turkey.

Over the course of my life I did meet Kurdish people who explained that 'Zozan' means 'the highest plateau of a mountain'. I'll allow the reader to interpret the meaning behind this for themselves. I always just imagined grazing goats. The Turkish word for 'Zozan' is 'Yayla', which is not used as a name (though sounds a little nicer to me).

My name has a lot to do with who I am. It is the first thing that outs me as foreign pretty much wherever I go. Introducing myself to anyone new causes me anxiety because my name always raises eyebrows. I generally have to repeat it, and there are not many people who can pronounce it correctly, or even read it out correctly. It is very embarrassing when people mispronounce it or call me "Zoltan", "Zonan", "Lasagn" - something I often experience in public.

Now that we've cleared up my name, I'd like to continue with my family. My mother was born in a village near Ankara in Turkey, and moved to Germany at the age of 11. My father was born in an even smaller village on the Italian island of Sardinia and moved to Germany in his 30s. My older sister was born and raised in Germany, just like me.

I was born in the coastal town of Bremerhaven in July 1987. I am the first and only person in my family who was born into German citizenship. I lived there until I was 19 years old, except for a short period in my childhood when I lived in my father's village in Sardinia. At 19, I moved to London and got my undergraduate degree. At 22, I moved to Sydney, Australia. As of this writing, I am still there.

Because of my family, it is quite impossible to explain where I am from in terms of nationality. If I went with the official truth – that I was German - a quick look at my face would raise suspicion among most people. If I said Italian, people might still not be convinced when they hear my name. And if I told anyone I was Turkish, the conversation would be over quite quickly thanks to my inability to say anything coherent in the language. Nationality, however, is what most people want to hear when they ask, "Where are you from", because it provides "a shorthand (re)presentation of one's self for convenience sake" (Ang 2001, p. 29). If I ever give a full explanation – including where my parents are from – it is followed by one of four possible reactions.

The first reaction is that of short-lived inclusion. An Italian or Turkish person will instantly include me into their ethnic group, completely ignoring the other circumstances I just mentioned. What follows is an attempt to bond with me over this common identity, usually through a specific cultural reference that I am expected to understand seeing as I am 'one of them'. Inevitably, disappointment washes over them as I apologetically explain that I don't understand that reference because growing up 'Italian' in Italy is not the same as growing up 'partially Italian' in Germany. Consequently, my membership to their social group is cancelled as quickly as it was granted.

The second reaction is one of an overall denial of me having an identity at all – usually in the form of comments like 'So what exactly are you?' or 'Oh, so you're nothing properly.'

The third reaction is that of benevolent meaning-making in the absence of easy labels. People want to know odd things, like “so if you had to estimate in percentage, how much are you of each?”. Obviously, that is not how it works, and I highly doubt that anybody categorises their thoughts, likes or behaviours in percentage by ethnicity.

The final reaction is that of excited exotification: ‘That sounds so fascinating!’, ‘That is just crazy!’ or ‘If you have kids with an Aussie, what will they be?? They’ll be so confused!!’

Each in their own way, all these reactions are wounding and even after thirty years of this, it still makes me anxious and uncomfortable.

My comfort zone is a space where I can just be myself. There are behaviours and ways of communicating which come natural to me, but they are uncharacteristic for some of the ethnicities or nationalities which I officially belong to. I feel most comfortable when I don’t need to pretend that I am of any single ethnic group, when I do not feel ‘tested’ or ‘observed’ in my behaviour and when I do not have to communicate in a single language.

The cultures that I have been exposed to growing up – German, Turkish and Italian – are partially overlapping but inherently different. There are inevitable religious contradictions, differing views on social and family life, differing views on food, and altogether very different customs. The languages are all entirely different from each other and having lived in English-speaking countries for the past decade has also left a mark on me. Although all of this is different and contradicting, to me, they mix quite easily and naturally. Left to my own devices, I think in different languages, I mix cuisines and believe in a fusion of political and social views. It would sound like ‘gibberish’ to many and it would all be considered ‘inauthentic’.

In scholarly literature, what I am describing is often referred to as a culturally ‘hybrid identity’ and infers the overlap of two or more ethnic and/or cultural identities within the same person or community. This concept will form the backbone of my thesis as all my research participants have confirmed they would describe themselves in the same way if it was socially acceptable and understood.

For all these reasons, the idea of a nation is the complete opposite of 'home' to me. For me, it has always been a space of exclusion, of being forced to over-emphasise just one aspect of myself, and of constantly trying to pass as acceptable. My inability to name a credible nation has led to people routinely asking for my ancestry as I have outlined earlier. They may ask in subtler ways such as the origin of my name, but at times it is quite overt, "where are you *REALLY* from" or "what is your background?".

This question makes me feel incredibly miserable. People generally disguise it as 'ice-breaker' question or friendly banter to get to know me, however what it truly implies is that I am alien to them in a way that requires lengthy explanations. My own view of identity as I have described above is considered a non-identity, often because of racist perceptions of what a true 'national' looks like or because being 'mixed' is not something that is valid or acceptable. Because none of what I say about myself seems to make any sense, I am simply identified as whatever my parents are. Generally speaking, people either pick one of them "Ah, so you are Turkish", none of them "Oh, so you're nothing really!" or continue to demand conclusions from me, "So, *what* are you?".

To me, this has always been a strong message, a message that somehow, I am a person who is lacking something, or who is not enough of something. What these questions really imply is "you are not enough of anything to be considered something". If you do not have a clear lineage, if you cannot tell me where your ancestors are from in a credible way, you have no identity.

As I mentioned previously, it is a message I am hearing on average once a day and it has penetrated all aspects of my life. As I grew up, it seemed that people and institutions around me reinforced this message at every opportunity. I have been considered less intelligent, less capable and less deserving because of my background. Even my own family instilled guilt in me for being a lesser daughter, for not being able to inherit all there was to inherit.

Perhaps the saddest part of my story is the fact that with all my heart, I started to believe this message, too. From as far back as I can remember, I believed that it was not possible for me to

successfully exist in my society and to achieve my dreams by simply being who I was. I began hating aspects of myself; my appearance, my name, my parents' immigrant status, the Persian carpets in our house, the ethnic lunches in my school bag.

I knew I had to give up something to fit in, and I went about hiding and trying to change as much about me as possible to become more invisible, to blend in better, to become 'passable' in my community. As part of that, one of the most contentious things I did was to deny one side of my heritage completely with all that a child and teenager might.

As the reader might have guessed by now, I grew up in a trilingual home – German, Italian and Turkish. While I speak German fluently and I speak Italian confidently, I do not speak Turkish apart from the odd phrase and expression. I can understand my mother when she speaks, but I find it difficult to understand a stranger, or something on TV.

There was no lack of Turkish in my life, and I was speaking it just fine when I was a small child. Some of my first words were in Turkish. But at some point, I stopped. I remember doing it, I remember pretending not to speak it, I remember fighting over it with my mother (and continue to this day), and I remember what it meant to me when I could finally proudly tell friends and teachers that "I don't even speak Turkish, so I don't really have anything to do with it".

Understanding the 'why' behind this process is what sparked this research project.

Why did I feel that it was acceptable to be Italian, and not Turkish? Why did I learn English to perfection, but I am completely unable to say anything in the language I was raised with? Why was I happy to study Spanish, French and Latin but start feeling sick to my stomach when I am 'mistakenly' spoken to in Turkish?

The reasons for this will be unravelled in this study, with the help of stories of people just like me.

## 1.2 Research Questions and Relevance

As outlined by Vertovec (2007), the current movement and exchange of people globally is at an unprecedented level, leading to new forms of cosmopolitanism and creolisation. As such, hybridity in the way I have described earlier is not at all a minority issue; the Australian Census reveals that 45.44% of Australian residents had either one or both parents born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017e) which is nearly half of the population. My hybridity is nothing exceptional, yet our society and our system push increasingly aggressive and often contradicting notions of 'preservation angst' which clash with cultural and linguistic hybridisation. On the one hand, there is pressure to preserve cultural homogeneity (assimilation) and on the other hand, there is pressure to preserve cultural diversity (multiculturalism). In both cases, 'culture' is assumed to be unitary, and individuals are assumed to exclusively belong to just one 'culture'.

My study will challenge these assumptions by arguing for the autonomy and necessity of hybridity, focusing on a sociolinguistic context. It will argue that hybridity is not only an inconvenient by-product of migration, but rather, a powerful framework to tackle the many social and cultural challenges brought about by increased globalisation. In order for societies to harness its potential, however, it must be given opportunity to develop; rather than for something to be lost, I argue that there is much to be gained from linguistic and cultural hybridisation.

As we unpack my participants' linguistic 'status quo', we will gain a deeper understanding of the kinds of lived experiences that have led to either the resistance or acceptance of their heritage language. It will also investigate why aspects of the linguistic and cultural identity available to them by heritage were adopted or rejected, and what implications this has had on their sense of self. Notions of belonging are particularly complex in the context of hybridity because my participants intersect multiple of these unitary – and often incompatible – understandings of linguistic, cultural, and ethnic belonging.

Existing quantitative data, such as that of Oh and Fuligni (2010), provides an important statistical foundation for my research, however quantitative data is ultimately limited as it

allows little room for the subject to justify responses or provide further information necessary to understand connections. For instance, Oh and Fuligni (2010) used surveys to conclude that strong parent-adolescent relationships are correlated to heritage language proficiency; however, a statistical correlation through surveys cannot prove causality. In other words, there are several ways in which positive parental bonds (X) and heritage language acquisition (Y), can be related: X can cause Y, Y can cause X, or it may be that some other factor (Z) is causing both X and Y. It is difficult to use such statistics to draw a meaningful social reality as it is felt by the research subjects. Thus, the main aim of this study is to capture the subjective essence of the participants' linguistic journeys. Further, existing studies tend to focus on one heritage language which competes with the dominant one. I have specifically chosen a situation of at least two heritage languages for each participant in order to reduce the bias between host and heritage languages, which allows me to better understand the power dynamics between the heritage languages.

My research will contribute to this field of study by answering the following questions:

1. Why do some culturally-hybrid individuals reject their heritage language and why do others develop it?
2. How do ideologies, ethnic visibility and personal experiences affect individuals' linguistic repertoire and identification with the heritage culture?
3. How much autonomy do these individuals have in their identification process with their heritage culture?

There are significant aspects of this study that are designed to enhance scholarly understanding of sociolinguistics and identity studies.

The first is using language as a point of access to approach identity. By focusing on self-reflections of language learning and use over time (rather than focusing on testing and quantifying competence), participants were given a fairly simple entry into an otherwise very complex and confronting exploration of identity and belonging. By using language as a 'language' to speak about identity, participants were able to draw links between the two effortlessly and verbalise what might have otherwise been very difficult to express or realise.



The next significant aspect is the focus on a trilingual setting. As mentioned previously, the main goal was to be able to study identity outside the usual “dominant versus minority” language context. By doing so, this study was able to demonstrate that language use is much more tied to personal relationships and trajectories than was often assumed in bilingual studies.

The final aspect is the depth of analysis applied in this study. I have purposefully chosen a research design that values quality over quantity. By conducting an extremely close examination of a small number of individual lives, I was able to draw out rich, personal data on what I have always known to be a rich, personal topic.

### 1.3 Research Design

The main objective of this study is to investigate any commonality of experiences among those who reject their linguistic heritage and those who embrace it, as well as the various ambivalences and places in between. Importantly, it aims to shed light on the reasons why.

The participants selected for this study were all raised in trilingual families such as my own. The focus is on young adults, aged 18 to 35, in the hope that they would be young enough to remember their upbringing, but old enough to have gained some perspective. Their individual stories are summarised later in this introduction, and their trajectories form the structure of this thesis. Their life histories – or rather, their *linguistic* life histories, will unfold as this paper progresses.

Conducting an ethnographic study would have undoubtedly been a valuable tool to understand the deeper facets of identity in the ‘moment of speaking’ and to observe identity negotiation in real world encounters, closely tied to a particular situational context (Pérez-Milans, 2016). However, rather than exploring the actual patterns of language-use and analysing the interdependency of various social and cultural factors involved in the participant’s daily interaction with the linguistic community, this study aims to foreground the individual’s *retrospective reflections* on their particular trajectory and the various influences along the way

that have shaped their linguistic abilities and behaviour today. Brigitta Busch (2017) calls this *Spracherleben*, or “the lived experience of language” (p.340).

As mentioned earlier, this is not a quantitative study. Because the main aim of this study is to capture the subjective essence of the subjects’ linguistic journeys, I have used narratives and oral history accounts as overarching methodology to draw a comprehensive ‘linguistic life history’ of a smaller sample size. A similar approach has informed comparable qualitative research with very rich data, such as the auto-ethnography of Julie Choi (2017) as well as Blommaert’s (2009) analysis of a Rwandan refugee’s sociolinguistic profile.

To produce research data, I conducted semi-structured interviews using a sensory ethnographic approach. I outline my purpose, goals, and thoughts behind this methodology in the next chapter. Due to the depth of both the interview process as well as the rich amount of data gathered, I have focused on four participants, amounting to a total of 14 hours interview time. The stories of these four participants combined involve 12 languages, ten nationalities and one single common struggle – the question ‘where are you from?’.

#### **1.4 Key Findings**

This section will provide an overview of the findings and chapters, and by doing so, facilitate the navigation through this thesis. In once again breaking academic convention, this thesis does not contain a literature review chapter; rather, literature accompanies research findings throughout each chapter. An overview of literature is provided below alongside each key finding.

First and foremost, my study provides fresh evidence that language is strongly linked to identity, and the motivation to learn (or not learn) a heritage language is directly linked to the desire (or non-desire) to identify with the speech community. All my participants clearly identified and articulated a value statement tied to each community, and by extension, the language spoken by this community.

However, this study provides new insights into what creates ‘willingness to identify’ and how perceptions of heritage language and community are shaped. Below are the key findings outlined in this paper, as well as the chapter numbers which discuss these findings at length.

*Chapter 2: In using a sensory ethnographic approach and reflections on interview summaries, participants were better able to organically recall memories evoked by natural stimuli.*

Chapter 2 contains a literature review of life history interview, grounded theory and sensory ethnography, chiefly drawing on the work by Robert Atkinson, Sarah Pink, Juliet Corbin and Amsel Strauss.

Walk-and-talk life history interviews over food, and during strolls around neighbourhoods of my participants’ choosing served as a useful method to elicit stories and memories of language, heritage, family and identity. In particular, this way of interviewing allowed the participant to share stories they deemed important in understanding their trajectories.

Furthermore, an interview summary presented in the second interview became a powerful tool to enable deep reflection and gain invaluable insights into their own trajectory, evaluations and narrations. My participants were able to justify, confirm, correct, and comment on their own narrations, which did not only result in richer findings but also a more ethical approach to research.

*Chapter 3: Both parents and participants were selective in their heritage language use based on the value they assigned to the speech community.*

Chapter 3 contains a literature review which examines notions of heritage and ancestry, and problematises the dominance of these concepts as markers of identity. By conceptualising heritage as capital, the chapter draws chiefly on the work of Pierre Bourdieu.

By exploring the underlying reasons behind language practices in the family home, my research suggests that value judgements about languages commence with the parents who themselves tend to prioritise one heritage language over another, and their use of the dominant language depends on their trajectory as migrants as well as their relationship with the host society.

Whether something was considered a desirable heritage to be passed on, or not, was strongly connected to the parents' migration trajectories, their own identities as members of a diaspora as well as the relationship with the host society.

While all families possessed a linguistic repertoire of at least three languages, the early childhood environment seemed almost monolingual in cases where there were visible racial differences between mother and child, resulting in upsetting public experiences where the mothers were mistaken for caretakers and nannies. In these cases, the use of the mother's heritage language appeared to have highest importance as speaking this language publicly asserts that mother and child were in fact a family. It reinforces notions of language to signify belonging and ultimately, to display an identity.

In the case of the participants themselves, the symbolic capital of each language and its value was generally measured against the dominant language spoken by the host society. Their perceptions of their heritage community were most commonly shaped by interactions with the host society, and only in a few cases from interaction with the heritage community itself. Depending on the quality of these experiences, this simultaneously shaped their attitudes towards learning their heritage language.

*Chapter 4: Hybridity is generally misunderstood and forced into submission by parents and public institutions who only value single affiliation*

Chapter 4 contains a literature review which deals with the complex subject of identity and offers definitions of 'hybridity' within this context. In this section I predominantly refer to the work of Stuart Hall, Amartya Sen, Homi Bhabha and Will Kymlicka while also analysing contemporary views and responses to hybridity.

This chapter challenges a number of claims made about 'hybridity', namely that it is overall well-received and a positive experience. I argue that no culture is pure in lineage, there is a generalised push for single affiliation. The reinforcement of these messages that one can only choose one side and one identity ultimately clashes with a multilingual repertoire as well as the formation of a healthy hybrid identity which pays respect to heritage and host.

In particular, participants were often assigned an identity by others, were not believed when making identity claims, or were frequently interrogated about their ancestry. This often resulted in imposed identity categories which my participants found both inaccurate and emotionally draining. Notions of national identity were particularly troublesome and confronting as most of my participants neither fully identify with their heritage community nor their host society. This results in crippling feelings of exclusion, non-belonging and uncertainty. Overall, this study makes apparent the urgent need to raise a better understanding of hybridity because the current responses are detrimental to a young person's development, and ultimately also their language ability.

*Chapter 5: Race and visibility are key barriers to being accepted into the dominant group, and identity is often reduced to racial categories.*

Chapter 5 contains a literature review of the terms 'race', 'visibility' and 'intersectionality'. Using the works of Kimberlé Crenshaw, Julie Choi and Len Ang among others, this section will also review prickly topics of colour, names and whiteness.

Being asked 'where are you from?' is most commonly linked to physical aspects such as skin colour or other visible reminders of migration, such as names. These frequent questions as well as their own growing awareness of their visibility have fundamentally shaped the experiences of these four young people. Visibility was not only an issue at school or in other public spaces, but also within the family and heritage community in which they were confronted with their mixedness, racial slurs, perceptions of beauty, or notions of whiteness.

Their visibility has above all played a key role in not being accepted by the dominant society and has resulted in resentment towards the host culture as well as their own perceived racial inadequacy.

*Chapter 6: Emotional experiences of heritage, hybridity, visibility and family relationships are internalised and indicative of behaviours that motivate language learning, rejection and revival.*

Chapter 6 contains a literature review of Affect Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's notions of habitus. By merging Margaret Wetherell's theories of affective practice with Bourdieu's habitus, this chapter proposes a conceptual framework similar to that of Diane Reay in an effort to grasp how lived emotional experiences as well as interpersonal relationships are embodied and translated into positioning and language 'habits', including notions of passing and mimicry.

In this chapter I provide evidence that participants self-censor language use by pretending not to speak a heritage language which overall interrupts their language-learning process if repeated habitually. However, relationships with friends and family can alter behaviour and this chapter contributes to the existing knowledge-base by providing evidence that relationships precede the motivation to learn a language.

*Chapter 7: Conclusion and a discussion of the need to break down the barriers faced by the culturally-hybrid generation.*

Chapter 7 contains a literature review of the works by Charles Taylor to offer a discussion about the politics of recognition. It also includes a review of the work of Melissa Butcher and Anita Harris in the context of multiculturalism among young people.

Backed by my research, I conclude my thesis by arguing that the second generation has the resources and potential to become competent multilinguals and build the much-needed bridge between cultures by creating hybrid, overlapping versions of them. However, as hybridity is discredited as 'nothing properly' and pressured into single affiliation, this potential is currently not realised. I offer a discussion of potential research areas to further our understandings and find better solutions.

## **1.5 Limitations and delimitations**

There are three key limitations/delimitations worth noting in regard to this research.

The first is the aspect of reliability when it comes to narrative as a research method. The criticism about any form of narration is that it will necessarily be a combination of fact and

fiction, driven by the narrator's values and morals, and not always factually accurate. However, what appear to be methodological shortcomings are precisely the compass required to navigate through the inner workings of social processes and identity. As outlined by Watson (2015, p. 212), retrospective reporting provides 'rich ethnographic data' which is not the kind of data that can be quantified or serve to create scientific tabulations, however this does not imply that narrations are merely 'interesting' stories with no social implications. On the contrary, they provide a meaningful foundation to discern the social and historical conditions under which ideologies arise as well as the links between 'lived' experience and ideology (Watson, 2015). In other words, it is a unique way to understand the way in which social structures shape individual lives. In addition, the factual inconsistencies, which I have identified through skilful interviewing, have helped to bring unresolved conflicts or troublesome chapters to the fore, even if the objective truth is never fully discovered. Indeed, what I am looking for, is the internal coherence (and incoherence) as experienced by the individual rather than attempting to elicit a complete and factually accurate account of an individual's life.

The second is more of a delimitation to manage the scope of data collection in terms of language use and multilingual repertoire. This study is not aimed at examining the language learning process from an educational perspective, nor is it going to measure competence. In defining multilingualism, I refer to Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck (2005, p.199) who explain that it "should not be understood as full competence in different languages," as this is too constricted and absolute. Rather, this study will consider the concept of the *linguistic repertoire* (Finegan 2008), which encompasses the language resources the individual is exhibiting; this often consists of several languages, several varieties of each language, and varying levels of proficiency. For this same reason, theoretical frameworks that categorise speakers and languages into 'first language', 'second language', 'native speaker', 'mother tongue' and 'foreign language' are not considered, primarily because the lines in-between these categories are far too blurred in the study of hybridity.

The final delimitation is the selection of participants. All my research subjects are visible ethnic minorities in the space in which they grew up, meaning that their physical features do not appear to be in any way 'native' in their host country. Furthermore, all my participants spent their childhood and adolescence in major metropolitan cities and urban areas. This was more

coincidental than planned, however these are worth noting. As Wang et al (2014, p.28) importantly note, while there is nothing inherently wrong with conducting research in urban areas, “a ‘complete’ sociolinguistics requires input from every possible environment in the world.” It is therefore appropriate to note that these findings may not be applicable to non-urban areas in the same way and must be complemented by work on more peripheral contexts. The research results also indicate that the aspect of visibility was a key variable and played a significant role in understanding the conflicting nature of hybridity, and in some cases, heritage language acquisition. This implies that my research data and conclusions relate to such participants only, and research outcomes might significantly differ in studies in which this variable is removed.

## 1.6 Introduction to Participants

Due to ethical considerations, privacy, and data protection, the names of participants and their family members have been changed.

### *1.6.1 All they see is black: Claire Oshiro*

Claire Oshiro was born in China in 1997. Her father, a Ugandan man, moved to China to study engineering where he eventually met Claire’s mother, a preschool teacher from Japan. When the parents met, Claire’s mother spoke exclusively Japanese but started learning Mandarin while living in China. Her father on the other hand was a more advanced user of Mandarin due to his studies, and he was also fluent in English and Luganda. As he did not speak Japanese, and Claire’s mother spoke no English at the time, Mandarin became the common language between the parents.

While living in China, the couple had both Claire and her younger sister. The family relocated to Australia when Claire was two years old and she has lived in Newtown, Sydney ever since. Claire’s mother became a homemaker while her father worked as engineer. Unsurprisingly, Claire has no memories of living in China, and she does not consider herself Chinese.



While this cultural fusion of being an Asian-African family living in Australia did not seem to affect her father much, she says her mother found it challenging to start a family with a person of another colour. Claire explains that she has found the Japanese culture to be more “monocultural and nationalistic”, and as such, mixed ethnic families are not well received.

*Claire: “So, for my mum, I know that it was a big deal when she decided to have kids with someone of a different colour, or of a different race [...] so for her, she knew she didn't really wanna raise kids that were gonna be people of colour in Japan. So, she knew straight away it wasn't gonna be there.”*

What Claire might be pointing to here are some of the issues outlined by Robert A. Fish (2009, p.42) in terms of the Japanese perception of what he calls “mixed-blood” children. He argues that unlike in Europe, where people have been traditionally categorised by skin colour, historically Japan has simply drawn a distinction between “we Japanese” and “others” (p. 43). This is further supported by Oguma’s research (2002) of pre- and post-war perceptions which indicates that Japanese self-identity is still rooted in the idea of a homogenous nation in which its people share a single, pure origin and lineage. It is for this same reason that Claire’s family has ruled out Japan as a permanent home, and we will later learn that this Japanese ideology will play a role in the mother-daughter relationship.

Since Claire’s mother was a homemaker and spent most of her time with the children, Claire considers Japanese to be her first language. Indeed, she says she did not speak English confidently when she started primary school. She remembers feeling insecure about her language deficiency in English, and admits that she pretended to understand more English than she actually did.

Claire also remembers that she was the only black student throughout her schooling with the exception of her siblings. She says that entering school made her “hyper aware of issues of race” and describes her school as “very white” with a friend group which was made up of “really white” girls. Claire’s insecurities about competing with white, native English speakers can be contextualised within the 2001 Census data from Newtown.

Newtown was predominantly an Anglo-Celtic Australian suburb when Claire was growing up. In 2001, which is roughly the time the family immigrated, and Claire entered school, 60.7 per cent of Newtown residents were born in Australia, of which 61.3 per cent were of English, Australian, Irish or Scottish ancestry (ABS 2006a). In 2006, almost half of Newtown residents were professionals (41.1%), and the median weekly household income was \$1,394, painting the picture of a middle-class suburb with income and educational levels above the NSW average (ABS 2007a).

In relation to language, 74.1 per cent reported speaking only English at home, a figure that remains largely the same in 2016 with 71.8 per cent (ABS 2017d). There were small numbers of non-English speakers. In 2001, the most common responses for languages other than English were Greek (2.8%), Cantonese (1.3%), Mandarin (1.1%), Vietnamese (0.9%) and Spanish (0.8%). Based on these statistics, it appears fairly accurate that Claire would not have had many fellow classmates who spoke Japanese as their first language, and would not have encountered many other black children.

Claire says she felt more confident communicating in Japanese than in English until about year six or seven. Today she can't read or write in Japanese, but is fluent in speaking it. As with most of my participants, she does however feel embarrassed speaking to 'native' Japanese speakers because she often mixes English words into a Japanese utterance. She was not allowed to take Japanese as a foreign language in high school because her mother is Japanese, but at the same time, the language level of the heritage class was too advanced for her. This is not an uncommon story as illustrated in many studies surrounding students with Japanese background who have been prohibited from studying Japanese for HSC due to having a perceived 'unfair advantage' (e.g. Moloney and Oguro 2015; Oriyama, 2010). Claire remembers that her mother was particularly upset about this as she was hoping her children would be able to study Japanese at school and learn how to read and write Japanese.

Today, Claire continues to speak Japanese at home and still watches Japanese TV shows. She has a passive knowledge of Mandarin, meaning that she understands it but responds in English. She is currently studying an undergraduate degree in education. Claire has two younger

siblings, a sister who is two years younger and a brother who is seven years younger. She considers herself the strongest speaker of Japanese among her siblings, followed by her sister and then her brother. Her siblings do not speak or understand Mandarin. She explains this development by pointing out that English has become a more dominant language in the home since moving to Australia, especially due to her mother's improved ability to speak English over the years. Stevens and Ishizawa (2007) found this decreasing heritage language proficiency in younger children to be a very common pattern. Their US study of over 3000 second generation (and "1.5 generation") children found that last-born children are least likely to speak a minority language, often due to the fact that they were either born and raised in the US, or because the family has spent a longer period of time within the US, thus making the parents and older siblings more competent in English.

Neither Claire nor any of her siblings speak Luganda. Luganda was not spoken at home or taught to the children, and Claire speculates that this is because there was little opportunity or incentive for the father to do so, but also because her father left Uganda as a student and has perhaps himself very little connection left.

Claire says that outsiders generally assume she is African due to her skin colour, but she connects more with her Japanese side, saying that she has had more exposure to Japanese culture, especially food and entertainment, than her Ugandan side. She has been to Japan to meet her family, and her Japanese family has visited regularly. However, she has no Japanese family in Sydney.

She has never been to Uganda and has not met her Ugandan family. She has spoken to them on the phone on a few occasions, but only her father maintains ties to that side of the family. She says one of her father's sisters lives in Australia; however, the family does not keep in touch, possibly because of a disagreement.

### ***1.6.2 Being 'a half': Theresa Szabo***

Theresa was born in Australia in 1999 and grew up in Mount Druitt, Western Sydney. Her father is Hungarian and moved to Sydney at the age of 30 where he worked as a taxi driver and plumber before retiring. Her mother, an aged-care worker, is Filipino and moved to Australia in her late 20s to act as a caretaker for her sister's children. The couple met in Sydney, settled down and had Theresa who is an only child.

At home, the parents speak to one another in English, although Theresa's mother has been trying to learn Hungarian, and her father knows some common words in Tagalog. Based on home videos she has seen, Theresa recalls that her parents spoke to her in their respective languages, Hungarian and Tagalog, and used English as a common language. She estimates that her father's English is a little stronger than her mother's.

Theresa considers herself fluent in English and very competent in Tagalog. She says that she doesn't speak or understand any Hungarian. Theresa also studied French and Italian at school, though only for short periods of time and not enough to be able to communicate.

Growing up, Theresa was surrounded by a large Filipino community at school as well as at home. Her mother has relatives in Western Sydney and it appears to be a very close-knit family with daily interaction. She has no Hungarian relatives living in Sydney.

This is in line with statistical data of the Mount Druitt community. The 2011 Census was conducted at a time where Theresa would have been in primary school and showed that Filipino is the largest ancestry group (13.3%) and the second largest group by country of birth (12%) (ABS 2013). Tagalog was the third most spoken language in Mount Druitt homes with 7.9 per cent. These statistics indicate that the proportion of people with Filipino ancestry and Tagalog language skills was roughly ten times higher in Mount Druitt than elsewhere in NSW and Australia. These figures remain largely the same in 2016 when Theresa was in high school (ABS 2017a). Mount Druitt also has a smaller Australian-born population than the national average, indicating that it is a hub for several other migrant and non-English speaking groups, since 2016 most notably from Pakistan, Iraq, India and Fiji (ABS 2017a).

It is also important to understand the overall profile of Mount Druitt. Looking at the 2016 Census, the average weekly household income in Mount Druitt is slightly lower than the NSW

average, with \$1,268 compared to \$1,486 (ABS 2017a). Similarly, the unemployment rate in Mount Druitt is slightly higher than the NSW and national averages. Blacktown council also consistently ranks among the most crime-dense areas of Sydney and NSW (BOCSAR 2019).

Theresa went to primary school in Mount Druitt. She then changed to a school in Westmead and later attended a high school in St Mary's before enrolling at university in the Sydney CBD. These school changes are important to note because it meant leaving a largely Filipino-dominated community and regularly socialising in areas dominated by white Australians and Europeans. For instance, the four most common ancestries in St Mary's (Australian 20.4%, English 20.0%, Irish 5.8%, Scottish 4.7%) differ significantly from Mount Druitt (Australian 11.9%, Filipino 11.9%, English 10.2%, Indian 6.9%) (ABS 2017c, ABS 2017a). Moving to schools in these other suburbs resulted in gradual awareness and change of heart when it came to Theresa's ideas about Europe, Asia and Australia. Her story first focused on childhood struggles to fit into the Filipino community, but as she entered suburbs which were predominantly made up of white communities, she also became more aware of the prejudice against Asian immigrants, the reputation of Mount Druitt as a low-income crime hotspot, her grappling of her own 'half-whiteness', and the perceived prestige of European heritage. She went to Hungary twice before entering primary school. Partly from memory and partly from home videos, she says she was spoken to in Hungarian on these trips. In addition to that, the family occasionally welcomes relatives from Hungary in Sydney; however, they generally speak English.

Theresa travelled to the Philippines quite regularly until the age of 12. She has a large family there and has a good understanding of the area her family is from. With her relatives there, she communicates in Tagalog. She feels that she understands a lot more than she can say, and is sometimes hesitant to speak because she feels her accent and pronunciation are not accurate, which makes her feel self-conscious. She may mix Tagalog with English to make herself understood.

Theresa explains that her father tried to teach her Hungarian but due to mutual frustration and clashing personalities, her father eventually stopped trying. She says in terms of language, her mother was more dominant, and as she is continuously surrounded by a Tagalog-speaking

community, it was much easier to pick up and maintain. Theresa also consumes Filipino media, especially TV. She does not engage in any activity related to Hungary or Hungarian culture.

At school, Theresa has always felt drawn towards other Filipino children who often have a mixed heritage as well. However, Theresa says most of her friends are half Filipino and half Australian, and she considers herself out of the ordinary with a mixed Asian and European background. Theresa mainly speaks English to her friends, but says the group uses some Tagalog words or expressions when talking, especially when the topics are related to parents and family. She draws clear distinctions between people who are 'halves' and people who are 'wholes' to explain the similarities and differences in their upbringing. She also differentiated people who were born here, born overseas but grew up here, or have recently arrived.

At home, the family practices the heritage cultures predominantly through food; Filipino food is served more frequently; however, Hungarian food is also part of the regular routine. Other than the languages and food, Theresa says in all other ways, her family is not 'heavy on the cultures'.

Theresa describes herself as not looking similar to her mother and others generally consider her 'white' and not Asian. Nevertheless, she is often asked where she is from because she says she doesn't look typically Anglo-Australian and that she has 'a bit of a Tagalog accent'.

Theresa enjoys explaining her heritage as it makes her feel proud and special, because she considers being half European particularly prestigious in Australia. She especially feels Hungarian to be interesting because it is not a commonly found nationality in her area. Filipino on the other hand is a common demographic in the area she grew up in, which makes it a little 'less special' to her. However, she feels uncomfortable with the attention she gets when she travels to the Philippines as she clearly stands out as 'white' in a province where not many tourists visit.

Today, Theresa is studying an undergraduate degree in nursing and considers herself bilingual in English and Tagalog. She does not speak or understand Hungarian.

### ***1.6.3 Hating a part of myself: Kai Adroulakis***

Kai was born in the Sydney suburb of Coogee in September 1987. His mother, a high school teacher and later a nurse, was born in Kingsford a few years after her family migrated to Australia from Greece to escape World War 2. On a trip to Bali, she met Kai's father, an IT professional from Sweden and the couple lived in Sweden for a brief period of time. They later decided to settle down and start their family in Australia.

Kai is the middle child, with an older brother and a younger sister. He grew up surrounded by very few family members, among whom were his maternal grandmother, his parents and his siblings. Growing up, he says Greek was spoken by the mother and grandmother, and Swedish was the common language between the parents. The children were spoken to in Greek and Swedish respectively.

Kai described his family as multilingual until he reached the age of 7, when his parents made the joint decision to speak exclusively in English to their children. This was brought on by a fear that the children would be unable to speak any language proficiently if they are exposed to too many languages at once.

In my study, Kai stands out as the person most strongly opposing his heritage. He has fostered a strong aversion to the Greek language and culture, a self-hate which reached its peak in high school. He described growing up in Australia as especially difficult because he is a visible minority with typical Mediterranean features, complemented by an unusual name.

Unfortunately, the Australian Census did not collect ancestry data in 1991 and 1996. Looking at language data however, it can be seen that Greek was the third most commonly spoken language in Australia in 1996 after English and Italian (ABS 2007b). In Kai's home council Randwick, the Greek-speaking population was larger than the national average with 4.8 per cent compared to the 1.4 per cent national average according to the 2001 Census (ABS 2006b).

As such, Greek was the second most commonly spoken language after English in 2001, which was around the time Kai would have entered high school. Furthermore, Randwick council refers to the Greek-speaking community as “established migrant community” in contrast to “newly arrived migrant groups” from China and Indonesia (Randwick City Council 2014, p. 13). This is reflected in the most recent census, as Greek has moved to third position after English and Mandarin (ABS 2017b). As such, the Census paints the picture of a community that has a long-standing presence of Greek migrants which is significantly larger than the national average.

It is important to consider these statistics when reading Kai’s narrative, but it is equally important to position his story in its cultural context. Many of the themes that run through his experiences raise issues of anti-Greek sentiments and the relegation of Greek migrants to a lower, unskilled social class.

The anti-Greek sentiment can be traced back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Greek troops were blamed for the deaths of British and French soldiers. An inflammatory article published in the Kalgoorlie Miner in 1916 sparked a race riot in which every Greek-owned business in Kalgoorlie was destroyed, as well as Greek homes and businesses in the nearby town Boulder (Gregson 2007). This was the first of several to come. However, much more relevant to Kai’s story is the post-Second World War wave of migration in which Greek migrants were quickly categorised as uneducated, unskilled labourers (Grapsias 2003), a label that was neither accurate nor easy to shake as Kai’s story will illustrate. In an interview with a Sydney resident named Yianni, who migrated in the same wave as Kai’s grandmother, Grapsias captures the disappointment and injustice experienced by Greek migrants at the time powerfully:

“[Yianni’s] ‘spirit of adventure’ was instantly shattered when he arrived at the Bonegilla migrant camp and he was allocated to a labouring job. Much to his protests, the staff at Bonegilla refused to change his category of ‘unskilled labourer’ on his file, despite Yianni showing them his technician diplomas, industrial experience and other qualifications, which in turn they simply stated ‘Sorry, we don’t recognize those here.’ Yianni regarded this as the biggest betrayal he has ever experienced. He stated that ‘this lie changed my entire life.’ He says that Australia did not want technicians or other qualified migrants, but rather labourers



to do all the hard, dirty, heavy, repetitive and dangerous jobs that the Australian population would simply not do.” (2003, p. 150)

The non-recognition of qualifications and automatic allocation to unskilled jobs would not only impact the reputation of Greek immigrants, but also their income levels for decades to come. A survey into average weekly earnings show that in 1985, around the time Kai was born, Greek-born men and women were earning significantly less than Australian-born families, and in fact had the lowest weekly income among all surveyed immigrant groups (Collins 1993). It is important to recognise that this is in stark contrast with Randwick’s overall picture as a suburb with above-average income levels. In the 2016 Census, the average weekly family income in Randwick was at \$2,421 per week, compared to the NSW average of \$1780 (ABS 2017b).

It is argued that although the racism has “diluted” since the 1950s with the arrival of new waves of migration, it has remained markedly resilient against southern Europeans:

“Greeks and Italians ... who arrived in Australia in the 1950s and early 1960s were still found to be the subject of prejudicial attitudes in the 1980s... Neither of the groups can be said to be very popular” (Collins 1993, p. 308).

The second-generation experience is not removed from these historical facts. Racism is still experienced in schools and neighbourhoods by second-generation Greeks “because of their ‘ethnic physical features’ or by their culturally obvious names” (Grapsias 2003, p. 78). This is in line with Kai’s experiences and may have been amplified by the fact that he grew up in a Sydney suburb that had an above-average number of Greek families in a predominantly white, wealthy, English-speaking community.

Kai explained that it has been ‘annoying’ to explain his background almost daily, and frustrating when people are not satisfied with his response being “I’m Australian”. He drew a comparison to his sister who can ‘pass’ as Australian due to her name and physical features which he describes as more ‘Anglo’, and she doesn’t receive many enquiries about her background. It appears that Kai’s Greek heritage has played a much more significant role than his Swedish heritage while growing up, simply because of his appearance.

He has visited family in Sweden about 5 years ago for a holiday, which was his first and only visit so far. This visit was frustrating as his cousin's friends did not believe that they were related due to the difference in appearance. He has never visited Greece.

Interestingly, Kai feels strongly attracted to Germany and the German language after doing an exchange program, and has since been on multiple trips and longer stays in the country, both working and studying. Kai considers himself competent in German, and is particularly fond of the complexity of the language. When in Germany, Kai introduces himself as Australian and is rarely questioned on the authenticity of this statement.

Later in life, Kai has made a conscious effort to 'remember' Swedish, enrolled in courses (though found them too easy) and resumed speaking Swedish to his father. A second change in his attitude occurred in recent years because his grandmother developed dementia and lost much of her English language skills. Kai evidently has a close relationship to her, and in order to communicate with her, he has to speak Greek. Since this time, he has regained interest in this culture and his reluctance to speaking the language has softened.

Today, Kai is an English teacher and has recently completed a Master degree in Classical Languages, learning Latin and Ancient Greek.

Kai feels more confident in speaking Swedish and German than Greek, however he says he is improving in all three. His sister is fairly competent in Swedish and has also lived in Sweden, but she doesn't speak much Greek. His older brother has rejected both languages. Similar to Kai, he has Mediterranean physical features and has particularly resisted Greek.

While Stevens and Ishizawa (2007) found older siblings to be most likely to speak their heritage language, they make the important point that second-generation children inherently differ in their assimilation process, coping mechanisms, and linguistic repertoire. It is cases like Kai's older brother which affirm the need to investigate language and identity further.

Neither of Kai's siblings wanted to participate in this study, as they felt it was 'too difficult to talk about'.

#### ***1.6.4 A guest in my own home: Leena Bansal***

Leena was born in Kuwait in 1982. Her father, an employee for the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, was born in Quetta in undivided India, which today serves as the provincial capital and largest city of Balochistan, Pakistan. Her mother, a Hindi teacher, was born in New Delhi. Leena's parents migrated to Kuwait due to work opportunities; her father moved first and was followed by his wife a few years later. Leena, her older sister and younger brother were all born and raised in Kuwait.

The family speaks almost exclusively in Hindi at home, or a combination of Hindi and English which Leena calls "videshi". Because the family are Sikhs, Punjabi is also spoken between the parents and grandparents, however not to the children. In her religious practices, Leena uses Punjabi for scripture and English for prayers. English and Hindi were the languages of instruction at her school in Kuwait. She studied mandatory Arabic from year 2 to year 10 but she says it was very basic and mainly written.

It is evident that Leena was raised entirely sheltered from the Kuwaiti population, attended a Hindi school and was exclusively surrounded by other Indian migrants. In 2017, around 69.5 per cent of the Kuwaiti population consisted of immigrants (Central Intelligence Agency 2018). Of those, Indian-born or those of Indian descent formed the vast majority of the expatriate community.

Leena had no interaction with 'native' Arab Kuwaitis until she reached adulthood. She remembers growing up in a very separate society with an 'unsaid line' - an unspoken rule in which certain areas were designated for Kuwaitis only.

*Leena: "I guess I have more Kuwaiti friends or local friends now as a grown up. I think this is because growing up, everything was so separate. Now, even today when I go back, I have that in me that - why are we separate? Why can't I go there? That was not because of any racial reasons or anything, it was just very- - it was an unsaid line in the Kuwaiti culture where the Kuwaitis go there, and we don't go there, we go here instead."*

What is more, Kuwait's citizenship policy prohibits non-Arab and non-Muslim people from gaining citizenship (Kuwait Nationality Law 1959). Children of non-citizens are required to leave Kuwait after completing year 12 unless they pursue further studies or find employment. This culture of 'expelling' immigrants and their descendants when they are no longer perceived as productive is quite evident in the fact that Kuwaiti migration statistics reports generally include a large section on "cancelled residencies" (Kuwait Central Statistical Bureau 2016). This policy has been tightening in more recent years, for since November 2017, a parliamentary committee is proposing a 15-year cap on expatriate employment to tackle the "demographic imbalance" (Toumi, 2017a). This imbalance was quite substantial around the time Leena was born. The 1985 Kuwaiti Census shows that 72.3 per cent of people living in Kuwait were considered "non-Kuwaiti", which means almost three quarters of the population was made up of immigrants and their descendants (Kuwait Central Statistical Bureau 1995). This was a trend among all of the five small oil-producing states in the Persian Gulf (Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates) and these are the only countries in the world which satisfied labour shortages predominantly through temporary workers as opposed to open migration (Weiner 1982). Unfortunately, the Kuwaiti Census did not sufficiently categorise what nationalities, ancestries or family situations constitute "Kuwaiti" and "non-Kuwaiti" to draw meaningful conclusions. In more recent years, data shows that 63.57 per cent of "non-Kuwaitis" were made up of "non-Arab Asian countries" (including India) compared to 33.32 per cent who are considered Arabs, but not Kuwaitis (Kuwait Central Statistical Bureau 2016). The labour force of Kuwait continues to rely greatly on expatriate workers until today. In 2017, those workers classified as "Kuwaitis" represented only 18.1 per cent of the total labour force in the country (Toumi, 2017b). According to the latest overall population Census, the majority of the Kuwaiti labour force is either working in education or public administration, while the most common occupation for non-Kuwaitis was domestic work in private households (Kuwait Central Statistical Bureau 2005).

A study by Weiner (1982) shows that Indian expats tended to be among the most skilled segment of the "South Asian" labour force in Kuwait. Short-term residencies were predominantly given to Indians working in the construction industry, but families like Leena's, who stayed in the Gulf region for extended periods and over multiple generations, tended to

work in private sector firms (mainly industry and services), government agencies and non-government organisations. Indians were also frequently called upon to serve as civil engineers in construction, or as doctors and nurses in hospitals. These jobs did not only promise longer-term residencies, but also generous salaries and a comfortable lifestyle. It is thus safe to assume that most Indian expats did not fall under the category of 'domestic workers', which also explains some of Leena's comments on the perceived social status among South Asian workers:

*"This is a very controversial thing, so pardon me. But India is the 'big brother' of the rest of the subcontinent, whether that's Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka etc, which also means people from India are more in professional jobs. Whereas in the blue-collar jobs, you have people more from Pakistan or Bangladesh or Sri Lanka. Not all Indians, absolutely - but Indians in general, have a better status in the Middle Eastern culture purely because they are part of the professional jobs."*

However, Leena also added that "an ignorant person" cannot clearly distinguish between these nationalities simply by looking at a person which means continued racial tensions between Arabs and Indians regardless of these workforce realities.

It is perhaps due to these many explicit and implicit boundaries that her family lived isolated within the Indian expatriate community, and maintained strong connections to India while the children were growing up. The family travelled to India annually and lived in India for an 18-month period during the First Gulf War, when Leena was 7 years old. She studied at school where she learned Hindi and Punjabi, but describes her time in India as a little strange and out of her comfort zone. She says that this is because in India, she is considered a Non-Resident Indian (NRI), and she is quickly identified as that based on her accent. She describes her return to Kuwait as 'going back home' and feeling 'comfortable' again.

Leena faced a particularly difficult situation after finishing high school. As a non-resident Indian and a non-citizen Kuwaiti, she found herself being nobody's child. Due to the very limited options to study and constricting residency laws in Kuwait, she had no options to help her stay

with her family in Kuwait. Although India offered study options for her, she did not consider it as it seemed like a “scary” option for her as she grew up “outside”.

Instead, she moved to Canberra to study at the age of 17. She later moved to Glebe, Sydney and has lived here ever since. Since moving to Australia, Leena travels to India less often. She does however visit every two to three years, primarily because her husband’s family still lives in India. She continues to maintain Indian cultural practices, language and continues to practice her religion. Today, she works in communications. Her siblings have also relocated to Australia, and they speak Hindi and English to one another. Punjabi is hardly ever used, and Leena explains that it is usually mixed with Hindi.

Despite the social apartheid she experienced in Kuwait, she speaks fondly of her time growing up in the country. She admitted that these days on visits to Kuwait, she makes a conscious effort to meet and mingle with Kuwaiti locals and break the cycle. She has improved her Arabic language skills in recent years as a result of this. She says that the day her parents inevitably have to leave the country will be devastating for her as she’d lose her only connection and merely be a tourist in what she considers her home.

Of all my participants, Leena is the only one who has been using all her heritage languages in various contexts but did not learn the local dominant one, which in this case was Arabic.

## Chapter 2: Walking Down Memory Lane: A Methodology

### 2.1 Participant Selection Criteria and Recruitment

My initial selection criteria sounded wonderful on paper but developed into quite the theoretical kerfuffle when applied to the real world.

I initially set out to recruit 'individuals whose parents were born and raised in separate countries, which had to be different from their own'. In other words, I was trying to find people who had two distinctly different heritage languages in addition to their own distinctly different local language. This was not only difficult to explain, but it caught up with me rather quickly due to my many contentious assumptions about language, most notably that 'different language' is synonyms to 'different country'.

Undoubtedly, I fell into the trap of relying overly on my "inherited Western assumptions about linguistic uniformity, cultural homogeneity, and national membership" (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005, p. 201). My assumption was (luckily) challenged at the very beginning of the recruitment process when I was considering participants whose parents were both from China or India, countries with very large populations and rich cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. But even a closer look into my own heritage culture proved that the situation was far more complex than my initial simplistic assumptions. For instance, *Calabrese* and *Veneto* are quite distinct dialects spoken in Italy; did this mean I could recruit someone whose parents were both born and raised in Italy, but from different regional speech communities? I realised that this selection criterion merited deeper elaboration and thought, and above all a clearer definition of what was truly important.

As the goal is primarily one of better understanding identity, the nation itself is evidently an unreliable factor. Paasi (2009) reaffirms this by stating that despite mass migration and globalisation, the contemporary world is still made up of "a constellation of [...] bounded spaces that exist at various spatial scales," (pp.123-124) referring to regions and territories which exist within and overlap national borders. By eliminating the nation as an overarching

indicator of identity, it opened up the possibility of including speech communities which are not necessarily using state-recognised, standard languages. However, a significant and persistent challenge was to identify whether these regional dialects or languages would continue to be signifiers of identity within the context of this study; that is, in the context of global migration and the continued expression of this identity to the second generation.

It was very tempting to develop a universal 'formula' to decide what kinds of dialects are sufficiently 'distinct' or politically 'powerful' enough to be considered separate identities. However, after reviewing literature from existing work, I realised that this approach was both arbitrary and disregarding of the fact that identity is highly subjective and contextual, and cannot be studied using generic formulas. Instead, I followed ethnographic tradition to understand what my participants themselves rendered meaningful to their world. In their world, maybe it was very important to be *Calabrese* as opposed to *Italiano*. Who was I to make such pre-scripted judgements and assumptions about what people identified as? Indeed, is this not the very thing that infuriates me when other people do it to me?

Thus, I sought advice given by more seasoned scholars in the field such as Wang et al (2014) who recommend that it is 'theory from below', and explanations articulated by the people themselves which must be balanced against the researchers own understandings. I therefore conducted preliminary interviews to determine on a case-by-case basis whether the individual drew distinctions or not.

For instance, one potential participant was indeed the son of two Italian-born parents, Roman and Sicilian. These respective dialects are considered very different ways of speaking, and within Italy, 'Roman' and 'Sicilian' are considered quite different cultural groups especially considering that Sicily is an island and physically separated from the mainland. This constellation would have been very interesting, but during the preliminary interview, it became evident that after migrating to Australia, neither parent continued to use their regional dialect. To each other, they spoke in Standard Italian, and this is the only variety my prospective participant was exposed to. While it extended beyond the scope of this study to investigate the reasons for those language practices further, I refer to the interesting insights into the day-to-day realities of such "Italo-Australians" outlined by Rubino (2006), with particular focus on



the language transition to Second and Third generation. In this particular family I was considering including, the regional identities themselves seemed to be merged into one collective 'Italian' identity, with little evidence that parents distinctly identified as 'Roman' and 'Sicilian' to their child. Indeed, the participant was unaware of any difference between them and as such, I concluded that he would not fit into the criteria of growing up in a 'trilingual' environment with at least two heritage languages.

If compared to my participant Leena, the case looks very different. While both her parents are Indian-born, they speak Punjabi and Hindi. According to Leena, both parents are able to speak Punjabi, though it is the dominant language only in her paternal side of the family. In Leena's case, because it is tied to her family's religion, Punjabi was not only a language used in the home, but also associated with a distinct religious identity (Sikh) which was both different from speaking Hindi (and being 'Indian'), and was carried across to Kuwait and Australia.

Thus, by adopting this approach, I finally settled on my four participants. In the previous chapter I have provided a detailed overview of their background.

The recruitment process was facilitated by designing a flyer advertising the project and posting it on social media, handing it out in my own network and distributing it around the Sydney metropolitan area through good old-fashioned letterbox drops and notice boards.

## **2.2 Sensory Ethnography and Life History Interviews: Taking a Walk Down Memory Lane**

My research method emerged a few years ago, while I found myself having a drink with a good friend of mine. She is Ecuadorean-Australian and moved to Sydney with her family when she was in primary school age. As we were sitting and chatting at the bar, a Latin American song came on and she interrupted the conversation "Oh I love this song. It is weird to hear it in public, but it reminds me of the summer my cousin visited from Ecuador...". She continued to tell me all about her family, her memories of first arriving in Australia, and her feelings towards being Ecuadorean so many years later. Most interestingly, she started to tell me about her feelings towards the Spanish language and her admission that although she speaks Spanish, she sometimes pretends that she does not. She reasoned that she felt more confident speaking

English, and it makes her feel more in control and in power. She also confessed that she feels intimidated and nervous when she meets “real” Ecuadoreans.

A similar development in conversation emerged when I was having coffee with a friend from the US. She made a very elaborate coffee order – a very watery version of what most people consider a good coffee. She then started telling me more about life back home in the US, her memories of growing up and how she misses unlimited coffee refills that made conversations last for hours and hours.

In a final conversation, I was walking along the beach with a Lebanese-Australian friend. We agreed that Sydney had some stunning sceneries, but she then spoke about how the beach has lost some of its beauty for her since the Cronulla Riots. She went on to remember what it was like growing up Lebanese in Australia, and in this particular conversation, we both ended up getting quite emotional as we realised we both worked hard not to ‘be Lebanese’ (or in my case, Turkish).

These conversations were entirely sparked by naturally surrounding stimuli - a song that was surprisingly played at a bar, a coffee order, a walk on the beach. It demonstrated that smells, images, sounds and spaces can remind us of certain things quite naturally, and quite emotionally. Of course, I am not the first person to discover this.

In my approach, I relied most heavily on ideas borrowed from Sarah Pink (2009). In her review of works which have used sensory approaches, she eloquently outlines how the ‘body’ and our senses help us experience and re-experience our memories. Pink specifically argues that by focusing on the sensory-experiencing body, “a sensory ethnography can reveal important insights into the constitution of self and the articulation of power relations” (2009, p. 17). She emphasises the importance of sound, vision and scents to elicit information and facilitate the construction of a narrative for research participants.

My research findings are not based on ethnographic research, and Pink did not specifically suggest that sensory elements could form the foundation of an interview technique. However, I recognised that it would be inappropriate to interview my participants in an impersonal

university study room because what I asked of them was both difficult to verbalise and process emotionally. I wanted to adopt a research method which borrowed aspects from these sensory ethnographic approaches and would provide an environment which would naturally, not forcibly, spark such honest and natural conversations. Inspired by existing sensory work, I decided to conduct the first linguistic life history interview with each participant in spaces that would stimulate their senses of smell, sound and taste.

For the second interview, I invited my participants to take a walk with me. Springgay and Truman (2018) outline a noticeable trend in the development of walking methodologies and identify key themes in walking research, most notably the advantages of ‘thinking-in-movement’. Pink supports this method, explaining that walking has the capacity to invoke imaginations and memories especially when combined with visuals. This method was also introduced in other research projects, one of the most influential being Carpiano’s work in 2009. He calls it the “Go-Along interview” (p. 263) and argues that it allows researchers to elicit the participants’ experiences, interpretations and practices within a particular environment. He explains that it connects the social with the physical, allowing us to understand the mental dimensions of place over time. Similarly to Pink, however, Carpiano’s work is not conducted in the same context as my study and he did not focus on life histories. His key suggestion is that research about the health and wellbeing of neighbourhoods should be conducted within those same neighbourhoods which can be effectively done by walking along with participants. However, combining these two things – sensory ethnography and go-along interviews – has proven to be a very successful method to construct meaningful narratives within the context of my research.

The first instances of using narratives as research method can be found in the field of psychology; however, such storytelling has proven to be particularly useful in the areas of anthropology, sociology and linguistics because it can map out cultural similarities and differences as well as define group interaction and relationships (Atkinson, 1998). Borrowing the words of Atkinson (1998, p.20), “there may be no better way to answer the question of how people get from where they began to where they are now in life than through their life stories.” He further argues that life histories are a powerful tool in the study of identity because it requires the research subject to verbalise who they are and how they got to be who they

claim to be. In particular, how identity is defined, described and verbalised by the narrator can be a powerful resource to understand the complex subjectivity that lies at the core of the self. Participants can verbalise the otherwise intangible, express the feelings that were evoked by certain experiences, spell out their perception of their self and their society, identify their influences and justify their choices. As will become clear in some of my interview data, it was also the particular word choice which gave an insight into the individual's judgements, morals, and values but also their relationship to specific places, people and times (Atkinson 1998).

This enables the researcher to capture the individual's subjective perception of the established social order as well as their evaluation of the space they occupy within. In addition, it allows the individuals to draw their own links between language and social identity, which will be instrumental in answering the ultimate question of why the heritage language is learnt or not. It is precisely this subjectivity that makes this methodology uniquely advantageous, and Choi (2017) adds that such autobiographical talk can give an insight into the reasons or excuses on which individuals base their actions, which might elucidate the phenomenon this study is targeted at. Indeed, the 'self' itself is arguably an ongoing story that continues to evolve, and subjectivity is therefore at the centre of this study. As explained by Atkinson (1998), the life themes that emerge in an individual's life history might shed light on a person's major influences, and common accounts of beginnings, conflicts, resolutions and repetitions of these patterns. In addition, it helps the researcher understand what has led to this self-formation and understand the human experience behind a particular self-proclaimed identity.

As mentioned earlier, I have chosen to specifically focus on the linguistic aspect. Blommaert (2009, p. 416) argues that, "life history provides many clues about [...] belonging and life trajectory that together construct a new sociolinguistic profile, one that does not fit the traditional national imagination." It is important to note that interviews, especially on linguistic practices, are necessarily a snapshot in time and subject to change. Not only is this relevant in interpreting the data presented in this study (hence the term linguistic 'status quo'), but it also became evident as participants reflected on their own attitudes and practices over the course of their own lives, often noting stark differences between infancy, primary and high school periods and finally, early adulthood.

To draw a life history means to rely on the participant's memory and as mentioned in the introductory chapter of this study, this type of data collection is at times criticised for its tendency to provide data that may be factually inaccurate. However, what appear to be methodological shortcomings are precisely the things that are needed to gain a better sense of how social processes impact the way someone presents their story and identity. At the centre of this method is not the process of establishing facts, but rather a study of *how* these facts are presented by the participant. As argued by Watson (2015, p. 12), the life history method provides 'the presentation of the self to the outside world'. Seeing as this study aims to provide an analysis of the 'lived' experience, such self-reporting is a valuable method to explore aspects of identity. The memories themselves, but also their subjective interpretation, provide a window into influences, experiences, unresolved conflicts or troublesome chapters that shaped the individual's identity, even if the objective truth is never fully discovered. As such, using memory should be understood as an 'active search for meaning' (Watson 2015, p.13), rather than an act of retrieving stored information.

Each participant was interviewed twice; once in a public space of their choosing which involved food or drink, and once in a walk-and-talk interview in which we explored a part of town they chose.

The interviews were semi-structured. There were specific questions that I needed to ask all participants, such as their parents' background and some other descriptive data. The remaining questions were purposely kept open-ended. Each interview was entirely different, and participants were able to pick specific milestone moments they deemed relevant to convey their trajectory. Although my participants' story-telling abilities varied, the themes they selected and rendered important revealed their significance to the overall story (Holloway & Jefferson 2012). As anticipated, much of the conversation developed due to stimuli around us.

In my first interview with Kai, he picked a small café in his neighbourhood, which is where most of our conversation surrounding food culture, neighbourhood trends and growing up in the area emerged. In our second interview, he walked me past his high school, through a local bushwalk, past his grandmother's nursing home and across a playground. These spaces

provided conversation starters for rich narrations about family life, high school woes, physical fights on the playground and the heartbreak of his grandmother's dementia diagnosis.

Leena proposed one of her favourite bars for our first meeting, and the ambience lent itself to memories about nightlife, religious practices now and then, the forbidden boundaries of Kuwaiti outdoor culture and the experience of living in Australia. In our second interview, we took a walk through her own neighbourhood, and she opened up about the significance of living in the inner city as well as the injustices she felt when living on the margins.

Claire picked a café on her university campus and explained that this is where she first read my flyer. She immediately started talking about identity and how surprised she was by the flyer and the fact that someone out there was interested in studying people like her. In my second interview, we took a walk through a park which – if followed all the way- would have led to her home. The park also reminded her of her love for sports and running, which led to very personal discussions about race. A street sign reminded her of having to translate signs for her mother, which led to more mother-daughter conversations. The personal nature of our second talk moved her to tears and revealed just how vivid some of these surfacing memories were.

I met my final participant, Theresa, at an inner-city Sydney café. Her drink order of a “just a juice please, because I'm trying to be healthy” led us to speak about doing sports and her quarrels with her father when she no longer participated in sports as a teenager. This emerged as a starting point to talk about speaking Hungarian, and her story of rejection. In our second interview, Theresa walked me through her university campus; a notable moment was when an Ibis scared and interrupted her, and it sparked a new conversation about her father shooing them away for her, and their newborn closeness as father and daughter.

Undeniably, the data gained from sensory ethnographical approaches are elicited based on incidental feelings and surroundings. The conversations emerged simply based on what seemed relevant and memorable in the present moment, rather than a conventional life history interview that might have purposefully drawn on specific and intentional themes. This does not need to be a limitation, however. This method allowed me to extract stories which the individual considered significant and meaningful as opposed to what I considered those

things to be. For instance, it is easy to assume that relationships to parents are fundamental in the context of this study, but through this particular technique of interviewing, it became evident that some participants considered other aspects of their lives and relationships outside their family much more impactful.

Naturally, Atkinson (1998) warns us that subjectivity is at the centre of this approach and hence there were anticipated inconsistencies in the stories. However, as argued by Schemer (1979, pp. 6-7) these “scientific vices – ambiguity, imprecision, immeasurability and indeterminacy – are often narrative virtues” and reflect the complexity of a human life. As this is a study about identity, the narrative can explain how the speaker positions themselves in their story, and the inconsistencies in the story can bring to the fore conflicting themes or troublesome areas for the individual. After having worked many years as community organiser and researcher, Barack Obama (1995) reminds us that “beneath the small talk and sketchy biographies and received opinions people carried within them some central explanation of themselves” (p. 190). The natural stimuli were helpful in inspiring a narrative; however, I also needed to establish coherence. Although I allowed my participants the freedom to tell their own story, it is important to stress that the process of data collection was neither random nor uninformed. It was vital to be a careful listener and identify inconsistencies to address them through skilful interviewing, and the second interview was all-important for this. In an effort to address inconsistencies and also capture important pieces of the puzzle that may have been missed through lack of stimuli, I prepared a written interview summary of the first interview which I emailed to the participant ahead of our second interview. The intent behind producing this summary was not only to capture potentially valuable data, but also an ethical consideration as I wanted to be careful not to misinterpret information or make claims which were not in line with the participant’s truth. This summary was also helpful to resume the conversations from the previous interview by asking what they thought of the summary right at the beginning of the second interview.

This seemingly small document – a summary – turned out to be one of the most powerful interview tools in this process. I believe this step of reflection was invaluable and fundamental in gaining deeper insights into their own trajectory, evaluations and narrations. My participants

were able to justify, confirm, correct, and comment on their own narrations and it was truly eye-opening to hear them reflect on what they had said.

Kai for instance, expressed that it felt like therapy to finally come to terms with some of his feelings and thoughts.

*Kai: "It was interesting reading it from somebody else's perspective. Actually, it was therapeutic. I was speaking to my girlfriend and I was just like, 'it was like going and seeing a counsellor' (laughs). Because I've always had these thoughts, but I've never really acknowledged them. And it was interesting just to put them all down."*

Claire was incredibly surprised by her own emphasis on race.

*Claire: "Reading the summary was surreal. I've never just read my thoughts on race on a piece of paper. Like, it's always just like occasional thoughts in my head that'll pop up occasionally throughout the day or week. There are thoughts that nobody knows about me. It's kind of nice, actually, reading it on paper. It was therapeutic because in a way, it's not something you usually talk about. It's very rare for me to really go into depth about race and where I'm from (laughs)."*

Theresa – my youngest participant and the most introverted of all four - seemed surprised by her own ability to tell her story.

*Theresa: "I read it and I was like, 'Oh, that's so true.' And then I remember that I was the one that said it (laughs)."*

Theresa, though a little shy in our first interview, gained more confidence in her storytelling abilities through reading the summary. As a result, our second interview felt effortless and she was able to share memories more freely and articulately.



Leena seemed to grapple the most with her summary; she recognised some of the conflicting statements she made about how she identifies herself and started the conversation by elaborating further on these. This enabled her to explain the contextual nature of her identity claims. The summary also sparked very open (and at times confronting) personal views about Pakistan and being identified as a Pakistani, which will be elaborated on in a later chapter.

All interviews and reflections about interviews were recorded using a very small clip-on lapel microphone which was connected to a smartphone in the participant's pocket. This set-up enabled us to walk and talk freely, and often forget about the recording altogether. The interviews were transcribed and coded for analysis using a simple tool – Microsoft Excel. In an effort to establish a coding system, each statement by the participant was given three to four tags. The first was a time tag to easily identify the period of their lives they were talking about. Seeing as the interviews were not necessarily telling a story in chronological order, this was important to group statements by time period. The next tag was a relationship tag, which served to identify which person the participant was linking their thoughts with. This could be a parent, but also more broad groups such as “teachers” or “work colleagues”. The final tag was themed, among the most important ones being themes of self-portrayal (or identity), racial tensions or emotional attachment to languages. Some statements would naturally have multiple themes. These statements were then easily ‘sortable’ (filter by column) by time, relationship and themes. It made it very easy to recognise important relationships, time periods and of course, the relevance of certain themes – the most important and consistently relevant themes have now become the chapters of this thesis.

In the case where first names were significant in the story, I involved the participants in the selection of an alias.

### **2.3 Grounded theory**

In many ways, my participants have introduced me to myself. I could see my own trajectory reflected in their stories, I could make more sense of my own self, and I often grappled with my own feelings as they were verbalising theirs. The fact that I was studying people like myself

and an issue that has affected me on a deep personal level was both a unique advantage and a dangerous complication in interpreting my data.

The key advantage of my position was my ability to map the connections out in the way that resulted in meaningful research data. My familiarity with the issue was undeniably an advantage in helping me recognise whether what I was 'hearing' or 'seeing' in the data is significant to discern important connections between concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and follow up on. This is particularly important in cultural and identity studies as both are inherently ridden with vast subjective complexities. Further, Charmaz (2014) argues that meaningful analysis is also created from shared experiences and relationships between the researchers and the participants, which my experience can only confirm. Thanks to a mutual understanding and a shared experience, I was able to gather incredibly rich, deeply personal and emotionally raw data from my research subjects.

However, being so involved also meant I did not enter this field unbiased. This is possibly a danger for all researchers, for one can never be truly unbiased and free of preconceptions (Martin & Turner 1986). It is important to note that while this is not an auto-ethnographic study, I have included occasional autobiographical accounts which were of value in understanding the issue at hand. As with most studies that contain autobiographic content, this study draws data from my memories, observations, conversation, experiences and journals which are collected and captured in written form. I also draw on media, social and political examples that have impacted my personal trajectory and untangle how these events intersected with my own sense of identity and belonging, and ultimately, language use. According to Choi (2017), engaging in such autoethnographic reflection enables researchers to "...find ways to systematically deal with the presence of a flood of experiences, desires, social and political conditions and discourses located in certain times and spaces." (p. 29). Choi further argues that being able to access this large collection of personal memories is advantageous as these insights and intuitions can assist in accessing deeper layer of analysis of the studied phenomenon.

However, I was aware that my interpretations would be neither accurate nor meaningful if I entered the field with a predefined theory in hand that neatly matched my own experience.

As Choi (2017, p.76) warns us “Researchers need to hold onto their critical thinking as they go about their reflexivity, and to be frank about what is or is not constructive.” This was a process of learning. Especially in the first months of reading through literature and studies in similar fields, I fell in love with various theoretical frameworks and was determined to use these before knowing anything about my participants. It was not until I tried to squeeze my own story into ill-fitting frameworks that I stopped and wondered – was this really how it was? Is this truly why I behave this way?

In other words, I felt I was doing things the wrong way around.

To rectify this, and, above all, eliminate the temptation of imposing my preconceptions or rigid philosophical orientations on my data, a *Grounded theory* approach seemed most appropriate (Birks & Mills, 2011). The theory dates back to Glaser and Strauss’ work in which it was defined as “discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research” (1967, p. 2). The purpose of this approach is to develop a theoretical framework which is firmly ‘grounded’ in the data collected (Martin & Turner 1986, p. 142). To do so, the initial inquiry is approached with an open mind and the researcher is encouraged to concentrate on the “features of the data collected before attempting to produce more generalised theoretical statements” (Martin & Turner 1986, pp. 142-143). Only once there is an adequate amount of data and recognisable social phenomena should researchers draw connections and subsequently test these in continued research (Martin & Turner 1986) Glaser and Strauss (1967) defend this approach because through data consultation, “one can be relatively sure that the theory will fit and work” (p. 3) which was exactly the way out of my analytical kerfuffle.

In line with this approach, I entered the field quite purposely with semi-structured interview questions, and offered to conduct the interviews in spaces of the participants’ choosing. That does not mean I took a “tabula rasa” attitude to an issue I was very familiar with (Glaser & Strauss 1967, p.3) but rather, doing it this way enabled me to explore methods of how I could generate more of the rich and highly individual data I was after, and do so systematically to draw comparisons and recognise differences (Glaser & Strauss 1967). While my familiarity with existing frameworks and related literature was instrumental in enhancing my data sensitivity during fieldwork, previously unanticipated philosophical ideas emerged and proved

meaningful in the research process (Birks & Mills, 2011). This resonates with Atkinson's (1998) suggestion that it is the narrative itself which can see new understandings emerge. Conducting semi-structured interviews also allowed for the flexibility required to tailor the questions to each individual, thus allotting time to branch out into other topics as required. Corbin and Strauss (2008) point out that this inbuilt room for interview flexibility and adaptability is especially purposeful in any grounded theory project, as theoretical constructs may continue to derive and emerge in the data collection stage. They further argue that when dealing with such qualitative research, it is important "to discover rather than test variables," (p. 12).

It is for this reason that I adopted a multiple-interview strategy, which allowed me to go back to my participants armed with new knowledge from key themes *they* had generated; this was essentially the 'testing the relationships between social phenomena' technique as outlined by Martin and Turner (1986, p. 143). Simultaneous data gathering and analysis is indeed still recognised today as a fundamental technique of a classic grounded theory (Ratnapalan 2019). For instance, I was able to focus more specifically on language-use aimed at bridging visible racial barriers between family members, which was a recurring theme in my first interviews but not one I would have anticipated had I only focused on my own story. Using grounded theory enabled me to gather these new perspectives as experienced and described by participants, and challenge my previous assumptions, which was ultimately essential to ensure truthful research outcomes.

Further, it is important to recognise that although my data was produced by interviewing only four individuals, they are exactly that – *individuals*. Naturally, their experiences of life, identity and heritage were all different, or at the very least their descriptions of them were. The grounded theory approach allowed me to capture these unique perspectives and add analytical layers to the issue. Most importantly, it allowed me to identify the common experiences as well as the unique ones, and these similarities and differences were instrumental to draw meaningful conclusions (Corbin & Strauss 2008).

My final reason for adopting a grounded theory approach was the fact that I entered somewhat uncharted waters. While there is a rich body of literature on hybridity, identity and heritage language, very few studies have mapped out and positioned these concepts in the way I was

able to do thanks to my own background. In addition, no other study specifically chose a situation of at least two heritage languages, which I chose in order to reduce the bias between host and heritage languages, but also to better understand the power dynamics between heritage languages and how these link to identity. Since my study was relatively innovative in this way, there were no existing analytical or theoretical frameworks that I felt comfortable walking into the field with. I did not merely want to reproduce and fall into the trap of forcing new data into old boxes, limiting our ability to see a potentially new truth (Charmaz 2014). This is supported by Elgin (1996) who argues that pre-designed schemes that have a specific agenda in mind can produce false truths or negotiate the truth to suit our purpose. She powerfully adds that “there is no reason to think that we can convert any fantasy into fact by designing a suitable system. Plainly, we cannot” (p. 7). I have found this to be particularly the case in my definitions and conclusions about the lived experience with hybridity; my data clashed with much of the pre-existing scholarly claims, as I will outline in Chapter 4.

Ultimately, holding a broader philosophical orientation at the beginning was important in order to develop a critical discussion, and not approach my participants with a ‘hunch’ or bias that could have blinded me to some of the very interesting and unanticipated themes that have emerged. Although the theory was developed in the 1960s, it is still among the most common qualitative research methodology today (Ratnapalan 2019).

Above all, my research approach and methodology has produced work that is in line with Glaser and Strauss’ definitions of what sociological research should do, namely “to enable prediction and explanation of behaviour”, “to be useful in theoretical advance in sociology” and “to be usable in practical applications” (1967, p. 3).

Thanks to my chosen methodological strategy, my findings have relevance to both academic and non-academic audiences because they serve to explain genuine human experiences and connect their behaviour to the real themes and challenges of contemporary life.

As foreshadowed in the introduction, in relaying the data, I made the conscious choice of breaking academic convention to favour a more narrative writing style. Firstly, this style of writing allows for the dissemination of research findings to non-academic audiences as the

language is accessible and relatable. Secondly, this type of authorship aligns with the overarching methodology of using personal narrative, memories and life history to gather data. In doing so, I am hopeful that the stories maintain their humanity and meaning, and that this study remains a truthful reflection of the subjective essence inherent in the data.

## Chapter 3: The Ghosts of Our Past: Conceptualising Heritage as Capital

### 3.1 Introduction to the Chapter

In a recent conversation, a young man showed me the ring he was wearing and explained proudly that this was an heirloom. It was his great-great grandfather's ring, which had been passed down to all the young men in his family, and he was now the proud bearer of it. He then asked me if there was any such heirloom or tradition in my family. After thinking for a moment, I jokingly replied: "You know what? I wear my heirloom all over my face every day, and it has turned out to be a bloody nuisance."

I was, of course, referring to my very immigrant-sounding name and physical features, and the eternal quest to escape the 'where are you from' question (ironically, the above heirloom conversation triggered the 'where are you from' discussion anyway).

Before I delve into the world of hybridity, it is important to understand the context in which hybridity emerges. With this in mind, this section endeavours to define what is meant by 'the second generation' and explain the significance of heritage when it comes to their sense of identity.

Within second-generation studies, a number of definitions have emerged, most commonly along the lines of "children born in the host country to two immigrant parents, the latter being the first generation" (King and Christou 2008, p. 5). Some studies also use the term second generation if only one parent is foreign-born (e.g. Schuler 2018). However, King and Christou (2008) outline several complications to such simple definitions and some of these arise in my study as well. For instance, there are those children who were born elsewhere but brought to

the host country at a very young age (sometimes referred to as '1.5 generation'), such as my participant Claire. There is an additional layer of complexity among those who are second generation at one stage of their lives, and later experience migration themselves, becoming a brand new first generation altogether, such as Leena. Finally, Kai is a second generation Swede, but a third generation Greek – again, a situation which does not strictly fit into the aforementioned definition.

For the purposes of this study, I will relax this definition to include people like Claire, Leena and Kai. Both Claire and Leena might be considered first generation migrants on paper today, but it is important to consider the overall context. Claire, emigrating at the age of two, has no memory of living in China which, from a sociological perspective, makes her practically indistinguishable from the other participants who were born in the host country. Similarly, while Leena's trajectory overlaps two types of migrant generations, she did spend her childhood and adolescence in Kuwait and her trajectory is both typical of and aligned with second-generation experiences. And finally, Kai has not only a closer relationship to his Greek side due to his physical appearance, but also because he grew up with his grandmother – a first-generation Greek woman who lived with his family all his life.

I believe that no study on heritage language is complete without also considering the people whose heritage we are expected to carry forward – our parents, the diaspora. In defining the term diaspora, I refer to the work of Cohen (1997) who contends that while the term originates in the displacement of Jewish people throughout time, it now serves to describe migrants from many diverse backgrounds. In an effort to move beyond the 'victim' definition, Cohen uses a horticultural analogy to identify a number of other distinct diaspora groups, including labour, trade and cultural. The diaspora is characterised by specific features which include the dispersal from an original homeland (often traumatically or in the pursuit of work), the idealisation of the homeland, the dream of a return, a troubled relationship with host societies and a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries (Cohen 1997). In many diaspora communities, there is a collective, idealised nostalgia towards the homeland and a feeling of being 'displaced' which is shared with those of similar ancestry, heritage and history. These communities tend to go through great lengths to preserve ancestral practices, most commonly through language (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995). What differentiates the

term 'first-generation migrant' from diaspora is essentially just time. As Cohen (1997) explains, in order for us to speak of a diaspora, there must be a strong connection to the past and homeland as well as a process of assimilation in the present. This argument is strengthened by King and Christou (2008, p. 3), who argue that unlike the term 'migrant', the diaspora is defined by "historical continuity of at least two generations". In other words, the diaspora "link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc 1995, p. 1). A closer look at my participants reveals that while not all of their parents tick the boxes of this definition to an equal extent, most of them do fit within this definition of diaspora. I believe that many second-generation studies fail to recognise the burden of having to provide this 'historical continuity', the 'link to the country of settlement', and thus ensure the immortality of the ancestral practices, language and culture deemed valuable by the diaspora (Appiah 2005). I was strengthened in my use of the notion of 'burden' by Barack Obama's autobiography in which he grappled with his own mixed ethnic background and eloquently described it as "to be black was to be the beneficiary of a great inheritance, a special destiny, glorious burdens that only we were strong enough to bear. Burdens we were to carry with style" (1995, p.51).

It is here that the importance of heritage arises, which is defined as something which has been *inherited*, meaning that it is something passed down from a previous generation – parents, grandparents or even further into the past – our ancestors (Vecco 2010). More than just referring to tangible things, such as goods, property or money, heritage has evolved to imply the intangible, namely cultural and social characteristics (Vecco 2010). Robert Peckham's (2003) work is helpful in understanding its significance and implication. Specifically, he explains that heritage encompasses values, memories and customs which are "construed as a 'birthright' and are expressed in distinct languages and through other cultural performances" (p. 1).

I have always grappled with the idea that my heritage must become my identity and I have never truly understood why my parents were so adamant that I must learn the knowledge and practices of what I considered to be faraway lands and of relatives and ancestors I have never even met. Peckham (2003) offers some explanation for this parental push by proposing that heritage is often ridden with anxiety of loss and disappearance. This is further supported by



theorists in the area of psychoanalysis, for instance Richards (2018), who argues that this is inextricably linked to ideas of immortality and longevity which are considered some of the most universal of human desires. The desire to become immortal, he proposes, is in the fabric of the human experience, evident in some of the architectural heritage sites in which many ancient civilizations preserved bodies and built enormous tombs to house them (e.g. the Pyramids of Giza) and tell their stories for future generations to remember. Both the fear of death and the immortality wish can be linked to the human survival instinct and it is precisely these instincts that motivate the transmission of heritage (Richards 2018).

Relating this back to the matter at hand, the prospect of cultural loss (or death) often haunts the diaspora generation, and many are fuelled by the preservation angst that “if we do not act now, something will be lost forever” (Peckham 2003, p. 7). Thus, heritage serves to preserve what is considered to be a glorious past, which can only be achieved by remembering, celebrating and reproducing the practices of those past generations. However, heritage is also very contradictory because as much as it is about remembering all the positive aspects, it is also about forgetting unpleasant memories or competing practices (Peckham, 2003). The key consideration for this study is that heritage denotes specific elements which are *deliberately* and *selectively* preserved and passed on by immigrant parents, as opposed to cultural practices which might simply emerge in day-to-day activities (Rampton, 2006).

These values and memories from the past are most commonly expressed through language (Blackledge et al 2008) – hence the term *heritage language*, which is the focus of this study. Joseph (2016) has captured the significance of heritage and language quite strikingly:

“Identity, even in the here and now, is grounded in beliefs about the past: about heritage and ancestry, and about belonging to a people, a set of beliefs and a way of life. Of the many ways in which such belonging is signified, what language a person speaks ranks among the most powerful, because it is through language that people and places are named, heritage and ancestry are recorded and passed on, beliefs developed and ritualised.” (p. 19)

Perhaps because of its intangible worth, heritage language is not easily defined. Speaking matter-of-factly, Valdés for instance considers it “non-societal and non-majority languages”

spoken by a minority group (2005, p. 411), referring to bigger-picture migration patterns such as Turks in Germany or Mexicans in the US. Within second-generation studies, heritage language is often defined by location or fluency. One recent example is Schuler (2018), who differentiates native speakers and heritage speakers by where the language was learned (in the home country or in the host country) and the subsequent degree of fluency.

However, my research suggests that heritage language is more than just a minority language which is characterised by time and space. One definition that resonated most closely with my findings was presented by Fishman (1999) in his plenary to the first National Heritage Language Conference. Within the context of the US, he famously defined heritage language as “a language of personal relevance other than English”.

My research suggests that heritage language is both a marker of identity and a value statement of this identity. Further, I have observed that heritage languages are loaded with emotions and personal attachments. This is supported by Blackledge et al (2008, p. 535), who argue that speakers often “hold passionate beliefs about the importance and significance of a particular language to their sense of ‘identity’.” They further propose that language is one of the key indicators to confirm an identity claim, meaning an identity is strengthened if the individual can demonstrate the ability to speak the language associated with this identity. This echoes an experience shared by Ang (2001) in her book *On Not Speaking Chinese* in which she describes an encounter with a man who asked her whether she spoke Chinese. Upon hearing her response ‘no’, the man exclaimed: “What a fake Chinese you are!” (p.30).

Since languages are such ‘carriers’ and ‘symbols’ of identity, it comes perhaps as no surprise that for the diaspora generation, teaching language is considered a key aspect of teaching heritage (Blackledge et al 2008).

With the exception of Leena, none of my participants learned their heritage languages in a formal setting. This means that it was first and foremost the parents who selected the resources worth preserving and it was the family home that became a vital setting for the transmission of heritage language. This introduction to this study has already indicated that immigrant parents are selective in what is passed on and what aspects are emphasised over

others (for example, Claire's father did not invest time or energy in passing on Luganda). The way different languages may be valued warrants further discussion in this chapter. Simultaneously, the family home also becomes a space of tension as the identities associated with the heritage language are negotiated and contested. The transmission process can be disrupted from below, as just like a monetary inheritance, children can decline the bequest.

By drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, this chapter will conceptualise heritage as 'capital'. It will further zoom into the family home as the setting for heritage language transmission in an effort to shed light on the motivations, intentions and selections of the diaspora. As I could not interview my participants' parents, in this chapter, I will provide an auto-biographical account of my own family to better understand diaspora language practices and their efforts to pass on heritage. Finally, I will present excerpts from my interviews to demonstrate how heritage and heritage languages were experienced by my participants.

### **3.2 Pierre Bourdieu's Concept of Capital: A Language Is Worth What Its Speakers Are Worth**

In order to understand the significance of heritage and heritage language, I refer to Pierre Bourdieu's framework of capital, field and habitus. Bourdieu (1998) argues that individuals are positioned in their social space (or field) according to two principles of differentiation: their economic, and their cultural capital. Both our upbringing and our social conditioning, he states, are tied to our social positioning and the capital we have inherited. Moreover, agents steer their actions in the field through a system of dispositions, the habitus. I will return to the concept of habitus in Chapter 6. For now, I shall focus on his book *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991) and his article 'Economics of Linguistic Exchanges' (1977a), in which Bourdieu adapts his principles of capital and field to specifically focus on *linguistic* capital and the speaker's position in the *linguistic* market. In understanding my data on heritage language use, I shall draw specifically on this language-centred framework.

Using the example of France, a classic European nation-state, Bourdieu (1977a) explains that a society can exercise dominance by asserting the use of an official language which is crucial to state and community building because it creates a unified linguistic market. In other words, the use of one single, official language (also referred to as *legitimate* language) is considered

to be a key characteristic to identify a unified community. Those most competent in this official language are then in a position of dominance over those who are not; it is considered the highest form of linguistic capital.

As such, Bourdieu argues that linguistic competence is not only a tool for communication, but also a form of cultural capital which is strongly linked to the individual's social status. This is also echoed by more contemporary scholars such as Makoni and Pennycook (2007), who stressed the importance of investigating what people believe about a language in order to better understand why and how they access their linguistic resources. Bourdieu specifically emphasises the importance of the political will, public institutions and social mechanisms in establishing what is and what is not valuable capital in the linguistic market. In other words, the value and power of linguistic capital is dictated by the market in which it is traded. As such, language is not only instrumental in communication, but it is also a "sign of wealth" and a "sign of authority" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 66). Bourdieu (1977a) importantly explains that "when one language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the prices of the other modes of expression, and with them the values of the various competences, are defined" (p. 652).

It is important to note that 'linguistic market' is not necessarily synonymous with the official language of a nation. Rather, the market itself and the positions a person holds within it are contextual and appropriated in each interaction, which is a key consideration in second-generation studies. For instance, the official national language – in my case German – was certainly the highest capital in the school setting, but at family gatherings or at the Italian delicatessen store, my heritage languages became the strongest currency because in such micro-environments (or fields), different linguistic market rules are created. Bourdieu's conceptualisation of linguistic capital is quite helpful in understanding aversions towards using a heritage language and more importantly, how some languages accrue value. This is strengthened by observations of my own trajectory and my belief that the Turkish language was such a terrible curse.

Germany is a host country for several diasporic groups because of its 'Gastarbeiter' ('guest worker') history. In particular, Turkish and Italian workers arrived in the 1950s and 1960s when

Germany was rebuilding its infrastructure and economy after the losses of the Second World War. Although the government's intention was for these guest workers to return home upon completion of their work, many guest workers brought their families to Germany or built one there, and they were eager to stay in this fast-growing country. My Turkish grandparents were among them.

In the 1970s, the national sentiment turned quite hostile towards these communities, calling it a 'Gastarbeiter Problem'. Both politicians and the media engaged in quite deliberate anti-immigrant rhetoric and one of the most critical authors at that time, Max Frisch, pinpointed the issue by coining the popular phrase: "*Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte, und es kamen Menschen*" – We called workers and got people instead (Spiegel, 2011). He also noted that there were concerning similarities between those 1970s attitudes and the Nazi values of just a few decades prior. This polarisation has been further amplified in the new millennium with the rise of Islamophobia since the 9/11 attacks and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's controversial politics since he took office in 2002. In the European media, Erdoğan is portrayed as an autocratic leader who has introduced a number of laws which threaten Turkey's secularism as well as the equal rights for women and non-Muslims (BBC World News 2019).

Growing up in Germany, I was fed the message that being Turkish meant being unskilled, unclean, unintelligent, criminal, unable to communicate and unable to integrate. It meant having odd and controversial cultural practices, such as forced marriages, female oppression and inhumane animal sacrifices. These were all things that I did not want to be identified with, and to me, they all seemed bundled up in my heritage language – Turkish.

In Bourdieusian terms, Turkish converted into negative value in my linguistic market, and it was reason enough for me to distance myself from it to improve my social standing and my chances of being successful in the dominant, mainly German-speaking society. With this in mind, it is fairly easy to recognise Bourdieu's conceptualisation of linguistic capital as important in a study about heritage language and identity. I refer to his powerful statement that "a language is worth what those who speak it are worth" (Bourdieu 1977a, p. 652). In the context in which I grew up, Turkish migrants were considered worth-less, and so was their language.

Specifically, the ability to speak Turkish was often mistaken for the inability to speak German or to speak it 'properly'. Wiese (2011) argues that especially in the 1990s while I was growing up, young people who spoke Turkish were considered a threat to the German language and often automatically labelled as language deficient in German. She further argues that the descendants of the *Gastarbeiter* generation were held responsible for the *Sprachverfall des Standarddeutschen* (demise of standard German), and a culture of *gebrochenem Deutsch* (broken German). Terms emerged specifically aimed at describing the ways second- and third-generation urban Turkish youth spoke German, especially in the cities of Berlin, Mannheim and Hamburg (Şimşek & Schroeder 2011). In my generation, these terms included *Türkendeutsch* (Turk German), *Kiez-Deutsch* (referring to the variety of German spoken in the Turkish immigrant-dominated suburb Berlin-Kreuzberg), *Ghetto Deutsch* (Ghetto German) and what was called *Kanak Sprak*, which combines the anti-Turk racial slur *Kanake* with the German word *Sprache*, appropriated to "Sprak" to imitate the typical mispronunciation of the word by Turkish immigrants (Şimşek & Schroeder 2011, p. 207). The word *Kanake* itself is ridden with hateful and demeaning ideas, originating from the Hawaiian word *kanaka* meaning 'human'. However, the meaning of the word changed to mean "sub-human" in the context of the colonisation of Polynesia and the associated practices of slavery, human trafficking and forced labour of those same 'kanaka' (Heine 2016). Perhaps drawing comparisons to these labour practices and notions of superiority over the 'uncivilised', it became a racist slur used by white Germans against Turkish guest workers (Heine 2016).

My home state Bremen is the smallest state in Germany, consisting only of the city of Bremen (capital) and my hometown Bremerhaven. Yet, in 2018 my home state was the one with the largest proportions of people with a *Migrationshintergrund* (migration background). This category includes migrants as well as German citizens who are second/third generation migrants. The 2018 Micro Census shows that approximately 35 per cent of the population in Bremen fell into this category (Statistisches Bundesamt 2018a; Statistisches Bundesamt 2019).

Nationally, approximately 3 per cent of the German population were either Turkish migrants or their descendants. However, in my home state as well as these urban centres, the proportion was above 15 per cent – over five times higher than the national average

(Statistisches Bundesamt 2018b). The proportion is significant in understanding the prejudice I would encounter at school and in public life more generally.

It meant that most people automatically assumed I was Turkish, not of Italian or other backgrounds. My first name, although strictly speaking not Turkish, would confirm this assumption. My Turkish heritage has always overpowered and suffocated my Italian heritage and the fact that I was born in Germany.

Because of my Turkish heritage, most people also assumed I could not speak German, or could not speak it well. My Year 12 history teacher even decided to grill me on every 'difficult' word I had mentioned in a group presentation because he had reason to believe that I did not understand the meaning of those words and had copied them from somewhere. He did not suspect other students in my group, who were all white. It was all incredibly maddening. I want to reiterate here that German is my mother tongue, I specifically speak *Hochdeutsch* and our local variety *Norddeutsch*. I have no foreign accent, I was among the best writers in my school, an A-grade student in German all my life, and very careful to speak grammatically correctly even when using local slang because of all these stereotypes.

But to better understand my reality, I need to zoom into my hometown Bremerhaven and especially my suburb (Bremerhaven-Lehe). Despite being a small place, my suburb is famous nationally for its sad and shocking statistics. Bremerhaven-Lehe has been named poorest suburb in Germany due to its lowest income rates combined with highest unemployment rates of almost 40 per cent for many consecutive years (Schmoll 2017). It also had higher crime rates than elsewhere, and higher rates of teenage pregnancies. In short, it is a working-class area where many families live below the poverty line, and it is considered unsafe by outsiders.

An important thing to note is that despite the state statistics painting the picture of a large Turkish community in my state overall, my suburb and its neighbouring suburbs barely had any. While my suburb is situated on the northern end of town, bordering neighbouring state *Niedersachsen*, the Turkish community resides largely on the south side of town, most notably in Grünhöfe and also Wulsdorf. I have no recollection of ever going there and I barely ever crossed paths with people from those suburbs.

According to most recent census data from 2011/2012, people who are classified as having a “migration background” living in Bremerhaven-Lehe account for around 22 per cent of residents and are predominantly of Eastern European origin or descent (Hesse & Matthes 2012; Magistrat der Stadt Bremerhaven 2017; Statistisches Landesamt Bremen 2011); specifically, they are of the migrant/second generation group, and 67 per cent are from Poland, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation or Bulgaria. Our neighbouring suburb Leherheide was mockingly referred to as “little Moscow” by some.

I mention this intentionally and explicitly because these Eastern European children were also white, Christian, and generally had first names which were familiar to Germans.

This meant that during my entire time in Kindergarten and the vast majority of my schooling years, I was the only visibly non-white student in my class, and I will discuss the implications of this in depth in Chapter 5. All the children and young people in my neighbourhood and on the playground were either Eastern European or working-class white Germans.

Although I was born and raised in Germany, and by contrast many of the Polish and Russian children were born abroad and had foreign accents, they seemed much more accepted. I was always considered a migrant, and they were not – although they were the actual migrants. It also meant that in the few years when I had classmates with Turkish or other non-white backgrounds, we were outnumbered at a ratio of 4 to 90, a figure I will come back to in Chapter 4. In other words, I always stood out and I had no connection or access to these ‘urban Turkish youth groups’ that could have provided a community for me. Combined with the larger-scale anti-Turkish sentiments that clouded my home state and country, all of these realities amplified my insecurities and resentment towards my Turkish heritage.

Turning to my participants, their heritage languages are competing against English – a language spoken worldwide and made powerful by processes of globalisation, capitalism, technology, imperialism and warfare (Phillipson 1998). It is important to outline the sociolinguistic significance of English as capital to better understand what their migrant parents are up against.



Especially in the context of migration to English-speaking countries, the issue of English as a 'single legitimate language' is indeed widely pushed by political bodies and serves as the default currency against which all other linguistic capital is measured. To take a recent example, before his election Donald Trump repeatedly stressed that English must be spoken in the United States, explicitly saying "we speak English here, not Spanish" (CNN 2015), referring to the Latin American community. Even after assuming his role as President of the United States, this rhetoric continued as he announced that preference will be given to migrants who speak English, thus inferring that Spanish-speaking migrants are not favoured (Stracqualursi 2017).

In Australia, the message is subtler but nevertheless similar. The administration under former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull proposed that applicants for Australian citizenship by conferral must receive a score of 6.0 in the International English Testing System (IELTS), which is a similar level as is required for university admission (Bickers 2017). Even long before this proposal, scholars have challenged the claim that the IELTS is a good and inclusive measure for language testing. Laurie Berg (2011, p. 110), for instance, has argued quite eloquently that "these English standards (with their implicit homogenising message that Australia wants migrants who sound like us and speak our language) may work not to promote integration but rather reflect and cultivate an underlying nativism in Australia". Upon receiving much backlash, the Australian government has been discussing alternative proposals. However, all these debates clearly set English as a key identifier of 'Australianness' (Berg 2011) and, again, deem any other language as worthless. An important issue arising from this demand for English proficiency is that the Australian constitution prescribes no official language. As Shannon (2010, p. 179) observes, a similar issue arose in the US: the absence of an official language policy and the subsequent political debates demonstrated that "US society has shifted to an ideology of monolingualism," an ideology parallel to these Australian immigration proposals.

It is also important to examine Bourdieu's claims of 'exercising dominance' through language in this context; a quick glance at the Australian Federal parliament at the time of this writing reveals that only 20 of the 226 individuals in office have a non-English speaking background (Tasevski 2018). Furthermore, 83.3 per cent of State and Federal government departmental

deputy secretaries and equivalents have an Anglo-Celtic background, a statistic mirrored by other leadership roles in Chief Executive or equivalent positions (76.9%), Senior Executive Management (75.7%) and ASX 200 executive teams with 73.2 per cent (the Australian Human Rights Commission 2018). This dominance is quite strikingly illustrated because it is these same English speakers who created the 'entry requirement' rules for Australia, a country in which more than 300 languages other than English are spoken (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

High competence in the legitimate language (here: English) is considered the highest linguistic capital, producing a "profit of distinction" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 55). This is not only a philosophical observation, but one quite explicitly ingrained in Australian migration policy: the Skilled Migration Test awards higher points to those with superior English language skills. Language skills are determined, once again, by an IELTS score (Australian Department of Home Affairs, 2020). Needless to say, applicants with higher points are more likely to be granted visas, resulting in numerous benefits and opportunities for them.

Achieving high competence in the dominant language is closely linked to a person's level of education. In other words, the quality of competence acquired mainly through various forms of education determines the position within the social structure, and since not all speakers within a community have equal access to training, a hierarchy is created in which those who are most competent are privileged over those who are not (Bourdieu 1984). While Bourdieu refers to a monolingual environment and social class distinctions based on competence within the same language, this is certainly aggravated in the context of immigration.

Immigrant parents have the distinct disadvantage of having been exposed to the legitimate language for a shorter period of time and unable to develop the language proficiently through schooling or through family in their home countries. Indeed, some of my participants' parents had little or no education in the legitimate language before immigrating or have never achieved high-quality competence, which ultimately relegates them to a lower rank in the hierarchy (Bourdieu 1984).

Despite these challenges in a competitive linguistic market, the Diaspora generation goes through great lengths to pass on heritage language in an effort to preserve ancestral memories

and practices. In the next section, I will take a closer look at language practices and, more importantly, their underlying motivations.

### 3.3 Parental motivations behind Heritage Language Transmission

Being a dinner guest in my family home has always proven to be a challenge for anyone who is not familiar with our language practices. The way we communicate seems fundamentally ‘chaotic’ to an outsider as no single language is being spoken consistently around the dinner table. Friends have described it as a ‘crazy circus’, ‘incredibly exciting’ or just ‘confusing’. However, it is important to understand that what looks like a ‘communicative mess’ on the outside is in fact the result of my parents’ efforts to pass on our heritage languages.

The way we speak actually has a system and depends on the speaker, the topic, or who is spoken to. Conversations about food and cooking tend to be dominated by phrases in Turkish and Italian, simply because those are the cuisines we generally eat. Language may have to be graded at times depending on the speaker to make it easier for those less competent in one language to participate in the conversation. For example, conversations in German have to remain simple for my father to understand, and we intrinsically know which words we must say in Italian because my father will not understand the German word. Sometimes, it is simply our emotions which dictate the language used. Jokes and funny anecdotes always remain in their original language(s) to maintain comedic effect and expressing annoyance during disputes usually results in a trilingual assortment of word-calling as people angrily leave the room shouting “*Allahim!*”, “*Dio mio!*” and “*Mein Gott!*”.

Analysing such spaces is both interesting and complicated, and has seen the rise of a whole generation of researchers investigating ‘translanguaging’ and promoting a heteroglossic language ideology, Ofelia García being among the most influential ones. As I mentioned previously, the key focus of my study is not to analyse these language patterns in practice, so instead I refer to scholars such as Makoni and Pennycook (2007) and García and Wei (2014) who have conceptualised this space in great depth. Further, there is an array of second-

generation studies evaluating the varying levels of proficiency of participants' heritage language, both qualitatively (e.g. Kalayil 2019) and quantitatively (e.g. Oh and Fuligni 2010).

While I will not provide an ethnographic account of language use and practices, what is important to note here is that the language practices in our home are never neatly divided into three 'hermetically sealed units' (García 2007), nor are they the 'standard' forms of the languages which others tend to link to our ethnic identities (Blackledge et al 2008). Indeed, it is important to consider that especially in second generation studies of families, linguistic capital can be made up of several languages, several varieties of each language and varying levels of proficiency. Finegan (2008) calls this the *linguistic repertoire*, and this term has more recently been expanded beyond individual linguistic profiles to the family unit by Hiratsuka and Pennycook (2019), who call it the *translingual family repertoire*. In other words, the linguistic capital is made up of the linguistic repertoire. Moving away from scholarship of 'family language policies', I use translingual family repertoire to describe the particularity of the multilingual practices within my three-language family. Importantly, Hiratsuka and Pennycook's findings highlight that these trilingual language practices

"frequently involve a swirl of movement and people, as the five main participants ... move around, change attention, interact across a room, and talk between rooms. ... Members of the family are frequently involved in multiple tasks and multiple forms of talk, and the use of language in the family obviously reflects this." (p. 12)

What is important in all these notions of a repertoire is that individuals (and families) have access to multiple linguistic resources which are all assigned a different value and function depending on the circumstance or physical space (Blommaert et al., 2005). This resonates with Bourdieu's concepts of linguistic capital and linguistic market. In this study, I shall thus refer my participants' language abilities as their *linguistic repertoire*, which I consider part of the rich cultural capital they have at their disposal by nature of their upbringing.

In this study, I have endeavoured to understand the reasons behind these language practices and how certain language norms have emerged in the family home. To understand this, it was necessary to take a step into the previous generation, understand their trajectories and,

subsequently, their intentions behind certain language practices. As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, it was not possible to collect data from my subjects' parents due to a lack of willingness to participate. In the absence of this data, I asked and observed my own parents to understand what aspects of their identity and upbringing they deemed valuable enough to pass on to us. Many of their decisions on what to pass on were founded in their own trajectories as migrants, which I shall briefly share here.

While a Turkish-Italian-German family may seem exotic to some, it is not an unusual occurrence. My father was a manual labourer from a rural village in the 'underdeveloped Italian South' (Sardinia) trying his luck further up north, and my mother formed part of a then-typical Turkish *Gastarbeiter* family. Although my parents migrated in different decades and at different ages, their experiences are somewhat similar.

My mother arrived in the small German town Gildehaus, which is located close to the Dutch border, in the 1960s at the age of 11. I was told that my grandparents, who passed away before my sister and I were born, were factory workers with limited German language skills, and that my mother and her two younger brothers (aged 8 and 5 at the time of migration) had a very traditional Turkish upbringing. She remembers entering school not speaking a word of German, and the language barrier was quite a traumatic experience for her. She has often told us the story of her first day at school.

After a very teary goodbye at home, my mother and her brothers found themselves on the school yard, surrounded by curious German small-town children who had never seen foreigners before. My mother says she felt as if she was an animal at the zoo, with children pointing, talking and laughing. She said that as the oldest child, she had always felt responsible for her younger siblings, so despite being very frightened herself, she anxiously held her brothers to her chest, one on each side, as the German children started speaking to them. Perhaps they were saying something nice, but the fact that she didn't understand a word made everything sound scary. She remembers her brothers' arms tense around her body, and she could feel her own heart pound as she mentally prepared to protect them from an attack.

Even after surviving that first day (unharmful, I might add), the language barrier continued to be a challenge in keeping up at school. Her best subjects were those that required no German language skills, such as mathematics and crafts. These were also the only subjects she could get help with at home. Learning English was a particularly trying endeavour for which she had to use two dictionaries – one to translate her worksheet from German into Turkish, and one from Turkish into English. She also remembers feeling completely lost during cultural activities in which she phonetically tried to learn songs without actually understanding the words.

Religious and cultural differences also posed a challenge. My mother was heartbroken when everyone showed off their Christmas presents at school and she, for some reason, had none. Similarly, she was devastated when she realised that nobody in their new home celebrated her favourite holiday, *Şeker Bayram*, at which children go door-to-door around the neighbourhood with well-wishes in return for sweets and pocket money, very much like the US Halloween tradition but without the scary costumes. While her brothers were given plenty of freedom to socialise with local children, her strict Muslim parents prohibited her from going on school excursions or sleepovers as this was considered inappropriate for girls. This often made her feel isolated, and it was difficult to form friendships. During high school, she worked in a fast-food truck selling sausages and fries, and she remembers feeling quite disgusted because she had to handle pork for the first time in her life.

She has many memories of growing older and being discriminated against in many different social contexts; examples include a man who would not give up his seat on the bus when she was pregnant saying, “I won’t give up my seat for a Turk”, or an employer who fired her because she got married, explaining that “Turkish women have children soon after they get married,” implying that he wouldn’t want to pay her maternity leave.

Turning to my father, he was born in Sardinia and his family moved to Turin in the 1960s when he was 7 years old. His experience in northern Italy would very much shape his linguistic practices as he is much more confident speaking Italian as opposed to *Sardo*, which is the local language of Sardinia and the main language spoken by his parents. As the Italian society is deeply divided into the ‘wealthy North’ and the ‘poor, uneducated South’, it was quite important to acquire ‘a high-quality competence’ in the legitimate language (Bourdieu 1977a)

upon arriving in Turin. When he enrolled at his new school, the principal made my father repeat first grade because his Sardinian education was considered inferior. He is an artistically gifted man and had great ambitions to become an architect or artist. However, his parents did not allow him to continue school past Year 8 because they needed him to help in the family carpentry business, where he worked since the age of 15. His family returned to Sardinia when my father was 18. Despite having over 15 years' experience in the trade by the time he emigrated to Germany, he found himself having to hunt around for contract jobs in his 30s because his Italian work experience and qualifications were not recognised there. For this reason, my father was often living away from home as he had to work elsewhere, very often abroad.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984, p. 102) delves into this issue in great depth by explaining that class is not only defined by commonly associated properties, such as income or occupation, but also “by a whole set of subsidiary characteristics which ... function as real principles of selection or exclusion” such as requesting a specific type of diploma which is linked to a certain type of social origin or presupposes a certain social capital. The issue of ‘legitimacy’ and dominance re-emerges here; it is the dominant culture that determines what does and does not constitute legitimate professional knowledge and experience (Bourdieu 1984).

Without the recognition of his professional background, my father was unable to secure a skills-appropriate position that would sustain a family, a fact he resented, especially considering his desire to fulfil the traditional male bread-winner role. When he did finally get a permanent job in my German hometown, he was vastly underpaid and often mocked for taking the bus to work and bringing in a homemade lunch every day instead of driving a car and eating out with everyone else. This is because as a migrant working-class family, we simply had very limited financial resources. Valenta (2008) explains that migrants' work relations with the host society are often ridden with feelings of inferiority, as they may not speak the local language well and be familiar with cultural codes, and they may bring with them past experiences of discrimination, stigmatisation and racism. Further, several studies have shown that immigrants also experience ethnic discrimination in relation to tasks at work, job promotion and fair wages (see Valenta 2008). My father only ever made one friend at work, a Polish man named Jerzy who was in the same situation. The two bonded like brothers over

being the outsiders. My father even made a beautiful, hand-crafted wooden sculpture of praying hands which he gave Jerzy as a farewell gift, explaining that it symbolises God responding to his prayers for a friend. It was all incredibly moving. Despite not having seen Jerzy for years, my father still tells the story of the only friend who got him through this difficult and lonely time. Having to work abroad, not getting a local education and only befriending other migrants also meant that my father never truly mastered speaking German fluently.

These stories paint the picture of two migrants who struggled to fit into the host society, and were often marginalised, disadvantaged and excluded from opportunities. Due to these experiences, both of them maintain a certain level of dislike for the host society. They will often say phrases like “I met a lady today, she’s German *but* she’s very nice.” They stayed only because of our education, and indeed left Germany as soon as they felt they had fulfilled their parental duties, which was the year their youngest child (me) graduated from high school. Their decision to ‘move back’ was certainly complicated by the fact that ‘back’ means a different country for each, so I will make a long story short: they separated to experience life in their respective countries, and my mother quickly realised that Turkey had changed significantly since she was 11 years old. Today, they both live in Sardinia (still separated, which is a tale for another day).

My parents’ idealisation of the homeland as well as their ‘troubled relationship with the host society’ (Cohen 1997, p. 17) were clearly reflected in the way we were brought up and their language practices. When they met, my parents could not communicate at all as neither of them spoke the other person’s language, but German never became the common language simply because of what it represented. Referring to Hiratsuka and Pennycook (2019) and their portrayal of translingual family repertoires, I can only briefly describe the language they speak as a mixture of very basic Italian with a *laissez-faire* attitude to grammatical accuracy, some poorly pronounced words, and a great deal of hand gestures and facial expressions (the kind of gesticulation that Italians are so often teased for in popular media). It remains a mystery to all of us in the family how these two manage to communicate, but it has worked well for decades.



However, despite this aversion to speaking German and a commitment to linguistic patriotism with each other, quite interestingly their own experiences as migrant children were incorporated into some selective practices when passing on heritage culture and language. Although in all our home videos my mother speaks nothing but Turkish, she did always read German bedtime stories to us when we were little, bought us tapes of German children's music, and enrolled us in Kindergarten. The reason is quite simple: if we think back to her very first interaction in the German language – unforgettable fear on the school yard – she told us that she simply did not want us to experience that same negative feeling.

One of the most interesting things about my mother has been her relationship with religion. As mentioned earlier, she was brought up as a Muslim and it posed a key barrier between her and many social activities in Germany. This is perhaps the only glimpse of my mother rejecting *her* heritage. As argued by Blackledge et al (2008), people question or reassess the importance of certain heritage resources in their own context, and it is evident that my mother found her religion to be neither useful nor practical in building a social life in Germany. As she was only 11 years old at the time of migration, she has spent the vast majority of her life in nominally Christian countries. She has never worn a headscarf, and she completely stopped practising her religion in her late teens, which is evident in the fact that she has never visited a mosque in Germany, she never prays, she smokes cigarettes, drinks alcohol and eats pork – all things considered forbidden in Islam. She let my father take the religious lead and we had a Christian upbringing because she did not want us to feel excluded as the only children without presents on Christmas. She taught us German Christmas songs at home long before we ever went to school, and we followed all the traditions to the best of her abilities. Although we were told about Turkish/Muslim holidays, we never actually celebrated them. It was something she did not deem valuable in passing on to us, and although she cares very little about Christian festivities, she felt this knowledge would be more practical.

This also meant we grew up with greater freedom; my sister and I were allowed to have sleepovers at German families in our neighbourhood, we went to all school trips and pork was allowed at home so we would fit right into our famously sausage-loving society. Even as we started rebelling and speaking less and less Turkish, she picked her battles carefully because ultimately, she knew the importance of speaking German and did not want us to take three

dictionaries to school to make sense of the worksheets. In other words, my mother allowed us to get the exposure needed to build a certain cultural capital and achieve competence in the dominant language, so that we wouldn't start out with a disadvantage like she did. This was a deliberate effort; my mother explained all this to me when I asked her about her intent behind our language education at home. Her behaviour is very different to many immigrant parents who migrated as adults and never experienced this school-yard scene themselves. Often, those families would rely on the fact that their children 'will eventually learn German at school'; however, evidence suggests that language exposure at home before Kindergarten age is predictive of language and literacy outcomes at school (e.g. Dickinson and Tabors 2001). Further, such parents would have very little insight into the cultural shock the experience of entering school not speaking the language might entail.

Since my mother was our main caretaker while my father worked away from home, her efforts greatly contributed to the fact that my sister and I were fluent in German by the time we entered primary school. Many other immigrant children in my neighbourhood were not.

My father was also selective in passing on heritage. Although he is deeply attached to his Sardinian land and people, he decided to teach us Italian, never once teaching us a word of *Sardo*. I remember being completely bewildered on our first family visits when I realised my father spoke a language I had never heard before. When I asked him why he didn't teach us, he said, "It was more important to teach you Italian, so nobody would think less of you." I didn't know what he meant back then, but as I grew up and became more aware of the social tension in Italy and the experiences he must have had as a child moving to Turin, it all made sense. Some dialects are considered 'contaminated' varieties of the standard form that are not worth preserving, a belief originating in the idea that language varieties which significantly differ from the official variety are typically spoken by a lower socio-economic class and are therefore not a desired heritage to pass on (Blackledge et al 2008).

In the instance of Italy, *Sardo* has been elevated from being considered a dialect to being considered its own autonomous language (Salis 2015). Nevertheless, its status remains peripheral and the use of dialects and local languages in Italy has decreased significantly as a result of the nation-wide 'dialectophobia' introduced by the Fascist regime led by Benito

Mussolini (Gensini 1988, p. 382). This affected the bilingual competence of children at the time as the use of dialects became a shameful and hidden act and would reduce an individual's ability to participate in society (Gensini 1988). My father may have chosen to adopt Italian as his main language at the expense of Sardo in order to increase his own linguistic capital in the mainland linguistic market.

In relation to heritage language transmission, Blackledge et al (2008) point out that individuals might develop habitual self-censorship to reduce or completely eliminate the undesired variety for the next generation. Indeed, even when we lived in Sardinia for a while, my father only ever spoke Italian to us. He has also confessed that although he is fluent in both languages, he feels more comfortable responding in Italian, or a mix of Italian and Sardo when speaking to his parents. I have found that many other second-generation Italians I have met were taught their family's local dialects (e.g. *Calabrese*) exclusively and not 'standard' Italian. It was my father's own negative experience of 'migrating' from island to mainland that has led to both his own language preference and ultimately this selective transmission to us.

Despite my being unable to interview their parents, my participants' narrations did shed some light on how their parents' values and trajectories are reflected in the language practices at home.

Let us start in Kuwait. As Leena's family are Sikhs, she describes Punjabi as her "mother tongue"; however, her definition of mother tongue appears to be a religious one because Punjabi was not actually spoken at home.

*Leena: "So, by religion, I'm a Sikh which means my mother tongue, I guess, is Punjabi. Even for my dad, for me, for my mum, for everyone."*

*Zozan: "So you speak Punjabi at home?"*

*Leena: "Um ... no, we learn Hindi. I don't have an answer to that really, but I just speak Hindi. It's just one of those things. When I spoke to my grandparents, I would speak in Punjabi because even though they understood Hindi, they only spoke Punjabi, so you did that. But with my parents, growing up I always spoke in Hindi."*

Leena explained that her use of Punjabi is generally limited to religious scriptures. This is not unusual; Mohanty (2006) explains that India is characterised by a multilingual lifestyle in which different languages are allocated to different domains of daily life. In India, it is not unusual to use a different language at home, at work and for religious scriptures. It is perhaps because of this that Leena calls 'Punjabi' her mother tongue. Rather than its typical definition as 'first language' an infant learns and masters, it is a cultural reference, a linguistic identity which links her to a specific region, ancestry and religious group (Mohanty 2006) even though she speaks other languages more fluently.

Since Punjabi was in fact the mother tongue of her parents (seeing as her grandparents cannot speak Hindi), why did the parents not continue this? It is very likely that Leena's parents deemed Hindi more important than Punjabi as the Indian constitution states that "the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script." (Government of India 2015, p. 218). In the 1991 Census, Hindi ranked as the language with the most speakers in India, with nearly 40 per cent of the population (Mohanty 2006). In the same Census, Punjabi ranked 11<sup>th</sup>, with 2.76 per cent of the population. This consideration is especially relevant because the children grew up outside of India and since Hindi is widely spoken among Indians, it would facilitate communication in the diasporic community residing in Kuwait. The status of Hindi not only runs through her childhood, but also follows her to the present. Of her Australian-born nephew she says:

*Leena: "For my nephew the priority was to teach him Hindi, and eventually it would be great for him to learn Punjabi, but yeah, more Hindi, because I think Hindi identifies with India, maybe that's why. That's the national language of the country."*

Prioritising Hindi over Punjabi because it is 'the national language' and 'identifies with India' clearly give weight to Bourdieu's propositions that official languages become the most valuable currency in the market, perhaps fuelling the family's motivation to preserve Hindi over Punjabi. Further, Leena's desire to pass on Hindi as a tool to identify with India supports claims about the significance of heritage language in shaping a sense of identity (Blackledge et al 2008).

With reference to Punjabi, Leena's narrations also bring to the fore the persistent rivalry between Pakistan and India. This was evident in her correction on her father's place of birth, which is Quetta, the provincial capital and largest city of Balochistan, Pakistan. When I wrote 'Pakistan' in my summary, she made a point of straightening the record to reiterate that he is Indian, from 'undivided India'.

*Leena: "And then you said [in your summary] your mum is originally Indian, well dad is originally Indian as well. Like, as I was reading it I thought it could be interpreted as he's Pakistani – he's not. And I would take that as an insult."*

She clarified:

*Leena: "That part of Pakistan is very close to Punjab, so they speak Punjabi as well. Their Punjabi and our Punjabi is very similar. But instead of Hindi, they speak Urdu."*

Throughout my interviews with Leena, her aversion to being associated with Pakistan was obvious, and she was quite vocal about this. Her repeated use of the term 'undivided India', as well as saying that being called Pakistani an 'insult', are just some of the very explicit statements she made. There are two key aspects that merit unpacking here: first, the value statements made about Pakistan, and second, the intentional focus on Indian heritage.

In her own words, Leena considers any association with Pakistan 'an insult'. Her father being described as someone 'born in Pakistan' did not sit right with her, and any Pakistani heritage would, in Leena's view of the world, convert to negative value as opposed to desirable capital. This is linked to the historic territorial, cultural and religious tensions between Pakistan and India, which scholars in this field describe as the biggest state rivalry in the South Asian region (Mubeen & Bushra 2016). The fact that this political conflict is very ingrained in Leena is quite interesting, considering she did not grow up in India nor was she even alive during India's partition in 1947. This leads me back to Peckham's (2003) claim about heritage and a collective memory, but specifically the notion of "collective amnesia" (p. 7), in which undesirable memories, facts and associations are deliberately forgotten and not passed on. Leena's parents

appear to have put great care in creating an Indian-only identity, by referring to it as ‘undivided India’ and using this term in teaching their children about their heritage. This is supported by Peckham’s (2003) statement that in order to construct a single (Indian) identity, other competing identities must be forgotten – in this case, the defining ‘other’ of Indian, which Leena considers to be Pakistani.

In an effort to construct the Indian identity, it was Hindi that became the dominant heritage language. As I have outlined earlier, Hindi is closely associated as a symbol of ‘Indianness’, and thus it was deliberately taught at Leena’s home and at school. Conversely, since Punjabi is a shared language between Pakistan and India, it could be a reason why Punjabi was not spoken much within her family and its use was restricted to religious scripture. By focusing on Hindi, the lawfully legitimate language of India, the family was able to exercise its Indian-ness and simultaneously distance themselves from an unwanted association with Pakistan. This argument is strengthened by recent heritage language studies (e.g. Ivanova 2019) which have demonstrated the importance of affective disposition towards the language among the first generation in assuring transmission to the second generation. Leena’s accounts hint towards an aversion of Punjabi among her parents, evident in the fact that they do not speak it, but Leena’s grandparents did. Punjabi only emerged once, when during the Gulf War, Leena’s family moved to India for a period of 18 months and she attended Punjabi classes.

As with all my participants, English played a key role in Leena’s trajectory and she identified it as a particularly powerful language that is as ‘formal’, ‘global’ and ‘educated’.

*Leena: “So whenever we used to have like a discussion at home, something serious, or something, it was always done in English. It's funny and it's translated into my marriage as well. So, whenever we used to have serious discussions, it was always done in English. I guess because it was identified as a formal language.”*

As outlined earlier – and to borrow Bourdieusian terminology once more – English holds very high market value, especially in India, given its colonial past and the continued use of English in parliament (Ministry of Home Affairs 1963). Mohanty (2006) reminds us that in India, English

became a means to securing social and economic resources during the colonial era. Even today, access to the English language is limited among lower-socioeconomic families which means speaking English has become a sign of wealth. This aligns with Bourdieu's argument on 'access' to the legitimate language and the profit of distinction gained through investment in education. Mohanty (2006) further argues that the estimated 2 per cent of the Indian population who speak English form part of the social elite, and their children generally outperform their non-English-speaking peers at school. Speaking English-only at home has furthermore become an 'upmarket' trend among urban families in India (Rai 2012).

It is interesting that the language practices in Leena's home resemble those of an Indian family living in India, as opposed to an immigrant family that would assimilate to the mainstream society more with each generation. As mentioned in Chapter 1, she grew up completely isolated from the Arab community in Kuwait and learned only very basic Arabic, which would be insufficient to hold a conversation.

*Leena: "I wish I would have studied more or I wish there was a culture where we could have probably learned Arabic a lot more."*

In a society such as Kuwait, which is so deeply segregated into citizens and non-citizens who are essentially cut off from the local population, building an Indian legacy was perhaps the only available identity option for this family. Not only was Leena not competent in the official language, but the guardians of this language (Arabic-speaking Kuwaitis) gave her no access or opportunity to master it. Further, Leena might be adopting what Portes and Rumbaut (2001, p. 284) refer to as "reactive ethnicity" which describes a self-defence mechanism wherein the heritage culture is given a heightened significance due to marginalisation and discrimination in the receiving society. Portes and Rumbaut argue that embracing the parents' national identities (in this case, Indian) is "less a sign of continuing loyalty to the home country than a reaction to hostile conditions in the receiving society" (p. 284). Bourdieu (1991) builds on this notion by proposing that in cases where individuals cannot integrate (as is the case with Kuwait's expat laws), families may reactively decide to stop trying. He explains this by arguing that "the combined effect of low cultural capital and the associated low propensity to increase

it through educational investment condemns the least favoured classes to ... self-exclusion induced by lack of success” (p. 62).

Self-exclusion, though in a different form, also occurred in Australia for Kai, who is perhaps the only participant who was subject to what appeared to be a distinct and sudden shift in heritage language transmission. While he argued this was a decision made by his parents at first, later interviews revealed that this shift in language was also (at least in part) an act of rebellion by their children.

Growing up, Kai’s parents would speak Swedish to one another, while his mother and grandmother (who lived with them) would speak Greek. He recalls English being spoken as well, possibly as the common language among all the adults in the house. He remembers a peaceful and loving upbringing and was especially close to his grandmother, or *Yiyia* as he calls her, who regularly exposed him to Greek. It is noteworthy that he explicitly told me the following about his childhood:

*Kai: “My grandmother is the person I was closest to growing up. And she taught me to read. I was proud of being Greek when I was that age.”*

Kai remembers that these language practices rather abruptly changed when the family realised that his younger sister seemed to struggle in her language development.

*Kai: “I think there’s a lot of, like pedagogy going on at the time that if you raise a child with too many languages they get confused. My sister would’ve been five, and she wasn’t speaking very much because I think a lot of input in lots of languages just takes a bit longer. So I think they were worried about that so they’re like, let’s just speak to her in English.”*

This parental concern aligns quite neatly with scholarly debate at that time. As argued by Cummins (2000), in the 1980s and 1990s there was much controversy surrounding the best pedagogical approach to bilingualism. Much of the debate was indeed centred around immigrant or Indigenous children, and the assumption that the heritage language would



somehow interfere with the acquisition of the main language of instruction at school. Since then, this oversimplified view of multilingual education has been outed as a myth by many scholars in the field (e.g. Tucker 1998). Nevertheless, it appeared to be a genuine concern at the time, and Kai remembers that while the parents and grandmother continued to speak Greek and Swedish to each other, they switched to English whenever they spoke to the children.

Nevertheless, I became quite suspicious of this in later conversations with Kai because he revealed that entering primary school was a particularly trying time for him and his older brother as they were singled out, sent to English as a Second Language (ESL) classes against their will, and pointed out as Greek children. As mentioned earlier, Kai and his brother are what can be considered visible minorities in Australia, and their features are generally considered 'Mediterranean'. I will dive deeper into these 'visibility' issues in Chapter 5. However, they are important to consider here as these school experiences seemed to coincide with the language shift at home, at which point Kai would have been seven years old.

Since Kai certainly feels no pride in being Greek today, I began to suspect that the language shift was not entirely directed by his parents, but rather the result of how the experience in primary school had been internalised. I decided to ask him about this sudden decision to stop speaking Swedish and Greek at a later interview, and his answer was slightly different.

Zozan: *"Did they stop or did you stop? Do you remember?"*

Kai: *"Umm.. a bit of both."*

This told me that the feeling of pride had entirely disappeared in Kai's trajectory and heavily impacted on his language practices. In admitting that it was "a bit of both", he gave me a glimpse into what would later unfold as a long history of discrimination and abuse from both his heritage community and the Australian community he grew up in. Both verbal and physical experiences were internalised in such a way that Kai – not his parents – 'stopped' speaking his heritage languages, especially Greek. I interpret this as his Greek heritage being translated into negative value in the linguistic market and therefore considered undesirable capital. Bourdieu's work on capital is sometimes troublesome when it is interpreted as very rational –

about value and choice – whereas I consider it a much more emotional issue as seen here in Kai’s accounts. This theoretical consideration of the emotional is something I will address further in a comprehensive discussion in Chapter 6.

In later interviews, more and more evidence of rebellion, self-censorship and self-exclusion became evident.

*Kai: “My brother only speaks English actually. He definitely stopped first. I think it was like a conscious effort to distance himself from everything that was Greek. And I guess I went through a similar sort of thing. So, from the age of like seven onwards I just kinda stopped speaking Greek. Like, at all. I got to the point where I got really, really, really bad, I mean I could still understand but I couldn’t answer, at all. And even now I have trouble speaking it.”*

Kai’s experiences and the subsequent change in his language practices vastly contributed to the shift at home. Indeed, while parents can certainly dominate language practices in the early years of childhood, Spolsky (2009) argues that parents can only maintain this authority for a certain period of time. Kai’s desire to ‘distance himself from everything that was Greek’ through language is a profound finding, one consistent with claims that the desire for identification with a certain speech community can either help or hinder the language learning process (Markus & Nurius 1986).

Indeed, all languages are generally associated with the particular set of beliefs and practices of the people who speak them, and consequently with the ideologies that exist within and about this group (Bourdieu 1977b). As a result, an individual might become hesitant to acquire the language, a view supported by Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954), who have articulated that “individuals’ ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming ... provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation”. This certainly also finds ground in Bourdieu’s theoretical framework: an individuals’ motivation to develop and use their heritage language is strongly linked to their rising awareness of their linguistic market as well as their desire to identify with or distance themselves from the target community – a crisis that can be solved linguistically. Bourdieu (1992, p. 67) supports this

possibility by stating that competence can “clash with the often-unconscious pursuit of symbolic profit.” In other words, the capacity or ability to speak a language does not equal actual use because it is subject to tensions and contradictions within the linguistic ideologies that exist in the individual’s social environment. I will present further evidence for this in Chapter 7.

For now, let us analyse the final two cases – Claire and Theresa. Both these young women physically resemble their fathers more than their mothers. As foreshadowed in Chapter 1, this caused confusion and resulted in interesting language practices.

Theresa remembers an almost monolingual upbringing. She explains that her mother was at home with her and “always uses Tagalog” because she has a very large extended Filipino family in Sydney with whom she is very close. Her father, a taxi driver, was not at home very much, but she remembers that her mother would speak to her in Tagalog even in the presence of her father.

*Theresa: “It’s just ‘cause she uses her language more in the house. Also, she’s always on the phone with her sisters, and she’s always speaking Tagalog, so it’s just ... it just became the more dominant language in the house, making it more powerful.”*

At a first glance, her mother’s language use seems almost just practical or incidental – just a way to communicate with a large Filipino family in Sydney. However, in Theresa’s later accounts, it is apparent that her mother used language as a method of bridging the visible ethnic barrier between her and her daughter, which had been an issue throughout Theresa’s childhood.

*Theresa: “Yeah, [looking different from a parent] is a challenge too. I’m both my parents but people don’t see it. They do see me in my dad, they don’t see me in my mum. Like, I just happen to look more like my dad, and that’s ok. But we were on the plane, on the way home from Hong Kong, and I was trying to get my mum to switch seats with someone so we could be together ‘cause we*

*got separated. And I was like, "Do you mind swapping with my mum?" to one of the ladies. And then I pointed to my mum, and she's like, "That's not your mum, is it?"*

*Theresa: "Even in Philippines, I feel disconnected from my mum because people don't think she's my mum 'cause I'm so white compared to her. They would think that she was just my caretaker. I feel like that's also why my mum speaks to me in Tagalog in Philippines especially. When she sees people looking, she talks to me in Tagalog, so people recognise that I'm hers."*

Theresa's story is quite similar to Claire's, who also looks noticeably different from her mother.

*Claire: "There have been incidences like when we would catch the bus, and I'll say 'My mum will pay,' and the bus driver will stop me and be like, 'Mm, I don't think this is your daughter,' like, 'Are you lying?' Like, 'Can I have some proof?'. Even in movies, cinemas they'd be like, "Can we look at your Medicare card?" and my mum will not have it. She will always feel like yelling into daylight, and they eventually say 'Oh fine, it is fine, you can go.'"*

*Claire: "But that's not the way that she wanted things to be. She didn't want me to see that she always had to prove she was my mum."*

Quite similar to Theresa, Claire's Japanese mother essentially raised her as a monolingual Japanese speaker.

*Claire: "Japanese is my first language. My mum taught me Japanese and I didn't learn English until I started school and it wasn't about till I was like Year 6, Year 7 when I realised that English is my strongest language."*

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Claire has no memory of speaking English at home before entering primary school, as her parents speak Mandarin to one another and were convinced that their children would eventually learn English at school. The fact that Theresa considers that she has

a slight Filipino accent when speaking English, and Claire was insecure about her English skills until Year 6, indicate that both of them entered primary school speaking mainly – and quite literally – their ‘mother’ tongue. As mentioned earlier, this is quite unlike situations where parents have experienced the difficulty of a language barrier at primary school themselves.

This way of using language is an interesting and surprising finding in my data. It was seemingly fuelled by the mothers’ humiliating experiences in public spaces of being mistaken for caretakers and not being recognised as mothers to their own daughters. Regret and anxiety run through these narrations as the mothers often ‘saw people looking’ and ‘didn’t want them to see this’. What they wanted people to see was a mother travelling with her daughter, even though the physical differences made this impossible to the observer. It seems that in these instances the mothers were using language to signify belonging, despite the visible racial barriers. As we have seen, Claire is generally considered ‘just black’, while Theresa is considered ‘just white’. Neither black nor white are racial categories that are typically associated with Japanese or Tagalog, and I refer to the work of Rosa and Flores (2017, p. 631) who developed the concept of “raciolinguistic enregisterment”. This refers to the idea that “people come to look like a language and sound like a race” and serves to better understand the process in which “racial categories are equated with empirically distinctive sets of linguistic features” (p. 631). In other words, people associate specific racial groups with particular linguistic features. It is due to this process of raciolinguistic enregisterment that Claire is not naturally recognised as Japanese, nor Theresa as Filipino.

Theresa’s mother talks to her in Tagalog, *so people recognise she’s hers*. The desired reaction of speaking Tagalog is that people will identify them as mother and daughter, despite the visible ethnic barrier. Such strategies are supported by the scholarly literature which contends that language is a potent tool to express either differentiation or similarity among social actors, because being seen, heard, believed and recognised is the key to finally becoming unified with a certain group (Bourdieu 1992). It is perhaps for this reason that the mothers are overcompensating in their heritage language transmission and create a virtually monolingual environment. This is supported by Pao, Wong and Teuben-Rowe (1997, pp. 622-623) who argue that “for mixed-heritage individuals, nativelylike dominance of the languages of both heritages may be crucial to enable them to belong to either culture.” The mothers’ language

practices highlight the importance of language as a tool to signify belonging, reinforcing the significance of a particular language to the sense of identity (Blackledge et al 2008).

While parents may have the best intentions in their efforts to pass on heritage, it is ultimately the Second Generation that will decide what is and what is not valuable to them. The next section explores their views, feelings and perceptions of their heritage languages and identities, and how these were shaped by their experiences.

### **3.4 Pride, Guilt and Shame: Second Generation Perceptions of Heritage**

My father once drunkenly told me that he had hoped I would be a boy.

Instead of taking offence or feeling surprised, I smiled, turned to the football match we were watching and said, “I know.”

As soon as I could read numbers and some words, I remember constantly being on my father’s lap and watching football. While my sister, mother, grandmother and aunts were chatting in the kitchen, I was among the gentlemen in the family and focusing my energy on interpreting the game. We never actually went outside to play football, we simply sat in front of the TV as my father taught me about the teams, the players, the positions and the rules. He explained different strategies, the tournaments and who our main enemies were. I learned how to swear and when to swear, when to cheer and when to shout in anger. He took me to my first match in a stadium, and while I am too young to remember the actual game, I remember how proud I was that I was on this special trip with dad. I also remember really enjoying that although I was among rough company, my father always lovingly and protectively held me on his lap. As I grew older, I was no longer on his lap, but I was taught that football goes with beer, and “acqua ai fiori” – water is for flowers.

So, no, it was not a surprise to learn that I was ‘supposed to be a boy’. When I was seven years old, I watched my first FIFA Football World Cup from start to finish. I was living in Sardinia at the time and I was simply excited to be part of it. Cars would take to the streets and honk all night in celebration as Italy marched into the World Cup Final, ultimately losing against Brazil

in an emotional penalty shootout. That night the streets went silent, and I felt sad that all the excitement and community feel were over, and of course I was sad that 'we' didn't win the title.

Over the years however, football turned from being a leisurely activity to a constant fight with myself over the 'we'.

In 2006, when I was 17, Germany hosted the FIFA World Cup. My family were too poor to buy tickets, but we watched the matches at public screenings back in my German hometown. And that year, it finally happened - Italy met Germany in the Semi-Finals. My father took me out to see the match and he was incredibly excited and was discussing pre-match strategy with me. "We'll show the Germans how to play football today", he said, and I agreed just as I was taught to do.

The entire game turned into a torment as I was trying to root for Italy with my dad, but something about it felt not quite right. As Italy scored the winning goal my heart sunk and I felt tears rolling down my cheeks. My father thought these were happy tears and hugged me to celebrate the moment. But they were not happy tears.

They weren't even about this match anymore.

The situation pressured me to choose one or the other – being Italian or being German - and I was unable to do it. I couldn't really be Italian and support Germany, and vice versa. It sickened me to realise that I was no longer part of whatever my father was celebrating. I realised there was no 'we', no 'our team' anymore. He was 'Italian from Italy' with all that I believed it entailed; I felt that "his lineage was pure, his loyalties clear" (Obama 1995, p. 101) while all I had been doing was pretending to fit in.

I share my football story because it is one of the most illustrative examples of the constant feelings of failure, exclusion and injustice that second-generation migrants experience when they are unable to live up to the expectations of their parents, their heritage community, and the host society – in this case all at once.

The FIFA World Cup, among other things, has two key functions: to unite a nation and to celebrate a very specific type of identity, namely national identity. European nations are particularly guilty of overgeneralising common values, beliefs, ethnicity and culture to manufacture this national identity, and I have outlined the FIFA World Cup's failure to be inclusive of the hybrid reality within nations in a previous study (Balci, 2009). When considering this, it is not at all surprising that this triggered yet another source of pain – I realised that no matter how hard I tried, nothing about me would ever fit into these common indicators. Nothing about me is the type of 'German' that is being celebrated. Perhaps this is one of the key differences between these two generations. The diaspora, in contrast to the second generation, have the distinct luxury of declaring where they are from, believing it, and being believed by others. There is an almost unquestioned certainty about heritage, origins and identity. It was Canadian writer Shawn Micallef (2015, para 9) who described the difference quite adequately by explaining that unlike the diaspora, the second generation only holds "a kind of shadow citizenship, of being of another place without actually being from there."

On that day, I felt a huge sense of failure. Not only did I fail my father in not being a boy, and not only did I fail to be the kind of German being celebrated on screen, but I also failed my family in my inability to identify with and protect what they were trying to pass on to me – my heritage.

As argued by Blackledge et al (2008), heritage language can turn into a source of tension when it becomes a currency for negotiating and contesting identity. In many cases, they argue, those wishing to pass on heritage language may find that the Second Generation questions the value of the resources in the new context (that is, the host society), and in some cases, the heirs may reject the imposed identity altogether, ultimately impacting heritage language acquisition and use. Their findings are in line with those in my study as my participants also often challenged teachers and parents, resisted imposed heritage identities and negotiated their own, hybrid way of speaking and being. In order to understand desire or non-desire to identify with their heritage, it is important to understand what my participants associate with it.



Out of all my participants, Kai's experience of heritage is perhaps the most profound and traumatic. First, it is important to establish that Kai has struggled more in identifying with his Greek heritage than with his Swedish heritage. The reason is quite simple, and not entirely unexpected:

Zozan: *"What do you think makes, in your mind, Sweden cool and Greece uncool?"*

Kai: *"I mean, Sweden's so much easier, everyone thinks Sweden's cool. I think there's greater acceptance amongst Australians, I guess. Like, everyone has this idea of Sweden being like tall, good-looking, sexy people, playing volleyball [laughs]. Like, it's a cool place... you know? Whereas Greece is just... old ladies, dressed in black [laughs]."*

He further says about Swedish immigrants:

Kai: *"I mean there's lots of Swedes here but they integrate. The second they step off the boat, they don't speak Swedish anymore. And Swedish culture is so similar to mainstream Australian culture anyway, it's not that difficult."*

It is clear that Kai considers being Swedish 'easier' because of the cultural similarities he draws to 'mainstream Australian culture' and the stark differences he draws to Greeks. Again, Kai's overgeneralisations about Swedes and Greeks is not removed from the realities of growing up in Randwick, especially considering all the historical and cultural baggage associated with Greek migration outlined in the introduction. He draws direct comparisons between Anglo-Celtic Australians and a shared northern European ethnicity and culture with Scandinavians. He further praises the Swedes' ability to integrate and learn English quickly or in fact already speaking it when arriving. This is in stark contrast to his view (or rather, his view of Australian views) of Greek immigrants who, in turn, are described as old and stuck in their ways (e.g. wearing black). In Kai's mind, the Swede's ability to blend in, be invisible and 'pass' makes his Swedish heritage unproblematic. While we return to the issues of visibility and passing in

chapters 5 and 6, for now suffice to say that his Greek heritage caused him the most grief, primarily because of his Mediterranean physical appearance.

Kai's statements show that there is a significant degree of 'internalised racism' which has been defined as "acceptance by members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth" (Jones 2000, p. 1213). Racial and xenophobic messages are "contained in media images, language, expectations, and the stuff of daily encounters that might be more easily introjected by the oppressed group" (Speight 2007, p. 130). In an extensive survey of Australian youth in secondary school, 48.9 per cent reported hearing or reading negative comments about their cultural group (Mansouri et al 2009). These messages are normalised and repeated, resulting in the internalisation of the dominant group's ideas and ultimately in self-degradation and a genuine belief in one's own inferiority (Speight 2007). By accepting these negative messages, the individual also accepts the limitations of their own potential in all aspects of life and those of people who look like them (Jones 2000). Internalised racism is considered a gradual process which can lead not only to the acceptance but also the assumption of the negative stereotypes repeated by the wider society (Mouzon & McLean 2016). In other words, individuals will start to "think, feel, and act in ways that demonstrate the devaluation of their group and of themselves as members of that group" (Speight 2007, p. 130).

Mouzon and McLean (2016) conducted a US study among black minority groups which draws a number of important conclusions about the realities of internalised racism. Firstly, it was more common among black minority groups who were born in the US than those born elsewhere, indicating that internalised racism is an issue that affects the Second Generation much more significantly than the First Generation of migrants. Secondly, the level of internalised racism was exacerbated in countries that have a history of tension between a white majority and a non-white minority. Finally, the authors found that higher levels of internalised racism resulted in serious mental health decline, notably heightened symptoms of depression. Speight (2007) calls this a lasting "psychological injury" (p. 127). As we will see in this thesis, all my participants exhibit degrees of internalised racism (or are 'injured' in this way), but Kai's story illustrates this most strongly and also sheds light on the repeated, explicit messages that he was exposed to. Kai's reference to "old, Greek ladies dressed in black" very

much echoes mainstream Australian stereotypes of Greek women. As argued by Janiszewski, and Alexakis (2006) “Stereotypes of Greek-Australian women continue to bombard the public consciousness. Black-clad Greek-Australian women, those at festivals and celebrations in traditional costume ... tend to dominate” (p. 152).

It was not only the mainstream media messages, but also day-to-day experiences that reinforced these self-views.

*Kai: “I’ve just been called a wog and stuff. Or like, looking different or having different food and made to feel like you don’t belong because of that. So then, you try very hard to belong in denying anything to do with your culture.”*

As can be seen from Kai’s recollections, Greek was seen to be ‘uncool’ and his heritage was reason for him to be teased by classmates, both through explicit derogative language such as ‘wog’ but also in relation to his appearance and his lunch box. While he calls it teasing at first, it becomes evident later on in our conversation that some of these situations were deeply upsetting and serious. In a study on Australian youth, Mansouri et. al. (2009) found that racist name-calling was found to be prevalent in youth, with 38.7 per cent of being called an offensive name for their cultural group. The study also found that while most name calling occurred occasionally (23.6%), some reported being called offensive racist names daily (5.3%). In line with Kai’s comments, the term “wog” was found to be most commonly used by white Australians against post-war Italians and Greeks. Other racist terminology directed at Second Generation Greeks appropriated the name of food, for instance ‘souvlakis’. Such insults and abuse was not only coming from his peers but also from teachers. Of his high school P.E. teacher, he remembers:

*Kai: “We were all in a circle, and we were practising for soccer, so he’d throw the ball and you had to head-butt it back. And it just seemed like whenever he went past the Greek kids he’d like throw it really hard.. and like, for the other ones he wouldn’t. It would have been year 7 or year 8, and I was thinking - am I imagining it or is it actually happening?”*

Again, Kai's experience mirrors research findings based on surveys among his peers. Mansouri et. al. (2009) found that racism occurred regularly in school sporting activities. Findings especially among Lebanese, Afghan or youth of 'other Mediterranean appearance' indicated occurrences of racial abuse that made students feel excluded and unwelcome in the soccer team. It is further argued that the setting of school sports lends itself for racist energy to be fuelled and played out due to the competitiveness of the activity, but also the clear-cut teams which often result in white-majority vs ethnic minority teams. The same report also reiterates the role of coaches and their ability to role-model an inclusive sport setting in order to combat racist slurs on the field, which Kai's coach evidently did not do.

Further, Kai remembered being stereotyped and underestimated by his school's career adviser in Year 12.

*Kai: "I just walked in and he takes a thing down from trades. So it was just like 'Oh, a good Greek boy like you could be a plumber, or a carpenter' [...] And I was thinking, well fuck you."*

This is directly related to the categorisation of Greek immigrants being unskilled labourers which were previously outlined in the introduction. Although Kai's Greek side of the family is made up of teachers and nurses, this career adviser was evidently drawing on post-World-War-2 stereotypes in which Greek migrants were often unjustly relegated to low-income and low-prestige jobs. When Kai told him that he was interested in studying psychology, the career adviser was in disbelief and surprise.

Among my participants, Kai certainly presents the most extreme example of rejection of his heritage language. In analysing the significance of this, I refer back to the notion that cultural and linguistic capital can lose all value (thus no longer being capital at all) but also convert into a liability if it is deemed as such by the dominant community. In Kai's case, the many instances of being called a 'wog', being teased for looking Greek and being stereotyped into career paths with low prestige were evidence of this. Again and again, Kai experienced his Greek heritage in the form of discrimination and barrier to career goals – and most importantly, a barrier

between him and the community he considered home. These experiences translated into self-hate, low self-esteem and loathing for his Greek heritage.

In an effort to belong to the Anglo-Celtic Australian community, Kai feverishly denied, hid and rejected any association with the Greek community. This has also meant dropping the language altogether. The theory that the desire for identification with a certain speech community can either help or hinder the language learning process has been established previously. Indeed, all languages are generally associated with the particular set of beliefs and practices of the people who speak it, and consequently the ideologies that exist within and about this group. As a result, an individual might become hesitant to acquire the language, a view supported by Markus and Nurius (1986:954) who have articulated that "...individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming [...] provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation".

Referring back to the notion of the detrimental impacts of internalised racism, this was evident in Kai's reflections of self-esteem and sense of community, which was a continuous theme in our conversations. Here are just some things he said:

*Kai: "I've spent like 20 years hating a part of myself, being like 'that's not me, I hate everything to do with that, get away from me'. I hated Greeks. And Greek, everything to do with it. There's a big Greek community at university. And they'd come by and I'd kind of hide from them. I wanted nothing to do with them."*

What reinforced these feelings were the experiences with his Greek heritage community outside of school, which were far worse. When he was around 20 years old, Kai attended a traditional Greek wedding at which he was confronted by an elderly Greek man.

*Kai: "He'd walk up to me and then start speaking to me in Greek. And then I'll answer in English and he'll keep speaking Greek, and I'm, like, oh, you know...my Greek's not so great. And then he turned around, this man I'd never met before, and he slapped me. He's like 'why don't you speak*

*Greek?’ And it’s just like... Mate, you’ve been here for 60 years, why don’t you speak English?’”*

Kai recalls similar examples at local stores, such as the fish monger, where his mother is having a conversation with the owner in Greek. When the conversation turns to Kai and he responds in English, he is treated with disrespect and contempt. In many cases, when he admits his Greek is not very good, people respond explicitly *“Why the fuck not?”*.

Resisting his Greek heritage has evidently been perceived as an act of disrespect and defiance by the diaspora. This has resulted in resentment within the community, and these instances of physical and verbal abuse can be interpreted as strategies to guilt him back into the group, and thus, preserve his Greek heritage.

Turning to my participant Leena, she appears to have made a conscious effort to integrate in Australia and distance herself from Indian communities.

*Zozan: “There is a big Indian community here in Sydney. How do you interact with them? Or do you not?”*

*Leena: “Um, probably not a lot as just because I live in Glebe and your biggest Indian community are more Blacktown and all that. Even at work, there are 4,000 people in my building, and you would sometimes see just bunches of Indians sitting at lunch time. I don't blame a non-Indian person to just say - Asians do that a lot as well – ‘they're always with their people’. I do absolutely identify myself with Indians but only if they’re like me, I guess. When I say like me, I mean someone who probably doesn't just want to stick with Indians. I have a feeling that one of the reasons - it's not snobby of me so please don't think that - I'm very proud that I can live in Glebe. Not because of the monetary part, but I like to think that I don't live in Blacktown, I live in Glebe because I'm different. I'm open. I still have Indian friends but I don't need to live there. I'm very proud that I don't live there, it's a big thing for me.”*

Leena's comments reaffirm earlier statements in which she repeatedly explained to me how saddening and restricting she found growing up in Kuwait in a segregated, isolated Indian community which is concentrated in very specific areas of town. She often told me that she found it frustrating that there were certain areas of town where her parents would not enter or would not allow her to go as these were spaces reserved for Arab Kuwaitis, not people like them. It is understandable that as an adult, she wanted to reverse this trend, take matters into her own hands and live more embedded in the local community. Living in upscale Glebe as opposed to Sydney's Western Suburbs was achieved not through community belonging but monetary means, and seeing as it fills her with pride, and makes her seem more "open", she considers this a very big achievement. Indeed, Duclos et al (2012) propose that in the absence of social support, and after experiencing social rejection, individuals often rely on the instrumentality of money as a substitute for popularity to obtain benefits and satisfy one's aspirations in life.

I also wanted to dig further into her view of the Indian community. I especially wanted to find out more about her connection or desire to differentiate herself. While Leena generally spoke positively of her Indian heritage, there were certain aspects of it that she resented in terms of their status and perception in Australia.

*Leena: "There are some people from certain cultures, they don't make an effort. You get what I mean? Like they're happy to just, even if they go to work, just wearing you know [shabby clothing]. So I've had those comments just quite recently said, 'You're just not like any other Indian that we know.' And I can either take it in a bad way or I can just go well, 'Okay, well I've made an effort to look good.'"*

Fashion, grooming and social class are very much things that Leena spoke about frequently, and from this comment in particular, it becomes evident that she consciously makes an effort not to be stereotyped as an Indian immigrant with poor hygiene and little attention to physical appearance, which is evidently something she has observed being said about this community and demonstrates a degree of internalised racism as discussed earlier. It further strengthens the finding that the lack of popularity can fuel motivation for wealth building and upward class

mobility (Duclos et al 2012), which Leena expresses through designer fashion, an expensive car, her upscale home suburb and overall presentation.

Similar to all other participants, Claire's perception of her heritage communities has played a key role in whether she associates with it. She explained that Japanese culture is considered particularly 'cool' in Australia, and her friends find the fact that she is half-Japanese 'fascinating'. In turn, she associates Uganda with crime, poverty and turmoil. This is evident in both her general knowledge about the country from the news, but also personal experiences.

*Claire: "My dad maintains weekly contact with his family in Uganda. He is the oldest of seven and the youngest, my auntie, came over and actually started a family in Australia. But I haven't seen her in a couple of years, some family drama that I'm unsure about, that I don't wanna open."*

*Claire: "My dad had a few Ugandan friends here. But then again, more family drama that I don't know about. I've heard the word "spies" used, and something to do with, maybe, money, scamming, and stuff like that. They weren't genuine, I don't think. And my dad felt that he didn't want to be friends with them for whatever reason."*

Her father's negative experiences with his family and Ugandan friends might have been one of the reasons he chose not to involve his children much in the culture or community. It leads us back to findings indicating that affective dispositions towards the language among the first generation is vital in transmitting it to the second generation (Ivanova 2019).

It is also important to understand that her desire for being identified as Japanese, as opposed to African, is not removed from the global perception of Africans being 'poor' and 'in need of help'. For instance, she remembers the following incident at a bar:

*Claire: "I'm like out at night with my mates, and men come up asking me 'where are you from' and it's just very off-putting. Especially when they're like: 'I*



*volunteered in Africa last year' or something. That means nothing to me, honestly. I have no connection to Africa."*

While it is quite obviously ill-informed to use 'I volunteered in Africa' to pick up a girl at a bar, it also shows what Africa stands for in Australia and it gives further insight into why Claire might be unable and unwilling to identify with it. What this phrase implies is that she is in need of charity, that she is inferior and somehow requires help from non-black people. Some of her aversion to this is clearly gender-motivated, but it also raises issues of social status and contrasting perceptions between 'black' and 'white' that has formed a large part of her home country Australia, its history, politics and ideology.

As argued by Kane (1997), the Australian identity comprised notions of "Britishness" and "whiteness", and the commitment to the protection of white superiority resulted in legislative changes often referred to as the infamous "White Australia Policy" of 1901 (Kane 1997). What has led to these implementations was the firm belief that as British descendants, "white Australians held themselves naturally endowed with virtuous qualities – physical, mental and moral – absent from or less developed in other races" (Kane 1997, p. 122). Even when Australia entered its military alliance with the United States at the end of 1941, the Australian War Cabinet opposed the inclusion of African-American servicemen on their soil (Saunders & Taylor 1995). This rejection of military aid during World War 2 was particularly related to concerns that black servicemen would associate with local women (Saunders & Taylor 1995) which would result in "Half-caste" children and was in direct opposition to assimilation policies enforced by the Aborigines' Protection Board which were aimed at eradicating Indigenous (black) blood from the Australian population (Australian Human Rights Commission 1997).

Immigration from Africa before 1976 was primarily from South Africa and only for those of Afrikaner and British descent in line with the white-only policy (Australian Human Rights Commission 1997). Black Africans have only been granted entry to Australia in recent years as part of Australia's humanitarian efforts, and their experiences are in stark contrast to those of white Africans. The intake commenced at the end of the 1990s, drawing from linguistically and ethnically diverse populations, primarily from the Horn of Africa and West Africa (Windle 2008). However, similar to the Indigenous population of Australia, the media often presents

black African immigrants as “a single community, with no ethnic or linguistic boundaries recognised and nation often standing for ‘race’” (Windle 2008, p. 554). Further, Windle argues that areas inhabited by black African communities are often labelled “‘no-go zones’, social ‘hotspots’ and ‘hotbeds’ for ‘youth violence and ethnic tensions’” in the media (p. 556). Overall, black African residents are rarely considered local but rather a homogenous, black ‘problem group’ with low moral qualities which is in direct contrast to ‘locals’ who are implicitly white and peaceful (Windle 2008). Furthermore, radical voices in the mass media disseminate portrayals of African immigrants as coming “from a very poor and tribal culture a world away from ours” (Bolt 2007), rekindling worrying resemblances of white settler mentality in encounters with Australian Indigenous people.

Claire’s perception of her African heritage mirrors these ideas, further indicating that internalised racism plays a key role in this. Although an unwise comment in a bar might appear harmless at face value, it makes evident all these underlying notions that have shaped the ideology of white superiority over black inferiority which follows us into the present. Claire evidently considers moments such as that in the bar memorable and as offensive experiences for all their underlying messages. As Claire stated herself, she grew up with very little exposure to other children of African ancestry, and she described her group of friends as “very white”. As such, much of her understanding of her heritage community, including internalised racist ideas, come from these social interactions, the media, and white Australian views.

A thread that ran through all my interviews in relation to heritage rejection were notions of disappointment, shame and above all, guilt. This is a similar finding to those discussed by Ang (2001) on the inability to speak Chinese, and Kim (2016) who found that second generation Korean participants in the US “felt ‘ashamed’, ‘shocked’, or ‘self-conscious’ about the fact that they couldn’t speak Korean, and were not accepted by other Koreans because of the lack of the ability to speak Korean” (p. 111).

With this in mind, I asked Kai whether learning Greek felt different to learning another language at school, and his response spoke volumes about all that his heritage language represented to him.

Kai: *"Yeah. I think so. There's like a lot of guilt associated with Greek. I think because I spent a lot of time sort of burying that, or like trying to hide. Greek's really not cool, at all. Like, especially if you're going to school here and ...you'd get teased I guess. Not like a lot but enough to ... make you sort of not want anything to do with that."*

The feeling of guilt was a frequent theme in our conversations, and felt so strongly that it has even kept him away from Greece, perhaps to escape the shame associated with not being accepted as Greek, as outlined by Kim (2016).

Kai: *"Greek makes me feel guilty. I think because I spent a lot of time to hide it to integrate here. It's like tied up in this whole... guilt thing. I mean I've been everywhere in Europe except for Greece. It's almost like there's an emotional barrier, I'm not ready to go there yet."*

Kai raises the interesting notion of linguistic baggage, a concept explained by Busch (2017) who says that a language can be "experienced as a hardship or as a source of ongoing emotional stress— sometimes even leading to traumatization or to re-invoking earlier traumatic experience" (p.340).

While Kai verbalised this 'second-generation guilt' very aptly and overtly, he was not the only participant to grapple with such feelings. Theresa shared a similar sentiment when thinking back on her attempts to connect with her Hungarian side.

Theresa: *"It wasn't really an issue for me until I met some more European friends. I had a friend in high school who was Serbian, and she was very heavily into her Serbian culture. Like, they did the dances and everything. She was part of a club. And I just feel like I could have showed more of an interest to do that kind of stuff when I was younger, to make us feel more connected to the culture, but I didn't."*

Throughout my time with Theresa, she did mention several times that after learning more about European culture and its significance in Australia, she felt regret and guilt about resisting it in earlier years. Shin (2010) offers an explanation to such behaviour, stating that participants may regret turning their backs on their heritage language upon realising that they are still not fully accepted by the mainstream community even if they speak the dominant language. However, Theresa's case is also strongly tied to her relationship with her parents, which we will return to in Chapter 6.

Still on the topic of guilt, and perhaps with reference to the gap between parents and children (Blackledge et al 2008), Claire was the one who specifically pinpointed the issue of 'going against what parents prefer':

*Claire: "I know some people who felt guilty when they lean toward one side or the other. I think that's probably a challenge. I have this friend who was Muslim but she grew up here and always felt guilty that she wanted to grow up more ... like, be more typical Australian and ignore that other side. And she knew that she was going against what her parents would have preferred. I'm sure that's a common thing for a lot of people who grew up with two plus cultures, you know? Where you're just like, "How much is too much of being this or that," you know?"*

This final comment is powerful in confirming the dilemma between fulfilling parental expectations and the desire to identify with the host culture.

### 3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has offered a discussion of the term 'heritage' and its particular link to language and identity. By exploring the underlying reasons behind language practices in the family home, this chapter has argued that both parents and children consider heritage languages as markers of identity. Furthermore, the findings suggest that each language spoken within the family is assigned a symbolic capital and its value is generally measured against the dominant language spoken by the host society.

What this chapter has illustrated is that multilingualism is not a necessity, but rather a tool to mirror the various cultural identities available to my participants by birth and by heritage. Although it can be argued that multilingualism becomes a necessary tool of survival for migrants, as I have demonstrated in the form of anecdotes from my parents, it is important to reiterate that none of the participants in this study can be considered a migrant in this way. As such, their experience of multilingualism is not rooted in the need to adapt to a new culture.

Rather, my research shows the importance of understanding language as a capital and symbol of power and belonging. As Bourdieu powerfully asserted, although all languages are linguistically equal, they are not in fact socially equal. I emphasised his point that “a language is worth what those who speak it are worth”, referring to economic and social power of the speakers of various languages (Bourdieu 1977a, p. 652). This interplay between power and language will play a key role in understanding subsequent chapters which deal with the complexities of the multilingual experience.

In cases where a language was considered desirable capital, it was favoured by the parents and an attempt was made to pass it on to the children. In the opposite case – where languages seemed to indicate unfavourable associations with low-status communities, parents were less likely to use it at home. In three out of the four cases, there were clear indications that my participants prioritised one heritage over the other, which was directly associated with the value statements attached to each. Whether something was considered desirable or not desirable was strongly connected to the parents’ migration trajectories as well as the relationship with the host society.

Further, an interesting finding was heritage-language-only use by mothers who experienced humiliating public encounters in which their children were not recognised as theirs. This was due to visible racial differences between mother and child. In these cases, the mothers appeared to overcompensate with heritage language and created an almost monolingual home environment. Speaking the heritage language in public served as a visible connector and sign of belonging among family members in the absence of common physical features. I believe this particular finding warrants further research.

The final section of this chapter dealt with the participants themselves who as children and adolescents developed their own perceptions of both their host and heritage communities, and often associated these with the respective language. Popular themes that emerged in these discussions were those of pride, guilt and shame. In this discussion, the participant choice of at least two heritage languages and identities served its purpose in demonstrating that the same person can consider one side 'cool' and 'desirable' and associate the other with stereotypes like 'poor', 'corrupt' and 'unclean'. These perceptions were most commonly formed in encounters with the host society, though in some cases the heritage community played a role. Unwanted associations with these communities have clashed with willingness to learn the heritage language and identify with the respective community.

## Chapter 4: Eternal In-Betweeners: Narratives and Lived Experiences of Hybrid Identity

### 4.1 Introduction to the Chapter

In the previous chapter, I discussed the cultural and linguistic identities of the diaspora, and the parents' desire to pass on selective aspects of these to the next generation. In this chapter, I endeavour to tackle definitions of hybrid identity and demonstrate how ancestry and heritage conflict with the ability to identify with the dominant society (or host community).

At this stage, it is appropriate to note that the term 'hybridity' also goes by many other names in scholarly literature, including transnational, multicultural, intercultural, transcultural, multinational, biracial, interracial, multiracial, mixed race, mixed-ethnic, cultural syncretism and mixed-heritage. Through my research, I found these alternative terms to be unsuitable. The terms 'transnational' and 'multinational' do not accurately capture what my participants have described, as these two particular concepts are generally presented in the sense of operating across national spaces or a political identity/affiliation with two or more nations (e.g. Brewer, Herrmann & Risse-Kappen 2004), which did not seem to be the case in my data collection. I found these concepts much more useful in the study of migrants and diaspora, rather than second generation studies. Even in the one case where migration did occur, in Leena's story, her affiliations in this political or official way were clearly disturbed by her status as either expat or non-resident. Indeed, she only experienced permanent citizenship for the first time well into adulthood, in a country that bears no connection to what she considers home or heritage. I chose to step away from terminology specifically involving the word 'race' for reasons I will outline in the next chapter. Syncretism is preferred by some scholars, such as Cohen (1997) because 'hybridity' has other, often unhelpful connotations in other fields of study. However, the term syncretism is all too often used in reference to theology and religious faith, which was only a minor factor in my study.

What we are left with, then, is multicultural, intercultural, transcultural, mixed heritage and mixed ethnicity. These notions emphasise predominantly the importance of ethnicity and

culture, most notably those of the parents' country of origin. Being defined by who one's parents are might be at the very core of the issue at hand, as we have seen in the previous chapter. These terms emphasise the inherited above all the individual realities of my participants, and by imposing a heritage identity, it denies them of their individual autonomy to identify themselves in the way they feel is most accurate. Moreover, the unfortunate use of these terms has become synonymous with describing ethnic minorities and to impose a minority identity. To take an example, let us imagine an Australian-born person whose mother is a bilingual English and Gaelic-speaking Irish migrant, and whose father is a bilingual English and Scots-speaking Scottish migrant. Their child would unlikely be called 'multicultural' but rather 'Australian' because the perceived norm in Australia is of being from mixed Anglo-Celtic background with English as a common language. Contextually, these terms only kick in when one parent is non-white or of a non-English speaking background – at which point the child is immediately defined by their heritage.

For all these reasons, I have chosen to use hybridity throughout this study. My reasons for preferring this term over all others is perhaps most echoed by Néstor García Canclini (2005) who argues that "it includes diverse intercultural mixtures— not only the racial one ... and because it permits the inclusion of the modern forms of hybridization" (p. 11). Especially in reference to modernisation, García Canclini explains that hybridisation means "the breakup and mixing of the collections that **used to** organize cultural systems" (p. 207, emphasis added). It is the disruptive nature of the term that resonates with the study; it is the pushing back against the old, the transcension of merely race and the nation, the questioning of the inherited, the probing identity and the crossing of previously forbidden boundaries that my participants embody. It is this often-involuntary disruption of established ideas that shape their experience of community, identity, culture and belonging.

In this chapter, I will discuss issues of imposed identity categories which all my participants are subjected to, and the lived experience of being defined by one's ancestry and heritage. In the subsequent section, I will provide an in-depth discussion of why "trying to be both" remains wishful thinking because hybridity is both misunderstood and considered an affront to national identity. Some of the recurring themes in my research related to identity will be analysed in this section also, namely notions of uncertainty, non-belonging and cultural preservation.



Above all, this chapter offers a discussion of contemporary attitudes towards cultural hybridity and how this has evidently translated into a conflicting lived experience for these four young people.

It was Ien Ang (2001, p. 21) who powerfully tackled the conflicting notions of heritage and one's own identity by beginning her chapter with a Chinese quote: "No ancestors, no identity". This is quite literally the message given to me by everyone around me who insists that the best way to get to know me is to ask about where I am from, and if that fails, where my parents are from. One of the key findings of my research is that hybridity is a difficult lived experience, first and foremost due to a constant state of being interrogated about ancestry and identity. To explain what I mean by interrogation, I will simply relay my participants' words here. Kai provides a very accurate description of the process, one that was a common theme in all interviews.

Zozan: *"Do you get it that a lot of people ask you where you're from?"*

Kai: *"Yeah, always. Always. Always. Every day."*

Zozan: *"Yeah? Every day?"*

Kai: *"Every day."*

Zozan: *"So what do you say?"*

Kai: *"Greenland. Iceland. Botswana. [smiles]"*

Zozan: *"So you mess with them?"*

Kai: *"Yeah, always."*

Zozan: *"You never say the truth?"*

Kai: *"Nah. I used to but it just gets annoying. 'Yeah.. so where're you from?'- 'Here'. 'But yeah, but, really, where were you born?' – 'I was born in Coogee'. And then 'where's your mum born? Do you know what I mean? Where're you really from?' – 'Well.. okay, my father is from Sweden, my grandparents are from Greece.' – 'Ahh. That's where you get your dark complexion from.'"*

Kai: *"People will try to say it in a different way, like, 'your accent, where're you from?' – 'Australian English is my mother tongue, I've spoken it for 30 years now.'"*

Zozan: *"Yeah. What do you find annoying about it?"*

Kai: *“Constantly being reminded that you don’t belong.”*

What Kai is describing here exemplifies what Ang (2001, p. 29) calls the “insistent, repetitive and annoying inquiry into origins”. Further, Kai was able to pinpoint just exactly why it is annoying – it is a constant reminder of misplacedness and of not belonging. As observed by Starks (2018), such questions on belonging are often motivated by appearance, accents and location – and they are often perceived as ‘unnerving’ by the person who is being asked precisely because it makes them feel like they don’t belong. The fact that Kai’s accent is questioned pinpoints to the racialised use and perception of language as argued by Flores and Rosa (2015). Building on the concept of the ‘white gaze’, the authors explain white listening subjects “often hear and interpret the linguistic practices of language-minoritised populations as deviant based on their racial positioning in society as opposed to any objective characteristics of their language use” (p. 151). This is further supported by Reyes and Lo (2009) who examined the racial positioning of Asian Pacific Americans as well as the notion of “Yellow English”. The authors identified that Asian Americans are often perceived to speak English differently compared to white mainstream English speakers. The reinforcement of stereotypical representations of Asians in the media contributes to the fact that the English spoken by Asian Americans, even if they are native speakers of English, is perceived as ‘having a foreign accent’ (Reyes & Lo 2009). We will return to the notion of racialised language perceptions in Chapter 5.

Further, ‘where are you from’ can become a source of anger and frustration, as powerfully expressed by Claire, who recalls her feelings when the interrogation is repeated again and again.

Zozan: *“How do you feel when you have to answer that question, Where are you from?”*

Claire: *“That’s probably one of the first questions people ask. Sometimes, it’s all right, you know, when that person asks a question, and they haven’t said anything offensive. But I have heard that question and been in that scenario several times before in my past. It all just comes back as one. I don’t want to be*

*angry, but I am, because of all the several other people who've asked me before you."*

Claire clearly expresses her frustration with the question, and explains that it makes her angry simply because it has been asked so many times and each new instance enters this history of questioning. She also makes the important statement that her feelings and response largely depend on who is asking and why she thinks she is being asked, a finding in line with similar studies. For instance, Starks (2018) found that the meaning of the question is highly contextual and determines how the individual who is being asked might feel about it. If the question is perceived as challenging their sense of belonging and identity, especially brought about by looking differently, participants may feel offended, insecure and hurt. Starks argues that non-white Australians are asked more frequently, in fact white Australians are unlikely to be asked where they are from. I will return to the contentious nature of the question in Chapter 7.

Returning to Claire, she further describes the interrogation as follows:

*Claire: "I never know how to answer that question honestly. I'd probably say-- I start off with, "Oh, I'm from Australia," and then they'll always be like, "Where are you **from**?", and then I'm like Ugandan and Japanese. I leave it at that. Um, the Japanese part is a huge surprise. I don't include China because I don't feel any connection to the culture."*

*Claire: "It would probably be a different story if I had more connections to my African side. I probably wouldn't feel like I need to tell people that I was Japanese, or show that side as much. I probably would ignore that I was Japanese, because ... you know? But because I'm not ignoring, because I'm not connected to the Uganda side, and everyone keeps asking me about it, I'm just, like, frustrated."*

Claire's statement 'I probably would ignore that I was Japanese, because ... you know?' here refers to the fact that saying 'African' would need no further explanation because it matches her visible physical features. What struck me about Claire's answer is her comment that she

struggles to answer the question 'honestly'. She elaborated on this by admitting that she feels obliged to mention that she was born in China and that Mandarin is spoken at home, but she chooses to omit this information because she feels no association with China. She feels that what is projected onto her – a connection to Africa, a connection to China, and an unconvincing claim to being Japanese or Australian – is neither honest nor accurate. She is frustrated and angry, and she feels that she is pushed into ignoring what does not seem to make sense to others. However, pushing things aside and overemphasising other aspects conflicts with her idea of honesty – being honest with herself and true to who she knows she is, given her trajectory and upbringing.

This chapter explores the daily battle of resisting and challenging imposed identities such as these. The next section looks at why the wish to identify with a multitude of cultural and ethnic identities is both problematic and, in many cases, virtually impossible, resulting in both social and economic consequences of non-belonging.

## 4.2 Definitions of Hybridity

Possibly the only story in my high school history class that has always fascinated me was that of Maria Antonia Josepha Johanna. She is best known as Marie Antoinette, the last Queen of France before the French Revolution and a controversial figure who allegedly uttered the phrase "*qu'ils mangent de la brioche*" (often translated as 'let them eat cake'). While most are interested in her political life, personal controversy and role in the revolution, I have always been astounded by her story of migration and the way in which hybridity was simply erased. Born in 1755, Maria Antonia was a key descendant of the Habsburg Empire, and as such was part of one of the most powerful royal families in Europe at the time. At the age of 14, she was forcibly married to the prospective King of France in the interest of political reconciliation after the Seven Years' War. Upon arrival in France, she had to change her name, her language, her fashion, wear a wig and renounce her rights to any Habsburg domains. Her children were given French names, French titles and grew up at the French court, learning all its customs. At the age of 37, Marie Antoinette was executed in the name of France.

This story is memorable to me because successful integration appeared to mean entirely surrendering her cultural identity and heritage in an effort to achieve complete assimilation. Although her culture and heritage were undoubtedly prestigious – the Habsburg Monarchy was very influential and powerful for over 200 years – she had to give it all up. Of course, we cannot know how much these European aristocrats who married into foreign kingdoms maintained their original cultural practices in private. But for the purposes of her public image, an Austrian person could not become a national symbol of France, and Frenchness was achieved by artificially eradicating everything that made her Austrian. It is fair to say that putting on a wig and calling yourself Marie Antoinette are highly superficial acts of identity that do not genuinely make you French overnight. But they were symbolic measures to eliminate the difference, to eradicate her cultural background and at least at face value, make her ‘the same’ as them. I always recall this story when I experience people questioning my identity, and the insistence for me to be just ‘one thing’.

Identity itself occupies a vast and long-standing presence in scholarly literature, politics and the media. Its importance in human life becomes evident upon closer inspection of many contemporary conflicts around the globe which are either driven by fear of identity loss or the demand for recognition. Among the most influential contemporary thinkers in relation to cultural identity are Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha, who, unlike earlier authors portraying identity as stable and solid, argue that identity is fluid and fragmented. Hall (1996) proposes that identity cannot be viewed as a finite, essentialist concept (such as the national identity promoted by the World Cup) but rather a strategic and positional one. He suggests that the process of identification is exactly that – a process – which cannot be ‘won’, ‘lost’, ‘abandoned’ or ‘sustained’. Especially when considering cultural identity, he emphasises that it undergoes constant transformation, and is subject to a “continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power,” (Hall, 1990, p. 225). In other words, there is a certain level of consensus that identity is not something that stands still or that is as simple as having an official membership to a certain nation.

One of the reasons that studying identity is challenging is the inherent meaning of the word. The term ‘identity’ is related to the Latin word *identitas* (“sameness”), *identidem* (“over and over, repeatedly”) and comes from the Latin word *idem* (“the same”). The derived adjective

*identicus* has given us the English variant 'identical'. We could therefore make the very simple claim that word 'identity' refers to a state of being the same, in the sense of collectivity and shared characteristics which are repeatedly replicated and transferred. It is what my father was trying to do as he was teaching me Italian football: making me the same by transferring and replicating the behaviour and norms that make one 'Italian'. I suspect it is also the reason why Marie Antoinette had to appear 'the same' to become an emblem of French identity. In contemporary politics and social life, we continue to associate identity with a shared history, shared origin or shared characteristics which we believe naturally result in solidarity and allegiance (Hall 1996).

However, the key problem with this world view and this definition of 'identity' is that it is factually inaccurate – it would be difficult to detect shared history, origin, or characteristics among just two people, let alone an entire nation. One of the key reasons that essentialism is not an appropriate way to conceptualise identity is because none of us is pure or unmixed. Considering all the historical developments which forced and freed up migration, it is virtually impossible to find communities or individuals who are not culturally, linguistically and ethnically fragmented and diverse. Bhabha (in Rutherford 1990, p. 210) makes the important observation that all culture is inherently hybrid because it is ultimately something that has been copied, simulated and transformed, which implies that there is no "original" or "totalised prior moment of being". The meaning and symbols prevalent in any one culture, he further argues, are original only in the sense that they are anterior. In support of this, Hall (1996, p.3) suggests that sameness cannot be truly attained because someone will always be 'too much' or 'too little' and there can never be a characterisation or ideology that universally applies to all members within a group. Indeed, Bhabha (1996, p. 53) talks of the "absurd notion of an uncontaminated culture in a single country", while Kymlicka (1995, p. 21) and goes as far to say that "short of ethnic cleansing, it is difficult for states to reduce the existing degree of ethnocultural diversity."

Yet, in virtually all aspects of public life, we continue to reinforce various identity myths. I have often wondered whether my internalisation of the issue is exaggerated, but upon closer inspection of identity, it is easy to recognise its urgency, significance and worth in a human's life. Identity can become a matter of life and death, as seen in many identity-related political

conflicts around the globe that have cost humanity millions of lives (Sen 2006). Key to all these identity discussions and conflicts is not 'sameness', but the notion of the 'Other', the 'outside' and 'difference' that constructs identity. As Hall (1996) argues:

"Identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks ... that the 'positive' meaning of any term – and thus its 'identity' – can be constructed." (p. 4)

In other words, identity is a power play of exclusion rather than the genuine and natural 'sameness' of those who are included. A similar view is put forward by Bhabha (1994, p. 44): "To exist is to be called into being in relation to an otherness, its look or locus."

Laclau (1990) explains this almost binary nature of identity by arguing that the process of exclusion and the creation of two poles is more important in identity construction than the sameness within each individual group. Taking men and women as an example, Laclau might argue that the way in which women are different from men is more important in establishing a male identity than what all men have in common. I argue this is precisely because all men have nothing in common other than not being female. There is no 'essence' to the word 'men' unless I can contrast it to with its opposite (Hall 1994). The same could be applied to many other contemporary issues relating to equality and diversity, including racial binary divisions such as 'black' and 'white'. Importantly, the binary poles of opposition also carry with them a power relationship, with one pole generally dominating the other (Hall 1994). As such, these binary opposites are rarely linear or neutral and serve to indicate not only difference in meaning, but also difference in power.

Identity neatly divided in this way becomes highly problematic when we look at hybridity and especially individuals who might affiliate with contrasting categories, or opposing poles. This is due to what Sen (2006) calls the reductionist notion of "singular affiliation" which, he argues, is ever present in identity literature. Singular affiliation assumes that a person belongs to one collectivity only and, as such, "multiple loyalties are obliterated by seeing each person as firmly embedded in exactly one affiliation" (p. 20). Singularity in this way can be observed right from childhood. Sen invites us to consider the increasing number of schools which segregate

students by religious affiliation (e.g. Catholic schools) which highlights the urgency of reconsidering the communities we are creating. Further, understanding identity in terms of a singular affiliation is most obviously a fundamental misconception when studying hybridity because, as we will see later in this chapter, my participants can and do foster multiple loyalties.

It is not only identity literature which raises the concerns outlined by Sen, but also the literature dedicated to hybridity itself. Some describe it as the ability to switch between multiple identities (e.g. Giguère, Lalonde & Lou 2010). For others, hybridity seems to be a celebrated flavour of the month, and the answer to all our economic, political and cultural woes as outlined in the critical work by Carton (2007). And finally, scholars such as Homi Bhabha conceptualise it as a wishful metaphorical state of being, which unfortunately bears little resemblance to the reality on the ground.

I believe that such studies misunderstand hybridity or do not sufficiently problematise claims made about it. For instance, Giguère, Lalonde and Lou (2010, p. 14) suggest that hybridity is generally unproblematic because “these individuals can typically switch between cultural identities ... as a strategy to avoid conflict.” However, my findings demonstrate that hybridity is neither a matter of switching between multiple identities, nor is it unproblematic and free of conflict. Above all, the very notion of ‘having to switch between identities to avoid conflict’ is a conflicting truth in itself – one of singular affiliation that warrants much more interrogation than many of these studies offer.

These issues aside, Carton (2007) correctly argues that the vast majority of contemporary work on hybridity has romanticised it as a new form of cultural capital. He referred to this trend as “fetishism of fusion” (p.143), which portrays hybridity as a novel and empowering trend towards retrieving our long-lost consciousness of the mixed heritage we all carry. In much of this ‘happy hybridity’ sentiment, hybridity is considered able to challenge and break down traditional ideas of identity which were forged on the notion of ‘the Other’. Previously silenced and eradicated by assimilation and shame, ‘mixedness’ has indeed been portrayed as being able to “challenge the authority of national history-making and the hegemony of racial purity



[and] compensate for these symbolic violences which ... are the direct result of the 'loss of self' under colonial historiographies" (p. 144).

Bhabha (1994) was influential in reconceptualising ideas of hybridity, and he called this 'uncanny in-between space' the *Third Space*. He argued that hybridity is particularly confronting to the traditional scholarship of identity defined by polarities and binarisms precisely because there is no easily definable 'Other'. Bhabha proposed that the Third Space is not an identity category in itself, but rather a process of identification in which one attempts to both recognise difference and live with it at the same time (Rutherford, 1990). Bhabha further argued that emigrants only take with them a part of their culture when moving, and this partial culture is "the contaminated yet connective tissue between cultures – at once the impossibility of culture's containedness and the boundary between" (Bhabha 1994, p. 54). He called this the "baffling likeness and banal divergence" (p.54) that come together in hybridisation.

Bhabha's definition was both innovative and theoretically challenging to previous notions of racial purity and fixity. As I have already mentioned, his key proposition is that hybridity is omnipresent and universal, something that all of us carry and that has always been there – a proposition I firmly agree with. However, asserting an anti-essentialist essentialism (Ifekwunigwe 1998) which theorises that hybridity is both normative and universal is just that – a *theory*. Although this truth is alluring, it is not sufficient in itself for understanding the sobering reality on the ground which must consider power relations, cultural dominance, and class advantages. If we consider my earlier example of an Australian person with an Irish and a Scottish parent, we can clearly recognise the contrast to any of my participants because while we may all be hybrid, there are some hybridities which are perceived as 'default' (in this case, Anglo-Celtic), and some which are considered exotic. In these romanticised conceptions, hybridity has been generalised and disarticulated from its real-life context, removed from the very spaces, histories and notions of default which give it meaning to begin with. On this, Mitchell (1997) has argued:

"The fetishization of these terms, and the general overuse of abstract spatial metaphors such as 'third space', can lead to theories and politics which neglect the everyday, grounded

practices and economic relations in which social identities and narratives of race and nation unfold” (p. 533).

Indeed, for hybridity to have any meaning, it must be considered relational because it is the ‘difference’ that carries the message (Hall 1994). While the likes of Bhabha and Kymlicka may be entirely correct in saying hybridity is the norm, in reality it competes against a generalised, powerful assumption of ‘sameness’ and ‘purity’, as well as Laclau’s and Hall’s arguments on the inherent human need for ‘difference’ or a distinct ‘other’ to create meaning. Even if we accept that all aspects of social life are the result of hybridisation, “some actors, networks and structures *are* more fixed than others” (Ginty 2010, p. 407, emphasis in original). In reality, hybridity often denotes the cultural dilution of a previous ‘pure type’, a lack of something, a ‘halfness’ instead of a ‘mixedness’, one which is often weighed up against the default of whiteness (Carton 2007). I agree with Ang (2003, p. 150), who notes that against all these romanticised ideas, the lived experience of hybridity “confronts and problematises boundaries, although it does not erase them”.

Indeed, hybridity confronts the push for single affiliation, an experience which is both real and challenging. As outlined earlier, it is amplified when a person claims an affiliation to *defining opposing* poles. How can we expect the observer to understand an identity if there are no clear cultural, or ethnic boundaries? How can we create meaning using the essential ‘us’ and the ‘other’ mentality if there is an overlap of the two? If we need opposing poles to create meaning, and above all, to establish power relations, how can we express an identity which claims to merge those two poles? Although hybridity *is* the norm, it is often perceived and talked about as a meaningless, cognitively incomprehensible identity and it often results in exoticification, exclusion and discrimination.

#### **4.3 Why Can’t I Be Both?: Hybridity and the Push for Single Affiliation**

The discrimination that can cloud hybridity was very recently demonstrated through the accusations of racism made public by Germany’s national football player Mesut Özil. Özil is the first Second Generation Turkish player ever to be on Germany’s national football team. Seeing Mesut Özil on the German squad has meant the world to me; it moved me to tears that for the

first time in my life, 'my kind' was publicly represented nationally in the country in which I was born and raised. For once, someone like me was celebrated as a national symbol and considered as someone who brought pride, not shame, to our country. Never before had I been so hopeful that things would get better, and the significance of him being on that field cannot be understated.

Following the German national team's poor performance at the FIFA World Cup 2018, Özil came into the spotlight with his resignation letter, which he published on Twitter (@MesutOzil1088) on 22 July 2018. In this tweet he powerfully says, "I am German when we win, an immigrant when we lose", and outlines all the various ways in which he has felt excluded and discriminated against due to his Turkish heritage by the team's management, the German Football Federation, the media and the fans. He was particularly criticised for accepting an invitation to meet the Turkish president, which was considered an affront to human-rights supporters. He was further criticised for not singing the German national anthem before the games. The abuse against Özil was amplified by the team's surprising early knockout in the competition, for which he took much of the blame, as he outlined in his letter. As a result, he unexpectedly quit the team and he removed and disassociated himself from German football altogether. At the time of this writing, he plays for Premier League club Arsenal and lives in the UK.

Needless to say, I was heartbroken. What had been a promising first step towards finding more acceptance turned into a horrific public spectacle of the discrimination faced by people just like me and highlighted the never-ending tension between Turks and Germans. Above all, it reinforced the binary understanding of identity that a person must simply be German – and unequivocally so. This particular can of worms, once opened, continued to escalate – the new trigger being a joke made by comedian and host of the US satirical news program *The Daily Show*, Trevor Noah.

At issue was a segment of his show which was aired on Comedy Central following the French team's FIFA World Cup victory on 15 July 2018. In the segment, Noah joked that France's victory was really a win for Africa. He alluded to the fact that a large proportion of the players in the French national team have an African background and he showed a photo of the team,

highlighting that five of the eleven key players were black. Although Noah was not the first person to make this joke, his on-air comments sparked such controversy around the globe that he received a formal letter from the French Ambassador to the US, Gérard Araud, who condemned his remarks. The letter read:

“As many of the players have already stated themselves, their parents may have come from another country, but the great majority of them, all but two out of 23 were born in France. They were educated in France. They learned to play soccer in France. They are French citizens. They’re proud of their country, France. The rich and various backgrounds of these players are a reflection of France’s diversity.

Unlike in the United States of America, France does not refer to its citizens based on their race, religion, or origin. To us, there is no hyphenated identity. Roots are an individual reality. By calling them an African team, it seems like you’re denying their French-ness. This, even in jest, legitimizes the ideology which claims whiteness is the only definition of being French.” (Tweet – US French Embassy 19 Jul @franceintheus)

The backlash did not end here, and many others accused Noah of being offensive by using race as an indicator for nationality and by undermining the players’ French identity in calling them ‘Africans’.

Noah, who grew up in Apartheid-era South Africa as the son of a black mother and white father, commented on the letter and spun the discussion around. In his interpretations, he argued that the ambassador gave him the impression that French culture demands that individuals must erase their roots, especially African roots, to be accepted within the national identity: Africans cannot be national symbols of France (and Marie Antoinette’s story comes to mind).

Echoing Mesut Özil’s comment, “I am German when we win, an immigrant when we lose,” Noah further argued in his segment:

“When they are unemployed, when they may commit a crime or when they are considered unsavoury – it is the African immigrants. But when their children go on to provide a World Cup victory to France, we should only refer to them as French ... Is he now no longer African?” v (Noah 2018)

Noah then asked the question that struck a chord with me: “Why can’t they be both?”

While there were many supporters on both sides of the argument, it made evident the concerning reality that hybridity and mixed heritage continue to be considered a conspiratorial affront to national identity. What both arguments have in common is the underlying understanding that there are two distinct identity poles trying to come together. Turkish might be the defining opposite of being German in its *Gastarbeiter* context, and so is being African in French colonial history. The phrases ‘there is no hyphenated identity’ and ‘why can’t they be both’ show this very clearly. This resonates with comments made by Butcher (2003, p. 192), who said, “I wonder if the hyphen is at the heart of our current anxiety. It represents disorder. How do you neatly categorize a hyphen, an in-between, a neither here-nor-there?”

The widespread intolerance towards an ‘in-between’ identity is indeed the crux of the issue; Aujla aptly called this trend ‘unity against diversity’ (2000, p. 41). When I presented this TV segment along with my arguments, one of the questions from the audience was “do you think hyphenated terms for identities like those used in the US are preferable?”. The short answer is that I do not. My personal view is perhaps best explained by Sen (2006, p. 103) who argues that confining culture into stark and separated boxes offers a very limited and bleak understanding of the characteristics of an individual and he warns that “when a hazy perception of culture is combined with fatalism about the dominating power of culture, we are, in effect, asked to be imaginary slaves of an illusory force”. Furthermore, Reyes and Lo (2009) make the important observation that hyphenated terms, such as Asian-American or African-American not only “lump together individuals from a wide range of ethnic, linguistic, and national origins, they also foreground ethnicity and race above other, perhaps more relevant social categories” (p. 4). Again, it leads us back to my earlier discussion on the insistence of terms which focus on heritage above all else. In this context of mixed background, globalisation, and individual realities, exploring the concept of hybridity is perhaps more than ever an important area of study.

The next section explores the lived experience of ‘trying to be both’, despite the push for single affiliation and sameness.

#### 4.4 The Desire for Certainty in Identity

I have thus far outlined the shortcomings of 'hybridity in theory'. It is only fair that in this section I contribute further to this field of study by sharing some of the insights of those who live with it, day in and day out.

At face value, hybridity seems like a good thing. If we think back to my earlier remarks of 'excited exotification', friends have always seemed to envy me: "Your background is so interesting! How amazing! At least there's something special. My background is just boring." But the truth is, I often long for boring. Boring is good. Boring means you don't have to think and talk about it every day.

I can relate my grief to something Zygmund Bauman (1996) pinpointed:

"One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence. 'Identity' is a name given to the escape sought from uncertainty." (p. 19)

What Bauman so beautifully captured is the struggle of having a hybrid identity, which is the constant attempt to escape from uncertainty. More than that, I believe it is the pursuit of *peace* one feels through certainty. It is the desire to know who one is with certainty, and for others to recognise and believe it with certainty. Allow me to elaborate what I mean by certainty.

I have personally never been shaken or uncertain in my gender identity as a woman. Sure, I have struggled with gender stereotypes and injustice, but I have never not been certain that I am and want to be a woman. I am familiar with everything that is involved in being a woman, both socially and physically. I am aware of both the perks and the challenges, and I embrace them all. I feel very comfortable being female and I do not recall ever wishing not to be a woman. I feel solidarity with other women, I feel safe around other women and I understand that one of the key things that connects us is that we are quite different from men. I have never felt that I had to prove to anyone that I am a woman because they didn't believe me. My physical features are visibly feminine, and I have never been mistaken for a man based on my appearance. I have never had to explain how I got to be a woman or talk about my family history of womanhood, or estimate 'how much' woman I am, and whether I am competent in

behaving and speaking like a woman. I have never struggled to meet the expectations of being a woman (even if I disagreed with the expectations). I feel comfortable speaking on behalf of women and would never hesitate to represent women in any situation. I have never been put in a situation where I was asked to represent or speak on behalf of men. In the gender justice and equality debate, I am never unsure of whose side I am on; I am very clearly rooting for my team. I barely ever think about my identity as a woman. It is not worth thinking about, precisely because it is so obvious and boring to me and everyone around me - and it is absolute bliss!

Yet, my cultural identity has become the centre of my universe because I must actively deal with this every day. My physical appearance causes confusion; I am quizzed every time I meet someone new; I am asked to join, represent or speak on behalf of ethnic groups I know very little about; and I often feel very uncomfortable and, sometimes, unsafe. I feel partial solidarity to all the ethnic groups I am connected to, but I seem to be the 'Other', no matter whose team I try to get on. All this resonates with claims made by Bauman (1996) in that identity only becomes of interest if it is somehow not a given or in question. A similar sentiment was expressed by Obama (1995) who, referring to his mixed background, argued "I didn't have the luxury, I suppose, the certainty of a tribe...I had nothing to escape from except my own inner doubt" (pp. 98-99). The identification process can thus be described as the pursuit of the peace that arises when one does not fear questions, confrontation and conflict caused by ambiguity, doubt and uncertainty. I recently came across a popular saying which read, "One of the worst feelings in the world is having to doubt something you thought was unquestionable." While the original author remains unclear, it perfectly described this daily battle – being forced to question one's very being and belonging, and never being capable of convincing others and erasing the doubt instilled by them.

I am not the first person to problematise uncertainty in this way. For instance, Walton and Cohen (2007, p. 82) referred to the state I am describing as 'belonging uncertainty' and proposed that the question "Where do I belong?" is often visited and revisited among those who tend to be socially marginalised. They specifically argue that stigmatisation can create a global uncertainty about the quality of one's social bonds in academic and professional domains. In other words, the continuous state of belonging uncertainty, the authors propose,

can also spread to other domains, such as beliefs about one's potential academically and professionally.

Turning to my participants, their narrations provide evidence that the notion of uncertainty is indeed an important aspect. Claire captured this quite strikingly in one of our interviews:

*Zozan: "What do you think you have in common with people who grew up in Japan, and what do you think is very different?"*

*Claire: "Not many commonalities. Maybe the language, liking the same foods, TV shows. But that's all very, like ... I don't know, I think to myself, is that enough? Because if you were Japanese, and grew up in Japan, you'd probably be certain, when somebody asks where you're from, you'd probably certainly say Japan. Whereas, growing up in Australia, for me to say I'm Japanese, I don't want to stop there, because I feel like that's not the cultures and the tradition that I grew up in."*

The notion of certainty is very significant in her elaboration of what being Japanese means. Both her comments about 'you'd probably be certain' and her questioning her own claims of Japaneseness as 'is that enough?' indicate that certainty is the distinguishing feature between her and what she considers a 'real' Japanese person to be.

Indeed, what struck me most about this was her description of 'I don't want to stop there'. It provides an insight into the desire to have a hyphenated, or an inbetween identity; that saying 'Japanese' is not enough, nor is saying 'Australian'. Saying 'I am Japanese' alone is not representative of all the cultures and traditions that she was exposed to and identifies with. This feeling of disconnect from someone who is 'certain in being Japanese' is due not only to her appearance, but also to diverging cultural values, experiences and practices (Wessendorf 2010). This finding is supported by Butcher (2003), who powerfully describes hybridity as a decision and a determination, and it is perhaps this determination to hybridity which fuels the young people in my study to take it on themselves to be interrogated daily. Based on her study of culturally-mixed young people from Sydney's Western suburbs, Butcher argues that "the



decision to be hyphenated appears as conscious and strategic, an attempt to reconcile cultural spaces such as family life with new social entities such as school friends.” (p. 192)

Claire found reconciling this overlap particularly difficult within her own family.

*Claire: “I know that the Ugandan side of my family think that I am Japanese, and Australian, and not Ugandan. And then the Japanese side of the family think that I’m Ugandan, and Australian, and not Japanese. So, it’s always a tug of war.*

*Claire: “So I ask myself ‘I’m what?’ – I’m not the people of those separate countries or the family side, I think I’m the other if that makes sense. And for me, I feel my main connection is to Australia because I grew up here, and I think my parents think I’m more Australian, but I feel like it’s not fair to say one without saying the other too.”*

What is interesting in Claire’s comments is the way she describes herself as ‘the other’ in a ‘tug of war’. She clearly states that it is ‘not fair to say one without saying the other, too’. The notion of the Other re-emerges frequently in our interviews and it is quite illustrative of what both Hall and Bhabha were arguing.

Kai has similar thoughts and experiences on uncertainty and what is and is not accepted in the worlds he is trying to connect to.

*Kai: “You’ve got one foot in one world and one foot in the other. But you can’t actually fit in either of them. And I live in a different country. You know, but I was born here, so it’s like they [Australians] don’t accept me, but [the others] don’t accept me either. Like, when I went to Sweden and I met all my cousins and they’re all like, flaxen blond and blue eyes and stuff. And we went to a pub and I met their friends and they’d be like ‘This is my cousin Kai’. And their friends would laugh. ‘No, no. Really. Like, seriously. He’s my cousin.’ And they just wouldn’t believe it for a really long time until I showed lots of pictures and stuff.*

*You know, and you start thinking to yourself 'Well, fuck! What am I supposed to do?'. I think that's the biggest challenge. Where do you fit? You don't fit anywhere. A little bit, yeah. But you don't properly fit anywhere."*

Other than reiterating the significance of his physical appearance in belonging, and the curse of uncertainty in having feet stuck in different worlds, Kai is also verbalising the realisation that he is not readily accepted by his heritage community. It was a universal and frustrating experience of all my participants to realise that upon visiting the countries where they are continuously told they are from, they are not accepted there either. A very similar story was told by Claire, who found it both rude and annoying that people in Japan answered her in broken English even though she asked her questions and placed her orders in Japanese. Theresa is equally uncomfortable in being identified as Australian whilst visiting the Philippines, and this same issue was even true for Leena, who is competent in Hindi and looks Indian.

*Leena: "I am an NRI (Non-Resident Indian) straight away. Like a local person would pick on that straight away from my behaviour, from my body language, from the way I speak, even though I don't have an accent. But the way I speak – maybe it's a very bad comment to make – but maybe it's a bit more polished. So yeah, they would say 'Oh you're an NRI aren't you?' Like that's all I am."*

I was particularly struck by her remark 'that's all I am'. Although the NRI category is there to serve the observer as a label to understand that she is an Indian living overseas, Leena considers herself to be much more than this. What this remark implies is that she feels that she had been found out – by the way she speaks or behaves – as a fraud, as someone who cannot be considered 'the real deal'. Her comment also implies that she has both a desire to be more included, and regret for only being partially included.

None of my participants was born feeling 'incomplete', 'partial' or 'uncertain'; it was their experiences of being interrogated, of being outed as 'fraud' or not 'real' by the observer, that instilled this feeling.

My findings, as well as supporting literature in this area (e.g. Walton & Cohen 2007, Bauman 1996) also indicate that certainty is at once desirable and unachievable for the participants in my study.

#### 4.5 The Double-Whammy of Non-Belonging and its Social Implications

Having now looked into the lived experience of hybridity, the question that remains unanswered is: Why does it matter that we don't have an 'us' like our parents, or the dominant culture in a country? In this section I aim to explain why belonging matters, and that hybridity as I have described it thus far is not only a barrier to belonging to the host community, it often results in a double-whammy of non-belonging in both host and heritage contexts.

Sen (2006) reminds us of the significance of identity in our social lives. He outlines that identity can be considered a resource – or in Bourdieusian terms, a form of 'capital' – because it implies a sense of belonging, support and fraternity. We have briefly touched on the notion of belonging in the previous section, but of course it is an issue which reemerges again and again in my interviews. Indeed, Walton and Cohen (2007) have at length elaborated on the need for social belonging as a basic human motivation which predicts favourable outcomes not only in the domains of mental and physical health, but also in intellectual achievement and compliance with the social norms and system as a whole. In other words, there are certain gifts that come with inclusion and are denied to those who are excluded. A group identity, Sen (2006) argues, can make us look beyond our self-centred lives and combine our forces for a greater good that will benefit the group's members.

There were a few such examples in my findings. For example, Kai shared quite an endearing memory of meeting new colleagues in his workplace. These colleagues were also of mixed heritage, Australian and Greek.

*Kai: "I'll say something that a Greek will automatically pick up as being Greek. And then, immediately they treat you differently. The last school I worked at,*

*there was a whole bunch of Greek teachers, and I remember just dropping, 'oh, you know, my yia-yia', like, my grandma. And immediately, they're like, 'ah, he's got a yia-yia'. And they ask where your family are from. And then the next day, one of them had brought in a whole bunch of oysters to share with his friends and they just invited me to eat the oysters, you know. Because we all grew up with a yia-yia."*

Kai illustrated beautifully the significance of inclusion, not only in behaving appropriately (asking 'where are your family from' as opposed to 'where are you from?') but also the opening of circles and sharing of resources, in this case oysters. This was brought about by a common experience, a 'sameness', as all people involved grew up with a Greek yia-yia.

Claire similarly expressed the joy of the few moments in her life when she felt like part of a cultural group.

*Claire: "My father has a few Ugandan friends. There was a stage where he went to a lot of African parties. And I say African, because it's an all countries sort of thing. It was (pauses) it was so awesome. I loved it, the music, the food, just the spirit of people, and the dancing, it was just so much fun. Except then there was some drama that I don't know about, because I was young and probably didn't care. But maybe something to do with, maybe, money, scamming, and stuff like that. And so, we stopped going."*

Claire said that this period was the only opportunity she had ever had in connecting to the African community and, with that, her African heritage. In this instance, it was mostly her appearance and English-language abilities which resulted in inclusion. This is quite obvious when she explains how her Japanese mother felt attending those events. While Claire and her father – both African in appearance and able to communicate in English – enjoyed these festivities, her mother evidently felt out of place. This was partly due to the language barrier, but also a clash of cultures.

Claire: *“These huge parties were a lot of fun, yeah. I don't think my mum liked them, though. (laughs). I think she hated it. Because they'd either be speaking in Luganda, or, you know, English. And she wouldn't. She was probably just like, ‘What's going on?’ and standing around and not caring. My mum knows a lot more Japanese speakers who are in her close group of friends.”*

Theresa explained her version of similar situations.

Theresa: *“The Filipino community is very big. Especially in the Western suburbs, where I'm from. The suburbs around us are very heavily filled with Filipinos and it's really funny 'cause, my aunties make friends with them and then we make friends with Filipinos and all of a sudden, we're all connected. And it's good, I always find myself in a Filipino friendship group that way. A lot of my friends are born in the Philippines but then brought here. There's a lot of Filipino jokes that we say revolving around the language. It's just something about Filipinos, you're all ... You all just get it. Sometimes we just talk about our parents a lot and then we find that our parents are similar 'cause, there's a lot of Filipino sayings that they say, especially when they're mad, so we can relate to that. And it's just easier to relate with this community that way.”*

Theresa has in many instances reiterated her gratitude for the many friends she has made who have a Filipino background, and how ‘they just get it’.

While these examples are encouraging and demonstrate that there are moments of fellowship, it is very important to recognise, once again, the prerequisite for a single affiliation in these instances. Kai can only join the oyster-sharing crowd because he has a *yia-yia* and that makes him Greek. We know from Kai's narrations thus far that he does not, in fact, consider himself a Greek man. Yet, in order for him to be allowed into the circle, to enjoy the benefits and warmth of a community, he had to give in, and for a moment set aside his other cultural affiliations. In the same way, Claire was only able to flourish at the ‘African parties’ because she was willing to compromise and overemphasise her Africanness, which we have equally

already established is not her most dominant cultural identifier. Finally, the only way Theresa can possibly tap into the friendship circle is by 'being Filipino'.

This echoes the earlier idea of 'switching between identities. Wessendorf (2010) elaborated on this idea by not calling it switching but rather positioning or 'positionalities', and arguing that it is common for the descendants of migrants to possess multiple positionalities (or affiliations) which allows them to negotiate between the cultural worlds and "consciously decide the time and space to act" in a certain cultural way (p. 125). This was a consistent finding in my research – all my participants would strategically position themselves to portray or emphasise a certain ethnic identity if that meant they could get a sense of belonging. The various strategies that they adopted in practice – one of which is language – will be outlined in greater depth in Chapter 7.

However, it is important here to problematise this issue of positioning. The very fact that this is necessary continues to demonstrate the intolerance towards hybridity. In order to eat oysters with us, you must be Greek. If you want to be invited to our party, you must be Ugandan. And if you want to join in with the family jokes, you must be Filipino. Other examples ran throughout my interviews – to get 'the special friend price' at the fishmonger, you must be Greek. To be among 'the good students' at school, you must be Australian. To be considered 'street smart like us', you must be Indian. In order to be our friend, you must be 'from here' and be 'one of us'. In reality, most people's conceptual framework of identity does not allow for these individuals to be included unless they give something up. It might just be for an instant, for an hour or for a week, but it is necessary to be 'one thing' to tap into the warmth, strength and support of a community. My research indicates that it is virtually impossible for my participants to experience inclusion in this way without needing to position themselves clearly with just one of the three options they have available.

While many second generation and hybridity studies have identified this (e.g. Wessendorf 2010; Giguère, Lalonde & Lou 2010; Vasquez 2010; Khanna & Johnson 2010; Jackson, Wolven & Aguilera 2013), they do not concern themselves with the fact that this comes at a great personal expense. Claire's comments about saying who she is 'honestly' demonstrates that it is impossible for such individuals to be considered part of a group unless they lie – lie to the

people, or lie to themselves, about who they truly identify as. In his autobiography, Obama refers to this notion as 'feeling tricked', explaining:

"I learned to switch back and forth between my black and white worlds, understanding that each possessed its own language and customs and structures of meaning, convinced that with a bit of translation on my part the two worlds would eventually cohere. Still, the feeling that something wasn't quite right stayed with me... there was a trick here somewhere, although what the trick was, who was doing the tricking and who was being tricked, eluded my conscious grasp." (1995, p. 82).

The push for single affiliation is emotionally draining and can impact wellbeing by creating an existential anxiety about whether one is 'enough' or will eventually be caught out as a fraud (or as someone who has been doing the tricking). The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines good mental health as "a state of wellbeing in which the individual realises his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community" (WHO 2014, para 1). As outlined by Agyekum and Newbold (2016), it is only in recent times that scholarly studies have explored the relationship between mental health and a sense of belonging: immigrants who had a positive sense of attachment and belonging to the host community also reported better physical and mental health, and a decline in health is strongly linked to discrimination experienced by visible minorities through various mechanisms. It is also directly linked to the overall health impacts of racism, especially among youth (Paradies et al 2009; Mansouri et al 2009) and internalised racism (Mouzon & McLean 2016). Agyekum and Newbold (2016), argue that a decline in mental wellbeing is especially linked to inability to access public services, experiences of discrimination due to culture, language or skin colour, and the fact that their foreign credentials are undervalued, resulting in low levels of income.

To counteract this, developing a social network and joining communities that provide a sense of belonging and home has been shown to improve mental wellbeing. Most notably, having a sense of place in a community was identified as an important human need and when it was not fulfilled due to exclusion or discrimination, it resulted in feelings of isolation, separation and anxiety. The significance of having a 'place' is not only fundamental in the spatial sense but also in the social sense of 'finding one's place' inside a community. It was Williams (2002) who recognised the important link between the concept of space and health, most notably the

idea of 'home', which he argues, "without exception is considered to be the 'place' of greatest personal significance in one's life – the central reference point of human existence" (p. 145).

I have previously mentioned that the diaspora experience (or that of migrants in general) significantly differs from the experience of hybridity. Indeed, the second generation does not suffer the many stresses resulting from the actual process of migration, which is often a lengthy, expensive and emotionally draining process (Agyekum & Newbold 2016). However, the issue of community belonging persists, and is in fact amplified because migrants still have a community back home, or co-ethnic members in the host country, and the people in my study do not. To illustrate this, I will share an example from my own experience to show that simply mistaking hybridity for a matter of positioning can be highly problematic.

The German school system is public and segregates students who graduate from primary school into three tiers called *Hauptschule* (lowest tier), *Realschule* (mid-tier) and *Gymnasium* (highest tier). In simplified terms, it is designed in such a way that these three tiers represent the future professional trajectory of the students, whereby students attending the highest tier are expected to progress to university (similar to a selective school in Australia), while the lower two tiers are pathways towards vocational or unskilled careers.

Data from the German Bureau of Statistics show that approximately 40 per cent of the student population in Germany is made up of migrants and second generation migrants (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016). At the time I was studying in high school (2004/2005), around 43.5 per cent of this group was enrolled in *Hauptschulen*, 20.9 per cent in *Realschulen* and 15 per cent in *Gymnasium* (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014). These statistics remain largely the same today. To this day, I am the only person in the history of my family to have been allocated to the *Gymnasium*.

Upon completion of the *Gymnasium* (or outstanding performance in *Realschule*), students can progress to *Sekundarstufe II*, in which they train for and complete the *Abitur*, which is similar to the NSW Higher School Certificate. When I was a student, the proportion of migrants or second generation migrants at this level was 4.8 per cent (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016). In my cohort of around 90 students, along with me there were two other second generation



Turkish boys, one second-generation Hungarian girl and one second-generation Indian boy. Five out of 90, which is slightly better than the national statistics. None of us were immigrants.

In Year 9, my high school asked that all students arrange an internship at a company or organisation of their choosing, for a period of four weeks. The expectation was an internship in the field we intended to study; for me, this was journalism. All my classmates had secured internships within days as their parents were well connected in our town. They had offers from medical centres, radio stations, law firms and other reputable workplaces. Some were simply hired by their own parents, many of whom were doctors, lawyers and managing directors. My parents were unable to assist me in my search because there were no professionals in their social circles. So, I did what I saw my parents do – I rolled up my sleeves, set up a production line at home, typed up my application letters and had my family help me print and deliver them, put them into envelopes, write the address, lick the stamps and drop them off at the post office. We walked around town and dropped expressions of interest into office mailboxes ourselves. I went to the university and took home every flyer they had pinned on walls in relation to internship opportunities. I sent applications to the local newspaper, the state newspaper, radio, TV, media companies, advertising companies, political party offices; if it was mildly related to journalism, I applied. And what happened was exactly what I saw happen to my parents many times.

All my applications were rejected. Despite including a photograph, which is standard practice in Germany, some of the letters came back addressed to “Mr. Balci”. Some never even bothered to reply. While my classmates were getting ready for their internships, I sat at home crying. I realised how hard it was to get in anywhere without a previous connection to those social groups. My mother then suggested I try Turkish media organisations in Germany because it was a growing market, but with no communication skills in Turkish, I couldn’t even write an application.

I found myself in a social connection limbo – I couldn’t get a foot into the German workforce, because my family was not well-connected, and I was quite obviously overlooked for discriminatory reasons. The fact that immigrants (or people who seem like immigrants on paper) experience exclusion and disadvantage in European labour market structures is known

and well established (e.g. Cousins 1998; Grubanov-Boskovic, Natale & Scipioni 2017; Jakobsen, Korpi & Lorentzen 2019), and although I knew it would be difficult, the felt reality of it all was quite heart-wrenching. At the same time, I was too far removed to get in with my heritage community. This is a very different struggle to my parents who, in the absence of opportunities with locals, were able to get their first jobs through co-ethnic peers. Studies show that immigrants who struggle to integrate in the host workforce generally turn to co-ethnic members and work in segregated environments (Valenta 2008). But for me, it was like there were two circles of the community – the host and my heritage – whose members had locked arms, and I was just standing outside both circles, lost.

On a job application, I cannot ‘position’ myself. My name is there for everyone to read, I had to include a photograph and any German employer would immediately see that I am a ‘foreigner’ with no prior family reputation in this industry. Similarly, while I may be able to convince a German person that I speak Turkish by uttering the few phrases I know, I certainly cannot fake it to a Turkish organisation which requires professional fluency. I am not German. I am not Turkish. There is no community for me; I am what I am – a little bit of everything, and not enough for anyone. It was not a matter of being ‘hybrid’, seamlessly move between both communities, as Bhabha might have hoped. The reality is, I could enter neither of them. When it comes to belonging, hybridity seems to be a constant state of being a migrant en route – the journey never ends, we never arrive at some place to settle, nor go back to some place, nor can convincingly call anywhere ‘home’.

It came to the last day of submitting my internship papers to my school, and I knew I had to do what I had hoped to avoid. I walked into our local hairdressing salon and said I was a student from the local *Realschule* looking for an internship. Why? Because it is one of the most stereotypical professions for my statistical bracket. In my despair I lied about my academic achievements and career aspirations, and I was hired on the spot.

It was one of the most humiliating times to listen to my classmates’ report presentations from hospitals, newsrooms and courts, which were absolutely amazing. I quietly asked the teacher if I could please not present my report to the class. I didn’t want to read a report which outlined how I cleaned the floors and brought people coffee all day long. He understood why and let

me off the hook, but added: “You could have made more of an effort if you wanted to get in somewhere better.” What more effort could I have made?

Following this experience, I felt a deep sense of hopelessness. A year later I tried to get a weekend job in retail, and once again, all my applications were rejected. Yet, all my German friends had weekend jobs. I spoke to one of my mother’s Turkish friends about getting a job as a tourist guide in the company he worked for, and I proudly listed all the languages I could speak to demonstrate I was more than competent. All he said was, “Why don’t you speak Turkish?” and I never heard from him again. I genuinely worried that I would always remain unemployed and that I might not be accepted at a university. It seemed like such a bleak, disheartening future when I was the type of person who really enjoyed school and dreamt of studying at a university and get a great, professional job. It caused me such anxiety that indeed, I decided to leave right after high school. Feeling that there was no place in Germany for someone like me, I studied and worked abroad – neutral ground to me. I have never since tried to apply for a job in Germany.

Thus, for me, the negative implications of hybridity and the subsequent lack of belonging have been not only emotional but also economically disadvantageous. These are also quite explicitly visible for Leena when we consider she was not granted any formal citizenship in her country of birth and the place of her heritage. She can never become a Kuwaiti citizen, and she will always be a Non-Resident-Indian. Among other things, this has meant not having access to higher education at home, and having to pay international fees overseas. While Leena was fortunate that her parents could afford this, many people would not be able to. There are indeed many governments that pose barriers like these to hybridity. For example, Germany’s one-citizenship-only policy meant that my mother had to give up Turkish citizenship to become German. Even since the introduction of dual citizenship in specific cases, it remains virtually unattainable for most people due to strict rules and regulations.

Leena’s narrative also illustrates that hybridity can be an everyday disadvantage and a barrier to safety and help. Of her visits to India, she says:

Leena: *"I always say this, my cousins, for example, or a person born and raised in India. They're more street-smart. 'Survival of the fittest' - that theory was born in India. I mean, you have a billion people, to get anywhere, you have to have that in you, survival. Whereas us Indians born overseas, we're a little bit more sheltered. We don't understand, which sometimes means they – um, I don't mean treat you like an idiot – but, I mean people can make a fool of you easily."*

What Leena describes here is the fact that an outsider may be considered an easy target to be taken advantage of. Indeed, social exclusion can lead to a culture of reduced cooperative helpfulness (Baumeister et al 2007), with those affected unable to tap into formal and informal mechanisms of social protection (Cousins 1998). Again, it is important to remember that Leena would experience this not only in India, but also in Kuwait.

There are some glimpses of evidence that a true community culture of hybridity is emerging, most notably in the form of humour on user-generated platforms like social media, and in popular entertainment. For instance, the Facebook group 'Subtle Asian Traits' is designed for Asian-Australian students to share jokes and memes about their experiences. These include jokes about cultural clashes with parents, food memes, and cringe-worthy or funny experiences with 'white people'. This Facebook group went viral and became a global phenomenon; in Theresa's words, it is all about 'people who get you'. It is so highly successful and meaningful to its members because it allows them to see a representation of themselves publicly, find like-minded people who share the exact same experiences, open up about taboos they could not joke about with their parents, and simply enjoy being part of something which is publicly popular.

Well before the internet, I remember the goose bumps and tears of joy my sister and I cried when we watched the first famous Turkish-German comedian on TV, Kaya Yanar. In his stand-up routine as well as on his sketch show, he touched on similar things to the Facebook group. I remember that particular first show in which he enacted the common and often highly emotional behaviours of stereotypical Turkish mothers, the stereotypical German-Turkish bouncer at a club, and how alien it can be to be invited to dinner at a German family's home.

It was an indescribable feeling to see that my whole country was learning about my experience, and that I was part of a group and that this group was worth something – worth talking about, worth learning about – and that there were many people like me. Indeed, it has been argued that ethnic comedy such as that of Kaya Yanar is quite important for community building as it provides “a journey from fear to laughter” (Bilici 2010, p. 196). It also challenges questions of integration and deals with assumptions of victimisation and marginalisation of migrants and the second generation (Bilici 2010; Bower 2014; Lowe 1986). Above all, comedians create and give recognition to these communities through laughter in which audiences are both the object of the joke and the target market. They also bring together the opposing poles in a non-threatening manner; comedy of this kind harnesses the cultural and ethnic stereotypes of both host and immigrant communities so as to appeal to both audiences, who are all in on the joke (Bower 2014).

However, especially in a three-culture situation, such community-building developments can still be limited and exclusive. I remember talking to a Turkish-German classmate about Kaya Yanar’s new TV show and him saying, “Yeah, but do you even really get it? Because you’re not really Turkish.” He elaborated that not growing up with two Turkish parents made me a ‘lesser second generation Turk’ than he was. Indeed, while a culture of celebrating hybridity may be emerging, such examples still portray a community of neatly established ethnic hybridity rather than universally celebrating hybridity in and by itself. In ‘Ethno-comedy’ (Bower 2014), we see a celebration of Mexican-Americans (e.g. Gabriel Iglesias), Indian-Americans (e.g. Hasan Minhaj), Korean-Americans (e.g. Ken Jeong) and African-Americans (e.g. Wanda Sykes), but these public figures embody and promote historically well-established communities, rather than mixedness more broadly. While nurturing social cohesion through entertainment is both admirable and necessary work, one could argue that there still exists a hierarchy *within* second generation individuals, as my Turkish classmate pointed out to me. This is supported by some of the things my participants shared with me. For instance, Claire shared this insight:

*Claire: “Some don't love that I am not a 100% of African descent. I don't want to say this but I'm going to, but often women hate it. I'd be considered closer to a light-skinned black person, and I have had some instances where there've been slight digs at me just because I'm not a 100%, if that makes sense.”*

Claire provides further evidence of the hierarchy: having a non-African side of descent, and thus slightly fairer skin, has been reason for both 'hate' and 'digs' (insults). This echoes my classmate's comment.

As such, none of my participants would fit into these 'recognised' hyphenated boxes because there will always be a third or fourth affiliation which is unconventional and disrupts the membership to these second-generation communities. The demand for single affiliation continues to be a reality, even in seemingly multicultural domains.

#### **4.6 The Politics of Preservation and its Impact on Cultural Hybridisation**

There is one final aspect of the lived experience of hybridity worth discussing in this chapter, which is also one of the most challenging aspects. To explain this, it is important to understand the two main popular themes that clash with cultural and linguistic hybridisation: on the one hand, there is pressure to surrender one's heritage culture and language to preserve cultural homogeneity of the host society, and on the other hand, there is pressure to maintain one's heritage language at all costs to preserve cultural diversity. Both of these can be viewed as conservative ideologies, driven by a profound fear of loss. In the previous chapter I explored the significance of heritage, and the parental urge to get children to enact their heritage. The same children are then entering host society structures, like school, only to learn that their heritage has become a liability, and that in order to fit in and gain opportunities, they must ignore what has been taught at home.

Although the wealthiest and most powerful nations in particular are overwhelmingly multicultural, Wiley and Lukes (1996) found that in the United States, language diversity is not considered a natural phenomenon but the 'consequence of migration' (p.519) and that heritage languages should be surrendered in order to rightfully earn one's place in the receiving society. Such powerful monocultural ideologies which propose that minority languages – and by extension multilingualism – are a negative force within the community (Blackledge et al, 2008), send a destructive message to second-generation migrants and

disrupt their identification process. On this, Lo-Phillip (2010), who investigated heritage language perception in the United States, argues that while the study of foreign languages in an institutional setting is generally supported and funded, heritage languages are considered subordinate and convert to 'negative value' in Bourdieu's notion of the linguistic market. Indeed, Lo-Phillip points out that individuals "are directed to renounce or abandon their linguistic capital" as, in her example, it makes them "un-American" (p. 291). Undoubtedly, having to renounce one's heritage identity because it is generally devalued can be a heavy burden for adolescents and young adults – Kai's experience being an example.

This has been illustrated by Moloney and Oguro (2015), who found that Japanese-Australian teenagers were derailed from studying their heritage language in high school and following their multilingual career goals because students with a Japanese background have been prohibited from studying Japanese for the HSC due to having a perceived 'unfair advantage' (see also Oriyama, 2010). Unlike Kai, these teenagers were eager and enthusiastic about learning their heritage language, but due to the response of the education system, they started considering their Japanese background a liability rather than an asset. This ultimately interrupted their language acquisition, devalued their 'Japaneseness' in the identification process, and impacted their career choices.

Claire found herself in this exact situation in high school. She remembers:

*Claire: I've considered doing Japanese, but you have to do Japanese heritage which would not be appropriate for me because I can't read or write. My speaking is fine and it's fluent but I feel like I would have been at such a disadvantage because it's conversational. It's not for writing essays or what not, I have never done that. [Japanese heritage] is the only [course] I could do because my mum's Japanese. I can't do Japanese Beginner and my mom was really angry about that because I feel like she was hoping that there would be like a test. She was a bit off it about how you couldn't do what was actually appropriate for your learning, without being at such a disadvantage. I felt like all I needed to do was, like, re-, learn how to read and write because I already*

*... speak. If there was an option maybe I would've done it. But I could only do heritage, so I didn't do it at all."*

Clearly, Claire keeps referring to 'being at a disadvantage', which strengthens the point made earlier. She falls in between learner categories – she is not a native speaker in the sense of being able to read and write academically at high school level, nor is she a beginner or foreign language student. Yet again, there is no space for a learner like Claire, and the system, in this case school, does not recognise hybridity.

In Germany, I had a similar experience as my teachers urged me to study Spanish as a foreign language rather than Italian – for no reason other than having an Italian background and possibly having an advantage. Why was I excluded from learning something that I considered to be part of who I am?

In contrast, there are ongoing political and social discussions about 'managing diversity' and 'preserving multiculturalism' that ultimately have the same effect on hybrid individuals. Weeks (1990, p. 94), for instance, suggests that multiculturalism in the form it has been implemented in the UK still views communities as "unified wholes". This is echoed by Vertovec (2007), who points out that multicultural policies predominantly aim to promote respect and tolerance for collective identities. Ang (2001) also argues that multiculturalism has so far failed politically because the concept still relies too heavily on categorising the differences and creating mutually exclusive identities that ultimately still lead to a hierarchy of dominant and subordinate cultures and build antagonism among the various groups. This supports my earlier claim that there are *hierarchies within the second generation*. Even in their attempts to manage multiculturalism, the participants of this study could still not find ground, or a sense of belonging. My research is particularly warranted here because hybrid individuals and communities, who evidently no longer represent such an insignificant minority, remain peripheral in most cultural and social contexts. In fact, Bhabha's (1996, p. 54) words on cultural hybridisation perfectly capture the way such cultures are perceived to contaminate both national culture and cultural diversity principles: "this *partial* culture is the contaminated yet connective tissue between cultures – at once the impossibility of culture's containedness and the boundary between" (emphasis in original). Bhabha (in Rutherford 1990, p. 208) further



illustrates the underlying rule of such approaches: "Other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid." This implies a limitation in tolerance for hybridity.

As noted in Chapter 3, polarised preservation in this way is not only a deep commitment on a macro-scale, but also within the community and family. Especially when investigating heritage languages, Appiah (2005) argues that immigrant parents often use their language to force a heritage identity onto their children and maintain the ties to their origins, even if the child identifies more with the country in which they were raised. This process of 'imposing' identity and language robs children of their individual autonomy and can be problematic, as they cannot identify with the heritage world constructed for them by others and are simultaneously pressured to reject the group culture to which they feel they belong.

This lack of autonomy in identity negotiation at home was a recurring theme in all the interviews. For instance, Leena expressed frustration about her parents correcting her each time she claimed to be Kuwaiti, reiterating that she was an 'Indian'.

*Leena: "Yeah, I'll be talking about this and say I'm Kuwaiti, they'll always say, 'You're not, you're an Indian'. It's very frustrating. I mean yeah, India is my ... but that's what I'm saying, when I'm saying I'm Kuwaiti, I don't mean it in that's my country, it's not patriotic. It's about where my comfort zone is."*

*Leena: "So do I struggle from identity sometimes? The big answer is "No, I don't" because I know who I am. But sometimes it does make me think, ... absolutely. Where do I belong, really? We don't really have a choice."*

There are two very interesting points Leena is making here, one being the explicit claim of 'having a choice' and the other being the idea of a 'comfort zone'. What is interesting is that Leena calls the particular in-between space she occupies in Kuwait her 'comfort zone'. Her comfort zone is indeed being a Kuwaiti person with Indian parents, rather than being defined just by her Indian heritage and entirely ignoring her own feelings towards her home country. I will return to the idea of comfort zones in Chapter 7. However, unlike her parents, making the claim 'I'm Kuwaiti', Leena is not making a patriotic statement, which reiterates one of the key

differences between diaspora and second generation, which I have outlined in Chapter 3. Perhaps this aspect serves to explain what makes the lack of autonomy in hybridity so uncomfortable – to be forcibly pulled out of one’s comfort zone through imposition of heritage.

Negotiating and clashing with parents continued to be a theme in the other interviews as well. Theresa explained how her identifying as Australian and attempting to engage in the culture was generally not recognised or encouraged.

*Theresa: “And when I try to,... I find I get so excited about Australia, but [my parents] don’t. But like, celebrating it, it’s a little pride, but they just don’t really get it.”*

Claire remembered the cultural clashes related to her behaviour when as a younger she would reiterate that she was different and could not relate to her parent’s cultural contexts.

*Claire: “Yeah, there were definitely fights about [being Australian]. My parents being, like, “You’re staying out too late, we didn’t do that in Japan and Uganda.” And I’d be like, “Okay, but we’re in Australia. What has [Japan and Uganda] got to do with the way I’ve grown up?” So yeah, there’s definitely a lot of fights where I’m like, “Yeah, but I’m in Australia!”*

The key thread running through all these participant statements is the fact that the identification process with the country they consider home is not acknowledged and is at times disrupted by the parents (Appiah 2005). I can certainly relate to this as my mother in particular was particularly forceful in both dismissing my claim to being German, ridiculing me for suggesting it and shutting down any behaviour she deemed as German (e.g. staying out late, speaking German at home, etc.). Like Leena’s parents, my mother would be tireless in correcting me with her own logic (you are Turkish because your mother is Turkish). She still does this today. Very recently, I mentioned to her that I have been seeing a medical specialist in Sydney who happened to be German with Turkish parents. My mother asked whether we spoke Turkish. I reminded her that I am unable to. She then asked whether we spoke about Turkey. I reminded her that none of us grew up in Turkey, and instead we spoke about what it

was like growing up in Germany. My mother concluded the subject by saying, “Well, you should both be ashamed of yourselves for not knowing who you are.” Her comment resonates with an excerpt by Chinese-Malaysian writer Ruth Ho (1975, p.97) which reads “Mother always felt exceedingly guilty about our language deficiency [...] Today we are described by one English writer as belonging to ‘the sad band of English- educated who cannot speak their own language’.”

Interestingly, all of these issues are amplified in well-intentioned ‘cultural initiatives’ such as Harmony Day in Australia. These events serve to display heritage (thus making the parents proud) and make the host society feel as if they are embracing multiculturalism. However, as powerfully argued by Christina Ho (2010), events like Harmony Day are ‘feel good’ events which are both tokenistic and sideline the important challenges of a multicultural society – such as racism, discrimination and dominance. Moreover, the emphasis appears to be on what are considered ‘ethnic’ children, while the host society engages in voyeurism of their cultures and food. None of this is genuine, all of it is uncritical, and all of it is done at the expense of the children’s individual autonomy. Being pushed by my parents and teachers alike, I remember my utter humiliation as I was forced to dress up as a Turkish belly dancer or explain the origins and recipes of traditional Italian dishes in front of my entire school. Not only was I – once again – forced to pick ‘one’ (either Italian or Turkish) but I also perceived it like an incredibly degrading public exhibition of my ‘otherness’, a defeating reminder of my foreigner status in what I considered to be my own home – and I had no say in it.

Appiah (2005, p. 268) contends, “[We should] not ask other people to maintain the diversity of the species at the price of their individual autonomy. We can’t require others to provide us with a cultural museum to tour through.” Similarly, Sen (2006) argues for our right to plurality and our right to choose our loyalties. He points out that we do get a choice to decide on the relative importance we attach to each of the groups to which we belong. However, my research shows that even when we are clear about how we see ourselves it is extremely difficult to persuade others to see us in this way. Even if we recall Trevor Noah’s question – “Why can’t they be both?” – we can recognise how being African is imposed on the French-born players, without having to consider how *they* would like to be identified. On this matter, Sen articulates the issue beautifully: “Our freedom to assert our personal identities can sometimes be

extraordinarily limited in the eyes of others, no matter how we see ourselves.” (2006, p.6). It is an issue that can lead to tragic defeat, when one simply surrenders upon realising that it does not matter what we call ourselves, or with which culture(s) we truly identify (Visweswaran 1994).

Although completely opposite ideologies, what is strikingly similar about notions of homogeneity and multiculturalism is that both are driven by a profound fear of loss. Homogeneity fears the loss of uniformity, while multiculturalism fears the loss of diversity. Ironically, both concepts reduce hybridity to an “empty space” (Ang 2001, p. 35) because cultural preservation is forced in one way or another, and there is no room for the kind of autonomy, transgression or fluidity so readily celebrated in the academic literature. Most importantly, and as I have explored throughout these chapters, cultural preservation often results in discrimination and racism – on the world stage in the football press, as well as within the family and community.

I will let Kai say the final words on this issue.

*Kai: “When you meet people who aren't mixed, they're from one place for generations and they kind of don't understand. I feel like they ask you ‘what are you more of?’ Like, are you more this, or are you more that? How can I possibly answer that? But it doesn't matter because **it's like they try and answer the question for you.** If they are Greek, they will be like, ‘you're obviously more Greek, ‘cause you grew up with a yia-yia.’ (laughs) I'm not. I don't really speak Greek at all. I've never been to Greece. But they're the kind of like ‘no, no, no. You're one of us now.’ That makes you angry, too. You get angry if they don't accept you and you get angry if they force you to accept. It's just a strange place to be.”*

#### 4.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has offered a discussion of the terms ‘hybridity’ and ‘identity’, highlighting both the scholarly lack of consensus as well as its misconceptions. It has argued that although all

culture is inherently hybrid, there is a global conception of cultural and ancestral purity. This delusion however is reinforced at all levels of public life and has led to a generalised push for single affiliation.

This demand to identify as only one thing clashes with the development of both multilingualism as well as hybrid forms of identity. In particular, hybridity competes with powerful notions of national identity. I have used the FIFA World Cup as an example of how illusions of national identity are constructed and reinforced. That is not to say that national identity is not worth celebrating; rather, I have problematised the ways in which national identities are portrayed, devoid of any truth of the cultural and linguistic makeup of the population.

In particular, I have provided an in-depth discussion about our conceptualisation of identity which is based on a defining Other. This identity framework, which is reinforced in mass media, politics and general discourse, is particularly problematic for individuals whose family or trajectory overlap two opposing – and thus defining, cultural identities. I have used the examples of Turkish vs German as well as African vs French to illustrate this, and also demonstrated the overt discrimination and racism that surrounds such conversation.

I believe this discussion was particularly important in addressing the question of why so many second generation migrants reject their heritage. In order to be included in any group, they are expected to surrender at least one aspect of the many cultural identities available to them. Not doing so, as highlighted by the case of Mesut Özil, is widely criticised and on this particular occasion went as far as being considered a national security issue. In other words, group membership is often exclusive and means giving up one's membership in other groups, even though by nature of their upbringing, these individuals have the desire and ability to fit into multiple groups.

The need for this type of positioning, while documented in scholarly literature, is not sufficiently problematised. It is one of the key reasons why heritage identities and languages are rejected despite parental efforts to pass this knowledge on. Similarly, it can lead to a disconnect between children and their parents who consider host society qualities threatening to family cohesion and ancestral practices.

Perhaps because of this, my participants experience constant reminders of misplacedness and exclusion. This is particularly evident when their identities are questioned or they are interrogated about their ancestry, which was overall a frequent occurrence. This was especially challenging as most of my participants can neither fully identify with their heritage community, nor are they fully accepted by the host society. This has resulted in both a lack of certainty – which is emotionally draining – as well as a lack of opportunity to tap into the warmth and advantages of a cultural group.

Furthermore, the encounters were often unsuccessful in communicating the identity which my participants believe most accurately describes their situation. None of my participants was satisfied in describing themselves using a single affiliation. Even Kai, who always emphasises his Australianness, is taken aback when he is not accepted as Greek, evident in his statement “You get angry if they don't accept you and you get angry if they force you to accept.”

The idea of ‘forcing to accept’ led us to discuss the politics of preservation, and there was an overall indication that my participants are not afforded the autonomy to choose their own affiliations. This lack of autonomy will be further discussed in Chapter 7. In this chapter, I have shown that heritage identities were imposed upon them by either parents or public institutions eager to maintain diversity, and I have illustrated this with examples such as parental pressure at home, and Harmony Day. I have argued that such well-meant cultural initiatives can achieve the complete opposite of inclusion by exotifying and putting the spotlight on those children who are considered different. On other occasions, participants were pushed to surrender their heritage in favour of assimilation to the host society, most notably at school. Rather than being allowed to fuse the cultural and linguistic resources available to them, they are continuously encouraged to suppress or overemphasise certain aspects, or are taught that some aspects are more favourable than others. This undoubtedly has played a key role in shaping perceptions and ultimately, heritage language use.

Overall, this chapter has concluded that hybridity is still vastly misunderstood by parents, teachers and overall public views. For this reason, hybrid ways of being are often abandoned

because they are unappreciated in the best case or considered harmful to a nation in the worst case.

## Chapter 5: Race and Visibility: Narratives of Lived Experience

### 5.1 Introduction to the Chapter

I am what can be bluntly described as an ‘ambiguously brown’ person. By and large, it is the main reason people ask, “where are you from?”. They look at me and assume many different nationalities, language abilities or ethnicities simply based on the way I look, or rather, based on the fact that I *look out of place*.

In this chapter, I will unpack the single most indicative trigger that sparks the “where are you from” conversation: race and visibility. Specifically, I will discuss the works of Kimberlé Crenshaw, Julie Choi and Ien Ang to unravel the lived experiences of being the non-white kid with a funny name.

In drawing the link between race and identity, my findings resonate with similar studies in this field, for instance that of Aujla (2000, p.43) who argues that “time and time again, the dominant culture reduces identity down to imaginary racial categories.” Indeed, the theories people have about me that are quite literally based on ‘face value’ never cease to amaze me.

At a fruit and vegetable shop in Sydney’s Marrickville, I was inspecting an artichoke when an older gentleman walked up to me and said something in a language I didn’t understand. As I looked at him, confused, he simply said “Aren’t you Greek? Since you were buying an artichoke, I thought you must be Greek.”

At a bottle shop in Sydney Central Park, the cashier wrapped my purchases and once again, said something in a language I don’t speak. “You look Brazilian, so I assumed you speak Portuguese”.

In a taxi in Los Angeles, the driver spoke to me in Spanish almost the entire way before checking whether I was actually Latin American. On a bus in London, I was mistaken for Armenian because ‘you kind of look like Kim Kardashian’. When attending a friend’s ceremony at a



Synagogue, I breezed through the security check because the security guard simply assumed I was Israeli and greeted me in Hebrew, while my actual Jewish friends, who were mainly of Eastern European descent, had to undergo questioning in English.

In class, my students often assume I am from 'the south of Spain' or 'the coast of Colombia'. One of the most dramatic incidents might have been Iranian football fans at a sports bar who thought I was Iranian during a Germany-Iran match. When I pointed to the German flag I was holding, their heads exploded.

There has never been an instance in my life when anyone thought, guessed or believed that I was from Germany.

Such experiences of visibility were an integral and profound root cause for much of the identity struggles among my participants. Their stories are very different from Second Generation adults who did not grow up with this variable. All my participants are visible in the context in which they grew up, meaning that they look different from the perceived 'default' in the community in which they were born and/or raised. Further, it is not only their bodies, but also their names that make them visible.

In this chapter I share my participants' accounts of first becoming aware of this intersection between being the second generation and being visible. In particular, this chapter aims to demonstrate the contentious nature of visible features – such as names and skin colour – when it comes to cultural identification with host and heritage. Their narratives will demonstrate the hosts' reactions towards their visibility and the harmful impact this has had on their sense of belonging. In doing so, I also explore the position of 'whiteness' as well as the significance of racial slurs, such as 'wog' and 'white-washed'.

## **5.2 Experiencing One's Race and Visibility**

It was not until I enrolled at university and moved to London that someone candidly confronted me with something that as an 18-year old, I had perhaps never fully thought about. It was my second day in the country, and I had to fill out a form to receive my student ID card. On this

form, there was a question “What is your ethnic group?”. The following options were given for me to tick:

- **Caucasian**
  - English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British
  - Irish
  - Gypsy or Irish Traveller
  - Caucasian Other
- **Black**
  - African
  - Caribbean
  - Black Other
- **Asian**
  - Indian
  - Pakistani
  - Bangladeshi
  - Chinese
  - Asian (Other)
- **Other (please specify)**

The term ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic group’ does not easily translate into anything meaningful in German, so I was already challenged in understanding this question. Based on the available options to answer, I eventually figured out that it was about my race. It is not common in Germany to speak of *Rasse* (race) due to historical associations of the term *Menschenrasse* in Hitler’s politics and I only knew this term being used for animals, for example to identify a certain breed of dog. Perhaps because of that, the term ‘Caucasian’ was also a category unfamiliar to me. I assumed from the options that Caucasian meant ‘white’ and seeing as I did not fit into ‘black’, or ‘Asian’, I decided on ticking “Caucasian – Other” and handed the form back to the lady at the counter. Her response was both bewildering and shocking to me.

Admissions Lady: *“You ticked Caucasian-Other. What are you?”*

Zozan: *“I’m from Germany,”* I responded matter-of-factly.

Admissions Lady: *“No, you need to put your ethnic group here. Like, your race. You are not Caucasian. Caucasian means white,”* and with this gestured to her own arms and face, to indicate that hers was the default shade of white on her imaginary colour chart.

I had never been explicitly confronted with ‘whiteness’ before. The issue in my world had only ever been about being an ‘immigrant’ or a ‘Turk’, never explicitly about having a different skin colour. Of course, in hindsight ‘immigrant’ and ‘Turk’ are just different slurs for the same social plague, no less disgraceful than any colour-based divisions or insults. But perhaps because of these differences in semantics and the fact that I had never had an open talk about skin colour, this was all genuinely new to me. I had always assumed that I was white in the sense that I was not black.

This resulted in me asking with genuine concern:

Zozan: *“I’m not white?”*

Admissions Lady: *“No, not really. Where are your parents from?”*

Zozan: *“Italy and Turkey”*

Admissions Lady (annoyed): *“Well what is that?”*

To make a long story short, she made me tick “Other” at the bottom of the list (outside any ethnic category) and specify “Mixed Mediterranean”. The upsetting significance of me quite literally having to tick a box declaring myself as ‘The Other’, as someone who does not even get to be in an ethnic group is not lost on me, and perhaps reiterates some of the themes discussed in this thesis so far. But for the next four years of living in the UK, I would remain “Other-Mixed Mediterranean”, to be ticked and specified every time I filled in a form for a doctor, an employer or any other official documents.

My interaction with the Admissions Lady kept me distracted from all the hustle and bustle of orientation week. As I gained access to my university’s library, one of the first things I researched was precisely this – the use of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘race’ in the English language and

specifically the 'Mediterranean Race'. I wanted to understand what made those fruit shop owners, taxi drivers and other random people see that I was not white.

As I dusted off some old books, I came across some very troubling literature on human 'stock', 'species' and zoological approaches to categorising humans, and I learned that much of the talk about race, whiteness and ethnicity in English stems from Colonial contexts. Regardless of my feelings, these ugly truths did somewhat explain my reality. I was especially captivated by Sicilian anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi (1901) and his book *The Mediterranean Race*, which seemed very apt given the situation. Sergi proposed that people who inhabit the Mediterranean basin (and are thus considered a racial group) are those of Asia Minor (including Turkey), Northern Africa (mainly Egypt, Morocco and Libya), Greece, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula. It explained the specific nationalities people were mistaking me for – Greece, Armenia, Israel, Spain and the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America. Sergi further described Mediterranean people as “a brown human variety” and identified specific external characteristics such as “brown colour of the skin, eyes (chestnut or black iris), hair, beard and the hair on other parts of the body,” (pp.250-251). He further argues that Mediterranean people are of 'medium stature', have narrow noses, large eyes and an oval face of 'ellipsoidal contour' (p. 253).

I personally found Giuseppe Sergi's work both biased and contentious at times, and I felt as if I was reduced to biological traits. There is more complexity to me than just my body, I thought. Although I found my encounters with the Admissions Lady and Giuseppe Sergi disturbing, they did open my eyes to the reality of what people see when they look at me. They see someone who should be living in a Mediterranean country, and who – if they were living in England or Germany – was clearly not “naturally” from there but the result of migration.

Sergi was not shy in using the term 'race', as are many other in late 19th/ early 20th century scholars in the field of hybridity who speak of 'biracial' or 'mixed-race'. In this study, race moved to the foreground of the discussion primarily because whatever visible physical attributes my participants had were considered different from what was perceived as the norm, or the default. I do not delve into a discussion about race as a concept of its own because this variable only becomes relevant when it is 'notable', 'visible' when it seems naturally 'out

of place'. Again, if we think back to my Irish/Scottish Australian persona, we can recognise that race is unlikely to be problematic because they would embody exactly what is considered the norm. Thus, rather than focusing on the issue of race, I argue that the real issue is that of *visibility*.

In contrast to looking at the concept of race in isolation, visibility suggests a combination of biological as well as contextual and cultural factors (Pao, Wong & Teuben-Rowe 1997). Indeed, my experience of being 'Mixed-Mediterranean' is very different depending on the context. For most of my life, I have lived in what the Admissions Lady would call 'Caucasian' countries where Mediterranean is considered an 'Other', a visible reminder of immigration. However, in a country like Italy, I am invisible simply because overall, we share the same visible physical attributes, and it completely changes my experience. It becomes unproblematic. It matters that I have a dark complexion only when I am mingling in a community or country in which the majority have different features. It is for this reason that the term 'visible' and 'visibility' – as opposed to 'race' - will be used from hereon.

While the Admissions Lady was the first person to tell me rather bluntly that I was of a different race, I was of course faced with my status of 'different', 'ethnic' and 'minority' all my life. I first became aware of it when I left the safe haven that was my family home and started Kindergarten. While I had most certainly played with German children in my neighbourhood before then, this was the first time that I was very clearly outnumbered as I experienced interaction with the dominant culture in their institutions. It was also the first time I had German adults oversee my care and learning. Of all my memories from Kindergarten, I very much remember the day on which I was confronted with my own 'ethnic inadequacy' that haunt me to this day. I was around four years old, sitting in a circle with my Kindergarten classmates, and clearly remember my teacher saying the following words: "In some foreign countries, people have black hair, like Zozan." I remember looking around the room and realising that I was indeed the only dark-haired person in the room. I was also the only person with curly hair. What is more, I could see that my classmates were having the same realisation. With her observation, my teacher immediately created unequal power relations between the children she deemed as 'not looking like they are from a foreign country', and those who did. Indeed, on that day, she *taught* us that we were different, and gave my 'visibly German'

classmates, who only became 'White/German' in that moment, permission to make such remarks about me. This experience exemplifies what is proposed by Solomona et al (2006), which is that racial identities are *constructed* by those in position of power and authority, such as educators. These constructions are conceptualised and informed "by a white, race-privileged person", and are often "debilitating to the 'racial other'" (Solomona et al 2006, p. 147).

When it comes to managing classroom diversity more broadly, there is evidence suggesting that not recognising their own privileged position and ethnic bias can turn teachers into 'unreliable', 'uncertain' and 'untrustworthy' allies for students of colour (Cochran-Smith 1995, p. 568). This is especially concerning because a trusting relationship with a teacher is considered important in learning how to leverage critical feedback and accept other learning opportunities (Walton & Cohen 2007). Indeed, my data has thus far already highlighted the important role which teachers have played in grappling with heritage languages, and the significance of an (un)trusting relationship with educators will continue to emerge throughout this study.

In any case, my teacher's remarks have clearly stayed with me all these years. That same day, I asked my mother "*Mama, sind wir nicht Deutsch?*" (Mom, are we not German?), and she responded very sternly: "No, we're not." I was utterly confused; why wasn't I German? What makes someone German? Being German is all I knew, I thought. Later that day, I remember sitting on the floor in my room, playing with my blond-haired, blue-eyed Barbie dolls and I slowly began to realise it. My hair was not as straight, silky and perfect. All my dolls had blond hair, in fact. All my friends in Kindergarten had similar silky hair. I knew my hair was more unruly, dull and it was excruciating when my mother combed it. I remember feeling very anxious about all the realisations of the day, yet I had no word for my newfound fear. Finally, I angrily said to my older sister, "I hate my hair. I wish I had blond, straight hair!" Being eight years older than me, my sister had, of course, been through this long before me. She looked at me with a heart-felt sympathy and deep melancholy, as if this was a common rite of passage, one she had hoped I would be spared from, and responded: "I know. Me too." I believe I have carried this memory with me because in a strange way, it marked the beginning of the end –

the end of certainty – because from that day onwards, I started asking and receiving ever more questions about who I was and where I was from.

Ang (2001, p. 37) describes this first instance of the externally imposed minority identity ascribed by the dominant culture as “the all-too-familiar experience of a subject’s harsh coming into awareness of his own, unchosen, minority status.” Similar to many other such recorded cases (such as Yang, 1996), I found little compassion from my parents while I struggled with this newfound awareness. I recognised for the first time that there was something people could immediately see that outed me as ‘not German’ and that being born in Germany was not enough to be considered one.

Visibility goes hand in hand with the notion of ‘passing’, a concept which I will elaborate on at length in Chapter 6. However, it merits being mentioned here as a contrasting theme to visibility. Whereas visibility can be defined as ‘difference which can be seen’, passing is very much its opposite, ‘difference which cannot be seen’ (Rottenberg, 2003). Simply put, ‘passing for a native speaker’, or ‘passing for a white person’ very much relies on the interaction in the field, or in the linguistic market. Passing occurs when there is an assumption of sameness, usually either due to sufficiently matching physical attributes or, in the context of language, a believable performance.

Perhaps it is best exemplified by my Kindergarten experience in Italy, which was the complete opposite to my years in Germany. My family moved to Sardinia when I was in my final year of Kindergarten and the experience of living there recontextualised my notion of home and heritage in unprecedented ways. Above all, it was my first and only experience of *passing*. The defining moment was my first day at the new Kindergarten which, again, is a critical memory to me.

My mother led me to the classroom and asked me to wait by the door while she spoke to the teacher. The place looked very different from what I was used to – coming from a German city to a rural Italian village was indeed obvious when looking at the quality of the building, furniture and the toys – none of it was as new, shiny or colourful like back in Germany. While I was waiting by the door, I quietly watched a group of children play, and remember being in

absolute awe. My mother came back and asked if she could leave me to play. I remember grabbing her hand excitedly and saying to her “*Mama guck mal da. Guck sie dir an! Siehst du es? Die anderen sehen so aus wie ich. Vielleicht bin ich hier zuhause!*” (which roughly translates to “Look Mama. Just look at them. Can you see it? They look just like me. Maybe this is my home!”)

What I was referring to, of course, was the fact that we were physically the same; they too were ‘Mediterranean’ with dark hair, dark eyes and what is typically referred to as olive skin tone. They also tanned fast and dark in summer, just like me. They were smaller than the German children I was used to.

Just like me.

There was sheer pleasure in recognising a shared ethnicity and a sense of empowerment in the realisation that I was ‘naturally’ part of a group. I share this example for an important reason: My body, for the first time in my life, had “what it takes to belong and more importantly, what it takes to be recognised as belonging” (Gilroy 2004, pp. 24-25). While it was undoubtedly a superficial truth, I recognised the compelling possibility that my body – or my race, if you will – was a “welcome short-cut into the favoured forms of solidarity and connection” (Gilroy, p. 25). Becoming part of a group had never been easier than in that particular situation, and no effort was required of me other than ‘showing up’. My appearance had always been a barrier for me, and now I experienced the complete opposite - the colour of my skin was my ticket in, “a sufficient criterion for community membership” (Obama 1995, p. 278). I realised the potential of being more invisible, of being one of the children from ‘here’ and it fuelled my desire to hide behind my Italian heritage with all its customs, values and, of course, language. I relived this moment when reading an excerpt of Obama’s visit to Kenya of which he remembers:

“For a span of weeks or months, you could experience the freedom that comes from not feeling watched, the freedom of believing that your hair grows as it’s supposed to grow...Here the world was black, and so you were just you; you could discover all those things that were unique to your life without living a lie or committing betrayal” (1995, p. 311).



The many positive community experiences I made while living in Italy were very much enabled by my ability to pass as an Italian person physically, as well as my ability to pass as a native speaker of Italian. People simply assumed co-ethnicity based on looking at me and listening to me – although by now the reader knows that this is a very one-sided view of my family and upbringing, as well as my notion of self. Regardless of this truth, I could evidently make others *assume* that I was Italian.

My experience in Italy followed me even when we returned to Germany a few years later. I could finally understand why much of the schoolyards, workplaces and neighbourhoods were quite ‘visibly’ divided, and why my own immigrant parents preferred to stick to their own. I understood why all my mother’s friends were Turks, Iranians and Iraqis. I understood why my father’s social circle was almost exclusively made up of Italians. The reason was captured quite eloquently by Obama (1995) who explained it this way:

“many of us chose to function like a tribe, staying close together... most of us were tired of thinking about race all the time; if we preferred to keep to ourselves it was mainly because that was the easiest way to stop thinking about it, easier than spending all your time mad or trying to guess whatever it was that white folks were thinking about you” (p. 98).

The desire to pass and the strategies implemented to achieve this are a fundamental finding in my study and have had serious implications for heritage-language acquisition. A detailed analysis of this will be presented in Chapter 6. However, passing was important to briefly mention here because none of my participants can pass in the countries in which they were brought up, and none of them can in fact pass for native speakers in their heritage languages today. As such, my research findings might have yielded completely different outcomes had I included participants who could indeed pass, as I could in Italy. I have had a few personal conversations, unrelated to my study, with such people. In Australia, I have spoken to people with Eastern European ancestry, German ancestry and of course British/Irish ancestry. In my conversations, it became evident to me that thanks to the fact that they can pass – physically and linguistically – as Australians, they have had none of the experiences my participants outlined. They were generally not asked about their heritage, nor did they feel particularly conflicted by it.

This is also reinforced through my own research, specifically the stark contrast between Kai and his sister Gretchen.

Kai: “My sister is a lot fairer than I am. So, my sister can pass as, like, an Anglo-Saxon.”

Zozan: “So if she says I’m Aussie, nobody would...”

Kai: [interrupts] “But she wouldn’t even be asked!”

Kai’s strengthens the argument that visibility is a fundamental factor in his trajectory. Within the same family, Kai gets frequently asked where he is from, and his sister “wouldn’t even be asked” because to the eye of the observer, her physical appearance is unremarkable in a largely Anglo-Saxon community.

Thus, the lived experience of my participants was made problematic by two very specific overlapping features – firstly, being a second generation immigrant, and secondly, being visibly so. It was Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) who tackled this double-whammy, this ‘additional issue’ of colour, and called it *intersectionality*.

### 5.3 The Significance of Intersectionality

Crenshaw’s key arguments date back to a discussion of police violence, domestic violence and institutional violence against women of colour. She argues that their experiences of disadvantage are both “raced *and* gendered”, and she proposes that the experiences of coloured women are neither parallel to the experiences of African American men nor those of white women (Crenshaw 1991, p.1252, emphasis in the original). She argues that seeing race and gender in isolation fails black women as this framework is inadequate to understand the experiences and specific challenges of this population segment. To support her point, Crenshaw outlined the court case of Emma DeGraffenreid, an African American woman who applied for work at a car manufacturing company, and upon being rejected for the position, filed a lawsuit accusing the company of discriminating against her because she was a black woman (Crenshaw 2016). The judge dismissed her suit based on evidence that the employer hired both African-Americans and also women. Crenshaw took issue with this decision because

all the African Americans that were hired, usually for industrial and maintenance jobs, were men, and all the women, usually employed for secretarial work, were all white. The court considered that Emma DeGraffenreid was seeking preferential treatment by claiming that white women or African American men only had “one swing at the bat” while she got “two swings” (Crenshaw 2016). While this was just one illustrative example, Crenshaw has always publicly criticised the law’s continued failure to broaden the frame and allow for this intersectionality.

Crenshaw’s concept of intersectionality is both helpful and necessary in understanding the relationship between my participants and the host and heritage community. I’d like to advance the notion that this concept is entwined with the racist ‘one-drop rule’ which defined multiracial people with any drop of black blood as black. The idea was formally introduced under the name “hypodescent” and became a social and legal principle of racial classification for the Jim Crow laws which served to enforce racial segregation in the Southern United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Hollinger 2005). The law asserted that any person with a any discernible trace of African ancestry is considered black by law (Hollinger 2005). Similar legal interpretations existed in Australia in determining Aboriginal ancestry and thus, civil rights (Macdonald 2010). Although the US-based law was abolished in the 1960s, this principle continues to have social implications today. Khanna and Johnson (2010, p. 380) explain that “Even if a person has white ancestry and looks white, he is considered ‘really’ black because of his black ancestry (no matter how distant); white identity is perceived as somehow ‘fraudulent’”. If we scrutinise the one drop rule against my research findings, it certainly applies. Where my participants were born and raised rarely carries any weight in how others identify them; the only thing that seems to matter is their perceived blood line.

Within the host society, such ‘blood line visibility’ is the reason why the second generation is also being labelled ‘foreigners’ or ‘immigrants’. This is problematic because they are not in fact immigrants – the host country is the place in which they were born and which they identify with. This is in stark contrast to the diaspora generation, which is certainly also impacted by visibility, but is in fact a migrant generation characterised by a relationship to their home country. The experience of being a ‘visible’ second- generation migrant in Australia is markedly

different from those with an Anglo-Celtic background (or other white background) as outlined previously by Kai's comments about his sister.

Although in a slightly different way, visibility also played a role in Leena's story who is not accepted as Kuwaiti because of her looks as well as her citizenship status:

*Leena: "So, I identify myself, because of my looks and everything, as an Indian. Indian-Australian. Even though I'm born and raised in Kuwait, I never identify myself as a Kuwaiti because I was raised with the understanding that a Kuwaiti person is only known Kuwaiti if they have Kuwaiti parents. So here I am, with my Caucasian native Australian speakers. Yes, they would consider me as one of their own, but I'm still 'my Indian friend' or 'she's from India.' I don't belong here either, as much as I feel I do."*

Despite considering Australia her home, and being born in Kuwait, she is still reduced to her physical features which make people see an Indian person. It is precisely the intersection between being a second-generation migrant and being visible that has produced the findings of this study.

Visibility is not only an issue with the host community, but also penetrates the relationship with the heritage community. On the one hand, those who fit the visible features of their heritage community (e.g. Kai and his Greek ancestry), are often shamed and guilted for not speaking the language of the ancestors. Indeed, as I clearly look 'mixed-Mediterranean', people often challenge me openly, rudely on why I mainly speak 'white' languages – that is German and English. This same predicament was voiced by Ang (2001, p. 23) who said "I look Chinese. Why, then, don't I speak Chinese? I have had to explain this embarrassment countless times." It is an almost ubiquitous phenomenon in my findings. Claire is seen as black but speaks an Asian language. Theresa is seen as white but speaks an Asian language. Kai is seen as having a 'dark complexion,' but speaks English. And despite all her efforts to assimilate in Australia and a lifetime of speaking English, Leena is still introduced as 'my Indian friend'.

To illustrate the impact of this, I relay excerpts from my interviews with Theresa and Claire.

For Theresa, being seen as white has been problematic when she is surrounded by her Filipino heritage community.

Zozan: *"And when you go to the Philippines, do they refer to you as like Australian?"*

Theresa: *"Yes. 'Cause I'm white. Like, I just look white. When I go to Philippines, there's not a lot of white people that visit in that area. So every time that I go there, they're just like "Oh, there's a white person," kind of thing. They just call me Australian. The Australian."*

Zozan: *"Does that feel weird?"*

Theresa: *"Very. I don't know why. But. I don't really like the attention. I don't really like being associated as just white."*

As can be seen in her comments, Theresa's laments about whiteness are highly contextual. She cannot visibly pass as Filipino despite evidently identifying as such, and she cannot pass as her mother's daughter due to the visible differences in their physical appearance.

In a similar way, Claire verbalised the frustration of not being accepted as Japanese because of her skin colour, an experience that occurs frequently on visits to Japan when she approaches shop owners in Japanese.

Claire: *"There were a few times when I asked them a question and they would try to speak back in English, and just think to myself, "I asked the question in Japanese, you've just chosen to speak back to me in English even though you don't know what you're talking about. I know how to speak Japanese'. They probably just assumed I was a tourist trying to speak Japanese to them. But the more I spoke in Japanese, the more they were like, 'Oh, she's actually quite fluent.' I struggled with that a few times."*

On more than one occasion in our interviews, Claire reiterated that she identifies as Japanese, and it is clear that not being recognised as this based on her physical appearance was a memorable struggle for her. The concept of raciolinguistic enregisterment re-emerges here as people consider Claire ‘a tourist who tries to speak Japanese’ at face value, and it evidently took a few attempts to ‘prove’ that she was in fact a fluent Japanese speaker. While in a slightly different context, Claire’s experience of being considered a tourist in a country she feels a connection to mirrors Leena’s expat experience of being considered a guest in her home Kuwait.

Again and again, my participants outline such instances of having to jump through hoops to prove their identity to both host and heritage community, and are still left with feelings of non-belonging and uncertainty due to the colour of their skin.

#### 5.4 Visibility Through Foreign Names

What’s in a name? The same question has been asked by Julie Choi who has inspired much of my work and research. In her 2017 book *“Creating a Multivocal Self: Autoethnography As Method”*, she speaks at length about the grief her name has caused her. Due to mispronunciation of the name “Julia”, which her (Korean) mother pronounced as “Juria”, she ended up with the misspelled version on all her official documents. Unsurprisingly, she writes about feeling ‘embarrassed’, especially because it outed her as the child of Korean immigrants and visibly labelled her as the ‘other’. She further describes how it made her feel odd and out of place wherever she went across the globe. Indeed, it has caused her to go to great lengths to ‘correct’ the spelling and pronunciation of the name to avoid the confrontations about it. What Choi argues in her book is indeed very true – Shakespeare might have been wrong in ‘Romeo and Juliet’ when he wrote:

*What’s in a name?  
That which we call a rose  
By any other word would smell as sweet*

As Choi points out quite accurately, letters and sounds make a world of difference when it comes to perceiving another person. My names ‘Zozan’ and ‘Balci’ were both problematic as

soon as I left my family home because nobody could pronounce them. When people called me, it didn't sound like when my family called me. It sounded ugly when they said it, and often I wasn't quite sure whether they were actually calling me or saying something else. The teachers were calling me "Susann" and told me 'that is the German version of your name'. This already heightened my suspicion that something about my name is special, and not in a good way.

Names, just like the colour of our skin, make us visible – a foreign name can instantly give us away as being the child of migrants. Indeed, much of who I am today is related to leading a life as 'Zozan'. All my participants have names that make them visible; Kai's first name is Swedish while his last name is Greek, Claire has a Japanese and an English first name and her last name is Japanese, Theresa's last name is Hungarian and both of Leena's names are Indian/Sikh.

Names have been especially problematic in Kai's and Claire's narrations.

*Kai: "Yeah, [my names] do sound weird together [laughs]. No one can say my name, either of them. Like, ever. So, every time I go to a doctor, or every day in high school with a new teacher or at uni when they're reading the roll, they'll be like "Kay". Even when I get letters from the bank it'll always be like "Miss Kay Adroulakis". For my brother and sister, it is different. My brother's Oliver, so he doesn't have that problem. My sister, her name is Gretchen - I mean it's not a very common name here but you do meet people named Gretchen. You never meet another Kai. Ever. I've never met another one. So, people automatically don't know what that name is and they don't know where it's from, and they look at me and they're, like, Iraqi or something? You know, and then there's that separation. Whereas Gretchen is Gretchen. It's like having a name like Heidi or something. Our last name is hyphenated. Lindström – Adroulakis. So, she usually uses Lindström only."*

*Zozan: "Why do you use your Greek last name?"*

*Kai: "I like it. I mean, on official documents I have both. But if I just write my signature, just Adroulakis."*

Kai describes his siblings' names – Oliver and Gretchen – as 'being able to pass' when it comes to fitting into a largely English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon community. These recognisable 'white'

names and the omission of the Greek last name have especially facilitated his sister's experience in fitting into the host society. In contrast, Kai's name has caused him to feel 'separated' and we can see that public institutions like banks, doctors and school have played a key role in making him feel that way. His name is generally mispronounced, he is mistaken for a female, and it triggers an uncomfortable identification (and misidentification) process as people are unfamiliar with the name.

Indeed, mispronouncing names or reframing/renaming students at school has been found to have a largely negative impact on students (e.g. Payne et. al. 2018). Teachers represent power and privilege, and can thus easily modify names that do not fit the anglophone frame. When their names had been mispronounced, reframed or changed entirely, students experienced "feelings of shame, anger, and conformity," (Payne 2018, p. 570).

Reframing and renaming was a particularly confronting experience for Claire when she entered primary school.

*Claire: "I definitely remember feeling different right from the get-go because my mom used to call me Yumika, which is my Japanese name. I learnt how to write it in English and I wrote it on one of my worksheets where it says 'name'. And I remember a teacher yelling at me and telling me I was not allowed to write that and I was so confused because I knew that that was my name, and that's what I learned, and then the teacher was like "The name you have on the roll is Claire" which is my English name. Right, Claire. But she didn't even clarify why I wasn't allowed to write Yumika. So that was the time when I felt like a bit of confusion. I wasn't sure what I was supposed to be doing at school, or why that was different to what I guess mom taught me."*

Similar to Claire's experience, on more than one occasion, I was told that 'Zozan' is not a real name, or perhaps my parents were illiterate and didn't know how to spell 'Susann'. It sounds odd, foreign, out of place and people – especially teachers and other adults of authority – have felt the need to correct or reframe into whatever name is considered 'user-friendly' in the context: "Susann" (German), "Suzan" (Turkish), "Susanna" (Italian) and "Susan" (English). It has



always been bewildering to realise that what I am called sparks criticism and correction by adults in schools and public, just like it was here for Claire. As a result, she remains Yumika at home, but is Claire in the outside world. This behaviour and tendency to use one name over the other was very clearly brought about by the reaction in her field, which was clearly a negative one 'right from the get-go' of being yelled at and told she was wrong for simply writing her name on a worksheet.

While not having a mainstream name might seem like a minor obstacle, its significance to one's self-esteem becomes evident in the few instances names *are* pronounced correctly. This was beautifully verbalised by a participant in the study by Payne et al (2018) who said:

"I also feel really good when someone gets my name right. When someone makes the attempt to say my name correctly and does so with confidence, it feels awesome. I feel like they've made an effort to know me and remember me – doesn't everyone want to feel that?" (p. 568)

The significance of names and the impact of recognition was also voiced by the former US President who was often confronted by his name - Barack Hussein Obama II - before and after taking public office. On a visit to Kenya, an airport staff member recognised his family name and began speaking to him about his father. Of this conversation with the staff member, he writes:

"I found myself trying to prolong the conversation, encouraged ... by the fact that she'd recognized my name. That had never happened before... For the first time in my life, I felt the comfort, the firmness of identity that a name might provide, how it could carry an entire history of other people's memories. No one here in Kenya would ask how to spell my name, or mangle with an unfamiliar tongue. My name belonged and so I belonged." (1995, p. 305)

Neither Theresa nor Leena attributed particular significance to their names, possibly because they are both relatively easy to pronounce, do not cause gender confusion and are fairly common internationally.

## 5.5 Of Wogs, White-Washing, Turbans and a Black Miss Japan

Among my participants, it is perhaps Kai who has been most conflicted by his visibility. As we have learned earlier, Kai's sister whom he describes as 'able to pass as an Anglo-Saxon', was

not subject to the same questions and reactions that he and his brother were, whom he describes as 'a lot darker than I am'.

One of the most notable things I noted was that Kai often used the term 'wog' in our interviews, in phrases like 'wog food' or 'wog wedding'. I wanted to understand the meaning of this word to him.

Zozan: *"Can you explain the term wog to me?"*

Kai: *"Well, wog is like a derogatory term that white Australians would say to people of Mediterranean or Middle Eastern appearance. It's like a bad word. But a lot of wogs have sort of empowered themselves by using that word to refer to themselves. The meaning keeps changing. So now, it would be less common to refer to a Greek or an Italian or a Spaniard as a wog. Now, it's more like for Lebanese or Syrian or Iraqi people. You know, like the meaning's changed. It's become more of a Muslim sort of word. But it's still used against anyone who kind of looks like me, I guess. (laughs)."*

Within the Australian context, the often-derogatory term 'wog' and its use have been studied quite extensively by Tsolidis and Pollard (2009). The authors explain that 'wog' is assumed to date back to the First World War in which Australian troops encountered the concept of a 'western oriental gentleman', coined by the British. The authors further argue that the term gained popularity in Australia with the intake of immigrants from Italy, Greece, and the former Yugoslavia during and after the Second World War who were not quite as 'white' as the British, but 'white enough' to immigrate at the time. Especially in the areas in which these new immigrants settled (often working-class neighbourhoods) 'wog' was used as a racial slur against these immigrants and has since expanded to include people of other southern European backgrounds as well as the Middle East (Tsolidis & Pollard 2009).

As with many racial slurs, 'wog' remains an offensive term when said by a white person, something very powerfully argued by poet and filmmaker Koraly Dimitriadis (2016). She argues while its meaning may have changed to be endearing among co-ethnic peers, it continues to be ridden with notions of white supremacy when uttered by a white Australian person. A

similar discussion exists in the US context with the infamous “n-word”; the fact that it is euphemised is evidence of its loaded message and history. This is how John McWhorter puts it:

“That black people use it—and have forever—as a term of endearment among one another complicates matters somewhat, but whites who ask “Why can’t we use it if they do?” have always struck me as disingenuous. It isn’t rocket science to understand that words can have more than one meaning, and a sensible rule is that blacks can use the word but whites can’t.” (2019, para 6)

My participant Kai agrees with Dimitriadis and McWhorter in that words such as wog can be used harmlessly among co-ethnic peers but not by white Australians, as we will see in a moment. However, it is also important to note that interpretations of these words are highly subjective and not all ethnic minorities agree on the appropriateness of these terms, even among each other. Like Kai, I have been the target of racial slurs against Turks, Italians and immigrants as a whole, and I do not condone their use among my co-ethnic peers. Similarly, I am still quite shocked when my Italian-Australian and Lebanese-Australian friends speak of wogs and include me in it. My commitment to *not* using these terms is founded in a strong belief echoed by author Brando Starkey (2017):

“If you truly knew what the N-word meant to our ancestors, you’d NEVER use it. It was used and still can be used to make us hate ourselves” (para 1).

My own views aside, Kai emphasises the racial tension between ‘whites’ using it as opposed to a co-ethnic peer:

Kai: *“But as a wog, I guess, I can say ‘oh, my wog friend’ and stuff and that’s fine. But like, if a white Australian sort of called me a wog, I’d probably punch him.”*

Zozan: *“I see. Did that ever happen?”*

Kai: *“Yeah, in high school a lot. There was like a super, super like Anglo group of like the surfers and the skater kids and stuff. And they would call us wogs and we’d call them convicts. Like, a lot of the time, it was in jest. Throughout my whole high school experience, there might’ve been like 10 instances where it was not in jest. But even when it is in jest, it still hurts. I’ve got, like, distinct memory of when it was really shit. Do you know what I mean? I still remember. You know? Like, I can’t forget.”*

Kai's memories contained a number of instances in which he got into physical fights with what he describes as 'jocks', 'Anglos' and 'Aussie surfer dudes', mainly because they called him 'wog'. This supports the historical significance outlined by Tsolidis and Pollard, and above all the racial division it perpetrates.

Kai was continuously exposed to this word, whether in jest or as a true insult. His openness about it hurting, his inability to forget, speak volumes of the power of words. It does not take much to inflict the kind of pain that shapes a child or adolescent into rejection of their heritage or, in Kai's case, quite overt self-hate. We will return and further elaborate on the internalisation and impact of such experiences in Chapter 6.

Important to note here is, once again, the role of educators and other figures of authority in regulating this dynamic. From my interviews with Kai, it is evident that he and his friends – the minority students – were labelled 'trouble makers', despite being the subject of the racist slurs. I can attest to this injustice with my own experience - I was only called "*Scheiß Türke*", 'fucking Turk' once, during a PE class at school. This was brought about by me scoring a point during a Volleyball game, after which a boy on the opposite team came close to the net and whispered it to me. Perhaps worse than being called that was my teacher's reaction to it all. He walked over to find out why I was so angry and not playing on. When he found out what had happened, he only looked at me, told me to calm down and keep playing – he said nothing to the boy who insulted me. I was told to calm down and keep playing, while no attention was paid to the racism and injustice that upset me in the first place. As argued by Gillborn (2004), teachers play a key role in making such behaviour acceptable:

"If racist name calling (or worse still, racist physical violence) goes unpunished by teachers then witnesses will draw their own conclusions. White students may think that teachers condone such perspectives and minority ethnic students will rightly question the school's commitment to equity and justice." (p. 16)

The school yard was indeed the space where most of my participants learned about the contrast between themselves and 'white people' or 'Anglo Australians'. There were a number

of characteristics that were associated with 'white', often undesirable ones. Kai for instance said:

*Kai: "[When you are mixed] you have cultural understanding as well. You know, you can look at a statue and know where it's from and what its meaning is. Or different types of clothing or music. But Anglo people have nothing, they don't understand that. And Anglo Australians, I mean they're similar to Germans in that they're really emotionally cold and they don't know how to deal with feelings and they don't talk about anything. Sort of like, 'oh, I'm feeling bad. My solution is just to drink a lot.' Whereas Greeks, we're like, 'let's talk about it hysterically for hours until we sort it out.' Anglo Australians can't do that."*

*Kai: "Or my ex-girlfriend was like really, really, Anglo Australian. And you go to her parents' house for dinner and her dad's supposed to be this amazing cook. He's made two-minute noodles and covered it in like sweet chilli sauce and be like, "Look, it's authentic Asian." Or at Christmas, he'd bring out the piece de resistance, which is like Philadelphia Cream Cheese. And you're like, 'fucking hell. This is crap.' But you go to any sort of wog house, and you know the food is going to be spectacular. Like, healthy and delicious and amazing. And there's gonna be so much that afterwards, everyone can take some home."*

It was an interesting and common theme among all my participants to provide a blanket definition of 'white people' and portray them as both 'culture-less' and lacking interpersonal skills and relationships. Just as 'wog' is used to describe people of a vast array of cultures and behaviours solely based on the colour of their features, so is 'white' or 'Anglo' for Kai. When he uses the term 'Anglo', it almost appears to mean anyone of fair features and denotes a people who are uncultured and unemotional, not caring much about their family and perhaps even lacking a passion for life. This is evident in his direct comparison between Swedes, Germans and white Australians.

*Kai: "Sweden doesn't have the culture Greece has. Sweden's very cold and depressing. And the people have the emotional maturity of this table (laughs)."*

*There's nothing there, like parents don't call, kids don't talk to their parents, and they're very, like, prim and proper. Like, even if you just listen to some of their expressions, they're hilarious, like 'don't be tardy like a German'. I mean they think Germans are late!"*

Kai's very generalised comments reflect Gayatri Spivak's (1990) notion of "strategic essentialism". The strategic use of essentialism is a political practice in which individuals oversimplify a group identity to position themselves advantageously. By doing so, individual realities within the group are ignored in favour of standardising a public image which can be used to achieve social and political goals (Eide 2010). In an interview, Spivak later abandoned her own concept as she felt it had been misinterpreted and misused in academia (Danus, Jonsson & Spivak 1993); however, the idea more broadly helps to understand where Kai's essentialism originates. He is essentialising all white people, including vastly different cultures of Sweden and Australia, to make his point about their cold-heartedness and lack of culture. This is in stark contrast to life in a 'wog house', which again is essentialising highly diverse cultural practices and communities.

Similarly, Theresa points out her view of Australians as not having big families or taking an interest in family members. In stark contrast to this, she considers Filipinos as a people who are inclusive, embrace people into their family even though they are not related strictly speaking.

*Theresa: "I feel like my parents are softer compared to someone that would come from two Australian parents. With Australians, it's just, their family isn't as extended as ours because we take in all the cousins and everything. There's more than one cousin. I remember I was talking to an Australian girl once, and then she asked me how many cousins I have, and I said, 'I don't know. I have too many to count.' She was like, 'Oh, I only have two.' I feel like Filipinos, they just consider everyone cousins. I'm very family-based. So, like that changes me as well and determines the way I act."*

Tablante and Fiske (2017, p.138) argue that people with higher social status are often perceived as “competent but cold” while disadvantaged groups are considered “poor, incompetent but warm”. Again, it leads us back to Spivak’s ideas (and warnings) about the strategic use of essentialism. These essentialist views however can very much be applied to these distinctions between those considered white (and thus privileged) versus the respective heritage communities. This pattern of thinking is not only problematic in itself, but has broader social implications for the workplace, school as well as overall social encounters. It is a particularly worrisome view because ‘cold’ is compensated for with ‘competence’, while having the advantage of being considered ‘warm’ is not generally useful for societal privileges that matter (Durante, Tablante & Fiske 2017).

Whether it was such popular perceptions that fuelled them, or their own negative experiences, Kai and Theresa paint a picture of Anglo-Celtic Australians who are emotionally cold, lack interpersonal competence, are drawn to alcoholism, lack taste and are devoid of any cultural knowledge. Theresa’s comments on whites not being family oriented or being loving parents further strengthen the argument that there is a generalised perception of the privileged classes as cold.

The idea that there is a perceived cold/warm differentiation among social groups can further lead to awkward social interaction, where the quality of relationships is impacted due to expectations of certain stereotypes (Durante, Tablante & Fiske 2017). Kai exemplified this by saying:

*Kai: “If I see one of my best mates who is like a wog - for lack of a better word - like this Lebo guy who got his kid christened yesterday. I really like him. Like, I love him, he’s my best friend. You know? And I can give him a hug. But my Anglo best friend, never goes beyond a handshake. Do you know what I mean?”*

Theresa took the negative connotations of whiteness a step further by calling anyone with white attributes ‘white-washed’.

Theresa: *"A lot of my friends are born in the Philippines. But then brought here. But they're very white-washed." (laughs)*

Zozan: *"How can you tell when someone is white-washed?"*

Theresa: *"Just everything. I have this one friend in mind. She's Filipino, she's full Filipino, surrounded by Filipino a lot. But if you had not seen her face, you would think she was white, basically. They're very influenced by society. They take on that more than what their parents are offering them. So that makes them white-washed. The way they speak, their slang, even just their way of thinking, it's very white. I can't really explain it but it's like they've lost a lot of their culture. They've just taken on the Australian culture a lot more than they took on their background. A lot of white-washed people do it to fit in."*

As argued by Pyke and Dang (2003, p. 156), the term 'white-washed' has racial connotations and is used to denote "those who have assimilated to the white mainstream and retain few ethnic practices." This is usually the result of two simultaneous processes; firstly, distancing oneself from one's ethnic background and secondly, assimilating to the host society, in this case an English-speaking, Anglo-Celtic society. The term 'white-washed', then, refers to individuals who refuse or are unable to speak their heritage language and are unfamiliar with the customs related to their ethnic background. At the same time, these individuals have many white friends, have romantic relationships with white people and behave and dress in ways associated with whites (Pyke & Dang 2003). Among young people of Asian descent in particular, white-washing is also replaced with terms such as banana, "which refers to being 'yellow on the outside and white on the inside,' along with 'bleached' and 'sell-out,'" (Pyke & Dang 2003, p. 156). What comes out of these definitions is that white-washing is neither considered 'authentic' nor 'positive'.

It appears that Theresa, too, uses the term 'white-washed' to denote people who are trying to pass as Australians through specific behaviours, ideologies and ways of speaking. I wanted to understand better what she meant when she uses the term 'white' and see whether this was similar to Kai's 'blanket definition' of the word.



Zozan: "So, when you say white, you mean..."

Theresa: "Australian.

Zozan: "As opposed to saying European."

Theresa: *Yeah [pauses] No. I don't think I am... ugh, it gets tricky. In high school, we had a group called the white girls. They were just the Aussies. And I can't really sit in a group of them and just get along. With Filipinos, I click easier with them for some reason, because I've got that culture in my background. But these white people behave different."*

In the first instance, Theresa seemed to define 'white' as Australian, as opposed to European. Although she seems to change her mind, all of her examples of her understanding of 'white' relate to Australians, and no mention is being made of Europeans. As Kai and Theresa are my only participants with European backgrounds, it was quite interesting to understand their way of categorising the people around them. While Kai draws distinctions between 'wog' (Southern Europe, West Asia and the Middle East) and 'Anglo' (Northern Europe, UK, US and Australia), Theresa simply distinguishes between 'Filipino' and 'white', which denotes Australian and possibly European.

White-washed, then, specifically implies a Filipino person who is trying to pass as white. Of course, I could not resist asking...

Zozan: "Are you white-washed?"

Theresa: "No. I don't think I am. First of all, I don't sound Australian, not really. If I were to go overseas, they might tell that I have a bit of an Australian accent, but here, I don't. And because I speak Tagalog, I'm still holding onto that culture. Whereas like, these white-washed people, they just take on all the white stuff. And I haven't really done that."

In Theresa's book, language is a key indicator of (not) being white-washed; her ability to speak Tagalog, to her, is a fundamental factor which distinguishes her from those who have 'let go of their culture' and 'taken on all the white stuff.' Although Theresa herself never used the term,

what she describes reminded me of Reyes' (2017) analysis of the "conyo" culture among Filipino youth (p.211). Reyes distinguishes between two postcolonial elite youth types: the conyo elite, which is often criticised, and the more desirable middle-class elite. Conyos are considered the "wrong" kind of Filipino because they are viewed as pretentious and vacuous, characterised by linguistic and racial mixedness (including the use of Taglish) as well as excess. She concludes her analysis by arguing that ideologies about race and language are linked to questions of coloniality, with a special moral high ground given to those who preserve cultural practices from becoming corrupted by luxury and modernity. It can certainly apply to Theresa's remark "because I speak Tagalog, I'm still holding onto that culture" which is in contrast to those white-washed people who "just take on all the white stuff". This also poses interesting and important questions about Theresa's heritage language Hungarian. As Theresa understands European and Hungarian as 'white' in itself, there could be a connection - rejecting a 'white' heritage language might have been a strategy to avoid being seen as a pretentious white-washed 'conyo' among her Filipino friends and family.

But probably the most dramatic case of visibility is Claire, who did not only share her many frustrations with the host society, but also with her mother. On many occasions she lamented that 'all people see is black' despite identifying more with her Japanese heritage.

*Claire: "I'm sure strangers when they look at me, they'd say I'm black. But, I really connect more to my Japanese side, only because I grew up learning the culture. I ate that type of food, I spoke the language, I watched the TV shows, whereas my Ugandan side of me wasn't nearly as nurtured by my father."*

When I asked her about her memories of school, and instances in which she felt 'different', skin colour emerged immediately.

*Claire: "Skin colour was probably the one. When I was in infant school I was a bit of a bully so I felt like people were probably intimidated by me. Once I was in year three I was just bored of being the bully, it's not fun. So, I created a whole bunch of friends like a lot of friends - like in fact everyone I'd say. Maybe I was just hyper-aware of my skin colour and I don't know if it was a negative*

*or positive experience. I was fairly liked by the latest stages and in the earlier stages, I think everyone was too intimidated to even point it out.”*

Claire explained that despite being in what she described ‘a multicultural school’, she and her two siblings were the only black children. Her coping mechanisms are quite interesting, and she almost analyses them herself – first she was a bully to intimidate everyone not to point out her skin colour, and then she switched gears to befriend everyone to not be singled out. Without diving too deep into the psychology of this behaviour, there was a clear need for Claire to take control and perhaps dominate others as part of the pursuit. This can occur in children who foster insecurities about themselves and grapple with self-esteem issues (Connolly & O’Moore 2003), which in Claire’s case crystallised itself in the form of ‘hyper-awareness’ of her skin colour. It has been well-established that children of colour are more frequently the target for race-related bullying and exclusion (e.g. Boulton 1995; Clarke 2016) and seeing that her skin colour singled her out as just one of two black students in the entire school, it may have resulted in such ‘preventative defence mechanisms’ including bullying and over-friending her peers.

Her defence mechanisms also extended beyond the school yard; while her mother was trying to make their parent-child relationship obvious through language, Claire simply tried to make the visible invisible:

*Claire: “It’s a little bit sad, but like I didn’t want to answer questions as to why my mom was white and I wasn’t. So I’d be like, “Oh, mom I’ll just meet you at the tree or down the road from school.” Instead of her coming to my classroom.”*

Claire’s coping mechanism here might be seen as heartless, but it is yet another strategy to escape the emotionally draining experience of having to justify oneself and battling with identity issues at school. She also used racial terms to describe her friend group which she jokingly called ‘very white’. Her experience in this group would further sharpen her “hyper-awareness of her skin colour”:

Claire: *"I was a fast runner. In fact, I was a national runner until year 12 and then I just stopped, but yeah everyone would always just be like, 'Oh you know you're black, of course you have an advantage,' and stuff like that. I know it's not meant to be a dig but it kind of annoyed me that it wasn't like based off of just me as a runner or me as a person. The token black girlfriend would be called out every now and then but I'm used to it as well. It's like my entire life everyone's always had that reaction. So yeah. I feel like I'd be more shocked if they didn't react, [laughs]. Yeah, but these things are the things I remember for some reason. Like, I wouldn't be able to tell you the names of the friends I had when I was that age, but I do remember how I felt about myself in the world, speaking on topics of race and whatnot."*

Unlike in Kai's story where insults were perhaps more overt and openly meant to be hurtful, Claire's narrations of being visible were more subtle. Nevertheless, it evidently stuck with her, especially the fact that her achievements were undermined or not considered the result of hard work, and rather attributed to a stereotype of African runners. Cashmore (1982) reminds us that "for all its pretensions to harbour 'natural ability' or 'talent', sport produces its successful competitors through rigorous schedules of painstaking, monotonous, drill-like routines, squeezed out of hours of exhausting training," (p.213). Indeed, Cashmore found that not only fellow students, but especially teachers, presumed that black children were 'naturally gifted' when it came to athletics, and more worryingly, that black students were more suited to physical pursuits than intellectual ones. By extension, he found that such views can impact career ambitions and limit much of the black youth to pursuing careers that focus on either sport or other types of physical labour.

Claire's story was particularly shaped also by western standards of beauty, and whiteness as the defining feature of beauty. Many women are subjected to mainstream ideas of beauty, which are derived from a predominantly White, European, Anglo-Saxon influence (Evans & McConnell 2003). This does not only impact women who live in the Western world, but also those exposed to the ideas promoted by it through the globalised US and European media. Failure to meet these mainstream beauty standards, and especially failure to achieve

'whiteness', can result in decreased self-esteem and more dissatisfaction and anxiety related to one's body (Evans & McConnell 2003). Sparked by our conversation about 'getting digs from African women for being more light-skinned', Claire added:

Claire: *"It makes me more angry is the fact that white beauty has affected people's opinions on beauty and that they don't feel pretty because they don't fit into whatever standards of white beauty there is."*

Claire spoke about her body and beauty on more than one occasion, especially her skin and hair which are common beauty issues among black women living in societies in which white European beauty standards are desirable (Patton 2006). This was particularly complicated by the fact that her mother was inexperienced in dealing with her daughter's particular features.

Claire: *"Finding my foundation colour was the biggest struggle. 'Cause I did dance from a really young age, I started wearing makeup and my mom could not find any colours for me. And so, it would just be like a little bit of like a white foundation. But then the older I got, I was able to order it online, but foundation colours still bugs me. I've actually found one from Mac that actually is my colour, so thank God. Hair, again -- I have to pin it back because I've done that my entire life because my mum didn't know and doesn't know anything about my texture of hair and neither does my dad because my dad doesn't know anything about hair anyway [laughs]. Recently, I've realized there've been more black girls, more diversity in magazines, and I've been picking up on it. As a kid, I don't think I looked at them thinking, "Oh where is the black girl?" But now I'm just looking, and I see someone I'm like, "Ah that's new."*

It was both unsurprising and understandable to hear that Claire's mother struggled to style her daughter's hair, and to hear that Claire has simply continued to do it this way because she knows no better. The visible divide and the different ideas about beauty were indeed a point of conflict between the two. One of the most controversial excerpts was this mother-daughter discussion on whether a person with black skin can represent the beauty of Japan. At issue was

the Miss Universe Japan 2015 pageant in which model Ariana Miyamoto won the title. Similar to Claire, Ariana Miyamoto's mother is Japanese and her father is African American.

*Claire: "I think Japan is great, but it is also very hypocritical. They are so progressive and forward and very kind and polite. But then when it gets them to the nitty gritty like they are very..[pauses]. Like for example, Miss Japan 2015 is African-American and Japanese and there were so many [negative] comments on the internet we were looking at. And my mom agreed with the comments. She said that it was not okay for Miss Japan to have any skin colour other than pale. And she was not allowed to have like a double lid eyelid. She was supposed to be squinty. And my mom was like, 'I agree with the commenters'."*

Similar to the FIFA World Cup, national beauty pageants have become a practice filled with national symbols and identity markers. As powerfully argued by Banet-Weiser (1999, pp. 154-155), these pageants project utopic visions of 'typicality' and support ideas about what kind of female body "occupies the position of 'national' body,". These women are considered literal 'bearers' of the nation with their reproductive capacities and are thus viewed not only as icon figures and memorable beauty, but also as mothers of the nation who can continue the national lineage (Banet-Weiser 1999, p. 158). With all this in mind, it was not surprising to hear Claire's mother say the following:

*Claire: "She was like, 'Yes but that's what I think. I don't think Miss Japan should be black'. I was like 'Do you think I am Japanese?' And she was like, 'yes you are'. And I am like, 'So don't you think somebody who is Japanese then has equal rights to being Miss Japan?' And her retaliation was what's the point of having Miss Japan not look the way that they should traditionally look."*

The notion that there is a 'traditional' look to a nation strengthens Banet-Weiser's argument that such events promote a universal typicality. Indeed, Claire's mother was not the only person who felt that Japan's self-image was challenged by crowning a woman who is half black. In an interview with the New York Times, Miyamoto herself expressed her frustration with her

experience of being a Japanese person of colour and the public reactions to her win. She echoed many of the same struggles voiced by Claire, including the fact that people assume she cannot speak Japanese: “Even today, I am usually seen not as a Japanese but as a foreigner. At restaurants, people give me an English menu and praise me for being able to eat with chopsticks” (Fackler 2015, para 13). Indeed, as Claire outlined, her win was heavily criticised by the online community, with arguments such as “Shouldn’t the Japanese Miss Universe at least have a real Japanese face?” (Fackler 2015, para 9).

*Claire: “And I was like, ‘I get that, but you have also got to realize times are changing and people are gonna look different and not look what they might be perceived as 10 years ago’. And she was like, ‘Yeah, but we are not there yet’. I don’t know, maybe it is because it is my mom saying it, I am not offended because I know deep down, she would love it if I was Miss Japan.”*

In a later interview, Claire admitted that she would have liked to show her interview summary to her mother but felt this section about Miss Japan would be a sore topic. Claire feels understandably conflicted by the hypocrisy of her mother calling her Japanese but not accepting that her physical appearance was suitable for a Japanese beauty contest. I was also touched by Claire’s admission that “deep down, my mother would love it if I was Miss Japan,” perhaps another reminder of her mother’s resentment towards having children that would not be accepted in Japan.

But beauty standards are not the only instance in which Claire’s world divides into black and white. She often hints that the image of a minority group is often reduced to the behaviour of a few individuals while ‘white people’, the ‘default’, can act independently.

*Claire: “As a white person, you probably see yourself as the default to others, if that makes sense. It’s like it’s ‘white’ and everyone else is ‘others’. You’re not often made to think about your skin colour, or the fact that you don’t speak ... like, you probably speak English if you live in Australia and you’re white, you know? And so, I agree in the sense that as a white person you probably never*

*think about 'race' as other people do. And, like, if you say something or do something, it's not considered a reflection of your whole race."*

In other words, Claire feels that a white person could do or say something negative and it would not be reflected upon their entire ethnic group, but rather considered the misbehaviour of an individual. In the case of 'other' groups, one indiscretion is often projected onto the group as a whole. This is, of course, a well-established truth; findings by Verberk, Scheepers & Felling (2002) suggest that "unfavourable attitudes towards ethnic minorities manifest themselves through feelings of superiority, problematisation, generalisation of negative characteristics and the simultaneous individualisation of positive characteristics," (p. 200). This is further strengthened by Drybread (2018, p. 337) who emphasises that especially within the context of crime, there are continuous "national myths that associate criminality with poverty and dark skin, and innocence with wealth and whiteness" which have seen the rise of 'racialised criminality' (Cunneen 2018, p. 278) and 'ethnicising criminality' (Poynting 2000, p. 63). In the Australian context, this link between poverty, violence and unlawfulness is specifically drawn to either foreigners, immigrants and second-generation immigrants (Poynting 2000) or the Indigenous and black population (Cunneen 2018). Minority stereotypes further impact views about intelligence and academic performance (Maass & Cadinu 2011) and the dominant culture often associates entire ethnic groups with unwillingness to work, unwillingness to adjust to the local lifestyle and abuse of the social security system (Verberk, Scheepers & Felling 2002).

It is tempting to look at Kai's, Theresa's and Claire's comments and conclude that there is an overall anti-white sentiment. They paint the picture of a host society that is dominated by largely negative notions of whiteness which connote unjust standards of beauty, a lack of cultural awareness, unfavourable attitudes towards minorities or the inability to form and maintain healthy relationships. Inevitably, one could look at their comments and wonder: Are they, too, being racist? Are their anti-white sentiments just as dangerous as the racism they experience?

The short answer to these prickly questions is that no, it is not racist but yes, it is dangerous.



I will elaborate on my latter point in great detail in Chapter 7 as I argue that these stereotypes and notions such as white-washing ultimately clash with hybridity. But to address the first point, they may have expressed their antipathy in racial terms, they are not truly racially motivated.

To support this point, I refer to Nelson et al (2018) who propose that power relations are key in understanding race relations as well. In scholarly literature, a popular (though arguably oversimplified) equation to determine racism is 'Prejudice + Power = Racism' which serves to capture not only the ideas themselves, but also the power dynamics and relationship between the individuals. Nelson et al (2018, p. 344) aptly explain that "questions of power necessarily introduce questions of structure and history," echoing Bourdieu's framework of the power relations in the field. Song (2014, p. 125) builds on this understanding by arguing that "the trend toward growing equivalence in how racism is understood (as experienced by almost anyone, and understood to apply to a wide array of interactions involving almost any utterance of racial terms and attributions) is worrying, as it denudes the idea of racism of its historical basis, severity and power," (emphasis in original).

While my participants kept referring to 'white people', their comments are motivated by the unfair power dynamics between host society and generations of immigrants, reflecting historic evidence of abuse towards immigrants and people of colour, and their own first-hand experience of discrimination and exclusion. It appears to be resentment toward the general idea of there being a dominating 'host society' which inevitably places them at a disadvantage. I argue this because the same type of feelings were expressed by Leena who did not grow up surrounded by an Anglo-Celtic host community, and indeed, she views her connection to Australia as a weapon towards *her* host society.

*Leena: "I'll share something with you today which I don't usually say out loud. So when I go to Kuwait, all of a sudden, I hear myself say, 'I'm from Australia.' Absolutely, I'm still very proud of my Indian heritage, but the first thing that comes out of my mouth is 'Australian.' Because I know the minute [Kuwaitis] hear that, they think differently about you. The Kuwaitis are very sheltered. They are the richest--one of the richest countries in the world. The government*

*does everything for them. They provide them housing, like, they're spoilt brats. Absolutely spoilt brats. They have now started to go out and study overseas. So, when they come to Australia, do you think anyone gives a damn about the fact that they're from Kuwait? Over here, do you think I would give a damn? Absolutely not. So, they've got the reality check."*

Leena obviously uses her status as Australian citizen as an opportunity to leverage her own status against Kuwaitis. Unlike considering it as something cold and uncultured, she views her citizenship – a luxury not afforded to her by Kuwaitis - as a trump card. When she identifies as Australian and has a passport to prove it, she is no longer simply the Indian expat at the mercy of locals, but rather part of an equally powerful – if not more powerful – social group. It shows that she does not necessarily discredit Australian culture and whiteness in the way Kai, Claire and Theresa do. She does however discredit Kuwaiti culture and attitudes, which hints towards a type of resentment that is not aimed at any particular race, but rather its status of 'dominant' combined with the participants' inability to be accepted into this dominant group. The fact that Leena repeatedly calls Kuwaitis "spoilt brats" is not removed from the labour statistics outlined in the introduction, for among those officially recognised as "Kuwaitis" only a minority are in the work force. To Leena, this might paint the picture of a community who enjoys a very affluent lifestyle without needing to put in the hard work that many Indian-born and second-generation Indians do in Kuwait.

Leena is the only person in my research who does not readily identify with the people of the country in which she was born and raised, in this case Kuwaiti. I also thought it was particularly interesting that she identifies as Australian, which seemed quite unusual when considering typical Diaspora ties to the homeland. I decided to ask a little more about this, and her answers brought to the fore an array of racist experiences. Leena's family was subjected to many instances of racism while living in Kuwait, often directed at her father who wears a turban. She talked about instances at airports, where Kuwaiti officials would treat her family rudely, but also simply "Arab boys making fun of us in the street". Combined with all the bureaucratic limitations of Indian expats, Leena repeatedly said that it really hurt her feelings again and again.

Despite these feelings towards Australia, Leena was not spared from beauty ideals that celebrate 'whiteness'. It is easy to see the similarities between Leena and Claire, and their shared struggle of having dark skin in societies which consider only fair or white skin beautiful. This became explicitly evident when she spoke about her older sister, a heart-wrenching comment that shall conclude this chapter.

*Leena: "She's beautiful, she's tall, she's skinny, she's fair compared to me. I remember a situation where we went to meet this extended family, and my sister wasn't there. And this person who met us made a comment, 'Oh, so this is the second daughter isn't she?' My mum said, 'Yeah, this is my second daughter.' And she's like, 'That's right because I was wondering, because your other one is really beautiful and fair and this one is a dark one.' This has stayed with me."*

## 5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has offered a discussion of the terms 'race', 'visibility' and 'intersectionality'. In particular; this chapter has demonstrated that identity is often reduced to biological factors such as skin colour or other visible reminders of migration, such as names.

I have argued that intersectionality is a key concept in understanding the realities of individuals who are a visible minority. I have explained its interrelationship with the notion of the one-drop rule which places perceived blood line above individual reality. I have demonstrated in this chapter that heritage which is visible overpowers all other forms of identity, evident in the experiences of these four young people who have grappled with racial slurs and perceptions of whiteness all their lives. Visible markers of identity seem to be the only thing people recognise, even though my participants clearly verbalised that this is not the way they see themselves. I refer back to Sen who describes it eloquently as "the insistence that the misdescribed characteristics are the only relevant features," (2006, p. 7).

I have specifically argued in this chapter that the concept of visibility is of importance in understanding these realities. I have supported this view through two examples; firstly, with my own experience of *invisibility* while attending Kindergarten and primary school in Sardinia. Secondly, by presenting Theresa's feelings towards being described as white Australian. Despite recognising that 'whiteness' was linked to 'privilege', she generally felt that being considered 'white' was a liability because she was unable to tap into her heritage community. These two examples served to illustrate that rather than any particular race, it was visibility and appearing *out of place* that created the issue.

Specifically, this chapter has argued that being visible is an experience that is in stark contrast to those second-generation migrants who can 'pass' in their host society. Importantly, visibility was not only an issue outside the home, but also within the family and heritage community in which they were not accepted as 'beautiful' or 'physically typical' representations of their heritage culture. I have presented a very overt excerpt from my research dealing with the winner of the Miss Universe Japan 2015 pageant, Ariana Miyamoto, and perceptions of what kind of body can be considered Japanese.

This chapter has also found that due to their experiences of exclusion and non-acceptance, all of my participants hold reservations about the desirability of host society culture and values, possibly brought about by the inability to be accepted by the dominant group. There was a critique of white-washing, and a generalised belief that the host community is cold and devoid of any cultural competence.

Overall, visibility has played a key role in raising feelings of exclusion, anger and embarrassment. The next chapter will continue the discussion of how such feelings – or *affective responses* – can impact behaviour and ultimately, language use.

## Chapter 6: Affect Theory and Habitus: Not to Speak *is* to Speak

### 6.1 Introduction to the Chapter

In the previous chapters, I have outlined the significance of heritage, identity and visibility in the lives of my participants. I have demonstrated that at the heart of many of the trajectories outlined in this study is pain – a kind of pain which results from chasing values which are unattainable, including nationality, a specific physical appearance or a single affiliation. In this chapter, I establish a framework which explains how all these experiences trigger affective responses and shape the way my participants behave, identify and present themselves. I build my framework based on the works of Pierre Bourdieu, Margaret Wetherell and Edward Lawler, marrying their theories of habitus and affect respectively.

Allow me to ease into this framework with an anecdote involving me and the Turkish dish *cacik*. It is a type of yoghurt-based minty garlic dip, more commonly known under its Greek name ‘Tzatziki’ or in English often referred to simply as ‘garlic sauce’. It is my favourite side dish and I tend to eat it like other people eat ketchup - with almost everything. Bear with me as I use this seemingly pedestrian example about garlic sauce to justify philosophical principles of affect theory and habitus.

A few years ago, I was out with friends in Sydney, and after watching a show we decided to eat at a nearby Turkish restaurant. As we were placing our order, the (Turkish) waiter asked me which sauce I’d like with my meal, and without giving it much thought, I said *cacik*. As I was turning to resume my conversation with my friends, the waiter interrupted me and asked, “*Türk müsün?*” (are you Turkish?). I felt anxiety wash over me as I didn’t want to have this all-familiar conversation now. “My mother is Turkish,” I said matter-of-factly, in English, smiled, and tried to return to my conversation. He switched back to English, but he wouldn’t give in. “So, your mother is Turkish and you are not?” he said mockingly, condescendingly, in a daring, confronting manner. It was the same tone, the same phrase I have heard from my mother all my life. As I started to feel more defensive, I could feel my face blushing, my hands sweating. I felt a familiar anger, one that is “all the more maddening for its lack of a clear target” (Obama

1995, p. 300). For all my self-awareness and experience, I still had no smart or convincing answer for this waiter. I was angry because of the assumptions he made, “his easy familiarity with me... that for me only underscored my uneasy status” as a person who does not fit into his framework (Obama 1995, p. 301). Ultimately, all I could say was “yes”, and with my body demonstratively turning away from him, I clearly marked the end of this upsetting conversation. I spent the rest of the dinner feeling anxious and edgy. I avoided eye contact with all waiters and made an effort to appear cheerful and relaxed despite feeling humiliated and wanting to leave. I could not shake those feelings for the rest of the night, and sadly, my only memory of this social gathering is how awful saying *cacik* made me feel.

There could have been any number of emotional reactions to the question *Türk müsün?* – I could have felt happy that I was recognised by a fellow Turkish person because I knew the word, or perhaps I could have felt flattered by the fact that I obviously pronounced it well enough to be mistaken for a native speaker. But alas, all I felt was crushing anxiety and anger for the rest of the night.

Since that incident, I have learned my lesson. When I order my Turkish food now, I carefully say “garlic sauce” or “tzatziki”. If I feel especially scrutinised by the staff, I purposely mispronounce the names of dishes as an English-speaker would do. No questions asked. I walk out of there a happy customer who did not just deal with a resurfacing identity crisis.

Last year, I found myself at dinner, once again, this time with my partner and his new friends, a lovely Iranian couple. I browsed the menu of the Iranian restaurant they invited us to, and to my surprise I recognised similar words and dishes from Turkey. As I looked around and listened, I realised that all customers and waiters appeared to be speaking languages which were unfamiliar to me. The coast is clear, I thought.

When the waiter came and asked for our orders, I pointed to something at a neighbouring table that didn’t seem to be on the menu and asked, “is this like *cacik?*”, hoping that he’d understand what I was looking for. He had a big smile on his face “Yes, yes, it’s like Turkish *cacik*, you are Turkish! How wonderful, all this way in Australia and we find our neighbours!

Welcome to our restaurant, we love having our Turkish friends here, I will bring you a big bowl of *cacik*.”

This time, I felt all warm and fuzzy, and I was happy to talk about my Turkish background as the waiter returned with more questions. Perhaps I felt that way because there was no pressure, expectation and obligation. I didn't owe him an explanation or apology, as I so often feel with Turkish or Italian people, nor was he disappointed when he learned that it was only my mother who was Turkish. It simply felt that this time, saying *cacik* brought me closer to our new Iranian friends because now we had food to talk about, and it made me feel like a more highly regarded customer, cultured and familiar in their eyes, rather than just some 'out-of-place Aussie trying something exotic'. Needless to say, this has been my spiel whenever I find myself in Middle-Eastern company now.

Allow me to unpack this behaviour – one that is fairly illustrative of my findings relating to heritage language use overall.

In the first instance, speaking my heritage language resulted in a confronting conversation with a Turkish waiter that deeply upset me and gave me an array of negative emotions to deal with for the rest of the night - feelings of shame, guilt and anger. I had no control over my feelings, my reaction was neither voluntary nor rational, as are all emotions. However, based on this experience, I changed strategy and avoided saying 'cacik' again. While I cannot control how I felt the first time around, I can certainly avoid feeling it again by avoiding people, places or simply hiding what I know. This is supported by Awokoya (2012, p. 273) who found that:

“For many participants, others' questioning of their ethnic authenticity resulted in an internalized sense of not being truly Nigerian. They described a variety of emotions when their Nigerian identity was contested, including frustration, shame, rejection, and guilt... The fear of being rejected or tested by co-ethnics caused some to avoid social contact. Femi said, "I would intentionally stay away from Africans at my school because I didn't want them to question me and I didn't want to have to act for them."

In the second instance at the Iranian restaurant, I felt safe in using the word, and my emotional response was a pleasant one. Based on this experience, I adapted my behaviour to specifically

use it to my advantage when possible, to evoke those same positive emotions whenever the opportunity arises.

In this chapter, I aim to explain just how the emotions we have gathered in our trajectories translate into such behaviour. I argue that it can be explained by observing feelings and how these were internalised to develop language ‘habits’. This chapter will therefore pay special attention to the various strategies which my participants have developed in efforts to pass, fit in and form relationships.

Bourdieu’s work is undeniably fundamental in understanding these findings because again and again, my data echoes his principles and serves as illustration of the interplay between linguistic capital and linguistic market. However, one of the key shortcomings of his structuralist framework is that it fails to sufficiently integrate and recognise the importance of the affective aspects of human life (Reay 2015). Both how affect is conceptualised as well as its role in constructing the habitus in Bourdieu’s work is quite frequently debated and criticised in scholarly literature (e.g. Reay 2004; Aarseth 2016). In this chapter and the next section in particular, I aim to expand his framework to sufficiently integrate affect. My data will illustrate that exterior structures, interpersonal relationships and social interactions are internalised and ultimately impact heritage language use.

## 6.2 Affect Theory and Habitus: Bourdieu with a Side of Garlic Sauce

In Chapter 3, I have described the significance of heritage as capital. In this section, I would like to resume the Bourdieusian discussion and specifically discuss how capital is translated into social values, norms and habits, displayed through the *habitus*. Bourdieu (1977a, p. 72) defines the habitus as “structuring structure” and “systems of durable, transposable dispositions”. The practices produced by the habitus, he argues, are strategy-generated and enable agents to cope within this system of social positioning. It is through the workings of habitus that practice is linked with capital and field.

As argued by Reay (2004), while capital and field are widely used in scholarly literature and research, the concept of habitus has been widely ill-defined or criticised, and Bourdieu himself



frequently challenged definitions and understanding of this concept. Indeed, much of my energy went into clearly conceptualising the habitus given the vast body of work available on its definition. It was again useful to read definitions of the term ‘habitus’ in Latin - *Modus Operandi*. In English, this can be loosely translated as ‘the mode in which we operate’. In earlier interpretations, the habitus was conceptualised as ‘the meaning and memory of experience’, ‘the getting-used to’, ‘a practical memory which guides action’ (Erlar, 2003). Bourdieu (1984) argues that the habitus is shaped and conditioned by the way we were raised and how we have experienced the world around us. In other words, it is a set way of thinking and acting which we learn through our own life history.

It is here that my *cacik* example brings to life this philosophical principle; I have conditioned myself to use the word in certain situations and avoid it in others based on my past memories of how the world around me responded to it. But how do we develop this sense of judgement? Bourdieu (1998, pp. 80-81) uses a sports analogy to explain the nature of habitus and its practice:

“Having the feel for the game is having the game under your skin; it is to master in a practical way the future of the game; it is to have a sense of the history of the game... a good player is the one who *anticipates*, who is ahead of the game... because she has the immanent tendencies of the game in her body.”

(emphasis in the original)

Important here are notions of *feel* for the game, having a *history* of the game and *anticipating* the future of the game.

I have only used one word – *cacik* – for my example, but there are of course countless examples of such encounters, repeated again and again. Further, there are obviously many languages and identities I can and do play with. In the game of identity, and above all, the game of securing the best social position in any given situation, I apply behaviours that are tried and tested, that I do not think about any more simply because they’ve become part of me.

One of its fundamental features is that the habitus is an embodied system that guides our perception and actions in the field - or as Reay (2004) puts it, it is not only our bodies that are in the social world, but it is the social world which is in our bodies. Bourdieu (1998) argues that

it is through observation, conditioning and past practices that dispositions, preferences, tastes and standpoints are sedimented in a way that they guide future conduct. More specifically, if practices or actions are not socially supported or resourced, they are displayed less often or perhaps disappear entirely.

This is particularly important because it explains how capital is applied, displayed and developed over time and can easily be applied to language use. Again, my *cacik* use and non-use serves to illustrate this point. In this context, the habitus can be understood as a linguistic coping mechanism which is very much shaped by the structures around us – we develop language ‘habits’ (whether within the same language or in multiple languages) which secure our best position or future in a particular market. In this, our own internalised perception of what the market values and how our linguistic capital measures up, plays a key role in practice.

In defining and incorporating affect theory to this framework, I refer to Wetherell’s (2012) work ‘Affect and Emotion’. Delving into the neurological aspects of affect extends well beyond the scope of this study; however, I refer to Wetherell’s chapter on ‘bodying affect’ in which she explains in great depth the various (yet not unproblematic) understandings of how the brain processes sensory information and integrates this with prior knowledge.

What I would like to discuss here, however, is Wetherell’s concept of ‘affective practice’ as this focuses on the social aspect of affect. She defines it as ‘the emotional’ that is always turned on and moving along social action. In affective practice, “bits of the body... get patterned together with feelings and thoughts, interaction patterns and relationships,” (p.14).

Integrating affective elements need not contradict Bourdieu’s general theory, quite the contrary is the case. The term ‘embodied’ is what makes Wetherell’s concepts tie in with Bourdieu’s framework. A closer look at his writing reveals that he was increasingly attentive to subjective emotional processes. Bourdieu’s definition of the habitus itself as a ‘*feel*’ for the game and something you carry ‘under your skin’ indicates that it is quite explicitly an affective process in the way I have described it here. This definition sits in harmony with Wetherell’s work in which she argues that feelings as a practical consciousness is a kind of intuitive ‘know how’. In addition, Bourdieu deals with the embodied nature of the habitus in quite some depth

in 'Pascalian Meditations' (2000). He speaks of the 'incorporation' of the structures, here referring to the Latin word 'corpus', and explains that the body 'has the capacity to... be impressed and durably modified' by the world. Past experiences, he continues, are *inscribed* in the body and he further explains that this inscription is "largely marked by affectivity and, more precisely, by affective transactions with the environment" (Bourdieu 2000, p. 141).

With this in mind, Lawler (2001) argues that positive exchanges can strengthen affiliation and affective attachments to a certain social unit (i.e. an individual, group or network), while the opposite is true when the interaction produces negative emotions, such as shame, anger and anxiety. All these various emotions produce some sort of a bodily response, e.g. fear will raise the heartbeat, anger will increase the body temperature and so on. Similarly, Bourdieu acknowledges that acts are internalised in the form of emotions. For instance, in the exchange of gifts (or symbolic goods), the recipient develops a feeling of debt towards the gift giver. This acknowledgement of debt, Bourdieu (1998, p. 102) argues, "becomes recognition, a durable *feeling* toward the author of the generous act, which can extend to affection or love" (emphasis in the original). Therefore, the concept of 'making sense of the world through the body' or as Wetherell puts it, 'embodied meaning-making' (2012, p.4) is both useful and concise, especially in understanding social relations and their impact on the individual's view of the world. This is very much in line with Bourdieu's reference to 'internalisation of objective structure' (1998, p. 25) and the incorporated nature of the habitus.

All these scholars stress the importance of time and memory. Indeed, Bourdieu refers to the body as 'memory-jogger' (1984, p. 474) which encourages some behaviour and censors others depending on its memory of past interactions. Especially when we speak about childhood, the fact that negative memories are retained more strongly than positive ones, has been well-established in psychology literature (e.g. Baumeister 2001). Even among those who rate their childhood as happy overall, much of the individual memories revolve around a negative experience. While it is not entirely clear why this is the case, Baumeister (2001) suggests that this is because negative experiences are more likely to be stored as memories as they evoked a fear response and trigger a behavioural pattern in order to avoid the same situation from happening again.

I consider this to be fundamental knowledge for two reasons; first, it supports the interplay between the (linguistic) market, affective responses and the subsequent shaping of the habitus. On this, I refer back to my *cacik* experience. Secondly, it is important in understanding my participants' narration and the validity of their experiences in kindergarten and primary school. None of my interviewees described their childhoods overall as unhappy, yet the vast majority of their memories relating to this period were overwhelmingly negative. This is because many of the behavioural patterns relating to being visible were formed during this time and have sedimented well into adulthood.

The key shortcoming of Bourdieu's framework is that even when acknowledging the emotional, he presents affect as something that is unreflective, a purely non-conscious biological action which is never planned, self-regulated or negotiated. One of the most contested arguments in scholarly literature, which Bourdieu himself grappled with frequently, is whether the habitus is a mechanical apparatus, or whether individuals consciously exercise agency (e.g. Bourdieu 2000). I have personally explored this tension to analyse my data, however this attempt proved to be rather fruitless and unable to fully grasp the underlying realities of my findings. Analysing agency did not seem to be a useful approach as the concept itself is inconclusive and thus did not sufficiently explain behaviour.

Against both these theories, I put forward the idea that an affective, involuntary reaction lays the foundation for a rational, strategic action.

Firstly, affective responses can be considered involuntary, and in this, Bourdieu was perhaps right in arguing that they are reactions rather than actions. An individual does not have control over how the external is internalised, and as such, it cannot be considered a rational process (Lawler 2001). To borrow Wetherell's words once more, she says that "we only become conscious of how our bodies and minds have been recruited and entangled after the event. Body states... are suffered rather than acted, and the tears, blushes, fainting and jolting have their own involuntary motion" (2012, p. 21).

However, rather than merely being sedimented in the habitus as non-conscious fixed biological response patterns, I argue that actors can and do use memories strategically to reconfigure

social relations. Lawler (2001, p. 347) supports this by stating that actors are “motivated to reproduce positive emotions and avoid negative emotions” based on past interactions and experience. The focus here perhaps is specifically on the ‘practice’ aspect. Wetherell (2012, p.23) argues that “the past, and what has been done before, constraint the present and the future”. These past reference points establish repetition – a practice – in which we do things. My strategic use of the word *cacik* exemplifies this; it shows Bourdieu’s pursuit for symbolic power very clearly, and it equally highlights Lawler’s goal of reproducing positive emotions and avoiding negative ones. While my initial emotional responses (of shame and anger) may have been unintentional, the goal of avoiding these unpleasant feelings -either linguistically or by avoiding places and people altogether - can be considered a strategic and rational process (Lawler, 2001). Similarly, I have made a conscious effort to reproduce pleasant feelings with positive relational outcomes, as can be seen in the Iranian restaurant example. While I used a linguistic example here, this same principle could apply in any form of social exchanges e.g. manners and behaviours and so on.

With this, I put the structure versus agency debate to rest. I can quite clearly be rational and strategic in the way I use my heritage identity and my heritage languages (or in Bourdieusian terms, my capital) and so are all my participants. However, this is a response, an affective practice, to the external structures around me. In other words, while I can consciously try to avoid negative feelings by avoiding certain behaviour, it is not a response to a rational thought but rather a response to an emotional experience. There is nothing rational about religiously avoiding using *cacik* with a Turkish waiter and mispronouncing things on purpose yet using it as an opening statement with an Iranian waiter. However, it is a carefully calculated strategy because of how it makes me feel when I behave this way – most importantly, how it makes me feel when I don’t.

For this study, and in developing Bourdieu’s framework, I consider that the habitus and its ability to ‘read the room’ are built on these affective responses and is overall a reflection of the way such social exchanges are internalised and embodied. This is vital in understanding the practice that connects capital and field, and likewise, linguistic capital and the market. I believe that it is necessary to add these emotional dimensions to Bourdieu’s framework. I am certainly

not the first person to do this (refer to Reay 2000, 2015; Silva 2016; Wetherell 2012), however I believe that my data offers a new and rich sociolinguistic perspective ‘from the inside’.

For instance, let us remember the stories of Claire and Theresa. In both cases, their mothers had humiliating experiences on buses, planes and other public spaces as not being recognised as parent to their own daughters. As Claire explains, her mother got upset and defensive, “yelling into daylight” until the situation was resolved. Regret, shame and disappointment are evident in her statement “that is not the way she wanted it to be” and “she didn’t want me to see” these hurtful situations. Theresa’s mother obviously carries with her a certain level of anxiety, as Theresa describes “when she sees people looking”, which sounds like it would be a frequent reaction to them being seen in public together. Theresa herself says “I *feel* disconnected from my mum”.

These statements are filled with internalised, embodied perceptions of how the ‘outside’ reacts to these mothers and their daughters. As argued by Busch (2017), foregrounding such bodily and emotional dimensions in intersubjective interactions can be helpful in understanding the development of the linguistic repertoire. The experiences have caused overwhelmingly negative affective responses, and in practice, this has evidently translated into the mothers’ reinforcement of speaking Tagalog and Japanese only. Although both mothers are now competent in English, these language practices largely persist. Perhaps more than a desire to have their heritage language passed on, it was response to these emotional encounters. In the next sections, I will draw connections between language use and habitus, and illustrate the underlying emotional experiences which have led to this behaviour.

### **6.3 Imposed Censorship and Self-Censorship: Erasing Themselves**

If we assume that emotional experiences are shaping the habitus and as such, the practice in the field, understanding what experiences have felt like also help us understand whether a linguistic resource is displayed and leveraged. However, it is virtually impossible to listen to someone’s recounts of the past and guess what they might have been feeling at the time.

My research method of using a sensory approach has been helpful for my participants to relive some of those moments and verbalise some of the feelings associated with a memory. However, as I acknowledge in Chapter 2, the stimuli were unplanned and spontaneous, which meant that memories were captured not necessarily in chronological or any other form of order, or according to their overall significance in the life history of these individuals.

As I have argued in many of the preceding chapters, entering the school system is a critical time in the hybrid life history as it triggers the first realisation of being ‘different’ – or rather, of being ‘bad different’. As we have seen, this impacts relationships and the ability to connect as one is constantly pointed out as the Other, as not belonging. In Chapters 4 and 5, I have at length outlined some of what my participants experienced, though I recognised the limitations of my ability to elaborate how exactly this felt, and subsequently, how these affective responses resulted in more strategic behaviour.

In helping me fill this gap, I once again turned to one of the scholars that has been most influential in my understanding of the issue, Julie Choi. In her auto-ethnographic work, she predominantly relied on her own diaries to follow her story (and above all, her thoughts) in better understanding her relationship to her heritage language and community. Choi (2017) argues that “Diaries are commonly thought of as private and secret spaces in which individuals tell their “true” feelings” (p. 72). Unfortunately, none of my participants had such a diary for me to study. I was also never the type of person who seriously wrote regular recounts of my day as Choi did, but I did have a different kind of diary. As I mentioned elsewhere, especially at a younger age, I felt that I didn’t yet have a word for my new fear and anxiety, and it was perhaps for this very reason that instead of writing my own thoughts down on paper, I wrote down song lyrics. I captured my feelings in the form of song lyrics which I wrote down, underlined and doodled around. Lyrics have always helped me give words and meaning to some of what I was feeling at any given time. In line with my sensory ethnographic research method, on a recent trip to my mother’s house I found those old diaries and decided to listen to those same records to get inside my teenage head and better understand what I was thinking and feeling at that time. Perhaps like any other teenager, issues of identity became particularly overwhelming to me in my teens, so I went through my notes to look at my music preferences of that time.

All in all, I was the kind of teenager who loved R'n'B and pop music, and I couldn't help but laugh at myself at the now-embarrassing music I enjoyed listening to 20 years ago. At the same time, I also found the entries insightful in highlighting all the typical phases a teenager goes through, everything from clashing with your parents to experiencing one's first love. Importantly, a period I had almost forgotten about resurfaced now during my research, a period I can now see was all about me dealing with issues of heritage, identity and visibility. Very out of character for me, for a number of years, I was very fond of the band Linkin Park, a New Metal band. Especially between the ages of 13 and 20, I seemed to have been quite captivated by their music, evident in the fact that I wrote and re-wrote certain segments of their lyrics over and over. As I spent one afternoon listening to these songs, I was taken back in an instance. Pictures popped up in my head, emotions were rolling, and I remembered the darkness that I felt at the time. To provide a fuller picture of this, I filtered out some passages that seemed to have particular significance to my research.

From the song "By Myself", I had written down:

If I'm killed by the questions like a cancer  
Then I'll be buried in the silence of the answer  
(Linkin Park 2000a)

This was very eye-opening and highlighted one key theme discussed in this thesis thus far, which is the "where are you from" interrogation. I was particularly taken aback by how many times I wrote and underlined "If I'm killed by the questions like a cancer" over several years. If we think back to the excerpts I shared in Chapter 4, this was echoed by my participants who often described "anger", "frustration", "defeat" and "painful reminders of not belonging" when they were asked. The response being "my own silence" was also quite striking in this, as even nowadays I seem to be failing at finding ready answers to this question. I was contemplating over the seriousness of it "killing you like a cancer", and how this has translated in very specific behaviour to avoid such confrontations. I avoid places and people to protect myself, just as Kai for instance, avoids the entire nation of Greece because he feels it would take a serious emotional toll on him.



Similarly, in the song “In the End”, I seemed to process my arguments with my parents over not identifying with my heritage:

In spite of the way you were mocking me  
Acting like I was part of your property  
Things aren't the way they were before  
You wouldn't even recognize me anymore  
Not that you knew me back then

(Linkin Park 2000b)

I remembered being very attached to the phrase “acting like I was part of your property”, in reference to my parents expecting that I must continue their practices and that they get to decide this. The changing notions of “back then” and “now”, a time where they “wouldn’t recognise me anymore” were helpful to understand the transition from being at home to entering school and gradually changing my ways. Finally, the phrase “not that you knew me back then” was important to me because I had always felt that my parents had a very limited understanding of my particular situation because they have no experience of having parents from different cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. This might shed some light on Theresa’s feelings as she was “butting heads” with her father and how they were becoming very frustrated over her not wanting to continue both sports and learning Hungarian. Similarly, it might shed some light on the clashes between Claire and her father.

The same battles were processed frequently, e.g. I repeatedly wrote sections of the song “Numb”:

I'm tired of being what you want me to be  
Put under the pressure of walking in your shoes  
Can't you see that you're smothering me  
Holding too tightly, afraid to lose control?  
'Cause everything that you thought I would be  
Has fallen apart right in front of you

(Linkin Park 2003b)

This passage illustrates some feelings towards disappointing parents in this heritage argument, but also expressing a desire to be given choice, not to be “smothered” by “pressure” and “expectations” of “walking in their shoes”. These words could certainly describe any number of teenager’s experiences with their parents, and I am fairly certain that these songs were not dealing with the issue of heritage languages. Nevertheless, I interpreted these in relation to

my specific issues with heritage and identity and they shed some light on the feelings towards the themes outlined in Chapter 3, especially the notion of ‘control’ or as I called it, the lack of autonomy.

I was also dealing with my resentment towards ideas discussed in Chapter 4, of being pushed into ‘pretending to be someone’, trying to ‘trick others’, notions of passing which were clearly a betrayal of how I saw myself. I do remember being very angry with myself, and in fact, often disappointing myself. I found my words in “Figure 09”:

I can't separate myself from what I've done  
Giving up a part of me, I've let myself become you  
I regret saying those things 'cause now I see  
That I took what I hated and made it a part of me  
(Linkin Park 2003a)

They shed some light on some very moving statements made by my participants. There were notions of frustration, shame, guilt, self-hate and uncertainty. Below are some ways in which my participants have voiced their feelings.

Of rejecting his Greek heritage, Kai says:

*“I've spent like 20 years **hating a part of myself**...sort of a thing. And then being like, well no, actually there are some good things. It's a cradle of civilization.”*

Of introducing herself as “Australian” in Kuwait, Leena says:

*“When they ask where I'm from I'll say Australia straight away. Am I ashamed of saying I'm an Indian? Not at all. But I guess it's just the way that culture is, all of a sudden you say ‘Australian’ and you're a little bit superior to them because straight away the western culture is a bit superior. **I hate myself for doing that**, because I don't believe in that necessarily, I don't think western culture is superior to my culture. But do I still do that every now and then? I do.”*

And a reminder of how Theresa described giving up on Hungarian:

*“I just feel like I could have showed more of an interest ... when I was younger, to make us feel more connected to the culture, but I didn't. I let down the expectations of becoming that. Of course, my dad would want me to know his Hungarian side and everything, **so that's just a bit disappointing that I let it go so easily.**”*

So how did these very intense feelings in the past and present impact behaviour, and heritage language use?

As mentioned throughout this paper, being ‘Turkish’ was the toughest aspect for me to deal with but the realisation did not come in the form of a political awareness an adult might have. Rather, I remember things a child might remember, such as my school lunch.

My mother used to be a chef, an excellent one. She owned a Turkish restaurant in my hometown which was very popular - she was even featured in the local newspaper. Decades after she sold it, people still recognised her and asked her for recipes. And lucky me, I was getting this restaurant-class food for my school lunches. And I hated it.

It wasn't so much the food, but I hated the reactions of my classmates. Every single day it felt like a freak show where kids would surround me as I opened my lunch box and ask me ‘Eeeww what is that??’ or say things like ‘your food smells really weird’. Lunch hour became my hour of embarrassment and shame, I recognised that somehow, what my family ate was weird-smelling and weird-looking for everyone but me.

Kai expressed the same issue:

*“If you're like the one kid with this giant moussaka at lunch time, it's feels different.”*

Similarly, Theresa mentioned food:

*“I’m exposed to so many more things. Not just the language, but like the food especially. Food that my friends have no idea what it is.”*

The fact that having an “ethnic lunchbox” can lead to divisions among children is also prevalent in similar research. For instance, Nukaga (2008) argues that school lunchtime is a space in which friendships are formed, group boundaries are set and identity formation occurs under minimal adult supervision. In her US research, she found that co-ethnicity was often identified based on an appreciation of the same food. Most notably, children of Korean families were able to swap foods among each other, but not with children of other backgrounds as they did not know the dishes. This also meant they socialised more with their co-ethnic peers during this break time than with others. Further, Karrebæk (2012) argues that “certain traditional food items (rye bread) are treated as superior to certain others that minority children regularly bring” (p. 1).

As mentioned previously, I was generally the only non-white child at school, so I was also the only one with an ‘ethnic’ or ‘minority’ lunch. The other kids all had the same thing: a sandwich (rye bread!), a piece of fruit and a salami snack called ‘BiFi’ which is a type of beef jerky. In line with the notion that this ensemble is considered superior, I begged my parents for one of those BiFi snacks to at least have something that was ‘normal’, but of course they never bought them. Asking for a change to my lunches would only be the beginning.

As already hinted, my aversion to ethnic things was particularly directed at my Turkish heritage. As I outlined in Chapter 3, most people did not know, care or acknowledge that I was also Italian and/or German. My primary school classmates and teachers were taken by surprise when during a school event, they heard me speak Italian to my father and translate things for him. Just like there were no other Turkish children in my surroundings, there were also no other Italians around. The entire time I lived in Germany, I never met a single Italian child or teenager; the only person I ever met was the man who drove the local ice cream truck. Although Italians formed part of the same *Gastarbeiter* migration wave and also experience discrimination, it is less antagonistic which is especially evident in how aggressively the media treats Turks (Geißler & Weber-Menges 2009). One of the main reasons is that Italians have a longer immigration history to Germany than Turkish people do (Nauck 2007). The biggest

Italian emigration waves occurred during Italian unification in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and in the periods of the two World Wars (Del Boca & Venturini 2005). Italy was the first country to sign the guest worker agreement with Germany in 1955, whereas Turkey entered the agreement in 1961 (Malteser Migrationsbericht 2017). While Italian immigration began to decline sharply in the 1970s and 1980s (Del Boca & Venturini 2005) more Turkish immigrants arrived both as guest workers and as asylum seekers following a military coup in Turkey (Malteser Migrationsbericht 2017). Thus, instead of Turkish guest workers returning home (as was the idea) more people arrived, making it the largest migrant group today. The greater social distance between Turks and Germans exists for a number of other reasons as well; Italians form part of the European Union, tend to be Christian and have historically been political and military allies (Nauck 2007).

Perhaps because Italians are perceived as ‘the devil you know’, I considered my Italian heritage as the ‘lesser of two evils’, although my time spent living in Italy also enabled me to connect with the culture more. But as I said, all people saw in me was a Turk. Since my mother was the one cooking and packing my lunch, I generally brought Turkish dishes, and it further emphasised my ‘Turkishness’ to those around me.

Other than my lunch, I also asked to dye my hair, change my name and change the way our house is furnished to get rid of my mom’s Persian carpets. I asked my mother not to play Turkish music in the car or when we had guests and I asked her to hide the Turkish books in our shelves. Of course, the answer to all these things was always ‘no’.

What I was trying to do is what we briefly touched on earlier – I was trying to change things about me to be more like everyone else I knew, to pass as one of them.

The practice of passing has conventionally been defined as a socially motivated process in which a person assumes an identity which does not naturally or rightfully belong to them (Caughie, 2010). This appropriation of behaviour is often considered a form of illegitimacy, impersonation or deception. As I outlined in the previous chapter, passing is presenting oneself in such a way that the ‘difference cannot be seen’. It is very difficult to pass with clearly visible

barriers, however. If I can't change my name, the colour of my skin or get my parents to buy me a BiFi, what else can be done to fit in?

There is one visible aspect we have control over, a thing we can change: Language.

For instance, I realised that all my school friends spoke German all the time – to each other, to their parents, at home and outside. I also spoke other languages, which made me different. So - in an effort to pass - I simply pretended that I didn't.

My mother pinpoints this Kindergarten age to be the time I started fighting with her over speaking Turkish. First, it was between me and my sister as we both started talking German only, especially in public. As a next step, I also started only responding in German to my mother. Finally, I stopped responding in Turkish even when prompted by my mother. It infuriated her, because I obviously could understand and I could respond, but I didn't. Our fights were long and painful, and they went on for years and years, well into primary and high school. The more my mother screamed at me that I was Turkish, the more I drifted away from it all to prove her wrong. Perhaps the most infuriating part for her was the fact that I never exhibited such behaviour with my Italian heritage. I have always spoken Italian to my father, studied it in my own time and never once had an argument over it.

I pretended that I didn't speak Turkish until it became the truth.

My fate is shared by many of my peers.

De Finney (2010), for instance, presented powerful and heart-wrenching statements by her participants who silenced themselves in similar ways:

*“Some reported tangible experiences of self-censorship and blame, including “trying to erase” themselves, altering their appearance to lighten their hair and skin, modelling “the way they speak” and “making myself as white as possible so I could fit in” (p. 479).*

I was particularly taken aback by the notion of erasing oneself, because that is perhaps one of the best ways to put it. Today, and to my own surprise sometimes, I can barely say anything in

Turkish. I say to my own surprise because for the longest time I believed that I could still do it if I wanted to, because I remember being able to with ease. Alas, these days it almost seems to require superhuman strength and the biggest cognitive effort to remember a simple word like 'spoon'. I can barely form a sentence, and only give one syllable answers. My pronunciation is awful, immediately foreign. This struck me particularly because in home videos, Turkish was one of my first languages when I began speaking.

Upon realising what I had lost, it truly felt that I erased that part of myself. Perhaps because of this, I teared up a little during my interview with Kai when I heard him say this:

Kai: *"In primary school, for school assembly and they're like talking about different cultures and stuff, and they'll be like "Kai! How do you say hello in Greek?". You know, singling me out, and then everyone would turn and look. And I remember saying "I don't know"."*

Zozan: *"But you knew."*

Kai: *"Yeah, I knew."*

We both paused for quite a while here, reflecting.

Zozan: *"Why do you think you said, "I don't know?""*

Kai: *"Because I didn't want to be different, I guess. **They didn't know...so if I don't know, then I'm like them.**"*

This part of our interview provides very open, clear and honest evidence of attempts to pass through language. Kai verbalised what most of my interviewees went through at one point or another – silencing themselves and censoring their own language ability in such crucial moments of identifying with the host community. This strategy lives on well into adulthood - it is the exact same behaviour as I exhibited in my *cacik* anecdote - *'They didn't know...so if I don't know, then I'm like them.'* My friends don't know what it means, so if I don't know, I'm like them. Most importantly, the Turkish waiter knows the word, so the more I *don't* know, the less I'm like him.

Claire also remembers hiding her linguistic abilities, interestingly during the exact same period in her life.

*Claire: "In infant school or like kindergarten, to about year two, I definitely hid the fact that I could speak other languages, and I was insecure in the fact that I couldn't speak English."*

I believe that in here lies the key to rejection when it comes to heritage languages, and I believe that it is a very consciously driven process. Here, we see the very beginning of how affective responses (shame, insecurities, embarrassment) translates into strategic ways of applying (or not applying) language. I am supported in my claim by Khanna and Johnson (2010, p.381) whose research concluded that:

*"Respondents describe considerable agency in asserting their preferred racial identities to others, and they use various strategies/verbal identification/disidentification, selective disclosure, manipulation of phenotype, highlighting/downplaying cultural symbols, and selective association."*

Being selective and strategically using one's resources occurs throughout my research findings, especially when it comes to identity categories and language ability. What my research adds to this knowledge in the context of language is that if the behaviour of self-censorship is repeated often enough and becomes habitual, it will eventually result in the inability to speak the language. I am unable to speak Turkish today not because I am not linguistically gifted, or because I was not given the opportunity; it is because I habitually pretended not to speak it until one day when I tried, I realised I could no longer do it. The motivation behind this act was to identify with the Germans, and not be excluded for being weird and different.

In arguing this, I am supported by Fogle (2013) who found that participants exhibited "a need to pass as monolingual in peer groups" because they were "embarrassed by bilingualism" (p. 191). Further, one key participant engaged in "linguistic passing" by "pretending she doesn't know Spanish" in response to "the pressure to not know or not display Spanish language competence in the predominately monolingual high school context" (p.192).



This is very similar to statements made by Choi (2017, p. xxii) in her autoethnography, in which she describes her experiences with Korean (her heritage language):

“I was becoming increasingly silent in Korean. After moving to Sydney in 2007 from Tokyo, I became increasingly aware of my repeated acts of hiding my ability to speak Korean, of deciding not to reveal my Korean background in everyday encounters with Koreans... and of consciously making an effort to avoid Koreans whenever possible.”

In Csizér and Dörnyei’s (2005) theoretical perspective, our resistance might stem from our fears of what we might become if we speak our heritage language, which, in our view, would make us second-class citizens due to the negative social connotations and experiences we have made. This certainly supports Bourdieu’s notions of the linguistic market.

What I argue here is not that a young child understands the complexity of her actions in socio-political terms, nor do I argue that she is able to consciously ‘unlearn’ herself. Rather, I argue that she understands her body and mind responds to certain external reactions of exotification - being pointed out and everyone turning around to stare is a truly humiliating experience. If she can find a way not to be exotified, she can avoid feeling like this again. Pretending not to speak the language that seems to turn heads is one such way.

Although Theresa was not singled out at school for having Hungarian heritage, she did ‘butt heads’ with her father at the same age which interrupted her language learning process in Hungarian. In her story, it becomes clear that this was not motivated by her desire to fit in with the white Australian community (in which she could evidently pass anyway), but rather an issue in regard to the Filipino community. If we think back to the previous chapters, Theresa grew up in suburb with a high proportion of Filipinos and she also resents when people assume she is ‘just white’ because she feels a very strong connection to her Filipino heritage. We have also learned that in Theresa’s world, people who take on too much of ‘the white stuff’ are considered ‘white-washed’, and considered inauthentic and pretentious (referring back to the ‘conyo-elite’), and are not highly regarded. In layman’s terms, looking white could mean Theresa is losing “street cred”. Street credibility is a term particularly linked to black Americans and the HipHop scene but the concept itself helps us understand why Theresa might be averse to being considered white. Being street credible means that a person has been approved by

their own inner-city minority group (Balaji 2012). Acceptance and approval can be gained by sharing common challenges (usually related to socio-economic disadvantage), common language, jokes and behaviours, and perhaps also a common enemy, usually embodied by those representing the oppressor. This is perhaps one of the best examples to reiterate that Bourdieu's work is not a framework aimed at only understanding language and power at a national level, but also in highly contextual encounters and micro-scale realities.

Whiteness in Theresa's world means losing power, "street credibility", selling out and "white washing" all the shared values and characteristics that tie her to the warmth of her family and wider Filipino community. The experiences of travelling to the Philippines yearly throughout her primary school years would have amplified and raised further awareness of her visible disconnect from this community and, most notably, her mother. Not only was her mother mistaken as her caretaker, but she further talked about visits in the Philippines in this way:

*Theresa: "So when I go to Philippines, everyone looks at me, 'cause I come from the province. There's not a lot of white people that visit in that area. So, every time that I go there, they're just like 'Oh, there's a white person. She's here. She's white,' kind of thing. I don't like the attention. They acknowledge me as just white, and so when my mom's introducing me, she has to explain, "Oh, yeah, her dad's European."*

Going on holiday to the Philippines each year and regularly going through this process is essentially Theresa's experience of being singled out and turning heads. While it didn't seem to have occurred in the school environment, it nevertheless caused the same emotions of feeling out of place and being embarrassed. Over and over, she voices her frustration with the definition of 'just white' and that her father being European is cause for all of this. It is the European, the visible whiteness, the English name and the Hungarian surname that cause the attention she does not like. We further heard that for Theresa, language is the defining feature that distinguishes her from a white-washed person.

If this story sounds familiar, it's because it is the very same issue at hand – Theresa is struggling with her visibility, it is causing a disconnect and there is very little she can do except for

dropping the language associated with it - Hungarian. If she can disassociate linguistically, then perhaps she is considered more than 'just' white.

Again, this aspect leads me back to the problematic notion of race versus visibility. In Theresa's case, being white – which is typically associated with privilege and prestige – is actually the thing that causes her frustration. This is not in relation to her life in Australia more broadly, but rather in relation to the immediate surroundings of her neighbourhood and travel experiences related to connecting with her heritage, ancestry and identity. The outcome is the same - as this is the community she feels most attached to, she is exhibiting the same behaviour as Kai and Claire, which resulted in her 'giving up' Hungarian after years of 'headbutting' with her father over it.

My research findings demonstrate that the desire to pass goes further than just neglecting the heritage language; it also impacts the way the desired language is spoken. It is only because I am not the type of linguist that takes pleasure in analysing phonetics that this was not the focal point of my thesis. In an earlier hypothesis, I wanted to investigate whether people have control over the extent to which they sound like a native speaker, and whether some simply choose not to sound like one for reasons linked to identity. I suspected this in the first place because even after living in Germany for 40 years, my mother still has a bit of an accent. Most notably, in some words, she produces the alveolar trill /r/ – or in simple terms - she sometimes rolls her 'r'. While this might be standard practice in the south of Germany, Switzerland and Austria, in northern German and standard *Hochdeutsch*, the /r/ sound is produced through a uvular roll towards the back of the throat, similar to a gargle sound. I often wondered whether she was actually unable to pronounce the 'r' in the way locals do so I asked her to pronounce a specific word and make an effort with the 'r'. Lo and behold, she could actually pronounce the 'r' in the correct way and she sounded like a native speaker when she did. I asked her why she wouldn't always say it this way, and she said because it sounded strange and ugly to her. With this in my mind, it struck me when I heard Kai say the following:

*Kai: "Have you ever been to Clovelly beach? You know when you go in sometimes it's really packed they'll have the lifeguards at the front with like a bucket asking for a donation as you go in. And whenever we go in there, my*

*girlfriend, she'll always be like, 'your accent changed.' You know, cause when I open the door, or out of the window just speak to them I'm like, 'Ah G'Day Mate, Howsit going??' She's like 'you're sounding more Australian when you speak to that classic sort of lifeguard, Australian sort of people'. So, I guess I do change my accent subconsciously."*

Zozan: "So you feel more relaxed at home? You speak more neutrally?"

Kai: "Yeah."

In the *Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994) explains the effects of such mimicry as a way to 'camouflage' difference. Within the colonial context in which he wrote, he argues that mimicry "is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (p. 86, emphasis in the original). He further explains that mimicry is a form of self-regulation and discipline, brought on by intensified surveillance of the dominant power. If we think back to Kai's narrations about 'Australian surfer dudes' verbally abusing him, and the hatred he has fostered for them, it was astonishing to hear him recount instances of turning *into* that very surfer dude.

Indeed, Bhabha calls such mimicry 'profound and disturbing'. He further argues that "The menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority" (pp. 85-92). It is not only the ability to speak English, but specifically the ability to speak stereotypical Australian English that Kai believes will make him 'almost the same'. He very specifically explained:

*Kai: "People will sometimes ask you in a different way, 'your accent, where're you from?' Australian English is my mother tongue, I've spoken it for 30 years now!"*

Kai's use of the term 'Australian' English certainly raises issues of ethnolects and mainstream versions of Australian English. Analysing the various varieties and phonology extends beyond the scope of this study, but I refer to the work by Blair and Collins (2001) who examined Australian ethnolects extensively, especially among the second generation.

Though subconscious, it is a self-regulating practice that Kai has developed outside the home, as he admits to speaking differently when he is not with ‘lifeguard Australian sort of people’. When he is not within the safety of his home, he is subject to ‘increased surveillance’ and the kind of scrutiny that makes a school hall turn their heads towards him. It is interesting to see how this has translated not only into an inability to communicate in Greek, but also into the ability to fake Australianness through language.

Speaking the host language well turns into a very serious matter during school age, indeed for a young child trying to fit in, keep up and make friends, it becomes an existential necessity. For most of my participants, that main language was English, and their memories of being confronted with it were very profound.

Claire specifically remembers her painstaking efforts to avoid English as a Second Language (ESL) classes:

*Claire: “I guess I pretended that I could speak English when I needed more help. Yeah, the ESL thing. I definitely needed to go to ESL, but I just again lied and pretended I knew what was going on in class. I don't know how they didn't recognize that I wasn't writing or reading properly, but I lied about ESL definitely so didn't have to go.”*

*Zozan: “How did you hide it?”*

*Claire: “I think I just like pointed out other people's faults before they could pick on mine, and like just little things, like pretending I knew the word that was being used. Or use a word even though I don't know if I use it properly.”*

ESL classes seemed to be a big factor in early schooling for Kai and Claire. Evidently, whoever gets assigned to these classes is physically divided from the ‘normal’ children who speak English well, so avoiding it was a key goal for both. While Claire could evidently fool the school, Kai could not avoid it and his experience highlights the arbitrariness of ESL selection:

*Kai: “In year two or three I changed school and went to a different primary school, and automatically an ESL teacher came in. And she called my name out*

*and, like the other Greek kids to then go and do ESL classes. And in class I realised my English is better than everyone else's and I don't need ESL classes. So it's just like, 'we're trying to do you a favour because you have a funny surname by giving you English classes' but I was born here, my mum was born here, I've spoken from the cradle, so why are you singling me out to do ESL classes with the kid who's like fresh off the boat? [laughs]"*

The contentious nature of being sent to an ESL class which I found in my research, also finds ground in previous scholarly work. ESL teaching in Australia became widely available in the 1970s to help migrants overcome communication and integrative barriers necessary to start a successful new life (Oliver, Rochecouste & Nguyen 2017). It was also part of the post-colonial 'monolingual English only' sentiment which still dominated public policy and pedagogy at the time and formed part of Australia's assimilation efforts.

In particular, Oliver, Rochecouste & Nguyen (2017) argue that much of this effort was targeted at the suppression of "'difference' and 'otherness' which was held in stark contrast to the social and cultural norms of the Anglo-Celtic native speaker" (p.8). While a multicultural policy was in place, it was articulated more broadly as an element of Australia's nation building initiative since the 1980s and 1990s (Koleth 2010), which is when my participants entered school. Moreover, the selection of students raises the discussion of two important points, the first being the contentious definition of learners from "Language Backgrounds Other Than English" (LBOTE) and the second being that the decision to send a child to ESL classes is at the teacher's discretion. This was an issue when Kai and Claire were children but continues to be a serious issue in Australia today, perpetuated by the introduction of the National Assessment Program: Literacy and Numeracy (better known as NAPLAN) in 2008. Students fall into the LBOTE category if they *or* their parents speak a language other than English at home (Creagh 2013). This definition is problematic for several reasons. Firstly, it sets an English-only prerequisite for academic success, once again undermining the potential of hybridity and lack of recognition of multilingualism as an asset. Secondly, it once again imposes heritage identities on these students by assuming that if their parents speak another language at home, they must have some sort of language deficiency in the dominant language. Kai's example is very illustrative of the fact that this is not the case. As argued by Creagh (2013), the LBOTE definition fails to

include assessment of English proficiency levels which means that “the group captured within the LBOTE category is diverse in terms of language capacity and may include native speakers of English whose parents are bilingual, whilst also including all ESL learners, across a continua of English language proficiency” (p. 257). Finally, the selection of students being sent to ESL classes is based on assessments made by the teacher, not parental requests. However, rather than assessing the student’s language abilities, teachers tend to “rely on observations based on their own “intuitions,” which do not necessarily mirror the assessment framework” (McKay & Brindley 2007, p.76). This resulted in Kai being sent to an ESL class despite being a native speaker of English, and Claire not being sent to an ESL class despite her self-assessment of really needing to go.

Being physically separated into a different class, removed from the dominant group, is evidently problematic as we can see from these statements. In Kai’s words, it separates the children who speak ‘English from the cradle’ from those who are ‘fresh off the boat’; or in other words, it marks a clear distinction between the Second Generation and migrants. Above all, having to go to ESL classes makes visible a deficiency, a shortcoming which creates a physical separation and further draws students away from being integrated into the dominant group. Indeed, Faine (2008) argues that the “binary between an imagined homogenous Australia and the ‘migrant’ as essentially other, has worked against the inclusion of the learner into the dominant groups” (p. 4).

Interesting here is a discussion of assimilation and multiculturalism, and I refer back to my in-depth discussion of the politics of preservation in Chapter 4. It is worth reiterating here because while they may seem to be opposite ideologies, they have crucial things in common. Assimilation seeks homogeneity and multiculturalism seeks diversity, but both policies have in common a shared focus on Othering. Indeed, where assimilation focuses on the identification and suppression of difference, Said (1989) candidly describes multiculturalism as “fetishization and relentless celebration of ‘difference’” (p. 213).

Under both philosophies, difference is made visible and the process of Othering occurs. Let us remember Kai who was asked how to say ‘Hello’ in Greek in front of his entire school – a teacher’s obvious attempt to celebrate diversity – or difference. At the same time, Kai was

sent to ESL classes against his will, this time in the name of integration – or eliminating difference. These findings illustrate once again that language is indeed a visible attribute (reminding us of raciolinguistic enregisterment), one that my participants feared failing at because it would trigger their removal from the dominant group. As such, mandatory ESL classes evidently became a scary possibility for two of my participants; Claire already had feelings of ‘doing something wrong’ when writing her Japanese name on a worksheet got her in trouble with a teacher. Now, with ESL classes looming over her, speaking a language other than English would have gotten her kicked out of the class altogether. These early fears of failure and separation seem to have motivated at least these two students to prioritise English.

The arbitrary and contradicting notions of assimilation and multiculturalism have been a familiar companion in my schooling also. When I was a student, we got told off if we spoke other languages in class unless we were specifically asked to say something for the amusement or education of others. We see here once again assimilation and multiculturalism oddly at play and applied arbitrarily at the will of the dominant group. I was also told off for writing some of my notes in Italian when I was studying Latin, French and Spanish as foreign languages. I felt it was more helpful to use my obviously very similar Romance language resources as opposed to the very different Germanic ones but it was either considered cheating (‘unfair advantage’), or I was given the old ‘I don’t care what you write at home, but in my class you write German’. For as long as I can remember, I was told very clearly and repeatedly throughout my schooling that I was to speak and think in German, and nothing but German.

This was until I was 15, and I had to sit the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) which was introduced in 1997. The PISA test aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students (OECD 2018) and there is also an option for students to tick a box which indicates that they have ‘a migrant background’. In Germany, these students generally tend to score 8 points lower than average students (OECD 2018) and their results are often treated separately and compared against ‘local students’.

A few days after taking the PISA test, the very same teachers who wouldn’t allow me to write in Italian at school approached me to ask why I hadn’t ticked the migrant box, seeing as my



parents are migrants and I speak multiple languages. I got visibly offended, so they tried to justify their comment by explaining that it would really help the school's reputation because I would pull up the migrant group average scores since I was among the best students in my class. I was outraged to say the least, mainly because I was fed up that I was asked to play the migrant card only when it suited them, while it was considered 'cheating', 'weird' and 'wrong' at all other times. Although I liked my school and teachers, I truly resented them for this. They even called my parents which sparked a huge fight at home over me disrespecting my heritage. I never did tick that migrant box. Not ticking that box meant the world to me.

As I was contemplating whether to give in, I became increasingly angry – the kind of anger that triggers involuntary tears. I thought about how unjust it was that the school wanted to take credit for my multilingual abilities when they were the ones preventing me from using them. They wanted to take credit for my good academic performance which I felt I achieved in spite of them, not because of them. I was angry because to my mind, it was their fault that I was losing my heritage, my migrant background. It was they who made me feel ashamed of it. I also felt anger at their back-handed compliment, that I was 'the best among the worst'. Finally, I hated that my good performance was considered a miracle because by default, people like me are expected to be below-average, expected to fail because of who our parents are.

I didn't have all the arguments and words I have now, but I did courageously draft a bold note to the head of the school on which I wrote 'The school has successfully beaten the migrant background out of me.'

Nobody ever responded to my note. All I heard from my parents and teachers was that my decision was disappointing. I sometimes wish I could go back and tell them that so many times, they have disappointed me, too.

#### **6.4 The Importance of Interpersonal Relationships**

One of the most consistent findings across all interviews was the importance of affective relationships, both inside and outside the family. All my participants clearly link languages with people in their social circles, and as their relationships change, so do their language practices. This finding is supported by Lawler (2001) who explains that social exchanges produce

emotions, and these affective responses greatly impact on how an individual perceives a specific social group. This is certainly worth exploring further in this section.

I shall commence with my most radical case of heritage language rejection, which was Kai. As we have seen, over time he developed a deeply sedimented antipathy towards everything Greek. Perhaps for this reason, it was a surprising turn in our interviews when he explained that now, in his 30s, he has picked up speaking Greek again. What ultimately got him to soften up was his grandmother whom he grew up with.

Zozan: *“What made you pick it up again?”*

Kai: *“My grandma. She’s super multilingual but she’s got really bad dementia now so she can only really speak Greek now. She’s forgotten everything else. So if I want to communicate with her, I have to speak it. I can understand what she says but if I answer in English she’s not gonna get it. So now I have to do it. I’ve had like a ‘Greek Awakening’ [laughs]. It’s still happening now. I got a lot more interest in that part of my culture, to the point that I just started another degree in classical languages, so I’m gonna do ancient Greek because of that pull from her. I still don’t like modern Greek and Greece, I still think it’s shit. But my grandma left Greece before it went to the dogs. Her memory of it is quite different from what it actually is. She’s still got that sort of attachment to that. So, I feel like I’m connecting with her memory of it.”*

What Kai describes here furthers scholarly understanding of the link between positive family bonds and heritage language use. It builds upon Oh and Fuligni’s (2010) findings that heritage language proficiency was positively associated with the quality of parent–adolescent relationships. However, the authors also noted that they could not conclusively state whether heritage language proficiency allows for positive parent-adolescent relationships to form, or whether it was the strong family bonds which encouraged heritage language proficiency. I believe Kai’s statement is evidence that a positive relationship seems to precede heritage language acquisition; his close relationship with his grandmother has fuelled his desire to reassess his connection to his Greek heritage and has motivated him to speak again, and to study it formally. The fact that he chose ancient Greek over modern Greek because his

grandmother's memory differs from what Greece stands for today is also a very interesting finding, further strengthening the connection between language acquisition and the desire to identify with someone. Importantly, he was able to form this strong relationship with her even while not speaking his heritage language. As such, heritage language transmission appears to derive from positive (grand)parent-adolescent relationships, rather than being the defining element which establishes these positive bonds.

My claim is further reinforced by Theresa's story. It was in primary school that Theresa started actively rejecting Hungarian. From early home videos, she knows that she could speak and understand Hungarian, and when she watches these videos today, she still understands the words she is saying. However, her language ability has not evolved since.

*Theresa: "It started late primary school, so when I was about 10, 11, I think. I just started to lose a bit of interest, I guess, and so [my father] was still pushing it, and I was trying to learn, but like my head just wasn't always there. So, because of that, he would get impatient. I just don't want to do it anymore."*

There seemed to be a real falling out between father and daughter during this time. In an effort to understand the relationship better, I asked Theresa to describe her father in this context.

*Theresa: "We kind of clash. It's just we are very similar, me and my dad. We have very similar personalities. And you know how sometimes similar personalities get along, but sometimes they clash? That's me and my dad. I was very close to him all growing up but I remember he was like, 'You have to do sports.' And I didn't do a sport. And then, ever since then, everything I was doing was getting further away from what he wanted me to do."*

This disconnect contributed to the rejection of her heritage language, which supports my earlier statement that positive relationships build the foundation for heritage language transmission and acceptance. Since their relationship was disrupted by a disagreement over having to do sports, she also overall lost motivation to learn her heritage language.

Interestingly, and perhaps similar to my father's attempts to pass on heritage through football, Theresa shed some light on the significance of sport in her relationship with her father.

*Theresa: "I'm an only child so all of the attention was on me. I was very close to my dad, in the childhood tapes I realise. He used to play a lot of football in Hungary and we used to play that when I was young. He used to play with me. Because of him, I used to be so into sports as a child, like they used to put me in swimming, athletics, and everything. And then I got to high school, and then I met new friends, and then they didn't do sport, so I just decided I didn't want to do sport, either. And then he was like, 'You used to love it, why are you stopping now?' And then he just wasn't happy with my decisions to just stop."*

It is evident that Theresa and her father lost a fundamental activity they could engage in together, which damaged their relationship overall. The significance of parent-adolescent relationship is nowhere more striking than in her more recent accounts: as she has reconnected with her father as a young adult, she has also regained a remarkable interest in learning Hungarian.

*Theresa: "I was always closer with my mom. But now it's changing a bit, because I'm starting to rely on my dad more. Maybe 'cause I've been driving and he's very big on driving 'cause he used to be a taxi driver. So all throughout my learner's licence he would take me to places and show me shortcuts, 'cause he knows, like, everything. And ever since then we just got closer again. I like my dad for a lot of things, actually, I just don't let him know it. If I ever have any questions on the world, I just ask my dad. He's very easy to talk to, I guess. And my mom, she's very empathetic, and she's very kind, so I love that about her. But sometimes me and my dad joke around, and we try to get her into it, but she just can't get the joke. I don't know if it's to do with the language, but yeah, sometimes it's just difficult. I'm very defensive of my dad now, I never used to be. I always used to side with my mom."*

Subsequently, I asked Theresa whether these changes in her relationship have impacted her willingness to learn Hungarian as well, to which she responded:

*Theresa: "So it's pretty recent but now I'm trying to study. And [my dad] is more into it now as well. But he's not as pushy, he's kind of just answering my questions. I'm asking a lot of questions and I try to speak it. I'm like, "Dad, does this sound right?" And then I just keep trying to say it. And then I just repeat it to him. And I wanted to try watching Hungarian movies and stuff to try just to get the pronunciation and stuff in my head (laughs) It's very hard to find them, though, like good ones. But, um, I'm just starting with the basics again. Like conversations. I still don't understand [Hungarian], but I like listening to them because it sounds interesting."*

However, her revived interest is not only due to strengthening the fragile bonds with her father. I have previously argued that Theresa's rejection of Hungarian is also related to her visible European features which meant being considered a 'white' outsider in the Filipino community. Part of her revived interest in learning Hungarian was also due to a changed perception of 'Europe' and 'European Heritage'.

*Theresa: "Asia's a bit of a ... I don't know if they hold it very highly here, because there's a lot of them. But hearing that I come from Europe, people find that so interesting. My cousin, she gets - not jealous- but, whenever she introduces me, she's always like, 'You sound better than me because you're the half Euro, I'm just half Australian,' and I'm like, 'Why?' And she's like, 'I don't know, there's just something about Europe that sounds so, like, high.'*

As argued in the Introduction, Theresa's awareness of Asian immigration "not being held highly" was a realisation that occurred with school changes into suburbs that were significantly less populated by Asian (and especially Filipino) migrants than her home suburb Mount Druitt. Although she generally felt happy and comfortable about having grown up surrounded by her heritage community, her comment that "because there are so many here" shows that she is gradually understanding that the size of her heritage community is perceived to be problematic

'here', the white Australian majority. This is in contrast to "Europe sounds so high", which is not only a reflection of Australian mainstream views, but speaks very clearly to Bourdieu's notion of capital and the value that is assigned based on the linguistic market. Theresa is learning that while being Asian is "not held very highly", European is something worth being 'jealous' about, something that 'sounds better' than 'just' Australian.

The perception of 'European' as desirable capital in the 'New World' is a well-documented phenomenon. Aplin (2009) investigated nations which have a history of European settlement and are dominated by ethnically European groups, and concluded that their heritage perceptions especially in relation to architecture, literature and arts are "markedly Eurocentric, reflecting the hegemonic positions of the European settlers" (2009, p.20). This argument is strengthened by Rosa and Flores (2017) who suggest that the positioning of Europeanness as superior to non-Europeanness is a key colonial strategy. Further, Aplin argues that especially in the US and Australia, events which reflect poorly on the European dominant group – especially in reference to colonial practices and Indigenous genocide - are absent from both history and heritage perceptions, supporting Peckham's claims of 'selective amnesia' (2003, p. 7). Indeed, Indigenous populations were considered subhuman (Rosa and Flores 2017), 'cultural' heritage was often synonymous with 'European' heritage, and considered the only kind worth preserving and celebrating by many Australians (Aplin 2009).

In Australia specifically, one way this is visible is in its national holidays, most of which have been adopted from the British calendar (including New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Christmas Day and Boxing Day). The two uniquely Australian national holidays are equally Euro-centric: Anzac Day, marking the anniversary of the Gallipoli campaign of the First World War, and Australia Day, a highly contentious day which, in simple terms, commemorates the arrival of the coloniser (famously called the 'First Fleet'). No public holiday exists in Australia which celebrates non-European achievement or culture. Australia Day in particular is considered an overt insult by many Indigenous Australians who protest what they call "Invasion Day" as it marks the beginning of despicable acts performed against Indigenous land and peoples in the process of colonisation (ABC News 2019). The same applies to many regional holidays, for instance those celebrating the British tradition of horse racing (e.g. Melbourne Cup Day/Picnic Day), the British Royal Family (e.g. Queen's birthday) or other milestones in

European claims of Australian land (e.g. Proclamation Day/Western Australia Day). Reconciliation day is the only exception, observed only in the ACT and only since 2018. However, there remains controversy about the appropriateness of “reconciliation” celebrations when there is continued Indigenous disadvantage and marginalisation (SBS News 2018).

As Theresa has grown older and has become more aware of what ‘Asian’ and ‘European’ meant in the wider host society (and outside her suburb), she has evidently reconsidered her affiliations. In line with my findings, her willingness to identify with the speech community has also meant renewed interest in learning her heritage language.

Turning to Claire, we have already uncovered some of the family bond issues in the previous section as contact with Ugandan friends and family was disrupted due to what she calls ‘family drama’, often involving monetary issues. In Claire’s case, the absence of family relationships was undoubtedly the most decisive factor as to why she was neither exposed nor motivated to learning Luganda. However, similar to Theresa, she spoke of a disconnect with her father at roughly the same age.

*Claire: “When I turned 13, I did not have a positive relationship with my dad. I didn't speak to him on a day-to-day basis, whatsoever. Unless it was like an emergency or I needed to, but even then, I'd talk to my mum to tell my dad. Like, that's how rough our relationship was when I was in my early teens.”*

*Claire: “But before then, maybe from when I was 5 up until 10, I was definitely like a daddy's girl, or preferred hanging out with my dad than my mum. So, I don't even know what we spoke before then, was it Luganda? I don't remember. But there was definitely a good period. All my good memories are from then for some reason. After that .., I wouldn't be able to tell you the names of the friends I had when I was that age, but I do remember how I felt about myself in the world, if that makes sense. Like, speaking on topics of race and whatnot. And then it turned rough.”*

What Claire hints towards here – her own coming to terms with the concept of her ‘race’ – has been a central issue in all interviews as discussed in Chapter 5. Here, it is important to acknowledge that her realisation of ‘race’ coincided with the deteriorating relationship with her father. This, in turn, also pushed Claire further away from identifying as Ugandan, and taking an interest in this aspect of her heritage. Being considered black posed a key barrier to being recognised as Japanese, so it may have created resentment and impacted her relationship.

An interesting turn in her trajectory and her view of the world occurred very recently with a new friendship.

*Claire: “One of my best friends that I’ve created, recently, like in the last year and a half. She moved from South Africa, and she’s mixed. She is one of my only friends who’s, like, part-black. She’s kind of helped me ... not helped, but she’s brought out that, uh ... she’s empowered my black side, if that makes sense, in a way that no one’s ever been able to, because they were coming from a place of, you know, not knowing what it is to be black.*

*But now there are times that someone will do something silly, and it has nothing to do with their race, but because they’re white it’s just funny. And [my South African friend] and I look at each other and give each other that look of, ‘they’re embarrassing themselves’”.*

*Zozan: “So you said she kind of brought that out in you. How do you think she did that?”*

*Claire: “A common ground, in that because she’s mixed and she’s not solely one or the other, she also knows that struggle of being part-black in a very white society. Like, just hearing her stories... she grew up with a lot more black people, so I feel like she might have more of a connection to that side, and when she talks about it, I’m just like, “I believe that, I agree with that thought.”*



One of the most interesting things about listening to Claire was how for the first time in her life, she was able to 'empower her black side'. After all the years spent building her Japaneseness and fitting into a largely white society, her South African friend appears to be a gateway to the experiences and opinions that can only be gathered 'growing up with more black people'. Perhaps like Kai's 'Greek awakening', this is Claire's moment - she spoke very enthusiastically about all her newfound knowledge, from new make-up products to bold social views that are the result of her new friendship. From our conversations, Claire seemed to take the first timid steps into this side of her world and remembering the joyful 'African parties', 'the spirit of the people, the music and food' - a part of her which she had previously turned her back on.

This newfound awareness and friendship clearly also translated into an improved relationship with her father. In line with my findings from other participants, it was here that Claire enthusiastically told me:

*Claire: "It' funny because, honestly, my dad and I had a really bad relationship, the idea of me and my dad just doing something together was, like, incomprehensible. But nowadays, now that we've worked on it, our relationship, I recently thought going to Uganda would be a nice bonding experience. And I think his mum, who I want to meet, his parents, live a little bit outside of the city. My dad has never really had any sense of wanting to go back while we were younger. And I brought it up a couple times last year and this year, and he was just like, "Yeah, I've been properly thinking about it." So hopefully next year. But he's aware that I really want to go. I don't think my siblings would go with us. Just my dad and I."*

Claire went on to speak about more discoveries about various Ugandan sports teams she has started following and other family members she is meaning to visit in Uganda. This came as a real surprise to me as in most of our interviews, she only emphasised her efforts with Japanese. While she did not explicitly say that she was trying to learn the language, it is evident that her interest in all things Ugandan is new, eager and very clearly linked to an affective response after meeting her South African friend who has 'empowered her black side'.

Although Leena's case was slightly different to the other three, she also provided evidence that friendships can re-awaken an interest in a speech community. As I outlined previously, Leena only learned very basic Arabic during mandatory school classes and was mainly raised speaking Hindi and English. She did however mention that as an adult, she had significantly improved her Arabic on visits back to Kuwait.

*Leena: "At school I had no non-Indian friends, but I guess I have more Kuwaiti friends or local friends now as a grown up. I wish there was a culture where we could have probably learned Arabic a lot more. I learned as a grown up, when I made local friends. Today things are very different but growing up that is how it was."*

Similar to Claire, for Leena it was "local" friendships that made her pick up the language. She explained that as an adult, she has been able to break the boundaries posed by her neighbourhood and school environment and has been frequenting Arabic shisha bars and restaurants on visits to Kuwait where she made friends with the Arabic-speaking community. Her comment "I wish there was more of culture" to learn Arabic at school age shows again her frustration about the unspoken barriers between the expat and local communities.

## 6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has offered an in-depth discussion of Bourdieu's principle of habitus and its relevance in accessing language resources. It has provided a definition of the habitus that was merged with theories of affect to explain the relationship between linguistic market, capital and practice.

In particular, this chapter has argued that my participants' experiences with heritage and host society have triggered certain emotions, such as anger, shame or embarrassment. Emotions can be considered bodily affective responses to a situation, and I have argued that these sediment into certain language and positioning behaviours which are aimed at reproducing

positive emotions and avoiding negative ones. I have used a personal example of dealing with Turkish waiters to illustrate the point.

Since the emphasis was on emotion, in this chapter I have endeavoured to capture especially some of the inner workings of a teenager and their grapples with identity issues in this context by sharing short excerpts from my own music diary. I have supplemented these with powerful statements made by my participants.

The framework I propose puts forward the notion that involuntary emotional reactions form the foundation for specific language and identity strategies. I argue that these are in fact deliberate acts, which is a step away from Bourdieu's original conceptualisation of habitus and practice. In line with this, I have discussed notions of "passing" and I have argued that in this pursuit for a favourable social position, participants respond to censorship and also self-censor language use. This ultimately impacts heritage language acquisition as habitual silencing disrupts the language learning process. Interview excerpts were presented to provide evidence of pretending not to speak a heritage language despite possessing the ability to speak it, and striving for fluency in the dominant language to avoid being segregated into ESL/migrant classes at school.

There were admissions that such behaviour is not founded in rational thought. Kai and Claire both admitted to pretending they are monolingual, even when prompted to speak their heritage language. Similarly, Leena positions herself as a Westerner although she had repeatedly recognised in our interviews that these are remnants of an outdated and false colonial ideology. Yet, all of them confessed going against what they know or believe in situations where their social positions are being negotiated.

This chapter further highlights the issue of participants having to position themselves because our understanding of identity is narrow-mindedly focused on a single affiliation. Picking up the discussions from Chapter 4, in this section I have demonstrated the detrimental effect this can have not only on self-worth but also in accepting one's heritage. While all participants are engaged in such strategic positioning, my findings emphasise that this can come at a great personal expense, something which is not sufficiently recognised by scholarly work in this field

thus far. Participants have shared admissions of self-hatred as well as disappointment in themselves for adopting these strategies.

An interesting finding in the last section of this chapter was the impact of family and friend relationships which have played a key role in rejecting or rediscovering languages. There were notions of friends ‘empowering my black side’ and even my most stubborn participant Kai speaks of a ‘Greek awakening’ brought about by his grandmother’s memory loss and subsequent inability to speak English. It was both interesting and surprising to see that a renewed interest in one’s heritage language and/or culture could be sparked by just a single person who could seemingly undo some of the negativity previously instilled by the greater community over time. Undoubtedly, my findings also indicate the importance of age and personal maturity. The adolescent desperation to “fit in” appears to soften with age as my older participants (Kai and Leena) were better able to critically reflect upon the injustices and social inequalities than my younger participants (Theresa and Claire).

Importantly, this chapter contributes to the existing knowledge base by providing some evidence that positive relationships appear to precede the motivation to learn a language.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion: A Generation that Could Change the World - If We Let Them

### 7.1 Mapping of Findings to the Research Questions

I began my thesis with these three questions:

1. Why do some culturally-hybrid individuals reject their heritage language and why do others develop it?
2. How do ideologies, ethnic visibility and personal experiences affect their linguistic repertoire and identification with the heritage culture?
3. How much autonomy do these individuals have in their identification process with their heritage culture?

In the chapters that followed, I have presented interview data which serves to advance scholarly understanding of the answers to the research questions. By using a sensory ethnographic interview technique, I was able to gather data on a deeply personal level from four participants, all of whom have missed out on at least one of their heritage languages, and all of whom are now rediscovering a language which they previously rejected. In places, I have used auto-ethnographical recounts. As mentioned in my limitations/ delimitations section, an interesting expansion to these findings could be a larger number of participants from a greater range of backgrounds, experiences and locations. Further, I believe there is value in considering the whole family unit, involving parents and siblings as well. These are key considerations for further research.

However, I believe that I have laid important foundations to the answers of these questions. Although hybridity itself is a celebrated concept theoretically, I have shown that it continues to be a difficult lived experience and this seems to have had a significant impact on language use.

I have demonstrated that questions one and two are linked to one another; in fact, I have argued that ideologies, ethnic visibility and affective responses are the very things that lead to the rejection, use, and revival of a particular language.

My participants have shared their perceptions of their heritage communities which was closely linked to their view of whether the language was desirable capital, or a liability which prevented them from successfully integrating in the host society. In gaining these perceptions, participants recalled humiliating memories with their parents in public, experiences of exclusion in their heritage communities and confronting encounters with the host society's media, institutions and people in power. However, their perceptions are not set in stone and changed through relationships with people whom they love and admire. In Chapter 6, I emphasised the importance of affect and demonstrated that it only takes one loving person – a grandmother, a friend, a mentor – to reintroduce my participants to a long-lost interest in their heritage language (or in the case of Leena, the host language). I believe this is a message of hope. I was taken aback by how a lifetime of “fighting” was mellowed by the potential of a connection to something greater, a much-needed bridge to some place of belonging which presented itself in the form of a personal connection with a friend or family member. Further research in this area, especially among youth, could be beneficial to further understand this in the context of cultural hybridity.

Identity lies at the heart of this study because, as I have argued, the willingness to identify with an individual or a community also motivates language use. I have provided evidence that the narrow framework of understanding identity as a single affiliation (or even more arbitrarily, a nationality) has prevented these young individuals from identifying with all the multiple ethnicities, languages and cultures available to them. The stories shared by my participants illustrated that they can only experience belonging if they give up on one set of possibilities of who they might be. What complicates the matter further is that such culturally-hybrid individuals are exposed to different, often contradicting expectations of what identity they are supposed to embody. On the one hand, they are pressured to maintain their heritage identities in the name of diversity and to respect ancestral practices. On the other hand, however, especially the host society, considers heritage as deficit and a threat to national cohesion and pushes for assimilation.

As I have argued, it is a natural human desire to want to belong to a community, to tap into the warmth, resources and safety of a collective. However, by drawing on the Bourdieusian notions of capital and linguistic market, I have demonstrated that certain cultural and linguistic resources are valued more than others, and oftentimes a heritage language can become a liability if the people who speak it are not valued by the dominant society. In pursuit of belonging, participants negotiate their language resources and cultural knowledge, at times by overemphasising aspects and at other times by hiding them. Throughout this thesis, I have criticised existing scholarly work that has recognised the strategies of passing, 'switching' identities and positioning, without sufficiently engaging with the fact that this is highly problematic. The fact that individuals must develop such strategies is evidence of ever-present ideologies which have not kept up with the pace of migration, globalisation and hybridisation.

I have demonstrated that in order to fit into this framework, participants engage in habitual self-censorship especially in heritage language use which can ultimately lead to the inability to speak it. Importantly, in Chapter 6 I have provided evidence that this is a strategic positioning technique which my participants were aware of at the time and still remember well in their reflections of the past. Further research in this area is called for, especially among children in primary school age as this seemed to be the time when these behaviours manifested themselves most strikingly. Understanding this space better within the context of this research would undoubtedly alleviate some of the barriers which disrupt the language practices children were accustomed to at home.

This thesis has made a strong case for the recognition and acknowledgement of hybridity. I have argued that all culture and language is inherently hybrid, and I have demonstrated that it is not a minority issue; it plays a much bigger role in contemporary society than most would acknowledge. Hybridity is not only a statistical reality, but also intrinsic to the human experience. Yet, cultural hybridity is disrupted due to parental pursuits of passing on set views of heritage, the school system's efforts to create homogeneity, and overall contemporary debates on nationality which do not allow a person to "be both". The short answer to question one could indeed be that many individuals reject their heritage language and identity because "they can't be both" in our current framework of identity. Being both is considered an act of

defiance against parents, and an affront to national identity in the host society – none of it is viewed in a hybrid context.

With my research, I have not only highlighted some of these issues, but I have also been able to tell the story on a very personal, individual and emotionally raw level. My participants recalled many confrontations – often explicit, cruel ones – due to their inability to put a hand to their chest and identify as a proud member of any particular place, nation, people or culture. Despite spending a lifetime trying to merge their many worlds into one harmonious whole, the cultural, historical and ideological divisions confront and defeat them even when trying to do the simplest of chores – getting on a bus, attending a wedding, winning a race at school. They expressed anger, but not necessarily directed at any particular individual or group. Rather, it is frustration aimed at the limited, inadequate framework of identity they are working with which undermines their reality, puts unnecessary pressure on them and withholds opportunities if they do not surrender some aspect of themselves to conform.

Above all, and in reference to research question three, very little autonomy is afforded to individuals to choose their affiliation because much is ascribed and imposed on them by others based on the colour of their skin and their names. Often, these imposed identities infer a single affiliation based on blood lines and so-called one-drop rules, which do not correspond with the individual's self-view. It was therefore necessary to consider the importance of intersectionality in understanding the lived experience of these young people. Especially emphasised by Kai, siblings in the same family can have a completely different experience depending on whether they can 'pass' or not. In this study, all four participants can be considered visible ethnic minorities. Three out of my four participants cannot visibly fit into the mainstream of their host society, and Theresa cannot pass in her heritage community. In Theresa's case, this was problematic because she is surrounded by her heritage community while living in the host society, meaning that her Sydney home suburb has a large proportion of Filipino migrants. Through her example, as well as my own recounts of experiencing invisibility in Sardinia, I have argued that it is not any particular race which is at issue, but rather the fact that one looks visibly out of place. The fact that all my participants have dealt with this issue is interesting and provided insightful data, but it poses a limitation on the findings as these cannot be extended to Second Generation migrants who can pass in the host society. It



would be very interesting to understand whether the ability to pass in the host society makes heritage language use more likely, or whether it acts as a deterrent.

One of the most important contributions of this thesis is the perspective I have offered. Most of the literature on heritage language learning and teaching is written by parents or teachers, not by the children. With my thesis, I have given voice to the children who have reflected on the many experiences that have led to their linguistic status quo today.

It is thanks to their insights that I would like to end my thesis with a very important discussion on broadening our framework of identity: The recognition, acknowledgement and promotion of cultural hybridity.

## **7.2 Recognising and Nurturing Cultural Hybridity: A Discussion**

In concluding my thesis, I would like to advocate for the acknowledgement that one can indeed be culturally mixed, and that this mixed version of all – hybridity- can be a valid identity and not a threat to the nation.

The lack of such acknowledgement is the reason why my participants are imposed an identity by parents, community and institution, which strips away their autonomy in this existential matter. But worse than being pushed into a category, it is specifically the continuous misrecognition or non-recognition that clouds their experiences; Leena is not recognised as Kuwaiti, Claire is misrecognised as African, Kai is not recognised as Australian, and Theresa is misrecognised as ‘just white’.

In ‘Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition’, Charles Taylor (1994) outlines at length the demands and needs for recognition of cultural groups. He argues that:

“a person or group can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of

oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (Taylor 1994, p. 25).

My research has thus far proven that this is indeed the case. Almost every chapter in this thesis demonstrates that my participants have indeed felt ‘confined’ by the picture mirrored back to them which was quite explicitly linked to their visible features. Whether it is the disconnect from their mothers that has haunted Theresa and Claire, or the internalised racism that plagues Kai and Leena - nonrecognition and misrecognition continue to have lasting and negative impacts. Through the memories they have shared, it becomes clear that such misrecognition, or even worse, correction of identity (‘you are not Kuwaiti, you are an Indian’) evokes feelings of frustration and anger, but also fear. Who would willingly walk into a wedding if they knew it would result in insult and physical abuse for ‘appearing’ to be like a Greek person who disrespects elders by refusing to speak Greek?

Taylor also reminds us that “due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need.” (1994, p. 26). Taylor argues for the individual’s right to have a moral claim to recognition and live an ‘authentic’ life without being forced into (or out of) a group identity. Within this context, Taylor describes authenticity in this way:

“We might speak of an *individualized identity*, one that is particular to me, and that I discover in myself. This notion arises along with an ideal, that of being true to myself and my own particular way of being” (1994, p. 28).

I don’t like using the term ‘authentic’ and I will explain why in a moment. However, for now the conceptualisation of it as ‘my own particular way of being’ is very useful in understanding the hybrid space. At the moment, hybridity competes with romanticised versions of ancestral practices as well as delusional images of national stereotypes. Because of these still very powerful ideologies, hybridity is currently reduced to an empty space, a non-identity or inauthentic, ‘white-washed’ versions of what it should have been.

Allow me to elaborate with another culinary example: Sausage.

Obviously, Germany is world-famous for its sausages and it has been established as national dish. When I emigrated from Germany, I was confronted with sausages like never before. Whenever people heard that I was from Germany, they assumed that my diet consists of sausage, potatoes, *Sauerkraut* and beer. The truth is, of course, that as a child of Mediterranean migrants, 'my own particular way of being German' contained very few sausages. Sure, we ate *Bratwurst* when we visited festivals, and we might have even barbecued them at home once a year. But certainly, this was not a staple food in my version of growing up in Germany.

When I explain this, the usual reaction is "oh so you're not really German". That is a false view of the world. Not eating a stereotypical diet does not mean that my version of being German is not 'authentic'. Being German in this way is in fact the only way I know how to 'be'. My ways of being German may not be traditional, but they are no less valid. Leading back to the idea of recognition, I argue that my hybrid ways of being German are equally authentic - my experience of growing up in Germany, while different from tradition and stereotype, is no less valid or genuine. The term 'authentic' has all too often been essentialised and has been mistakenly linked to the notion of cultural purity based on tradition and heritage. I step away from using his term 'authentic' because it connotes exactly these stereotypes instead of its literal meaning which is genuine ways of being.

Instead of speaking of authenticity, I'd like to return to Leena's notion of "comfort zone". As a reminder, she explained:

*Leena: "Yeah, I'll be talking about this and say I'm Kuwaiti, they'll always say, "You're not, you're an Indian". But when I'm saying I'm Kuwaiti, I don't mean it in "that's my country", it's not patriotic. It's about where my comfort zone is."*

Leena explains that her reference to being Kuwaiti is not of patriotic nature. Referring back to Chapter 4, it is an important reminder of the incompatibility of hybridity and nationalism. It would be inherently impossible for her to make patriotic claims about Kuwait in the traditional sense of the word. None of my other participants has expressed any such nationalistic affiliations with their home country or ancestral country, either. This is not entirely surprising

– how can a person with a hybrid identity develop an ideology of love and devotion to a single homeland and alliance with a single group? Even if they were willing to make this commitment, they would never be fully accepted because of some shortcoming, whether it is linguistic, ethnic or bureaucratic.

In contrast to the national or patriotic meaning of the word Kuwaiti, she seems to be looking for a word to express her comfort zone. Despite our differences in naming the matter at hand, Taylor does capture the type of recognition that I believe my participants, like Leena here, were trying to articulate. He powerfully says:

“There is a certain way of being human that is *my way*. I am called upon to live my life in this way, and not in the imitation of anyone else’s life. But this notion gives a new importance to being true to myself. If I am not, I miss the point of my life; I miss what being human is for *me*.” (1994, p. 30, emphasis in original)

Similar to such talk of authenticity, I did hate having conversations about white-washing for which I provided an extensive discussion in Chapter 5. I have relayed Theresa’s views objectively in my analysis then, but it warrants further discussion here. Candidly speaking, white-washing and its synonyms imply that a person is a watered-down version of their heritage identity. Theresa described it as “taking on all the white stuff”. I believe this term is yet another concept that serves to guilt the Second Generation into single affiliation even though a society cannot function this way. Using myself as an example, I cannot possibly function as a citizen in Germany without “taking on some of the white stuff”. How could I make friends, go to school or get a job without speaking German, for instance?

Conceptualising adaptability and hybridisation as white-washing is yet another way to put a negative spin on something that is an absolute necessity to survive as a Second Generation migrant. Similarly, it is virtually impossible to maintain a heritage identity that is devoid of the reality of *not* living in the original country. Just like my way of being German is not traditional, I also only know how to be “Turkish, but in Germany” and “Italian, but not from Italy.” I also cannot be “Italian” if I tried because I have a Turkish mother. By definition, I am going to be a ‘watered down version’ of what such an identity would traditionally look like.

The key issue with that is that we are expected to imitate pre-existing cultures – either heritage or host – and are incredibly unsuccessful at doing so by nature of our upbringing and trajectories. All we can do is be our own version of it, which tends to contain pieces of all those things. The very reason I decided to focus on language is because it is a tangible way of seeing this. All of my participants refer to the way they speak their heritage language(s) in their own way:

*Kai: “Yes I speak Swedish. Not amazingly, but enough to get by.”*

*Claire: “I get a little bit embarrassed. When I was in Japan, I was speaking Japanese to other people rather than just my mum, but it's a little bit embarrassing because when I speak to my mom, I occasionally, actually frequently, put in English words.”*

*Claire: “I work at Chinatown, at a shoe store. And a lot of tourists come in buying shoes and speak Mandarin. And my [Korean and Thai] workmates are like “you need to talk to her” and they come to me and they ask their questions [in Mandarin]. And even though I can't reply, I'm just like, “Gotcha. I'll get that size.”*

*Theresa: “I can understand [Tagalog] but I don't like speaking it, because I don't sound good. Like, my pronunciation is so off. That's why sometimes I just reply in English. Actually I mix those two because we have this thing called Taglish [laughs]. We often speak Taglish.”*

*Leena: “It's really funny because if you ever hear me talk in Hindi, continuously, there are a lot of English words we use as part of our vocabulary. So, in Hindi, there are certain sub-dialects. I speak what is called Videshi - its actual literal meaning is ‘foreign’, which means it has foreign words to it. So, if I'm speaking to my mom in Hindi or in a sentence, there will probably be three different words in English.”*

These statements may seem mundane to anyone familiar in the study of heritage language acquisition and code-switching. However, have we ever stopped and recognised that these comments throw the doors to understanding hybridity wide open?

Let's look at the first theme, which is the mixing of multiple languages. Specifically, most of my participants articulate some sort of transgression in doing so. English is the main language for all of my participants at the time of interview, and it makes its way into their use of heritage language (e.g. Taglish, Videshi – also “Hinglish” to denominate Hindi and English). If we open our eyes to this, we can clearly see here the transgression of two identity categories through language. Most strikingly, it is the defining Other being mixed; Indian versus English, Asian versus European, Black versus White. Their description of language use provides evidence that this occurs, and most notably that it is uncomfortable – ‘not amazing’, ‘feeling mute’, ‘not sounding good’, ‘being embarrassed’ or ‘being foreign’ were all ways to describe it. Some of the translanguaging literature mentioned in earlier chapters also takes this issue up.

The second theme here is the idea of understanding but not being able to speak it. Again, this might be old news to the expert reader on this subject. But a closer look will reveal the striking insight this provides into identity – doesn't that sound quite familiar to the idea of understanding one's heritage clearly, but not being able to imitate it 'properly'? Again, these notions of not sounding like a native speaker, not being able to imitate the pronunciation or vocabulary proficiently but rather just 'getting by' are quite illustrative of the conceptualisations of hybridity. A little bit of everything, getting by in multiple camps, but not fitting in anywhere properly and not feeling comfortable unless the situation allows for mixing and transgression.

I refuse to accept the notion that not speaking a heritage language without “taking on some white stuff” is a problem; quite the contrary is the case. Adaptability is a human strength, why would cultural and linguistic hybridisation be in any way disadvantageous in this context? The current unwillingness of societies and nations to let go of restrictive and oftentimes delusional concepts of single affiliation and nationality are the very reason we struggle so much with immigration policy and identity wars. Whether it comes from parents or the dominant society,

the expectation that a person of mixed ancestry who grew up in multilingual settings would develop anything but a mixed and fragmented linguistic repertoire is absurd. Seeing as this comfort zone of cultural and linguistic mixedness is the reality for a large proportion of the global population, why is it that we derisively call this 'white-washed'? Or - on the other side of the spectrum - "not white enough"?

Furthermore, the comfort zone extends beyond language, and there was a desire to being recognised as *visibly* mixed as well. Theresa for instance verbalised her desire to be recognised as mixed when we spoke about siblings. Theresa has none, but we engaged in a thought experiment as to what they would look like.

*Theresa: "I always wish I knew what a sibling would've looked like if I had one, whether they'd look more Asian or like me."*

*Zozan: "Would you have preferred to look more Asian?"*

*Theresa: "I don't know. I don't think I would've preferred any. Because I'm mixed."*

Claire has similarly expressed her desire that her Japanese features be recognised. Again, this wish for recognition in terms of race compete with powerful notions of one-drop rules and visible blood lines.

Especially on this latter point, I would like to discuss the seemingly impossible: What would it mean to be accepted as 'hybrid', and recognised as 'mixed'? What would it take to step out of our traditional frameworks of nationality and single affiliations? In practice, what might such a society look like?

After spending several years researching this issue, and spending my whole life grappling and living with it, I argue that there are two key things that need to be done. The first is to afford individuals the autonomy to develop a hybrid identity and step outside our current boundaries of nationality and bloodlines. The second is to nurture their intercultural selves and abilities at home, at school and in the workplace. In line with points made by Butcher and Harris (2010), I believe that making the latter point work is not a matter of state policies or other forms of top-

down intervention but rather, it is a matter of considering second generation migrants themselves as leaders in this.

Allow me to elaborate on my first point: affording autonomy and recognising identity beyond national and racial concepts. Of course, it would be unreasonable for me to expect for someone to look at me and guess my complex cultural ancestry and migration history. Nobody can be expected to know that I am a German-born person with Turkish and Italian ancestry who has lived, worked and studied in four countries. I do not expect the average person on the street to approach me and say: “Nice to meet you, you must be culturally hybrid.” By arguing for recognition, I do not mean that someone might recognise my ethnicity and cultural influences correctly. What I am arguing is that it shouldn’t really matter to begin with. As argued by Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), the insistence on focusing on differences and diversity ignores the ubiquity and ordinariness of diversity, an argument I have defended throughout this study.

As I propose in big letters in the title of this chapter, cultural hybridity can work and flourish “If we let them”. I mean it quite literally – letting them be and letting them lead. Above all, practices which lead to exotification or othering must be changed. For instance, one simple but important way is to stop asking “Where are you from?”.

As I have argued previously, it is never an innocent question. In fact, it is almost always a racialised question and the continuous confrontation with this phrase is a form of oppression. When I made this bold statement at a conference, hands flew up as people pointed out my exaggeration and corrected me to say that it is just a way of getting to know someone. It is a harmless ice breaker and I am being too sensitive. The criticism I received was exclusively posed by academics who were older (and white and male, I shall add) and I knew that it would be unwise to argue with scholars who are evidently my senior. But I also knew that this was my opportunity to give voice to the teenager who wrote “if I am killed by the question like a cancer” over and over. I decided to respond to one particularly vocal person with a question:



“How often would you say you got asked ‘where are you from’ today, at this conference? You met a lot of new people today, and you say it’s a good conversation starter. Did anyone ask you where you’re from?”

The person answered sarcastically: “Well no, I have a name tag with my university on it. It says here I’m from Sydney.”

Luckily, he had the identical name tag as me which read “University of Technology Sydney”.

I replied “I have the same name tag as you. See, right here. Yet, I have been asked ‘where are you from’ three times today already. I’ll leave it with you to interpret that.”

I left the podium, but I still heard them mumble among themselves that I would get asked because of my unusual name on the tag, or my accent, not because of my skin colour. But it all means the same thing; the implication of the question is a racist one. What it really tries to say is not “nice to meet you” but rather “you look and sound different. You clearly don’t belong here despite your name tag. I’d like to know where you *should* be from, and why you are in this space”. It is a very public and humiliating way of othering. There is no need to ever have the ‘where are you from’ debate as a get-to-know-you interaction. I refer back to the findings by Starks (2018) which suggest that the question can be perceived in different ways, depending on who is asking, who is being asked, and why it is being asked. My research findings indicate that for these four participants, the topic rarely arises organically between two equals and it is usually not asked to find out where a person is currently living, or what they consider home. Rather, the way my participants perceive it is almost always as a confronting “explain yourself” demand from a more privileged, challenging whether they belong to the surrounding community. It serves to put a name, a label, a location or a nationality on what appears to be an ambiguous and visible other – because as we have seen, in the instance of Australia, the question is almost always posed to non-white Australians. I believe the first important step is to check one’s privilege and reconsider asking that question at all.

This may seem like an unsophisticated argument, but I refer to Ho (2011) who draws the very simple and true conclusion that people have the right to be left alone. She explains that

individuals have the right to occupy space without having to justify why they are in this space and where they originally came from before occupying this space. Ho calls this 'respecting the presence of others' (Ho 2011 p. 614). Ho argues for the simple acknowledgement of the other person's presence, allowing them to inhabit a space and just letting them be. In other words, instead of trying to categorise and identify whether a person legitimately belongs in this space, why not simply acknowledge that they are here and let it go? I agree with Ho when she says that not saying anything is, in this case, indeed a very powerful form of recognition and respect. It is respecting that the person is legitimately allowed to be here, and that they do not need to explain why. It seems so simple, a common act of decency – yet my research (and life experience) suggests that this act of decency is very rarely extended.

In this study, I have outlined the many ways in which my participants have experienced othering and exotification. If we could simply let such young people be, they would feel less self-conscious, and would be less likely to struggle with simple things like taking a trip to Greece, going to a bar or winning a race at school. We have seen that even such mundane activities have become memorable experiences of othering.

Turning to my second point, I argue that young people should be allowed to take the lead on how to live in a society that is culturally hybrid because they are very capable of mixing cultures resourcefully. If parents, teachers, communities and policymakers had let them, the four young people in my study would have had the opportunity to become culturally competent and multilingual individuals. Had they not been made to feel that being mixed means being 'nothing' or the 'wrong thing', they would have been able to create a 'new something', one that would inherently respond well to the challenges posed by an ever-globalised society. Social cohesion is not something that must be created from above but is rather something that is already taking place among young people. The only reason it fails is due to the many ways in which intercultural identities and behaviours are suppressed, disrupted and misunderstood.

I am not alone in arguing that we should consider young people as leaders in this all-important social change; Butcher and Harris (2010) explain that young people already demonstrate successful ways sharing spaces and navigating intercultural ways of being:

“Young people from different backgrounds routinely encounter one another in their everyday lives and negotiate ways of living together... Surprisingly little attention is given to these mundane realities of young people’s everyday experiences of living with multiculturalism, where much larger questions of citizenship, national identity, belonging and community are worked over in quotidian ways” (p. 450)

The authors further argue that young people have the ability to contest “exclusionary notions” of citizenship and there is evidence of movement towards “cultural creativity” which is “guided by a pragmatic need to never be ‘out of place’ and to avoid being excluded” (p.451).

My research finds that one of the vital spaces that must tackle exclusionary notions and develop more cultural creativity is the school environment. While I am a tertiary education teacher, I am not sufficiently trained to make informed claims about how the primary and secondary education system could nurture hybridity. Instead, I refer to more qualified scholars in the field, including Christina Ho’s work on multiculturalism in schools (2010), Susan Oguro and Robyn Moloney’s (2012) work on heritage language curriculum and Gutiérrez et al. (1999) on hybrid language practices in schools to enhance collaboration. Interesting points in this area were also made by Ragnarsdóttir and Blöndal (2015) who concluded that there was a significant need for collaboration between family home and schools, as well as re-education of teachers to align with intercultural principles. There was also considerable value in treating children as individuals rather than as part of an immigrant society or ethnic group, and an apparent need for the recognition of “transnational competence and hybrid self-identities” (p. 52). In addition, the authors argue that children benefit significantly if teachers recognise the potential of their hybrid experiences, knowledge and languages because it would eventually “allow them to participate actively in different cultures and societies” (p. 52).

Through my original research, I have shown the many ways in which the curriculum, teachers’ attitudes and school initiatives are negatively impacting cultural hybridity. This is because currently, schools adapt a “deficit and disadvantage model” (Gundara 2000, p. 63) when dealing with second-generation migrants instead of recognising the potential of enhancing social cohesion in a multicultural world. This is urgent, and I have demonstrated that this is not a minority issue; the 2016 Census showed that 45.44% of the Australian population is made up of second-generation migrants with either one or both parents born overseas (ABS 2016). Adding the number of migrants, the figure stands at 49%, which is just about half of the

Australian population. Yet, my research demonstrates that our teachers and our education system are unprepared, perpetuating the power relations that reinforce injustice and inequality towards half of the population. This is also particularly evident in language education as I have demonstrated in several chapters, but at length in Chapter 1 with the issue of Japanese.

Gundara (2000) argues that successful intercultural education must be one “which is not narrowly Anglo-centric, but is inclusive of ... other knowledges, histories and languages” (p. 63). It reminded me of a passage spoken by a school principal, arguing that a good education must:

“...give a child an understanding of *himself, his world, his culture, his community*...That’s what makes a child hungry to learn – the promise of being part of something, of mastering his environment.” (quoted in Obama 1995, p. 258, emphasis in original).

I especially liked the phrase that education must bring “the promise of being part of something”. If there was a school and workplace environment where hybridity was normalised, it would create a culture where individuals could become part of a group even if they don’t share the same ancestry or upbringing.

My research has pointed out some of the current flaws and gaps of education systems not only in Australia, but also elsewhere. Separating children by ethnicity as illustrated in the example of Kuwait serves to further segregate an already divided population. Similarly, the focus on homogeneity in most European and European-influenced systems perpetuates inequality by continuously emphasising difference and trying to eliminate it through an ideology of assimilation. The stories told by my participants have served to exemplify that both these strategies are counterproductive.

I have incorporated the insights from my research journey within my own classroom and it has truly changed both the atmosphere in class as well as the quality of discussion. I was taught that my heritage languages and identities are deficits, so I wanted to see whether I could do the opposite - leverage the linguistic and cultural resources among my students to un-teach such negative ideas of deficit and instead assist them in recognising their potential. In teaching a Communication Studies subject at an urban Australian university with a diverse cohort, I

started off by sharing my mixed background with my students, highlighting the fact that I am more competent in some languages than in others, but that I find even the ‘scrappiest’ language resources quite useful sometimes. I did that to create a safe space where such topics can be talked about. I then asked my class whether anyone else had been exposed to other languages and can speak or understand another language – over half of my class raised their hands. I discovered I had students who “understood a bit of Thai”, “can get by in Indonesian”, “studied German without much success”, “used to speak Spanish at home all the time” “are pretty fluent in Cantonese” and “can even read a bit of Arabic”. The more students came forward, the more it encouraged previously silent ones to participate. I then asked whether they used those skills in class or when studying, and those same students were often bewildered by my question. Their responses speak volumes about previous classroom environments they might have experienced, many which were similar to those outlined in this study – a one-language policy (and ESL classes if you can’t).

In one of my recent classes, I proposed a subsequent class activity around the research and analysis of media bias on the then current Hong Kong protests. I encouraged those students who felt comfortable in other languages to access some news from non-English media. If they couldn’t read it, I encouraged them to listen to videos instead. I saw some doing the work confidently in other languages, some giving up almost instantly. Others again were working together with co-linguistic peers to decipher the texts, while some used translation software to fill the gaps in knowledge. Regardless of the methods and varying levels of success, the discussion that followed was incredibly rich, much more critical than in other classes and very insightful, as students were able to discuss the issue from all sorts of angles and perspectives outside the boundaries of Anglo-centric media. We were able to draw comparisons to Australian reports, share knowledge about various cultures, systems and political affiliations, and together reach the conclusion that media bias is often linked to media ownership and political leadership, which was the key point of the lesson. In the weeks that followed, students grew more confident in accessing study material in their heritage or foreign languages, and they even started teaching each other words and phrases in their languages (though mostly naughty ones, I must add). Some of these foreign words even became part of class vocabulary as they developed into inside-jokes to be told for the rest of the semester.

My classroom strategies do not provide all the answers, nor were the activities conducted or documented in a rigorous way. However, it might shed light on the potential and the possibility of normalising hybridity and fragmented linguistic resources, allowing students to use their language resources instead of sorting them into native and heritage classes, or making them always work in one language. While I have tried to offer possibilities for the school environment here, much more research in this area is needed to develop teaching strategies, curricula and systems that can better serve an ever-increasing number of culturally and linguistically diverse students. In the same way, I believe more research is needed to develop workplace cultures in a way where diversity, multilingualism and cross-cultural competence is recognised as an asset, not considered a liability.

There is also something to be said on our political and ideological views on ‘managing multiculturalism’ and implementing policies aimed at making it work in densely populated urban areas and diverse nations. Delving into the political arena extends far beyond the scope of this thesis, but Butcher and Harris (2010) make the important point that blanket solutions often fail because common ground is best found on a local level. Solutions might also have to be rethought as demographics and challenges change. Feasible solutions can emerge on a local level and are guided by the communities in question, a statement which the authors support with the example of the ‘burqini’, a garment that has enabled Muslim women to be included in the SurfLife Saving culture even in the aftermath of the 2005 Cronulla race riots in Australia. This is one example where cultural hybridity can generate new and inclusive ways of living together, demonstrating that identities (e.g. being a Muslim woman and being - as Kai puts it - ‘an Aussie surfer dude’) need not be mutually exclusive. Such community problem-solving solutions warrant further research, especially in approaching social innovation without fearing hybridisation of cultural practices.

The final important point is that of the family home. Many of my friends have asked me on the best way to approach language education in their parenting in the hopes that my research would have shed some light on “the right way” of raising multilingual children. I have often thought about how I would approach it if I had children, a matter that is certainly complicated by the fact that between the two of us, my partner and I speak four languages. But the truth is that I am not a mother and I have told the story of those who are on the receiving end of this

education and explain what the experience has been like. My goal was to describe their lived experiences, to give voice to the child – and I believe this can be a useful knowledge base for scholars who investigate parenting and child development, an issue that certainly merits further research in this context.

There is one mother, however, who has inspired me with her insight and wisdom, and who has said what I had always wished the people around me – and especially my own parents - had recognised. Based on years' worth of research, it is what I would like all parents to hear on the topic of multilingual parenting. The words were spoken by Kenyan historian and Luo woman Dr Rukia Odera who said about her daughter:

“You know, her first language is not Luo. Not even Swahili. It is English. When I listen to her talk with her friends, it sounds like gibberish to me. They take bits of everything – English, Swahili, German, Luo. Sometimes, I get fed up with this. Learn to speak one language properly, I tell them...But I am beginning to resign myself – there's nothing really to do. They live in a mixed-up world. In the end, I'm less interested in a daughter who's authentically African than one *who is authentically herself.*”

(in Obama 1995, p. 345, emphasis added).

## References

- Aarseth, H. 2016, 'Eros in the Field? Bourdieu's Double Account of Socialized Desire', *The Sociological Review*, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 93-109.
- ABC News 2019, 'Invasion Day protests held around country as debate over Australia Day continues', *ABC News*, 26 Jan, viewed 19/01/2019, <<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-01-26/australia-day-protests-draw-thousands-calling-for-date-change/10752882>>.
- Agyekum, B. & Newbold, K.B. 2016, 'Sense of Place and Mental Wellness of Visible Minority Immigrants in Hamilton, Ontario: Revelations from Key Informants', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 101-22.
- Alim, H.S., Ball, A.F. & Rickford, J.R. 2016, *Raciolinguistics: how language shapes our ideas about race*, Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- Allen, G.E.K., Garriott, P.O., Reyes, C.J. & Hsieh, C. 2013, 'Racial Identity, Phenotype, and Self-Esteem Among Biracial Polynesian/White Individuals', *Family Relations*, vol. 62, no. 1, pp. 82-91.
- Ang, I. 2003, 'Together-in-difference: beyond diaspora, into hybridity', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 141-54.
- Ang, I. 2001, *On not speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West*, Routledge, New York.
- Aplin, G. 2009, 'Australian Attitudes to Heritage', *AQ - Australian Quarterly*, vol. 81, no. 3, pp. 19-24.
- Appiah, K.A. 2005, *The ethics of identity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
- Atkinson, R. 1998, *The Life Story Interview*, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Aujla, A. 2000, 'Others in their Own Land: Second generation South Asian Canadian Women, Racism, and the Persistence of Colonial Discourse', *Canadian Woman Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 41.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017a, *2016 Census QuickStats: Mount Druitt*, viewed 07/01/ 2020, <[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC12756](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC12756)>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017b, *2016 Census QuickStats: Randwick*, viewed 07/01/ 2020, <[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/LGA16550?opendocument](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/LGA16550?opendocument)>.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017c, *2016 Census QuickStats: St Marys*, viewed 07/01/ 2020, <[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC13643](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC13643)>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017d, *2016 QuickStats: Newtown*, viewed 6/01/ 2020, <[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC12960?opendocument](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC12960?opendocument)>.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017e, *Media Release - 2016 Census: Multicultural*, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), viewed Aug 22, 2018, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs%40.nsf/lookup/Media%20Release3>>.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013, *2011 Census QuickStats: Mount Druitt*, viewed 07/01/ 2013, <[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/SSC11613](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/SSC11613)>



- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007a, *2001 Census QuickStats: Newtown*, viewed 26/02/2020, <  
[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2006/quickstat/SSC11715?opendocument&navpos=220](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2006/quickstat/SSC11715?opendocument&navpos=220) >
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007b, *Media Fact Sheet: Australians overall claim more than 250 ancestries, speak 400 languages at home: Census*, .
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006a, *2001 Census QuickStats: Newtown*, viewed 06/01/ 2020,  
 <[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2001/quickstat/SSC12696](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2001/quickstat/SSC12696)>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006b, *2001 Census QuickStats: Randwick*, viewed 07/01/ 2020,  
 <[https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2001/quickstat/LGA16550](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2001/quickstat/LGA16550)>
- Australian Department of Home Affairs 2020, *Meeting our requirements: English Language*, viewed 3/12/2020,  
 < <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/help-support/meeting-our-requirements/english-language>>
- Australian Human Rights Commission 2018, *Leading For Change: A blueprint for cultural diversity and inclusive leadership revisited*, viewed 02/01/ 2020,  
 <[https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/Leading%20for%20Change%20Blueprint2018\\_FINAL\\_Web.pdf](https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/Leading%20for%20Change%20Blueprint2018_FINAL_Web.pdf)>.
- Australian Human Rights Commission 1997, *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*, viewed 02/01/ 2020,  
 <<https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/bringing-them-home-chapter-3#Heading30>>.
- Awokoya, J. 2012, 'Identity Constructions and Negotiations Among 1.5- and Second Generation Nigerians: The Impact of Family, School, and Peer Contexts', *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 82, no. 2, pp. 255-81.
- Balaji, M. 2012, 'The Construction of "Street Credibility" in Atlanta's Hip-Hop Music Scene: Analyzing the Role of Cultural Gatekeepers', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 313-30.
- Balci, Z. 2009, *How to Play Identity: National Identity Formation through the Football Press*, London Metropolitan University, London.
- Banet-Weiser, S. 1999, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity*, University of California Press, California, USA.
- Bauman, Z. 1996, 'From Pilgrim to Tourist - or a Short History of Identity', in S. Hall & P. Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Sage, London, pp. 18-36 .
- Baumeister, R.F., Bratslavsky, E., Finkenauer, C. & Vohs, K.D. 2001, 'Bad is stronger than good', *Review of General Psychology*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 323-70.
- Baumeister, R.F., Brewer, L.E., Tice, D.M. & Twenge, J.M. 2007, 'Thwarting the Need to Belong: Understanding the Interpersonal and Inner Effects of Social Exclusion', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 506-20.
- BBC World News 2019, 'Recep Tayyip Erdogan: Turkey's pugnacious president', *BBC World News*, 24/06/, viewed 09/01/2020, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13746679>>.
- Berg, L. 2011, "Mate Speak English, You're in Australia Now", *Alternative Law Journal*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 110-5.
- Bettez, S.C. 2010, 'Mixed-Race Women and Epistemologies of Belonging', *Frontiers*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 142-73.

- Bhabha, H. 1996, 'Culture's in-Between', in S. Hall & P. Du Gay(eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Sage, London, pp. 53-60 .
- Bhabha, H.K. 1994, *The location of culture*, Routledge, London, New York, viewed Oct 31, 2018,.
- Bickers, C. 2017, 'Turnbull's 'bizarre act of snobbery' ', *News.com.au*, AAP, viewed Aug 22, 2018, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/politics/labor-decides-whether-to-block-citizenship-test-changes-in-party-meeting/news-story/80d1c2c364b094e81255d4d2da732a4d>>.
- Bierbach, C. & Birken-Silverman, G. 2007, 'Names and identities, or: How to be a hip young Italian migrant in Germany', in P. Auer(ed.), *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, pp. 121-54 .
- Bilici, M. 2010, 'Muslim Ethnic Comedy: Inversions of Islamophobia', in A. Shryock (ed.), *Islamophobia / Islamophilia: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, pp. 195- 208 .
- Birks, M. & Mills, J. 2011, *Grounded Theory: A practical guide*, Sage Publications, London, viewed Oct 27, 2019, <<http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2011/12/20/book-review-grounded-theory-a-practical-guide-birks-mills-2011/>>.
- Blackledge, A., Creese, A., Baraç, T., Bhatt, A., Hamid, S., Wei, L., Lytra, V., Martin, P., Wu, C. & Yağcıoğlu, D. 2008, 'Contesting 'Language' as 'Heritage': Negotiation of Identities in Late Modernity', *Applied Linguistics*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 533-54.
- Blackwood, R., Lanza, E. & Woldemariam, H. (eds) 2016, *Negotiating and Contesting Identities in Linguistic Landscapes*, Bloomsbury, London and New York.
- Blair, D. & Collins, P. 2001, *English in Australia*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, PA.
- Blommaert, J. 2009, 'Language, Asylum, and the National Order', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 50, no. 4, pp. 415-41.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J. & Slembrouck, S. 2005, 'Spaces of multilingualism', *Language & Communication*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 197-216.
- Bolt, A. 2007, 'Big hearted', *Herald-Sun*, 5 October, pp. 28.
- Boulton, M.J. 1995, 'Patterns of Bully/Victim Problems in Mixed Race Groups of Children', *Social Development*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 277-93.
- Bourdieu, P. 2000, *Pascalian meditations*, Polity, Cambridge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1999, *The weight of the world: social suffering in contemporary society*, Polity, Oxford.
- Bourdieu, P. 1998, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991, *Language and symbolic power*, Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990, *The logic of practice*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977a, 'The economics of linguistic exchanges', *Information (International Social Science Council)*, vol. 16, no. 6, pp. 645-68.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977b, *Outline of a theory of practice*, vol. 16, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; New York.

- Bower, K. 2014, 'Made in Germany: Integration as Inside Joke in the Ethno-comedy of Kaya Yanar and Bülent Ceylan', *German Studies Review*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 357-76.
- Brewer, M.B., Herrmann, R.K. & Risse-Kappen, T. 2004, *Transnational identities: becoming European in the EU*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD.
- Busch, B. 2017, 'Expanding the Notion of the Linguistic Repertoire: On the Concept of Spracherleben—The Lived Experience of Language', *Applied Linguistics*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 340-58.
- Butcher, M. 2003, 'Revisioning Sydney', *Space and Culture*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 187-94.
- Butcher, M. & Harris, A. 2010, 'Pedestrian Crossings: Young People and Everyday Multiculturalism', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 31, no. 5, pp. 449-53.
- Carpiano, R. 2009, 'Come take a walk with me: The "Go-Along" interview as a novel method for studying the implications of place for health and well-being', *Health & Place*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 263–272.
- Carter, M.U. 2014, 'Mixed Race Okinawans and Their Obscure In-Betweenness', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 35, no. 6, pp. 646-61.
- Carton, A. 2007, 'Historicizing Hybridity and the Politics of Location: Three Early Colonial Indian Narratives', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 143-55.
- Cashmore, E. 1982, 'Black youth, sport and education', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 213-21.
- Caughie, P.L. 2010, 'Audible identities: passing and sound technologies', *Humanities Research*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 91-111.
- Central Intelligence Agency, (. 2018, *World Factbook - Kuwait*, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), viewed 02/05/2018, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ku.html>>.
- Charmaz, K. 2014, *Constructing grounded theory*, Sage, London.
- Choi, J. 2017, *Creating a Multivocal Self: Autoethnography as Method*, Routledge, New York and London.
- Clarke, M. 2016, *The hate race: a memoir*, Hachette Australia, Sydney.
- Trump: We speak English here, not Spanish*, September 17, 2015, Video, CNN, Atlanta, GA.
- Cochran-Smith, M. 1995, 'Uncertain Allies: Understanding the Boundaries of Race and Teaching', *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 65, no. 4, pp. 541-70.
- Cohen, R. 1997, *Global Diasporas : An Introduction*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Collins, J. 1993, 'Immigrant Families in Australia', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 291-313.
- Connolly, I. & O'Moore, M. 2003, 'Personality and family relations of children who bully', *Personality and Individual Differences*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 559-67.
- Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. 2008, *Basics of qualitative research techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Cousins, C. 1998, 'Social exclusion in Europe: paradigms of social disadvantage in Germany, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom', *Policy & Politics*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 127-46.

- Creagh, S. 2013, 'Language Background Other Than English': a problem NAPLAN test category for Australian students of refugee background', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 252-73.
- Crenshaw, K. 2016, *The urgency of intersectionality*, viewed 12 Aug 2019, <[https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle\\_crenshaw\\_the\\_urgency\\_of\\_intersectionality/transcript?language=en](https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle_crenshaw_the_urgency_of_intersectionality/transcript?language=en)>.
- Csizér, K. & Dörnyei, Z. 2005, 'The internal structure of language learning motivation and its relationship with language choice and learning effort', *The Modern Language Journal*, vol. 89, no. 1, pp. 19-36.
- Cummins, J. 2000, *Language, power, and pedagogy*, vol. 23, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon England; Buffalo N.Y. <<http://www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=80547>>.
- Cunneen, C. 2018, 'Indigenous People, Resistance and Racialised Criminality', in M. Bhatia, S. Poynting & W. Tufail(eds), *Media, Crime and Racism*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 277-99.
- Curdt-Christiansen, X. 2009, 'Invisible and visible language planning: ideological factors in the family language policy of Chinese immigrant families in Quebec', *Language Policy*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 351-75.
- Danius, S., Jonsson, S. & Spivak, G. 1993, 'An Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak', *Boundary 2*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 24-50.
- de Finney, S. 2010, "'We Just Don't Know Each Other": Racialised Girls Negotiate Mediated Multiculturalism in a Less Diverse Canadian City', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 31, no. 5, pp. 471-87.
- Del Boca, D. & Venturini, A. 2005, 'Italian Migration', in K.F. Zimmermann(ed.), *European Migration: What Do We Know?* Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 303-35.
- Dickinson, D. & Tabors, P. 2001, *Beginning Literacy with Language: Young Children Learning at Home and School*, Brookes Publishing, Baltimore.
- Dimitriadis, K. 2016, 'Comment: Hey, white people, please don't call me a "wog"', *SBS*, 15 Sep, viewed 19/01/2020, <<https://www.sbs.com.au/topics/voices/culture/article/2016/09/15/comment-hey-white-people-please-dont-call-me-wog>>.
- Drybread, K. 2018, 'When corruption is not a crime: "innocent" white politicians and the racialisation of criminality in Brazil', *Culture, Theory and Critique*, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 332-53.
- Duclos, R., Wan, E.W. & Jiang, Y. 2012, 'Show Me the Honey! Effects of Social Exclusion on Financial Risk-Taking', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 122-35.
- Durante, F., Tablante, C.B. & Fiske, S.T. 2017, 'Poor but Warm, Rich but Cold (and Competent): Social Classes in the Stereotype Content Model', *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 73, no. 1, pp. 138-57.
- Eide, E. 2010, 'Strategic Essentialism and Ethnification: Hand in Glove?', *Nordicom Review*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 63-78.
- Elgin, C. 1996, 'The Relativity of Fact and the Objectivity of Value', *The Harvard Review of Philosophy*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 4-15.
- Erler, I. 2003, *Habitus: Geschichte des Begriffs und seine Verwendung in der Theorie von Pierre Bourdieu*, Universität Wien, Vienna.
- European Parliament 2010, *Fact sheet 8 - Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy*, European Parliament.

- Evans, P.C. & McConnell, A.R. 2003, 'Do Racial Minorities Respond in the Same Way to Mainstream Beauty Standards? Social Comparison Processes in Asian, Black, and White Women', *Self and Identity*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 153-67.
- Fackler, M. 2015, 'Biracial Beauty Queen Challenges Japan's Self-Image', *The New York Times*, May 29, viewed 20 October 2019, <<http://nyti.ms/1HREOnS>>.
- Faine, M. 2008, *At Home in Australian: Identity, Nation and the Teaching of English as a Second Language to Adult Immigrants in Australia*, Monash University .
- Finegan, E. 2008, *Language: Its Structure and Use*, Thomson Wadsworth, Boston.
- Fish, R.A. 2003, 'Mixed-blood' Japanese A reconsideration of race and purity in Japan', in M. Weiner(ed.), *Japan's Minorities: The illusion of homogeneity*, Routledge, pp. 62-80, viewed May 30, 2018, <<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781134744428/chapters/10.4324%2F9780203884997-9>>.
- Fishman, J. 1999, 'Three centuries of heritage language education in the United States.', *Plenary address given at the First National Heritage Language Conference*, Long Beach, CA.
- Flores, N. & Rosa, J. 2015, 'Undoing Appropriateness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Language Diversity in Education', *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 85, no. 2, pp. 149-301.
- Fogle, L.W. 2013, 'Family Language Policy from the Children's Point of View: Bilingualism in Place and Time', in M. Schwartz & A. Verschik(eds), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Springer Netherlands, Dordrecht, pp. 177-200, <[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_8)>.
- French Embassy US, 2018 'On @TheDailyShow , @Trevornoah called the @FrenchTeam 's World Cup win an "African victory." Read Ambassador @GerardAraud 's response.' Twitter post, 18 July, viewed 01 August 2018 <<https://twitter.com/franceintheus/status/1019691552384352257/photo/1>>
- García, O. 2007, 'Foreword', in S. Makoni & A. Pennycook(eds), *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, UK .
- García, O. & Wei, L. 2014, *Translanguaging - Language, Bilingualism and Education*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK.
- García Canclini, Nestor. 2005 *Hybrid Cultures : Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, University of Minnesota Press
- Geißler, R. & Weber-Menges, S. 'Media Reception and Ideas on Media Integration among Turkish, Italian and Russo-German Migrants in Germany ', in R. Geißler & H. Pöttker (eds.), *Media - Migration - Integration: European and North American Perspectives*, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, pp. 27-43.
- Gensini, S. 1988, *Elementi di storia linguistica d'Italia*, Minerva Italica, Milan.
- Giguère, B., Lalonde, R. & Lou, E. 2010, 'Living at the Crossroads of Cultural Worlds: The Experience of Normative Conflicts by Second Generation Immigrant Youth', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 14-29.
- Gillborn, D. 2004, 'Racism, Policy and Contemporary Schooling: Current Inequities and Future Possibilities', *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 5-33.
- Gilroy, P. 2004, 'Racial Observance, Nationalism, and Humanism', in P. Gilroy (ed.), *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race*, Routledge.

- Ginty, R.M. 2010, 'Hybrid Peace: The Interaction Between Top-Down and Bottom-Up Peace', *Security Dialogue*.
- Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. 1967, *The discovery of grounded theory*, Aldine, Chicago.
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. & Blanc, C.S. 1995, 'From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration', *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 48-63.
- Government of India 2015, *The Constitution of India*, Government of India, Ministry of Law and Justice, viewed 21/03/ 2018, <<http://www.legislative.gov.in/sites/default/files/coi-4March2016.pdf>>.
- Grapsias, N. 2003, *Southern strangers: A qualitative study on the experiences of post World-War Two Greek migrants*, University of Western Sydney.
- Gregson, S. 2007, 'War, Racism and Industrial Relations in an Australian Mining Town, 1916-1935', *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 79-97.
- Grubanov-Boskovic, S., Natale, F. & Scipioni, M. 2017, *Patterns of immigrants' integration in European labour markets*, European Union.
- Gundara, J.S. 2000, *Interculturalism, Education and Inclusion*, Sage Publications, London.
- Gutiérrez, K.D., Baquedano-López, P., Alvarez, H.H. & Chiu, M.M. 1999, 'Building a culture of collaboration through hybrid language practices', *Theory into Practice*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 87-93.
- Hall, S. 1994, *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Hall, S. 1990, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Anonymous *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, pp. 222-37, .
- Hall, S. & Du Gay, P. 1996, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Sage, London.
- Harris, K.L. 2018, 'Biracial American Colorism: Passing for White', *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 62, no. 14, pp. 2072-86.
- Heine, M. 2016, 'Wie „Kanake“ zum rassistischen Hasswort wurde', *Die Welt*, 18/04/, viewed 09/01/2020, <<https://www.welt.de/kultur/article154409100/Wie-Kanake-zum-rassistischen-Hasswort-wurde.html>>.
- Hesse, K. & Matthes, F. 2012, *Demografiebericht 2012 für die Seestadt Bremerhaven*, Bremen.
- Hiratsuka, A. & Pennycook, A. 2019, 'Translingual family repertoires: 'no, Morci is itaitai panzita, amor'', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, DOI: [10.1080/01434632.2019.1645145](https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1645145)
- Ho, C. 2011, 'Respecting the Presence of Others: School Micropublics and Everyday Multiculturalism', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 32, no. 6, pp. 603-19.
- Ho, C. 2010, 'The Hidden Politics of Harmony Celebrations: Where has all the racism gone?', in M. Giugni & K. Mundine(eds), *alkin' Up and Speakin' Out: Aboriginal and Multicultural Voices in Early Childhood*, Pademelon Press, Sydney, pp. 105-10.
- Ho, R. 1975, *Rainbow Round my Shoulder*, Eastern University Press, Singapore.
- Hollinger, D. 2005, 'The one drop rule & the one hate rule', *Daedalus*, vol. 134, no. 1.
- Holloway, W. & Jefferson, T. 2012, *Doing Qualitative Research Differently*, Sage, London.
- Huang, M. & Jaszczolt, K.M. (eds) 2018, *Expressing the Self: Cultural Diversity and Cognitive Universals*, First Edition edn, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Hunter, M. 2007, 'The Persistent Problem of Colorism: Skin Tone, Status, and Inequality', *Sociology Compass*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 237-54.
- Ifekwunigwe, J. 1998, *Scattered Belongings: Cultural Paradoxes of 'Race', Nation and Gender*, Routledge, London.
- Inwood, J.F.J. & Martin, D.G. 2008, 'Whitewash: white privilege and racialized landscapes at the University of Georgia', *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 373-95.
- Israel, T. 2004, 'Conversations, Not Categories', *Women & Therapy*, vol. 27, no. 1-2, pp. 173-84.
- Ivanova, O. 2019, "'My Child Is a Perfect Bilingual": Cognition, Emotions, and Affectivity in Heritage Language Transmission', *Languages*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 44.
- Jackson, K.F., Wolven, T. & Aguilera, K. 2013, 'Mixed Resilience: A Study of Multiethnic Mexican American Stress and Coping in Arizona', *Family Relations*, vol. 62, no. 1, pp. 212-25.
- Jakobsen, V., Korpi, T. & Lorentzen, T. 2019, 'Immigration and Integration Policy and Labour Market Attainment Among Immigrants to Scandinavia', *European Journal of Population*, vol. 35, pp. 305–328.
- Janiszewski, L. & Alexakis, E. 2006, 'In her own image: Greek-Australian women beyond the stereotypes', *Culture and Memory*, pp. 152-73.
- Jones, C.P. 2000, 'Levels of racism: a theoretic framework and a gardener's tale.', *Am J Public Health*, vol. 90, no. 8, pp. 1212–1215.
- Joseph, J. E. (2016). Historical perspectives on language and identity. In S. Preece (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and identity* (pp. 19-33). London and New York: Routledge.
- Kalayil, S. 2019, *Second-generation South Asian Britons: multilingualism, heritage languages, and diasporic identity*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Maryland.
- Kane, J. 1997, 'Racialism and Democracy: The Legacy of White Australia', in G. Stokes(ed.), *The Politics of Identity in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 117-31.
- Karrebæk, M. 2012, "'What's in Your Lunch Box Today?": Health, Respectability, and Ethnicity in the Primary Classroom', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 1-22.
- Kellogg, A.H. & Liddell, D.L. 2012, "'Not Half But Double": Exploring Critical Incidents in the Racial Identity of Multiracial College Students', *Journal of College Student Development*, vol. 53, no. 4.
- Khanna, N. & Johnson, C. 2010, 'Passing as Black: Racial Identity Work among Biracial Americans', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 4, pp. 380-97.
- Kim, H.A. 2016, *Biracial Identity Development: Narratives of Biracial Korean American University Students in Heritage Language Classes*, University of Washington.
- King, R. & Christou, A. 2008, *Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns 'Home'*, University of Sussex, University of Sussex.
- Kleikamp, A. 2015, '„Zuchtstationen“, „Bordelle“ – Himmlers Gebär-Verein', *Die Welt*, 12 Dec, viewed 9 Jan 2018, <<https://www.welt.de/geschichte/zweiter-weltkrieg/article149873036/Zuchtstationen-Bordelle-Himmlers-Gebaer-Verein.html>>.
- Koeth, E. 2010, *Multiculturalism: a review of Australian policy statements and recent debates in Australia and overseas*, Commonwealth Parliament, Parliament House, Canberra, ACT, 2600, viewed Jan 26, 2019,



- [https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06)>.
- Kuwait Central Statistical Bureau 2005, *General Population Census 2005*, viewed 08/01/ 2020, [https://www.csb.gov.kw/Pages/Statistics\\_en?ID=6&ParentCatID=1](https://www.csb.gov.kw/Pages/Statistics_en?ID=6&ParentCatID=1)>.
- Kuwait Central Statistical Bureau 1995, *General Population Census 1995*, viewed 08/01/ 2020, [https://www.csb.gov.kw/Pages/Statistics\\_en?ID=6&ParentCatID=1](https://www.csb.gov.kw/Pages/Statistics_en?ID=6&ParentCatID=1)>.
- Kuwait Statistical Bureau 2016, *Migration Statistics Bulletin*, Kuwait Statistical Bureau, viewed 08/01/ 2020, [https://www.csb.gov.kw/Pages/Statistics\\_en?ID=56&ParentCatID=1](https://www.csb.gov.kw/Pages/Statistics_en?ID=56&ParentCatID=1)>.
- Kymlicka, W. 1995, *The Rights of Minority Cultures*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Laclau, E. 1990, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, Verso, London, New York.
- Lawler, E.J. 2001, 'An Affect Theory of Social Exchange', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 107, no. 2, pp. 321-52.
- Linkin Park 2003a, *Figure 09*, Warner Bros & Machine Shop, NRG Recording Studios, California.
- Linkin Park 2003b, *Numb*, Warner Bros & Machine Shop, NRG Recording Studios, California.
- Linkin Park 2000a, *By Myself*, Warner Bros., NRG Recording Studios, California.
- Linkin Park 2000b, *In the End*, Warner Bros, NRG Recording Studios, California.
- Lo-Philip, S.W. 2010, 'Towards a theoretical framework of heritage language literacy and identity processes', *Linguistics and Education*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 282-97.
- Lowe, J. 1986, 'Theories of Ethnic Humor: How to Enter, Laughing', *American Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 439-60.
- Maass, A. & Cadinu, M. 2011, 'Stereotype threat: When minority members underperform', *European Review of Social Psychology*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 243-75.
- Macdonald, G. 2010, 'Colonizing Processes, the Reach of the State and Ontological Violence: Historicizing Aboriginal Australian Experience', *Anthropologica*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 49-66.
- Magistrat der Stadt Bremerhaven 2017, *Sozialraumanalyse für die Frühen Hilfen in Bremerhaven*, viewed 09/01/ 2020, <https://www.bremerhaven.de/sixcms/media.php/94/Sozialraumanalyse+Lehe.637477.pdf>>.
- Makoni, S. & Pennycook, A. 2007, *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, UK.
- Malteser Migrationsbericht 2017, *Zuwanderung nach Deutschland von 1945 bis heute*.
- Mansouri, F., Jenkins, L., Morgan, L. & Taouk, M. 2009, *The impact of racism upon the health and wellbeing of young Australians*, Melbourne.
- Marks, A.K., Patton, F. & Coll, C.G. 2011, 'Being bicultural: A mixed-methods study of adolescents' implicitly and explicitly measured multiethnic identities.', *Developmental psychology*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 270.
- Markus, H. & Nurius, P. 1986, 'Possible Selves', *American Psychologist*, vol. 41, no. 9, pp. 954-969.
- Martin, P.Y. & Turner, B.A. 1986, 'Grounded Theory and Organizational Research', *The Journal of Behavioural Science*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 141-57.
- McIntosh, P. 1992, *White Privilege: Unpacking The Invisible Knapsack*, New York State Council of Educational Associations, New York.



- McKay, P. & Brindley, G. 2007, 'Educational Reform and ESL Assessment in Australia: New Roles and New Tensions', *Language Assessment Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 69-84.
- McWhorter, J. 2019, 'The Idea That Whites Can't Refer to the N-Word', *The Atlantic*, 27 August, viewed 19 Jan 2020, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/08/whites-refer-to-the-n-word/596872/>>.
- Meyerhoff, M. 2019, *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, Routledge, New York.
- Micallef, S. 2015, 'Little Malta gives me second-generation guilt: Toronto's Maltese population has mostly dispersed from the neighbourhood they once called home', *Toronto Star*, 20 Mar, viewed Aug 5, 2019, <[https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.uts.edu.au/docview/1664729675?rfr\\_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo](https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.uts.edu.au/docview/1664729675?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo)>.
- Ministry of Home Affairs. 1963, *The Official Languages Act*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, viewed 21/03/ 2018, <<http://raibhasha.nic.in/en/official-languages-act-1963>>.
- Mitchell, K. 1997, 'Different Diasporas and the Hype of Hybridity', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 15, no. 5, pp. 533-53.
- Mohanty, A.K. 2006, 'Multilingualism of the Unequals and Predicaments of Education in India: Mother Tongue or Other Tongue?', in O. García, T. Skutnabb-Kangas & M.E. Torres-Guzmán(eds), *Imagining multilingual schools: languages in education and glocalization*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, pp. 262-83, .
- Moloney, R. & Oguro, S. 2015, "'To Know What It's Like to be Japanese" : A Case Study of the Experiences of Heritage Learners of Japanese in Australia', in I. Nakane, E. Otsuji & W.S. Armour (eds.), *Languages and Identities in a Transitional Japan*, Routledge, New York, pp. 121-40, viewed May 30, 2018, <<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781317961895/chapters/10.4324%2F9781315866833-7>>.
- Mouzon, D. & McLean, J. 2016, 'Internalized racism and mental health among African-Americans, US-born Caribbean Blacks, and foreign-born Caribbean Blacks', vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 36-48.
- Mubeen, A. & Bushra, F. 'Peace Process with India: A Challenge for Pakistan', *South Asian Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 291-303.
- Nauck, B. 2007, 'Immigrant families in Germany: Family change between situational adaption, acculturation, segregation and remigration', *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 34-54.
- Nelson, J., Hynes, M., Sharpe, S., Paradies, Y. & Dunn, K. 2018, 'Witnessing Anti-White 'Racism': White Victimhood and 'Reverse Racism' in Australia', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 339-58.
- NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2019, *Ranking Data Sets*, viewed 07/01/ 2020, <[https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar\\_datasets/Datasets-.aspx](https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar_datasets/Datasets-.aspx)>.
- Nukaga, M. 2008, 'The Underlife of Kids' School Lunchtime: Negotiating Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Food Exchange', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 342-80.
- Obama, B. 1995, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*, Crown Publishers, New York.
- Oguma, E. 2002, *A genealogy of "Japanese" self-images*, Trans Pacific Press, Melbourne.
- Oh, J. & Fuligni, A. 2010, 'The Role of Heritage Language Development in the Ethnic Identity and Family Relationships of Adolescents from Immigrant Backgrounds', *Social Development*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 202-20.
- Oliver, R., Rochecouste, J. & Nguyen, B. 2017, 'ESL in Australia - a chequered history', *TESOL in Context*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 7-26.

- Trevor Responds to Criticism from the French Ambassador Between The Scenes The Daily Show 2018, Video, Comedy Central, New York.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, (OECD) 2018, *Schülerinnen und Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund brauchen mehr Unterstützung, um in Schule und Gesellschaft erfolgreich zu sein*, viewed Jan 26, 2019, <<http://www.oecd.org/berlin/presse/schuelerinnen-und-schueler-mit-migrationshintergrund-brauchen-mehr-unterstuetzung-umerfolgreich-zu-sein-19032018.htm>>.
- Oriyama, K. 2010, 'Heritage Language Maintenance and Japanese Identity Formation: What Role Can Schooling and Ethnic Community Contact Play?', *Heritage Language Journal*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 76-111.
- Özil, M. 2018, 'The past couple of weeks have given me time to reflect, and time to think over the events of the last few months. Consequently, I want to share my thoughts and feelings about what has happened.', Twitter post, 22 July, viewed 01 August 2018 <<https://twitter.com/MesutOzil1088/status/1020984884431638528>>
- Paasi, A. 2009, 'The resurgence of the 'Region' and 'Regional Identity': theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics in Europe', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 35, no. S1, pp. 121–146.
- Pao, D.L., Wong, S.D. & Teuben-Rowe, S. 1997, 'Identity Formation for Mixed-Heritage Adults and Implications for Educators', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 622-31.
- Paradies, Y., Forrest, J., Dunn, K., Pedersen, A. & Webster, K. 2009, 'More than tolerance: racism and the health of young Australians', in F. Mansouri(ed.), *Youth identify and migration: culture, values and social connectedness*, Common Ground Publishing, Australia, pp. 207-26.
- Patton, T.O. 2006, 'Hey Girl, Am I More than My Hair?: African American Women and Their Struggles with Beauty, Body Image, and Hair', *NWSA Journal*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 24-51.
- Payne, K.E., Philyaw, Z., Rabow, J. & Yazdanfar, S. 2018, 'Names: a new dimension of transformation', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 564-71.
- Peckham, R.S. 2003, 'The politics of heritage and public culture', in R.S. Peckham(ed.), *Rethinking Heritage: Culture and Politics in Europe*, I.P. Tauris, London.
- Pennycook, A. & Otsuji, E. 2015, *Metrolingualism: Language in the City*, Routledge, New York.
- Pérez-Milans, M. 2016, 'Language and identity in linguistic ethnography', in S. Preece(ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, Routledge, pp. 83-97.
- Phillipson, R. 1998, 'Globalizing English: Are linguistic human rights an alternative to linguistic imperialism?', *Language Sciences*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 101-12.
- Pink, S. 2009, 'Between Experience and Scholarship: Representing Sensory Ethnography', in S. Pink(ed.), *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London.
- Portes, A. & Rumbaut, R.G. 2014, *Immigrant America :a portrait*, University of California Press, Oakland, California.
- Portes, A. & Rumbaut, R.G. 2001, *Legacies: the story of the immigrant second generation*, University of California Press; Russell Sage Foundation, Berkeley; New York.

- Poynting, S. 2000, 'Ethnicising Criminality and Criminalising Ethnicity', in J. Collins & S. Poynting (eds.), *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Western Sydney*, Common Ground, Melbourne and New York., pp. 63-78.
- Pyke, K. & Dang, T. 2003, "'FOB" and "Whitewashed": Identity and Internalized Racism Among Second Generation Asian Americans', *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 147-72.
- Radford, P. 2008, *A statistical analysis of the immigrant and visible minority experience in Canada's cities and smaller communities: Understanding the factors that impact social cohesion*, Concordia University Montreal.
- Ragnarsdóttir, H. & Blöndal, H. 2015, 'Multicultural and Inclusive Education in Two Icelandic Schools', in H. Layne, V. Trémion & F. Dervin(eds), *Making the Most of Intercultural Education*, Cambridge Scholars Publisher, Cambridge, pp. 35-59.
- Rai, S. 2012, 'India's New 'English Only' Generation', *India Ink*, The New York Times Blogs, viewed May 30, 2018.
- Rampton, B. 2006, *Language in Late Modernity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Randwick City Council 2014, *Randwick City Library Collection Develop Policy*.
- Ratnapalan, S. 2019, 'Qualitative approaches: Variations of grounded theory methodology', *Canadian Family Physician Medecin De Famille Canadien*, vol. 65, no. 9, pp. 667-8.
- Reay, D. 2015, 'Habitus and the psychosocial: Bourdieu with feelings', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 9-23.
- Reay, D. 2004, 'It's all becoming a habitus': beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 431-44.
- Reay, D. 2000, 'A Useful Extension of Bourdieu's Conceptual Framework?: Emotional Capital as a Way of Understanding Mothers' Involvement in Their Children's Education?', *The Sociological Review*, vol. 48, no. 4, pp. 568-85.
- Renn, K.A. 2000, 'Patterns of situational identity among biracial and multiracial college students', *The Review of Higher Education*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 399-420.
- Reyes, A. 2017, 'Inventing Postcolonial Elites: Race, Language, Mix, Excess', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 210–231.
- Reyes, A. & Lo, A. 2009, *Beyond Yellow English Toward a Linguistic Anthropology of Asian Pacific America*, First edn, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Richards, A. 2018, 'Dreams and the Wish for Immortality', *Canadian Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 142-58.
- Richardson, L. 2000, 'Writing: A method of inquiry' in N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rosa, J. & Flores, N. 2017, 'Unsettling race and language: Toward a raciolinguistic perspective', *Language in Society*, vol. 46, no. 5, pp. 621-47.
- Rottenberg, C. 2003, 'Passing: Race, Identification, and Desire - ProQuest', *Criticism*, vol. 45, no. 4, pp. 435-52.
- Rubino, A. 2006, 'Linguistic practices and language attitudes of second-generation Italo-Australians', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, vol. 2006, no. 180, pp. 71–88.

- Rutherford, J. 1990, 'The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha', in J. Rutherford(ed.), *Identity: community, culture, difference*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, pp. 207-21.
- Said, E. 1989, 'Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 205-25.
- Salis, F. 2015, 'La lingua sarda nella classificazione decimale Dewey', *Italian Journal of Library and Information Science*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. S1-.
- Saunders, K. & Taylor, H. 1995, 'The Reception of Black American Servicemen in Australia During World War II: The Resilience of "White Australia"', *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 331-48.
- SBS News 2018, 'Canberrans will mark the first Reconciliation Day public holiday with bush tucker, boomerang throwing and indigenous dance and musical performances.', *SBS News*, 25 May, viewed 19/01/2020, <<https://www.sbs.com.au/news/controversy-over-act-reconciliation-day>>.
- Schemer, I. 1979, *Beyond the Letter*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Schmoll, T. 2017, 'Leben in „Deutschlands ärmstem Stadtteil“', *Die Welt*, 13/06/, viewed 29/01/2020, <<https://www.welt.de/vermishtes/article165502907/Leben-in-Deutschlands-aermstem-Stadtteil.html>>.
- Schuler, C. 2018, *The Influence of the Heritage Language on the Cultural Integration of Second-Generation Hispanic Adolescents: A Phenomenological Study*, Concordia University-Portland, , viewed Jul 3, 2019, <<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.uts.edu.au/docview/2130917394/?pg-origsite=primo>>.
- Sen, A. 2006, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, London.
- Sergi, G. 1901, *The Mediterranean race: a study of the origin of European peoples*, W. Scott and W. Scribner, London and New York.
- Shannon, S.M. 2010, 'The debate on bilingual education in the U.S.: Language ideology as reflected in the practice of bilingual teachers', in J. Blommaert(ed.), *Language Ideological Debates*, De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin, Boston, pp. 171-200, viewed Aug 14, 2019, <<https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/48048>>.
- Shin, S.J. 2010, "'What About Me? I'm Not Like Chinese But I'm Not Like American": Heritage-Language Learning and Identity of Mixed-Heritage Adults', *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 203-19.
- Silva, E.B. 2016, 'Habitús: beyond Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 73-92.
- Şimşek, Y. & Schroeder, C. 2011, 'Migration und Sprache in Deutschland - am Beispiel der Migranten aus der Türkei und ihrer Kinder und Kindeskinde', in Ş Ozil, M. Hofmann & Y. Dayioğlu-Yücel(eds), *50 Jahre türkische Arbeitsmigration in Deutschland*, V&R Unipress, Göttingen, pp. 205-29, .
- Singh, M.K. & Kainth, S. 2018, *Citizenship changes: Government may introduce 'conversational English' test instead of IELTS*, Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), viewed Aug 22, 2018, <<https://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/punjabi/en/article/2018/06/27/citizenship-changes-government-may-introduce-conversational-english-test-instead>>.
- Solomona, R.P., Portelli, J.P., Daniel, B. & Campbell, A. 2005, 'The discourse of denial: how white teacher candidates construct race, racism and 'white privilege'', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 147-69.

- Song, M. 2014, 'Challenging a culture of racial equivalence', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 107-29.
- Speight, S. 2007, 'Internalized Racism: One More Piece of the Puzzle', *The Counselling Psychologist*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 126-34.
- Spiegel Online 2011, *Gastarbeiter: "Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte, und es kamen Menschen"*, viewed Jul 24, 2019, <<https://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/gastarbeiter-wir-riefen-arbeitskraefte-und-es-kamen-menschen-fotostrecke-74565-2.html>>.
- Spivak, G.C. & Harasym, S. 1990, *The post-colonial critic : interviews, strategies, dialogues*, Routledge, New York.
- Spolsky, B. 2009, *Language management*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Springgay, S & Truman, S. 2018, *Walking Methodologies in a More-than-human World: WalkingLab*, Routledge, London
- Starkey, B.S. 2017, 'If you truly knew what the N-word meant to our ancestors, you'd NEVER use it', May 18, viewed 19 Jan 2020, <<https://theundefeated.com/features/if-you-truly-knew-what-the-n-word-meant-to-our-ancestors-youd-never-use-it/>>.
- Starks, D. 2018, 'Where are you from?' is a complicated question. This is how young Australians answer, viewed Aug 21, 2019, <<http://theconversation.com/where-are-you-from-is-a-complicated-question-this-is-how-young-australians-answer-99644>>.
- Statistisches Bundesamt 2019, *Bevölkerung in Privathaushalten 2018 nach Migrationshintergrund*, viewed 09/01/ 2020, <<https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Migration-Integration/Tabellen/migrationshintergrund-laender.html>>.
- Statistisches Bundesamt 2018a, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund - Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2018*, .
- Statistisches Bundesamt 2018b, *Pressemitteilung Nr. 089*, viewed 4 December 2018, <[https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2018/03/PD18\\_089\\_211.html;jsessionid=66DB1881F93C66F39252D5B793E65055.InternetLive1](https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2018/03/PD18_089_211.html;jsessionid=66DB1881F93C66F39252D5B793E65055.InternetLive1)>.
- Statistisches Bundesamt 2016, *Schulen auf einen Blick, 2016*, Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden.
- Statistisches Landesamt Bremen 2011, *Zensus 2011: Bevölkerung und Haushalte Kreis Bremerhaven, Stadt, Hansestadt Bremen*.
- Stevens, G. & Ishizawa, H. 2007, 'Variation Among Siblings in the Use of a Non-English Language', *Journal of Family Issues*, vol. 28, no. 8, pp. 1008-25.
- Stracqualursi, V. 2017, *Trump says he wants immigrants 'who speak English' and won't 'collect welfare'*, ABC News, viewed Aug 22, 2018, <<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-aims-cut-legal-immigration-legislation/story?id=48985055>>.
- Tasevski, O. 1100a, 'Australia's Parliament looks nothing like its community. A quota would help fix it', *ABC News*, 2018-03-16T07:40:07+, viewed Jul 12, 2019, <<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-03-16/ethnic-diversity-quotas-multicultural-australian-parliament/9538954>>.
- Tasevski, O. 1100b, 'Australia's Parliament looks nothing like its community. A quota would help fix it', *ABC News*, 2018-03-16T07:40:07+, viewed Jul 12, 2019, <<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-03-16/ethnic-diversity-quotas-multicultural-australian-parliament/9538954>>.

- Taylor, C. 1994, *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
- The Japan Times 2005, 'Aso says Japan is nation of 'one race'', *The Japan Times*, 18 Oct, viewed 9 Jan 2019, <<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2005/10/18/national/aso-says-japan-is-nation-of-one-race/>>.
- The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 1959, *Kuwait Nationality Law*, UNHCR, viewed 29/03/ 2018, <<https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/83364/91990/F734821664/KWT83364.pdf>>.
- The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, (OECD) 2018, *About PISA*, viewed Jan 26, 2019, <<http://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/>>.
- Toumi, H. 2017a, '15-year cap on expatriates in Kuwait proposed', *GulfNews*, 09:48 November 6, viewed May 30, 2018, <<https://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/kuwait/15-year-cap-on-expatriates-in-kuwait-proposed-1.2119385>>.
- Toumi, H. 2017b, 'Number of Indians in Kuwait increased by 9.2% in one year', *Gulf News Kuwait*, 22/06/, viewed 08/01/2020, <<https://gulfnews.com/world/gulf/kuwait/number-of-indians-in-kuwait-increased-by-92-in-one-year-1.2047762>>.
- Tse, L. 2001, 'Resisting and Reversing Language Shift: Heritage-Language Resilience among U.S. Native Bilinguals', *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 71, no. 4, pp. 676-709.
- Tsolidis, G. & Pollard, V. 2009, 'Being a 'wog' in Melbourne – young people's self-fashioning through discourses of racism', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 427-42.
- Tucker, R.G. 1998, 'A Global Perspective on Multilingualism and Multilingual Education', in J. Cenoz & F. Genesee(eds), *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education. Multilingual Matters Series*, Taylor & Francis Inc.
- United States Census Bureau 2015, *Detailed Languages Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English*, United States Census Bureau, viewed Aug 22, 2018, <<https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2013/demo/2009-2013-lang-tables.html>>.
- Valdés, G. 2005, 'Bilingualism, Heritage Language Learners, and SLA Research: Opportunities Lost or Seized? on JSTOR', *The Modern Language Journal*, vol. 89, no. 3, pp. 410-26.
- Valenta, M. 2008, 'The Workplace as an Arena for Identity Affirmation and Social Integration of Immigrants', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 9, no. 2.
- Vasquez, J.M. 2010, 'Blurred Borders for Some but Not "Others": Racialization, "Flexible Ethnicity," Gender, and Third-Generation Mexican American Identity', *Sociological Perspectives*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 45-71.
- Vecco, M. 2010, 'A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 321-4.
- Verberk, G., Scheepers, P. & Felling, A. 2002, 'Attitudes and behavioural intentions towards ethnic minorities: An empirical test of several theoretical explanations for the Dutch case', *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 197-219.
- Vertovec, S. 2007, 'Super-diversity and its implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 30, no. 6, pp. 1024-54.

- Visweswaran, K. 1994, *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, viewed Oct 18, 2019, <<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uts/detail.action?docID=310282>>.
- Walton, G. & Cohen, G. 2007, 'A question of belonging: Race, Social Fit, and Achievement', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 92, no. 1, pp. 82-96.
- Wang, X., Spotti, M., Juffermans, K., Cornips, L., Kroon, S. & Blommaert, J. 2014, 'Globalization in the margins: toward a re-evaluation of language and mobility', *Applied Linguistics Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 23-44.
- Watson, I. 2015, *A Disappearing world: case studies in class, gender and memory*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne.
- Weeks, J. 1990, 'The value of difference', in J. Rutherford(ed.), *Identity: Community, culture and difference*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, pp. 88-100.
- Weiner, M. 1982, 'International Migration and Development: Indians in the Persian Gulf', *Population & Development Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 1-37.
- Wessendorf, S. 2010, 'Local attachments and transnational everyday lives: second-generation Italians in Switzerland', *Global Networks*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 365-82.
- Wessendorf, S. 2007, 'Who Do You Hang Out With? Patterns of Peer Group Association, Cultural Assertion and Detachment Among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland.', in T. Geisen & C. Riegel(eds), *Jugend, Zugehörigkeit und Migration: Subjektpositionierung im Kontext von Jugendkultur, Ethnizitäts- und Geschlechterkonstruktionen*, VS Verlag, Zürich.
- Wetherell, M. 2012, *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*, The Open University, , viewed Jun 14, 2018, <<https://au.sagepub.com/en-gb/oc/affect-and-emotion/book235867>>.
- Wiese, H. 2001, 'Führt Mehrsprachigkeit zum Sprachverfall? Populäre Mythen vom „gebrochenen Deutsch“ bis zur „doppelten Halbsprachigkeit“ türkischstämmiger Jugendlicher in Deutschland', in Ş Ozil, M. Hofmann & Y. Dayioğlu-Yücel(eds), *Türkisch-deutscher Kulturkontakt und Kulturtransfer. Kontroversen und Lernprozesse*, V&R Unipress, Göttingen, pp. 73-84.
- Wiley, T. & Lukes, M. 1996, 'English-only and standard English ideologies in the U.S. ', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 511-35.
- Williams, A. 2002, 'Changing geographies of care: employing the concept of therapeutic landscapes as a framework in examining home space', *Social Science & Medicine*, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 141-54.
- Windle, J. 2008, 'The racialisation of African youth in Australia', *Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, vol. 14, no. 5, pp. 553-66.
- World Health Organisation 2014, *Mental health: a state of well-being*, World Health Organization, viewed Aug 28, 2019, <[https://www.who.int/features/factfiles/mental\\_health/en/](https://www.who.int/features/factfiles/mental_health/en/)>.