



Australian Journal of Islamic Studies

<https://ajis.com.au>

ISSN (online): 2207-4414  
Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilisation  
Charles Sturt University CRICOS 00005F  
Islamic Sciences and Research Academy of Australia

## *Iftar* at the Train Station

### An Autoethnography of Muslim Cultural Citizenship in Australia

Rizwan Sahib

To cite this article:

Sahib, Rizwan. "Iftar at the Train Station: An Autoethnography of Muslim Cultural Citizenship in Australia." *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies* 5, Iss 2 (2020): 51-70.



Published online: 28 September 2020



Submit your article to this journal



View related and/or other articles in this issue

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at  
<https://ajis.com.au/index.php/ajis/tncs>

## ***IFTAR AT THE TRAIN STATION: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF MUSLIM CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP IN AUSTRALIA***

Rizwan Sahib\*

**Abstract:** This autoethnographic study explores how I am a citizen culturally speaking; that is, my Muslim identity and religious customs are positively recognised by my non-Muslim Australian work-colleague. In our interactions at my workplace—a train station—my colleague’s actions towards me made me feel included within Australian society. I also claimed recognition of my cultural identity and custom by including my work colleague in my Eid celebration. I interpret my colleague’s actions and my own as examples of cultural citizenship. This finding lends weight to the results of previous research that illustrate a positive trend *vis-à-vis* Muslims and Australian citizenship.

**Keywords:** *Muslims, cultural citizenship, Australia, autoethnography, multiculturalism*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Native born Australians tend to take their citizenship for granted.<sup>1</sup> For the first three decades of my life this was true. Born in Canberra and growing up in Sydney during the 80s and 90s, I did not give much thought to what citizenship entails. I simply thought of myself as “Australian.” I listened to songs by Australian artists, idolised Australian sports stars and wore Australian clothing brands. Today, my Australian identity is accompanied by a Muslim identity. As an Australian Muslim, the contemporary Australia of the so-called “Muslim Question” and rising Islamophobia make me reconsider whether I am fully Australian.

In exploring this concern, I am aware of two aspects of citizenship, as pointed out by Galligan: one is a formal sense of enjoying and fulfilling legal rights, such as access to government services and healthcare, and voting and paying taxes; the other is a sense of belonging, of being a “real Aussie.”<sup>2</sup> This article explores this second sense of citizenship. It does so using the concept of cultural citizenship, which pertains to how an individual’s cultural identity and practices are recognised by the wider society in which one is resident.

---

\* Rizwan Sahib is a PhD candidate in the School of Humanities and Communication Arts at Western Sydney University.

<sup>1</sup> Brian Galligan, “Australian Citizenship in a Changing Nation and World,” in *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*, ed. Jatinder Mann (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

This study explores how my Muslim cultural identity and practices are positively recognised by my work colleague, and how this recognition leads me to feeling like a citizen in a cultural sense.

My engagement with citizenship points to the narrative turn to the self in qualitative social science research. This turn is commonly referred to as autoethnography, which refers to studies that use the researcher's life experience as empirical data. Like other ethnographic research, the data is interpreted within a theoretical framework to better understand a social or cultural phenomenon.

The aim of this article is two-fold. First, it seeks to contribute an ethnographic study to the literature on Muslim citizenship in Australia by recording in detail an instance of non-Muslim–Muslim interaction in an Australian workplace. Second, it focuses an interpretational lens on the non-Muslim actor's actions in this space, in addition to the Muslim actor's actions, thereby seeking a better understanding of citizenship as a two-way process.

I begin the next section with a brief history and overview of citizenship in the Australian context followed by a summary of the place of Muslims in Australia. Subsequently, I review the literature on Muslim citizenship in Australia. Following this is an overview of cultural citizenship theory. Next, I explain the article's research methodology. I then narrate the interaction between my colleague and me at my workplace. I analyse this data by using definitions of cultural citizenship. The article ends with a discussion of the implications of its findings for assessing Muslim citizenship in Australia, the Muslim Question, Australian multiculturalism and future research on Muslim citizenship.

## MUSLIM CITIZENSHIP IN AUSTRALIA

A defining moment for Australian citizenship came when politics moved on from the White Australia policy in the 1960s, to open Australia to migrants from outside Britain and Europe. The incoming peoples, mainly from the Middle East and South and South-East Asia, were encouraged to naturalise, and they did so in vast numbers. Alongside these migrants and more recent people from all parts of the world are Aboriginal communities. The outcome today is a culturally diverse nation. The Australian government has responded to this plurality by taking an active role in fostering civic literacy and participation within minority cultural communities, the aim being to build a nation through multicultural integration.<sup>3</sup>

Among those becoming citizens and benefitting from Australia's multiculturalism are Muslim Australians. At just over 600,000 people, the Muslim community makes up only 2.5 per cent of Australia's total population. Despite this small number, Muslims benefit from and contribute to Australian citizenship and multiculturalism in significant ways. Muslims are engaged in community activism, the outcome of Australia's favourable political and legal

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 90; See Anthony Moran, "Multiculturalism as Nation-Building in Australia: Inclusive National Identity and the Embrace of Diversity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 12 (2011), doi: 10.1080/01419870.2011.57308120.

framework.<sup>4</sup> Muslims are also involved in the wider society, being active participants in politics, business, academia, sports and the entertainment industry. To take a few examples, there are parliamentarians at the federal and state level, such as Ed Husic, Mehreen Faruqi and Jihad Dib; former National Bank and Australia Post CEO (now CEO of Latitude Financial Services) Ahmed Fahour; Australian cricketers Usman Khawaja and Fawad Ahmed; and Channel Ten's *The Project* co-host Waleed Aly, who in 2016 was awarded the Gold Logie for Best Personality on Australian Television. Moreover, there is allowance for Islamic practices in public spaces: halal food in school canteens, wearing of *hijab* and *niqab* (i.e. face veil) in educational spaces and workplaces, and congregational prayer in public spaces on events like Eid and *jumu'ah* prayers. Muslims may be married by an accredited Muslim celebrant, be buried according to Islamic custom and be visited by a Muslim chaplain in prison. Universities provide space for a Muslim prayer room, and Muslim Student Associations can host an Islamic Awareness Week on campus and provide free educational material on Islam.

Given these positive trends, it is not surprising that Muslims see themselves as a part of Australian society<sup>5</sup> and see Australia as their home.<sup>6</sup> Rane et al.'s survey of Muslims in Queensland found the majority trust in Australian political and social institutions, believe Muslims should integrate into Australian society and agree that Islam is compatible with democracy.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, non-Muslim Australians positively view their Muslim co-Australians, especially when a participant has factual knowledge of Islam and has had contact with a Muslim relative, friend, neighbour, classmate or work colleague.<sup>8</sup>

Despite these positive trends, some have noted a concern in Australian populist and political circles over Muslim integration.<sup>9</sup> This concern is identified in academic works as the "Muslim Question" – attitudes and discourses that question Muslims' ability and willingness to integrate into liberal democratic societies.<sup>10</sup> In Australia, the Muslim Question finds a

---

<sup>4</sup> Mario Peucker and Shahram Akbarzadeh, introduction to *Muslim Active Citizenship in the West*, eds. Mario Peucker and Shahram Akbarzadeh (New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

<sup>5</sup> John S. Dryzek and Bora Kanra, "Muslims and the Mainstream in Australia: Polarisation or Engagement?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40, no. 8 (2014), doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.849568.

<sup>6</sup> Salih Yucel, "Do Muslims see Australia as their Homeland? The Notion of *Watan al-Asli* and *Watan al-Sukna* in Islam," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2015), doi: 10.1080/13602004.2015.1039813.

<sup>7</sup> Halim Rane et al., "Towards Understanding what Australia's Muslims Really Think," *Journal of Sociology* 47, no. 2 (2011), doi: 10.1177/1440783310386829.

<sup>8</sup> Fethi Mansouri and Matteo Vergani, "Intercultural Contact, Knowledge of Islam, and Prejudice against Muslims in Australia," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 66 (2018), doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.07.001.

<sup>9</sup> For example, Farida Fozdar, "They want to Turn to their Religion. But they should Turn to be Australians': Everyday Discourses about why Muslims don't Belong in Australia," in *Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion*, eds. Samina Yasmeen and Nina Markovic (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014); Geoffrey B. Levey, "Religious Inclusion, Core Values, and the 'Muslim Question' in Multicultural Democracies," in *Muslims in Australia: The Dynamics of Exclusion and Inclusion*, ed. Samina Yasmeen (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Anne Norton, *On the Muslim Question* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013).

voice in the far-right of politics, sometimes manifesting in Islamophobic views.<sup>11</sup> These voices, however, are ultimately drowned out by the wider Australian political body, which has been largely inclusive of Muslim Australians.<sup>12</sup> For example, Pete Lentini finds that Tony Abbott's speeches, interviews and other public statements in late 2014 regarding ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) made attempts to distance the Australian Muslim community from the extremist group.<sup>13</sup> In fact, he sought to embed Australian Muslims within the wider Australian population. Another instance of inclusion was seen in the widespread condemnation of former Australian Senator Fraser Anning's maiden speech in parliament in 2018 during which he called for a "final solution" to Muslim immigration.<sup>14</sup> Then Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, Opposition Leader Bill Shorten, Minister for Citizenship and Multicultural Affairs Alan Tudge, and a whole cast of parliamentarians came forward in solidarity with Australian Muslims, rejecting ideas of banning Muslim immigration.

These instances, alongside the accommodation of Islamic practices and their participation in Australian society, indicate the Muslim Question's main beliefs are untenable and the negative impacts of Islamophobia are limited. Therefore, I posit, while there are some strands of suspicion, prejudice, fear and hate towards Muslims in small pockets of the Australian population, the fabric of Australian society is comprised overwhelmingly by threads of tolerance and respect for Muslims.

The above discussion provides the backdrop that informs the line of enquiry of recent research on Muslim citizenship in Australia. Scholars in this area are careful not to give too much attention to Muslims' negative experiences, as such attention may overlook the mainly positive engagements with Australian society. Thus, recent studies ask the question: How are Muslims practicing citizenship? The remainder of this section reviews the findings to this question. These findings provide the context and direction for the present study.

The literature on Muslim citizenship in Australia shows two trends of citizenship practices. The first involves formal avenues of civic engagement with the wider society – what Peucker and Akbarzadeh define as "active citizenship."<sup>15</sup> Falling into this category are the practices of writing to local newspapers and civic education programmes aimed at

<sup>11</sup> Shahram Akbarzadeh, "The Muslim Question in Australia: Islamophobia and Muslim Alienation," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 36, no. 3 (2016), doi: 10.1080/13602004.2016.1212493; Linda Briskman, "The Creeping Blight of Islamophobia in Australia," *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 4, no. 3 (2015), doi: 10.5204/ijcjsd.v3i2.244; Kevin M. Dunn, Natascha Klocker and Tanya Salabay, "Contemporary Racism and Islamophobia in Australia: Racializing Religion," *Ethnicities* 7, no. 4 (2007), doi: 10.1177/1468796807084017.00571887.

<sup>12</sup> Samina Yasmeen, "The Dynamics of Exclusion/Inclusion: Australia as a Case Study," in *Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion*, eds. Samina Yasmeen and Nina Markovic (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> Pete Lentini, "Demonizing ISIL and Defending Muslims: Australian Muslim Citizenship and Tony Abbott's 'Death Cult' Rhetoric," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 26, no. 2 (2015), doi: 10.1080/09596410.2015.1007605.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Karp, "MPs Widely Condemn Fraser Anning's 'Final Solution' Speech," *The Guardian*, August 15, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/aug/15/mps-widely-condemn-fraser-annings-final-solution-speech>.

<sup>15</sup> Peucker and Akbarzadeh, introduction.

encouraging Muslims to vote in elections. Also present are Muslim civil rights' advocacy organisations such as the Australian Muslim Civil Rights Advocacy Network (launched 2004) and the Muslim Legal Network (launched 2011). In another study, Peucker, Roose and Akbarzadeh's examination of statistical data from the Australian census (2006, 2011 and 2016) identifies a socio-economic elite segment of the Muslim community involved in active citizenship.<sup>16</sup>

Both studies are helpful for showing how Muslims with socio-economic mobility have actively engaged with grassroots organisations and formal social and political institutions. While this strand of activity is important for the sake of societal harmony, it is not the only means or measure of citizenship. Citizenship practices are also enacted by those who are outside the socio-economic elite. With these points in mind, the second type of citizenship practices the literature on Muslim citizenship examines is informal participation in everyday civic spaces by ordinary (i.e. non-elite) Muslim actors. Informal activity includes shopping for halal food and halal loans – what Voloder calls “Muslim consumer citizenship”<sup>17</sup>; blogging, music, poetry and voicing concerns on political issues with friends, family, tutorial classmates and work colleagues – what Harris and Roose term “do-it-yourself citizenship”<sup>18</sup>; and being kind to neighbours and looking after the environment – what Johns, Mansouri and Lobo identify as the intersection between religiosity, citizenship and belonging.<sup>19</sup>

An important theme of these studies is the idea of citizenship taking place within what Roose and Harris term “multicultural civic spaces,” which include “the workplace, volunteering organisations, intercultural social circles and the neighbourhood.”<sup>20</sup> It is in these spaces where Muslims enact multicultural citizenship, a term Roose and Harris borrow from Tariq Modood, but recalibrating his emphasis on activism to a focus on “the everyday, where faith and identity are foregrounded...”<sup>21</sup>

Chloe Patton also points to the intersection of culture and citizenship in her ethnographic research on young Muslims in the state of Victoria, Australia.<sup>22</sup> She examines the ordinary acts – what she calls “mundane acts” – of Muslim citizenship, which include artworks juxtaposing popular Australian symbols with Muslim symbols. Patton interprets this as a claim for belonging to Australian society. Because this sense of belonging comes from

<sup>16</sup> Mario Peucker, Joshua M. Roose, and Shahram Akbarzadeh, “Muslim Active Citizenship in Australia: Socioeconomic Challenges and the Emergence of a Muslim Elite,” *Australian Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 2 (2014), doi: 10.1080/10361146.2014.899967.

<sup>17</sup> Lejla Voloder, “The ‘Mainstreaming’ of Halal: Muslim Consumer-Citizenship in Australia,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2015), doi: 10.1080/13602004.2015.1051753.

<sup>18</sup> Anita Harris and Joshua Roose, “DIY Citizenship amongst Young Muslims: Experiences of the ‘Ordinary,’” *Journal of Youth Studies* 17, no. 6 (2014), doi: 10.1080/13676261.2013.844782.

<sup>19</sup> Amelia Johns, Fethi Mansouri, and Michele Lobo, “Religiosity, Citizenship and Belonging: The Everyday Experiences of Young Australian Muslims,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2015), doi: 10.1080/13602004.2015.1046262.

<sup>20</sup> Joshua M. Roose and Anita Harris, “Muslim Citizenship in Everyday Australian Civic Spaces,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 36, no. 4 (2015): 473, doi: 10.1080/07256868.2015.1049984.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 469.

<sup>22</sup> Chloe Patton, “Multicultural Citizenship and Religiosity: Young Australian Muslims Forging a Sense of Belonging After 9/11,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 35, no. 1 (2014), doi: 10.1080/07256868.2013.864626.

juxtaposing Australian and Muslim cultural symbols, Patton uses the term “cultural citizenship” to interpret this claim.

The general conclusion drawn by these studies is that positive trends involving Muslims and citizenship abound in ordinary civic spaces within Australian cities. Particularly useful for this article’s purpose is the idea of linking informal citizenship practices with the theoretical framework of cultural citizenship. As seen later, this approach informs my interpretation of the interactions between my work colleague and me in an Australian civic space.

Two patterns emerge in the above literature that leave room for further research. The first is they focus only on Muslim actors in civic spaces. The portrayal of those spaces is useful in showing how Muslims are inclusionary agents in involving themselves in Australian society. However, what is left undocumented is how non-Muslim friends, colleagues and acquaintances include Muslims in these spaces. The former group of individuals are somewhat invisible in the workplaces and neighbourhoods reported in the studies reviewed in this section. Investigating the actions of a non-Muslim actor’s actions may provide a more holistic account of citizenship as a two-way process. The second pattern in the above studies is a distant view of civic spaces. The studies lack a “fly-on-the-wall” view of interactions between non-Muslims and Muslims that record exactly what is said and done in these interactions. A close-up view would allow for a clearer picture of the content of ordinary acts of citizenship in everyday civic spaces.

In addressing both gaps, the present study first provides a detailed narration of a non-Muslim–Muslim interaction in a multicultural civic space, and second, focuses the interpretational lens of cultural citizenship on the actions of the non-Muslim actor in this interaction.

## CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

Before turning to cultural citizenship, a few definitions of key concepts. “Culture” as used here refers to values, customs and identities. In this article, culture plays an important role in terms of identity (i.e. Muslim and Australian) and customs (i.e. fasting, *iftar* and Eid). “Citizenship” refers to a formal (i.e. legal) aspect, in the sense of rights and obligations, and an informal aspect that pertains to a sense of belonging (for example, I feel “Australian”).<sup>23</sup>

Australian sociologist Jan Pakulski defines cultural citizenship as “cultural rights” afforded to minorities by the media and public fora. Cultural rights are “the right to symbolic presence and visibility (vs marginalisation); the right to dignifying representation (vs stigmatisation); and the right to propagation of identity and maintenance of lifestyles (vs assimilation).”<sup>24</sup> This definition is useful for calling attention to the inclusion of cultural minorities; however, it limits inclusion to the avenues of media and public discourse. Thus, it

<sup>23</sup> Galligan, “Australian Citizenship.”

<sup>24</sup> Jan Pakulski, “Cultural Citizenship,” *Citizenship Studies* 1, no. 1 (1997): 80, doi: 10.1080/13621029708420648.

may overlook non-Muslim social actors in informal civic spaces and their recognition of Muslim cultural rights. Therefore, I expand the scope of Pakulski's definition to include cultural rights conferred by social actors in everyday civic spaces.

In similar fashion, I draw on and expand anthropologist Renato Rosaldo's conceptualisation of cultural citizenship. He defines it as "the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic process."<sup>25</sup> From this definition, I posit the idea that I have a right to belong to Australian society while being different as a Muslim. However, I go beyond Rosaldo to define participation as occurring not only through democratic processes, but via everyday interactions where one is made to feel like they belong to the national community.

Toby Miller defines cultural citizenship as the "maintenance and development of cultural lineage through education, custom, language, and religion and the positive acknowledgment of difference in and by the mainstream."<sup>26</sup> Miller's use of the term mainstream is useful for my purposes as it can be applied in a broad sense to include ordinary (i.e. non-institutional) agents of inclusion.

In their definitions, Pakulski, Rosaldo and Miller indicate that cultural citizenship involves external (i.e. to the minority group) and internal (i.e. within the minority group) agents. Cultural citizenship is thus something conferred or denied on the one hand and claimed or rejected on the other. This article focuses an analytic lens on both aspects of cultural citizenship. Its focus, however, is heavily on the former to address the little attention given in studies on Muslim citizenship to non-Muslim actor's actions and how they impact a Muslim's sense of citizenship.

In adopting a focus on agents of citizenship outside Muslim communities, I am particularly informed by the work of Jean Beaman.<sup>27</sup> In ethnographic work with second-generation North African immigrants in France, Beaman uses cultural citizenship as an analytic tool to identify how the immigrant group, who are legal citizens, are excluded from French society. Drawing on interviews with members of this group, she reports they perceive that fellow French citizens exclude them due to their ethnic and religious cultural identity. Because they are not regarded as "French," the participants in Beaman's study see themselves as lesser citizens. These findings lead Beaman to conclude the participants in her study are denied cultural citizenship. Thus, she says, "by only focusing on citizenship as a legal status or in terms of specific rights, we miss the full extent of how individuals actually understand

---

<sup>25</sup> Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California," *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 17, no. 2 (1994): 57, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24497930>.

<sup>26</sup> Toby Miller, "Introducing Cultural Citizenship," *Social Text* 19, no. 4 (2001): 2, doi: 10.1215/01642472-19-4\_69-1.

<sup>27</sup> Jean Beaman, "Citizenship as Cultural: Towards a Theory of Cultural Citizenship," *Sociology Compass* 10, no. 10 (2016), doi: 10.1111/soc4.12415; Jean Beaman, "Boundaries of Frenchness: Cultural Citizenship and France's Middle-Class North African Second-Generation," *Identities* 22, no. 1 (2015), doi: 10.1080/1070289X.2014.931235.



their relationship to being part of a citizenry.”<sup>28</sup> This is to say, non-Muslim social actors play a key role in the sense of cultural citizenship experienced by Muslims. I draw on this finding in the present study; however, rather than identify exclusion as Beaman does, I explore how a fellow Australian’s actions make me feel included in Australian society

The advantage of cultural citizenship as an analytic lens is it provides a holistic account of citizenship as a two-way process. As Delanty notes, cultural citizenship sees belonging and identity “as a learning process [in that] citizenship takes place in communicative situations arising out of quite ordinary life experiences.”<sup>29</sup> This view of citizenship is suited to examining the present study’s documented interaction between two Australian citizens in a communicative situation arising out of an ordinary life experience in an Australian workplace. As seen in the later analysis, this interaction became a learning process in that it better informed me about my place in Australian society as a Muslim.

## METHODOLOGY

Why do we autoethnographically write?  
 To place ourselves in history so it doesn’t go behind our backs  
 To perform solidarity  
 To perform community  
 To perform social justice  
 To all and not only to those who look like us  
 Or believe in what we believe  
 Inclusionary social justice or bust<sup>30</sup>

The autoethnographic narrative that provides the data for this study is used to perform solidarity, community and social justice: it is solidarity in affirming my friendship with my colleague; it is community in forging close ties with a member of my in-group (i.e. work colleague and “Australian”); it is social justice in taking an inclusionary attitude towards my place in Australian society and giving credit to that society for enabling a multicultural environment of inclusion.

The method of using the researcher’s life experience as data is defined in social science research as autoethnography. Chang posits that “autoethnography should be ethnographic in its methodological orientation, cultural in its interpretive orientation, and autobiographical in its content orientation.”<sup>31</sup> In meeting these criteria, this article first collects data from fieldwork at a train station; second, it aims for an understanding of the phenomenon of Muslim citizenship in Australia through an approach to citizenship as cultural; and third, it uses as primary data my personal interactions with my work colleague.

---

<sup>28</sup> Beaman, “Citizenship as Cultural,” 855.

<sup>29</sup> Gerard Delanty, “Two Conceptions of Cultural Citizenship: A Review of Recent Literature on Culture and Citizenship,” *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1, no. 3 (2002): 65.

<sup>30</sup> Marcelo Diversi and Claudio Moreira, “Performing Between Autoethnographies Against Persistent Us/Them Essentializing: Leaning on a Freirean Pedagogy of Hope,” *Qualitative Enquiry* 22, no. 7 (2016): 582, doi: 10.1177/1077800415617208.

<sup>31</sup> Heewon Chang, “Autoethnography,” in *Autoethnography as Method* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 48.

I have chosen autoethnography as a method because it merges with my aims to document a personal experience with a social actor in a multicultural space of Australian society. As Chang notes, “autoethnography is becoming a particularly useful and powerful tool for researchers and practitioners who deal with human relations in multicultural settings.”<sup>32</sup> Autoethnography encourages understanding of the self and its relation to others in one’s social sphere. It thus coincides with another aim of this study: to better understand how the actions of my work colleague relate to me and what my response to these actions entail in terms of my citizenship status.

Chang says that “individual stories are framed in the context of the bigger story, a story of the society, to make autoethnography ethnographic.”<sup>33</sup> I situate my life experience, documented in this study, within the bigger story of Muslim citizenship in Australia. This article has the modest aim of examining one tiny chapter in the hope it can provide insights about the wider story.

A key component of autoethnography is the emotions evoked in the researcher during fieldwork. Zempi and Awan say, “the goal [of autoethnography] is not just to capture emotional and evocative content but rather to develop a broad critical analysis of any given social phenomenon through it.”<sup>34</sup> In their autoethnographic study on Islamophobia, Zempi and Awan’s negative emotions in response to Islamophobic acts towards them in the field give them better understanding of how Islamophobia impacts Muslims. The present study also explores emotions engendered in the field and how they impact my experience and understanding of cultural citizenship.

As part of this autoethnography, I provide the following information about my work colleague and me. I am an Australian born citizen and Muslim by birth. My colleague is an Australian born citizen of Christian background. He and I work as station staff at neighbouring train stations. For confidentiality, I have used pseudonyms for my colleague and his partner. I also have not mentioned his ethnicity nor named the stations at which we work.

The interactions between my colleague and me took place this year in the month of Ramadan and a few days after Eid-al-Fitr (the celebration of the end of Ramadan). They occurred at the train station where I work. *Iftar* is an Arabic word derived from the word *futūr*, which means breakfast. *Iftar* differs from *futūr* by referring specifically to the breaking of a fast at the time of sunset.

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>34</sup> Irene Zempi and Imran Awan, “Doing ‘Dangerous’ Autoethnography on Islamophobic Victimization,” *Ethnography* 18, no. 3 (2017): 369, doi: 10.1177/1466138117697996.

## IFTAR AT THE TRAIN STATION

4:50pm

I am on the platform blowing leaves, when I hear a voice call out from the concourse.

“What’s happening mate?” Peter bellows.

“Ah, not much, just getting rid of these leaves,” I respond.

“I got you some food,” Peter says raising the white box, which he is holding.

Peter had visited the station the previous day. We usually have a coffee when he visits, which is around once a fortnight. Yesterday I informed him that I could not partake in our regular ritual for the next few weeks because it is Ramadan and I am fasting. Peter acknowledged this by saying “Ramadan Mubarak” – a general greeting Muslims give each other upon the arrival of this sacred month of Islam. We laughed at his attempt at pronouncing these Arabic words. I said “thank you” to show I appreciated his attempt. I also told him that I can eat around 5pm. Today, Peter returned with food for me to break my fast. I stop what I am doing and go up to meet him.

As per our last conversation, Peter thought that *iftar* was at 5pm. I had given him this approximate time unaware that he would bring food for me. Now I explain to him that the time for breaking fast depends on the setting of the sun each day. Sunset for today is at 5:05pm. We decide that I should finish my work. I open the office door, so he can sit down. I return to the platform to finish blowing the leaves.

5:05pm

“C’mon mate time to feast!” Peter cries out as I return to the office.

I sit down and open the box. “Wow! What are these?” I ask, bewildered by the goodies on display.

“They’re just a few things from the patisserie down the road. Have one, see how you like it,” Peter replies.

I put my hand into the box and eagerly grab a cannoli – my face beaming with joy. I am finally able to break my fast after 12 hours with no food and drink, and I am extremely grateful for this surprise *iftar* and the company. I put the cannoli in my mouth and bite off a piece. It is very sweet and the cold custard is refreshing. I find myself smiling at this kind act. “Thank you, Peter, this is great, I am so happy you brought me this,” I say.

“No worries, mate,” Peter replies.

We get down to having a casual chat. Usually we talk about work, for example, incidents on the public transport network, or COVID-19, which has become a global pandemic. Today, however, the topic is Ramadan.

“How’s the fasting, mate?” Peter asks.

“It’s pretty easy this time of year to be honest, because the weather’s cooler and the days are shorter.”

“What do you mean?”

“Each year, Ramadan starts about three weeks earlier than the previous year as we follow the lunar calendar, which is about three weeks shorter than our normal calendar.”

“Ah, I see.”

“Yeah, over the years Ramadan moves through the seasons, so in winter we have it easier with shorter days, but if Ramadan falls in the summer it means a 15 hour fast in the heat.”

“That must be tough.”

“Sure is! I think since I was a kid, I have experienced Ramadan twice in the summer. It was funny when I was younger because I used to cheat by sneaking into our kitchen’s pantry and having chocolates and odd bits of food. I’m pretty sure my parents knew. Other days I just asked mum or dad if I could eat or drink something because I was so hungry and thirsty.”

“So, you can’t have anything, not even water?”

“Nope, nothing.”

“See, you do the real fasting. We also have fasts, but you’re allowed to have water.”

We continue to discuss differences in fasting, then move on to chat about our usual topics: work and general news. Shortly thereafter, Peter checks his phone and says it time for him to leave.

“Finish the rest, Rizzy,” Peter quips. We say goodbye.

Later, when it is time for me to lock up the station, I pack the box of food Peter brought to take home to my partner. I am very happy and upbeat about the interaction with Peter.

*Two weeks later*

“Riz, you’ve gone all out!”

“Of course, it’s Eid!”

I have invited Peter to the station office to have some Indian sweets. The occasion is Eid al-Fitr, the celebration that signals the end of the month of Ramadan.

While visiting my parent’s home on Eid a few days earlier, I noticed my mum had made some extra Indian sweets. She had specifically made extra for me to take to work and share with my colleagues, reminding me that Eid is to be celebrated by sharing with neighbours and friends. Later that day, my wife handed me a basket of baklava, which she had bought to be shared with my colleagues. I felt like Muslim Santa taking these goodies to work.

Peter pours over the box of sweets, smiling from ear to ear. “Mate, this looks too good. Which one should I have?”

“Hmm, this one,” I say pointing to a *barfi*. He takes the square shaped sweet in his fingers and bites into it.

“Yeah, not bad,” he nods.

We settle down to have a chat, each of us taking a few sweets from the box. After about 20 minutes, Peter says it is time to head back to his home. He raises the box of sweets to his head like someone holding a prize. “I’m gonna take this round to my local shops and ask them what they think’s inside. I bet ya they’ll say it’s cannoli. Wait till I open the box and they see these!”

“They might think you’ve robbed an Indian!” I snort.

Peter and I have a chuckle. We say goodbye and he leaves. About an hour later, I receive a phone call from Peter.

“Hey Peter, what’s up?”

“Rizzy, listen, I’ve got someone here who wants to say hello.”

“Ok.”

“Hello Riz, it’s Linda, Peter’s partner.”

“Hi Linda.”

“I just wanted to say how lovely the sweets are. Thank you, I’m really enjoying them.”

“No worries. Your husband is a good man – anything for him!”

I hear Linda and Peter have a chuckle. Linda passes the phone back to Peter.

“Hey Rizzy, I’ll catch you later this week. Coffee – my shout. Thanks again!”

“No worries. Look forward to it.”

### *Postscript*

Reflecting now on the interactions with Peter and his partner, I remember immediately afterwards feeling a sense of deeper connection with Peter. His bringing me food for *iftar* in Ramadan brought us closer: it prompted us to receive and share. It showed a sense of respect and appreciation for my cultural difference. I was even happier inviting him for Eid and surprising him with sweets. Now I felt a significant personal connection to him. This feeling was augmented when Peter called me by phone and put his partner on to speak to me.

## ANALYSIS

Peter's actions and my feelings about them speak to the definitions of cultural citizenship. Toby Miller defines cultural citizenship as "positive recognition in and by the mainstream."<sup>35</sup> When I told Peter that I was fasting because it is Ramadan, rather than indifference or even prejudice, he responded by bringing me food. This is a sign of positive recognition; hence, an example of cultural citizenship.

Peter's positive recognition of my minority cultural practices in an Australian civic space signals an acceptance of me as Australian. This acceptance speaks to Jean Beaman's conceptualisation of cultural citizenship. For her, cultural citizenship is linked closely to the *cultural* dimension of identity, which comprises values, customs, traditions and practices.<sup>36</sup> One is granted or denied cultural citizenship depending on whether these aspects of one's identity are accepted as part of mainstream society and identity; for example, as "French" or "Australian." In my case, my Muslim identity, customs and practices were accepted by Peter. His actions indicate to me that I can be Australian while being Muslim. This feeling of being Australian while at the same time practicing Islamic custom in an Australian civic space is what I identify as cultural citizenship.

Jan Pakulski says cultural citizenship includes "the right to propagation of identity and maintenance of lifestyles (vs assimilation)."<sup>37</sup> Peter's act of bringing me *iftar* validated me being Muslim and religious in my daily life at my workplace. He did not make me feel that I must shed my identity and forego religious activity to "fit-in." Pakulski further defines cultural citizenship as "the right to symbolic presence and visibility."<sup>38</sup> The box of food Peter brought for *iftar* made visible my fasting and symbolically represented the practice of *iftar*. That it was held by a non-Muslim Australian made me feel that the practices of fasting and *iftar* are part of mainstream Australian society. Similarly, Peter made visible my celebration of Eid when he proudly held up the box of sweets I had given him. When he said that he would show it to others, this indicated he was not ashamed to partake in Eid celebrations. Peter's recognition of my Muslim identity and custom, and my own practice of celebrating Eid at the train station represent, respectively, the conferring and claiming of cultural citizenship.

When Peter said "Ramadan Mubarak" in his Australian accent I felt that two cultures were brought together. This situation is seen in Patton's study in which a participant constructed an artwork image of himself and his Muslim friends in front of his car – a Holden – which had the number plate "ITS ALI."<sup>39</sup> The participant made the following comment: "having a Holden, which is an Australian car, with all the ethnic people in front of it, sort of bringing two worlds together..."<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Miller, "Introducing Cultural Citizenship," 2.

<sup>36</sup> Beaman, "Boundaries of Frenchness," 43.

<sup>37</sup> Pakulski, "Cultural Citizenship," 80.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Patton, "Multicultural Citizenship."

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 118.

Patton says, “in order to enact oneself as a citizen, particularly in the cultural sense, one has to develop the feeling that one rightfully belongs to the polis.”<sup>41</sup> Peter bringing me *iftar* increased my sense of belonging to Australian society. Therefore, two weeks later, I felt confident enacting myself as a citizen by inviting him for Eid sweets. Reciprocating Peter’s act by inviting him to have sweets supports Voloder’s findings on Muslim consumer citizenship.<sup>42</sup> Her study found the offering of halal products by mainstream grocery shopping outlets augments Muslims’ sense of belonging to Australian society. Muslims reciprocate the outlets’ actions by eating at those places.

Wise and Ali find that “work also provides the opportunity for unstructured socialising once collegial relations are established.”<sup>43</sup> Peter and I were able to engage the way we did in Ramadan due to months of prior collegial relations at the train station. During this time, we had numerous chats and bought each other coffee from the local cafes. We never spoke about religion; our conversations centred on incidents related to work and other general news like the New South Wales bushfires and the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, I already felt some sense of familiarity with Peter. This period of rapport building facilitated the more personal exchange of cultural citizenship in Ramadan and after Eid.

When Peter and I spoke on religious custom, the underlying impetus for our conversation was a sense of belonging or citizenship. That is, my intention in informing Peter of Islamic tradition was to enrich his knowledge of me not only as a Muslim, but as his fellow Australian. I would thus label the dialogue in the previous section as “citizenship talk” – the attempt by individuals to bridge a gap (e.g. social, economic or cultural) so the outcome for both is a heightened sense of connection to each other and belonging in the same national in-group.

With these points in mind, this autoethnography supports Roose and Harris’ findings that work and neighbourhood civic spaces are “organic, unmanaged, multicultural spaces that lie at the heart of Australian citizenship” that “operate as sites of productive multicultural citizenship practice.”<sup>44</sup> Peter and I were able to foster intercultural ties due in large part to the train station being an informal, unmanaged space. Moreover, Harris and Roose report that, for Muslim participants in their study, “employment was not simply an indicator of formal participation, but workplaces were everyday sites for civic communication and exchange.”<sup>45</sup> Through my interactions with Peter, culminating in our *iftar*, my workplace became a safe place for communication, cultural exchange and religiosity. It allows for what Roose and Harris term “mixing.” They find, for Muslims in Australia, “recognition is not sought through

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>42</sup> Voloder, “The ‘Mainstreaming’ of Halal.”

<sup>43</sup> Amanda Wise and Jan Ali, *Muslim Australians and Local Government: Grassroots Strategies to Improve Relations Between Muslim and Non-Muslim Australians* (Sydney: Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, Macquarie University, 2008), 71.

<sup>44</sup> Roose and Harris, “Muslim Citizenship,” 483.

<sup>45</sup> Harris and Roose, “DIY Citizenship,” 805.

protest and struggle but gained through ‘mixing’ and through individual relationships.”<sup>46</sup> It was through mixing with Peter at the train station that my Muslimness was recognised.

My emotional response to the data in this study shows that “feeling valued and that one is viewed positively is pivotal to a sense of belonging to the wider community.”<sup>47</sup> Peter’s actions make me feel that my religious custom is valued. Thus, it validates my Australian citizenship in a cultural sense. This sense of citizenship echoes Nyhagen’s study, which found that “identity, belonging, participation and care, rather than status, rights and duties” are the way that Muslim and Christian women define “citizenship.”<sup>48</sup> The interactions with Peter at the train station affirm that citizenship involves “respect, tolerance, love and care for others.”<sup>49</sup> Indeed, these were the mediating variables in how Peter and I dealt with each other on the day he brought me *iftar* and the few weeks afterwards when I invited him to have sweets.

The above points are in line with the definition of cultural citizenship developed by Renato Rosaldo. In his ethnographic work with Latino immigrants in North America, he finds that members of this group evaluate citizenship not only in legal, political and economic terms, but also by whether they are afforded “human dignity, well-being, and respect in everyday life.”<sup>50</sup> Rosaldo defines this seeking of enfranchisement in everyday life as “micropolitics that seeks cultural citizenship in one’s plural communities—neighbourhoods, workplaces, churches, activist groups...”<sup>51</sup> When Peter brought me *iftar* and later asked me “how’s the fasting, mate?” I felt a sense of his caring about my wellbeing. His acceptance of my sweets for Eid also signalled respect. Thus, the station office became a scene where the micropolitics of belonging play out.

The opportunity to share a religious custom with Peter brought us closer and thereby is an act of mutual inclusion: Peter included me by bringing me *iftar* and taking interest in how my fasting was going; I included Peter by informing him of Islamic custom and inviting him for Eid sweets. The meaning of our actions is captured by Samina Yasmeen’s statement that “the use of culture as a marker of difference is paralleled by efforts to understand and learn about the differences that open the space for understanding.”<sup>52</sup> The conversation between Peter and me about Islamic and Christian customs of fasting and Islamic lunar calendar signal a mutual effort to bring about greater understanding of and for each other.

Our conversation shows how Islamic custom can be the topic of an ordinary chat, which two Australians of any or no faith in a public space might undertake. The chat about fasting

---

<sup>46</sup> Roose and Harris, “Muslim Citizenship,” 479.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 478.

<sup>48</sup> Line Nyhagen, “Conceptualizing Lived Religious Citizenship: A Case-Study of Christian and Muslim Women in Norway and the United Kingdom,” *Citizenship Studies* 19, no. 6-7 (2015), doi: 10.1080/13621025.2015.1049979.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 777.

<sup>50</sup> Rosaldo, “Cultural Citizenship,” 57.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>52</sup> Samina Yasmeen, “Introduction: Muslim Citizens in the West: Promoting Social Inclusion,” in *Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion*, eds. Samina Yasmeen and Nina Markovic (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 4.



and the Islamic lunar calendar made me feel an ordinariness or normality about my cultural practices. It is this feeling of ordinariness in contrast to stigmatisation and marginalisation that this section has identified as cultural citizenship.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study sheds light on my experience with citizenship in Australia. The interaction at the train station make me feel like a citizen in a *cultural* sense, as my religious practices are recognised as having a place in a mainstream civic space of Australian society. Peter bringing me *iftar* was a gesture of respect for my being Muslim. This study thus supports previous research on Muslim citizenship that shows interactions in multicultural civic spaces between non-Muslims and Muslims are imbued with mutual respect and care. It also contributes new findings on how the actions of agents outside the Muslim community positively impact Muslim citizenship status.

To these ends, this article provides much needed empirical data on non-Muslim–Muslim interactions. Applying the interpretive lens of cultural citizenship enables an understanding of how religious custom and identity are involved in citizenship practices: Peter granted me cultural citizenship by bringing *iftar* and I claimed cultural citizenship by inviting him for Eid sweets.

Moreover, the focus on Peter’s actions towards me and mine towards him provides the opportunity to see how citizenship is a two-way process. This is to say, while an individual may enact citizenship on their own, their citizenship status can be greatly enhanced by the actions of another social actor.

The conversation between Peter and me about the Islamic lunar calendar and changing times of Ramadan shows Islam is not a taboo subject to be hidden in private and discussed only with Muslims. On the contrary, mutual sharing brought about deeper understanding for Peter about why I break my fast at a certain time. For me, it provided a sense of being heard and understood. This mutual sharing normalised my practice of Islam, indicating Islam has a place in Australian society.

These findings debunk assumptions of the Muslim Question that Islam and Muslims are barriers to social cohesion in liberal democratic societies. They support the idea that “frames of a Muslim ‘question’ and ‘problem’ that have defined debates about citizenship for the past decade, reach their limits when interrogated at the level of everyday citizenship.”<sup>53</sup> The everyday interaction documented here shows that Islamic practices can lead to a positive outcome of cultural exchange. Therefore, the Muslim experience in Australia should not be defined through a prism of political marginalisation. Akbarzadeh’s following statement elaborates this point:

---

<sup>53</sup> Roose and Harris, “Muslim Citizenship,” 469.

For every case of political alienation and extremism in Australia, there are hundreds of examples of harmony and understanding. Political alienation in no way defines Muslims in Australia, and for the most part, Muslims have had a strong record of fitting in.<sup>54</sup>

In other words, to define Muslims only through their negative experiences limits the horizons of their citizenship. Rather, Muslim citizenship should be broadened to include cultural aspects of citizenship as documented in this paper. The cultural domain of citizenship is one through which Muslims can show how they fit in, are Australian and foster harmonious ties with social actors outside the Muslim community.

Future research could focus further attention on the positive experiences of Muslims in informal civic spaces. Such research may find useful a cultural citizenship lens. Through cultural citizenship, we can explore and analyse how cultural exchange such as the one documented in this study fosters inter-community (e.g. Muslims and non-Muslims) and intra-community (e.g. Australians) cohesion. Such research can give equal attention to the actions of non-Muslim and Muslim actors' actions in civic spaces to explore the content of citizenship as a two-way process.

Before ending, it is necessary to say a few words on Australian multiculturalism, as it made possible the *iftar* at the train station. The *iftar* showed that multiculturalism is, as Roose and Harris say, “firmly entrenched in Australian society” and “so too are multicultural civic spaces where the everyday work of integration, participation and recognition routinely takes place.”<sup>55</sup> The station office became a multicultural space where Peter and I participated in Islamic customs, where we recognised each other as worthy of mutual respect and care. Voloder's assessment is relevant here:

The multicultural secular paradigm promotes the ethnic and religious diversity of the populace, making the freedom for public expression of religious identification “visible” in public spaces...Visibility in this instance is a form of recognition of different cultural practices and identities of citizens.<sup>56</sup>

The food that Peter brought for *iftar* made visible my religious identification, thus recognising my religiosity. This visibility and its positive consequences – i.e. my sense of belonging – is what I have defined in this article as cultural citizenship.

To end this study, I return to my earlier consideration of whether I belong to Australian society. The interaction with Peter leads me to answer this question in the affirmative in that I am a citizen in a cultural sense. A key factor here is the *ordinary*. Peter and I constitute ordinary citizens interacting in an everyday civic space. Thus, we fall into the category of people “in the middle” that is of increasing interest in research on Muslim citizenship. This study adds two more voices to the chorus of the ordinary. My hope is that more non-Muslims and Muslims across Australia continue to share *iftars* each year, thus building bridges of cultural citizenship over which future generations of citizens can travel.

---

<sup>54</sup> Akbarzadeh, “The Muslim Question,” 330.

<sup>55</sup> Roose and Harris, “Muslim Citizenship,” 473.

<sup>56</sup> Voloder, “The ‘Mainstreaming’ of Halal,” 234.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Akbarzadeh, Shahram. "The Muslim Question in Australia: Islamophobia and Muslim Alienation." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 36, no. 3 (2016): 323-333. doi: 10.1080/13602004.2016.1212493.
- Beaman, Jean. "Boundaries of Frenchness: Cultural Citizenship and France's Middle-Class North African Second-Generation." *Identities* 22, no. 1 (2015): 36-52. doi: 10.1080/1070289X.2014.931235.
- Beaman, Jean. "Citizenship as Cultural: Towards a Theory of Cultural Citizenship." *Sociology Compass* 10, no. 10 (2016): 849-857. doi: 10.1111/soc4.12415.
- Briskman, Linda. "The Creeping Blight of Islamophobia in Australia." *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 4, no. 3 (2015): 112-121. doi: 10.5204/ijcjsd.v3i2.244.
- Chang, Heewon. "Autoethnography." In *Autoethnography as Method*, 43-57. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Delanty, Gerard. "Two Conceptions of Cultural Citizenship: A Review of Recent Literature on Culture and Citizenship." *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1, no. 3 (2002): 60-66.
- Diversi, Marcelo, and Claudio Moreira. "Performing Between Autoethnographies Against Persistent Us/Them Essentializing: Leaning on a Freirean Pedagogy of Hope." *Qualitative Enquiry* 22, no. 7 (2016): 581-587. doi: 10.1177/1077800415617208.
- Dryzek, John S., and Bora Kanra. "Muslims and the Mainstream in Australia: Polarisation or Engagement?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40, no. 8 (2014): 1236-1253. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.849568.
- Dunn, Kevin M., Natascha Klocker, and Tanya Salabay. "Contemporary Racism and Islamophobia in Australia: Racializing Religion." *Ethnicities* 7, no. 4 (2007): 564-589. doi: 10.1177/1468796807084017.00571887.
- Fozdar, Farida. "'They want to Turn to their Religion. But they should Turn to be Australians': Everyday Discourses about why Muslims don't Belong in Australia." In *Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion*, edited by Samina Yasmeen and Nina Markovic, 87-104. Burlington: Ashgate, 2014.
- Galligan, Brian. "Australian Citizenship in a Changing Nation and World." In *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*, edited by Jatinder Mann, 79-96. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Harris, Anita, and Joshua Roose. "DIY Citizenship amongst Young Muslims: Experiences of the 'Ordinary.'" *Journal of Youth Studies* 17, no. 6 (2014): 794-813. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2013.844782.

- Johns, Amelia, Fethi Mansouri, and Michele Lobo. "Religiosity, Citizenship and Belonging: The Everyday Experiences of Young Australian Muslims." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2015): 171-190. doi: 10.1080/13602004.2015.1046262.
- Karp, Paul. "MPs Widely Condemn Fraser Anning's 'Final Solution' Speech." *The Guardian*, August 15, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/aug/15/mps-widely-condemn-fraser-annings-final-solution-speech>.
- Lentini, Pete. "Demonizing ISIL and Defending Muslims: Australian Muslim Citizenship and Tony Abbott's "Death Cult" Rhetoric." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 26, no. 2 (2015): 237-252. doi: 10.1080/09596410.2015.1007605.
- Levey, Geoffrey B. "Religious Inclusion, Core Values, and the 'Muslim Question' in Multicultural Democracies." In *Muslims in Australia: The Dynamics of Exclusion and Inclusion*, edited by Samina Yasmeen, 30-55. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010.
- Mansouri Fethi, and Matteo Vergani. "Intercultural Contact, Knowledge of Islam, and Prejudice against Muslims in Australia." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 66 (2018): 85-94. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.07.001.
- Miller, Toby. "Introducing Cultural Citizenship." *Social Text* 19, no. 4 (2001): 1-5. doi: 10.1215/01642472-19-4\_69-1.
- Moran, Anthony. "Multiculturalism as Nation-Building in Australia: Inclusive National Identity and the Embrace of Diversity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 12 (2011): 2153-2172. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2011.57308120.
- Norton, Anne. *On the Muslim Question*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Nyhagen, Line. "Conceptualizing Lived Religious Citizenship: A Case-Study of Christian and Muslim Women in Norway and the United Kingdom." *Citizenship Studies* 19, no. 6-7 (2015): 768-784. doi: 10.1080/13621025.2015.1049979.
- Pakulski, Jan. "Cultural Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 1, no. 1 (1997): 73-86. doi: 10.1080/13621029708420648.
- Patton, Chloe. "Multicultural Citizenship and Religiosity: Young Australian Muslims Forging a Sense of Belonging after 9/11." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 35, no. 1 (2014): 107-122. doi: 10.1080/07256868.2013.864626.
- Peucker, Mario, and Shahram Akbarzadeh. Introduction to *Muslim Active Citizenship in the West*, edited by Mario Peucker and Shahram Akbarzadeh, 1-7. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Peucker, Mario, Joshua M. Roose, and Shahram Akbarzadeh. "Muslim Active Citizenship in Australia: Socioeconomic Challenges and the Emergence of a Muslim Elite." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 2 (2014): 282-299. doi: 10.1080/10361146.2014.899967.

- Rane, Halim, Mahmood Nathie, Ben Isakhan, and Mohamad Abdalla. "Towards Understanding what Australia's Muslims Really Think." *Journal of Sociology* 47, no. 2 (2011): 123–43. doi: 10.1177/1440783310386829.
- Roose, Joshua M., and Anita Harris. "Muslim Citizenship in Everyday Australian Civic Spaces." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 36, no. 4 (2015): 468-486. doi: 10.1080/07256868.2015.1049984.
- Rosaldo, Renato. "Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 17, no. 2 (1994): 57-63. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24497930>.
- Voloder, Lejla. "The 'Mainstreaming' of Halal: Muslim Consumer-Citizenship in Australia." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2015): 230–244. doi: 10.1080/13602004.2015.1051753.
- Wise, Amanda, and Jan Ali. *Muslim Australians and Local Government: Grassroots Strategies to Improve Relations Between Muslim and Non-Muslim Australians*. Sydney: Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, Macquarie University, 2008.
- Yasmeen, Samina. "Introduction: Muslim Citizens in the West: Promoting Social Inclusion." In *Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion*, edited by Samina Yasmeen and Nina Markovic, 1-14. Burlington: Ashgate, 2014.
- Yasmeen, Samina. "The Dynamics of Exclusion/Inclusion: Australia as a Case Study." In *Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion*, edited by Samina Yasmeen and Nina Markovic, 15-31. Burlington: Ashgate, 2014.
- Yucel, Salih. "Do Muslims see Australia as their Homeland? The Notion of Watan al-Asli and Watan al-Suknain Islam." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2015): 191-202. doi: 10.1080/13602004.2015.1039813.
- Zempi, Irene, and Imran Awan. "Doing 'Dangerous' Autoethnography on Islamophobic Victimization." *Ethnography* 18, no. 3 (2017): 367-386. doi: 10.1177/1466138117697996.