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Research Article

The Views of Turkish Immigrants on Multicultural Policies in Australia: The Impact of Migration Duration**

Abstract

There have been discussions on cultural diversity occurring through migrations and on interrelationships among different cultures. In this context, various Ayşe Mahinur TEZCAN* multiculturalism policies aim to ensure intercultural harmony in different ways. The paper covers the multicultural policies in Australia, which is one of the countries where multicultural policies are implemented, and the perceptions of Turkish immigrants living in Australia on the policies. The study is supported by literature review as well as field research. In the literature review section Australia's multicultural policies are historically examined. In the field research section, the results of the survey conducted on 152 Turkish immigrants living in Sydney will be discussed.*** It is concluded that Turkish immigrants consider multicultural policies are implemented compulsorily, not willingly. Besides, the general view of our participants is that Australian people will never consider Turkish immigrants as real citizens. Turkish immigrants in Sydney think that they will always remain in the immigrant status.

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^{***}The data used here was collected in 2011 for an MA research and the same data is analyzed from a different perspective in this study.

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Araştırma Makalesi

Türk Göçmenlerin Avustralya'da Uygulanan Çokkültürcü Politikalara İlişkin Görüşleri**

Özet

Ayşe Mahinur TEZCAN*

Göçler yolu ile oluşan kültürel çeşitlilik ve farklı kültürler arasındaki iliskiler üzerine tartısmalar yapılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, çeşitli çok-kültürcülük politikaları kültürler arasında uvumu farklı bicimlerde amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, sağlamavı cokkültürcülük politikalarının uygulandığı ülkelerden biri olan Avustralva'daki cok-kültürcülük politikaları ve Avustralya'da yaşayan Türk göçmenlerin bu politikalar üzerine görüsleri analiz edilecektir. Calısmada saha araştırması ile birlikte literatür taraması verilecektir. Literatür taraması bölümünde, Avustralya'nın çokkültürcülük politikaları tarihsel olarak incelenecektir. Saha araştırması bölümünde, Sydney'de 152 Türk göcmene uvgulanan anket sonucları değerlendirildi.*** Calışmanın sonunda, Türk göçmenlerinin çok-kültürcülük politikalarının uygulanış biçimine yönelik düşüncelerinin, bu politikaların gönüllü olarak uvgulanmasından zivade zorunluluktan kaynaklanan uygulamalar olduğuna dair olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bunun yanında katılımcıların genel görüşünün Avustralyalıların Türk göçmenleri vatandas olarak görmeyeceklerine ve daimî olarak göçmen statüsünde değerlendirileceklerine inandıklarına yönelik olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

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^{**}Bu makale 9-10 Nisan 2013 tarihinde İstanbul'da düzenlenen 21. IFSSO Konferansı'nda sözlü bildiri olarak sunulmuş ve revize edilmiştir. ***Du makale 9-10 Nisan 2011 talında tarihçe tilegel liçanç anaştırmaşı için tarlanmuş, çalçımada yarı yarilar farklı bir

^{***}Bu araştırmada kullanılan veriler 2011 yılında yüksek lisans araştırması için toplanmış, çalışmada aynı veriler farklı bir bakış açısıyla analiz edilmiştir.

1.Introduction

The migration phenomenon can be seen as the main reason for multiculturalism. The concept of migration is important to us as Australia is an immigrant society (Jupp, 2002, p. 5) and employs multiculturalist policies to overcome challenges of cultural variety.

Multicultural countries have implemented multicultural policies for harmony among immigrants from different countries and residents. Harmony and integration are the main goals of the multicultural policies and both concepts are interrelated. Racist behavior is displayed because cultural diversity has created conflicts and disagreements among these people despite multicultural policies. This seems to be the paradox of multiculturalism.

There are some studies that show us the dimensions of racism in Australia. Markus (2014) has a study evaluating the results of various surveys conducted in Australia in the period 1999-2010. According to the results of the surveys, 52% of participants are pro-immigration and 43% anti-immigration. Another study reveals that the immigrants think Australians are racists (Ozdowski, 2016). Shekhar (2009) mentions that Australian multiculturalism is in crisis in the 21st century, in which there has been an increase in immigrations and racist behaviors. He also states that Asians, who constitute the largest part of Australian immigrant community, are the worst victims of racist attacks. Another community exposed to racist attacks in Australia is the Muslim community. Especially after September 11, which is the turning point of discrimination, Australian Muslims of various nationalities are exposed to racist behavior (HREOC, 2004, p. 43; Collins, 2007, p. 19; Australian Human Rights Commission, 2021, p. 25). Consistent with results from earlier studies, the racist behaviors that Turks as a Muslim community are exposed to stem from their religion. Turkish immigrants in Sydney who we interviewed state that they have encountered more racist behaviors since September 11.

This study aims to understand and analyze the views of Turkish immigrants on the multicultural policies implemented in Australia. To understand this phenomenon, we tried to grasp the integration level of Turkish immigrants and the behaviors of Australians towards them in a multicultural country- Australia. The data was obtained from Turkish people over 17 years of age who have been living in Sydney at least 2 years. The snowball technique was employed in the survey conducted on 152 immigrants. The obtained data were analyzed with descriptive statistical method using SPSS 16.0 package program.

In this study, first of all, the concept of multiculturalism and the historical process of multicultural policies in Australia are briefly mentioned. The following section concisely tells the story of Turkish immigration in Australia. In the field research section, the opinions of Turkish people on multicultural policies are analyzed. The perspectives of Turks on multiculturalism policies were tried to be understood through the variables of sense of belonging, perception of equality, perception of racism, recognition or non-recognition, perception of multicultural policies applied in Australia and desire to or not to live in a multicultural country. The independent variable "settlement duration"

has been used to analyze these problems. Settlement duration indicates how long they have lived in Australia. Salami (2019) shows that belonging to a community is related with their English language skills. The longer the settlement duration, the higher the language learning level and the higher the community belonging. The results of the study indicate that the effect of settlement duration on the sense of belonging in the host country is not at the expected level. The 25-year settlement seems to be a turning point for immigrants, affecting their sense of belonging to the host country. Our main hypothesis is that if the integration level of immigrants increases, the level of approval of policies will be higher. In this respect, the recognition of immigrants in the host society is very important. Immigrants' perception of identity is related to how the host society sees immigrants as "wogs" and not as part of the Australian society. This result shows that the duration of settlement has little effect on perception of recognition. Also, the duration of settlement has little effect on the approval of policies.

In summary, Australia, one of the most multicultural societies, still has some practical problems despite its multicultural policy. Immigrants face various problems such as racism and recognition. The biggest problem among the Turkish immigrants can be regarded as the perception of recognition. The problem of recognition is also related with the other section of the community. Turkish immigrants do not believe that Australians recognize them as true Australian citizens. While Turkish immigrants may be politically fascinated with Australia's policies, in reality they believe that multicultural policies are enforced, not voluntarily, but compulsorily. They think that if there was not such a culturally diverse society, multiculturalism policies would not be implemented. It stems from a necessity rather than the importance attached to the concepts of tolerance and equality. This study is in line with Markus' study (2011), which concluded that Australian participants disagree with the contribution of the government to sustain the traditions and values of all ethnic groups. In other words, since external perceptions affect the level of integration, it is seen that multicultural policies have not been fully successful at the societal level.

2.Multiculturalism and Australia's history of transfer to multicultural policies

Recently, the phenomenon of multiculturalism has become a highly controversial topic not only in the academic field but also in the political agenda. The term "multicultural" has been broadly discussed. Theoreticians have not agreed on the term. The complexity of the term "culture" and the ambiguity in its meaning affect the term multicultural. Multicultural is generally used for diversities based on different backgrounds within a society (Kymlicka, 1998, p. 38; Parekh, 2002, p. 7; Kymlicka, 2012). Moreover, it is used for disadvantaged groups in a society –women, homosexuals, disabled people, etc- (Howard-Hassmann, 2000, p. 497; Anastasiou, Kauffman & Michail, 2016; Banks, 2011, p. 77). Furthermore, multicultural policies are discussed both theoretically and governmentally. Governments have taken several precautions and actions to overcome challenges of cultural diversities.

Cultural diversities within a society are not always regarded as a positive phenomenon especially in nation-state understandings. According to Eagleton (2000, p. 62), culture, the basis of the nation-state threatens to demolish it. After the collapse of nation-

state ideas all over the world, cultural diversities have become much more apparent. Throughout the world's history, almost all countries have been multicultural societies. Moreover, Australia and Canada are known as the most multicultural countries in the world having multicultural policies besides being multicultural states.

Australia is known as one of the most multicultural states (Jupp, 1988, p. 293). The major significance of Australia's multiculturalism consists in its formation. Australia had cultural diversity before being a European settlement, too. The Aborigines, the first inhabitants of Australia, have a rich cultural diversity. Following the settlements of Europeans in the country, Australia's cultural diversity gradually increased. In the resources of the Australian government it is written about the settlement of Europeans in Australia that:

"The first European settlement of Australia was in January 1788, when the First Fleet sailed into Botany Bay under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip. Originally established as a penal colony, by the 1830s the number of free settlers was increasing. The transportation of convicts to the eastern colonies was abolished in 1852 and to the western colonies in 1868" (Australia Government a., 2021).

Australia has started to implement multiculturalist policies after certain stages. Australia, as a penal colony of Britain, had been a country allowing immigrants from England only with the creation of a federal Australian government in 1901. However, it had to allow for immigrants from other Anglo-Saxon European countries due to the decrease in English migration rate. Australia had aimed to construct a national identity. To do this "the most important standard in the early 20th century was whiteness, meaning fair-skinned people of northern European descent" (West & Murphy, 2010, p. 95). The White Australia Policy (WAP) started with Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, which prevailed until the 1970s. As European-based migrations had been insufficient to meet Australia's needs towards constructing a people, Australia opened its doors to immigrants from Asia. After that, WAP proved to be impossible to prevail. Australia, as a multicultural country, has given importance to sustaining harmony in the multicultural society through arrangements in law, regulations and institutions. Australia's main aim is to form a nation. Therefore, it has opened the doors to immigrants. As a result, it is a multicultural society whose formation is based on immigrant societies.

3. Turkish immigration to Australia

The number of ancestries included in ancestry classification in census report of Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) shows what a multicultural society Australia is. According to the report of ABS, more than 270 ancestries were distinctly identified (Pink, 2008, p. 460) and there are over 200 languages being spoken (Pink, 2008, p. 455) in Australia. Within these diversities, we focus on the Turkish population, which constitutes a big part in the society. Turkish immigration is different from earlier European migrations in terms of formations. While European migrations were demanded to complete WAP, Turkish migrations were demanded for workforce and the completion of the community building. Turkish immigrants differ from earlier Asian immigrants whose homeland is closer than Turks'. Like other European immigrants,

Turkish immigrants come from far but their culture -language, religion- is completely different from that of other European immigrants.

After the Bilateral Migration Agreement was signed between Australia and Turkey on October 5 1967, intense Turkish migration to Australia started (YTB, 2018, p.8). According to the 2016 census report, 72968 Turkish people lived in Australia, but unofficial records show that this number is around 150,000. The qualifications and structure of Turkish immigrants have changed. At the beginning of the intense migration, Turkish people migrated as unqualified workforce. Lately, Australia has a pressing demand for qualified labor instead of unqualified labor; for this reason, the type of immigrants has generally changed. As a result, the features of Turkish immigrants have also changed. In recent times, Turkish people have already migrated to Australia for different reasons such as education, family union and qualified jobs compared to the previous migration contexts (Içduygu, 1988, p.275; Inan, 2012, p. 112; Australian Government, 2016).

4.Field research: Perceptions of Turkish immigrants regarding multicultural policies

In this study, we examine the opinions of Turkish people living in Australia on multiculturalist policies and the effects of settlement duration in Australia on their opinions. We will analyze the results of the survey conducted on 152 Turkish immigrants living in Sydney. This study is a descriptive research adopting the snowball survey technique. Our independent variable is settlement duration. We will analyze the impact of settlement duration on several dependent variables such as; sense of belonging, perception of equality, desire or not living in Australia, perception of racism and recognition or nonrecognition to identify immigrants' perceptions of multicultural policies applied in Australia.

4.1.Sense of belonging to Australia

Australia, as an immigrant country, expects that the citizens from different backgrounds adapt to Australia as their home. The expectation is that the settlement duration in the host country will increase the sense of belonging to the country. The study shows that very high percentages of subjects whose settlement duration in Australia is about 2-5 years (nearly 70 percent) feel a belonging to Turkey, while the 9 percent have a sense of belonging to Australia. The other 9 percent have a sense of belonging to both Australia and Turkey. Before 20 years of settlement there are slight changes in the sense of belonging. However, when the settlement duration is up to 20-25 years, nearly half of the subjects (45 percent) have a sense of belonging to Turkey and half of the subjects (50 percent) feel a belonging to both of Australia and Turkey. At the same settlement years, the tendency of feeling belonging to Australia is very low (5 percent). It has been unpredictably observed that the effect of settlement duration in a host country is not at the expected level. However, after a 25-year settlement in Australia, there are significant changes to the feelings of belonging. As seen in Table 1., the sense of belonging to Australia has increased after a 25-year settlement. Nearly 26 percent feel a belonging to Turkey, while 20 percent feel a belonging to Australia and nearly 44 percent to both Australia and Turkey. It can be thought that a 25-year

settlement is a turning point that affects the sense of belonging in a host country for immigrants.

Mastering the language of the host country is related with the length of the immigrant's settlement. It is suggested that the sense of belonging depends on the immigrant's English language skills. If there is a lack of language skills, this reduces belonging to the community (Salami et al., 2019, p. 31). The longer the settlement duration, the higher the language learning level and the higher the community belonging.

	Year	Turkey	Australia	Both Turkey and Australia	World Citizen	Nowhere	Other	
~	2-5	69,6%	8,7%	8,7%	13,0%			100,0%
live in ?	6-9	41,7%		33,3%	16,7%	8,3%		100,0%
ou li ilia?	10-15	52,4%		42,9%	4,8%			100,0%
How long you liv Australia?	16-19	26,7%	6,7%	53,3%	6,7%		6,7%	100,0%
ow h	20-25	45,0%	5,0%	50,0%				100,0%
н	25+	26,2%	19,7%	44,3%	9,8%			100,0%
	Total	40,1%	10,5%	39,5%	8,6%	0,7%	0,7%	100,0%

Table 1. Where do you feel you are from?

4.2. Perceptions of multicultural policies

Multicultural policies in Australia, like in the rest of the world, have started to be implemented as a result of the failure of several integration policies. In a sense, the country has had to implement these policies. Although these policies are implemented compulsorily, their implementation is shown as if they were benefits of its cultural richness. Compulsion leads to some problems and difficulties in it. This situation reveals the reason for the difference between the implementations and the perceptions. To understand the thoughts of the subjects about multiculturalist policies, it was asked: "how do you evaluate Australia's multicultural policies?". The responses to this question are: "a Conclusive Policy", "a Mediatic Policy", "Compulsory Policy", "Idealistic Policy", "Unworkable Policy", "Weak Policy", "Nonconclusive Policy". We hypothesized that the settlement duration has an effect on the perception of multicultural policies.

		Conclusive Policy	Mediatic Policy	Compulsory Policy	Idealistic Policy	Unworkable Policy	Weak Policy	Nonconclusive Policy	Total
	2-5	8,7%	4,3%	26,1%	17,4%	13,0%	30,4%		100,0%
ou live in lia?	6-9	16,7%	8,3%	58,3%		8,3%	8,3%		100,0%
	10-15	9,5%		57,1%	9,5%	9,5%	9,5%	4,8%	100,0%
long you li Australia?	16-19	20,0%	6,7%	20,0%	6,7%	13,3%	26,7%	6,7%	100,0%
How ld Al	20-25	15,8%		31,6%		5,3%	26,3%	21,1%	100,0%
Н	25+	41,0%	11,5%	9,8%	6,6%	1,6%	16,4%	13,1%	100,0%
	Total	24,5%	6,6%	26,5%	7,3%	6,6%	19,2%	9,3%	100,0%

Table 2. How do you evaluate Australia's multicultural policies?

When we look at the crosstab of two variables (see Table 2.) it could be seen that most of the subjects whose settlement duration is 2-5 years think Australia's policy to be Weak Policy and Compulsory Policy, at nearly 30 and 26 percent, respectively. The subjects viewing it as a Conclusive Policy in their responses constitute a very low rate with nearly 9 percent. The effects of differences in the settlement duration are obvious. With an over 25-year settlement duration, the subjects consider the current policy as mostly a Conclusive Policy and Weak Policy, at 41, and 16 percent, respectively. The overall picture shows that most of the subjects regard multicultural policies as Conclusive, Compulsory and Weak, at nearly 25 percent, 27 percent and 19 percent, respectively. The results of our study indicate that the longer the settlement duration is, the more they affirm multicultural policies.

4.3. Perception of equality

Another question that measures the perception of multiculturalist policies is: "Do you think all cultures in Australia are treated or valued equally?" The importance of this question is related with the fact that the key feature of multiculturalism policy is built on cultural equalities. The greatest philosophical basis of multiculturalism is to accept the value of each society as a value, without comparing it to another (Bağlı & Özensel, 2005, p. 40). It also concerns racist behaviors. If the equality of all cultures' values is accepted internally, racist behaviors will decrease. In Australia racism has been strictly banned and is regarded as a crime, which requires serious sanctions. Our hypothesis is that the settlement duration affects the perception of equality on having cultural value and treatment. Regarding this question, while nearly 43 percent of the subjects settled in Australia for 2-5 years responded "no" and "absolutely no", nearly 39 percent responded "yes" and "absolutely yes". Yes and no responses of the subjects having 20-25 years of settlement duration are equal. Moreover, with an over 25-year settlement, yes and no answers have slight changes, at 56 percent and 31 percent, respectively (see Table 3.). According to these results there is a slight but not such a distinct increase in the perception of equality of all cultures' value and treatments that can be associated with an increase in the settlement duration.

Table 3. Do you think all cultures in Australia are treated or valued equally?

		Absolutely Yes	Yes	Some	No	Abs No	Total
live in ?	2-5	17,4%	21,7%	17,4%	30,4%	13,0%	100,0%
	6-9		33,3%	25,0%		41,7%	100,0%
you li ⁻ alia?	10-15	4,8%	28,6%	42,9%	19,0%	4,8%	100,0%
long y 4ustrc	16-19	6,7%	20,0%	40,0%	26,7%	6,7%	100,0%
How long Austr	20-25	10,0%	20,0%	40,0%	10,0%	20,0%	100,0%
H	25+	26,2%	29,5%	13,1%	16,4%	14,8%	100,0%
	Total	15,8%	26,3%	25,0%	17,8%	15,1%	100,0%

The other statement, which is constructed as "fundamental rights and liberties are provided for anyone in Australia" will explore thoughts of the subjects about the concept of equality. It is constructed to grasp the thoughts of the subjects related to the concept of equality. Unexpectedly, there is not really a significant effect of the settlement duration of subjects on their thoughts about the concept of equality in Australia. The study shows that a very high percentage of the subjects (78 percent) state that fundamental rights and liberties are provided for anyone in Australia by saying agree and strongly agree while 14 percent disagree and strongly disagree (Table 4.).

		Absolutely Yes	Agree	No Idea	Disagree	Absolutely Disagree	Total
	2-5	52,2%	34,8%	4,3%	8,7%		100,0%
ve in	6-9	33,3%	58,3%		8,3%		100,0%
you li' ralia?	10-15	33,3%	38,1%	9,5%	19,0%		100,0%
long you Australia	16-19	26,7%	46,7%	13,3%	6,7%	6,7%	100,0%
How long Austr	20-25	30,0%	35,0%	15,0%	10,0%	10,0%	100,0%
H	25+	39,3%	39,3%	8,2%	8,2%	4,9%	100,0%
	Total	37,5%	40,1%	8,6%	9,9%	3,9%	100,0%

Table 4. Fundamental rights and liberties are provided for anyone in Australia

The reality, which is interesting and questionable, shows the difference between the results of this hypothesis and the previous one. Although both hypotheses are meant to identify the perceptions about whether Australians equally all cultures from different backgrounds or not, we think that alterations of perceptions within two hypotheses related to equality are caused by the differentiation of concept selection in which the first hypothesis includes treatment and values. Besides, the fact that the second hypothesis covers a more general statement has an effect on the differentiation of the results. While constructing the second hypothesis we thought that the concept of "for anyone" would give an equality meaning but it could be seen that for subjects "fundamental rights and liberties" had a preliminary understanding. Australia is identified as a very libertarian country and they even consider these liberties as too much (Inan, 2012, p. 177).

4.4.Desire of living or not living in a multicultural country

Perceptions of multicultural policies are measured through the desire of living in a multicultural country. People may live in a multicultural country not only for their desire but also due to their needs. We think that if they live in a multicultural country for the reason that they are obliged to, they will not want to live there. Another variable affecting the level of desire to live in Australia is settlement duration. Our hypothesis is that the longer the settlement duration is, the higher the level of desire is. However, the results of our study indicate a reverse situation. Nearly 17 percent of the respondents with 2-5 years of settlement in Australia absolutely agree and agree with the statement that "If I have an option or possibility, I do not want to live in a multicultural society" while nearly 36 percent of subjects with an over 25-year settlement and nearly 33 percent of all subjects disagree with the statement (Table 5.). That various necessities are more obvious with the increase of the settlement duration and that changes are enjoyed at the first years of migration can be seen as the reason for this result. Even if there is a decrease in the rates of desire to live in a multicultural society related with the settlement duration, the general tendency is to live with this society.

Year	Absolutely Agree	Agree	No Idea	Disagree	Absolutely Disagree	Total
2-5	8,7%	8,7%	4,3%	34,8%	43,5%	100,0%
6-9		16,7%	16,7%	33,3%	33,3%	100,0%
10-15	23,8%	14,3%	9,5%	42,9%	9,5%	100,0%
16-19	20,0%	6,7%	20,0%	33,3%	20,0%	100,0%
20-25	10,0%	40,0%	10,0%	30,0%	10,0%	100,0%
25+	16,4%	19,7%	9,8%	31,1%	23,0%	100,0%
Total	14,5%	18,4%	10,5%	33,6%	23,0%	100,0%

Table 5. If I have an option or possibility, I do not want to live in a multicultural society.

Living in a multicultural society brings together communication with different cultures and acculturation. The manners of the participants, such as the desire to live in a multicultural country, suggest that they benefit from the richness of cultural diversity and that they have close relationships. Moreover, another hypothesis which is "Turkish people living in Australia generally live in a closed society," indicates a very different situation. A very high percent of the subjects think that Turkish people live in a very closed society (77 percent) regardless of settlement duration (Table 6.). This rate is higher in comparison saying that they want to live in a multicultural society. It is seen that both the people who want to live in a multicultural society and the ones who do not have such a desire think that Turks live in a closed society.

Table 6. Turkish people living in Australia generally live in a closed society

	Year	Absolutely Agree	Agree	No Idea	Disagree	Absolutely Disagree	Total
	2-5	47,8%	34,8%	13,0%	4,3%		100,0%
liwe in ?	6-9	33,3%	58,3%		8,3%		100,0%
you li alia?	10-15	19,0%	47,6%	9,5%	23,8%		100,0%
	16-19	40,0%	33,3%	6,7%	20,0%		100,0%
How long Aust	20-25	25,0%	40,0%	20,0%	15,0%		100,0%
H	25+	39,3%	41,0%	9,8%	9,8%		100,0%
	Total	35,5%	41,4%	10,5%	12,5%		100,0%

4.5.Perception of racism

As we mentioned before, subjects think that Australia is a land of freedoms. However, there is a tendency that there has been an increase in racist movements and policies in recent years.

Table 7. Recently there has been an increase in racist policies

	Year	Absolutely Agree	Agree	No Idea	Disagree	Absolutely Disagree	Total
	2-5	21,7%	39,1%	21,7%	8,7%	8,7%	100,0%
live in ?	6-9	16,7%	33,3%	25,0%	8,3%	16,7%	100,0%
you li ralia?	10-15	28,6%	28,6%	33,3%	9,5%		100,0%
long y Austri	16-19	26,7%	13,3%	40,0%	13,3%	6,7%	100,0%
How L	20-25	10,0%	40,0%	45,0%	5,0%		100,0%
-43	25 +	21,3%	37,7%	18,0%	14,8%	8,2%	100,0%
	Total		34,2%	27,0%	11,2%	6,6%	100,0%

We have a statement formulated as "recently there has been an increase in racist policies". We constructed this statement during our field research. There were so many comments on this issue and we want to test this statement. The responses to this statement do not change in accordance with settlement duration. More than half of the subjects think that there is an increase in racist policies (see Table 7.). They think that discriminations rose because of their religion-Islam after September 11. They state that they are discriminated unofficially even if not officially. Even if they are exposed to discriminations in government agencies this is to be associated with individual acts. The result of our study is corroborated by previous studies. According to various studies (HREOC, 2004, p. 43; Collins, 2007, p.19; Australian Human Rights Commission, 2021, p. 25) September 11 is the turning point in terms of discriminations against Australian Muslims. The racist behaviors that Turks are exposed to stem from their religion.

We understand that when people are subjected to racist movements in a government agency, they consider these as racist policies. Actually, Australia has strictly prohibited racist movements to maintain harmony in the society. In the booklet, The People of Australia-Australia's Multicultural Policy, which "was launched on 16 February 2011 by the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, the Hon Chris Bowen MP, and reaffirms the importance of a culturally diverse and socially cohesive nation" (APO, 2021) four principles of Australia's Multicultural Policy are mentioned. The fourth principle is that "[t]he Australian Government will act to promote understanding and acceptance while responding to expressions of intolerance and discrimination with strength, and where necessary, with the force of the law." (Australian Multicultural Advisory Council, 2010, p. 15). It is clear that the Australian Government gives a great importance to fighting against racism. There are individuals who work in governmental agencies who want WAP to be in effect and when they do some racist acts, the immigrants evaluate there is an increase in racist policies in Australia.

According to Ozdowski (2016, p. 229) some studies show that approximately 20% respondents think that Australians are "a lot" racist, approximately 67 % are "a little" racist. Moreover, just 12% of respondents believe that Australians are not racist.

4.6.Recognition or nonrecognition

Australia attaches a particular importance to multiculturalism in a way that distinguishes it from other countries that allow migrations. We have already mentioned that Australia is one of the two countries implementing multiculturalist policies. Both of these countries are known as immigrant and multicultural countries. We focus on how multicultural policies are perceived by immigrants rather than the way they are made or implemented. The more the people are integrated, the more they affirm these policies. We have a hypothesis that the view of immigrants for multiculturalist policies is in parallel with their integration level.

If it is thought that multicultural policies focus on harmony among cultures from different backgrounds and that immigrants are capable of maintaining their own culture freely, the sense of belonging is concerned with either recognition or nonrecognition of them among the members of the host society. In this context, both the degree of their perception of how Australians consider immigrants' feeling that they belong to Australia and their perception of Australians' consideration are remarkable. Australia's multicultural policies claim that all citizens from different backgrounds have equal rights and all of them are Australian. However, we think that the ruins of WAP still shape immigrants' minds. Immigrants think that the real Australians are of English origin and Australians do not exactly recognize immigrants. For a country, which aims to internalize multicultural policies and implement them, it is important that all citizens perceive themselves as a part of this country. In Australia Values Statement the Ministry of Migration declares, "Australian citizenship is a shared identity, a common bond which unites all Australians while respecting our diversity" (Australian Government b.). This statement shows that being a part of the country is not related to ethnical backgrounds but is related with obeying Australian laws and pledging their loyalties to Australia and its people.

We previously mentioned that our focus is not on laws or policies, but rather we are concerned with the perception of these policies among Turkish immigrants. To understand perceptions of Turkish immigrants of multicultural policies, we asked several questions and put forward some hypotheses one of which is "How do Australians consider you?" They responded as Aussie, Wog, Citizen, Immigrant and Other. Our hypothesis is that duration of settlement has a significant impact on immigrants' perceptions of others' consideration. We can say that what immigrants think Australians consider them to be reflects their own opinions.

When we look at the crosstab of the variables which are "How do Australians consider you?" and "How long have you lived in Australia?", we observe that the subjects generally think Australians consider Turkish people as "wog", which means "foreigner or immigrant" in Oxford Dictionary, irrespective of the subjects' settlement duration in Australia (see Table 8.). There is a slight difference between an over twenty yearsettlement and a longer one or any other settlement duration at a different length. For instance, there is no subject who feels Australian and considers him/herself as Aussie before a twenty-year settlement in Australia.

	Year	Aussie	Wog	Citizen	Immigrant	Other	Total
	2-5		39,1%	4,3%	34,8%	21,7%	100,0%
ve in	6-9		25,0%	16,7%	58,3%		100,0%
ou li dia?	10-15		42,9%	14,3%	42,9%		100,0%
long you li 4ustralia?	16-19		40,0%	26,7%	20,0%	13,3%	100,0%
How long you Australia	20-25	10,0%	55,0%	20,0%	15,0%		100,0%
Η̈́	25+	4,9%	37,7%	24,6%	29,5%	3,3%	100,0%
Total		3,3%	40,1%	19,1%	31,6%	5,9%	100,0%

Table 8. How do Australians consider you?

However, 10 percent of the subjects living in Australia between 20 and 25 years and nearly 5% of the subjects living in Australia for 25 years and more think that Australians consider them as Aussie. Moreover, only 3,3% of all the subjects think they are considered as Aussie. The overall picture indicates that the general tendency is that Turkish immigrants believe they are considered as wog or immigrants by Australians, not Aussie or citizens.

Another crucial point is about the term "wog", despite being commonly used, has an offensive meaning (Oxford Dictionary). If someone who has the citizenship of the host country identifies him/herself as wog or believe s/he is considered as wog by the host society, it can be concluded that s/he does not completely feel a belonging to the country since it has a meaning of immigrant, foreigner. If someone considers you as a stranger, you cannot feel as a part of the country even if you have official citizenship. As we have seen, there are discrepancies between official statements/implementations and practices. Whereas Australia states officially that all cultures from different backgrounds are part of Australia , and emphasizes the importance of the equality of all cultures as a part of multicultural policies, the experiences and perceptions of immigrants are different.

Although there are evidences in the literature that there is harmony among different cultures in the countries where multicultural policies are applied, there are other studies that mention the occurrence of some racist behaviors. Multicultural policies urge and prioritize the free application of each culture's own values. Although the main aim is to ensure the harmony among various cultures and respect for other cultures, according to the analysis of the Community Indicators Victoria more than half of English-speaking Australian participants (68%) disagree with the contribution of government to sustain the traditions and values of all ethnic groups (Markus, 2011, p. 98).

One of the most important conditions for adapting to a new country is that both the host country and its citizens consider immigrants as citizens of that country. It is known that countries whose basic element is having a nation-state idea hardly recognize immigrants or don't recognize them at all. Moreover, it is expected that Australia, which is an immigrant country and has a people formed by migrations, should display a different viewpoint. Australia declares and is honored that it is the different identities and cultures that constitute Australia. It is important for us to grasp the recognition of the perceptions of Turkish people living in Australia. It will help us to measure the functionality level of multicultural policies. In this context, we constructed a statement which is "The Australian will never recognize immigrants as Australian citizens". For this statement of ours, a very high percentage of the subjects from each settlement category (nearly 70 percent) say, "Strongly agree" and "agree" (see Table 9.). Even if they are Australian citizens (dual citizenship or only Australian citizenship), they believe that they are not recognized as real citizens by Australian people (see Table 10.).

	Year	Absolutely Agree	Agree	No Idea	Disagree	Absolutely Disagree	Total
	2-5	39,1%	21,7%	8,7%	17,4%	13,0%	100,0%
live in ?	6-9	8,3%	50,0%	8,3%	25,0%	8,3%	100,0%
you lù alia?	10-15	25,0%	35,0%	25,0%	15,0%		100,0%
long y Austra	16-19	26,7%	40,0%	13,3%	6,7%	13,3%	100,0%
How Ic A	20-25	35,0%	30,0%	15,0%	20,0%		100,0%
зс;	25 +	31,1%	16,4%	13,1%	27,9%	11,5%	100,0%
	Total	29.8%	26.5%	13.9%	21.2%	8.6%	100.0%

Table 9. The Australian will never recognize immigrants as Australian citizens

Citizenship	Absolutely Agree	Agree	No Idea	Disagree	Absolutely Disagree	Total
Turkey	36,7%	26,7%	16,7%	13,3%	6,7%	100,0%
Australia	33,3%	0,0%	16,7%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%
Dual Citizen	27,8%	27,8%	13,0%	21,7%	9,6%	100,0%
Total	29,8%	26,5%	13,9%	21,2%	8,6%	100,0%

Table 10. The Australian will never recognize immigrants as Australian citizens

This exemplifies that Australian government's ideal of forming a multicultural society, which it tried to realize politically, socially and culturally after 1970s seems not to have been realized exactly. There is an ideal in which Australian citizenship has a bonding feature uniting all people from different backgrounds in multicultural Australia. It is reflected in an explanation in an Internet site of the government with the title Why should I become a citizen? In that explanation, it is accepted that the country has been built on the joint contributions of Aborigines and those who came later from all over the world. It also mentions the celebration of the diversity and striving for a unified and harmonious nation (Australian Government c., 2021). At the end of our study, it is thought that this ideal is not fully achieved in every level.

5.Conclusion

This article provides an analysis of the impact of settlement duration on the immigrants' perception of multicultural policies. Several variables have been analyzed to grasp the perception. It has been unpredictably observed that the effect of settlement duration on the sense of belonging in a host country is not at the expected level. It is observed that the 25-year settlement is a turning point that affects the sense of belonging in a host country for immigrants.

Our basic hypothesis is that if the integration level of immigrants increases then the level of their affirmation of the policies will be higher. In this respect, the recognition of immigrants in the host society is very important. The identity perception of immigrants is related to how the host society considers the immigrants. The results highlight that Turkish immigrants believe that Australians consider the immigrants as "wog", not as a part of Australian society. This result indicates that there is a slight effect of the settlement duration on the perception of recognition. Moreover, settlement duration also has a slight effect on the affirmation of the policies.

In brief, Australia, as one of the most multicultural societies, still has some problems in practice. Although intercultural harmony is the ultimate goal of multicultural policies in Australia, it is seen that this harmony has not been fully achieved. The biggest problem among Turkish immigrants can be seen as the perception of recognition. They do not believe that Australians recognize them as real Australian citizens. Even if Turkish immigrants admire Australia's policies, they consider multicultural policies are implemented compulsorily, not willingly. As external perceptions affect the integration level, it is observed that multicultural policies have not fully succeeded in the societal level.

Experiencing racism affects immigrants' adaptation to the host country. In this study, in the case of Sydney, Turks associated the racist behaviors they experienced with

the September 11. It can be suggested that in order to ensure the full integration of Turkish immigrants into Australia, it is necessary to tackle Islamophobia that started after September 11.

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