Papers on Citizenship, Nationhood and Racialisation

“Conceptualising ‘nation’ as a political resource in multicultural citizenship struggles”

Recent years have seen a turn away from multiculturalism in favour of a renewed focus on nation, with societal diversity increasingly discussed alongside ideas of ‘maintaining’ national identity. Despite the centrality of nation both to criticisms directed at, and recent manifestations of, multiculturalism, conceptualisations of nation in multicultural scholarship remain somewhat under-developed, and largely fragmented. Liberal multiculturalist accounts, for instance, tend to engage nation through frameworks of national inclusion; critical multiculturalists, in contrast, are wont to see nation as an exclusionary trope that polices and domesticates difference. As a constellation of social practices, discourses and ways of being in the world, however, it is apparent that the nation is a trope for both inclusion and exclusion, and certainly not a static one at that. While heeding the ever-present dangers of nationalism as a social force, in this paper I lay the conceptual groundwork for thinking about the political possibilities of nation; that is, as a contested and contestable space on which struggles for social justice may take place. If practices and perceptions of multiculturalism are acknowledged as entangled with regimes of national belonging, I argue, then it is possible to conceptualise nation as a useful – albeit always ambivalent – resource and vocabulary in multicultural struggles concerning identity and the expansion of citizenship.

Rachel Busbridge, Freie Universität Germany and La Trobe University, Australia

Rachel Busbridge is an Alexander von Humboldt Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institut für Islamwissenschaft, Freie Universität Berlin, and a Research Associate at the Thesis Eleven Centre for Cultural Sociology, La Trobe University, Melbourne. As a political sociologist, her research interests include the politics of recognition and reconciliation, postcolonial theory, nation, identity and culture, which she has written on in the contexts of Australian multiculturalism and Israel-Palestine. She has been published in Social Identities, Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies and Journal of Intercultural Studies amongst others, and is currently working on a book manuscript entitled Revising the nation: The multicultural politics of recognition and postcolonial citizenship.

‘It’s just the whole package’: Embodied Otherness and Othering

This paper explores the intersection between Islamophobic discourses and ‘the phenomenological experience of incompatible embodiment and everyday ritual’ (Wise 2009) by focusing on encounters between differently habituated bodies at ‘Bayside’, a popular Anglo-majority seaside town in New South Wales, Australia. Based on in-depth interviews with locals, and my ethnographic work at The Entrance between 2013 to 2015, I show how banal speech acts, interpretations of encounters, corporeal attitudes, and practices of exclusion construct the embodied behavior and haptic space of
Lebanese Muslims visitors as threatening and inferior, producing a racialised habitus of Lebanese Muslims. I enroll Ghassan Hage’s theoretical framework on habitus and the field of Whiteness in multicultural Australia to argue that the fields of gender, class, ethnicity, religion and race—evoked in various settings (the beach, cafes, parks)—‘fold’ into (Noble 2013) the field of Whiteness. I show how Lebanese Muslims are situated in a hierarchy of valuation that privileges the different forms of capital possessed by locals to Bayside. Finally, I argue that accounts narrated to me by the participants revealed that their negative affective response to Lebanese Muslim corporeal ‘otherness’ was due to deep cultural conditioning to encounter Muslims from a position as white governmental subjects.

Randa Abdel-Fattah, Macquarie University, Australia

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 ten novels.

‘Wherein the women?’ Gendered notions of citizenship, British South Asian (BSA) Muslim women and a case for the extraordinary...

In a post 9/11 and 7/7 societies, British Muslims have become increasingly centralised in discourses on citizenship and belonging. The ‘hypervisible’ (Archer 2009) Muslim communities face an increased hostile and Islamophobic atmosphere, characterising them as ‘suspicious’ and the ‘fifth column’ in British society. Consequently issues of citizenship and loyalty to the nation have gained increased precedence; yet discourses of citizenship remain highly gendered. Characterised as a largely ‘public endeavour’ performed in a public setting, citizenship experiences of ethnic minority women, for whom citizenship is not only different but unequal (Yuval-Davis 1992), have been largely overlooked. Drawing on empirical research and focussing on the intersectional nature of discrimination faced by BSA Muslim women this paper relates the experiences of citizenship for BSA Muslim women living in Oldham. As the site of race riots in 2001 and the subsequent policy shifts from multiculturalism to ‘active citizenship’, the experiences of BSA Muslim women in Oldham were noticeably absent in policy documents (Ritchie 2001; Cantle 2001).This absence highlights the ‘blind spot’ ethnic minority women occupy within policies of race relations. The public/private dichotomy in citizenship discourses have reinforced gender roles of public ‘active males’ and private ‘passive females’. However this research shows that ‘everyday’ practises of citizenship and belonging are practised on the micro, intimate level in the home through adaptation of food and dress. Highlighting these practises of ‘everyday’ and ‘ordinary’ allows us to explore how discourses of citizenship and ‘anti-citizenship’ impact on notions of ‘belonging’. In seeking to blur private/public distinctions (Lister 2003) this paper draws attention to the understudied nature of ethnicity/gender in discourses of citizenship, as well as providing a means to counter accusations of ‘loyalty’ to the nation.

Rashida Bibi, University of Manchester, United Kingdom

Rashida Bibi is currently an early career researcher working towards a PhD with the University of Manchester, UK. Her research interests include public/private citizenship, gender, ethnicity, intersectionality and the experiences of British South Asian (BSA) Muslim women within institutions
Rashida Bibi then completed a Masters through Research (MRes) with University of Huddersfield (2013), after being awarded a fee waiver bursary from Human & Health Sciences. Her thesis, entitled, ‘Mussafirs of the 21st Century: British South Asian Muslim Women, higher education and changing notions of Britishness’ studied the notions of belonging, citizenship and Higher Education amongst second- and third-generation BSA Muslim women.

She was awarded a studentship in Sociology with the University of Manchester (2014) to pursue doctoral studies. Her current research involves the everyday experiences of BSA Muslim women, intersectionality and religion, gendered notions of public/private space and self.

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**Tensions in the American Dream: Stories of My America**

In the modern world, there is an inherent connection between capitalism/imperialism, white supremacy/Euro-dominance, the emergence of the U.S. nation as a “city on the hill,” and the concept of the American Dream. These have worked in synchrony, supporting the development of the historical world-system aimed toward its contemporary crisis. What is next for these realities? Could an idea that seems so innocent—that of the possibility of a better life—possibly have a dark side? Is the dream imagined, rhetoric or a reality questioned only by those unwilling or unable to achieve it? Do these “tensions” coexist in a bipolar truth? In this paper, I excerpt related dialogues held with over 100 people demographically mirroring the US population. These narratives form “Stories of My America”, that describe its meaning to those who live in it. In the words of respondents, the simultaneous inclusiveness and exclusiveness of citizenship is evident. While this tension exists in all nations, the scale of the phenomenon in the US requires special comment.

**Melanie E. L. Bush, Adelphi University, United States of America**

Melanie E. L. Bush, PhD, MPH, author of *Everyday Forms of Whiteness: Understanding Race in a “Post-Racial” World* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011); second edition of *Breaking the Code of Good Intentions: Everyday Forms of Whiteness* (2004), and other publications and presentations in the US and globally. She is co-author with Roderick D. Bush of *Tensions in the American Dream: Rhetoric, Reverie or Reality?* (Temple University Press, 2015). She is an Associate Professor in Anthropology/Sociology at Adelphi University; and has been active for many years in the struggle for social and racial justice and a more loving world.

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**A Discussion on the Myth of “Mevlânâ” in Modern Turkey**

*Mevlâna Celâleddin Rumi*, a thirteenth-century Sufi leader, is an important religious figure in the Islamic-Sufi tradition. He is regarded as the founder of the Mevlevi Order. On the other hand, Sufism has been officially banned in the Turkish Republic since 1925, which includes all Sufi lodges and rituals, and the Mevlevî order is no exception. Although the public visibility of Sufi practices had been illegal
and Sufism had lost its legitimacy in modern Turkey, commemorations in honor of Mevlânâ were established and recognized by the Turkish state approximately two decades after the launching of secular reforms banning Sufism. Today these ceremonies are held annually and attended regularly by the highest state authorities, including the President and the Prime Minister, making the Mevlevî ritual the only officially-recognized one in Turkey. The first commemoration was held in Konya in December 1942 on the occasion of the 670th anniversary of Mevlânâ’s death where Mevlânâ was presented as “the great thinker of Anatolia”. In this paper, I will concentrate on the intellectual and discursive context that helped legitimize the commemoration of a religious figure. Drawing on Michel Foucault and Edward Said’s theoretical insights, I will analyze the cultural-intellectual debates over the identity of Mevlânâ among the traditionalists, humanists and nationalists, by focusing on the speeches at the first commemoration in 1942.

Burcu Sağlam, Istanbul Şehir University, Turkey

Sociologist Burcu Sağlam received her BA in sociology from Boğaziçi University (2014) with an honorary degree. She is continuing her MA at Istanbul Şehir University where she works as well, as a TA. She has started to write her master’s thesis on the visibility and legitimacy of Mevlevî ritual performances in the modern Turkish Republic. Her research topics are religion, culture, performativity, postcolonial studies, and the history of Ottoman-Turkish music. Sağlam published two articles on music thus far, one in Musiki Magazine (2013) on privy chambers in Beyoğlu, and the other in the Musikişinas Journal (2015), on Mevlevî musicologist Sadettin Heper.

The (Mis)representation of the Middle East and Its People in K-8 Social Studies Textbooks: A Postcolonial Analysis

Critical examinations of cultural groups and the ways in which they are presented in schools are missing from current elementary and middle school curricula. Issues of this nature often fall under the umbrella of ‘multicultural education’ or ‘cultural pedagogy’, but this rhetoric is dismissive in nature. Constructing the non-Western child as ‘culturally deprived’, ‘culturally disadvantaged’, or ‘at-risk’ perpetuates an ‘us/colonizer’ versus ‘them/colonized’ mentality. The purpose of this study was to examine critically how the Middle East and its people are represented in US social studies textbooks. Through the use of qualitative content analysis, ten elementary and middle school social studies books from Florida, Texas, and Virginia were analyzed. Drawing largely from the postcolonial work of Edward Said (1978, 2003), this study unveiled the ways in which US public schools other children, specifically children of Middle Eastern or Arab descent.

Rania Camille Salman, University of North Texas, United States of America

Rania Camille Salman teaches courses in early childhood education at the University of North Texas. She completed her doctoral research at UNT, where she received an Ed.D. in Early Childhood Studies. Her research is centered on reconceptualizing the field of early childhood education, specifically the curricular content and messages portrayed to children through picture books and textbooks. Her dissertation, The (Mis)representation of the Middle East and Its People in K-8 Social Studies Textbooks: A Postcolonial Analysis was completed in 2014. Rania received her B.S. in Education from Baylor University and her M.S. in Human Development and Family Studies from UNT.
The Class-Nation Ambiguity and the Post-Communist “War of Races”

Referencing Marx’s concept of “counterhistory” as a “war of races,” Michel Foucault argued in *Society Must be Defended* that the suppression of memory regarding political sovereignty as a history of an endless “war of races” has been constitutive of the nation-state’s appropriation of biological racism. *Race* has been, virtually forever, for Marx as well as Foucault, a constituting category of political sovereignty, and since the nineteenth century, operated under the concealed face of *class struggle* as a revolutionary category for both Socialist as well as National Socialist states. The fact that the collapse of Marxist regimes in the Balkans in 1990s, until then legitimized by the ideology of class struggle, so quickly morphed into racist regimes, is additional confirmation of the Marx-Foucault’s thesis regarding the constitutive role of “race” in the deliberately, sometimes cautiously occluded concept of state sovereignty.

Dušan I. Bjelić, University of Southern Maine, United States of America

Dušan I. Bjelić teaches Sociology at the University of Southern Maine. His areas of interest are Balkan studies, and critical studies of psychoanalysis and psychiatry. Professor Bjelić is co-editor of *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002). He has also published two single-authored books, *Galileo’s Pendulum: Science, Sexuality and the Body-Instrument Link*, (SUNY Press, 2003); *Normalizing the Balkans: Geopolitics of Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis* (Ashgate, 2011).

‘Parallel emergencies’: Campi Nomadi in Rome and Town Camps in Darwin

This paper focuses on Romani and Aboriginal peoples who live at the margins of Italian and Australian society, often in city ‘camps’ that show signs of institutional abandonment, neglect and extreme decay. In order to address this socio-economic disadvantage and improve the quality of life, the governments of these two countries implemented ‘extraordinary measures’ such as the 2008 ‘Nomad Emergency’ in Italy and the 2007 ‘Northern Territory Intervention’. This paper provides a comparative analysis of such policy initiatives that affect the lives of ‘camp dwellers’ in the cities of Rome and Darwin, where the authors conducted fieldwork. The paper argues that through a mechanism of control these policies conceal and reproduce a ‘tradition’ of institutionalised racism rather than fulfil the requirements and obligations set by international laws that focus on diversity, inclusion and social/cultural justice. Drawing on Agamben’s (1998) work, the paper shows that despite their initial provisional aim, the ‘state of emergencies’ have gradually become ‘the rule’, thus favouring the establishment of ‘authoritarian democracies’ to deal with minorities suffering institutional neglect.

Although Italy and Australia represent and configure quite different geo-political contexts, they do show parallels as well. For instance, the governments of both countries often resort to the implementation of extraordinary measures in order to deal with a number of other controversial social issues (‘boat people’, Muslim minorities, ‘otherised’ communities more in general). In contemporary Australia and Italy, the rise of ethnonationalism and legacies of past colonialism are
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contributing to create an institutional notion of supposed ‘Australianness’ and ‘Italianness’, which is clearly based on the exclusion of Aboriginal and Romani histories. The tendency to minimize the persecutions of the Romani and Aboriginal peoples it is still quite predominant in contemporary Italy and Australia, as it was during the ‘Fascist Italy’ and the ‘White Australia’. This article will argue that the recent authoritarian ‘state of emergencies’, as well as discriminatory laws and policies against immigrants, could all be interpreted as an indirect consequence of the government’s incapacity to deal with a shameful past and its unbroken ties. Rather, a trend to ‘whitewash’ the traces of an inconvenient past is in place.

Riccardo Armillei and Michele Lobo, Deakin University, Australia

Dr Riccardo Armillei is Associate Research Fellow to the UNESCO Chair, Cultural Diversity and Social Justice, based within the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation (ADI). The UNESCO Chair conducts research into democratisation and political transformations applied in the context of Arab Spring countries (with a special focus on Tunisia). Dr Armillei undertook his Ph.D. at the Swinburne Institute for Social Research where he examined the social exclusion of Romani (‘Gypsy’) peoples in Italy. His research interests include forced migrations, minority groups, cross-cultural theories and practices.

Dr Michele Lobo is an Australian Research Council Senior Research Fellow (ARC DECRA) at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Australia. As a social and cultural geographer, Dr Lobo explores meeting places and events that bring together people of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds.

The Practice and Lived Reality of Racialization: the Experience of Ethnic Minorities in Austria

Unlike other western nations where race/ethnicity is an official category, ethnic minorities in German-speaking European nations are re-labelled as ‘immigrants’ due to the atrocities of the Nazi regime. Consequently, ‘in-group-citizenship’ becomes the only official tool of differentiation (Albrecht 2010). Yet, regardless of a person’s ‘in-group-citizenship’, immigrant-citizens in this region have inherited similar baggage of negativity bestowed historically on culturally ‘others’ (Cochhrane and Nevitte 2014). Similar to arguments by the critical theories on the race-crime-link (Du Bois 1903; Gilroy 1987; Philips 2011; Burt et al. 2012), the idea of an immigrant-crime linkage is often used as a ‘sword’ to attack ‘immigrants’ and also used as a ‘shield’ to defend racialized practices (Melossi 2003). Prior studies of discrimination of immigrants-citizens in Austria (Refaire 2002; Wodak and Matouschek 1993; Cochhrane and Nevitte 2014) often treat immigrant-citizens as a homogenous group. Therefore, the race-specific element of discriminatory-practices and attitudes is under-theorized. The focus on ‘immigrant-citizens’ also has the potential to obscure a higher level of racialized practices against certain social groups in relation to others. Drawing from empirical data, this paper proposes that the negativisation and discrimination of immigrant-Austrians are race-graded.

Justice Tankebe, The University of Cambridge, United Kingdom
Dr Justice Tankebe is a University Lecturer in Criminology, and the Director of the Institute of Criminology’s MPhil Programme, University of Cambridge. He holds a BA in Sociology from the University of Ghana, where he also worked as a teaching assistant after his studies. He joined St. Edmund’s College, University of Cambridge, in 2004 to study for MPhil in Criminological Research and PhD in Criminology. He held postdoctoral research fellowships from the ESRC, the British Academy, and Fitzwilliam College. Prior to his current appointment, he was a teaching associate on the Police Executive Programme at the Institute of Criminology, Cambridge.

Suleman Ibrahim, Royal Holloway University of London, United Kingdom

Suleman Ibrahim is a research assistant and a PhD student (EPSRC funded) at the Centre for Doctoral Training in Cyber Security, (co-supervised by the ISG and the Centre for Criminology/Sociology), Royal Holloway University of London. He received an MSc in Criminal Justice Policy from London School of Economics and Political Science and a BSc in Sociology and Psychology from the University of Greenwich. He was the winner of the prestigious University Merit Award in 2013. He has recently authored a book chapter (in press): ‘A Binary Model of Broken Home: Parental Death-Divorce Hypothesis of Male Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria and Ghana’.

Learning from the Subaltern: the Politics of Muslim youth

The post-9/11 moment has witnessed the emergence of a hegemonic order permeated by the politicization 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, Murdoch Childrens Research Institute, Australia

Sumaiya Muyeen currently works at the Murdoch Childrens Research Institute in Melbourne, with a particular interest in research with refugee communities and other vulnerable groups. She recently
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completed her Masters of Social Work, 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 has previously presented on this topic locally. She also actively engages in freelance writing on issues relevant to her community.