in schools. Ethnic gang rapists. Domestic violence in Indigenous
Polygamy. Sharia law. It seems that in public debates around the
ns about marginalised communities often revolve around issues of
omen's rights. Yet all too often, discussions about complex matters
simplistic debates such as "hijab: to ban or not to ban?" or "Muslim
ssed or liberated?".

1 provides a space for in-depth analyses on the politics of gender,
;ion. As well as critical reflections on images and experiences of
:n, chapters also explore the relationships between gender, violence
1, and offer innovative possibilities for intellectual and practical
; at the intersection of gender, race and religion.

ng for scholars and students of gender and women's studies, cultural
and ethnic studies, religious studies and an educated public interested
ng the challenges and possibilities of tackling both racism and the
women.

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gender. Her current project explores the productive possibilities of a
tening' to address some of the dilemmas of the more conventional
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fechnology, Sydney. She researches migration, cultural diversity and
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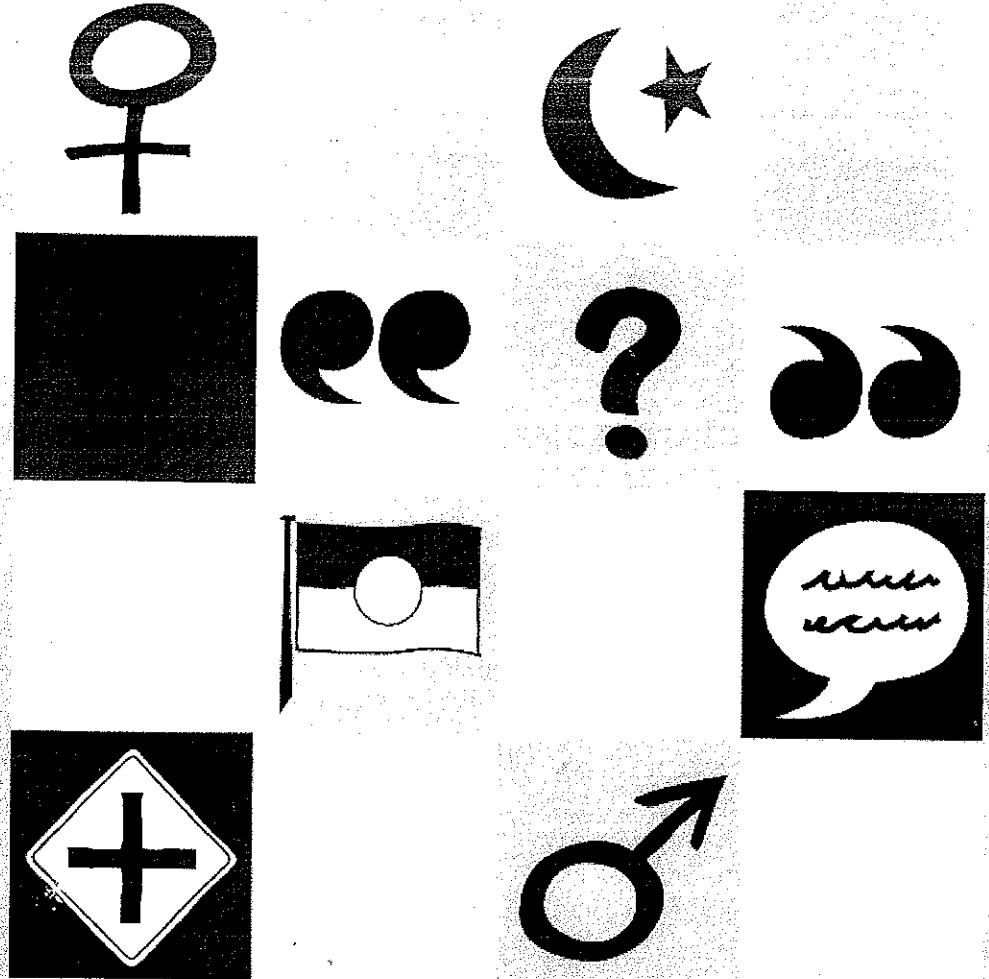citizenship in Western Sydney, and models of community relations
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BEYOND THE HIJAB DEBATES
NEW CONVERSATIONS ON GENDER, RACE AND RELIGION

EDITED BY

TANJA DREHER AND CHRISTINA HO

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New Conversations
on Gender, Race and Religion

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CHAPTER NINE

SAFEGUARDING MASCULINITY, PROTECTING "OUR" BORDERS: THE BANALITY OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN AUSTRALIA

SHARON CHALMERS AND TANJA DREHER

Since 2001, the "ethnic gang rapes" committed around the Sydney suburb of Bankstown have been repeatedly invoked in public debates about multiculturalism, Australian values and the "war on terror". These rapes were sensationalised not only because of the public outrage at the viciousness of the attacks but also because they were repeatedly, symbolically tied to other contemporary political events—both local and global. The perpetrators and the assaults were characterised as both foreigners and foreign to Australian life and values. The public discourse around these events has been analysed in terms of the racialisation of crime (Poynting et al. 2004; Manning 2004) and more recently, a growing scholarship has focused on questions of gender and masculinity (Serisier 2006, Grewal 2007, Baird 2009 forthcoming, Abood in this collection). In this chapter we extend the analysis of "stories that are constructed about this crime" (Wilcox 2005: 516) to highlight two interrelated concerns. Firstly, we explore the ways in which public discourse on the "Bankstown gang rapes" has in fact served to reproduce the invisibility of everyday sexual violence in Australia. Secondly, we argue that these discourses reflect not only processes of racialisation and the normalisation of male sexual violence, but that crucially, they are shaped by a pervasive heteronormativity. Indeed, we maintain that the categories of gender, race, ethnicity and heterosexuality are in fact intimately connected and mutually reinforcing, such that the national project of "protecting our borders" becomes focused on the paternalistic project of "protecting our women" as reproducers of a white heterosexist national narrative. Within this account,

as other feminist theorists have previously noted, interracial sexual contact is the most dangerous and intimate of all border crossings (Nagel 2003; McClintock 1995; Frankenberg 1995; Davis 1981).

The banality of sexual violence and the "normative practices of heterosexuality"

Let's not get too carried away, Berta. We don't have Anglo-Saxon kids out there raping women in Western Sydney (Broadcaster Alan Jones in the lead-up to the Cronulla riots, December 2005).

For all the public attention and liberal rhetoric about women's rights, the enormous media and political debate around the Sydney gang rapes has actually illuminated remarkably little about the prevalence and the persistence of sexual violence against women in Australia. Since the 1970s, different approaches have been taken up by state and federal governments toward sexual violence but these interventions have tended to focus on domestic violence and on addressing the harm and trauma caused after sexual assault rather than focusing on education and preventative measures (Carmody and Carrington 2000). The dominant discourse that surrounds rape and which is articulated by media, politicians and social commentators is generally one in which women continue to carry the burden and remain the sole agents of change. The change required is manifest as a proactive stance, one where women should no longer feel like victims but instead enter the public domain of the court room and stand up for themselves: an act which inevitably involves reliving the trauma of rape. In other words, the spotlight has still not shifted onto those who exercise sexual control through violence, that is, the perpetrators of rape, or, onto the broader social context in which sexual crimes occur.

Rape has generally become normalised and rather unremarkable in Australian society (Carmody and Carrington 2000: 343), for the most part "a non-event" (Serisier 2006: 79) and this banality, Homi Bhabha suggests, is "based on a conspiracy of both knowing and not knowing" (1993: 245). Some rapes, however, are noteworthy, and feminist scholars have analysed the ways in which rapes are defined in public discourse as "real rape", a "rape event" and "exceptional rape" (Estrich 1987; Stubbs 2002). As Serisier asserts, this is in contrast to rapes that occur between known perpetrators and victims and which are scrutinised by police, courts and the media through a different lens, one which is "just part of the 'ordinary' interactions of heterosexuality" (Serisier 2006: 80). A comment

by Justice Bollen in South Australia describing sexual assault in marriage as "rougher than usual handling" is one infamous example (Law Report 2001). In setting up a private/public heterosexist discourse that attempts to measure which rape is more damaging, the victim and the subsequent reportage of the rape within the public sphere become pawns in media and court judgments. Indeed, two recent studies undertaken by the Australian Institute of Criminology found that over 70 per cent of rapes are unreported and only one in ten reported sexual assaults result in a guilty verdict (Taylor 2007). What was particularly noteworthy in this research was the following finding:

> [J]uror judgements in rape trials are influenced more by the attitudes, beliefs and biases about rape which jurors bring with them into the courtroom than by the objective facts presented, and…stereotypical beliefs about rape and victims of it still exist within the community (Taylor 2007: 1).

Indeed, these attitudes seem to be internalised at a very young age. A survey undertaken among Australian school and university students found that among the younger secondary student cohort, boys in particular held ambivalent attitudes towards female rape victims and their so-called "role" in sexual assaults (Xenos and Smith 2001: 1113-1115). Just as importantly, the binary of rape "events" and "non-events" mentioned above perpetuates one of the most enduring myths about rape. That is, it reinforces the false belief that only "real rapes" matter because they "threaten women from 'outside'", occurring in a "foreign" location, "and that [they are] performed by 'other' men" (Serisier 2006: 80). The initial headlines announcing the "ethnic gang rapes" as a "new race crime" and a "rape menace from the melting pot" (Chulov 2001: 1) suggest that it was the "race angle" that made these crimes a "real event" (see Abood in this volume). The assumption that perpetrators of sexual violence are of low socio-economic status has been challenged by researchers who convincingly argue that rape has more to do with gender, sexuality and power than it does with class (Carmody and Carrington 2000: 343). They argue that sexual violence is not the sole providence of the unemployed or working class, but rather as hooks suggests, "[s]howing aggression is the simplest way to assert patriarchal manhood, men of all classes know this" (hooks 2004: 49; Carmody and Carrington 2000: 343).

So why have the Sydney gang rapes resonated over such a long period? It is the political, material and symbolic evocation of this particular "axis of evil" that is, ethnicity, gangs and rape—that is so quickly and carelessly equated with essentialised notions of untamed,

unbridled, aggressive, ethnic (read Middle Eastern) masculinity. This is in stark distinction for example, to the gang rape of several women by Australian footballers whose hyper-masculinity and heterosexuality as sports icons is celebrated (as Baird discusses in Chapter 7 of this volume). Moreover, the ethnicities of the Canterbury-Bankstown Rugby League team footballers accused of gang rape in 2004, were not linked to the alleged assaults but on the contrary, their democratic rights were invoked through claims of "innocent until proven guilty" while their actions were couched in terms of "just boys letting off steam" or "boys will be boys".

In contrast, the connection between the ethnicities of both the Bankstown rapists (guilty) and their victims (innocent) became directly associated with the crime and subsequently applied to "their" broader communities. That is, the guilt of the rapists spread to the Muslim and Arab communities, while the innocence of the young women spread to encompass that of all White Anglo-Australian women (despite the fact that four of the women were from diverse cultural backgrounds, they were nevertheless represented as "White"; see Abood in this collection). The high profile radio "shock jock" Alan Jones exemplified this extrapolation of a single event onto a community by stating, "out of control Lebanese gangs are showering their contempt for Australia on these young girls" (quoted in Media Watch 2002).

Women's bodies, women's dress

What is evident in recent Australian public debates around sexual violence and women's rights is a remarkable similarity of focus among the "debaters" on women's bodies and women's dress. Underlying this conversation is a common morality in which women's sexuality must be protected, scrutinised, defended and kept under surveillance. What we demonstrate below is that ethnic and reproductive borders—whether symbolic or physical—are intertwined within the trope of the white, heterosexual (national) family, while "other" families threaten the boundaries of an imaginary, unified nation state (Puri 2004: 129; McClintock 1995: 357). Patricia Hill Collins argues that in the US, and we assert similarly within the Australian context, the impact of the intervention of state policies into women's sexuality and reproductive choices—both morally and economically—are racialised, class-based and inevitably, highly politicised (Collins 1998: 77).

Unlike representations of the "Asian" female as always in a state of sexual passivity (Ong 1994), "the Muslim woman" is seen as both oppressed and the cause of the unbridled aggressive hyper-masculinity of

Muslim men. The main point is that in whatever form these "others" are represented to be, it is always both highly gendered and sexualised. Muslim women are constructed as emblematic of everything that is supposed to be "wrong" with patriarchal Islam, which is assumed to be threatening, foreign, oppressive, backward and uncivilised. Muslim women are both innocent and guilty at the same time. Portrayed as innocent, they are caricatured as at the behest of "their" men who all subscribe to brutish patriarchal norms and who demand they cover themselves so as not to appear sexually attractive to other men, particularly Western men. Moreover, dangerous, as was suggested by the Reverend Fred Nile of the conservative Christian Democratic Party, who asserts that the greatest terror Australians face is the bomb under the burqa. Not surprisingly, following at close second on Nile's list of subversives who threaten Australian (family) values are gays and lesbians. Nile is well-known for his objection to the annual Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras and in 2003, he left the Uniting Church in protest at the decision to ordain gay and lesbian ministers, explaining:

> God, the creator, laid down a play for Creation. In the beginning, he created male and female and intended them to have sexual relationships within marriage. God never intended male and male to have sex or female and female and that's why it is prohibited in the Old Testament and the prohibitions are repeated in the New Testament (ABC Radio 2003).

The "cultural fixation on Muslim women's dress" in Australia, Canada and France results in an absence of safe cultural spaces in which to participate in the public arena as both religious and political beings such that Muslim women may indeed have no room "to express their multiple affiliations" (Shachar 2005: 80). Joumanah el Matra (2005) argues that Muslim women have been reduced to speaking only on hijab in public debate, while Shakira Hussein (forthcoming 2008) analyses the "double bind" or "catch-22" dilemma for Muslim women seeking both to address gender inequality within their communities and to avoid fuelling racism against the community when it is under attack. As Bullock and Jafri argue:

> Whether in the guise of the exotic Oriental beauty, the veiled and oppressed victim, or the scarf-wearing, gun-toting fundamentalist fanatic, this constant linkage of Muslim women to hijab, and hijab to oppression/violence, reinforces the Orientalist paradigm of Muslims as un-[Australian] (2000: 37).

Equally, some high profile Muslim leaders fabricate representations of white Anglo-Australian women as being provocatively alluring, sexually active and promiscuous, tantalising men into enacting their uncontrollable urges (Aly 2007). It does not take much to see the similarity on both sides of these arguments.

In analysing the torture conducted at Abu Ghraib, Jasbir Puar reminds us that the long history of Orientalism constructed the Arab or Muslim Other as *both* sexually repressed *and* perverse. "The Orient" she asserts, "is the site of carefully suppressed animalistic and perverse homo- and hyper-sexual instincts" (2005: 19), while during the "war on terror" the "Muslim terrorist" is marked as "queer, animalistic, barbarian and unable to control his (or her) urges" (2005: 18). Indeed, this "knowledge" underpinned the development of the torture techniques deployed at Abu Ghraib. According to Puar, the focus on "gay sex" and the assumed Muslim "taboo" on homosexuality that has dominated public debate on Abu Ghraib, "pre-empts a serious debate about rape" (2005: 26) and conceals homophobia in "the West" (2005: 24). This discursive device operates within a white masculinist narrative that posits rape as an aberration unrelated to everyday "civilised" heteronormativity. As we shall demonstrate, the public discourse in Australia which has linked incidents of gang rape in Sydney to wider concerns around immigration and the global "war on terror" has similarly worked to marginalise debate about sexual assault and to normalise "an aggressive heterosexual patriotism" (Puar 2002: 117).

Media and political leaders routinely explain the sexual aggression of the Sydney gang rape perpetrators by, in and through the bodies of both Muslim and Anglo-Australian women. The mainstream media and politicians then took this discourse and extrapolated it into depicting "Australian values" as pure and untainted, being polluted by ethno-sexual border crossings. Mainstream responses to the "Lebanese gang rapes" were reduced to a dominant discourse that portrayed recent immigrants, particularly those from an Arabic-speaking background, as violators or invaders of "the homeland". It is no coincidence that the language of "home", "violence" and "self-defence" are used interchangeably when discussing the protection of national as well as sexual borders. In Australia, border protection is directly associated with the more obvious concerns of national sovereignty and both are deeply implicated within the institutionalised privilege of white heterosexual masculinity.

The stories constructed around the "gang rapes" increased the already fermenting racial panic and ethnic divisions across ideological, spatial and sexualised boundaries. This image, compared to when white men rape, is

broadened so that the sexual threat to white women becomes a national rape of the Australian way of life and needs to be fought against, "a war against (sexual) terror". When a group of people is singled out based on a violent event, it is easy to default into a defence mode in which ethnic solidarity is reinvented and reinforced. The refusal of all sides to challenge patriarchal power relations again displaces the focus of this case and shifts the burden of blame/shame onto how some Muslim women and Australian women choose to dress—debating "bikinis and burquas" (Lattas 2007). The media, politicians and the peak Muslim associations alike used both Anglo and Muslim women, what they wear and where they go, as representing either side of the Christian/Muslim dichotomy of honour/shame, by replicating their respective hierarchies of gender, social class, sexuality and nation.

Paula Wilcox asserts a strong relationship between race, ethnicity, sexuality and dominant representations of innocence and guilt in the prevalent discourses of violent crimes by non-White perpetrators. Innocence is associated with the accompanying implications of "goodness, purity and virginity" (2005: 521) thereby invoking female subjectivity in terms of dichotomies such as those of dammed whores and God's police (Summers 1975) or saints and sluts (Cossins 2003). Politicians and media alike, while never overtly stating the dualism, inferred through language choice that the victims of the Sydney gang rapes were sexually innocent, naïve, worthy of "our" (male) protection. For example, newspaper columnist Paul Sheehan made much of the victim's virginity and sensible underwear (as opposed to a g-string) in his description of Tegan Wagner's gang rape ordeal (see Albury 2006). This is in contrast to women who set out for a night where flirting, sexual assertiveness, drugs and alcohol may be involved. In other words, the gang rape victims were portrayed as blameless compared to women who "ask for it" or who "are up for it" (Carmody and Carrington 2000). Similarly, in the alleged gang rape by the Bulldogs football team, the victim was portrayed as "an immature and disturbed woman" (cited in Baird, 2009 forthcoming). In both the latter cases, ultimately it was the women whose judgement and sexual actions were taken as suspect and questionable.

Given that thousands of women are raped, including gang raped, every year in Australia, what is remarkable is not that this crime had exhaustive exposure but rather that other rape crimes do not, simply because they are not linked to "ethnic crime". This is despite the fact that an ethnicised, gendered and hyper-heterosexualised body perpetrates them, albeit unmarked. This has become patently obvious with the recent Australian Federal Government intervention into Aboriginal communities in the

Northern Territory in an attempt to stop the sexual abuse of Indigenous women and children (see Watson in this collection). While there is no argument against implementing strategies to shift this culture of abuse, it is not unique to these communities. In analysing the infamous series of gang rapes in Sydney during 1886 known as the Mt. Rennie Outrage, Kate Gleeson points out there is nothing new or unfamiliar about the legacy of gang rape in colonial Australian history (2007: 171). However, the focus of the federal intervention has been solely on Aboriginal male perpetrators, whereas there is ample evidence to suggest that the rape of Aboriginal women is perpetrated equally by White Anglo men, including many reports of women raped in custody. Indeed, the *Little Children are Sacred* report used to justify the Northern Territory intervention raised concerns about the prevalence of sexual abuse of Aboriginal children and young people by non-Indigenous itinerant workers in mining communities. However, when the colour of the perpetrator is White and the victim is Black, both the crime and the victim tend to be ignored (Razack 1998). In a Human Rights report on Racist Violence in Australia, it was made clear that in many of the rapes reported, "sexist abuse was contextualised by race" (Behrendt 2000; Moreton-Robinson 2000).

Wilcox further argues that similarly in Britain, everyday representations of Black and White bodies are historically and culturally already imbued with complex race and gendered dimensions, which are reflected in the political and media discourses of the day. Racialised or ethnic "exceptional violence", she suggests, allows authorities to persuasively argue for severe punitive measures to be meted out alongside a "guilt by association" rationale that links these crimes to "open-door" immigration policies. A similar political and public response occurred in Australia from 2001, with more restrictive immigration laws, attempts to excise Australian territories to prevent asylum seekers from making refugee claims and, most recently, the introduction in 2007 of a "Citizenship Test" with questions focused on "Australian values".

The notion of "exceptional violence" not only justifies harsh punitive measures, it produces an unmarked discourse of "normal", everyday or acceptable violence, as the prevalence and persistence of sexual violence in Australia is rendered invisible by claims that women's rights and gender equality have been secured. As mentioned earlier, this negation of the increasing levels of sexual violence was evident in the responses of politicians to widely reported abhorrent comments made by Sheik Hilaly, then Mufti of Australia, likening women without hijab to "uncovered meat" inviting and inciting sexual assault. In an editorial in the tabloid *Daily Telegraph*, then Prime Minister John Howard wrote:

Treating women as equals is an Australian value that should be embraced. Australians generally do not tolerate women being treated in an inferior fashion to men. There are some societies that do not treat women equally. Migrants from those societies must be fully prepared to embrace Australian attitudes towards women. We are an egalitarian nation that prides itself on the concept of a fair go, our equal treatment of men and women, our parliamentary democracy and free speech (Howard 2006).

The work of Michaele L. Ferguson (2005) on the relationship between feminism and US President George Bush's security rhetoric in the post 9/11 era throws some light on the way John Howard, and more generally the mainstream media, redeployed and transformed the liberal feminism of the 1970s and 80s for their own moral and political purposes. This was achieved by using a familiar but different frame, which Ferguson refers to as a feminised rather than feminist rhetoric (2005: 12), which extols the virtues of women's rights and freedom by way of "a discourse of chivalrous respect for women" while simultaneously reinforcing the notion of civilised and uncivilised societies. In a similar strategy, Howard invoked the Australian presumption of egalitarianism, women's rights and democracy yet, through this process demonised and ostracised whole communities. The obsession by the government and media with demonising "others" depoliticises the banality or the everyday acceptance of rape within broader Australian (and US) society.

In Australia, researchers have analysed the prevalence of war imagery in the reporting of crime in Bankstown (Poynting and Noble 2003) and of asylum seekers (Saxton 2003) even before September 11, 2001 and the advent of the "war on terror". Numerous incidents of "border panic" around asylum seekers arriving in Australia have focused on women, children and parenting. For example, the "Children Overboard Affair", during which federal government ministers claimed that asylum seekers had thrown their children into the open sea to force the Australian Navy to rescue them from their sinking vessel. This was followed by the then Immigration Minister, Phillip Ruddock's public speculation that a child asylum seeker, Shayan Badraie, was immobilised for months in an immigration detention centre because he was being cared for by a stepmother. In fact, his traumatisation was caused by his incarceration. Yet, again and again, a "feminised security rhetoric" frames Islam as threatening, backward and oppressive for women, while gender equality is posited as an achievement of the "West" (for analysis of the prevalence of this dichotomy in popular attitudes, see Bulbeck, Chapter 14 of this volume).

Hypersexuality and the racial divide

The motivation for the Sydney gang rapes was often described as some kind of innate hypersexuality of Middle-Eastern men, the "uncivilised assaulting the civilised through sexual brutality" (Kampmark 2003), and that this form of brutality was somehow unique to those who followed Islam. One cannot help but be reminded of the remarkable similarities of these arguments to the historical portrayals of black masculinity (hooks 2004: 47; Ward 2005). Persistent references to the sexual demonisation of black men harks back to the US history of slavery with images of the "wild and hypersexual bucks" (Ward 2005: 495) who were seen "as threats to white southern womanhood" (Nagel 2000: 122; Golebiowska 2007) and conversely, the promiscuous black woman (Frankenberg 1997: 11). Within Australian colonial history, a fear of large numbers of Chinese men immigrating was seen in their representation as sexual threats to White womanhood and thus to "national purity" (Mackey 1999: 115). More recently, during WWII there was similar ethno-sexual panic when Black US soldiers had sexual relations with women while on leave in Australia. In constructing these images, white women are supposed to live in constant fear of rape and the contamination of the white race through miscegenation.

These portrayals still strongly resonate today in the US and are employed by media and political commentators. For example, the wrongful arrest and sentencing of five Black and Latino youths for the rape of a female jogger in Central Park, New York in 1989, which was only exposed in 2002. The media used both wild animal and effeminate epitaphs to humiliate and demonise the young men. At the same time, a counter-strategy or a form of protest among some youth who feel disenfranchised, is to reappropriate these negative representations. Through outward expressions of male chauvinism and homophobia, there is an attempt to reclaim some form of "masculine" agency or heteronormative dominance (Ward 2005: 496; Poynting et al. 1998). In Judith Butler's terms, it is a reiteration of a heterosexual performance, often to dispel any suggestion of weakness or femininity, as femininity provokes a strong homophobic response (Butler 1993). Often this has been described as the "cool pose" which incorporates and is expressed "in highly stylised yet individualised manners of walking, talking and dressing...especially among youth" (Ward 2005: 497).

Studies of attitudes among young men indicate that misogyny and homophobia are part of performing a heterosexual masculine identity. In other words, male identity has as much to do with masculinity as a

gendered performance as it has to do with a heterosexual identity (Pascoe 2005: 330; Kimmel 2001: 279). Within these performances, sexualised terms such as the virgin/whore and hypermasculine/poofter binaries dictate the internal and external boundaries of acceptable heteronormative behaviour. The potency of these terms flows from childhood into adolescence and beyond with few interventions. Interestingly, this performativity in the case of males, is just as much based on boys' own sexual anxiety as much as their apparent contempt for girls and is expressed as "a central feature of homosocial bonding" (Chambers 2006: 62; also see Kimmel 2001; Flood 2008). What is particularly pertinent to our argument, is that these hegemonic masculine practices which continue to reinstate heteronormative values, not only cut across class differences but also ethnic differences (Chambers 2006: 63; Noble 2007: 342).

This "cool pose" has been co-opted and "indigenised" into the Australian context. Tabar's research among Arabic male youth in western Sydney found that they attempt to hyper-sexualise their masculinity through their particular style of dress and behaviours (Tabar 2007: 167). After interviewing young women about their experiences of sexual harassment on Cronulla beach, Judy Lattas (2008 forthcoming) has argued that young Anglo women at the beach may in fact be paying the price for the racism directed at young Muslim Australian men from the western suburbs, as those young men display an aggrieved masculinity performed as an aggressive hyper-sexuality.

The concern with the hyper-sexualised "other" and the fear of rape and the impregnating of white women is what Berlant refers to as "technologies of reproduction such as marriage and child rearing [which] are seen as privileged means through which the practice of nationhood [is] either preserved or threatened" (1997: 205; Nagel 2003: 255-61). Furthermore, what remains on the margins in these debates is the role and agency of women in the linking of sexuality, gender, race and nation while, as McClintock suggests, that linking is already "subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and metaphoric limit" (1995: 354).

A war against (sexual) terror

The prominence of the Bankstown gang rapes and the subsequent media attention on comments about sexual assault by Muslim clerics places sexual violence against women at the centre of the Australian manifestations of the "feminized security rhetoric" that Ferguson (2005) has analysed as central to the policies of the Bush Administration in the

US during the "war on terror". Political rhetoric espousing the protection and liberation of women (and children) has been used as the justification for invasions and pre-emptive strikes as seen in Iraq, Kuwait and Afghanistan (Nagel 2003: 256). Iris Marion Young (2007) analyses a "new politics of gender" at work in the "logic of masculinist protection" behind the current security state and the "war on terror". Policies and discourses of "masculinist protection" centre on a chivalrous masculinity that purports to uphold women's rights and positions men as heroes and liberators rather than as selfish, aggressive and domineering brutes. Chivalrous masculinity nevertheless limits women's agency and autonomy: "central to the logic of masculinist protection is the subordinate relationship of those in the protected position. In return for male protection, the woman concedes critical distance from decision-making autonomy" (Young 2007: 119). For Young, the current US security state is a "protection racket" founded on a trade-off between protection and subordinated citizenship. In the "war on terror", the logic of masculinist protection is used to justify US military interventions, most notably in the argument that Afghan and Iraqi women would be "saved" through the invasion of Afghanistan and democratisation of Iraq.

The foundation of our argument is that the maintenance of national borders has been indistinguishable from debates about protecting "our women", "our neighbourhoods", "our households" and ultimately "our nation". The concept of the "home" as the quintessential heterosexual border is evoked through its multiple meanings such as "home as family household, home as neighbourhood, home as native country" (Collins 1998: 66). Premised on a familial hierarchy, the "national family" is thus constructed as a heteronormative meta-narrative of the private domain, where family values and cultural practices are said to be passed down intact, often legally sanctioned and privileged by state authorities. As Georgina Tsolidis correctly suggests, "women's work in cultural", and we would include sexual, "reproduction forms a bridge between the private and the public" (Tsolidis 2001: 194). The ideology framing this characterisation of the national imaginary is "maintained by symbolic border guards" (Wickes et al. 2006: 290; Yuval-Davis et al. 2005) and is imbued with cultural and sexual sameness in a bid to produce internal social cohesion within "the Australian family" as well as protecting "our" borders and way of life. This definition of "the (national) family" and its implicit racial homogeneity (hooks 1997: 168) is premised on a heteronormative family, "with the concomitant associations of bounded and bordered, neat and ordered, the sum of its parts (i.e. male and female) making up the whole" (Mackey 1999: 110).

Contemporary and historical representations of masculinity, religion, ethnicity, "race" and heteronormative discourses define national and sexual borders. Historically, within colonial nations, responsibility for keeping family bloodlines pure by remaining virgins up to marriage, and monogamous beyond marriage, was the moral domain of (middle-class) white women (Wickes et al. 2006: 292; Collins 1998: 69). Traditionalists universally paint a moral picture of "women as defenders of the family and nation, to embody family and national honour; women's shame is the family's shame, the nation's shame, the man's shame" (Nagel 1998: 254). While heterosexual women are mythologised as "mothers of the nation" their morality, dictated by male norms, is under constant scrutiny and their sexual behaviour must be beyond reproach. By implication, this means maintaining racial purity through common ancestry and by extension this applies to the "national family." Its integrity depends on its sense of homogeneity, its internal sameness. Thus, any threat to the moral superiority of whiteness is equated to a threat to Judeo-Christian cultural and heterosexual family values.

The white female norm is subsequently framed as innocent, a "symbol of reproductive sexuality", emblematic of potential (heterosexual) motherhood. In this sense, Anglo-Australian women are held up as the icons of nationhood while Muslim women are seen as second-class citizens within the hierarchy of the family and the nation. Consequently, cultural and sexual moral panic becomes translated into cultural and sexual border panic. Muslim men become portrayed as "lewd", (hetero)sexually aggressive, predators, and savage(s). The result of these portrayals is that the violent and obviously extremely angry young men who committed the Bankstown gang rapes, were said to re-masculinise their bodies into heterosexual weapons—demonstrating strength, aggressiveness and sexual potence (Myrttinen 2004: 29). To counter these so-called re-masculinising acts, the mainstream media used bestial terms, as in the case of the Central Park rape, to belittle not only the perpetrators themselves, but through linking their ethnicity directly to the crime, making assumptions about a heterogeneous community's collective cultural values. This has been used as a reason to legitimate intolerant attitudes or policies and by default, white Australian males are represented as the civilised "gentleman", locating them in a culturally—read morally—dominant position (Nagel 2000: 119).

This position could not have been made clearer within the contemporary Australian polity than when Peter Costello (Liberal Federal Treasurer, 1996–2007) in 2005 appealed to Australian families (read women) to go forth and populate for the nation: "Have one for mum, one

for dad and one for the nation", which was duly rewarded by an increase in the child allowance. Or, to be accurate, a call for the heterosexual reproduction of the white species, for how many times have there been derogatory comments made alluding to the size of Middle-Eastern families and the fear of "them" taking over Australian society? The most infamous comment came from Liberal MP Danna Vale who "guesstimated" that Australia would be a Muslim society within 50 years and that the rest of "us" would abort ourselves out of existence (Peatling 2006).

This fear of contaminating the purity of the Australian way of life is similarly characterised by former Prime Minister John Howard's insistence that a family can only be a heterosexual monogamous family unit.

Traditional marriage is one of the bedrock institutions of our society and I don't want anything to occur that further weakens it...Marriage, as we understand it in our society, is about children, having children, raising them, providing for the survival of the species. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 2003)

However, as Affrica Taylor reminds us, in her analysis of another recent moral panic, "providing for the survival of the species" is premised within a heterosexist regime (2007). In public debates over an episode of *Playschool* and later over books used in a Sydney childcare centre, a "moral regime that defines sexuality through a binary ordering of good and evil" was at work, endorsing "procreative heterosexual married sex as natural, normal and good", and condemning "homosexual sex as predatory, unnatural, abnormal and evil" (Taylor 2007: 217). Interestingly, these latter descriptors are not dissimilar to portrayals of the gang rapists.

Conclusion

Our aim in this chapter has been to examine what made the discourses around these vicious crimes different from other gang rape cases. What is familiar but worth noting, is the extrapolation of both the innocent and the guilty manifestations of the crime onto "their" broader communities. In the case of the women who were raped, their victimhood is extended to include all "Australian" women's rights to safely move within and across public spaces (and there is nothing contentious here). In contrast, the guilt of the rapists spread to the Muslim and Arab communities. Thus, we argue that while discourses around the rape of white women have been normalised, what made this case exceptional was the linking of sexual and race discourses and the assumption that "ordinary" white Australian men

are not perpetrators of sexual assault. Instead, what comes to the fore is the breadth to which the ethno-(hetero)sexualising of this crime reinstated the racial and sexual borders implicit within Australia's national sovereignty: sexual contact being the most intimate of ethnic borders. If, as Joane Nagel (2003) convincingly argues, we are able to see the complexity of these systems as intimately interconnected, indeed relying on each other for their discursive legitimacy, then we can begin to understand the links between family, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and national sovereignty and how they are implicated in contemporary public policies and cultural understandings.

The racialisation of (hetero)sexuality and the (hetero)sexualisation of ethnicity and religion that began with the news reporting of the gang rapes in 2001 have continued unabated onto the Cronulla riots and beyond. On the surface, it is "women's rights" within a neo-liberal judicial discourse that have been coopted, redefined and put at risk in these debates. As the Bankstown gang rapes have resonated in Australian public discourse, sexual violence and "women's rights" more broadly have come to function as a "litmus test" (Werbner 2007) for Australian Muslims—the key criteria by which their "integration" and acceptance of "Australian values" is to be measured. However, while there has been some feminist analysis of the gendered dimensions of this crime, little attention has been given to how heteronormative political and cultural discourses are inherently intertwined with notions around "Australian values", national identity, border crossings and ultimately, the political shift from multiculturalism to so-called integration.

CHAPTER TEN

STOP!: THE UNDIRECTED SCRIPTS OF SEXUAL MORALITY

JUDY LATTAS

It is a commonplace in gender studies now to write about femininity or masculinity as a performance. The terms have shifted from *having* gender (inheriting a set of female or male characteristics from biology or the social order) to *doing* gender (practising the routines of femininity or masculinity in a way that either reproduces or challenges their schemes). Other markers of identity, too, are coming under the searchlight of this shift as it deepens and spreads out across the disciplines. Expressions like "performing ethnicity", "performing class", "gang identity as performance" and "performing whiteness" are appearing in the titles of various studies. In some of these, more than one identity marker is brought into focus; such as in the ethnographic study, "Performing masculinity on the Thai beach scene", which tracks the sexual and cultural ("Thai") personas deployed by local males in a situation of unequal exchange (international tourism).[1] These are still rare, however. Not often closely observed are situations where two axes of oppression are in play, in the persons of two or more players; and where in each player, one of these axes of oppression, as a marker of identity, is counteracted by one or two others, which carry a systematic benefit, rather than a deficit. A young woman who is white and middle class, for example; a young man who is from a black underclass; how do they "do gender", or "do race", in their encounters with each other? Who has the upper hand, and at what points? How does the lived experience of one identity formation, with its load of opportunity or oppression, alter the ways in which one's other claims to identity are staked and played out? This is the concern of my work in this chapter. It might be titled, in this respect, "Performing gender and culture on the Cronulla beach scene".

Why Cronulla? The "race riots" that occurred on this popular Sydney beach in December 2005 involving young "Aussies" (Australians deemed

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