

“Where are you from?” The Paradox of African Identity and Belonging in Australia

Virginia Mapedzahama
The University of Sydney Nursing School

Kwamena Kwansah-Aidoo
Swinburne University of Technology, Faculty of Higher Education, Lilydale

Abstract

This paper interrogates the question “where are you from?” by drawing on our experiences and points of view as visibly different African migrants who get asked this “quintessential question of identity” almost on a daily basis. While acknowledging that a certain ‘curiosity’ sometimes drives the asking of this question, we still question the implications and multiplicity of meanings to those whom it is asked. We contend that being asked the question raises three key issues for us. First, we perceive it as exclusionary, in that in a white dominated society it is asked, mainly of certain groups of people who are visibly different. Second, the assumption behind the question – that one is not ‘from here’, constructs an/other whose identity is fixed and tied only to one faraway place, thereby erasing our hyphenated identities, which define our everyday lived realities. Third, it invokes feelings of ambivalence about place when it is interpreted as demanding a justification of the claim to belonging and being ‘from here’. Our paper shows that the question is a matter of identity politics and exposes the complexity of identity work that occurs whenever this question is asked of us. In so doing, it highlights the contradiction between our Australian ‘selves’ and migrant ‘other’.

Keywords: African migrants; identity; belonging; hybrid; exclusionary; ‘Where are you from?’

Introduction

This paper arises out of our recognition of the ubiquity of the question “where are you from?” in our lives as first generation visibly different black African migrants in Australia. The twin subjects of identity and belonging are vexed matters that come to the fore for many migrants, on more occasions than they would perhaps wish. Being ‘visibly different’ more so, adds further layers of complexity to these issues, and are made virtually an everyday concern by this seemingly innocuous question. As Raj (2003: 2) suggests,

asking “Where are you from?” can be a friendly gesture to learn more about and get to know a person... But this seemingly innocent question can also be experienced as a disruption. It is a question of ethnicity and difference, especially when the identity connections between people and places are destabilized, become problematic, or are entirely undone.

Informed by memories of the numerous encounters in our own lives when we have been asked this question, the paper explores the complex juxtapositions that arise from being asked this question almost daily (D’Alisera, 2003). We employ a self-reflexive autobiographical narrative approach within an interpretive phenomenological framework (Smith et al., 1999), to make sense of this question that constitutes part of our lived realities in a white dominated Australian society. Schweitzer et al.(2007: 284) note that a self-reflexive autobiographical narrative approach

allows for the explication of personal perceptions or accounts of phenomenon based upon an exploration of the personal world, while at the same time recognizing that any explication requires a degree of interpretive activity.

Within this framework, we explore the implications for us, of being asked the question persistently, as well as our interpretations of this question. Ultimately, we hope to provide some critical insights into the “dialectical conjunctures” (Tettey and Puplambu, 2005: 6) of being asked that question, as well as what it suggests for us, about the possibility of ever becoming part of the imagined community that makes the nation Australia (Anderson, 1991). As Raj (2003: 2) has further noted, “[t]he unstated

assumption behind the question is that one is a sojourner; one is not from here, or can only claim to be here temporarily”. And so for us, being asked this question routinely, even as a ‘conversation starter’ raises a few identity questions: what does being ‘from’ Australia mean for black African migrants like us? How long does one need to be ‘here’ to ‘be *from*’ here? Will people like us, who among other things will perhaps always speak English with a ‘different’ accent (albeit, competently), ever be socially recognised as Australian? Or, will our difference, most notably of which is the colour of our skin, always identify us as migrants who cannot or do not belong ‘here’?

While the issues we raise and discuss in this paper are by no means unique to our situation as black African migrants, and indeed may have been raised about other migrant groups in Australia and elsewhere (see for example: Ang, 1996; Hage, 1998; Wu, 2002; Henry, 2003; Golash-Boza, 2006; Chang, 1996; Rizvi, 2010 among others), our discussion here remains significant and timely for two main reasons. First, it demonstrates that though this question is no longer the subject of scrutiny, this is an indication of its banalisation than an indication that such analyses are no longer necessary. Our contention is that this question has now been so normalised as a welcome question, or a way of opening up conversation, or merely feeding curiosity in the ‘other’ that its implications and connotations to those of whom it is asked, are now left unquestioned. Our contention is that while this question may be banalised as an act of inclusion, to those who get asked it can also be the source of ambivalence and perceived as exclusionary. Hence our discussion here is an attempt to revisit an issue that is still important, (at least for those to whom it is consistently asked), but has been swept under the carpet of ‘inclusivity’ and ‘tolerance’ within the rhetoric of multiculturalism and cultural plurality, leaving no room for further discussion (see for example Ang, 1996; Zevallos, 2006). Second, and perhaps more significantly, the discussion represents a move away from the problem-centred focus of current research on African migrants in Australia. While there is still a dearth of research on African migrants in Australia, what little research has been undertaken to date has tended to be pre-occupied with issues that focus on African refugees’ resettlement (and their experiences); issues that not only tend to problematise African migrants, but also may be largely inapplicable to African migrants who are not refugees. Given the problem-centred focus, it is not surprising that as yet, no aspect of this paltry

research has investigated issues of ‘otherness’, ‘blackness’ or everyday racism that black African migrants may also confront on a daily basis (see Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo, forthcoming).

The issues we raise in this paper therefore not only expose our ambivalence to this question, but also the complexity of identity work that occurs whenever this question is asked of us (Rizvi, 2010). In particular, they highlight the contradiction between our Australian ‘selves’ and migrant ‘other’: our desire to be the “same yet simultaneously differentiated” (Henry, 2003: 232). Three issues arising from this question form the core of our discussions in this paper. First, is that the question for us conveys a strong sense of exclusion in that in a white dominated society it is asked, in the main, of certain groups of people who are visibly different. Second, is that the assumption behind the question – that one is not ‘from here’, implies for us, the construction of an/other whose identity is tied to a faraway place. Thus we experience it as an erasure of our hyphenated identities which define our everyday lived realities. Third, it invokes in us feelings of ambivalence about place when it is interpreted as demanding a justification of the claim to belonging and being ‘from here’.

Where are we ‘really’ from?

We were born in Africa, we have lived in countries other than our countries of birth before coming to Australia, and we are internal migrants in Australia. We migrated to where we currently live (Sydney and Melbourne respectively) from other cities in Australia. So when we are asked the question: “where are you from?” we often respond by stating where we lived in Australia previously, before moving to our current locations. For us, responding to this question in this way is by no means an attempt at being evasive. On the contrary, it reflects how in our psyche, having migrated to Sydney ‘from’ Adelaide, and to Melbourne ‘from’ Brisbane, for example, we are from t/here. Our immediate memories of place, home and belonging are ‘from’ these interstate locations rather than a distant place in Africa, whose memories exist in the distant past. Still, there are other times we respond to this question differently, acknowledging our African origin; for example, when we are in conversation with other black Africans. The different answers we give to this question each time reveal the complexity and fluidity of our identities that tends to be overlooked in the

assumptions that fuel this question. Our bodies “speak a language of its own” (Ibrahim, 2004; see also Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo, forthcoming), so when we are asked the question by the dominant white group, we perceive it as being identified as an ‘exotic other’, whose roots are and can only be in a distant place, not ‘here’.

Feelings of Exclusion and Racial Bias

Our contention is that for us and other visibly different migrants in Australia, the main basis for the question “where are you from?” is our obvious difference. As black African migrants, the marker of difference is our blackness (Mapedzahama et al., forthcoming; see also Allan et al., 2004; Henry, 2004). Hence, when we are regularly confronted with this question as the first line into a conversation, we interpret it not as merely a conversation starter, instead we recognise our blackness that attracts this question to us, and perceive it as an indication of how we are constructed by the dominant (white) group, only as black African migrants, who do not belong ‘here’. Singh and Dooley (1996: 151) argue that

the question could be either spoken from, or read within, an inclusionary discourse, for example, the 'celebration of diversity'. Alternatively, it could be spoken from, or read within, the exclusionary discourse which constructs ethnic and racial minorities as 'not belonging' in the Australian nation.

When we point to the exclusionary nature of this question however, we are not reducing it to a simple issue of black versus white; “the problem of the colour line” (Chang, 1996: 56) or a “simplistic notion of prejudice formation” (Anthias, 1995: 280). In fact, we do not deny that there is a certain ‘curiosity’ that sometimes drives this question. What we perceive, nonetheless, is that at the core of this question lies racial constructs and biases that define ‘others’ as perpetual outsiders. We concur with Wu’s (2002: 16) contention that:

...[the question] shows that we interact with others around us with a sense of race even if we are not mindful of it... the question is a signal, along a spectrum of invidious colour-consciousness that starts with a speculation but leads to worse. To be met with it so quickly and so often reminds me

over and over, that I am being treated differently than I would if I were white.

The question “where are you from?” is selectively asked only of certain groups of people, in particular, those who are non-white, racialised and constructed as the ‘other’. In Australia, the public imaginary of who ‘is’ an Australian still centres white skin and marginalises our black skin in the imagined Australian nation (Hage, 1998). Underlying the idealised rhetoric of a ‘multicultural’ Australian nation, organised around the norm of cultural plurality and ‘tolerance’ see for example Ang, 1996; Zevallos, 2006), is still (necessarily) an assumption that an Australian would be white-skinned (see, for example, Stratton, 2006; Hage, 1998).

In such a “racial paradigm” (Chang 1996: 55) therefore, an everlasting label of ‘immigrant’ is ascribed to our black skin, because black skin other than that of Indigenous peoples, is excluded from ‘being’ identified or assumed as ‘Australian’. Critiquing this question in relation to migrant women of colour in Canada, Miedema and Tastsoglou (2000: 82) boldly claim that the “common sense usage of ‘immigrant...’ generally refers to ... [people] of colour...[people] from southern Europe and developing countries, who do not speak English well or who speak it with an accent other than British or American”. For us then, the racial basis for the exclusionary nature of this question becomes apparent when we consider that it is rarely asked of white migrants, unless they spoke with an accent that is distinctly not Australian, or as Miedema and Tastsoglou (2000) argue, an accent that is not British, American or Canadian. Even in those cases, it is not the lead question into a conversation because there is no way of determining that they might be migrants prior to them speaking. Likewise, the fact that the question is routinely asked of our children who, having been born here and speak English with an Australian accent, shows an inherent racial bias. Hence while we may live in Australia as citizens, our enduring status as migrants is socially constructed, informed by the racial imaginary that marks whiteness as Australian and positions us, in terms of our blackness, as ‘foreigners’. We are thus targets of what Wu has appropriately identified as “perpetual foreigner syndrome” (2002: 17), where we are erroneously characterised as not only ‘new’ to Australia, deserving of this ‘welcoming’ question. As Chang notes,

foreignness is inscribed on our bodies in such a way that... [we] carry a figurative border with us. This figurative border operates to confirm the belongingness of real... [Australians] and marks [us as un-Australian] (1996: 27).

We argue then, that when skin colour serves as a basis for determining who is asked this question, the one who is asked gets asked because they are not only seen as not belonging here (given their ties to some faraway place), but also that they cannot claim any right to being 'from' somewhere in Australia. For example, in the encounters where we tell people that we are from Australia, it is our claims to being (really) from Adelaide (or Brisbane) that seem to irk those who ask the question. It is not the comfort we feel claiming Australianness that matters, rather, it is the legitimacy of that claim as perceived by those who ask us this question, and how it fits into some pre-conceived notion of us as the 'exoticised other'. In this way, we perceive the question as a gate-keeping mechanism through which Australianness is patrolled (Creese and Kambere, 2003). When we claim an Australian 'belonging' in answering this question, we are left feeling the need to justify our Australianness. This is because our 'claims' are almost always followed with what we deem 'clarifying' questions: "no, before that", "no, in Africa", or "how long have you been here for?"

Our perception of a racial bias in this question therefore, renders the question not 'simply' one of feeding curiosity about 'difference' or an/other's nationality or ethnicity, or even initiating conversation with a stranger. Our contention is that if it were, it would be routinely asked of white people as well, some of whom are migrants and it would not be asked of people of colour who speak with an Australian accent, such as our children. We assert that the question is about maintaining the asker's frame of reference for certain groups of people, assigning them to a predetermined, oftentimes racialized category. It is for this reason that answers that do not maintain inquisitors' frame of reference are met with "varying degrees of annoyance [or frustration]" (Perea, 1996: 39).

Hyphenated Identities

The assumption embedded in the question: “where are you from?”, that our ‘roots’ are and can only be somewhere else, also constructs our identities as anchored in a particular place of ‘origin’. Thus the question as we perceive it categorises us in terms of our pre-migration, non-Australian identity thereby implying an unproblematic sense of self. Yet, like Petropoulos, we would argue that, “our identities must be viewed as plural and unstable...” (2006: 107). We are so to speak, hyphenated identities (Zimbabwean-Australian and Ghanaian-Australian), constantly shifting and “open to multiple... cross cultural trans/formations” (Petropoulos, 2006: 107, see also Pattanayak, 2010). By identifying us only as the African ‘other’, the question constitutes an erasure of those hyphenated identities. Moreover, in “dropping the hyphen” (Golash-Boza, 2006), what is erased from our identities is the (unmarked) category of ‘Australian’, which we would argue, is conveniently reserved for white skin.

In declaring ourselves as hyphenated identities, we are aware of the numerous criticisms that hyphenation attracts, particularly for its Eurocentrism, assimilative assumptions and also maintenance of racial and ethnic prejudices (see for example, Chen, 2003). Likewise, the hyphen is not meant to rule out the recognition of ourselves as more complex identities, rather it exposes the fact that we “carry two disparate cultural baggages (Chen 2003: 22; see also Anzaldua, 1987). And so the allure of claiming hyphenated identities for us is twofold: first, it makes visible the complexities of our identities and identity re/construction while at the same time disputing unproblematised assumptions of us only as ‘other’ (African) identities. Sharobeem (2003: 60) maintains that:

The hyphenated identity is a term that implies a dual identity... and evokes questions and debates regarding which side of the hyphen the person belongs to. Such questions often loom large on the minds of immigrants, those who leave one country for another, one culture for the other. The hyphen makes them liable to be seen as oscillating between their two cultures...

Yet the question: “where are you from?” does not recognise the possibility that “an

individual can bond with more than one ethnicity” (Mahtani, 2001: 300). Instead, for us, it is an indication that our inquisitors “are trapped in a conceptual straight jacket” (Raj, 2003: 2) in their thinking about our ethnicity. While this question is asked because we are identified in terms of our ethnic distinctiveness, our lived identity and day to day reality straddles two worlds: that of Australia (in its diversity), and the places where we are originally ‘from’ (in Africa).

Second, and most significant, is the role of the hyphen in enabling us to claim our Australianness. As Lang (2005: 3) claims in her ontological analysis of the language of hyphenated identities, “the second term evidently functions as a noun, the first term as a subordinate adjective... [and so] the second segment ...has priority as a noun, over the first”. Hence, notwithstanding the challenges of hyphenated identities that commentators like Sharobeem (2003, see also Chen, 2003) articulate, for us, the hyphen re/presents space where we can declare our African heritage while simultaneously asserting our Australian selves. Rather than imply an “either/ or choice, [it indicates a] both/and transformation” (Chen 2003: 22); the hyphen connects our Africanness which so easily identifies us and attracts the question to us, to our Australianness.

Ambivalence about place

The question “where are you from”, not only constantly reminds us of connections to a faraway place, where we are supposed to feel ‘at home’, ‘in place’ and belong, thereby alienating us from ‘here’, instead, it also implies for us that we are identifiable as “out of place” (Mahtani 2001: 301) here. Each time the question is asked of us, we are figuratively returned to Africa (Chang, 1996), in an act of “symbolic deportation”; effectively sweeping our identities “beyond the borders” (Perea 1996: 39), in the process.

Our ambivalence about place occurs both in Australia and the places where we are ‘from’. Firstly, in Australia; where we are continually symbolically deported back to the faraway places ‘where we are from’, we interpret this question as denaturalising our status as co-inhabitants of this country (Ang 1996: 46). It creates the feeling that our presence here is always defined in terms of our difference, not sameness. For us,

the very act of being asked this question immediately reinforces the barrier of difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’, forcing us to inhabit an in-between space where we are neither ‘authentic’ Australians nor ‘authentic foreigners’, at least legally and chronologically speaking. We are not authentic Australians because our visible difference (attributable to the colour of our skin) impedes our inclusion in the imagined Australian nation. Yet we are not authentic foreigners because, apart from having Australian citizenship, we have been here too long to be bona fide foreigners. Thus while this question may enable others to ‘re/locate’ us to some distant geopolitical location, it imaginatively dislocates us ‘here’ and makes us strangers in a familiar land (Fonseca, 2010). For this reason, the Australian space exists for us as a paradox: a place where we simultaneously belong and don’t belong. Constant reminder that we are ‘from’ somewhere else that is not ‘here’ affects us in at least two ways. First, it makes it difficult for us to be able to consider ‘here’ as “home, in any comfortable, unproblematic sense” (Ang, 2001: 53). Second, it causes inner dislocation for us. Fonseca (2010: 101) captures this situation by noting that, “To always be from somewhere else means to struggle with the intersections of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ within us”.

Ironically, by reminding us of our connection to that place where we ‘are from’, the question strengthens our resolve to identify more with that place, and claim that identity, rather than the Australian identity which has been problematised for us. Chang (1996: 59) has called this the “nativist’s dream of return... to an imaginary homeland or mythic past”. Nevertheless, this “return to an imaginary homeland” is in itself complicated by our ‘disconnection’ from that land. While we might be perceived as ‘out of place’ in Australia, we are ‘out of (historical) time’ in the places where we are (originally) ‘from’. Our ‘relationship’ with Africa, as Ang (2001: 54) puts it, is now

...based on [distant] memories rather than on present enmeshment...diasporic subjects are not only spatially disembedded, out of place, they are also temporally disembedded, that is, displaced from the ‘normal’ passing of historical time... migrants who go back to their homeland...find themselves disorientated because they have to realise that the place they left behind is no longer the same. It has moved on too.

Thus while the question implies that we unproblematically belong ‘there’, our relationship to that place is now necessarily troubled. In Africa, we are also identified as ‘other’, though in terms of our ‘disconnection’ to that place, not our race. In fact our ‘foreign’ behaviour, invariably ‘learnt’ in Australia, makes us somewhat alien in those places we ‘came from’ in Africa. Unbeknown to us, our time in Australia has changed us profoundly: we (now) speak English with distinctly un-Zimbabwean or un-Ghanaian accents. Even our own languages have evolved over time, and so our command of these languages (being away from these places) is stuck in time. As such, we are no longer truly from ‘there’. Africa for us has also become an “ambivalent site of identification and misidentification” (Ang 2001: 53). Hence “belonging to a ‘there’, while being ‘here’” (p. 54) remains a challenge.

We are not implying here that we no longer ‘belong’ in those faraway places we ‘are from’, or that we can no longer claim that identity as ours, rather, we contend that, that relationship can no longer be taken for granted, or as unproblematic as the question implies.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have drawn on our experiences as visibly different African migrants in Australia to critically examine the question: “Where are you from?” Reflecting on our almost daily experiences of being asked that question, we explored some of the implications of being asked that question. To this end we considered three main themes which - though not exhaustive - demonstrate how the question: “where are you from?” is experienced by those of whom it is consistently asked. Even from our vantage point of being *skilled* black African migrants, we have exposed how we experience and interpret the question as both exclusionistic and reductionistic in its banality. We construe the question as exclusionary because of the way it singles out people who are mainly visibly different, and reductionist because of the perceived manner in which it denies the duality of our identities and reduces us to people whose identity is fixed and tied only to one faraway place. We argued that by denying the hyphenated identity that is our lived reality, the question reduces us to “a tidy cultural package, a template with sets of meanings, behaviours, beliefs, and boundaries”

(Apparadurai, 1996; Raj 2003: 2). Invariably, the question also invokes in us, feelings of ambivalence about place when it is interpreted as demanding in the one to whom it is asked, a justification of their claim to 'belong here'. In our view, the question is not only indicative of the way in which our ethnicity is imagined and defined based on a 'spatiotemporal constant" (Raj 2003: 6), but also of how our 'be-longing' in Australia is constantly being challenged.

References

- Allan, H., Larsen, J., Bryan, K. and Smith, P. (2004) The social reproduction of institutional racism: internationally recruited nurses' experiences of the British health services, *Diversity in Health and Social Care*, 1 (2): 117-126.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso Books.
- Ang, I. (1996) The Curse of the Smile: Ambivalence and the 'Asian' Woman in Australian Multiculturalism, *Feminist Review*, 52 (36-49).
- Ang, I. (2001) *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West*, New York, Routledge.
- Anthias, F. (1995) Cultural racism or racist culture? Rethinking racist exclusions, *Economy and Society*, 24 (2): 279-301.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987) *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, San Francisco, Aunt Lute Books.
- Apparadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press.
- Chang, R. S. (1996) The Nativist's Dream of Return, *La Raza Law Journal*, 9 (1): 55-59.
- Chen, V. (2003) (De)Hyphenated Identity: The Double Voice in *The Woman Warrior*, In Gonzalez, A., Houston, M. and Chen, V. (eds.) *Our Voices: Essays in Culture, Ethnicity and Communication*, 4th ed. L.A, California: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- Creese, G. and Kambere, E. N. (2003) What Colour Is Your English?, *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 40 (5): 565-573.
- D'aliserà, J. (2003) Review of Ghosts and shadows, by Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson, *Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute*, 9 (1): 189-190.
- Fonseca, L. (2010) "A Journey Around Myself: An Archaeological Exploration of Identity", *PhD Dissertation submitted to Swinburne University of Technology*. Melbourne, Australia.
- Golash-Boza, T. (2006) Dropping the Hyphen? Becoming Latino(a)-American through Racialized Assimilation, *Social Forces*, 85 (1): 27-55.
- Hage, G. (1998) *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural*

- Society*, Annandale, NSW, Pluto Press.
- Henry, F. (2004) Concepts of Race and Racism and Implication for OHRC Policy, In *Race and Policy Dialogue Conference paper*. Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission.
- Henry, M. G. (2003) 'Where are you really from?': Representation, identity and power in the fieldwork experiences of a South Asian diasporic, *Qualitative Research*, 3 (2): 229-242.
- Ibrahim, A. (2004) One is not Born Black: Becoming and the Phenomenon(ology) of Race, *Philosophical Studies in Education*, 35 (1): 77-87.
- Lang, B. (2005) Hyphenated-Jews and the Anxiety of Identity, *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, 12 (1): 1-15.
- Mahtani, M. (2001) Racial ReMappings: the potential of paradoxical space, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 8 (3): 299-305.
- Mapedzahama, V. and Kwansah-Aidoo, K. (forthcoming) Negotiating Identity in a Transnational World: Narratives from the new African Diaspora in Australia, In Tettey, W. and Puplampu, K. (eds.) *Transnational Citizenship and the African Diaspora*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Mapedzahama, V., Rudge, T., West, S. and Perron, A. (forthcoming) Black Nurse in White Space?: Rethinking the In/Visibility of Race Within the Australian Nursing Workplace, *Nursing Inquiry*.
- Miedema, B. B. and Tastsoglou, E. (2000) "But Where Are You From, Originally?" Immigrant Women and Integration in the Maritimes, *Atlantis*, 24 (2): 82-91.
- Pattanayak, S. (2010) Insider Outsider, In Kumar, M., D`Cruz, H. and Weerakkody, N. (eds.) *'Where are you from?' Voices in transition*. Altona, Vic: Common Ground Publishing.
- Perea, J. (1996) Suggested Responses to Frequently Asked Questions about Hispanics, Latinos and Latinas, *La Raza Law Journal*, 9 (1): 39-42.
- Petropoulos, J. (2006) Performing African Canadian Identity: Diasporic Reinvention in "Afrika Solo", *Feminist Review*, 84 104-123.
- Raj, D. S. (2003) *Where are you from? Middle Class Migrants in the Modern World.*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Rizvi, F. (2010) 'Foreword', In: Kumar, M., D`Cruz, H. and Weerakkody, N. (eds.) *'Where are you from?' Voices in transition*. Altona, Vic.: Common Ground

Publishing.

- Schweitzer, R., Greenslade, J. H. and Kagee, A. (2007) Coping and resilience in refugees from Sudan: a narrative account, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 41 282-288.
- Sharobeem, H. M. (2003) The hyphenated identity and the question of belonging: a study of Samia Serageldin's The Cairo House, *Studies in the Humanities*, 30 (1 & 2): 60-84.
- Singh, P. and Dooley, K. (1996) Tolerant Inclusion: racialised experiences of Asian Australian pre-service teachers, *Studies in Continuing Education*, 18 (2): 147-157.
- Smith, J. A., Jarman, M. and Osborn, M. (1999) Doing interpretative phenomenological analysis, In: Murray, M. and Chamberlain, K. (eds.) *Qualitative health psychology: Theories and methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Stratton, J. (2006) Two Rescues, One History: Everyday Racism in Australia, *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 12 (6): 657-681.
- Tettey, W. and Puplampu, K. (2005) Continental Africans in Canada: Exploring a Neglected Dimension of the 'African-Canadian' Experience, In Tettey, W. and Puplampu, K. (eds.) *The African Diaspora in Canada: Negotiating Identity and Belonging*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Wu, F. H. (2002) Where are you really from? Asian Americans and the perpetual foreigner syndrome, *Civil Rights Journal*, 6 (1): 14-22.
- Zevallos, Z. (2006) Because we live in a multicultural world?: Multiculturalism as a lived ideology, In Velayutham, S. and Wise, A. (eds.) *Everyday Multiculturalism Conference*. Macquarie University, Sydney.