STUDIES IN MIGRATION AND DIASPORA

ROUTLEDGE

Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism in Australia

RANDA ABDEL-FATTAH

Introduction

Crudely Islamified mannequin man

In August 2014, Islamophobia claimed its very first mannequin victim.

Sporting a roughly drawn-on beard and *thobe*, his blonde hair slightly exposed under a black turban, the mannequin stands perched in front of a mixed goods store in the Western Sydney suburb of Lakemba. Hovering over a fruit and vegetable stand, 'mannequin man', as he has come to be affectionately known on social media sites among Sydney's Muslim community, was immortalized when he came to the attention of Sydney's tabloid *Daily Telegraph* columnist, Tim Blair, on 18 August 2014.

Blair wrote a 'going native' type opinion piece after venturing out to the south-western suburb of Lakemba, which he dubbed 'Sydney's Muslim land'. The byline to the piece read: 'The Daily Telegraph's Tim Blair spent 24 hours in Lakemba where a pervasive monoculture has erased the traditional Aussie way of life'. The article invoked every possible racial motif regarding Muslims and Western Sydney: Anglo decline; Muslim takeover; Extremism; Trouble hotspot; Monolingual and monocultural ghetto. Visiting a hotel on the main shopping street in Lakemba, Blair lamented that 'the Lakemba Hotel is one of the last Anglo holdouts in Sydney's otherwise Middle-Eastern south-western suburb' in which 'there isn't even a Gideon's Bible'.[1] But it was the choice of images and captions that accompanied the piece that were arguably far more interesting than Blair's tired and regurgitated tropes. The photos included a close-up image of the above mannequin captioned: 'A store dummy crudely "Islamified"'. There was also a photograph of an advertisement for 'mens clothing', picturing a black *thobe*, captioned as, 'A shopfront sign in Haldon St Lakemba showing Islamic clothing'. Another photograph was of a sign with the words 'Allah' and Islamic declaration of faith described as 'A sign in Haldon St Lakemba'. A wide-angle view of 'Haldon St, Lakemba' showed a halal butcher shopfront and a sign with Arabic writing. Another photograph captioned 'Haldon St, Lakemba' was of two veiled Muslim women walking past a halal butcher. Also included was a photograph of a row of Korans, described as, 'Books for sale along Haldon St, Lakemba'.

The banality of these images and captions speaks to their dependence on what Sara Ahmed (2004: 12) theorizes as 'sticky signs' which stick to texts and bodies (mannequins too) as effects of circulation, and which depend 'on past histories of association that often "work" through concealment'. The affective economy and discursive configurations that coalesce around the Muslim objects

Figure I.1 'Crudely Islamified mannequin man' in Lakemba

Source: Author

and spaces indexed by Blair need no elaboration by him. The work done to stick these affective and emotional signs like an adhesive to Arabic words, halal food signs and Islamic merchandise has already been done. Western Sydney, particularly the areas associated with higher Arab and Muslim populations, has been firmly constructed as 'gritty' and a 'Muslim ghetto' in the public imagination, given that it has long been the site of moral panics around 'Middle Eastern'

gangs and 'radicalized' young men (Abood 2009; Dagistanli and Grewal 2012; Collins *et al*. 2000; Daglistanli 2007; Poynting and Mason 2007; Poynting *et al*. 2001; Poynting *et al*. 2003; Poynting *et al*. 2004). The racialization of these suburbs through political and public discourse has invested its Muslim inhabitants with meanings that imagine them as 'other', backward, misogynistic and menacing. Ethnic gangs, radicalization, creeping sharia, and religious extremism, all stick to Lakemba. Blair's images and captions signal essentialized, stereotypical tropes about a suburb that is constructed as opaque, deviant, Muslim takeover (it is no accident that every sign is associated with Muslims, obscuring the ethnic and religious diversity of Haldon Street). The images and captions reinforce Muslim sensory data – bodies, spaces and objects – as non-normative, exotic and always framed by the white gaze. But it is the racialization of a store dummy sporting a beard, turban and *thobe* that so starkly foregrounds how even a *race*less mannequin is infused with the capacity to affect as racially transgressive, as Islamification, ghettoization, segregation, cultural difference and misogyny. Beneath the 'crude' 'Islamified' ornaments, is a mannequin 'of Caucasian appearance'. Blue eyed and blonde haired, the mannequin's true and proper essence is white. The drawn-on beard, turban and *thobe* subvert the universality of whiteness (even among store dummies!) by imposing the particularities of brownness. Thus, even a mannequin is disciplined as an *out of body non-body* because of its visible Muslimness.

I have chosen to start *Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism* with Crudely Islamified Mannequin Man because he arguably signifies the unsettling contradiction between the realities of everyday multiculture and the racialized scripts, fears and preoccupations of Islamophobia. And it is this contradiction that I want to unsettle in this book. Much of the literature on Islamophobia is multidisciplinary and largely devoted to gaining insights into the phenomenon through structural, socio-historical and ideological lenses. Islamophobia tends to be theorized through a top-down, macro-theoretical approach (e.g. Allen 2010; Morgan and Poynting 2012; Werbner, 2005; Kumar 2012; Lentin 2014; Mamdani 2007; Halliday 1999; Rana 2007; Samman 2012; Zebiri 2008; Grosfuguel 2012; Esposito and Kalin 2011; Sheehi 2011). But, I wish to argue, that can only be part of the picture. Less attention has been given to understanding the phenomenon from a 'bottom-up' perspective; to offer a micro-interactional, ethnographically oriented perspective that draws on the sociology of everyday life, and to examine the phenomenological dimensions of Islamophobia. This book argues that just as much attention should be paid to the everyday cultural reality of the phenomenon. It is my contention that scholars of Islamophobia may gain further insight into the phenomenon's 'multiple repertoires' (Sayyid 2014) by attempting to grasp the visceral, atavistic nature of people's fears, feelings and responses to the Muslim 'other' in the everyday sphere of life. The 'everyday' approach does not downplay the significance and role of wider historical, political, social and cultural processes and discourses. While recognizing that people act as 'part of a group, of a community, of discourse users with shared perspectives' (Semi and Columbo 2009: 71), an everyday methodological approach unpeels the layers of discourse, history and socio-political context to focus on Islamophobic praxis.

The essential argument I advance in *Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism* is that Islamophobia must be understood in the context of Australia's histories and logics of racial exclusion, thinking and expression. To make this argument, I rely heavily on Sayyid's (2014) conceptualization of Islamophobia as 'a repertoire' which can be analyzed in terms of its uses and deployments, rather than possessing a singular essence or definition. Sayyid rejects the populist formulation of Islamophobia as hatred and fear of Islam or Muslims and argues that Islamophobia (deployed in various ways and across various theatres) 'occurs as a response to the problematization of Muslim identity' (2014). I therefore seek to examine the problematization of Muslim identity in relation to whiteness in the Australian context. By whiteness, I do not simply refer to a discursive constitution (Hook 2005: 97), but, as Bhabha (1994) describes, as a 'mode of subjectification'. Of course, whiteness as an 'extradiscursive' mode of subject constitution is still 'clearly amenable to the exploitation of various political and discursive systems' (Hook 2005: 97). Nonetheless, there is something to be said about the 'prediscursive' force of the bonds of 'whiteness' (Hook 2005: 97):

> 'whiteness' [is] a constellation of values and investments – 'a relational interplay of attractions and aversions' (Jay 1984, p. 14), to draw on Adorno's notion of the force-field – [which] must be approached as in part a function of affective modes of constitution and affirmation. It is true perhaps that the most recalcitrant and indeed sublime aspects of 'whiteness' are best approached in just such a way, as formations of affect, whether such formations take on the regularised forms of fantasy, or of anxiety, or even of fetishism (see Hook, 2005). Unless we are able to grapple with the vicissitudes of such modes of affective formation, and indeed, with how these modes come to be operationalised as technological elements of broader procedures of governmental logic, we fail to appreciate the tenacity and slipperiness of 'whiteness' in this (post)Empire era.

I thus also want to think about 'whiteness' as 'a mode of subject constitution', a 'constellation of values and investments', a 'direction, stance or orientation' or 'a way of apprehending the world' (Ahmed 2004: 7). Throughout this book, I seek to show how whiteness enrolls a range of specific affective registers, and shapes certain emotional discourses and responses to Muslim bodies, behaviour, things and spaces. There is nothing natural or automatic about encountering others from a white subject position. Noble and Poynting (2010: 501) acknowledge as much when they raise, in a discussion of Ghassan Hage's (1998) concept of governmental belonging (i.e. the feeling that one has a right to the nation and to manage others in the nation), the question of 'how "white" Australians learn to experience the entitlement of … "governmental belonging" as a compulsion to racist action'. How is this capacity acquired and habituated? There are clearly methodological challenges (Noble 2013: 164) in empirically exploring how racialized emotional discourses and affective dispositions are 'learned', and how whiteness produces affects such as a sense of entitlement, anger, indignation, victimization,

superiority, governmental belonging, and so on. I want to suggest that whiteness enrols certain core affective grammars, which, nonetheless, are always situated and context-specific, and inflected by the personal and biographical. This suggests that a productive way of capturing bodies which have 'learned to be affected' by Muslims is through turning our attention to fine-grained, specific moments and encounters. To do so, I draw on an emerging, but fast growing, field of scholarship: everyday multiculturalism (Wise and Velayutham 2009).

Everyday multiculturalism

Wise and Velayutham define everyday multiculturalism as

> a grounded approach to looking at the everyday practice and lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter. It explores how social actors experience and negotiate cultural difference on the ground and how their social relations and identities are shaped and reshaped in the process.
>
> (2010: 3)

Inscribed onto the spaces of what Vertovec (2006) describes as 'super-diverse cities' and spaces are contesting claims about who counts as a 'good' citizen, who belongs, and who is entitled to access urban space and social and political life. These debates throw into sharp relief the problem of how we are to do 'togetherness-in-difference' (Ang 2003). It follows that this approach does not demarcate a line between the 'individual' and the 'institutional'. Essed (1991), in her well-known framework of *everyday racism*, has shown how 'the term individual racism is a contradiction' as 'racism is by definition the expression or activation of group power' (Essed 1991: 37). For theorists of everyday multiculturalism, the 'individual' and the 'institutional', or the micro and the macro, do not represent binary opposites. It is the intersections and bridges between the macro and the micro that form the empirical spaces of observation.

But where is 'the everyday' in a multicultural society? The production of daily reality, of everyday life, occurs 'on the ground, in daily activities and transactions' (Burkitt 2004: 212). It occurs in the 'everyday practices of intercultural encounter and exchange', the site, according to Butcher and Harris, of the 'doing' of multiculturalism (Butcher and Harris 2010: 450). Meanwhile, Watson speaks of 'mundane shared spaces such as street markets, local parks and children's playgrounds … these almost invisible marginal places' as opposed to 'formal public spaces' (2006: 173). For Wise, drawing on Hage's notion of the 'multicultural real' (Wise 2005: 3), the everyday occurs in 'real, lived environments', denoting 'layers of ethnically different individuals inhabiting suburbs and urban environments, corporeally interacting with one another as neighbours, shoppers, workers; rubbing up against one another in a myriad of quotidian situations'.

What is implicit in all these definitions is that everyday multiculturalism is concerned with the encounters that take place between people in urban settings,

indeed urbanized mass societies (Hirschauer, 2005: 42). It looks at 'people-mixing and civic engagement' in the context of our globalized world (Noble, 2009: 49), in the situated, overflowing, banal nature of everyday life (Semi and Columbo *et al*. 2009: 70), what Ulrich Beck terms 'banal cosmopolitanism' (2006).

Research by scholars like Amin (2010; 2012) and Swanton (2010), on the interplay between racial biopolitics and the racialized stranger, has focused on race as 'everyday doing', as something that is *done*, a 'technology of differentiation'. Race becomes a steering device that offers sorting filters, which sense bodily and cultural differences as racial differences. Amin suggests this may be characterized as 'phenotypical' racism, whereby fear, anxiety and hatred are 'pinned' onto the racialized stranger by linking phenotypes that may include Muslim prayer caps, beards, hijab, accent, and baggy trousers, to terrorism, radical Islam, cultural backwardness, and so on. Swanton (2010: 2338) argues that the starting point for analysis is social interaction and the 'lived, affective and embodied dimensions of multiculture'. He theorizes race as a 'technology of differentiation', arguing that race is best understood as an assemblage (rather than a biological construct or epistemological marker). Thus, the racism of assemblages looks at how race operates unconsciously in encounters, sorting human difference through a process that connects materiality and affect. 'Rucksacks, cars, veils, minarets' are infused with the 'capacity to affect as terrorism, segregation, cultural difference, drug dealing, desire, etc.' and 'stick to and arrange human and nonhuman bodies' (Swanton 2010: 2339). In this way, race is about the relationship between sensory data – bodies, things and spaces – and not just the discourses that frame national debates about Muslims and multiculturalism.

If we take, as Swanton suggests, social interaction as the analytical starting point, then we can start to unpack the motivations, feelings and affective dimensions of Islamophobia's actors, and advance understandings of the ways differentiation is performed and operates against Muslims. Amin's work aims to widen discussions on the 'fate of the Western stranger in Western societies', focusing on the racialized other and the multiple ways in which the stranger is construed as an outsider (Amin 2012: 2). I wish to explore, in *Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism*, the multiple ways in which the Muslim is known but produced as a stranger, and mine deep into the thoughts, feelings and motivations of those 'doing' the 'construing', to uncover the biopolitical, behavioural and affective forces at play, specifically in an Australian context. My analysis of the technology of the racialization of Muslims is heavily informed by the work of Amin and Swanton in that I am interested in charting not only what moral panics exist about Muslims, but what such moral panics *do*, how they 'leave an impression', play out through 'interaction in the sorting and judging of bodies' (Swanton 2010: 2344). Put another way, according to Swanton, it is the 'performative repertoires' of moral panics that serve to 'distribute affective intensities' (such as fear, suspicion, and resentment). Swanton speaks of such affective intensities 'sticking to bodies'. It is essential to continue to advance understandings of what suspicions and fears and resentments 'stick' to Australian *Muslim* bodies. Further, which Muslim bodies are more susceptible to being 'stuck'? Do certain social encounters have a

greater propensity to distribute a greater range of affective intensities? Are there spatial variations in the intensity, nature and proclivity of the 'sticking' process? If 'racial summaries' stick to 'bodies, things and spaces', then one must ask not only which bodies, but which things? Which spaces and spatial arrangements? What are the textures of these spaces and things? What history, rituals, scripts and imaginings are imbibed onto these spaces and things, and by whom? For it is implicit that in unpacking the everyday through the 'swirl of the crowd' (Amin 2008: 11), or the 'rubbing up against one another' (Wise 2005: 3), the 'crowd' and the 'one another' will be contingent on context.

There can be no mistaking the importance of studying the impact of prejudice on its victims, but in seeking to examine Islamophobia from the perspective of the perpetrators, this book seeks to shift the focus back onto the concept of majority prejudice. What can those who harbour prejudice tell us about their ways of thinking, feelings, motivations and experiences? What is the experiential world of the 'Islamophobe'? What, if any, gap exists between their values and practices, and how do they reconcile this gap? In recent years, there has been a global explosion of research on Islamophobia in the context of discussions of orientalism, ideology, the War on Terror, securitization, racism, multiculturalism, secularism and so on. My objective, in this book, is to extend the largely secondary analysis to examine how these theoretical paradigms infiltrate the 'everyday', and to offer an empirically grounded Australian perspective on the phenomenon. My ethnography takes seriously the worldviews and testimonies of the people I interviewed, while at the same time subjecting them to critical analysis to explore how they arise from their social relations, and what power relations underlie them and give force to them. Ethnography therefore allowed me to elucidate the linkages between the macrological and the micrological (Herbert 2000: 554) and to put into dialogue literatures on race, racialization and Islamophobia with the thoughts, utterances, banal and quotidian practices, beliefs and rituals that 'constitute and motivate' the people I interviewed (Herbert 2000: 532).

Methodological approach

The bulk of my study concerns the attitudes, feelings and meditations of Anglo Australians, discussed in Chapters 2 to 5. But Chapter 6 addresses the points of view of non-Anglo Australians, both migrants and Australian-born, whose origins range from China, Italy, Malta, Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Vietnam and Eastern Europe.[2] There were two primary reasons that motivated me to widen my research, in order to explore non-Anglo perspectives. First, my curiosity was piqued by what I perceived as a clear presence of non-white supporters of anti-Islam organizations (both in Australia and globally). Second, I want to take seriously the impact of whiteness in Australia on racialized minorities' various problematizations of Muslims. To what extent do the historical and contemporary logics of race thinking in Australia shape how non-Anglo Australians imagine themselves to belong to the nation? How do they understand everyday multiculture and religious freedom? How do their own experiences of racism and exclusion impact on their

affective and emotional responses to Muslims and shape the discursive practices they enroll to make sense of these responses? A focus on Islamophobia as a *lived experience*, from the perspective of Anglo *and* non-Anglo Australians, might approximate a better understanding of the way Islamophobia is enacted, masked, negotiated and practised on an everyday basis, in turn, providing a better glimpse into the complexity and dimensions of race and Islamophobia in Australia

My fieldwork consisted of semi-structured interviews with participants across a range of generational, social and economic backgrounds. The participants were predominantly of Anglo-Australian background. I have grouped my participants in three broad categories: 'political Islamophobes', 'everyday participants' and 'non-Anglo participants'. Throughout my book, I differentiate between these three 'groups' of participants in order to capture the subtleties and ambiguities across the spectrum of attitudes towards Muslims and Islam, and work with a more nuanced vocabulary for unpacking these attitudes. On the one hand, there are those of my participants who are affiliated to different degrees with various anti-Islam movements/groups. To protect their anonymity, I have not identified which organizations they are associated with and refer to them instead with the descriptor 'political Islamophobe'. I do so in order to clearly contrast these participants with my 'everyday participants', who I define as 'everyday' on the basis that they have no connections with any such movements. As individuals in the community, their attitudes range from strongly anti-Muslim, to those who negotiate more complex and ambivalent feelings.

There were two issues that I contended with in my participant recruitment process. The first was the potential sensitivity and 'controversial' nature of my research topic, and the implications of how my research question/invitation was framed. My information sheet described my research topic as 'everyday multiculturalism and Islam in Australia' and invited participants

> to participate in a research study that is aimed at exploring how Australians of diverse backgrounds regard their experience of living in Australia's multicultural environment. [I am] interested in your encounters and relationships with Muslims and your feelings about Islam and Muslims in Australia.

I was conscious of the sensitivities and implications of how I framed my research invitation. Given the purpose of my study was to explore the diverse spectrum of *negative* attitudes and feelings about Muslims and Islam, I did not want to frame my information sheet in a way that encouraged or validated Islamophobia. I considered this to be a probable risk, particularly when I was posting the information sheet on social media sites and various public noticeboards. I was acutely mindful that I might be validating the underlying premise of this problematization in raising it as a topic for research. In any event, it was soon apparent that people holding prejudicial attitudes towards Muslims remained 'hidden populations', as very few people contacted me in response to these public postings. After my first interview – a referral by a colleague to an acquaintance in her wider social networks – I found that snowball sampling and opportunistic techniques were far

more effective in expanding my sample of ‘everyday’ participants. In order to gain access to non-Anglo participants, I contacted various ethnic community and multicultural service organizations and spoke to them directly about the purpose of my research. The vast majority of my interviews were conducted in suburban Sydney and my findings largely speak to a Sydney context. A couple of interviews took me to Melbourne as the interviewees were members of prominent anti-Islam national organizations based there.

I relied on a purposive sampling approach to select interviewees who were associated with anti-Muslim organizations and groups, connecting with people on social media and anti-Islam websites. This approach allowed me to access participants who were forthcoming in their sentiments about Muslims, skewed on the ‘extreme’ or more ‘politically Islamophobic’ end of the spectrum.

The second main issue I had to contend with, in participant recruitment and in conducting my meetings, was my Muslim background and multiple positionalities deriving from my engagement in public advocacy and community ‘representation’ over the years. I embarked on this research with various ‘other lives’ informing the subjectivity I brought to my work. I have been engaged in advocacy work in the area of Muslims, anti-racism, multiculturalism and the Israeli occupation of Palestine over the last 15 years. My anti-racism and anti-Islamophobia positionality is clearly on the public record and I conducted my fieldwork as I negotiated my location in these multiple spaces – as a ‘Muslim media spokesperson’, as an ‘op ed contributor’, as an author and as a ‘Muslim activist’. Indeed, throughout the duration of my research, I continued with my activism in response to the clear escalation of moral panics in Australia around Islamic State, ‘home grown radicalization’, ‘Sharia law’ and halal food, as well as the emergence of a stronger local far-right anti-Islam movement. Specific events that took place during my research included the declaration of a caliphate by Islamic State in June 2014; the largest counter-terrorism raids in Australia in September 2014; the shooting to death of 18-year-old Numan Haider in Melbourne in September 2014 after he stabbed two counter-terrorism officers at a police station – an incident which led to Australia’s terror alert being raised to high; the Lindt Café siege in December 2014;[3] the shooting of a police officer by a ‘radicalized’ 15-year-old boy in Western Sydney in October 2015;[4] and the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015. Throughout these events, which precipitated a number of spikes in Islamophobic media moral panics and attacks on Muslim individuals and property, I continued my public activism, writing and media engagement. Accordingly, some of the participants I interviewed were familiar with my work and public profile. Indeed, following media appearances and interviews, four participants individually sought me out to ‘discuss Islam/Muslims’. I took the opportunity to talk to them about my research and they agreed to be interviewed. In terms of participant recruitment generally, there were a few occasions in which I approached people associated with anti-Muslim organizations and met with skepticism and hostility, based on an assumption on their part that I was interested in debate, not conversation (particularly if they knew of me through the media). After making it clear to them that my purpose was not to engage in debate or ‘defend’ Islam but, rather, seek to gain

an in-depth understanding of their point of view, the interviews went smoothly. At times, where I considered a claim needed to be unpacked or explored more deeply, I did announce to the participants, during the interview, that I would ‘push back’ and play ‘devil’s advocate’, posing a counter-claim to their claim to invite further reflection and admission by the participant.

I must admit that because of my own location within the research – as a non-veiled Muslim woman investigating people’s feelings and thoughts on Muslims and Islam – I often found myself over-compensating by asking initially ‘leading’ questions in order to reassure participants that I was conducting the interviews in a spirit of seeking to understand, not ‘censor’ or ‘debate’. Thus, I often found myself starting interviews with a preamble that explained my own positionalities and social location within the research, pre-empting any possible doubts or hesitations in my participants. In the vast majority of cases, I was surprised by how little impact my Muslim background had on my interviewees. The majority spoke candidly with me and did not seem to ‘hold back’, as I expected.

Because of the sensitive nature of my research topic, to minimize the possibility of linking participants to my study, all quotations of participants’ responses are anonymous and pseudonyms have been assigned to all participants. Some of my high-profile political Islamophobe participants did not mind if I identified them. However, I chose to be consistent in maintaining the anonymity of all the participants and therefore, also allocated them pseudonyms instead of using their real names. As some personal information, such as anecdotes and stories, and professional and cultural background, were specific to some of these participants in particular (especially given their media appearances), various aspects of their personal details were changed throughout the analysis and documentation of findings, to preserve their identities.

Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism was researched and written in the period 2012 to 2015 – before Brexit and before the election of Donald Trump. The book was also finalized before Australia’s June 2016 Federal Election which saw the political resurrection of Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party after 10 years of serial losses. While Hanson had entered Australia’s political scene in 1996 by rallying against Aboriginals, migrants and ‘Asians’, she has since opportunistically re-invented herself on a platform that opposes Islam and is ideologically allied with Trump’s policies. In a climate of increasing hostility towards Muslims and Islam, the reinvention has worked.

When I was conducting my fieldwork in 2012–2014, the ‘political Islamophobes’ I interviewed never mentioned Hanson, One Nation or Trump. While these participants had aspirations for political success or a public profile, they were still loosely organized and on the peripheries of public debates or online blogs. By the time I finalized the book, some of the people I interviewed were increasingly popping up in the media. I recognized their rhetoric and arguments in the speeches and interviews given by Hanson and her candidates. There was a distinct looping and circulation of their ideas among politicians, commentators and journalists. Assertions and conspiracy theories that had been voiced to me by lone individuals over a coffee in suburban cafés were now being mainstreamed

by journalists and politicians in public debates and media interviews. What is alarming about this is how quickly particular Islamophobic rhetoric and discourse has evolved in the short time between me commencing my research and completing it. That Islamophobia in Australia has been emboldened by global events is in no doubt. While the focus of my research is Islamophobia in the Australian context, it is important to never lose sight of the fact that its expressions and logics are situated in a global context. For it is increasingly clear that, as Morgan and Poynting argue in their edited collection *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and Moral Panic in the West* (2012), anxieties and moral panics around 'global' Islam and Muslim minorities in Western societies arise 'structurally from globalization processes' (2012: 3), anxieties around transnationalism (2012: 5), 'global and virtually instantaneous' media, and a politics of fear that 'produces folk devils at the local and national as well as international levels' (2012: xi). The case studies presented from Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands and the United States, in Morgan and Poynting's edited collection, demonstrate how Islamophobia 'permeates the global "West" with a general repertoire of racialization upon which local moral panics continually draw' (2012: 13). The global nature of Islamophobia is something that is also explored by Sayyid and Vakil in their edited book *Thinking Through Islamophobia: Global Perspectives* (2012). While the essays traverse a vast range of approaches, and cut across continents and disciplines (from Russia, China, Turkey, Thailand and India to Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands), there are clear shared logics and patterns in the Islamophobia that is manifested in Western societies in which Muslims are a minority and which are borne out in my own findings. These include the impact of the neoconservative narrative in globalizing Islamophobia, the securitization of policies related to immigration and religious practice, the process of racializing Muslim minorities (Meer and Modood 2012) and subjecting them to cultural racism, the "problemitization of the Muslim presence" (Sayyid 2010: 1), perceptions of an inherent threat posed by Muslims and "moral panics" (Sayyid and Vakil 2010; Esposito and Kalin 2011; Morgan and Poynting 2012). These are part of the global stock upon which Islamophobia in Australia is drawn and which emerge as strong themes in the testimonies of my Australian participants.

I therefore start *Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism* by taking up, in Chapter 1, David Theo Goldberg's (2006) theory of 'regionally registered racisms' to try to offer a 'regional model or mapping' of Islamophobia in Australia, from the origins of the Muslim presence in Australia up until the end of 2015 (when I completed my fieldwork). I seek to trace the spatio-historical conditions, logics and epistemologies that delineate Islamophobia in the Australian context, or, to borrow from Goldberg, articulate and configure Islamophobia based on *racial Australianization*. I offer a survey of major developments and debates around the Muslim presence in Australia in order to set the stage for my exploration of the extent to which these debates impact upon my participants' embodied habits of thinking and speaking about Muslims in the quotidian spaces of everyday life. Chapter 2, 'Muslim religiosity, symbols and spaces', explores the conditions of intelligibility that underwrite my participants' everyday understandings,

presumptions and views about Muslim religiosity. I examine my participants' personal epistemologies of Islam within the context of their everyday lives. Based on my participants' accounts, my analysis coheres around four sites of enquiry: 'outward religiosity', 'violence', 'sharia' and 'gender'. I argue that the shared epistemological commitments and claims that underwrite my participants' intelligibility of Muslim religiosity lay bare the visceral force of the normative claims of secularism. I conclude that when we understand Islamophobia as a 'repertoire', rather than a singular definition, we can start to see its subtle infiltration in discursive practices, epistemic postures and cognitive filters among my participants. Chapter 3, 'Multiculturalism and indigestible Muslims', focuses exclusively on the political Islamophobes among my participants and seeks to unpack the grip whiteness holds in their reflections on multiculturalism, and the racial logics and power relations that underpin their understandings of national identity and belonging in the modern liberal secular state. Enrolling Zygmunt Bauman's (1993) theory on strangers, I interrogate the discursive mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of Muslims deployed by my participants. In order to set the stage for thinking through these issues, I use as a particular case study the controversy that surrounded a proposed session at Sydney's Festival of Dangerous Ideas in July 2014, titled, 'Honour killings are morally justifiable', which was to have been delivered by Uthman Badar, spokesperson for Hizb ut-Tahrir in Australia. In Chapter 4, '"Lebanese Muslim": a Bourdieuian "capital" offence in Bayside', I explore 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. I examine how banal speech acts, interpretations of encounters, corporeal attitudes and practices of exclusion construct the embodied behaviour and haptic space of Lebanese Muslim visitors as threatening and inferior, producing a racialized habitus of Lebanese Muslims. I enroll Ghassan Hage's (1998) 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 and parks) – 'fold' into the field of whiteness. Chapter 5, 'Affective registers and emotional practices of Islamophobia', explores the structures of feeling, tones in argument (Williams 2009: 36), persistent patterns and practices that are stitched into the affective registers of Islamophobia. I focus, in particular, on affective registers and emotional repertoires among my participants in their opposition to halal certification, as well as their suspicions, moral panics and fears in the context of the War on Terror, the December 2014 Lindt Café siege in Sydney, the October 2015 Parramatta shooting and the November 2015 terror attacks in Paris. In Chapter 6, 'When the other otherizes', I examine how Islamophobia is implicated not just in the dominant Anglo group's modes of belonging, but also in the various modes of belonging of racialized minorities. My aim in doing so is to explore Islamophobia's symbiotic relationship with racial Australianization, and the historical and contemporary logics of Australia's racial state. I seek to understand my non-Anglo participants' various modalities of

belonging, the various degrees to which they demonstrate a state of *internalized* oppression/racism, and how this translates into certain affective and discursive postures towards Muslims. In my conclusions, I reflect on the value of focusing on the everyday, interactional domain as a site for unpacking the various modalities, meanings and repertoires of Islamophobia. I argue that by focusing on concrete, mundane, everyday interactions, and the diverse processes and positions at stake among a variety of participants, we can try to capture more textured and nuanced understandings of Islamophobia. These understandings reveal how Islamophobia is implicated in, and symptomatic of, the race-thinking located at the centre of Australia. They also reveal small crevices of ambivalence and flux, moments of pause and suspension that unsettle and question – even if only for a fleeting moment – enduring and overwhelming narratives, ideologies and tools of racist biopolitics (Amin 2012). I therefore end by offering some thoughts on how we might widen these crevices and extend these moments of suspension, in order to disrupt Islamophobia.

Notes

1 In fact, the manager of the pub for the past 20 years is half-Fijian and half-Samoan and, speaking to Crikey, was furious about Blair's article, complaining that it 'rubbished us and our community in Lakemba'.https://www.crikey.com.au/2014/08/26/this-is-our-community-inside-the-real-lakemba-that-blair-ignored/
2 See Appendix for list of participants.
3 In which a lone gunman, a self-styled 'sheikh', Man Haron Monis, took eleven people hostage in the city of Sydney's Lindt Café.
4 In October 2015, a 15-year-old Muslim boy shot and killed an unarmed police civilian employee in front of Parramatta police station.

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