THE ‘MUSLIM QUESTION’
CITIZENSHIP AND RACISM
IN AUSTRALIA

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

14-15 DECEMBER 2015
Welcome from the Chair

Dear Colleagues,

It is our pleasure to welcome you to our international symposium “The ‘Muslim Question’ Citizenship and Racism in Australia”.

This symposium brings together national and international experts to explore and rethink the nexus between Islamic religiosity, active citizenship and belonging to a nation.

Hosted by the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, in partnership with the Institute for Culture and Society at Western Sydney University, participants will address what has been termed the ‘Muslim question’ in particular as it circulates within citizenship debates in the West. Acknowledging the decade that has passed since the Cronulla Riots, participants will also explore public anxieties and government responses to race relations which have fuelled moral panics and extreme expressions of Islamophobia, nationalism and racism directed at Australian Muslim communities.

Despite some notable scholarly contributions of late, there is still a dearth of empirical evidence or objective examination of the relationship between Islamic belief, ritual and practice on one hand, and civic attitudes and expressions of local attachment within western political community on the other. This empirical gap continues to contribute to essentialist, reductionist characterisations of Islam as a persistent threat to western societies, fuelling Islamophobic and "extreme" ultra-nationalist responses.

It is our hope that this conference will prompt new conversations and directions for policy and research.

We look forward to your active participation and contribution to these important debates at our various sessions.

Kind regards

Professor Fethi Mansouri
Director, Organising Committee Chair
Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation
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<td>Registration and refreshments</td>
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<td>9:00 AM</td>
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<td>Professor Fethi Mansouri, Director, <em>Alfred Deakin Institute</em></td>
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<td>Ms Helen Kapalos, Chairperson, <em>Victorian Multicultural Commission</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30 AM</td>
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<td><em>Presentation of ‘Islamic Religiosity’ project findings</em></td>
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<td>Professor Fethi Mansouri (Alfred Deakin Institute)</td>
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<td>Dr Amelia Johns (Alfred Deakin Institute)</td>
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<td>10:30 AM</td>
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<td>10:45 AM</td>
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<td>Professor Adam Possamai (Western Sydney University) <em>Plurality and Shari’a in the everyday life of Muslims in Sydney</em></td>
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<td>Professor Riaz Hassan (Flinders University) <em>Australian Muslims: Striving for Equality of Citizenship</em></td>
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<td>Associate Professor Farida Fozdar (University of Western Australia) <em>‘True Blue Aussie Muslim’: Young Muslim men talking about Australia and their place in it</em></td>
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<td>Dr Joshua Roose (Australian Catholic University) <em>Political Islam and Masculinity: Muslim Men in the West</em></td>
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<td>12:45 PM</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<td>Launch of <em>Intergenerational Relations in Newly Arrived Communities in Victoria — a Pilot Study</em> to be launched by Ms Helen Kapalos, Chairperson, <em>Victorian Multicultural Commission</em></td>
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<td>1:30 PM</td>
<td>Parallel sessions</td>
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<td>Session One: Citizenship and faith</td>
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<td>Dr Mario Peucker (Victoria University) <em>Active citizenship of Muslims – empowered by Islamic faith</em></td>
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<td>Dr Derya Iner (Charles Sturt University) and Ms Tamana Daqiq (Macquarie University) <em>Minorities’ Experience with Citizenship: A Case study of Australian Muslims</em></td>
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<td>Ms Zuleyha Keskin (Charles Sturt University) <em>Abode of Service Makes Good Citizens</em></td>
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Session Two: Islamophobia and belonging

- Ms Sumaiya Muyeen (The University of Melbourne) *Young Muslims in the performative interval: cultivating a politics of participation*
- Mr Ben Debney (Alfred Deakin Institute) *Halal Certification Uproar: The Muslim Scapegoat as National Safety Valve*
- Manijah Hakim (Charles Sturt University) and Iman Zayied (Charles Sturt University) *Do Islamic conceptions of social justice and rights nourish concepts of active citizenship and foster social cohesion?*

Session Three: Terrorism, counter-terror laws and community response

- Dr Serena Hussain (Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, UK) *July 7th London Bombing: Ten Years On*
- Professor Michele Grossman (Victoria University) *Muslim-Australian/Australian-Muslim: culture, religion and resilience capital*
- Dr David Tittensor (Alfred Deakin Institute) *The Human Cost of Militant Democracy: Are Muslim Communities in Retreat?*

3:00 PM  
**Afternoon tea**

3:15 PM  
**Plenary 3**

- Dr Yassir Morsi (The University of South Australia) *The Muslim Question and the Liberal Solution’*
- Dr Nahid Afrose Kabir (University of South Australia) *Young Muslims in Australia and the US: The Focus on the ‘Muslim Question’*
- Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh (Alfred Deakin Institute) *Islamophobia and Muslim Alienation*

7:00 PM  
**Conference dinner**
# Program Day Two

**Cronulla riots - 10 years on**

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<td>Associate Professor Amanda Wise (Macquarie University) <em>The Long Reach of the Riots</em></td>
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<td>10:00 AM</td>
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<td>Plenary Panel One: Multiculturalism and race relations in Australia – then and now</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Professor Greg Noble (Institute for Culture and Society) <em>Where the bloody hell are we now?</em></td>
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<td>• Professor Scott Poynting (University of Auckland, New Zealand) <em>We’re not multicultural, but...</em></td>
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<td>• Professor Anita Harris (Alfred Deakin Institute) <em>Young People and Intercultural Sociality after Cronulla</em></td>
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<td>• Associate Professor Wendy Shaw (University of New South Wales) <em>(My) ‘Nulla... decades on</em></td>
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<td>Professor Anoop Nayak *(Newcastle University, United Kingdom) <em>Purging the Nation: Race, Place and Geographies of Encounter in the Lives of British Bangladeshi Muslim Young Women</em></td>
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<td>Launch of the bystander anti-racism video</td>
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<td>Professor Kevin Dunn (Western Sydney University) and Professor Yin Paradies (Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation)</td>
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<td>Session One: Geographies of Race</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Professor Kevin Dunn (Western Sydney University) and Ms Rosalie Atie (Western Sydney University) <em>Australian Muslim attitudes to diversity</em></td>
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<td>• Ms Rhonda Itaoui (Western Sydney University) <em>A ‘mediated’ geography of Islamophobia: Impacts on the mobility of young Muslims in Sydney</em></td>
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<td>• Ms Husnia Underabi (Western Sydney University) <em>Countering Myths: The NSW and Sydney Mosque Report</em></td>
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Session Two: Still Panicked: The Politics of Race, Nation and Citizenship

- Dr Masa Mikola, Dr Val Colic-Peisker and Dr Karien Dekker (RMIT) *Community of Mourners: Sydney Siege and the Representations of the Muslim ‘Other’*
- Ms Susie Latham (Curtin University) and Professor Linda Briskman (Swinburne University) *The rise of bigotry in Australia*
- Mr David Kelly (Alfred Deakin Institute) *Contextualising the politics of race and culture: An exploration of protest events in the ‘top end’ and southern cities*
- Ms Randa Abdel-Fattah (Macquarie University): ‘Lebanese Muslim’: *A Capital Offence in Bayside*

Session Three: Unpanicked Multiculturalism

- Ms Melinda Herron (University of Melbourne) *The State of UnPanic: Everyday racisms and cosmopolitanisms in a moral panic zone*
- Dr Charlotte Fabiansson (Victoria University) *Belonging and Social Identity among Young People in Western Sydney: Australia after the Cronulla Riots*
- Ms Lana Chung (La Trobe University) *Everyday ways of thinking through difference in multicultural Australia*

Session Four: Anti-Racism Education and Creative Interventions

- Mr Pablo Leighton (Western Sydney University) *Rahman’s time machine: Media, university education and the seeds of (anti)racism in Australia*
- Dr Michele Lobo (Alfred Deakin Institute): ‘The Pearl of the Arafura Sea’: *Crystallising and co-composing difference at the Top End*
- Ms Greta Bird (University of South Australia) and Ms Susan Bird (Deakin University) *Team Australia: Hate Speech in Public Space*

3:45 PM  Afternoon Tea
4:00 PM  Keynote
Professor Ghassan Hage (The University of Melbourne) *On The Primitive Accumulation Of Whiteness*

5:00 PM  Closing discussion

5:30 PM  Book launch and drinks
Launch of a new book from Dr Amelia Johns, *Battle For The Flag*
Ms. Helen Kapalos is an accomplished journalist, presenter, executive producer and filmmaker who has worked for all three commercial television networks and the two public broadcasters in Australia. A proud Greek Australian, Ms. Kapalos is passionate about supporting Victoria’s culturally and linguistically diverse communities and has worked in a number of philanthropic roles prior to joining the VMC, including Director at the Heart Foundation, Director of Federation Square, Ambassador for the Ovarian Cancer Research Foundation, and Ambassador with Community Languages Australia.
Some claim the Cronulla Riots were an aberration and many in the ‘Shire’ wish attention would move on. After all, the riots were a decade ago. The ‘kids’ who participated have all grown up. There has been no trouble on the beach since. I suggest that the riots have a much longer reach – culturally, geographically and temporally than is generally understood. I make two points in this paper. The first is that the fetishisation of ‘The Shire’ following the riots—a community caricatured as uniquely white, bogan, and parochial—effectively allowed Australians elsewhere to disavow any collective ownership of the racism that revealed itself in such spectacular fashion that day. The second is that the anti-‘Leb’ local sentiment of a decade ago has evolved into a much deeper rooted culture of casual Islamophobia that continues to permeate the mundane spaces of everyday Australia. Reflecting on more than a decade of research into the lived reality of ‘everyday multiculture’ in neighbourhoods, workplaces and other sites of encounter, I speculate that attitudes seem to have hardened over time. In this paper I draw on two sets of research; interviews conducted among residents of the ‘Shire’ in 2007 reflecting on the riots and their aftermath, and recent research on ‘everyday multiculturalism at work’ conducted across Sydney since 2013 in blue collar workplaces. While we found everyday racism and everyday affinities in all workplaces there were marked differences in style and tone when it came to divisions between Anglo and Arabic speaking (mostly Muslim) Australians. Non-Arab (eg Asian or African Australian) directed everyday racisms were much more influenced by local and situated workplace dynamics. There was much variance across work sites, including the presence of affinities across difference – suggesting that situated factors were also at play. However we found—almost without exception—deep, toxic and at times violent divisions between Anglo and Arabic background Australian men, particularly Muslims. I argue that the interceding years of Islamophobic and anti-Arab moral panic have coalesced with divisions between ‘Lebs and Aussies’ that deepened as a consequence of the riots such that relations between these groups transcend the local, the everyday. I further suggest that there is a toxic culture of Australian masculinity deeply at play here that has been under-analysed and in light of this reflect on whether many of the post-riot ‘healing interventions’ adequately hit their mark.

Associate Professor Amanda Wise works at the Department of Sociology, Macquarie University. Her research interests include materialities, civilities, and ‘sensibilities’ of urban life; global cities and diversity; multiculturalism (especially ‘everyday multiculturalism’) in Australia and Singapore; racism and interethnic relations; national and cultural identities; cultural attachments to and formations of place, especially in relation to multicultural cities; diasporic, transnational and migrant communities; theorisations of ‘work’ and transnational labour; and experiences of low wage migrant labourers in Australia and Asia. She has held a number of large Australian Research Council Grants.
In exploring racialized encounters in the lives of Muslim youth the paper connects with events in the post-9/11 era, the London bombings of 2005 and the Cronulla riots a decade ago. The study is situated within current debates on race, conviviality and the geography of encounters. I respond to recent concerns that social inequality can be underplayed in this work and that there is a need for more relational, embodied and emotional accounts of belonging. Through a series of biographical interviews undertaken with British Bangladeshi Muslim young women, I demonstrate how the idea of race is summoned-to-life in everyday encounters, where it is lived on the body, locality and public arena. I argue that antagonistic encounters which serve to mark them out as ‘Other’ perform a bigger role in terms of constructing national belonging. They work as a means of purging the nation, detoxifying it from encroaching multicultural intimacies in the effort to produce what Hage (1998) terms a white nation. Despite this ritual purging I demonstrate how respondents are implicated in new forms of civic belonging, laying claim to nationhood, locality and rights to the city that have the potential to subvert and hollow out the fantasy of a white nation.

Professor Anoop Nayak is Head of Geography at Newcastle University. His research interests are in race and ethnic studies; youth culture and social class; gender, masculinities and social change. He has published widely and is author of books such as, Race, Place and Globalisation (2003); Gender, Youth and Culture (2013 with Mary Jane Kehily); and Geographical Thought (2011 with Alex Jeffrey).
The notion of primitive accumulation has a foundational function in Marxist political economy. On one hand it is seen to be at the origin of capitalism. It is the process of land appropriation and capture, and of proletarianisation of populations, that is crucial in the historical transformation of pre-capitalist social formations into capitalist ones. On the other hand, it is intimately linked to colonialism, that is, it is a crucial element in the renewal of capitalism in times of crisis and in countering the tendency of the rate of profit to decline. In each of these processes, as Marx perceptively argues ‘force’ (pillaging, land grabs, extermination of populations, savage extraction of value, etc.) which is the main ethos of primitive accumulation, ‘is itself an economic power” (Capital, Volume I, chapter 31). In this presentation I want to combine my interests in modes of White supremacy in White Nation with my concerns with globalisation of the colonial-settler ethos in Alter-Politics to argue that there is a correlation between capitalist decline and white decline. In the same way that the force/violence that is at the heart of primitive accumulation works as a means of capitalist renewal, it also works as a strategy of white renewal. Cronulla and other modes of re-asserting white/capitalist mastery over Australian space, such as the re-appropriation of indigenous land for mining purposes, work as forms of primitive accumulation of both capital and whiteness.

Professor Ghassan Hage is Future Generation Professor of Anthropology and Social Theory at the University of Melbourne. He has held many visiting professorships including at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, the American University of Beirut, University of Copenhagen, Harvard and University of Amsterdam. He is the author of many books and articles dealing with migration, multiculturalism, nationalism and social and anthropological theory. His books include White Nation (Routledge 2000), Against Paranoid Nationalism (Pluto Press 2003), Waiting (edited collection, Melbourne University Press 2009), Alter-Politics (Melbourne University Press 2015) and Are Racists Responsible for Global Warming? (Forthcoming, Polity Press 2016).
Heterotopias of devotion: exploring everyday Islamic religiosity in Western Cities

There is renewed debate and contestation of the role of religiosity in the public sphere, especially as it relates to Muslims living in the West.

Implicit in this debate is a central and significant question of whether Muslims living in the West have the individual capacity and the societal means to be fully active citizens without betraying their religious values and practices.

Initial insights from the Islamic Religiosity and Challenge of Political Engagement and National Belonging in Multicultural Western Cities project, funded by the Australian Research Council will be used to examine this question.

The project is examining both theoretically and empirically the role of Islamic beliefs, rituals, and faith-based community practices in shaping grounded experiences of belonging and political engagement in three culturally diverse cities - Melbourne, Lyon and Detroit.

About the authors


Dr Amelia Johns is a Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University. Her research explores experiences of intercultural contact between youth in multicultural urban space, and how these encounters produce racism and conflict alongside ‘hybrid’ identifications and expressions of belonging. Her work has been published in Continuum: Journal of Media and Culture (2008), Fibreculture (2013) International Journal of Social Inclusion (2014), Media International Australia (2014), Journal of Communication, Politics and Culture (2015), Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs (2015) and A Critical Youth Studies for the 21st Century (Eds. Peter Kelly and Annelies Kamp, Brill, 2015). She is also the author of ‘Battle for the Flag’ (July, 2015), based on her
doctoral research on the Cronulla riots. The book highlights the global/local dimensions of this racially charged contest for space and claims to national ownership.

**Dr Michele Lobo** is an Australian Research Council Senior Research Fellow (ARC DECRA) at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia. She is a social and cultural geographer whose work draws on emotion, affect and encounter to explore whiteness, ethnic/ethno-religious diversity and belonging in cities. Michele has published in *Gender, Place and Culture, Social and Cultural Geography, Journal of Cultural Geography, Population, Space and Place, Emotion, Space & Society, Journal of Intercultural Studies, Urban Policy and Research and Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies*. She is the author of *Reimagining Citizenship in Suburban Australia: Voices from ‘Dandy’* (Lambert Academic Publishing 2009), co-editor of *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking through the lens of Social Inclusion* (Ashgate 2011) and *Intercultural Relations in a Global World* (Common Ground, 2011). She is the recipient of an Australian Research Council Discovery Early Career Researcher Award (2013), an Australian Research Council Discovery Award (2013) and the Vice Chancellor’s Award for Research Excellence (2013).
Plenary Two

Plurality and Shari’a in the everyday life of Muslims in Sydney

Debates about Shari’a law and legal pluralism have come to the fore of political discourse in many Western multicultural societies including Australia. Often, comments about Shari’a are disengaged from the everyday life of Muslims. Using Sydney as a case study, this paper will provide a qualitative analysis of more than 50 interviews with Muslims with regards to their understanding and practice of Shari’a. The theoretical aim of this paper will be to situate the debate on legal pluralism and Shari’a within Eisenstadt’s multiple modernity thesis and to argue that we should work towards a new multi-faith pragmatic modern project. This, it will be discussed, fits with Habermas’ post-secular project. This theory will be tested as a third way between legal pluralism and ‘universal’ legalism.

Associate Professor Adam Possamai works at the University of Western Sydney. He is the author of Sociology: A Down-to-Earth Approach (Pearson, 2010 with James Henslin and Alphia Possamai-Inesedy), Sociology of Religion for Generations X and Y (Equinox, 2009), Religion and Popular Culture: A Hyper-Real Testament (Peter Lang, 2007) and In Search of New Age Spiritualities (Ashgate, 2005). He is the editor of The Handbook of Hyper-Real Religion (Brill, 2012) and, with Jack Barbalet and Bryan Turner, of Religion and the State: A Comparative Sociology (Anthem Press, 2011). He is the current President of Research Committee 22 on the Sociology of Religion from the International Sociological Association, was a former President of the Australian Association for the Study of Religions, and was the 2002-2007 co-editor of the Australian Religion Studies Review. He has been Associate Head of School in the School of Social Sciences, UWS, specialising in research, and he is currently Acting Director of the Religion and Society Research Centre. His work has been published in English, French, Spanish, Romanian and Slovakian. His fictions have been published as Perles Noires (Nuit d’Avril, 2005; Lokomodo, 2011) and Le XXIème Siecle de ickerson et Ferra (Asgard, 2012).
Plenary Two

Australian Muslims: Striving for Equality of Citizenship

In 2011 Islam was Australia’s third largest religion with Australian Muslims constituting 2.2% of the country’s population. Australian Muslims are largely city dwellers living in large urban enclaves primarily in Sydney and Melbourne, and the numbers of Muslims in other major urban centres like Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth are increasing. A large majority of Muslims have embraced Australian citizenship, have proficiency in the English language and are in the economically productive stage of their life cycle. They are parenting a large cohort of school-going children. Australian Muslims are largely young and have an educational profile very similar to and in some aspects better than the Australian population. But when it comes to employment and income, two major markers of social and economic success in a modern society, they appear to be significantly lagging behind. They have comparatively higher unemployment rates, lower employment rates, lower incomes relative to their educational credentials and lower home ownership. In the labour market Muslim Australians face discrimination and are less likely to be granted a job interview than the average Australian. Despite their high levels of education they are less likely to work in the professions. Consequently a significant proportion of Muslim Australians occupy a relatively marginal position in Australian society socially and economically. Economic disadvantage is disempowering; it hampers an individual’s ability and willingness to participate effectively in political and civic affairs and increases the probability of alienation from mainstream Australian society. This situation poses important public policy challenges for Australia requiring appropriate remedial policies to promote social and economic inclusion.

Professor Riaz Hassan AM FASSA is Director of the International Centre of Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding at the University of South Australia, and Emeritus and Visiting Research Professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He has also held academic appointments at Flinders University of South Australia, University of California Los Angeles, New York University Abu Dhabi and Yale University. He was a Fulbright Scholar at Ohio State University from where he received his PhD in Sociology. His recent publications include: Inside Muslim Minds (Melbourne University Press), Islam and Society: Sociological Explorations (Melbourne University Press), Life as a Weapon: The Global Rise of Suicide Bombings (Routledge), and Faithlines: Muslim Conceptions of Islam and Society (Oxford University Press). He is a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and a Member of the Order of Australia.
Plenary Two

‘True blue Aussie Muslim’: young Muslim men talking about Australia and their place in it

Muslims are frequently characterised as being fundamentally different from ‘Australians’ in terms of values, practices and national commitment. This paper outlines the ways in which such difference is constructed in discussions among mainstream and migrant focus groups across Australia. The bulk of the paper, however, maps the ways in which a group of young Lebanese-background Muslim men in Sydney respond to focus group prompts in exactly the same ways as those in other focus groups, suggesting an almost complete overlap in their perspectives about civic responsibility and patriotism. It does note a few areas of difference suggesting a more cosmopolitan outlook among these men than the wider community. The extent to which these attitudes are attributed to Muslim ethics is also discussed. Various Australian scholars have identified ‘everyday multiculturalism’, ‘conviviality’ and ‘affinities’ as tools through which to understand how those who are cultural different ‘rub along together’ in multicultural Australia. This paper looks at the discursive aspect of this engagement.

**Associate Professor Farida Fozdar** works at The University of Western Australia where she holds an ARC Future Fellowship exploring national, transnational and postnational identities. Her research focuses on race relations and migration settlement issues, racism, citizenship and nationalism, and issues to do with refugees and asylum seekers. She has a background in Anthropology and Sociology and has published widely including three books, 15 book chapters and more than 45 journal articles, as well as authoring reports to government and research consultancies. Her latest projects are two edited collections on mixed race, and several papers on post nationalism.
Political Islam and Masculinity: Muslim Men in the West

Drawing on extensive research with Australian Muslim youth, this paper investigates an apparent paradox between young Muslims from migrant backgrounds who are actively buying in to Australian conceptions of citizenship and belonging and young Australian born Muslims who are rejecting the society they are born into and declaring their loyalty to the Islamic state movement. Broadly speaking, both (loosely defined) groups declare that their actions are in line with their faith, and yet result in very different political paths with significant implications for modern Australia.

The paper will explore questions around why Australian multiculturalism appears to be so successful in integrating new and recent arrivals and yet prove to have such significant limitations engaging those young men and women born and raised in Australia. In the context of my recent work on ‘Safe Spaces of Multiculturalism’ (with Harris in Intercultural Studies, July 2015), the paper will argue that Australian Multicultural policies may be excellently adapted to integrating and protecting new migrants, but poorly adapted to engaging second and third generation Muslim Australians. The paper argues that multicultural policies need significant recalibration to address the critical citizenship and security issues of our time.

Dr Joshua M. Roose is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Religion, Politics and Society at the Australian Catholic University. He is author of Political Islam and Masculinity: Australian Muslim Men (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2015) and a visiting scholar at the East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard Law School. Joshua is Secretary of The Australian Sociological Association.
About the report

This report is the result of exploratory research the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria (ECCV) commissioned the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation (ADI), Deakin University, to undertake. The study examines the nature of relations between parents and adolescents in newly-arrived migrant communities in Victoria as they negotiate the challenges of migration, settlement and integration.

While coming of age is often a difficult period for young people and their families, this research highlights how this is compounded for newly-arrived migrant youth and their parents due to the challenges of the migration experience.

The findings raise a number of policy and practice considerations for those working with these families and their communities.

In particular, in detailing social, cultural and financial challenges, the findings highlight the importance of integrated policy and service provisions which understand and address the intergenerational strain placed on newly-arrived migrant families within their broader context. It also clearly recommends meaningful family and community involvement in creating and enacting policy and practice solutions.
Active citizenship of Muslims – empowered by Islamic faith

It is a central element of anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobic discourses to question Muslims’ belonging and commitment to western liberal societies. Various studies have revealed that substantial segments of the population in Australia and elsewhere hold negative views of the Islamic faith, describing it as being irreconcilable with core principles of liberal democracies. This portrays Islam as a risk factor for Muslim citizenship in the West. In the past few years, more and more evidence has been mounted that fundamentally questions these claims about the alleged incompatibility of Islamic religiosity with the values of liberal democracies. Scholars like Andrew March and Tariq Ramadan have highlighted, arguing along theological lines, the ‘overlapping consensus’ (March 2009) between Islamic and liberal-democratic values. These theoretical considerations have been confirmed by emerging empirical research that calls for a paradigmatic reorientation in the perception of Islam as an empowering resource for Muslims’ active citizenship.

This paper presents selected findings of a cross-national comparative research project on civic activism of 30 citizens of Islamic faith in Australia and Germany. The majority of these Muslims described their faith as a key motive and resource for their decision to participate in civil society and/or political life within and beyond a Muslim community context. While this emphasis on Islam as a civic resource has emerged as a common theme, the individual accounts of how Islam empowers or urges them to become active differ widely. Their elaborations range from rather defensive argument of ‘gaining points’ for their afterlife to the spiritual desire to serve humanity, following the Prophet’s example. The paper discusses these narratives of Islam as an empowering motive and resource of active citizenship, debunking the widespread myth that Islamic religiosity necessarily hampers Muslims’ citizenship.

Dr Mario Peucker is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Victoria University, Melbourne. He received his PhD for his study on Muslims’ active citizenship in Australia and Germany. Mario has carried out various research projects, both in Europe and Australia, on cultural/religious diversity, exclusion and citizenship and published numerous peer-reviewed articles, book chapters and reports. In 2014, he published Muslim Active Citizenship in the West (Routledge, with Shahram Akbarzadeh). He has been invited to consultations with the UN Special Rapporteur on Racism, the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the Australian Human Rights Commission.
Minorities’ Experience with Citizenship: A Case study of Australian Muslims

The evolving definition of ‘citizenship’ in a globalised world and particularly during politically-turbulent times has a host of implications, the most pronounced being its impact on minority communities. Theoretical frameworks of citizenship have traditionally centred on the relationship of the individual to the state. In the context of multicultural societies, discussions on ‘citizenship’ focus more on the relationship between communities and the state, especially in the case of minority communities. Core to such discussions are the duties and rights afforded to citizens by the state on the one hand; and the responsibilities and obligations of citizens towards the state on the other. The nature of the relationship between citizens and the state gives rise to a myriad of expectations that go in both directions. While the assumption is that all citizens of a state are treated equally from a social, political and legal angle, it is posited that in application this is not so in the case of minority communities in multicultural societies. Neither the length nor the nature of each community’s relationship with the state is monotonously similar. In addition, external and internal hierarchies, in-group and out-group dynamics as well as idealised and condemned stereotypical images in the social psyche also contribute to weakening the “equal citizenship” thesis. Considering theoretical pitfalls, practical disparities and community-specific circumstances, this paper examines the Australian Muslim community’s experience in its journey of fulfilling the idealised citizenship model, including the challenges encountered along the way and the development of alternative strategies towards the goal of attaining “equal citizenship”. With the use of practical real-life examples in the context of theoretical, political, social and legal frameworks of discussion on citizenship, this paper sheds light on the Muslim community’s response to citizenship discourse and applications in Australia. This paper also contributes to the broader citizenship discussion by highlighting that citizenship is a dynamic and complicated relationship between the individual (or community) and the state that is intricately tied to social standing, race, religion, social policy, popular discourse, the national and international political climate, economic factors and wider society.

Dr Derya Iner completed her PhD in Cultural Studies (major) and Gender and Women’s Studies (minor) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW), USA. Iner has authored the book entitled The Two Faces of the Stage comparing two mystique play writers’ point of views on creation, existentialism, and the Creator. Presently, she is lecturer and Higher Degree Research Coordinator at the Centre for Islamic Studies (CISAC), CSU. Iner is also a part time research fellow conducting a research on the home-grown practising Australian Muslims’ religious identity formation. Her latest publication is an upcoming edited volume entitled Muslim Identity Formation in Religious Diverse Societies by Cambridge Scholars Publishing (2015).

Tamana Daqiq has a double degree in Law and Psychology from Macquarie University, Australia. She has been practising as a solicitor, working predominantly in the area of family law since 2009. Daqiq has also had formal training in mediation. She has a Masters degree in Islamic Studies from Charles Sturt University; her final dissertation topic being ‘Marifatallah – Knowing and Relating to God’. Daqiq is currently principal of a boutique legal practice in Sydney and she has recently undertaken a research position at the Faculty of Law, University of Sydney. She is also a casual tutor of Islamic Studies at the Centre of Islamic Sciences and Civilisation (CISAC), Charles Sturt University. Daqiq is currently undertaking a Masters degree in Classical Arabic with CISAC.
Abode of Service Makes Good Citizens

Citizenship and faith are two concepts which are greatly intertwined when analysed in light of spirituality. From an Islamic spirituality perspective, citizenship could be understood as having a connection with one’s place of dwelling so that there is a sense of intimacy and relationship with one’s abode. This naturally leads to a concept which has been developed recently, dar al-hizmet, which translates to mean abode of service. According to the dar al-hizmet concept, the whole world is God’s creation where one serves humanity, unconditionally and willingly. Dar al-hizmet is also important because it rejects the place of dar al-harb (abode of war) and dar al-sulh (abode of peace) in the current global world, two concepts often used to justify acts of terror on innocent citizens. Dar al-hizmet approach to one’s abode is the outcome of one’s faith and spiritual state since it includes spiritual splendour, altruism and selflessness in order to be of service to others. This spiritual approach to one’s abode is what is also sort by citizens; to be a loyal member of society who willingly gives back to the very society that protects it and nurtures it. Thus the similarity between abode of service and citizenship is striking and will be further explored in this presentation.

Zuleyha Keskin is a young Australian Islamic teacher and Muslim community leader and activist. She received her foundational Islamic training by attending Qur’an classes at Erskineville Mosque Sydney. In 1998, she completed her Bachelors degree in Pharmacy at the University of Sydney. In 2009, she obtained her Master of Arts in Islamic Studies at the University of Sydney writing her thesis on “Interfaith Dialogue from a Muslim Perspective”. In 2010, she graduated from the four-year Theology of Qur’an course delivered by Mehmet Ozalp based on the theological works, Risale-i Nur, of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (d. 1960). Zuleyha is currently a PhD candidate at the School of Theology at the Australian Catholic University, writing her thesis on Attaining Inner Peace According to the Risale-i Nur Collection.
Young Muslims in the performative interval: cultivating a politics of participation

The post-9/11 moment has witnessed the emergence of a hegemonic order permeated by the politicisation of terror; upheld by the narrative construction of Muslim as ‘Other’. This paper grapples with the implications of this discourse on the political socialisation of Muslim youth – that is, their sense of themselves as political actors (or non-actors) in the context of Western liberal democracy.

In particular, this paper seeks to explore where the performative – of the young Muslim citizen as integrating yet still autonomous ‘political subject’ – is being transformed into performance. It argues that while the performative is conceived as the inherent will to political agency of these young people, the performance is determined by their subalternisation – operationalised by hegemonic and racist binaries that are embedded in the banalities of everyday life.

Thus, by employing notions of performativity and performance to construct a framework that questions the interchange between the spectator’s gaze and the marginal body, this paper draws a performative contradiction into plain sight. For young Muslims, this is the double bind of feeling criticised if they do not occupy the public space, but being suspected if they actually take the public sphere seriously.

In unravelling this performative contradiction, this paper discusses and analyses secondary narratives to conclude that political experiences of racialised incivility, self-surveillance and retreatism, and short-circuited political efficacy, are commonplace for diasporic Muslim youth. However, it also reports on a powerful self-reflexivity through which young Muslims are increasingly questioning marginality and resisting boundary formations, and desecuritising their intersubjective worlds.

Taking this as a point of departure, this paper seeks to bring to the fore a radical project of meaningful engagement and contribution that, for young Muslims, embodies ‘participation’ as the desire to shape the society they want to live in.

Sumaiya Muyeen currently works at the Murdoch Children’s Research Institute in Melbourne, with a particular interest in research with migrant and refugee communities, and other vulnerable groups. She recently completed her Masters of Social Work at The University of Melbourne, throughout which she focused on policy and youth work. Based on this developing expertise and her extensive community involvement, she tries to understand and explain the diasporic experience of Muslim youth in the West, through social and political lenses, and where they intersect. She also actively engages in freelance writing on issues relevant to her community.
Halal Certification Uproar: The Muslim Scapegoat as National Safety Valve

In many parts of Australia, halal certification of everyday food items is seen as evidence of subversion of ‘the Australian way of life’ at the hands of a permissive political correctness imposed on public discourse by willing dupes of creeping Sharia Law. This paper will examine such ignorant and fictitious claims within the context of widening social inequality within Australian society, and the role scare-mongering over halal certification plays in making scapegoats of Muslims for the lack of accountability within an increasingly dysfunctional political system.

To that end I will argue that moral panicking over halal certification constitutes an example of what sociologists call the ‘production of deviance’ – deviance being a matter of who has the power to define the meaning of the term and impose their definition on public discourse rather than any attribute of anyone thus labelled. The production of deviance over halal certification can be seen to be an attempt to polarise or ‘wedge’ public opinion in the interests of playing the victim, and establishing a pretext for ideologically driven persecution thereby.

I will look at examples in the media from such notorious sources as Andrew Bolt, Miranda Divine and Senator Cori Bernadi, and the extent to which such opinion makers or ‘moral entrepreneurs’ use halal certification as a means of producing deviance and engaging in scapegoating tactics. I will likewise analyse how this strategy functions to hijack public debate and impose a false binary between the Australian way of life and Islam, a strategy that invariably racialises both. At the same time, it also undermines axiomatic principles of democratic citizenship such as inclusiveness and freedom of conscience. I will further explore the extent to which scare-mongering over halal certification as part of a broader campaign of Islamophobic panicking serves to reconstruct the legitimacy of the status quo in the face of crises as varied as the widening gap between rich and poor, the effect of income inequality and corporate globalisation on Australian democracy, trade agreements like the Trans-Pacific Partnership, our victimisation of refugees, climate change, and continuing bleeding sore of race relations in Australia stemming from white invasion.

I will examine the extent to which scare-mongering over halal certification thus serves as an Islamophobic ‘national safety valve’ for social and class tensions for which the powerful do not find it convenient to be accountable.

Ben Debney is a PhD candidate in International Relations at Deakin University, Burwood. His research is focusing on propaganda, moral panics and the political economy of scapegoating, with particular emphasis on how that process has manifested within the context of international relations from the early modern period up to the present moment. This research incorporates interdisciplinary research from social psychology related to moral disengagement, the group of subjective mechanisms such as victim blaming and playing the victim we use to try to rationalize a moral behavior, to complement the way the powerful reconstruct crises to represent themselves as cures to problems for which they are in fact the cause.
Do Islamic conceptions of social justice and rights nourish concepts of active citizenship and foster social cohesion?

The 21st century has been sparked with a series of events since the conception of September 11 to the controversial ISIS movement setting the canvas for a reductionist characterisation of Islam and Muslim practices. This persistent and perceived threat consistently fuels Islamophobic and often extreme chauvinist responses causing a backlash to the growth and development of multiculturalism around the world particularly regarding the Australian narrative.

Although Muslims have been portrayed as being unsuccessful in integrating within the host society, the historical and theoretical fact is that Muslims always lived in mixed and diverse multicultural societies and Islam always encouraged them to migrate and mix with new nations. As can be seen in verse 5:48 of the Quran multiculturalism and social cohesion is central to the Islamic way of life. “To each of you we prescribed a law and a method. Had Allah willed, He would have made you one nation [united in religion], but He intended to test you in what He has given you, so race to all that is good.”

Despite the overemphasis of isolationist Muslims and extreme minorities, a reflection of the historical and theological concepts and experiences of Muslims laid the foundations of loyal and active citizenship for the majority of Muslims in western countries.

By analysing Islamic literature sources such as the Qur’an and through critical analysis of the theological concepts of social justice and rights, and some historical examples whilst analysing the available data and investigating the footprints of multicultural heritage in the contemporary Australian Muslim’s day to day lives, this paper will examine how the majority of the Muslims contribute to nourishing the concept of active citizenship and foster social cohesion as well as a sense of belonging within Australian society.

Iman Zayied is a student of Law and Islamic Studies. She is member to the Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilisation (CISAC) research team at Charles Sturt University and the Islamic Studies Research Academy (ISRA). Her research interests are contemporary Islamic issues, engaging with youth and Islamic Law. She is currently working on research projects regarding the Halal debate and Muslim Citizenship. As a current member of the Sharia Halal Committee (HCA), a former President of her Universities, Muslim Student Association (MSA) and Scripture teacher (ISRE) she commits her time towards community initiatives whilst engaging with Muslim youth and new-Muslims in Australia.

Manijah Hakim has completed a Master in Islamic Studies through Charles Sturt University and is currently enrolled in the Master in International and Community Development at Deakin University. She is a researcher with the Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilisation (CISAC) at Charles Sturt University and the Islamic and Research Academy (ISRA). Her research interests are modernity and Islam, Islamic concept of marriage, social justice and social activism, Gender relations within developing communities. She is a board member of Mahboba’s Promise Inc, an international aid agency working within Afghanistan where she applies her interests and skills to develop and implement sustainable development projects.
July 7th London Bombing: Ten Years On

The events that occurred in London on July 7, 2005 led to one of the most difficult periods for inter-group relations in the recent history of the United Kingdom. The approach to national security had traditionally focused on strengthening borders. Domestic dissidence was associated with the troubles of Northern Ireland. British Muslims had remained largely under the radar and featured on equality agendas as ethnic minorities. However, the bombings set the stage for two juxtaposed foci for British Muslims: a sharp increase in public hostility and anti-Muslim prejudice (Islamophobia); and gaining pole position as the nation’s most problematic community requiring urgent government led intervention (Prevent). This paper discusses how British Muslims experienced the aftermath of the July 7 bombing through reflecting on the Preventing Violent Extremism Together policy in its original and revised carnations (Contest Strategy I, 2003; Contest Strategy II, 2009). Furthermore, it provides an overview of alternative counter-radicalisation approaches proposed to address the 700 plus Britons who are known to have left the UK to take up militant calls. Against this backdrop British Muslims continue to experience unprecedented levels of xenophobia. The initial sharp surge post 7/7 did not dissipate as many had hoped but instead set a trend, best described by Cohen’s 1972 study, as this decades ‘Folk Devils’ and source for ‘Moral Panics’. The second half of the paper therefore discusses community-led approaches to address Islamophobia, demonstrating some of the most notable mobilisation witnessed by this faith community since its large-scale settlement on British shores.

Dr Serena Hussain is a Sociologist and Human Geographer. She currently works as a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations in the United Kingdom. Her previous roles include Principal Scientist on Multiculturalism and International Migration at Charles Darwin University in Australia; and Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the School of Geography, University of Oxford, where she remained a Visiting Senior Research Associate till 2013. Before coming to Oxford in 2009, she completed an ESRC funded Research Fellowship at the University of Leeds. Serena’s doctoral thesis, ‘A Statistical Mapping of Muslims in Britain’ (subsequently published as ‘Muslims on the Map: A National Survey of Social Trends in Britain’) was supervised by Professor Tariq Modood MBE and was the first PhD jointly funded by the Muslim Council of Britain and the Economic and Social Research Council.
Session Three: Terrorism, counter terror laws and community response

‘Muslim-Australian/Australian-Muslim: culture, religion and resilience capital’

In the wake of various global terrorist attacks since 2001, Islam and Muslims have increasingly been coupled with violence in the Western collective imagination. The tendency of some media and politicians to equate terrorism with Islam has left many Australian Muslims feeling that they are less valued, more suspect members of the community than those of other faiths. Graeme Turner (2007) suggests that as the ‘political force of the principles of cultural diversity has declined in the face of contemporary politics … this has left open the question of how modes of belonging are now to be constructed’ by Muslims in Australia. Yet Australian Muslims have by and large shown remarkable resilience in maintaining a sense of local and national belonging, despite the challenges to and erosions of national legitimacy that they must contend with. What are the features of this resilience, and what role do Muslim religious and cultural identities play as forms of resilience capital? This paper draws on recent data from a 2013-14 Australian study on the ethno-cultural dimensions of Australian community resilience to consider these questions, focusing in particular on perspectives from Somali and Lebanese Muslim-Australians.

Professor Michele Grossman has taught and researched at VU since 1990. She is currently Associate Dean, Research and Research Training, in the Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development, and Associate Professor in the School of Communication and the Arts. Michele was also a Senior Research Associate with VU’s Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives (ICEPA) and served as Acting Director of the Office for Postgraduate Research in 2007-8. Associate Professor Grossman’s research interests and track record focus strongly on community-engaged cross-cultural research in two main areas - Indigenous Australian writing, representation and culture, and the settlement experience of transnational refugee diasporas in Australia and abroad (particularly for African-background refugees). Associate Professor Grossman actively supervises PhD and Masters research students in the areas of literature, creative arts and refugee and diaspora studies. She was awarded the Vice Chancellor’s Peak Medal for Excellence in Research Supervision in 2003.
The Human Cost of Militant Democracy: Are Muslim Communities in Retreat?

In the wake of 9/11 transnational Islam has been presented as a major existential threat in Australia, and this feeling was bolstered by the 2002 Bali Bombings. This has caused the Australian government to (re)turn to ‘militant democracy’ (i.e., the curtailment of particular fundamental rights in order to preserve the existing democracy) to guard against the perceived transnational Islamic threat. Indeed, the Howard government between 2002 and 2007 introduced 44 pieces of counter terrorism legislation – more than any other country – and the with the rise of the new perceived threat of the Islamic State has seen the Abbott government push through legislation that increased the powers of ASIO and the Foreign Fighters Bill which has instituted conflict no-go zones, wherein individuals have to justify their travel. Scholars, such as Ghassan Hage and Anne Aly, have suggested that this continually punitive or ‘hard’ approach to dealing with the ‘Muslim question’ has begun to alienate Muslim communities and is forcing them to retreat to the Mosque or even further to cyber communities. Drawing on interviews from across Muslim Diasporas in Melbourne this paper will look to test this assertion.

Dr David Tittensor is Research Fellow to the UNESCO Chair for Cultural Diversity and Social Justice at Deakin University. His research interests are transnational Muslim movements, Turkish politics and society, and religion and development. He is the author of The House of Service: The Gülen Movement and Islam’s Third Way (Oxford University Press, 2014) and (with Matthew Clarke) Islam and Development: Exploring the Invisible Aid Economy (Ashgate, 2014).
The Muslim Question and the Liberal Solution

This paper argues that liberal society’s neat and ordered ideological appeal to individualism is at the core of triggering social anxieties regarding the Muslim’s presence in the West. Rather than the Muslim being simply an external threat with alien values, it is liberalism’s own abstract appeal to individualism that inversely produces the Muslim as an excessive supplement that displays particular ‘excessive’ cultural qualities that translate politically into concepts of religious ‘return’ and ‘disruption’. This paper thus fundamentally aims to explore the assumption that society can move from the ‘Muslim question’ - a question about the Muslim’s position in liberal society - towards a liberal solution via an appeal to an abstract liberalism that bypasses racialised, gendered, colonial histories. This paper is located, in respect to the existing literature on the Muslim question, as a hypothetical starting point placed before the debates about Muslims in the West. Before promoting liberalism’s ability - equity, cohesion, tolerance, freedom - to solve the Muslim question, this thesis seeks to bring into question which concept of subjectivity remains embedded within its solutions.

Dr Yassir Morsi is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of South Australia. Having completed his PhD in political science and Islamic studies at the University of Melbourne. His main area of research is the critical analysis of contemporary racism and Islamophobia. He looks at the struggles facing Muslim minorities living in a secular, postcolonial and liberal west.
Young Muslims in Australia and the United States - The Focus on the ‘Muslim Question’

Muslims have been a part of the Australian and American national mosaic for a long time and most Muslims are economically productive. Yet in the contemporary period, some young Muslims in Australia and the US are asserting their identity in various ways, for example, by sharing the formation or construction of their Islamic identity, asserting their religiosity or critiquing their fellow Muslims for their controversial acts. As they speak of their identity/identities, they also feel connected to their host country. But when some members of the wider society view Muslims as the ‘Other’ and ponder the ‘Muslim Question’ it can create social tension and hinder the process of social cohesion. The ‘Muslim Question’ includes questions such as who are these people, why do Muslim women wear the *burqa*, what does their Quran teach, will they introduce sharia law, will they ever integrate and will they resort to terrorism?

This paper is a comparative study of young Muslims in Victoria, Australia and Michigan, USA. It examines young Muslims’ identity and their sense of belonging and how they find themselves situated in the ‘Muslim Question’. I interviewed young Muslims in Victoria in 2005–2007. They spoke about recent events featuring Muslims, for example, the Cronulla riots, Sheikh Al-Hilali’s Ramadan sermon, Dr Mohammed Haneef’s case, the impact of 9/11, Australian politics and the Australian media. In my American interviews, young Muslims in Michigan spoke about issues that occurred in America in 2009–2010 such as the Fort Hood shooting, Imam Luqman’s case, the “Underwear Bomber” case, the impact of 9/11, and the American media.

This paper is based on qualitative research methods. Through the grounded theory approach, I seek to examine the life stories of the participants, and analyze their concerns, emotions, entertainments, hopes and dreams. I conclude that the ‘Muslim Question’ (as perceived by some non-Muslims) can be counteracted through intervention, dialogue and the promotion of young Muslims’ bicultural skills.

**Dr Nahid Afrose Kabir** is a senior research fellow at the International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding at the University of South Australia. From 2009-2011, Nahid A. Kabir was a visiting fellow at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, USA. She is the author of Muslims in Australia: immigration, race relations and cultural history, London: Routledge 2005; young british muslims: identity, culture, politics and the media, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2010; and *Young American Muslims: Dynamics of Identity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2013. Dr Kabir’s current research project is titled, “Muslims in India: Young Muslims’ Identity in a Religiously Diverse Society”.
Plenary Three

Islamophobia and Muslim Alienation

Shahram Akbarzadeh

The rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria and its aggressive recruitment drive to attract Muslim youth in Australia and other Western states have opened up a new chapter in the history of Islam in Australia. The emergence of the problem of ‘foreign fighters’ has resulted in new anti-terror laws, including a proposal to cancel the citizenship of suspected terrorists. These processes have also added fuel to an anti-Islam trend. Reports of verbal and physical attacks on Muslims in public places, the rise of anti-Muslim political groups and Reclaim Australia rallies in major cities attest to rising Islamophobia in Australia. Distrust of Muslims and Islam is normalised by the Government of Tony Abbott, for example in the way PM Abbott asked Muslim leaders to ‘mean it’ when they condemn terrorism. While this Islamophobic trend is countered by Australia’s tradition of multiculturalism and a sense of fairness, its impact on the Muslim population is significant. Public contestation of Australian Muslims’ loyalty to Australia hurts impressionable Muslim youth and appears as a reaffirmation of the jihadi message that presents the West as committed to the subjugation and destruction of Muslims and their religion. This paper will investigate the relationship between Islamophobia and Muslim alienation in Australia.

Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh (PhD) is ARC Future Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University. He has an active research interest in the politics of the Middle East, and Islam in Australia. He has led two ARC projects on questions of Muslim integration. This research has resulted in a body of publications, including two research reports for DIAC, a number of refereed papers and two books: Muslim Active Citizenship in the West (Routledge: 2014 with M Peucker) and the Routledge Handbook on Political Islam (Routledge 2011). Professor Akbarzadeh is the Foundation Editor of Islamic Studies Series with Melbourne University Press.
DAY TWO

Plenary One: Multicultural and race relations in Australia – then and now

Where the bloody hell are we now?

A few years after the Cronulla riots I commented that we weren’t clear what the significance and implications of the riots were. A decade down the track, I am still not sure we are any the wiser. In this brief presentation I ask whether we have learned anything from Cronulla. I want to raise three key areas in relation to this moment. First, in the immediate aftermath of the riots there was a brief moment to seriously reflect upon the nature of intercultural relations in Australia and the role of race(ism) in the constitution of Australian society and its imaginary. What happened to that moment? Second, and relatedly, we gained some insights in the nature of public debate in Australia. What did Cronulla tell us about the role of politicians, the media and intellectuals in the ongoing conversations about Australian society? Thirdly, I want to think about the symbolic place of ‘Cronulla’ in Australian discourse. For some Cronulla has served as a kind of cultural benchmark of the worst of Australian society (whether that worst is seen as racism or multiculturalism). It still recurs occasionally in discussions with people in other contexts (such as research in schools) and in media representations of cultural diversity, but often in vague ways. Have the Cronulla riots been superseded by Islamic terrorism as the key symbolic definer of intercultural relations in Australia?

Professor Greg Noble works at the Institute for Culture and Society at the University of Western Sydney. Greg has been involved in research in multiculturalism for over 25 years and has written widely on aspects of cultural diversity and intercultural relations, the intersection of youth, ethnicity, gender and class, everyday racism, and multicultural education. He has had a particular focus on the experiences of Lebanese-background migrants and their children. His publications include Kebabs, Kids, Cops and Crime (2000), Bin Laden in the Suburbs (2004), Lines in the Sand (2009), On Being Lebanese in Australia (2010), Cultures of Schooling (1990/2012), Disposed to Learn (2013) and Cultural Pedagogies and Human Conduct (2014).
Prime Minister John Howard’s infamous denial that Australia had ‘underlying racism’ drew both approbation and opprobrium after the Cronulla riots, but probably more of the first. One reason that these riots shocked Australians (‘This is not Australia!’) is that there hadn’t been anything like it in this nation for over 70 years. The media portrayals of racist brutality glossed with crass supremacism didn’t shock viewers from around the world, who tend to ‘know’ as common sense that Australia is a racist nation. White Australia policy: QED. This paper reflects on the decade-long experience of hearing British people, and then New Zealand people, express the common sense that Australia has more underlying racism than their nations. While we are indeed no less racist, the facts that the White Australia policy finally withered away some time in the early 1970s (depending on how we mark it) and that official assimilationism was abandoned in the same decade, meant that we became more multiculturalist than our ‘less racist’ comparators. It was because of the lived multiculturalism that superseded White Australia and assimilationism that Cronulla shocked the nation. Now with the fear-raising over ISIS in our suburbs and the rise of populist Islamophobia, the assimilationist, nationalist and cultural supremacist themes that reverberated in Australian common sense around the Cronulla riots in 2005 are perhaps more widely expressed and accepted as respectable than they were in 2015.

Professor Scott Poynting works in the School of Social Sciences at the University of Auckland. He is co-editor of Counter-Terrorism and State Political Violence (Routledge, 2012) and Global Islamophobia: Muslims and Moral Panic in the West (Ashgate, 2012) and co-author of On Being Lebanese in Australia (LAU Press, 2010) and Bin Laden in the Suburbs (Institute of Criminology, 2004).
Plenary One Multicultural and race relations in Australia – then and now

Young People and Intercultural Sociality After Cronulla

This paper considers the state of intercultural relations amongst young people in post-Cronulla times, focusing on those living in working class areas of Australia’s multicultural capital cities. These neighbourhoods are characterised by very high diversity, significant socioeconomic disadvantage and large youth populations, and over the last five or so years many have received the largest influx of refugees and migrants of any Australian municipality. Against this backdrop, the paper investigates the ways that sociality is produced amongst young people of many backgrounds beyond and beneath the imperatives of post-Cronulla social cohesion initiatives to participate in harmonious community-making. In particular, it considers how youth might create everyday forms of productive co-habitation through the constitution and regulation of friendship relations and networks that 1. embed mix in daily life, and 2. serve to recognise and manage (rather than eliminate) intensity, conflict and ambivalence. It suggests that these practices of sociality complicate the social cohesion agenda, but offer some important and hopeful ways to expand theorisation of social relations in the multicultural city.

Anita Harris is a Research Professor in the Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation at Deakin University, Australia. She researches in the area of youth citizenship, youth cultures and participatory practice in changing times. She is completing an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship investigating intercultural relations amongst youth in multicultural cities in Australia and around the world (‘Young People and Social Inclusion in the Multicultural City’) and has recently undertaken a major project on ‘The Civic Life of Young Muslim Australians’. She is the author of several books in youth studies, most recently Young People and Everyday Multiculturalism (2013, Routledge New York).
Having grown up in Cronulla, I was compelled to write a paper titled: ‘Riotous Sydney: Redfern, Macquarie Fields, and (my) Cronulla’ after the ‘riots’. I considered the similarities and distinctions between the three events that led to unearthing the separation of the Cronulla event as a one-off in popular imaginings, while Redfern in inner Sydney, and Macquarie Fields in Western Sydney retained their image as riotous flashpoints. I touched on the tricky manoeuvres of whiteness, and its capacity to produce cultures of racialisation that demonise some, while exonerating others’ riotous behaviours.

Ten years on, I am reminded of Fiona Foley’s commentary on racialisation in an artwork – a series of photographs titled ‘Nulla 4 eva’. These images somewhat awkwardly infuse Aboriginal, Middle Eastern and Asian ethnicities onto the canvas of Cronulla’s whiteness.

‘Nulla 4 eva’ recalls that racialised extremism is not a recent or one-off phenomenon in neo-colonial Australia. It also reminds us of the uneasy relationships between the identifications of Aboriginality and the groups that have arrived since invasion. Cronulla ‘10 years on’ is a time to reflect by including some of the understandings and commentaries of those with the longest memories of racialisation and processural whiteness, in this country.

**Associate Professor Wendy Shaw** is based at the University of New South Wales. Her research centres on (post)colonial theorisations of whiteness and Indigenous geographies, and most recently, the Anthropocene. This has led to discussions on research methodologies, including the utility of autoethnographies. She has also written on the theoretical debates around urbanism and urbanity, gentrification and cosmopolitanism, and the complex realities of (post)colonial urban life in Australia, and beyond. Over the past decade, Wendy has also engaged in research collaborations that span the Asia-Pacific region, and continues to work with non-social scientists that bring social science and scientific methods together in transformative ways.
Bystander Anti-Racism Video Launch

About the project

In 2014, the Challenging Racism Project, led by Professor Kevin Dunn, conducted a nationwide survey (n=3,920) about bystander anti-racism. Those participants who had witnessed racism in the past 12 months completed an ‘incident report form’ about the event and their subsequent response. The real-life incidents described in the report forms became the basis for the production of bystander anti-racism campaign materials. Four campaign videos have since been developed reflecting prominent cases of racism and anti-racism. It is hoped that the videos will educate the public on action they can take as witnesses to racism.

Professor Yin Paradies is the Deputy Director (Research) and Future Fellow for the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation at Deakin University and was formally the head of the Anti-racism and Diversity Studies Program at the McCaughey Centre in the School of Population Health, University of Melbourne. Professor Paradies conducts internationally recognised research on the health, social and economic effects of racism as well as anti-racism theory, policy and practice.

Professor Kevin Dunn (BA (Wollongong); PhD (Newcastle); FNGS), is Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Psychology and Professor of Human Geography and Urban Studies at the University of Western Sydney. His areas of research include the geographies of racism, immigration and settlement, Islam in Australia, and local government and multiculturalism. Recent books include Landscapes: Ways of Imagining the World, and his recent articles are published in Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, Race and Class, Ethnicities, The Australian Geographer, Studia Islamika, Journal of Intercultural Studies and the Australian Journal of Social Issues. He is a Fellow of the New South Wales Geographical Society and Vice President.
Australian Muslim attitudes to diversity

Is the Islamaphobia of the post Cronulla era reflected in a lack of confidence in multiculturalism, or cultural intolerance, among Australian Muslims? What evidence is there that exclusion generates disaffection, despondency and non-belonging? There is an abundance of research commentary and political advocacy that outline the current difficulties of Muslims living within western countries. For virtuous reasons this scholarship assumes that Muslims are being prevented from belonging through mechanisms of social exclusion, and it would follow, are at risk of losing faith in the prospects of harmony and the social compact around religious diversity. The University of Western Sydney conducted a survey together with the Islamic Sciences and Research Academy (ISRA) to collect evidence as to whether incompatibility (radicalisation etc) and disaffection is as widespread as the research and inquiries to date infer. This project eschewed the apriori focus on exclusion, and is anchored within the emerging scholarship on ‘ordinary cosmopolitanism’. 345 surveys were collected by ISRA volunteers at Sydney Mosques, Islamic centres, and Eid festivals in September 2011. The results show a very strong level of support for cultural diversity, a rejection of assimilationist impulses and a conviction about equality. These levels of support exceed the average for the general population, despite the global Islamaphobia attached to terror discourses and the specific tropes of a post-Cronulla decade in Australia. The paper ends with a reflection on whether rememberings of the Cronulla riots have worked with or against global Islamaphobia.

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Ms Rosalie Atie (B Arts Hons (UWS)) has been a research assistant with the Challenging Racism Project and associated projects at the University of Western Sydney since 2011. These projects include: a partnership project with NSW Police on the effects of NSW Police community engagement counter-radicalisation model; a partnership project with the Islamic Sciences and Research Academy on the Ordinariness of Australian Muslims; an ARC funded study on ethnic discrimination in the private rental housing market; and an ARC funded project on cyber-racism and community resilience. She is currently undertaking a PhD at the University of Western Sydney on the poetics, performatives and politics of slam poetry in Western Sydney.
A ‘mediated’ geography of Islamophobia: impacts on the mobility of young Muslims in Sydney

Media constructions of exclusion vary across space - some places are constructed more intolerant than others. The socio-spatial effects of ‘new racism’ countenance this variation. This 2014 mixed-method case study analysed 74 web-based questionnaire surveys and 10 follow-up interviews with young Muslims (aged 18-30 years) living in Sydney.

Young Muslims have indicated a clear ‘geography of Islamophobic spaces’ across Sydney, with a particular emphasis on Sutherland. Qualitative data point to media coverage of the Cronulla Riots as instrumental in (re)producing the spatial ethnic purification of Cronulla that was intended by the riots. The coverage has generated spatial perceptions of belonging and exclusion, ultimately ‘regulating’ the way young Muslims access spaces, such as the Sutherland area.

This paper reveals the deeper reflexive implications of media produced Islamophobia, whereby ‘outgroup’ constructions not only produce experiences of racism, but also result in spatial exclusions, specifically the motility of young Muslims navigating the suburbs of Sydney. This uneven access to space is explored through social constructivist theoretical approach, along with a ‘new mobilities’ interest in the ‘politics of mobility’.

Ms Rhonda Itaoui is a PhD candidate at Western Sydney University’s Religion and Society Research Centre. With an aim to uncover the effects of racism on ethnic minorities, she is pursuing a PhD project that explores the reflexive links between Islamophobia and Geography on young Muslims in the public spaces of ‘Western cities’ such as Sydney. Rhonda is interested in pursuing applied social research in a variety of areas including cultural/social geographies, cultural planning and multiculturalism.
Mosques are important infrastructures for the Muslim community wherever they reside with populations large enough to form a community, as has been the case in most Western countries in recent decades. In most Western contexts however, the proposal to build a mosque is typically opposed by the local community and council. Though the reason for the opposition is reduced to a set of practical issues, the underlying reasons are Islamophobic attitudes that see Muslims as being culturally incompatible with the local community. Thus, it is in the context of Islamophobia surrounding the topic of mosque-building that the University of Western Sydney (UWS) and the Islamic Sciences and Research Academy in Australia (ISRA) embarked upon a research project designed to provide basic information about the nature and characteristics of the mosques in NSW. The research involved a survey of over 50 mosques and mosque leaders and revealed NSW’s mosques as young religious institutions that are adapting to the Australian context as indicated by the use of English as the main language in the delivery of the sermon and the multi-ethnic composition of its attendees. Resting the fear that mosques are the breeding for the spread of radical ideologies, the report found that for the Australian Muslim community in NSW, the mosque is simply community centre where they come to worship, learn, receive support and participate in religious and social activities that reinforce their Australian-Muslim identity. Mosque leaders strongly agreed that Muslims should participate in Australia’s political process and be involved in its civic institutions. Moreover, the study found NSW’s mosques to be playing an active role in discouraging the spread of extremism through a close monitoring of the activities happening inside the mosque by mosque leaders and committee members.

Ms Husnia Underabi is a doctoral candidate at the University of Western Sydney. She has recently submitted her PhD which investigated the relationship between mosque sermons and audience receptivity. She is also the lead researcher and author of the Sydney and NSW Mosque Report. Her research interests include the study of Islam and Muslims living in Western countries.
Session Two – Still Panicked: The politics of Race, Nation and Citizenship:

Community of Mourners: Sydney Siege and the Representations of the Muslim ‘Other’

This paper derives from the project ‘Multiculturalism under pressure: a comparison of political leadership and media coverage on Muslims following high-profile violent events in Australia and the Netherlands’, which has been conducted at RMIT University. The project analyses media reporting and political leadership related to the so-called ‘Sydney Siege’ in December 2014. During the Sydney siege, a self-proclaimed Muslim cleric captured 18 hostages and kept them in a Sydney café for 20 hours. He died during the siege, alongside two hostages whose deaths were commemorated in a public square in front of the café.

The paper focuses on nuances of collective public sentimentality and the role of emotions in the narratives about nationhood and belonging in the aftermath of the Sydney siege. It analyses public displays of grief and compassion following this traumatic event; where they were derived from, towards whom they were directed and what reactions they provoked in the context of the ‘Muslim question’ in Australia.

Preliminary analyses of the media reports show that the first responses to the event from the Australian public were largely emotional and mourned the victims by celebrating the Australian spirit and national identity. Most of the reactions to the siege by politicians and the public reported in the mainstream media focused on how democratic and egalitarian values, which were presented as quintessentially Australian, can be promoted and accepted amongst its diverse population, including Muslims. The siege was used to critique extremism in a subtle way; not by attacking Muslims in Australia directly, but to implicitly critique foreignness by suggesting that ‘non-Australian’ values will not be tolerated.

Dr Masha Mikola works at RMIT University and the University of Melbourne as a sessional lecturer and researcher. Her field of research relates to migration, urban space and the city cultures. She also published in the area of migrant youth and citizenship.

Associate Professor Val Colic-Peisker works at RMIT University, specialising in migration, ethnic relations and urban diversity. She has taught sociology at several Australian universities and published widely, in refereed journals (Sociology, Journal of Sociology, ERS, JEMS, JIS, Urban Studies, JRS etc.) and elsewhere, including four books. Val combines qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis.

Dr Karien Dekker’s research focuses on the role of communities in policymaking in neighbourhoods and schools, to improve social inclusion and cohesion in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. In this research, she uses social network analyses, qualitative methods, and also advanced statistical modelling such as multilevel regression analysis.
Session Two – Still Panicked: The Politics of Race, Nation and Citizenship:

The rise of bigotry in Australia

A decade ago, events at Cronulla caught Australians unaware. For a time, outrage dominated responses from many sectors in the community. But its populist production as a one-off event masked underlying racism and particularly anti-Muslim sentiment which, although seemingly benign and latent at times, is ever-present in Australia. The past year has seen a marked increase in Islamophobia which has had a profound effect on Muslim members of the community. While less spectacular than the Cronulla riots, recent events are arguably more concerning because they have institutionalised, politicised and normalised Islamophobia. This paper will highlight three specific markers of the rise in Islamophobia: government responses to ‘terrorism’, media campaigns against Muslims and the formation of a new anti-Muslim political party – The Australian Liberty Alliance. It will also discuss counter-movements against anti-Muslim sentiment.

Susie Latham is a PhD candidate at Curtin University.

Linda Briskman is Professor of Human Rights at Swinburne University of Technology.

Both authors founded Voices Against Bigotry (www.voicesagainstbigotry.org) to counter anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia. They are also co-authors (with Chris Goddard) of Human Rights Overboard: Seeking asylum in Australia, which won the Australian Human Rights Commission award for literature (non-fiction in 2008).
Contextualising the politics of race and culture: an exploration of protest events in the ‘top end’ and southern cities.

In the late 19th century Broome, in North-West Australia, was perhaps the most culturally diverse place in Australia. This small town became the pearling capital of the world and employed indentured labourers such as Japanese, Chinese, Malay, Filipino, Kupang, Timorese as well as Aboriginal workers. In the early 20th century, tensions between cultural groups culminated in what is now known as the Broome race riots. Similar to this event, the Cronulla riots in 2005 saw a dominant ethnic group attack a smaller ethnic minority, in order to ‘put them back in their place’. Using Cronulla and the Broome race riots as a point of departure, this paper will explore three recent protest events that have occurred in Melbourne and Broome during 2015. Drawing on empirical and textual evidence, it will outline some comparative and distinct characteristics of events relating to the closure of remote Aboriginal communities in Melbourne and Broome, and the Reclaim Australia rally/counter rally in Melbourne. Concentrating on the performative aspects of these protests, it will explore how citizenship is enacted, contested and reconstituted in particular spatio-temporal contexts. It draws attention to the fragility of universalised notions of citizenship and offers instances in which the apparatus that conditions such identities can be brought into crisis. In closing, it will call for a more situated understanding and analysis of what citizenship means. Such understandings stress the importance of local perspectives in emancipatory projects that come into tension with dominant ideologies; and how these local contestations compose multiple entry points into the reimagining of what it means to be a citizen.

Mr David Kelly is a PhD candidate with the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. He completed his undergraduate and honours qualifications in Anthropology and Sociology at Curtin University in Western Australia (WA). During this time he worked in a professional capacity as a researcher in regional development in the Wheatbelt region of WA, specialising in social service delivery capacity in the developing region. Upon graduating, David then completed a graduate program at the Department of Housing, with special interests in Aboriginal land tenure and heritage as well as urban renewal projects. In this role, David became interested in North Australia and the array of competing development agendas that continually come into tension with each other.
Session Two – Still Panicked: The Politics of Race, Nation and Citizenship:

‘Lebanese Muslim’: a Capital Offence in Bayside

Located on the New South Wales Central Coast, ‘Bayside’ is a beach holiday town with a clear Anglo-majority local population. During holiday periods, however, it is smeared with the phrase ‘Parramatta by the Sea’—a jab at the high proportion of visitors, particularly Lebanese Muslims, coming from Western Sydney. In this paper I draw on Bourdieu’s notions of habitus and field (1990, 1990b), and Ghassan Hage’s ‘white nation’ framework (1998), to explore how the racialisation of the ‘Lebanese Muslim habitus’ contributes to the feeling of bodies as ‘out of place’ (Wise 2009; Ahmed 2000; Probyn 2004). Drawing on my ethnographic work in The Entrance in 2013 to 2015, and in-depth interview data of local residents, I explore the ways in which hegemonic discourses about the Muslim Other infiltrate everyday sociality and sensual experiences, colouring the visual, tuning the auditory and tempering the emotional (Haldrup, Koefoed et al 2006). I highlight how drawing attention to the socio-spatial aspects of Bayside, and bodily practices and senses, foregrounds the way in which certain modes of habitus can be judged as unwelcome and threatening disruptions to affective fields. I then explore how such feelings translate into a practical deployment of Islamophobia. That is, how is Islamophobia embedded, enacted and performed in sensuous everyday corporeal meetings? To answer these questions, I focus on ‘thick’ analyses of everyday embodied encounters between differently habituated bodies (‘Lebanese Muslim’ on the one hand, and ‘Anglo’ on the other) in two specific contexts: cafés and public parks. It is my contention that illuminating some of the sensory experiences of Islamophobia helps us to understand how everyone and everything is implicated in the ‘white nation’ fantasy (Hage: 1998), and how incompatible embodiment experienced via the senses is made sense of via ideology.

Ms Randa Abdel-Fattah is a third year doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at Macquarie University. The topic of her PhD research is ‘Islamophobia and everyday life from the point of view of the perpetrators.’ Randa practiced as a lawyer until 2012 and is also an award-winning author of 10 novels.
It has been 10 years since working-class kids were centre stage at the Cronulla riots. 10 years on we are seeing yet another ‘moral panic’ of this kind – this time, it’s the ‘teenage terrorist’. One of the sites of this panic is the City of Casey, a culturally diverse, low socio-economic area of Melbourne. Tabloid coverage creates the impression that little has changed since the Cronulla riots, that large-scale racial violence and threat is an inevitable reality in multicultural communities. Difference as danger, community disintegration and young people as problem still lie at the heart of public anxieties. Drawing on over a year of in-depth ethnographic fieldwork with young people in a public high school in Melbourne’s south-east, in this presentation I provide a more positive perspective. Shifting focus to the entanglements of everyday racism and everyday cosmopolitanism that shape teenagers’ lives in this area, I argue that high school students are, in fact, in a state of unpanic amidst front-page news hysteria. As they negotiate sharing a cosmopolitised space, these teenagers are able to hold incongruent discourses, performances and practices congruently. Whilst ‘Muslim’ or ‘Afghani’ boys are perceived as not integrating, even those students who complain the loudest about this at school are still dating them, sleeping with them, smoking shisha with them, and are even often Afghani themselves. Solidarity cuts through divides when discussion turns to the stigma of attending a disadvantaged school, and it’s common knowledge that Islander students protect Afghani students in fights. Everyday racisms go almost unmarked, and everyday cosmopolitanisms are fleeting but multiple in a fast-paced environment where ‘difference’ and allegiances are ever shifting. This paper aims to draw out rich empirical discussion about what unpanicked multiculturalism (Noble 2009) looks like in this region among allegedly ‘at risk’ teens at a local high school.

Ms Melinda Herron is a PhD candidate in Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. Her ethnographic study, titled ‘Living, Belonging and Getting Along: the lives of teens in a culturally diverse, marginalised school community’, explores how young people from the increasingly populous and multicultural south-east corridor of Melbourne are responding when forced to acknowledge, confront and live among difference and diversity in their everyday lives. Melinda’s research draws on anthropology, sociology and educational research, incorporating insights from cultural studies, cultural geography and philosophy. With a background in applied linguistics, her master’s thesis explored racist attitudes underlying teachers’ approaches to rapport building in multicultural classrooms. Melinda has worked at the Maldives National University developing curriculum on intercultural communication as well as issues of racism, gender and tourism.
Belonging and Social Identity among Young People in Western Sydney, Australia after the Cronulla Riots

This article explores young people’s everyday life in multi-ethnic Australian communities, focusing on inter-ethnic social relations and social networks, safety and feelings of belonging, identity and trust, and how young people perceive their community and their Australian belonging, after the Cronulla riots. The research was designed to provide insights into attitudes, aspirations and social relations of young people living in multicultural communities. The findings are based on a survey of 339 young people residing in Western and South Western Sydney, Australia. Conceptually, the research is framed around Bourdieu’s habitus discourse and the influence social and cultural capital pose to the formation of young people’s perceptions and attitudes (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1979/1984, pp. 101-102, 171). Ninety-five per cent of the young people surveyed, were from minority immigrant backgrounds, and two thirds were born in Australia. The majority of them felt good about living in Australia, while only a small percentage rarely or never felt fine. This finding contradicts evidence highlighted by alarmist predictions of anti-immigrant and anti-multiculturalism critics. Australia’s multicultural society works in a cohesive, inclusive way for many young people of minority backgrounds most of the time. The findings, even when sometimes contradictory, emphasises that the Australian multicultural society was running well in 2007 and the findings suggested that Australia had good prospects for social cohesion in the future. Nonetheless, the research indicates that even if the young people were influenced by the Cronulla riots, they still demonstrated social belonging and community involvement, and felt socially connected in their residential community and within their social networks.

Dr Charlotte Fabiansson is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at Victoria University, Melbourne. Charlotte’s research interests are within sociology of youth and young adults’ everyday life; community belonging, social and ethnic identity, feeling safe and perception of risk, risky behaviour and gambling. Recent publications: Fabiansson (2015): Young people’s societal belonging and perception of social status within networks, Rural Society, 24(1), and Fabiansson (2010) Pathways to Excessive Gambling. A Societal Perspective on Youth and Adult Gambling Pursuits, Ashgate. Since 2014 Charlotte is the TASA Risk Societies co-convenor, and from 2015 SoRu ISA TG04 board member.
Session Three: Unpanicked Multiculturalism

It’s just like, who we are”: Navigating multicultural Australia with a cosmopolitan ‘outlook’

While multiculturalism and its related cosmopolitan ideals and values remain contested, it is clear that ordinary Australians exist within a broader context that largely embraces them. Nevertheless, the idea of multicultural Australia and the social reality of ethnic diversity problematise the construction, reproduction and experience of national identity because conceptions of nationhood still largely rely on narrow and essentialised notions of sameness. Using interviews with a sample of 17 younger Australians, this paper explores how participants construct, understand and experience racial/ethnic cultural ‘difference’, and examines the broader shift towards cosmopolitanism as a means by which they do so. Despite some persistently narrow and exclusive conceptions of Australian identity among participants, a ‘cosmopolitan outlook’ dominates, which is seen by them as both a pragmatic and morally superior response to the globalised and culturally diverse society in which they live. However, this normative cosmopolitan outlook does not necessarily make it easier to talk about and explain feelings of discomfort around ‘difference’. This paper highlights how thinking through difference remains a difficult, complex, and dynamic process that often relies on conflicting conceptions of identity and models of nationhood. It concludes that a cosmopolitan outlook is not an all-encompassing ‘answer’ to the task of thinking through difference in a multicultural nation and a globalised world.

Ms Lana Chung is a PhD candidate in sociology at La Trobe University. She has recently submitted her thesis investigating younger Australians’ everyday experiences of national identity and belonging.
Session Four: Anti-Racism Education and Creative Interventions

Rahman’s time machine: media, universities and the seeds of (anti)racism in Australia

As of September 2015, Australian stand-up comedian Aamer Rahman’s ‘reverse racism’ social media video has had close to two million hits, reaching the realms of academia as discussion material in university classes. Rahman’s joke summarises effectively in less than 3 minutes theories of race, culture, historical materialism and hegemony in the modern world. My paper aims firstly to understand why people laugh (or not) at that 3-minute joke and to talk about the experience of presenting that video in undergraduate courses across New South Wales (including the region bordering Cronulla) as a casual academic. My understanding is that Rahman’s ideas clash directly with two systems: a neoliberal educational one already installed in Australia, and the recent social/mainstream media monopolies, two environments that are coercing and subordinating new generations of Australians. More than ever, both today’s media and higher education are crucial battlegrounds for the emancipation from structural oppression and social inequality. I propose that without an urgent awareness of the key role of these two contexts, media and education, racism in Australia will continue to go unacknowledged and/or progressively unabated.

Dr Pablo Leighton’s main research is on the notion and practices of propaganda in XX century and current media, and specifically on the history of audio-visual culture in Chile and Latin America since the 1970s until today. He has taught at universities in Australia, United States, Chile and Honduras, and has worked as film director, screenwriter and editor in various fiction and documentary productions. He holds a PhD in Latino American studies from Universidad de Santiago de Chile, and in Media and Cultural Studies from Macquarie University, Sydney. He also has a Master of Fine Arts in Filmmaking from Massachusetts College of Art (Boston, USA). He founded the Latin American Research Group Australia and edits its website: www.latitudesgrup.info.
Session Four: Anti-Racism Education and Creative Interventions

Darwin ‘the Pearl of the Arafura Sea’: Crystallising and co-composing difference at the Top End

How can bodies of colour negotiate what Claudia Rankine identifies as the paradox of being overly visible and completely invisible. For Claudia, poet and playwright, it involves writing about race in a different way to make deep tensions and the tone of micro-aggressions visible before they escalate into major aggressions. In the Australian context perhaps it involves exploring the nature of ethnic/ethno-religious tensions since the Cronulla riots in Sydney and how White Australia has changed. While a focus on these moments is important, Ash Amin in his focus on telescopic urbanism argues for an optics that also draws attention to interdependencies and multiple geographies of inhabitation in the city. This paper responds to these thoughts on race and the city by moving the telescope to the Top End of Australia and arguing for innovative research that is attentive to the affective dimension of these interdependencies and multiple geographies. I argue that chance encounters that characterises ‘minor’ events in tropical Darwin crystallise emergent creative energies and contribute to increasing diversity in the city by centering the everyday life of those who are the most racialised. In contrast to the Cronulla riots and Reclaim Australia protests that crystallise negative energies of hatred and anger through habitual practices of racialising and demonising ethnic/ethno-religious minority groups/faith traditions, these ‘minor’ events can have a ripple effect in inspiring macro-political movements that value diversity in the urban commons. In contrast to tactical urbanism or guerrilla urbanism that centres residents who often enjoy the privilege and confidence that belonging brings, Top End telescopic urbanism places racialised residents behind the video camera as they talk about events that are part of their everyday life. The paper is informed by a broader literature on the philosophies of difference and vitality that values spontaneity and surprise in a world that is more-than-human.

Dr Michele Lobo is an Australian Research Council Senior Research Fellow (ARC DECRA) at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia. She is a social and cultural geographer whose work draws on emotion, affect and encounter to explore whiteness, ethnic/ethno-religious diversity and belonging in cities. Michele has published in Gender, Place and Culture, Social and Cultural Geography, Journal of Cultural Geography, Population, Space and Place, Emotion, Space & Society, Journal of Intercultural Studies, Urban Policy and Research and Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies. She is the authors of Reimagining Citizenship in Suburban Australia: Voices from ‘Dandy’ (Lambert Academic Publishing 2009), co-editor of Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking through the lens of Social Inclusion (Ashgate 2011) and Intercultural Relations in a Global World (Common Ground, 2011). She is the recipient of an Australian Research Council Discovery Early Career Researcher Award (2013), an Australian Research Council Discovery Award (2013) and the Vice Chancellor’s Award for Research Excellence (2013).
Disturbances such as the Cronulla riots and Reclaim Australia demonstrations, in the heart of our multicultural cities, are symptoms of fear and insecurity. Urban myths about the entitlements of new residents to ‘special treatment’ builds resentment. Multiculturalism requires hard work at the grass roots to provide social cohesion. It also requires economic policies to promote the ‘fair go’ and reduce inequality. The focus on neo-liberal policies exacerbates economic stratification and heightens ethnic tensions. One aspect of safety in public spaces for all citizens necessitates limits to be placed on the expression of race-based hate. In 2014, the Australian Attorney-General stated in Federal Parliament that Australians were ‘entitled to be bigots’ and he was therefore repealing a civil law that makes hate speech illegal. The ‘hate speech’ provisions in the Racial Discrimination Act provide a remedy to persons who suffer damage as a result of racial vilification in public space. The move to repeal the provisions has concerned many ethnic minorities and their supporters, who together make a majority of citizens in Australia’s multicultural society. The watering down of the hate speech laws can be seen as fuelling the exclusions inherent in ‘Team Australia’. This paper will explore the ‘hate speech’ laws and how they work to support multiculturalism.

 Associate Professor Greta Bird has been a lawyer for over 40 years. Her area of expertise is principally cultural diversity and the law. She was appointed as a Commissioner on the Australian Law Reform Commission into Multiculturalism and the Law and has published widely in the area. Greta has just completed, with Dr Jo Bird, a chapter on aging in multicultural settings for the UK-based Centre for Multicultural Studies in Law.

 Dr Susan Bird is an early career researcher with an interdisciplinary PhD in Arts/Law. She has extensive teaching experience, and has taught in a variety of subjects including Legal Research Methods, Corporations Law, Law and Governance, and Law and Land. Susan is an active participant in the research community. She enjoys sharing her ideas, through publications and regular appearances at conferences both in Australia and internationally. Susan currently works with the grants and awards team at Deakin University, and as a research assistant on an OLT-funded interdisciplinary project investigating new ways of teaching architecture to reflect Indigenous connections to land. Before coming to Deakin University, Susan co-drafted the Victorian Multicultural Commission submission to George Brandis on the changes to the Racial Discrimination Act on the repeal of section 18 C that gives victims of hate speech recourse through the Human Rights Commission. Susan’s research interests lie in legal philosophy, Indigenous peoples and the law, multiculturalism and the regulation of urban public spaces.
Ten years after the Cronulla riots, the violence, racism and branding of young bodies with signs and symbols of Australian nationalism, along with the reprisal attacks by Lebanese-Australian youth, continues to inflame discussions about race relations in Australia, with many conversations shifting away from ideas of multiculturalism and cultural diversity, and towards patriotism, localism, security and fear of the (predominantly) Muslim ‘Other’.

*Battle for the Flag* contextualises and challenges the narrative by drawing upon participant observation and interviews conducted with local residents of diverse backgrounds. By paying attention to the voices of bystanders and those involved, the riot is identified as an unstable and fluid formation, where the Australian flag, the beach and whiteness itself was co-opted into a much more contingent, contested and subcultural formation than hitherto described.

**About the Author**

Organising Committee

**Professor Fethi Mansouri** holds a Deakin University Alfred Deakin Research Chair in Migration and Intercultural Studies and is the Director of the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. In 2013 he was appointed Chair-holder, UNESCO Chair in comparative research on ‘Cultural Diversity and Social Justice’. He is the editor of the *Journal of Intercultural Studies* and founding co-editor of the international journal of *Social Inclusion*. His most recent books include: ‘Muslims in the West and the Challenges of Belonging’ (2012); ‘The Arab Revolutions in Context: Civil Society and Democracy in a Changing Middle East’ (2012); ‘Global Perspectives on the Politics of Multiculturalism’ (2014) and ‘The Multicultural Challenge’ (2015). Professor Mansouri’s 2004 book ‘Lives in Limbo: Voices of Refugees under Temporary Protection’ was short-listed for the 2004 Human Rights Medals and Awards.

**Professor Greg Noble** works at the Institute for Culture and Society at the University of Western Sydney. Greg has been involved in research in multiculturalism for over 25 years and has written widely on aspects of cultural diversity and intercultural relations, the intersection of youth, ethnicity, gender and class, everyday racism, and multicultural education. He has had a particular focus on the experiences of Lebanese-background migrants and their children. His publications include Kebabs, Kids, Cops and Crime (2000), Bin Laden in the Suburbs (2004), Lines in the Sand (2009), On Being Lebanese in Australia (2010), Cultures of Schooling (1990/2012), Disposed to Learn (2013) and Cultural Pedagogies and Human Conduct (2014).

Dr Michele Lobo Michele Lobo is an Australian Research Council Senior Research Fellow (ARC DECRA) at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia. She is a social and cultural geographer whose work draws on emotion, affect and encounter to explore whiteness, ethnic/ethno-religious diversity and belonging in cities. Michele has published broadly and is co-editor of *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking through the lens of Social Inclusion* (Ashgate 2011) and *Intercultural Relations in a Global World* (Common Ground, 2011). She is the recipient of an Australian Research Council Discovery Early Career Researcher Award (2013), an Australian Research Council Discovery Award (2013).

Bronwyn Shepherd is currently working on her PhD at Deakin University under the supervision of Professor Emma Kowal and Dr Joanna Cruickshank. Her area of research explores the intercultural spaces in the context of Australia’s mission history. Other roles have included secondary French teaching and research assistant for Melbourne Museum.