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women.

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rrent projects examine sanctuary and security in Muslim women's
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Tanja Dreher and Christina Ho

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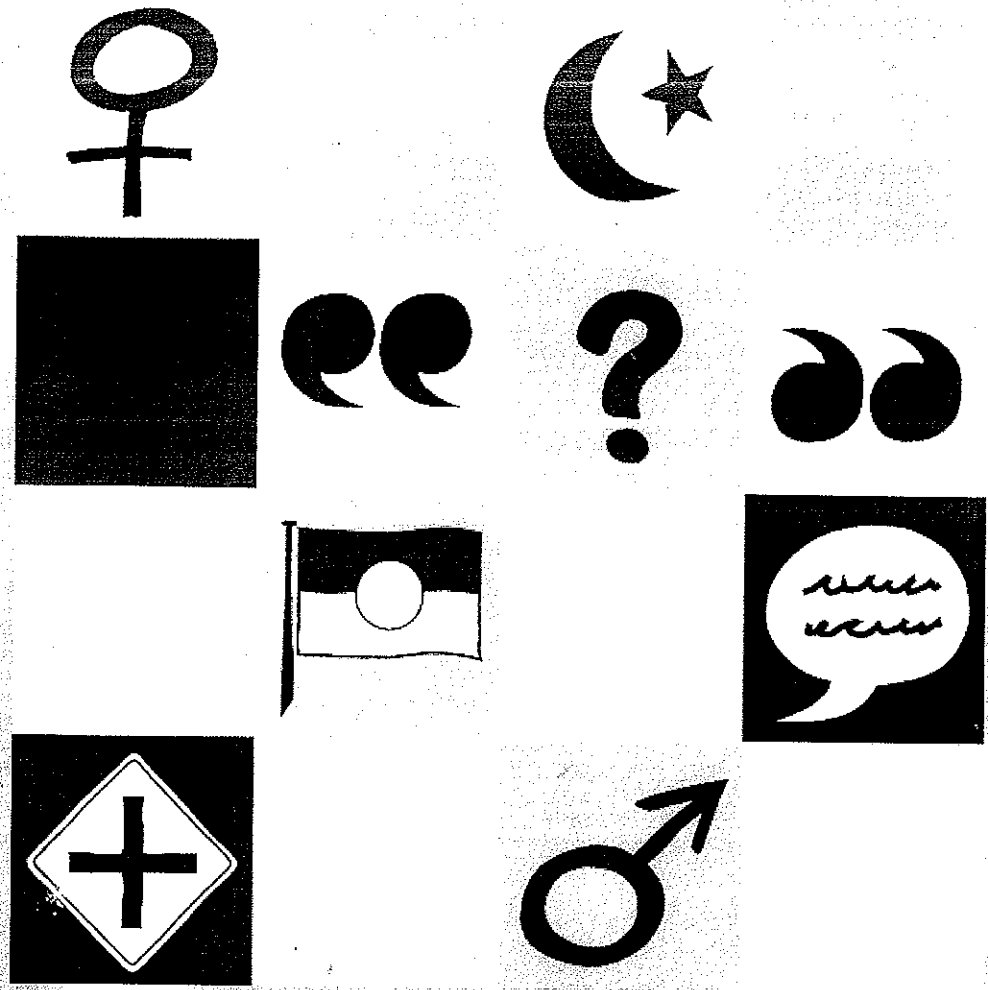

EDITED BY

TANJA DREHER AND CHRISTINA HO

Beyond the Hijab Debates: New Conversations on Gender, Race and Religion

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book had its genesis in a conference held at the University of Technology, Sydney in December 2006, entitled "Not Another Hijab Row: New conversations on gender, race, religion and the making of communities". We wish to thank all those who participated in this conference. Several of the papers presented at the conference have been further developed for publication here. Many others were published in the *Transforming Cultures* ejournal, for which Kiran Grewal and Lindi Todd provided invaluable assistance. We would also like to thank Emily Subrata, who conducted background research for the book proposal with maximum efficiency and care. Ann Hobson provided perfectionist proofreading and expert editorial advice. Greg Shapley assisted in the development of the cover art work. Many thanks also to the Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Research Centre at UTS for funding the proofreading.

INTRODUCTION

NEW CONVERSATIONS ON GENDER, RACE AND RELIGION

TANJA DREHER AND CHRISTINA HO

Headscarves in schools. "Ethnic gangs" and rape. Domestic violence in Indigenous communities. Polygamy. Sharia law. Integration and respect for women. It seems that around the world in the media and public debate, concerns about cultural minorities often revolve around issues of gender and women's rights. Yet all too often, discussions about complex matters are reduced to simplistic debates such as "hijab: to ban or not to ban?" or "Muslim women: oppressed or liberated?". The crude sensationalism of these debates often reflects the cynical agendas of conservative politicians and commentators who hijack the language of feminism to demonise minority communities for their "lack of respect" for women. The overall result is a chronic narrowing of the scope for serious and complex discussion about important issues.

This collection provides a space for critical reflections on the politics of gender, race and religion. While "hijab debates" have occurred in various guises in France, the Netherlands, Germany, the UK and elsewhere, the starting point for this book is contemporary Australia, where questions of gender, race and religion have a particular pertinence. As a nation built on immigration and the dispossession of Indigenous people, Australia is accustomed to public debates about race and diversity. Because of its longer history of official multiculturalism compared to most western nations, there is a relatively well-developed vocabulary in Australia for discussing issues of cultural diversity. Australia has a complex history in terms of struggles for women's rights. Famously one of the first countries in the world to grant women the vote, Australia now lags far behind international benchmarks in having no universal provisions for paid maternity leave. The 2007 Democratic Audit of women's participation in Australia found that:

> Whereas Australia was once a leader in the global struggle for gender equality, this report makes clear that in recent years Australia has resiled from this commitment and many of the achievements of an earlier period have now been undone. This is most obviously true with regard to the dismantling of women's policy machinery and the silencing of the women's non-government sector (Maddison and Partridge 2007: xiv).

Australia therefore, provides an important case study for analysing the intersections of gender, race and religion in a post-9/11 world, because, as in most western nations, the last decade or so has seen a dramatic unravelling of support for diversity, particularly in relation to Muslim Australians, who are now seen as a threat not only to social cohesion but to national security as well.

In Australia, a combination of recent events, some pre-dating 11 September 2001, has generated unprecedented public and scholarly attention on sexual violence, masculinised protection, and ideas of the nation. The chapters in this volume analyse the political and cultural fallout from a series of moral panics beginning around 2000 and intensifying after the September 11 terrorist attacks.

A key part of these moral panics was a sustained "border panic" surrounding the arrival of "unauthorised" asylum seekers who were depicted as "queue jumpers" attempting to bypass Australia's migration laws and whose boats allegedly threatened the nation's border security. The government boasted of its "tough" stance against these mostly Muslim "boat people", confining asylum seekers in harsh detention centres and using the armed forces to deny boat arrivals access to the Australian mainland. The most dramatic incident, just weeks before the September 11 attacks in 2001, involved the military boarding the container ship MV Tampa, which had rescued 433 asylum seekers from their sinking boat off the Australian coast, and forcing it to turn back. This was followed by the "children overboard" scandal, in which government ministers alleged that refugees threw their children into the ocean so that they would be rescued and brought to Australia. This was later exposed as a fabrication. In the immediate aftermath of September 11, however, with government ministers suggesting—without any evidence—that some asylum seekers might be terrorists, the Australian public was willing to believe the worst about the Muslim "other".

Domestically, "foreigner" anxiety was focused increasingly on "ethnic gangs" in the late 1990s, and in 2000 and 2001, a series of sexual assaults described as "ethnic gang rapes" became the symbol of the failure of Australian multiculturalism and the social threat posed by Muslims in particular. The rapes were committed in western Sydney by two groups of

men, from Lebanese and Pakistani backgrounds. In the blanket media coverage they received, these rapes were described as racially motivated hate crimes because the attackers allegedly targeted "Aussie" women. The public outrage at these crimes led to the passing of new legislation in New South Wales that dramatically increased the sentences of gang rapists, and one group's "ringleader" was sentenced to 55 years' jail (Crichton and Stevenson 2002). These cases dramatically brought together issues of race, religion and gender, instigating widespread vilification of Islam and of Muslim men for their alleged misogynistic attitudes, and leading many to argue that multiculturalism posed a threat to women's rights.

As the gang rape court cases continued, public discussions again turned to the veil, a topic never far from the surface in debates on culture and diversity. In one particularly memorable episode, 2002 saw the NSW Christian Democratic Party MP, Rev Fred Nile, calling for a ban on the chador, the Islamic headdress that covers the entire body, which he argued could be used to conceal weapons and explosives. Debates about the veil again took centre stage in 2005, when federal government MPs Bronwyn Bishop and Sophie Panopoulos called for the hijab to be banned in schools, arguing that it was mark of defiance and difference, and rejecting the argument that it gave women a sense of freedom.

Anxieties over gender, race and religion erupted yet again in the Cronulla riots of December 2005, which saw thousands of Anglo-Celtic Australians gather to "take back" Cronulla beach from the "Lebs", whose alleged anti-social behaviour and harassment of women had caused widespread resentment among local residents. The gathering ended in groups of drunken young men hunting down and attacking anyone of "Middle Eastern appearance" at the beach. This in turn was followed by "revenge attacks" over the next few days by young Arabic-speaking men who attacked people and property in beachside suburbs. These incidents marked somewhat of a turning point in Australian multiculturalism, which has not generally featured mass inter-group violence as was witnessed on these hot summer days.

Relations with Muslim Australians took a further battering in 2006, following inflammatory comments from a prominent Sydney imam, Sheik Taj el-din Al Hilaly, who in a sermon, compared immodestly dressed women to "uncovered meat" inviting sexual assault. While many Muslim community members quickly condemned the comments, the incident fuelled further public castigation of Australian Muslims as a whole and demands for Muslims to integrate or "ship out".

"Respect for women" became a symbolic test of migrant integration in 2006 and 2007, with political leaders defining gender equality and

speaking English as core "Australian values" that Muslims had to learn to integrate fully into Australian society. As Prime Minister John Howard told *The Australian* newspaper:

> Fully integrating means accepting Australian values, it means learning as rapidly as you can the English language if you don't already speak it. And it means understanding that in certain areas, such as the equality of men and women...people who come from societies where women are treated in an inferior fashion have got to learn very quickly that that is not the case in Australia (quoted in Kerbaj 2006a).

However, Muslims have not been the only community in the spotlight for "bad" gender relations. In 2007, the national government responded to a report on Indigenous child sexual abuse with a dramatic, militarised "intervention" into outback communities that included deployment of extra police and provision of some community services. The intervention suspended hard-won native title rights and permit systems that had granted a degree of Indigenous autonomy and control over their communities. The initiative also served symbolically to criminalise all Indigenous men as violent sexual predators, as well as depicting Indigenous women as helpless victims in need of saving by external protectors. The Northern Territory Intervention was possible only through the suspension of the *Race Discrimination Act*, which had been previously suspended to enable the development of the Hindmarsh Island Bridge in South Australia. In the mid-1990s, Ngarrindjeri women were subjected to extraordinary legal and media scrutiny during a Royal Commission into sacred knowledge, dubbed "secret women's business", which formed the basis for an appeal against the development of the bridge at Hindmarsh Island (see Moreton-Robinson 2000; Watson 2005). The Royal Commission was highly controversial and found the "women's business" to be "fabricated", while a 2001 civil case found against the developers and the claims of fabrication.

All of these recent episodes provide a unique opportunity to examine critically how notions of gender, race and religion are at the core of current debates about diversity, cohesion and change in contemporary societies. While there have been many academic and activist interventions into the ongoing "race debates" over more than a decade, analyses of the intersections between gender, race and religion remain marginal in media and scholarly discussions. There is a significant body of literature analysing these events in terms of "moral panic", racism and Orientalism (Manning 2005), racialisation (Poynting et al 2004; ADB 2003) and the positioning of Arab and Muslim Australians as "The New Others" (Green and Jacka 2003) in Australian cultural politics. Yet this focus on "race" and racialisation has not adequately engaged with "the new politics of gender" as experienced and analysed by scholars and community workers who engage the intersections of gender, race and religion.

Hijab debates are merely one component of a contemporary politics of gender operating during the "war on terror" in the United States (Ferguson and Marso 2007) and in Australia (Ho 2007). The key feature of this new politics of gender is the hijacking of women's rights and the use of feminised rhetorics to justify the "war on terror", coupled with policies which constrain women's role under the rubric of "family values". The new politics supports particular interpretations of "women's rights", but is far from feminist in that it is grounded in a conservative gender ideology which "characterises men as dominant, masculine protectors and women as submissive, vulnerable, and therefore deserving of and in need of men's respect" (Ferguson and Marso 2007: 5). While focusing on the waning Presidency of George W Bush, Ferguson and Marso argue that Bush's "constellation of an eviscerated liberal feminism, a hierarchical gender ideology, and a neoconservative security strategy" represents a new politics of gender which will have continued significance for many years to come.

Michaele Ferguson (2005) argues that the Bush administration's "feminised security rhetoric" is evidence of feminist successes in making women's rights and gender equality issues of mainstream concern. Nevertheless, the prevailing "feminised" rhetoric frames women's rights in particular ways—emphasising a "chivalrous respect" for women and linking women's rights in highly imprecise ways to "democracy". This framing positions the USA as superior, having already secured women's rights, and impelled to "rescue" women "over there" in Afghanistan and Iraq. As this framing motivates masculinist protection for "oppressed Muslim women" abroad, it undercuts the motivation for domestic action.

Not only feminists place gender relations at the centre of contemporary politics and international relations. In an analysis of a pooled sample of the World Values Survey 1995–2001, Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris argue that Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilisations" thesis "was only half right. The cultural fault line that divides the West and the Muslim world is not about democracy but about sex" (2003: 63). The authors argue that support for democratic institutions is high in "Muslim" countries, "however, when it comes to attitudes toward gender equality and sexual liberalisation, the cultural gap between Islam and the West widens into a chasm" (2003: 67). Intersections of gender, race and religion clearly play crucial roles in current thinking about world politics.

The "new politics of gender" in Australia and in other Western nations centres on the paternalistic "protection" of women and children. Iris Marion Young (2007) highlights the need for feminist analyses to grapple with "the logic of masculinist protection" as the logic stands in stark contrast to the male-domination model that underpins much feminist activism and scholarship. In contrast to a selfish, aggressive and dominative masculinity, Young analyses a seemingly more benign image of masculinity associated with chivalry:

> The gallantly masculine man is loving and self-sacrificing, especially in relation to women. He faces the world's difficulties and dangers to shield women from harm and allow them to pursue elevating and decorative arts. The role of this courageous, responsible and virtuous man is that of a protector (Young 2007: 118).

Young argues that the political effectiveness of the argument for saving women when justifying war "should trouble feminists and should prompt us to examine whether American or Western feminists sometimes adopt the stance of protector in relation to some women of the world whom we construct as more dependent or subordinate" (2007: 117-8).

Just as in the USA, Australian political leaders and media commentators used the "plight" of Afghan women to justify participation in the 2001 invasion. While the US analyses have focused on the rescue and protection of Muslim women "over there" (Ferguson 2005), and Afghan women in particular, the new politics of gender in Australia has focused intense scrutiny on Indigenous Australian women and on Muslim women *within* (Ho 2007). As noted above, the Australian government's 2007 intervention into Northern Territory Indigenous communities was premised on protecting children subjected to and at risk of sexual assault.

Both the discourse and policies of "saving" women in communities positioned as "other" are part of the long history of "colonial feminism" (Ho 2007). As Lila Abu-Lughod (2002) argues, "saving" implies superiority and usually involves violence. Instead, Abu-Lughod advocates "working with" communities and focusing on larger responsibilities to address global injustices rather than protection or rescue missions. Overall, it is vital to avoid "polarisations that place feminism on the side of the West" and instead to be "respectful of other paths toward social change that might give women better lives" (2002: 788). Sonia Smallacombe writes of the pitfalls of colonial feminism for Indigenous Australians, explaining that "one of our major fears is that, if we pursue the use of colonial remedies to seek gender equality, we may in fact be simply perpetuating colonial structures and ideologies" (2004: 54).

Furthermore, Indigenous women often experience white male police and lawyers as putting them on trial rather than granting protection (Smallacombe 2004: 53).

According to Irene Watson, the discourse of rescue and paternalistic protection entails a loss of voice for Indigenous women (2005: 26). The appropriation of the rhetoric of women's rights and the politics of "rescue" create a "double bind" (Adelman et al 2003: 117; Hussein forthcoming) or a "minefield" (Abu-Lughod 2002: 783) for those seeking to address gender inequality without further fuelling racism. During the conservative Howard Government, the dilemmas of speaking and silencing most acutely affected Indigenous and Muslim women. Muslim women in Australia have become highly visible in public debates during the "war on terror" but have found it extremely difficult to shift news agendas and to be heard on their own terms, instead being asked constantly to respond to the concerns and stereotypes of "mainstream" audiences (Dreher and Simmons 2006). Watson describes the constant scrutiny on violence within Indigenous communities and the demand for Indigenous Australians to justify and explain themselves as akin to being hunted (2005: 27).

Narrow media agendas in particular, work against a diversity of voices and feminist arguments. Tanya Serisier exposes the "hypocrisy of media and legal discourses which ignore and disavow the ubiquity of sexual violence while responding with shock and outrage to specific and exceptional cases" (2006: 86). Sonia Smallacombe shows how the media's sensationalist reporting of issues such as child brides in Indigenous communities makes it difficult for these communities to resolve contentious issues, "nor does the media report that Indigenous people are seeking support to resolve difficult issues" (2004: 50). Similarly, the intensive media focus on sexual assault allegations against prominent elected Aboriginal representatives made it even more difficult for reluctant bodies such as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission to address violence against Indigenous women and children (Smallacombe 2004: 53). Overall, Smallacombe argues, media and policymakers privilege the white male voice (expert), over the voices of Indigenous women (2004: 50), with the result that:

> Indigenous women are still marginalised from the ongoing discussions taking place around the country on Indigenous violence, even though Indigenous women have told their personal stories and contributed to the numerous reports commissioned on violence (Smallacombe 2004: 52).

A number of Muslim Australians who are experienced media operators have explained the dilemmas of listening and being heard which shape and constrain the ability to speak in the mainstream media. Shakira Hussein (forthcoming) writes that Muslim women face both a "double bind" and a "double responsibility":

> Muslim women feel constrained against dissatisfaction with gender norms within their communities by the likelihood that their voices will be appropriated by those hostile to Muslims in general. Thus while the "double responsibility" impels a particular type of speech, the "double bind" generates silence (Hussein, forthcoming).

Hussein writes that the constant invitation to speak operates not as a "platform from which Muslim women can discuss their fears, frustrations and hopes for the future", but rather media and public discussion on gender and Islam acts as a "catch-22 confronting Muslim women":

> ...when they do wish to speak out against anti-Muslim discrimination and harassment, they do so with the encouragement and support of Muslim communities, but are too often treated with hostility or indifference by those outside those communities. On the other hand, if they wish to speak about dysfunctional gender norms within Muslim communities, they have little difficulty in finding an audience among non-Muslims, but their voices are appropriated and woven into anti-Muslim discourse, and they risk being labelled as disloyal by some members of their own communities (Hussein, forthcoming).

The dilemmas of speaking and being heard are not restricted to media and public discourse. There is a long history of debating the politics of speaking and representation within feminism, focused often around criticisms that white or Western feminism prioritises gender over race or colonial relations. In Australia, the Huggins-Bell debates around speaking positions, the role of academic research and violence against Indigenous women form an important precedent. These debates began after the publication in 1989 of an article by Diane Bell and Topsy Napurrula Nelson titled "Speaking about rape is everyone's business" in the international journal *Women's Studies International Forum*. The publication was challenged by Jackie Huggins and others in a letter to the editors and the subsequent debates have engaged the persistence of racialised knowledges within white feminism (see Ahmed 2003, Moreton-Robinson 2000, 2003, Smallacombe 2004). The central challenge, writes Smallacombe, is "whether feminists and their institutions interrogate their own power base and whether they are willing to move aside to give space for Indigenous women's voices" (2004: 51).

It is partly in response to the dilemmas of confronting both racism and sexism that various feminist scholars have argued for intersectional work (e.g.Yuval-Davis et al 2005: 530). Abu-Lughod asks, "Can we use a more egalitarian language of alliances, coalitions and solidarity, instead of salvation?" (2002: 789). For Adelman et al (2003), the pitfall of multiculturalism and some anti-racism work is "the invisibility of gender in minority communities" which produces outcomes like "the culturalisation and underpolicing of violence against women in minority communities". Yuval-Davis et al (2005: 523) argue that when statutory agents listen to "authoritative" voices of "community leaders", women can become victims of essentialised and homogenised stereotyping. As an alternative, Nira Yuval-Davis has long argued for a "transversal politics" based on situational dialogues:

> Concretely this means that all feminist (and other forms of democratic) politics should be viewed as a form of coalition politics in which differences among women are recognized and given a voice, without fixating the boundaries of this coalition in terms of 'who' we are but in terms of what we want to achieve (1994: 188-9).

A transversal politics thus emphasises issues and common concerns rather than fixed identity categories, aiming to create possibilities for working at the intersection of gender, race and religion. There have been various attempts to intervene with intersectional analyses in the "race debates" in recent Australian politics, including events such as the public forum, "Women Report Violence in a Time of War" (IWSA et al 2001), which was held during the 2001 "border panic" election campaign, and the 2006 conference "Not Another Hijab Row" which gave rise to some of the papers included in this collection (see Ho and Dreher 2009 for a review).

In the Australian context, intersectional politics might also refer to collaborations and dialogues across communities subjected to "othering" and "protection". In an oft-cited essay, Ann Curthoys (2000) described connections between Indigenous and multicultural discourses in Australia as an "uneasy conversation". In closing the "Not Another Hijab Row" conference, Heather Goodall noted that one of the most useful aspects of the conference was that it opened up a space to compare experiences of different communities who had been marginalised, and in particular, examining points of connection between Muslim and Indigenous Australian communities. "Criminalisation, selective policing, demands that people police themselves—these have all been faced by both Aboriginal

communities and Muslim communities at different times", Goodall stated. Tracy Bunda, an Indigenous panellist, asked why people who were racialised in Australia never got the chance to talk to each other, and spoke of her desire to have sustained conversations with Muslim and refugee communities, a sentiment echoed by both Alia Imtoual and Joumanah El-Matrah, fellow panellists (see Dreher and Ho 2007; Ho and Dreher 2009). Indeed, Suvendrini Perera has previously argued that one of the greatest challenges for anti-racist politics in Australia is to develop alliances and analyses across communities subjected to racism, in contrast to the relationships managed by and centred on whiteness. One point of connection explored in this collection is the ways in which representations of violence against minority women and policies to "protect" women often reinforce racist narratives about "barbaric" men and passive women in minority communities.

A crucial challenge for any project of moving beyond the hijab debates is to work at the intersections of secularism, religion and feminism. In the context of the "war on terror", established frameworks of anti-racism and multiculturalism are confronted by the rising influence and visibility of faith communities—including the greater engagement with Islam in the West, but also the rising public influence of conservative Christian churches in Australian political life. Nira Yuval-Davis (1994) maintains that multiculturalism and the left have failed to grapple with the challenges posed by religious fundamentalism. Yet Enlightenment-style secularism has come under sustained criticism (e.g. Connolly 2000; Randell-Moon 2007). For Lila Abu-Lughod (2002: 788), "we need to have as little dogmatic faith in secular humanism as in Islamism, and as open a mind to the complex possibilities of human projects undertaken in one tradition as the other."

Too often the media framing of events such as a Muslim cleric's comments on sexual assault, or violence against women in Indigenous communities, forces an intractable dilemma: if you defend communities experiencing racism then you condone violence against women. With this collection we aim to open up a space where the complexities of these issues can be discussed; so that researchers can, for example, critique the prevailing narratives depicting Muslim or Indigenous men as inherently violent, as well as condemn the violence of men convicted of rape and sexual assault. We aim to provoke *new* conversations rather than tired old debates, and to create a space for those voices that are so often marginalised in Australian public debate—be they the voices of Indigenous women, Muslim women, of critical feminism or of those of us working with intersectional analyses and refusing essentialist constructions

of tradition and community. The collection centres on analyses interested in understanding the challenges and possibilities of tackling both racism and the oppression of women.

The collection attempts to move beyond a number of dilemmas, including a narrow focus on hijab as the "litmus test" of gender relations in Islam, the hegemonic discourse of "protection" and the challenges of developing new possibilities for secularism, cosmopolitanism and recognition in the face of the politics of fear. Chapters showcase compelling analyses of the contested images of "Muslim women", and explorations of gender, violence and protection, and offer innovative possibilities for intellectual and practical understandings at the intersection of gender, race and religion. In contrast to politicians and commentators who often simply assert that "tolerance" and women's equality have been achieved in Western democracies, this book demonstrates ongoing struggles and innovation at the intersection of anti-racism and feminism.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One deals with contested images of "Muslim women", highlighting the complexity of Muslim women's experiences and organising beyond the narrow confines of the "hijab debates". The section showcases innovative research and analysis on the realities of Muslim women's lives in "the West" during the "war on terror". Part Two examines the wider context of the new politics of gender and the continuing legacies of colonialism and masculinist violence. The section contains cutting-edge analysis of violence against women, racist violence and militarised policing at home and abroad, drawing on theories of masculinity, whiteness, gender and nation. The final part highlights possibilities for moving forward in both activism and analysis at the intersection of gender, race and religion. Contributors explore both dilemmas and possibilities for feminism and secularism, negotiating Islamic identities, non-violent masculinities and cosmopolitanism.

The book opens with a chapter by Anne Aly, exploring Australian Muslim women's responses to mainstream media. According to Aly, Muslim women have been positioned in the Australian media in opposition to the values of liberal democracy and the feminist agenda for over two decades. Yet discourses are always sites of struggle where individuals and groups can resist the subject positions into which they are placed. This chapter examines how Muslim women are practising a kind of media activism: disengaging with the dominant messages in the media discourse that present them as subordinate and passive and constructing new narratives of belonging that define their identity in ways that oppose the hegemonic code. It reports on the findings of a qualitative research

project that explored the responses to the media discourse on terrorism among Australian Muslims and the broader Australian community.

Kevin Dunn's contribution in Chapter Two reports on a unique empirical assessment of popular attitudes to hijab in Australia. In contrast to high profile comments by politicians and media commentators positioning hijab as "unAustralian", Dunn finds an impressive level of public support for hijab wearing. This tolerance of hijab drew upon normative statements about the nature of Australian society, including references to freedom of religion, individual liberty and democracy. According to Dunn, these assertions about Australian-ness are largely uncontested; they possess a political robustness, and are political resources that could be deployed more widely in contemporary debates about cultural diversity and national identity.

Chapter Three by Jamila Hussain focuses again on the agency of Muslim women in Australia as they negotiate access to mosques. Hussain argues that a new generation of active, educated Australian Muslim women are no longer prepared to be limited by the conditions of the past. The chapter examines the participation of women in Sydney mosques and Islamic societies, and the attitudes of Imams and religious leaders towards women's involvement in religious spheres that traditionally have been reserved for men.

Peta Stephenson's discussion of Indigenous Australian women and Islam in Chapter Four is a significant contribution to intersectional research. Stephenson asks how, in an environment of recrudescent white mono-culturalism do marginalised communities discover a sense of belonging? Graham Turner (2006) argues that such communities have little choice but to define themselves in terms of resistance and dissidence. Stephenson argues though, that in the case of a number of Indigenous Muslim women, their faith makes possible the forging of a social identity that is not oppositional, and whose sense of belonging is internal to the practices that define it. By various means, including wearing the hijab, engaging with Muslim refugees, and establishing a support network for Indigenous Muslims, these women commit themselves to an open-ended process of community-making and remaking. While recreating community in this way has helped these Indigenous women build new social environments for themselves, it has exposed them to greater criticism and marginalisation from the broader Australian and Indigenous communities.

Part One ends with some short stories by Shakira Hussein that explore non-Muslim women "veiling up", from journalists going "under cover" to Australia's "national headscarf day". In Pakistan after 9/11, many of the female journalists from the international press corps filed stories describing

the "personal insight" into the oppression of Afghan women under the Taliban that they had gained through the temporary donning of a burqa. In contrast, non-Muslim women in Australia initiated "National Headscarf Day" to protest the post-9/11 harassment of Australian Muslim women, especially those wearing hijab. The sight of "independent" non-Muslim women assuming this alien form of dress provoked a deeply hostile response from some commentators. Hussein describes the different meanings ascribed to these examples of cross-dressing, both by the women themselves and by spectators.

Part Two, on "Gender, Violence and Protection" begins with Barbara Baird's analysis of "men behaving badly" in Chapter Six. Baird takes up R. W. Connell's pioneering concept of "hegemonic masculinity" in a discussion of recent (allegations of) bad behaviour by professional footballers in Australia. The chapter details the material and discursive responses to public revelations of abusive behaviour by footballers and finds that when men who embody the hegemonic ideals of masculinity behave badly, a range of strategies conspire to mitigate the behaviour. Baird outlines the value of silence, the value of boys and men, the value of women, of money and of an aberration, to argue that discourses of race and whiteness are central to understanding the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity.

In Chapter Seven, Nicole Watson focuses on the federal government intervention in the Northern Territory. Watson offers a detailed analysis of the legislation enabling the intervention and argues that the surveillance of Indigenous families, and in particular, Indigenous mothers, has been a constant feature of Australian history. From the 1900s, Indigenous women were subject to intense surveillance as a result of protectionist legislation, culminating in the notorious policies of Indigenous child removal. Reports such as *Bringing Them Home*, documenting the forced removal of Indigenous children from their families, have illuminated the tragic consequences of the oppressive regulation of Indigenous family life. Watson's chapter highlights the gendered impacts and the continuing political currency of such authoritarian measures, in spite of the revelations of *Bringing Them Home*.

Paula Åbood focuses on media reporting of the "Bankstown gang rapes" in Chapter Eight. Abood examines the rules that prescribe certain ways of talking about the subject of rape in the public sphere. Through a discursive analysis, the chapter demonstrates how the media presented rape as a manifestation of Arab male bestiality, and in so doing, positioned the spectre of sexual violence as a product of Arab Islamic culture; arguing that the ethnic male body functions as race capital, to produce the

sort of racialised spectacle that is both enabled by and understood within the dominant conceptual frameworks of Orientalist media narratives.

Following this, Chapter Nine by Sharon Chalmers and Tanja Dreher, also begins with the media panic around the "Bankstown gang rapes". Chalmers and Dreher offer a wide-ranging analysis of public discourse around sexual assault to argue that sensationalised reporting of these particular rape cases served both to reproduce the invisibility of sexual violence in Australia, and was shaped by a pervasive heteronormativity. The authors maintain that the categories of gender, race, ethnicity and heterosexuality are in fact intimately linked and mutually reinforcing, such that the national project of "protecting our borders" becomes focused on the paternalistic project of "protecting our women" as reproducers of a white heterosexist narrative.

Judy Lattas in Chapter Ten turns attention to the vital work of education for young women who are negotiating the complex terrain of sexual harassment, gender and race in the wake of the "Bankstown gang rapes" and the Cronulla riots. The chapter is an ethnographic study of adolescent participants in a forum theatre project hosted by some Sydney high schools in 2007. Lattas developed a script for the theatre project, taking up the idea of sexual morality, in its contemporary call upon the (warring) loyalties of gender, race and religion. Her analysis highlights the deep ambivalences and complexities of encounters across multiple axes of oppression (a privileged femininity and a subordinated masculinity) and suggests important possibilities for reworking the scripts of sexual morality, not least through the deployment of humour.

Part Three of the book begins with Alia Imtoual's bold call for "de-orientalising" research in Chapter Eleven. In an era that has seen a proliferation of research about Islam and Muslims, mostly conducted by non-Muslims, Imtoual points to the potential for such research to consolidate Orientalist depictions of Muslims in terms of (male) criminality or (female) oppression. She mobilises feminist standpoint theory to articulate a "Muslim research agenda" that reflects and respects the interests of particular Muslim communities. The chapter challenges all researchers in the field to examine their own practices and calls on Muslims to become more active in research, to take a degree of ownership over the production of knowledge about Islam and Muslims.

This is followed by Barbara Bloch's chapter on interfaith dialogue, an increasingly popular approach for negotiating cross-cultural relations in Australia and elsewhere. Bloch critiques the conflation of cultural and religious identity that has become more common since 9/11, asking whether religion is really at the centre of inter-communal hostilities in

countries like Australia. Her secular feminist response challenges the assumption that ethical values are necessarily founded in faith, and articulates the idea of the "secular sacred".

In Chapter Thirteen, Bronwyn Winter continues the argument for secularism, documenting the continuing, and indeed, increasing, role of religion in the public life of Western democracies, which all too often has the effect of undermining the rights of women and gays and lesbians, as well as non-believers. In addition, Winter innovatively argues that the politicisation of faith harms the faithful, especially Muslims, whose religion is represented in popular debates in narrow and essentialised ways, as hyper-conservative and opposed to modern liberal democracy.

Chilla Bulbeck's contribution in Chapter Fourteen critically analyses popular perceptions of women's rights and culture, using a large-scale questionnaire administered to Australian students, who overwhelmingly associated gender equality with the West, and gender oppression with Middle Eastern and Asian cultures. Bulbeck complicates these simplistic binaries by showing the cultural specificity of concepts like rights and equity, and offers some suggestions for Anglo feminists and Muslim women who wish to recognise each other across difference.

The book closes with Suvendrini Perera's incisive critical model for the institution of citizenship as based neither on singular articulations of "authentic" identity nor on unbounded "denationalised" citizenship. Perera draws on the concepts of "border thinking" and "critical cosmopolitanism" to develop a creative notion of citizenship that exposes the nation's "difference with itself". It is a fitting finale to a volume that, in opposition to the prevailing hardening of identities and demands for cultural "integration", seeks to make space for difference, complexity and creative, alternative visions for identity, citizenship and belonging.

List of Contributors

Paula Abood is a community cultural development worker, writer and filmmaker. She has worked with immigrant and refugee communities over the past 20 years in a diversity of settings. She has written for performance, radio, publications and film. She has completed a PhD titled *The Arab as Spectacle: Race, Gender and Representation in Australian Popular Culture* and is the recipient of a Western Sydney Artists' Fellowship for the project *Race and the City*.

Anne Aly is currently a Post Doctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for Applied Social Marketing Research in the Faculty of Business and Law, Edith Cowan University, Perth. She has previously occupied Senior Policy Officer positions in government and is the current President of Dar al Shifah Islamic Inc. Anne's research interests are in the areas of citizenship, politics, media and fear. Her PhD examined the role of the media and political fear in the fear of terrorism and audience constructions of terrorism among Australian Muslims and the broader community. She has published articles on Australian Muslim identity, terrorism, citizenship and political fear, the representation of Muslim women in the popular Australian media, the fear of terrorism, and Muslim Australian citizenship. She has presented her research at Australian and international conferences and has forthcoming book chapters on the history of terrorism and on border anxiety and the "other".

Barbara Baird is Head of the Department of Women's Studies at Flinders University in Adelaide, a university built on the land of the Kaurna people. Her research has focused on the history and cultural politics of sexuality and reproduction in Australia and the mutually constitutive nature of the politics of sexuality, gender, race and nation. She has recently edited a special issue of *Australian Feminist Studies* on "the child".

Barbara Bloch is a part-time tutor/lecturer and Research Associate in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney. Following a doctorate on the role and effects of Zionism and Israel on the Australian Jewish Community, Barbara's research interests include the diminishing status of official multiculturalism in Australian

politics, the positive and negative ways local, ethnically diverse communities negotiate difference, the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity in current debates, the rise of religion in our public life and the concomitant urgent need to demonstrate the significance of secularism for a civil society. In this context, she is researching the implications of the model of interfaith dialogue as encouraged by government, secular and religious organisations.

Chilla Bulbeck was appointed to the foundation chair of women's studies at the University of Adelaide in 1997, where she is now a visiting research fellow. Her research focus on gender and difference has been published in a number of books, including Re-Orienting Western Feminisms: Women's Diversity in a Post-Colonial World (1998) and "Sex, Love and Feminism in the Asia Pacific: A Cross-cultural Study of Young People's Attitudes".

Sharon Chalmers has wide research interests including gender, sexuality, Japanese studies, children's health care, ethnicity and whiteness studies. She has worked extensively with many community, government and non-government organisations to bridge the gap between research and practice. In addition to this present piece, co-authored with Dr Tanja Dreher, she has recently completed a three-year ARC project involving qualitative and quantitative studies examining the long-term health outcomes for children and their families from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds.

Tanja Dreher is an ARC Postdoctoral Fellow in the Transforming Cultures Research Centre at the University of Technology, Sydney and researches media and multiculturalism with a particular interest in changing journalism cultures, whiteness and gender. Her current project explores the productive possibilities of a politics of "listening" to address some of the dilemmas of the more conventional politics of voice and representation.

Kevin Dunn is Professor in Human Geography and Urban Studies, in the School of Social Sciences, University of Western Sydney. His areas of research include the geographies of racism, Islam in Australia, immigration and settlement, and local government and multiculturalism. He teaches cultural and social geography, migration and urban studies. Professor Dunn's recent articles are published in *Society and Space*, *Ethnicities*, *The Australian Geographer*, *Studia Islamika*, *Urban Studies* and the *Australian Journal of Social Issues*. Professor Dunn's recent books include *Landscapes: Ways of Imagining the World* (2003) and *Introducing*