

“OUTSIDERS IN A DISTANT LAND”

A case study of ten Islamic Lebanese families and their views on citizenship

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Statement Of Authorship

Except where reference is made in sections of the thesis, this thesis entitled *Outsiders in a Distant Land: A case study of ten Islamic Lebanese families and their views on citizenship* contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis presented by me for another degree or diploma.

No other persons work has been used without due acknowledgments in the main text of the thesis.

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TOPIC:

This thesis is concerned with issues of ethnicity, identity and citizenship. In particular, it focuses on the views of Islamic Sunni Lebanese families on the issue of citizenship as a notion of rights and participation. The key question which the thesis addresses is, in what ways can universal notions of citizenship be reworked to simultaneously address issues of justice and difference.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores issues of ethnicity, identity and citizenship. The significance of the study, is that it provides an analysis of a contemporary issue, such as citizenship, from a community perspective, in particular from the perspective of Islamic Sunni Lebanese families. The thesis draws on the perceptions of Muslim individuals as minority citizens, workers and parents in Australia in the 1990s. More specifically, utilising the notions of gender, class and generation, the thesis explores differences in the views of members of Islamic Sunni Lebanese families about issues to do with citizenship. Furthermore, this particular thesis explores the concept of 'multicultural citizenship', particularly as it relates to the participation of 'minority' groups in mainstream social and political activities.

The thesis provides a five stage analysis. The first stage of the thesis canvasses some of the contemporary perspectives, including Marxist and feminist discourses, which have looked at issues of citizenship and identity. In so doing, the thesis highlights the complex nature of the debates in this field. The next stage of the thesis outlines the methodological framework adopted in this particular study. It outlines the 'substantive participatory' model, which the researcher has developed in exploring the views of Islamic Sunni Lebanese families on the issue of citizenship.

Having outlined some methodological issues, the next stage of the thesis documents the range of views expressed by the participants. These chapters focus on how Muslim individuals narrate themselves as Australian citizens in the 1990s. In particular, the thesis examines the views of Lebanese Muslims in regard to issues of identity, social participation and gender. On the basis of the findings in this part of the research, the final phase of the thesis returns to key theoretical themes on issues of cultural identity and citizenship.

The central argument of this thesis explicates the view that members of these families regard the ideal of citizenship as needing to be inclusive of their Islamic identities. But it is also clear that they see citizenship in a context of different 'positionalities' that they adopt in the broader Australian community. For many of the participants, a recognition of religious identity was viewed as only one aspect of what it means to be a citizen.

INTRODUCTION

In the early post-war period, the Australian Labor Government introduced immigration schemes and policies to encourage immigrants to migrate to Australia, with a view to expanding Australia's labour force (see Collins, 1991, also Castles and Miller 1983). According to some researchers, 'immigration (to Australia) has resulted in one of the most ethnically diverse populations in the world, with over 100 birthplace groups identified in the 1991 census.' (Hartley, 1995:1). Despite this diversity, for some writers, Australia has been a relatively successful country in regard to the settlement of its immigrant communities (see Castles et al., 1988). Nevertheless, the settlement of different groups in this country, however, has posed complex issues for policy makers and researchers to do with education, employment, welfare services, citizenship and the role of the state (see Castles, 1994; Hindess, 1993; Hall in Terry 1995; Bhabha, 1994; Wexler, 1990). It has been argued by a number of theorists that ethnic and cultural difference has created the need for the state to reorganise its policies in order to cater for the demands of minority groups (see for example Castles and Miller, 1993). A central issue in this reconfiguring of policy in recent years has been that of citizenship. This is evident in the fact that there have been a number of government inquiries and other reports which have sought to redefine the meaning of citizenship in 'multicultural' Australia (Jayasuriya, 1993; Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 1994; Joint Standing Committee on

Migration, 1995; Senate Constitutional and Legal References Committee, 1996; Goldlust, 1996). Taking account of the significant population and cultural changes that have taken place in Australia since the end of WWII, as a consequence of processes of mass migration, many researchers argue that the notion of citizenship needs to move beyond its formal and legal context. For example, Jayasuriya (1993) has argued that social and cultural factors need to be also recognised as key characteristics in regard to the wider debates of citizenship within a culturally diverse democracy. The available literature points to the need to rework the notion of citizenship so that it reflects the cultural pluralism of Australia. At the same time, there is a clear acknowledgement that current definitions of citizenship need to include the specific views of ethnic and cultural groups in any such emerging definitions of citizenship in contemporary Australian society. For instance, the existing studies do not provide any accounts of the ways in which the various ethnic communities and the individuals that comprise them actually define and construct their own ideas of citizenship. The study presented in this thesis seeks to make a contribution to an understanding of the varying views and definitions of citizenship that are held by one specific group of people and their perceptions of the broader citizenship debates. The study focuses on a specific ethnic minority group, the Islamic (Sunni) Lebanese community, in order to provide an example of their narration and representation of the notion of 'multicultural' citizenship in the Australian context.

Of particular significance to a number of writers is the idea that citizenship must deal with issues of social access and equity (see Castles and Miller, 1993; Hindess, 1993). They suggest that citizenship involves full participation in the political community. Interestingly, these researchers have also highlighted the difficulties encountered by the state in incorporating the claims of different groups into state structures and policies. Some theorists working in this field have emphasised the notion of 'identity' as an important issue in thinking about the notions of a citizenship and difference. (Hindess 1993; Mouffe 1992; Habermas; Castles 1994; Hall see Terry 1995). In so doing, some of these researchers, have argued that it is important to disassociate the notion of citizenship from ethnic and cultural identity, so that all members of a community can enjoy the rights and fulfil the responsibilities of living within common national boundaries. While, there is clearly a developing and complex body of work emerging around the concept of citizenship in the contemporary world, it seems that little attention has been paid to the way in which the notion of citizenship is being thought about at the community level. More specifically it is apparent that the views of minority ethnic and cultural groups have not found a place within the broader debates on this matter.

One group which established itself in Australia as early as the 1880s, is the Lebanese community. While this particular ethnic minority group has had a

long history in Australia, it was in the period 1947-75, that large numbers of Lebanese Christian immigrants settled on this continent. These immigrants, it has been argued, emigrated in search of social and economic prosperity (see Batrouney in Hartley, 1995). From 1975, there was an increase in the number of Muslims immigrating from Lebanon to Australia, with the result that many mosques and churches were established by this community in a number of areas, particularly, Melbourne and Sydney. During this period, many Lebanese men and women worked in manufacturing industries, and later established small businesses such as milk bars and restaurants. Some researchers have pointed out that, '[T]he descendants of first-wave Lebanese settlers now extends to five and six generations. It has also been pointed out that second-wave Lebanese-Australian families now include at least three generations and their settlement in Australia which covers a period of about 40 years.' (see Batrouney in Hartley, 1995:192-93).

As noted above, a proportion of the Lebanese migrants were Sunni Muslims who, after arrival, became part of the large Muslim community of Australia that El Erian (1990) estimated as numbering 250,000 people. The pertinent point in this being that, while Lebanese Sunni Muslims retained their distinct identities as Lebanese, they simultaneously were included in the wider category of Muslims, such as that used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and Australian government and non-government institutions (Husband,

1991: 118-127). While the question of identity, identification and the problematic nature of categorisations used by Australian government agencies, such as the Australian Bureau of Statistics, are not the central subject of this study, it is important to note that identities are far more complex issues and processes than simple categorisations would suggest (for a discussion of the issues involved in identity construction, see Hall 1992; Bhabha 1994). At the same time, it is important to note that Islam is a religion with its own tenets and 'universe maintenance beliefs' (Berger and Luckmann 1991) that are shared by a large and diverse population of the world, including a variety of ethnic communities in Australia. It is these shared sets of beliefs and practices that give Muslims, including Lebanese Sunni Muslims, a sense of belonging to a larger 'imagined community', to use Benedict Anderson's term (Anderson 1991)¹.

With this complex pattern of Lebanese migration to Australia in mind, and the complexity of issues that attach to the double belonging of the Lebanese Sunni Muslims: as members of the broader Lebanese community and to the wider Muslim community, this particular study examines the views on citizenship of a number of Islamic Sunni Lebanese families. In particular, the

¹ For a good discussion of the basic tenets of Islam, see El Erian, M. A., 1990, Jamjooon: A Profile of Islam - A Resource Book of the Muslim World, Islamic Publications, Melbourne. For discussion of the concept of *Uma* and the construction of community in the Muslim World, see the interesting analysis presented by Gellner, E., 1995, Anthropology and Politics: Revolutions in the Sacred Grove, Blackwell, Cambridge, U K, especially, Chapters 12 and 13.

study looks at how these participants have defined their ethnic and cultural identities in a multicultural society. The first stage of the study canvasses some of the current theoretical perspectives on citizenship. Having in the first stage examined some of the key research on citizenship, the next phase of the study focuses on the views on citizenship of members of the Islamic Sunni Lebanese community. In particular, it looks at how the members of ten families conceptualise and work with the notion of citizenship in contemporary Australia. In this part of the research, the different 'positionalities' enunciated by the participants in regard to ethnic and cultural identities are examined. In particular, in this section, the thesis explores the understandings of the respondents on citizenship and identity issues. As the participants defined the idea of citizenship broadly, in this stage of the study, there is also a focus on the way in which some family members see themselves as working citizens. The views of participants on issues of gender, parenting and religion are also covered. On the basis of the findings in this part of the research, theoretical themes highlighted in the early part of this text are revisited, with a view to further developing the notion of 'multicultural citizenship'. (see for example, Castles 1994).

From this analysis, it becomes apparent that members of these families regard the ideal of citizenship as needing to be inclusive of their Islamic identities. But it is also clear that they see citizenship in a context of different

'positionalities' that they adopt in the broader Australian community. By this, it is meant that these Islamic families defined the notion of citizenship in regard to issues of gender, work, social participation, as well as religion. Interestingly, for many of the participants, a recognition of religious identity was viewed as only one aspect of what it means to be a citizen, however, it was also apparent that religion filtered through the other identity positions which they enunciated. Consequently, this study contests those researches which have assumed that Islamic identity is a stable and fixed category or one which can be understood by recourse to singular notions of the social self.

BACKGROUND

As stated, in recent years, the concept of citizenship has been a challenging issue for many researchers who share an interest in the area of ethnicity and identity. Marshall states that citizenship is a 'direct sense of community membership based on a loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession' (1965:103). Whereas, in Castles' view, there are two forms of citizenship, 'formal citizenship, the condition under which outsiders can become members of a political community, and substantial citizenship, that is the rights and obligations connected with becoming a member of a state' (1994:1). Other theorists have addressed similar issues from poststructuralist and postmodernist perspectives. Wexler (1990), for instance, asks, 'How can we think about citizenship when the autonomous individual has been decomposed into a network of non - synchronous signs?' (p.165). On the other hand, Thompson (1970) for example, states that 'As a practice, citizenship means autonomy, participation and influence' (cited in Wexler, 1990:165).

Other writers have looked at citizenship from a feminist perspective. For example, Pateman (1988) argues that gender rights are locked into patriarchal political power, with women unable to fully exercise their ability as equal citizens. Pateman's argument highlights one area in which the rights of the

citizen needs to be reworked around issues of social participation and equal access. Likewise, Pettman (1992) argues that the state manages many aspects of social relations through its complex administrative and legislative process and is heavily implicated in the constitution and reproduction of social relations that underpin power structures of class, gender, race and cultural differences' (p.78). This latter researcher points out that there is a problem in how the state constructs the rights of women as a particular group of citizens. Pettman suggests that the state differentiates between different groups of women in reference to citizenship and social rights. Furthermore, Yeatman (1990) also argues that women are treated as a different class of citizens by the state. She says that it is important to restructure state policies to address the specific needs of women in regard to citizenship and equal rights.

Other researchers have looked at the place of race and ethnicity in the discussion of citizenship. Hall (1993, also see Barker 1981), states that cultural identity is no longer defined in a biological context, but that the notion of 'cultural belongingness' is now often questioned in terms of race and ethnicity. He argues that even the most heterogeneous people tend to form a 'unique' identity, with the result that groups with national origins in another place to that in which they are living are excluded from citizenship. Commenting further on this matter Hall says:

Nevertheless, the particular forms of cultural racism which have grown up under Thatcherism's shadow bring together and condense into a single discourse questions of race and ethnicity with questions of nation, national and cultural belongings. 'Cultural belongingness' (redefined as an old, exclusive form of ethnicity) has replaced genetic purity and functions as the coded language for race and colour' (Hall, 1993:357).

For Stuart Hall, this closure around a single identity as a form of nationalism, and as the basis for citizenship, does not take account of the fluid nature of ethnic identity formation. In Hall's opinion, it is no longer possible to look at ethnic identity as a fixed category, but he suggests, it is important to recognise that the differences in the historical and cultural experiences of minority groups indicate that the notion of 'ethnicity' itself is in a state of flux. On this point Hall says:

It seems to me that, in the various practices and discourses of black cultural production, we are beginning to see constructions of just such a new conception of ethnicity: a new cultural politics

which engages rather than suppresses difference and which depends, in part, on the cultural construction of new ethnic identities. (1989:446).

Likewise, writing from a similar perspective on nationalism, Gilroy (1987) argues that the 'new English racism' is based on an individual's 'colour' and tends to exclude black people from claiming national membership or citizenship in a country. Making a similar point to Hall, Gilroy suggests that, 'a form of cultural racism which has taken a necessary distance from crude ideas of biological inferiority now seems to present an imaginary definition of the nation as a unified cultural community' (p.49-50). Goldberg (also see Vasta and Castles 1996) argues that there are many forms of racism to consider when examining the experiences of ethnic minority groups and their quest for citizenship. He argues that racism cannot be treated as a homogeneous concept but suggests that various forms of racism affect concepts of class, gender and national identity in different ways. Goldberg points out that racism is defined by how social institutions interpret cultural values and practices. In their work, Vasta and Castles (1996), make similar points when they argue that there is no single form of racism in Australia, when they say that, 'There is no single racism in Australia, no simple black - white divide. Rather, there is a whole range of intersecting sets of ideas and practices among different groups, which in turn interact with ideas and

practices concerning class and gender' (p.5). Furthermore, the latter researchers believe that racism remains a dominant factor in many areas of Australian life and that such racisms pose major obstacles for minority groups to achieve substantive citizenship. Vasta and Castles (1991) suggest that there needs to be a major change in attitudes at the institutional level if Australia is ever to achieve a non-racist society. The question which arises from Castles and Vasta's analysis is, by what means can this institutional change actually be brought about? Even though some theorists have argued for the idea of multicultural citizenship, these theorists have not offered a detailed strategy for the achievement of this goal.

On the other hand, Hall explicates the notion of 'new ethnicities' as one way by which racial, ethnic and cultural minorities might proceed towards the achievement of citizenship. On the basis that there has been a significant shift during the 1990s in regard to cultural politics, he argues that not only are 'minority' groups challenging some of the current state practices in regard to cultural politics, thereby demanding recognition of the rights of different groups to representation at the level of nation - state, but they are also contesting their marginal position within English society. Writing about the shift from 'a representation of politics to a politics of representation', Hall comments:

Politically, this is the moment when the term 'black' was coined as a way of referencing the common experience of racism and marginalization in Britain and came to provide the organizing category of a new politics of resistance, among other groups and communities with, in fact, very different histories, traditions and ethnic identities (1989:441).

Looking at the issue from a different perspective, a number of researchers have dealt with the issue of 'formal' citizenship and have indicated that, given the diverse nature of Australian society, a broader definition of citizenship than the current formal and legal definitions are needed, in order to accommodate the diversity of culture, class, gender, age and ability/disability 'communities'. In this context, the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, has suggested that the notion of citizenship, as it stands, is too narrow and concluded by saying that '[A] debate about Australian citizenship can be divided into two broad streams: the legal/constitutional and what one might call the 'spiritual' aspects. (1994:37). These researchers suggest that in many contemporary states with large migrations, often the formal aspects of citizenship are offered to ethnic and cultural minorities, while substantive rights and recognition of cultural

identity are ignored (see Castles, 1994; Mouffe, 1985; Hall, in Terry, 1995; Hindess, 1993). Writers, such as Hindess (1993, also see Silvaras, 1995), argue that in Australia there is not a clear differentiation of citizenship rights in the constitution which ensures that the rights of minority citizens to participate in the political life of the country. Castles (1994) also makes a similar point when he argues that the notion of 'formal' citizenship is limited because it does not take account of the fact that there are major differences in any society in terms of 'people's social conditions, to possession or lack of power to personal and cultural identity, to feelings of belonging to a community, and to the way one group is perceived and treated by others' (p.10). Likewise, Stuart Hall (in Terry, 1995) also examines the notion of differentiated citizenship in terms of individual rights and equality. He also recognises that the problem with a liberal view of rights is that it only offers ethnic and cultural minorities 'formal' and not 'substantive' rights within a nation - state context. Hall also says that while members of ethnic and cultural minority groups may differ in their perspectives on political action, they will continue to make claims as citizens of a nation, particularly as it relates to their participation in the political life of the nation. However, Hall and a number of other researchers (Giddens, 1991; Castles, 1994; Mouffe, 1992; Pettman, 1992; Hindess, 1993) suggest that while the notion of 'formal' equality applies to all minority citizens, the state still excludes certain groups from full participation in the political arena. Giddens (1991), writing along the same

lines, argues that actions of individuals tend to be limited within the frameworks of social and community institutions. For him, the notion of citizenship seems to provide minority citizens with the idea of equal rights as formal citizens, however, he suggests that it does not recognise the substantive rights of different groups to political participation. Commenting on this matter, Giddens suggests:

Since the state is the guarantor of law, the private in this sense is partly a matter of legal definition.

It is not just what remains unincorporated into the purview of the state, since the state also helps define private rights and prerogatives in a positive fashion. (1991:151).

While, a number of researchers share similar views in regard to the limitations of formal citizenship, it is apparent that these writers also agree that the issue of 'substantial citizenship' needs to be further examined in terms of the relationship between specific cultural groups and the state. In discussing issues of the 'substantive rights' of ethnic and cultural minorities, a number of researchers suggest that it is important for the state to recognise the social rights of minority citizens and to allow them to participate in the political life of the nation. More specifically, some writers (see Castles 1994;

Mouffe 1992; Hindess 1993; Silvaras 1995; Habermas 1994; Hall in Terry 1995) have looked at how the notion of substantial citizenship can be developed to provide minority citizens with full rights to social and political participation. Castles (1994) suggests that substantial citizenship involves changing the present content of citizenship to include the cultural needs and interests of different minority groups. On this matter he argues that, '... it is important to realise that the incorporation of new groups into substantial citizenship may involve changing the actual *content of citizenship*, to remove cultural biases, and to take account of differing needs, interests and values' (1994:1).

Likewise, Mouffe (1992) argues that the state needs to also focus on the cultural and ethical practices of minority groups in constructing its policies regarding 'substantial' citizenship. She points out that citizenship needs to be seen as a form of identification, by which she means that it is important to represent the broad range of specific ethnic and cultural identities in a political community. In her work, the concept of citizenship is not dealt with as a legal status, rather, Mouffe, as with Castles, highlights the distinctions which exist between different group identities. On this point Mouffe suggests that this view,

. . . implies seeing citizenship not as a legal status
but as a form of identification, a type of political

identity: something to be constructed, not empirically given. Since there will always be competing interpretations of the democratic principles of equality and liberty there will therefore be competing interpretations of democratic citizenship. (1992:231)

Pettman (1992), following a similar line of thought, suggests that the social rights of citizens should include the right of citizens to participate in the political life of the nation. In her work, she also explicates the idea that the state should focus on the needs of different ethnic and cultural groups. Commenting further on this matter she says that it is necessary:

To argue also for access to the social conditions necessary for individual development, including social and economic rights and control of resources for challenging the structures and ideational representation of power through which so many are currently excluded or marginalised? (pp.82-83).

Central to the work of these theorists is the notion of rights. Yet for a number of these writers, the notion of universal citizenship in addressing such issues is problematic. Hall (in Terry 1995), in fact, criticises the concept of universal citizenship as being male and ethno - specific. He argues that universal assumptions tend to be 'cast in the language of the universal rights of man and that it has always been assimilationist' (in Hall in Terry 1995, also see Castles, 1994). Instead, he feels it is necessary to focus on the notion of 'difference', as the starting point for any discussion of the notion of citizenship in the contemporary world. Hall points out that it is important to link issues of race, class and gender with those of universal rights. By so doing, he suggests that the notion of citizenship 'needs to be expanded to take account of differences that cannot be expressed in universalistic terms' (Hall in Terry, 1995:13). As with Hall, Castles (1994) also argues that universal principles, such as the notions of equality or freedom, are limited by their Eurocentrism. He suggests that while universal citizenship is concerned with the equality of citizens, it seems to be viewed by many theorists as if it can be separated out from issues of group differences. Instead, he also argues that minority citizens need to be identified as belonging to different and specific cultural groups. As Castles points out,

The root of the problem lies in the concept of universal citizenship itself, where people are seen

as equal individuals rather than as members of groups with specific characteristics and needs. (1994:11).

Likewise, Yeatman (1993) argues that the state always deals with the notion of equality in a universalist framework. She points out that equal participation usually applies to members of the dominant culture within a nation - state. By this she means that elite groups in any particular society will have more influence over the administration of policies and citizenry participation, and therefore, will shape the cultural basis of governance. She suggests this is why 'equality' does not apply to all groups of citizens.

Furthermore, this particular researcher says that it is also important to question the legitimacy of state policies in terms of the language used which tends to reinforce simplistic universal notions of citizenship. On this point, Yeatman comments:

The rhetoric and practices of administrative reform and management improvement in Australian public bureaucracies in the early to mid-1980s deserve critical scrutiny not least because of the virtually universal legitimacy accorded to them. The very language of

administrative reform and management
improvement invites immediate approbation and
the willing suspension of disbelief. (1990:1)

Mouffe (1992), also, as with a number of other researchers commented on in this text, (Castles, 1994; Hindess, 1993; Pettman, 1992; Hall in Terry, 1995), points out that politics needs to change to include cultural differences. However, she suggests that the differing principles among cultural groups are yet to be fully recognised by the legislative procedures of the state.

Castles (1994), along with others like Kymlicka (1995), outlines a model of 'multicultural citizenship' in an attempt to connect issues of 'difference' with the concept of universal citizenship (also see Hindess, 1993; Habermas, 1994). Adding another dimension to the debate about citizenship, Castles suggests that issues to do with globalisation and cultural diversity seem to be rapidly changing the social and political systems of the state. (also see Hall, in Terry 1995; Habermas, 1994; Wexler, 1990; Turner, 1994; Giddens, 1991). He therefore suggests that arguments about citizenship need to be separated from discussions about ethnic and cultural identity. In his opinion, debates about citizenship need to be based on the idea that the social self is comprised of multiple identities. Furthermore, Castles (1996) also suggests that a contemporary notion of citizenship requires a more fluid notion of state

borders which takes account of differential rights and new forms of representation. Addressing similar issues, other theorists, such as Habermas (1994) and Hindess (1993), also discuss the notion of 'multicultural citizenship' in their work as a means of linking difference with the idea of substantive citizenship. Hindess suggests that different groups will always remain only as residents in western communities, and therefore, he feels that the state needs to cater for the various demands among these groups. For him, in light of this pattern of transient populations, it is important for the state to re-examine its understanding of citizenship, and to apply the notion of citizenship within the context of 'multicultural differences'. Habermas (1994), following a similar line of argument, suggests that issues of globalisation and cultural differences can no longer be associated with the basic content of universal rights. He also states, it is important to deal with the notion of 'multicultural citizenship' and 'nationalism' as two separate issues. This latter researcher says that it is important for the state to consider the 'different' interests between cultural groups, and to include them in national decisions. Consequently, he believes that this will enable all groups of citizens to participate effectively in a social and political life. In explicating a theory of citizenship around the idea of ethnic and cultural diversity, Habermas poses the question, 'Can a theory of rights that is so individualistically constructed deal adequately with struggles for recognition

in which it is the articulation and assertion of collective identities that seems to be at stake?' (p.107).

Bearing this question in mind, Habermas also argues that state laws on citizenship rights need to be reworked around the notion of 'multiple identities', so that the legal rights of different group identities are protected by the state. However, he suggests, that current legislation fails to make clear distinctions between social and cultural differences among ethnic minority groups. Mouffe (1992), expressing a similar view, argues that it is important for the state to deconstruct ethnic identities and recognise the 'new' and differential rights of cultural groups. By this she means that the state needs to examine group identities separately from one another, as she believes that each group has its own set of ideas about cultural and political issues. Yet Mouffe, (and the same criticism, it could be argued, can be applied to Castles and Habermas), has been criticised by some theorists for remaining within a liberal tradition of citizenship. Hall, for example says:

She does not talk about the radical forms of difference which ethnic pluralism requires, such as understanding how ethnic and cultural difference disrupt the discourse of the enlightenment. (Hall in Terry, 1995:5).

Yet , despite this criticism Mouffe's idea of recognising the specific histories of different ethnic and cultural groups is also supported by Bottomley (1996), when she argues that,

Given the heterogeneity and the rapid social changes to which I referred earlier, it is increasingly apparent that the widely used notions of community and identity must be challenged, on several grounds ... As we are all aware, designated 'communities' are invariably crisscrossed by divisions marked by aspects of gender, age, politics and class - among others. (Bottomley,1996:4).

Likewise, Gunew (1993), sees identity as a complex and changing concept. She argues that identity politics has played an important role in bringing about social and political change within the context of the nation - state. The latter researcher says that in particular historical moments, race and ethnicity have been invoked with differing meanings in order for social groups to make claims on the state, including the demand for political and civil rights, that is for substantive citizenship. Other writers, such as Hall and Bhabha, have also highlighted the fluid nature of identity and identity politics,

particularly as it unfolds around the issue citizenship. In his work, Hall says, 'identity is formed at the unstable point where the "unspeakable" stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history, of culture.' (Hall in Terry, 1995). For Hall, then, there is no essential ethnic or other identity, because, the formation of the social self must be located within specific and historical fields. In using the notions of the 'in-between' and 'hybridity', Bhabha is also enunciating the view that ethnic and cultural identification is never complete, that these identities never settle down into solid 'positionalities' (also see Said, 1993; Hall, in Terry 1995). This is because Bhabha, sees hybrid identities as a disruption of well established identities.

According to the latter researcher, it is not possible for individuals to feel a sense of belonging to two different cultures. Instead, he talks about positions of 'enunciation', in which members of ethnic and cultural minorities utilise a range of strategies to represent identities that are always in process. The key issue arising from the discussion of the fluid nature of identity is the fact that any move towards a model of multicultural citizenship is going to need to work with the view that our identities are not stable social or homogenous categories which can be easily incorporated into a simple model of rights and obligations.

Furthermore, in looking at the matter of citizenship, some researchers have also considered the notions of 'time and space' and their relationship with identity formation. (Giddens, 1991; Goldberg, 1993; Gilroy, 1987; Bhabha, 1994;). These writers point out that ethnic communities are a form of 'imagined boundaries' within a nation - state, and which provide a sense of belonging among group members who have moved from one place to another. For some researchers, the citizen's identity is the result of historical circumstances in which minority citizens have already developed their identity before entering a different state or place. Giddens (1991), for instance, argues that the movement of ethnic minority groups to another place tends not to effect their cultural practices. He points out that cultural identity and traditional values are very important issues in the lives of ethnic minority groups and that these groups will seek to maintain their traditional practices in new situations. On this point he says,

As distinct from mere habit, tradition always has a 'binding', normative character. 'Normative' here in turn implies a moral component: in traditional practices, the bindingness of activities expresses precepts about how things should or should not be done. Traditions of behaviour have their own moral endowment, which specifically resists the

technical power to introduce something new.

(Giddens, 1991:145).

Also, working with the concepts of time and space, Goldberg (1993) argues that individuals sustain their racial and cultural identities across time and space, as well as practice their cultural beliefs among prevailing social discourses. Goldberg believes that cultural identity is an important and binding entity in the lives of ethnic minority groups and that this is the reason as to why cultural groups are always prepared to practice their values and traditions in another country. Likewise, Habermas (1994) also believes that individuals remain linked to specific cultures and traditions which have been formed in countries of origin, regardless of the fact that they interact with other group identities within the new context that they find themselves. An emerging theme in recent years is the concept of globalisation. Castles (1994) and a number of other writers (Habermas, 1994; Kymlicka, 1995; also see Hall, 1992), have extended the discussion of issues to do with ethnic identity and citizenship by looking at the idea of globalisation. These writers argue that the notion of citizenship also needs to take into account the issue of 'collective identities' as they form in new contexts, thereby recognising that, as a result of the processes of globalisation, there is a growing ethno-cultural diversity within existing nation - states. Many of these theorists argue that this change in the ethnic and cultural composition of many nation - states,

raises many issues for governments. Thinking through some of these issues, Castles (1996, also see Hall in Terry 1995) argues that the notion of citizenship needs not only to be constituted around ethnic identity, but also needs to accommodate cultural claims and differences in terms of regional location, gender, sexual preferences and lifestyles.

In an earlier paper, Castles et. al. (1992), propose four possible options for the future of a country like Australia which has a population characterized by a continuing ethnic and cultural differences. These options include a situation in which there is; 'inequality plus imagined community'. By this, Castles et. al. mean that it will be difficult to develop a 'unified' national identity in terms of group differences in Australia. A second option these writers point out, is that of 'inequality plus state repression'. Commenting further on this option, they suggest that it would be inadequate to sort the social and political divisions of groups according to class relations. The latter researchers also point to a third option of 'inequality plus fragmentation and quiescence', in which a breakdown in social solidarity leads to a meaningless politics, where political interests shift to group values. Obviously, Castles et. al. favour a fourth option of 'equality plus real communality', in which they suggest that it is better to continue to work with the specific needs and interests of different ethnic and cultural minority interests, while ensuring that rights to participate in the broader community are also maintained.

In a later paper Castles (1994) takes up the issue of possible futures again by looking, in a more complex way, at how the notion of group rights and the idea of ethnic and cultural difference can be taken account of by the political and social structures in a society. He outlines three models of citizenship; (the 'exclusionary', 'assimilationist inclusionary' and the 'pluralist inclusionary' model). According to Castles, an 'exclusionary' model in which immigrants are not granted citizenship, and consequently lack participation in state decisions is evident in many modern states. He also describes an 'assimilationist inclusionary' model which involves two sub - models; these being the 'republican model', which, includes immigrants as members within a set political framework, and the 'imperial model', which treats immigrants as equal subjects, but with no implication of social and political equality in terms of substantive participation in the state. However, in highlighting the different models, Castles (1994) gives a 'pluralist inclusionary' idea a very great deal of weight as a model for combining the notion of rights with that of difference. For him, this approach is the best one for admitting immigrants to the political community while accepting the maintenance of cultural differences. Writing from a similar perspective, Hall (1993), suggest that it is not just a matter of placing group identities into separate categories, but that it is also important to rework state policies around the different behaviours and practices of cultural groups in regard to state and political institutions. Hall (1993) argues that ethnic and cultural practices also need to be

recognised as having different meanings in regard to social institutions. He states that culture and identity need to be conceptualised as, 'a description of particular way of life which express certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (p.351). Likewise, Habermas argues that while it is important to have a system of rights and state policies operating within a 'political' community, it is a matter of how the state interprets the interests of different groups in its legislative decisions that really matters. For him, as stated earlier, it is important for the state to consider ethical and moral issues in formulating its legal and political policies in regard to cultural differences. In thinking about these issues, Habermas, draws on the Canadian model to outline a federalist solution in regard to cultural differences and the state. He suggests that it is important to decentralize state powers to allow citizenship groups to participate in the legal and political decisions of the state. Habermas, for example says:

The situation is different in Canada, where reasonable efforts are being made to find a federalist solution that will leave the nation as a whole intact but will try to safeguard the cultural autonomy of a part of it by decentralizing state powers. In this way the portion of the citizenry

that participates in the democratic process in specific areas of policy will change, but the principles of that process will not. (p.127-128).

Writers such as Hindess (1993) also feel that it is important to create ways in which the state can better deal with issues of group difference. He suggests that the government should aim to promote the commonalities between groups. He points out that this bridging of differences will help minority groups to equally participate with the broader community. Hindess, for example says:

I suggest that rather than just allowing their discontent (or defence of their advantages) to manifest itself in other ways, it is generally preferable for government to recognise such interests and attempt to promote their mutual accommodation. (1993:43-44).

On the other hand, researchers such as, Castles and Vasta (1996) argue, that while researchers have provided us with some valuable points in regard to the role of the state in societies characterised by ethnic and cultural

differences, some writers have tended to neglect issues of racism as it manifests itself in the state.

A number of other researchers have also addressed future concerns in the area of citizenship. For instance, some writers (Wexler 1990, Tsolidis 1993, Giddens 1991, Hindess 1993, also see Vasta 1996) suggest that we need to educate different cultural groups about citizenship. Giddens (1991), who, as has been shown, focuses on the changes in time and space as a result of modernity, suggests that it is important to look at how individuals' own sense of 'self' and 'identity' is going to have an effect on how they perceive identity politics in a changing society. He argues that a person who comes in contact with a different social environment, may use the positive elements in this particular setting to build on his or her self - identity. On this matter, he says, 'In the settings of modernity, by contrast, the altered self has to be explored and constructed as part of a reflexive process of connecting personal and social change.' (Giddens, 1991:33). Here Giddens is highlighting the nature of identity formation as a continuing process which, like Bhabha or Hall, sees cultural identities as not having prescribed futures. Looking at the issue of possible futures for identity politics and matters of citizenship from a different angle, Tsolidis (1993) argues that there is a need to creatively transform schools' curriculums to provide individuals with a clearer conception of issues to do with identity, and thereby providing an education

which is appropriate for a citizenship of the future. More specifically, she suggests that individuals need the opportunity to experience a range of group identities without already having to belong to a specific cultural identity.

Curriculum must provide subordinate groups of students with cultural affirmation as well as to teach the interconnection between class, race/ethnicity and gender and the oppressive ideologies which surround these factors. In this way, students can construct their political identities in ways which challenge elements which inhibit the community of anti-hegemonic forces. (Tsolidis, 1993:60).

Likewise, Wexler (1990) writing within a postmodern discourse, suggests that citizenship and identity issues need to be reworked in terms of individuals and the modern state. He argues that it is necessary to educate individuals about a new form of citizenship. Unfortunately, Wexler fails to explain the notion of a 'new' education for citizenship. Nevertheless, he poses an important question when he comments: 'All of these solutions imply for me a collective practice for new citizenship, an education to citizenship that goes beyond the divided paths of cognitive mapping and fantastic mesmerism.'

What education can this be is the next question.' (Wexler, 1990:173-174). In highlighting future possibilities for identity politics and citizenship, Hindess (1993) believes that individuals should be encouraged to develop their own identity, rather than having to simply accept the cultural traits of their own community. From a liberal point of view, he feels that minority individuals should be free to explore other cultural groups and to construct their own identity according to their liking and understanding of other cultures. On this matter, the latter researcher believes that it is important to overcome this idea of preserving the heritage of different cultural groups, but rather to start supporting individuals who wish to pursue their own sense of belonging to a particular group. As Hindess states in his work:

Briefly, the argument is that most individual purposes can be pursued effectively only in association with other individuals - and that within any reasonably large community there will be a plurality of purposes that individuals might reasonably wish to pursue. A desirable polity, on this view, would be one that actively promoted the development of associations, precisely so that individuals would be free to pursue their version of the good. The state would, of course, regulate

the behaviours of associations, but it would also recognise their autonomy and right to develop in accordance with their own internal decision procedures. (p.44-45).

In their work, Kalantzis and Cope (1993) have also looked at the notion of citizenship, identity and their futures. They argue that the state needs to focus less on issues of homogeneity, multiculturalism and nationalism and more on the deregulating of national boundaries and the promoting of commonality among group 'differences' in a 'community'. Kalantzis and Cope, for example say,

2001 should be our post-nationalist moment, a year when the indigenous and immigrant peoples of this continent celebrate their common purpose without homogeneity, their global outlook without prejudice to local vision, their multiculturalism dynamically and creatively opening up the dominant culture; their republic without nationalism. 2001 could be a time, not to reaffirm the boundaries of nationalism, but to

celebrate their irrelevance, to celebrate our
community without nation. (1993:144).

A select review of the literature in the area of ethnic and cultural difference and citizenship, shows that there are many strands in the debate about the nature of citizenship in a changing ethnically and culturally diverse world. Some theorists have argued that the current status of citizenship and its meaning is in need of further examination. It is also evident that there is a coherent critique of universalist notions of citizenship, particularly as they relate to gender rights and the rights of ethnic minority groups within the context of the nation - state. It is also apparent that a number of researchers regard it as important to link the concept of citizenship with issues of ethnicity, class and gender. The literature has also shown how a number of researchers have differentiated between the idea of formal and that of substantial rights as being a central notion in defining a citizenship for the late 20th Century. Furthermore, a number of theorists have suggested that it is important for the state to deal with the notion of 'multiple identities' as the basis for developing a working notion of citizenship that addresses issues of difference.

When the views of theorists contained in the select literature which has been canvassed in this study are examined closely, a number of limitations in the

analyses come to light. For instance, as mentioned, while some of these researchers are trying to break out of a Eurocentric model of citizenship, they only tend to reinforce some of the hierarchies which exist around the notions of racial, ethnic and cultural identity. Hall makes this point about the work of Chantal Mouffe, but it is also clear that the same criticism can be applied to the work of Castles and Habermas, whose models for multicultural citizenship are too much based on western models of democracy and thereby do not really offer substantive citizenship to ethnic and cultural minorities. Moreover, Giddens' idea that ethnic and cultural traditions can be simply transposed into new social contexts does not take account of the very complex changes that identities undergo in the shift from one place to another. Of particular relevance to this study on ethnic identity and citizenship is the fact that various researchers working in the area of citizenship, tend to focus at the level of the state in their explorations of issues, thereby giving little attention to the perspectives of the people and groups about whom they are writing. It is therefore difficult to see how the demand by some of these researchers to develop a non-Eurocentric model, a truly multicultural model of citizenship can be really forged. Consequently, a canvassing of the literature indicates that further research is required in regard to ethnic minority groups and the notion of citizenship. The importance of this is evident when we consider Castles' (1994) point that 'it is important to include 'minority' citizens in national group decisions and to

recognise the link between issues of social access and participation with those of cultural identity.' (Castles, 1994:13).

A review of the literature on Islamic identity indicates that there has been little attempt made by researchers to examine the views of members of the Islamic community about issues of citizenship and identity. While there has been a small number of studies which have examined the barriers associated with the experiences of Arab-Australians in regard to education, training and employment issues, there is still a limited amount of studies which actually look at how Islamic groups define or represent their own identities and think about notions of citizenship in the Australian context in the late 1990s.

While there are some studies which have considered the issues to do with Islamic groups in Australia, other writers have looked at Islamic identity in other contexts. For example Turner (1994) has examined the way in which Islam is providing resistance to the impact of globalisation on the life worlds of non - western cultures. Furthermore, a number of writers have also looked at the issue of women and gender in Islam. Ahmed (1992), for instance, examined discourses of women in relation to Islam within middle eastern societies. Another theorist who has also considered similar issues is Lateef (1990) who provided an insight into the various social, economical and political factors, which tended to influence the lives of Muslim women in

India. She also examined the status and role of these particular women and the influence of Islam on the way they went about their lives. El-Solh and Mabro's (1994) were other authors who explored the choices of Muslim women in regard to Islam, marriage, labour and gender relations. This latter text also highlighted the differences in the views and choices of Muslim women in regard to issues of religion and social practices.

As stated, there are only a small number of studies on Islamic groups in the Australian context. (Omar and Allen, 1996; Bouma, 1994; also see Bingham and Gross, 1980). Omar and Allen (1996), for example, looked at the history, settlement patterns, community establishments, including information on the social roles and practices of Islamic groups in Australia. Bingham and Gross (1980) explored the role of Muslim women in Islam in reference to Arabian and non-Arabian communities. In addition, Bouma (1994), for instance, examined the settlement of Muslims in Australia. In so doing, he focussed on the issue of how Muslims view their own Islamic faith, while having to adapt to the lifestyle in Australia. While Bouma and others have examined issues of religious identities within Muslim - Australian communities, they have not looked at the way religious identity interacts with other identity positions which may be enunciated by members of such communities. While these latter texts provide the reader with informative data and material about the role of Muslim people in contemporary Australian society, they, as with some

of the studies carried out in an international context, have not looked at how members of these communities narrate or represent themselves as Muslims within the broader community. That is, many of these studies, while making an important contribution to the discussion of Muslims in Australia, have treated Muslim identity, as it has developed on this continent, as if it is a single and homogenous identity.

It is clearly important that the theorizing of the notion of citizenship for the contemporary world will need to take account of the ways in which members of ethnic and cultural minorities, themselves, conceptualise this notion. This study attempts to do this by making explicit the way in which members of ten Sunni Lebanese families construct their idea of what it means to be a citizen in Australia in the late 1990s.

METHODOLOGY

In recent decades a number of writers have interviewed family groups for the purpose of their research. (see Hawthorne, 1988; Storer, 1995; Hartley, 1995.). A study by Hawthorne (1988) provides an interpretive oral history of the lives of ten families which had migrated to Australia in recent decades. In her text, she explored the work experiences, hardships and social situations of members of these families. In addition, Hartley's (1995) text, a compilation of articles by different authors, also focused on the idea of family across a number of cultural groups in Australia. It examines the views of family members in regard to social change, cultural identity and how these affect relationships within families. A number of other studies have examined the views of ethnic minority families about issues of schooling, (see Hartley and Maas, 1987; Terry et al., 1993; also see Bullivant, 1987). One such study is that of Hartley and Maas (1987) who examined the factors which influence the decisions made by ethnic minority families about their children's schooling. Also, Bullivant's (1986) study looked at the views of parents and children about educational issues. Furthermore, the research conducted by Terry et. al. (1993) examined the aspirations and participation of Maltese families in regard to education. While there are some substantive differences between the focus and findings in these studies, all of them employed a case study method to the investigation of issues concerning ethnic minority families.

This particular study on Islamic identity and citizenship has drawn on these works for the development of its methodological model and has, therefore, taken a case study approach to the investigation of how Sunni Muslim's view the issue of citizenship in Australia.

Whereas the first stage of the research involved a canvassing of the literature on ethnic and cultural identity and citizenship, the next stage of the study required the researcher to carefully develop links with the Islamic Sunni Lebanese community by making contact with three Arabic organisations; (Islamic society of Victoria, The Victorian Arabic Network and The Australian Arabic Council). These Arabic organisations provided access to prominent Arabic community workers. From this contact, a group of six Arabic community workers, four males and two female workers, were selected to participate in a general discussion about some of the current problems faced by Muslim citizens in the Australian community. These participants were current full-time employees in welfare and Arabic community organisations. These participants were selected from different organisations within the Islamic community and, were therefore, differently placed in regard to Arabic speaking communities in Australia. Two Arabic social workers, Ahmed Hassan, and, Sami Taleb, who were currently employed at migrant resource centres in Melbourne, were interviewed to gain their insights into the particular situation of the Islamic Sunni Lebanese community in Melbourne.

These social workers had worked for a number of years with the Islamic Lebanese community, dealing with a range of issues at both the community and personal levels. Another male worker, Fadi Merhi, was also chosen to participate in this study. He was also a social worker employed in a community health centre in Melbourne. Two female participants, (Jenan Oued and Samira Hallab), also took part in the initial discussions which set the scene for the later research. Jenan Oued is a voluntary worker from an Arabic organisation who has organised a number of public seminars which aimed to educate non-Muslim Australians about work discrimination and Arabic stereotypes in the media. Also, another participant, Samira Hallab is also a Arabic community worker who was employed as an Arabic training and development officer in an Employment SkillShare Centre. Samira Hallab, who was assisting both Arabic and non-Arabic Australians in employment workshops, was also interviewed at the outset of the research. As well as these discussions in the initial stages of the study with community based workers, the researcher chose to meet with an Imam, Sheik Salah Badwi, from a Melbourne Mosque to ascertain his views on the issues confronting Sunni Muslims in Australia.

Having chosen six Arabic community workers to participate in the study, a number of meetings were arranged with these participants on an individual basis, in order to focus on issues of Lebanese background groups with their

social and political life in Australia. Discussions particularly focused on the barriers experienced by Lebanese Muslims as citizens in the Australian community. These discussions also dealt with matters to do with ethnicity, religious identity and other issues identified by these six participants as being important to members of the Lebanese community in Australia.

In examining the views of the Arabic community workers there seemed to be general agreement that racism was an issue for many Muslims in the workforce. Much of their work involved assisting community members combat the experience of racism. These workers also commented that the 'racism' of other non-Muslim workers towards the cultural and religious practices of Muslims affected the participation of Lebanese-Australians in the workplace, with some of these Arabic community workers expressing the view that more Muslim women experienced racism than Muslim men in the workforce. In their opinion, this was due to the fact that many Muslim women were easily identifiable as 'outsiders' because they wore the 'hijab' to work. One of the six workers commented that it was difficult for him to identify prejudice because of its generalised nature.

Another important issue that many Arabic community workers spoke about was the language barrier which affected the amount of work performed by Lebanese Muslims in the workforce. They felt it was important to rework the

structures of some Australian industries to suit the needs of Muslims and other migrant workers in Australia. They claimed that the present work structures lack the appropriate language support necessary for Muslims to fully participate in the workplace. Other general issues raised in the discussions related to work training and qualifications. All of the Arabic community workers felt that employment and training workshops needed to include sessions specifically targeted to Arabic background community members, so that they could enhance their ability to perform in the workplace. They also felt that the low rate of Muslims in the workforce stemmed from the fact that many Australian organisations are not recognising accredited 'overseas' qualifications.

From these discussions with Arabic community workers, it was possible to formulate a set of questions to provide the basis for the latter interviews with members of the ten families. The questions included questions about formal citizenship, educational and career aspirations and matters of racism. Also questions were developed to address issues of gender as well as that of identity, including religious identity. In order to trial these questions, the researcher approached a 'friend's' family within the Lebanese Sunni community. As a result of the suggestions made by members of this family, some of the questions were modified, with the purpose of clarity for the respondents in other families. At this stage, it was also decided that the

questions would not be prescriptive but would be used to provide a framework for general discussion.

With the assistance of an Arabic social worker, three other families were then contacted to obtain their involvement in the research. In order to identify other families for involvement in the study, the researcher discussed his project on an Arabic radio programme, which meant that a small number of other families became keen to take part in the study. Other families were contacted through an imam and through social networks. This meant that ten families had agreed to participate in this research.

In considering the characteristics of the families, it was clear that there were some common features. The ten families had all migrated to Australia after the Lebanese civil war in 1976. Many of these families had been living in Australia for over fifteen years. The families came from different suburbs in Melbourne; (North Eastern, Western, Southern suburban areas). Six of these families had relatives living in Australia prior to the Lebanese civil war and this was the major reason why they made the decision to migrate to Australia. The other four families were first generation families who migrated to Australia without having any existing networks in this particular country. All families were gender mixed; the study involved twenty three female participants and eighteen male participants. The age of the participants

ranged from seventeen years to forty six years. (see Appendix A; Table:1). A range of open - ended discussions with family groups were taped, each of which involved three to five participants. Each interview took about one and half to two hours and was carried out in English, Arabic or a mixture depending on the wishes of the interviewees. In order to assure confidentiality family and participant names were changed. Furthermore, in recognising the problematic nature of 'translations', in some sections of the interviews, the researcher made minor alterations to some of the quotes used in this text to enable a clearer reading of the material. The researcher also used the terms 'first generation' participants to refer to the parents in the families, and 'second generation' participants to refer to the different age groups taking part in the study. Five of the families in this study came from skilled sectors of the workforce. All parents in these families had high levels of education. The following provides a brief description of the ten families:

The Nebal family: There were three members in this family. The family had migrated to Australia in 1980. They lived in a north eastern suburb of Melbourne. All members of this family had 'enjoyed' their 'peaceful environment' for the past fifteen years. The father, Mahmoud Nebal, was forty two years of age. He had worked as a secondary school teacher for seventeen years, and was still working in this profession. He was also

tutoring the younger generation in the Arabic language. His partner, Roula Nebal, was thirty seven years of age. She also worked as a secondary school teacher. She was teaching Arabic in a girls secondary college. The daughter, Hanan Nebal, was seventeen years of age. She was a full-time first year tertiary student in computer programming, and worked part-time as a sales person in a large department store. She enjoyed working in this industry.

The Mouran family: This family included three members. The family had migrated to Australia in 1978. They had lived in a western suburb of Melbourne for the past eight years. The father, Sami Mouran, was forty six years of age. He had worked as a social worker in a migrant resource centre for eleven years, and was still working in this profession. He was also a member of an ethnic community committee in Victoria. He assisted in organising regular meetings in regard to Arabic social and media events. His partner, Rouba Mouran was thirty nine years of age. She worked as a secondary school teacher for the past twelve years. She enjoyed teaching mathematics and science. She also worked as a voluntary Arabic tutor during the weekend. Their son, Hisham Mouran, was seventeen years of age. He was a full-time secondary school student in year ten. His favourite subjects were mathematics and music.

The Zayi family: There were four members in this family. The family had migrated to Australia in 1984. They lived in a western suburb of Melbourne. All family members were comfortable in their spacious new house. They had been living in their new home for the past six months. The father, Ayad Zayi, was forty one years of age. He had worked as a social worker for fourteen years in a government agency in Melbourne. Ayad Zayi assisted in organising Arabic and religious workshops within the Islamic Lebanese community. His partner, Riyad Zayi, was thirty four years of age. She worked as an Arabic community worker. She had devoted herself to Arabic community issues for the past fifteen years. Their son, Helal Zayi was fifteen years of age. He was a full-time secondary school student in year ten, and worked part-time as a storage assistant in a supermarket. Their daughter, Eman Zayi was seventeen years of age. She was also a full-time secondary student in year twelve, and worked part-time as a sales assistant in a clothing store.

The Nemour family: There were four members in this family. The family had migrated to Australia in 1980. They lived in a north eastern suburb of Melbourne. The father, Hisam Nemour, was forty years of age. He had worked in his own business for the past fifteen years. His partner, Maha Nemour, was thirty three years of age and worked as an Arabic and French secondary school teacher for the past ten years. She enjoyed teaching these

languages to school students. Maha Nemour also worked as a voluntary Arabic tutor during the weekend. Their son, Walid Nemour, was sixteen years of age. He was a full-time secondary school student in year eleven. He enjoyed learning humanities subjects. Their daughter, Sarah Nemour, was fourteen years of age. She was also a full-time secondary school student in year nine. She enjoyed learning mathematics and science.

The Cedar family: There were four members in this family. The family had migrated to Australia in 1976. They lived in a southern suburb of Melbourne. All family members had been living there for the past six years. The father, Nour Cedar, was forty three years of age. He had worked as an Arabic worker for the past thirteen years. He enjoyed promoting Arabic themes and issues in the Australian community. His partner, Wadad Cedar, was thirty five years of age. She had worked in her own cosmetics business for the past seven years. Their son, Fadi Cedar, was fourteen years of age. He was a full-time secondary school student in year nine. He enjoyed learning English and history. Their daughter, Ibtissam Cedar, was sixteen years of age. She was also a full-time secondary school student in year eleven. Her favourite subject was economics. Ibtissam Cedar also worked part-time as a customer assistant at a fast food restaurant in Melbourne.

In contrast, another five families who also participated in this study came from unskilled and semi-skilled sectors of the workforce. All parents in these latter families had low levels of formal education.

The Omar family: There were three members in this family. The family had migrated to Australia in 1978. They lived in a western suburb of Melbourne. All family members have been happily living near relatives and friends for the past thirteen years. The father, Najee Omar, was thirty seven years of age. He was a former mechanic. His partner, Fatima Omar, was thirty four years of age. She worked at home taking care of the children and doing various domestic duties. Both Najee Omar and Fatima Omar were unemployed. These parents depended on the Commonwealth Services Delivery Agency as a source of income. Their daughter, Nadra Omar was sixteen years of age. She was a full-time secondary school student in year eleven. She had found education to be a stimulating experience. Nadra Omar also worked in a supermarket as a cashier assistant.

The Mohamad family: This family included three members. The family had migrated to Australia in 1976. They lived in a western suburb of Melbourne. All three members enjoyed their neighbours company who were also of Lebanese background. The father, Salah Mohamad, was forty two years of age. He had been a milkbar owner. His partner, Mona Mohamad, was thirty

nine years of age. She worked at home taking care of the children and doing various domestic duties. Both Salah Mohamad and Mona Mohamad were unemployed. These parents depended on the Commonwealth Services Delivery Agency as a source of income. Their daughter, Farah Mohamad was fourteen years of age. She was a full-time secondary school student in year eight. She enjoyed learning typing and Arabic.

The Deib family: There were three members in this family. The family had migrated to Australia in 1979. They lived in a north eastern suburb of Melbourne. All family members had enjoyed living in this suburb for the past sixteen years. The father, Bassam Deib, was thirty nine years of age. He was a former mechanic. His partner, Zoubayda Deib, was thirty three years of age. She worked at home taking care of the children and doing various domestic duties. Both Bassam Deib and Zoubayda Deib were unemployed. These parents also depended on the Commonwealth Services Delivery Agency as a source of income. Their son, Belal Deib, was fifteen years of age. He was a full-time secondary school student in year nine. He enjoyed learning woodwork and mathematics.

The Meena family: This family included four members. The family had migrated to Australia in 1976. They lived in a southern suburb of Melbourne. They had enjoyed living in their double storey home for the past eighteen

years. The father, Ahmed Meena, was forty one years of age. He was a former mechanic. His partner, Rana Meena was thirty five years of age. She worked at home taking care of the children and doing domestic duties. Both Ahmed Meena and Rana Meena were unemployed. These parents, as with parents in a number of the other families, depended on the Commonwealth Services Delivery Agency as a source of income. Their son, Hani Meena, was seventeen years of age. He was a full-time secondary school student in year twelve, and hoped to study medicine at University. Their daughter, Fida Meena, was fourteen years of age. She was also a full-time secondary school student in year eight, and hoped to become a lawyer in the future.

The Zeidar family: There were three members in this family. The family had migrated to Australia in 1981. They lived in a southern suburb of Melbourne. This family enjoyed where they lived because it was accessible to shops and public transport. The father, Abad Zeidar, was thirty nine years of age. He had been a milkbar owner. His partner, Nahed Zeidar, was thirty five years of age. She worked at home taking care of the children and doing various domestic duties. Both Abad Zeidar and Nahed Zeidar were unemployed. These parents also depended on the Commonwealth Services Delivery Agency as a source of income. Their daughter, Hwaida Zeidar, was seventeen years of age. She was a full-time secondary school student in year twelve. She enjoyed learning about information technology and wished to

pursue this interest at a tertiary level. Hwaida Zeidar also worked part-time at a 'take-away' food store in the city.

There were personal and cultural factors which influenced the researcher in his decision to undertake this particular study. The researcher's own and his family's migration experience to Australia had always been a source of motivation for him in thinking about the cultural views of his parents. Having been raised in Australia from a Lebanese Sunni Muslim background, the researcher was aware of some of the concerns of this particular community to do with issues of cultural identity and citizen rights. As a result, it was felt that the researcher occupied a 'unique' position for approaching the issues confronting members of the selected community. As stated, one of the benefits of occupying this 'unique' position was that the researcher's facility with Arabic and English enabled him to negotiate the language of interview with each of the participants. Many parents from low socio-economic background lacked proficiency in English. Therefore, these particular parents felt more comfortable in using Arabic with the researcher. The lack of English was more pronounced among parents with low levels of education background than with the other participants. On the other hand, many of the teenagers felt that they were more proficient in English. Proficiency in both the English and Arabic language was also useful for transcription of the interviews.

The formal interviews, first of all, involved questioning each family as a group within their home settings. Every member in the family was requested to provide a response to the questions asked by the researcher. At these meetings the researcher took notes and, with the permission of the family members, also recorded the responses. This allowed the researcher to identify the specific member of the family who was making the comment at any point in time. Some of the participants provided a much more detailed response than others to the questions stated by the researcher. Other family members also went on to provide a personal profile of their social situation in regard to some of the issues. At a later point in the study, with the assistance of a female worker, the researcher also interviewed female participants as a separate group.

The format for the interviews allowed individuals to freely engage in a dialogue with the researcher about citizenship and identity issues. In order to achieve this 'free' discussion, initial meetings were held with the families before the formal interviews took place. This enabled the researcher and the participants to build a working relationship before the formal interviews were held. Consequently, the researcher was able to capture spontaneous and personal views expressed by participants which might not have been obtained within a more restricted format. Reflecting on the value of constructing a 'naturalistic' setting, Terry states:

By operating within a 'naturalistic' framework, participants offered views that would have been excluded by a more structured approach which focused on a specific set of questions and which would have been unable to catch the 'instance'. (1995:11).

After transcribing the responses, the researcher also arranged formal meetings with some of the Arabic workers, mentioned in earlier sections of the thesis, with a view to ensuring that their responses had been correctly documented in the analysis. The researcher took informative notes during these discussions which were used to further develop the study. The next step for the researcher was to provide the other participants with the opportunity to comment on the material as it was represented by the study. A number of these latter participants made the effort to comment on this material. These were taken into consideration in the final writing up of the work.

While the methodology provided the researcher with 'rich' material for analysis, there were some problems encountered in the research process. For instance, the task of interviewing some Arabic community workers proved to be a more time consuming procedure than anticipated by the researcher. A

number of meetings were necessary with these workers to gain their confidence. With some of the other participants the researcher experienced difficulty in arranging an appropriate time to meet with all family members at one time. Also, as was expected, some family members did not wish to have their responses recorded on tape. Here, the researcher, with agreement, used extensive note taking to record responses to interview questions.

A key task for the researcher was also to ensure that the families were not treated as homogeneous entities, but that the individual views of the different respondents were carefully ascertained. For instance, in interviewing members of ten Islamic families, it was important for the researcher to work with notions such as, age group, gender status, language levels and socio-economic status. This was achieved by ensuring, for instance, that the families came from different areas across Melbourne. Also, in interviewing family groups, it was recognised that it was necessary to be aware of the different experiences across families such as, differences in migration histories.

It is important to recognise that the study only addressed the views of Islamic Sunni Lebanese families on citizenship and identity issues, thereby, focusing only on one group within the Islamic Arabic community in Australia. The study does not purport to represent the entire views of this community. Nevertheless, it is felt, that this study raises some very important issues for

the way in which members of the Islamic Sunni Lebanese community develop their ethnic and cultural identities in the Australian context. In earlier parts of this thesis it was stated that current literature on citizenship has neglected ethnic minority community views on such matters. This study, as stated earlier, addresses this concern by providing an insight into the way in which members from an 'isolated' community group reflect on their citizenship in Australia.

UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP.

A starting point for the research was to ascertain the participants' existing understandings of the concept of citizenship. Some participants discussed their views about legal rights and also political participation at a formal level. Other respondents spoke about their responsibilities as Australian citizens. Also, some family members tended to explain their migration experiences and how they felt that they were 'outsiders in a distant land.' Other participants raised their concerns about the notion of dual citizenship and their ideas about living between two cultures. Furthermore, some of the respondents spoke about their views on issues to do with multiculturalism and education. These areas of discussion, though vague, provided a point of departure for many of the participants in terms of explicating a broader definition of citizenship.

However, in further exploring the participant's general views on the notion of citizenship, many of the respondents focused on a narrow legal definition of rights. Parents from a low socio-economic background, such as the Deib, Meena and Omar families, felt that all ethnic minority groups were fairly protected by the law. Ahmed Meena talked about his presence at a citizenship ceremony in Australia. He felt 'citizenship' provided him with legal rights and access to many social services in Australia. Ahmed Meena

also defined 'citizenship' in terms of being a permanent resident in Australia. On this matter he commented: 'Being an Australian citizen means that I have the right to belong to Australia forever'. Fatima Omar and Najee Omar felt that the Australian law protected the rights of all cultural groups. Fatima Omar commented that there were no loopholes in the law when it came to issues of cultural differences. Instead, she felt that the law allowed ethnic minority groups to practice their cultural values and beliefs in Australia.

The law protects the rights of everyone, including all cultures. You can't say that the law doesn't protect the rights of people. In Australia, I am like anyone else. I can still practice my culture and religion while living in this country. The law does not stop me from doing so.

Also commenting on issues to do with legal rights, Najee Omar said:

Citizenship gives everyone rights, all cultures. It doesn't matter where you come from, you have your rights as a citizen. The law, here, allows you to practice your culture and religion. The law gives me the right to do many things. You have

the right to vote. You have the right to apply to serve in the army. You can be a member of a jury. You have access to services as a citizen in Australia.

In contrast to the views proffered by members of the low socio-economic families, some members of families from a middle socio-economic background, had a different view of the idea of the 'legal' citizen. Members of the Mouran, Zayi and Nemour families viewed the notion of equal rights as being too vague a term for them to make claims around. Ayad Zayi commented:

Equal rights is a vague term. If you're from a first generation then your characteristics will work against you. Your accent in the English language (will pose a problem). But, you should be equal in front of the law, at least you're not treated as belonging to a particular (lower) class of citizen.

Similarly, Rouba Mouran commenting on this issue:

By law you do have equal rights, but it does not necessarily mean that you're guaranteed (anything) by law. For example, they say anyone should apply, or that there is no discrimination for the way you dress, the way you look, your religion and all the rest of it, but in practice it (discrimination) does apply.

Many participants in each of the families also felt that they lacked the right to participate in the political life of the country, despite the fact that a number of first generation members felt that some of their ideas were worthy of inclusion in political debates about living in Australia. Abad Zeidar and Mona Mohamad who were from low socio-economic background families, believed that they could offer valuable insights into the personal and social experiences of being a member of a particular ethnic and cultural group. However, Mona Mohamad, for instance, felt that the law excluded her as an ethnic minority citizen from political participation in this country. She commented that it is important to include the views of ethnic minority groups in regard to national decisions on issues of politics and the law.

As an Australian citizen, I believe that I should have a say about the constitution. I should be

allowed to participate in the political system. The government needs to ensure and to allow me to practice as an ethnic citizen. It (government) needs to respect my racial and cultural background. So when there is a new law being introduced, I would like my views to be considered.

Also, some first generation participants from a middle socio-economic background, like Hisam Nemour and Riyad Zayi, shared similar views about the exclusion of ethnic minority groups from political life. Both of these respondents commented that political representatives tended to view Muslims as 'lay people' and failed to examine political issues from a community perspective. Hisam Nemour felt that the problem involved the lack of communication between parliamentary members and different ethnic and cultural groups.

The government needs to create a better system, better ways to link the ideas of cultural groups with the people making decisions in government. It is difficult for many Muslims to get their voice through to this high level. There are many professional Muslims who are educated in the

area of politics, but they are never given the chance to share their views on politics and multiculturalism.

Riyad Zayi also speaking on this matter commented:

I believe that Muslims do not get to work as politicians, because of their cultural and religious background. It won't matter whether you are qualified to work for the government, you'll never have that chance to be promoted into higher positions. You will always experience discrimination within your work. Muslims are seen to lack initiative or intellectualism when it comes to politics. Therefore, the government does not give Muslim intellectuals the chance to represent the views of their own community in Parliament.

Many second generation members in each of the families did not express a view on the issue of political participation. However, Eman Zayi commented on this matter by talking about her interests in pursuing an 'immigration and

politics' tertiary course in the future. In her opinion, it was difficult for Muslims to participate in mainstream politics, because of the prejudice towards members of the Islamic community in Australia.

You know, its difficult for Muslims to work with the government on political issues. Say I do a political course at university, it will be difficult for me to work (in this area) because everyone in the community would be racist towards Muslims in politics.

In looking at how some participants had defined citizenship in terms of legal rights and political participation, it was also apparent that the concept of 'responsibility' for some participants was another key issue in regards to a broader definition of citizenship. The participants' idea of what it means to be a 'responsible' citizen particularly related to issues of education and work. First generation respondents from a middle socio-economic background, like Sami Mouran, Maha Nemour and Roula Nebal felt that the 'responsibility' of the citizen was to become an educated and working individual in the community. Sami Mouran commented that the responsibility of citizens was to educate themselves and to participate in the workforce. He felt that it was important for citizens to contribute effectively to the broader community. 'I

believe it is up to the citizen himself to get an education. A citizen needs to contribute something good and worthwhile to the community.' Other first generation respondents from a low socio-economic background, like Ahmed Meena and Nahed Zeidar shared similar views. These participants also defined 'responsibility' in terms of citizens becoming workers in the community. On this matter, Ahmed Meena spoke in the following terms:

It is important for Muslims and other citizens to work and to do something for their community. This is an important responsibility for all Muslims who are capable of doing some sort of work. By the person working, he or she is helping themselves, financially and otherwise. But at the same time, they will benefit society. One does not only work for himself, but he indirectly helps to better his or her environment through their work. A citizen also has a responsibility to contribute something.

Nahed Zeidar also speaking on this matter commented:

A citizen has the responsibility to make sure that they get a good education, so that later they can work. People play an important role as workers, because they can help others. For example, if you're a doctor, then you can help sick people. It's not good for a person to be lazy and to sit at home. But, all citizens including Muslims need to work, to look after their families and to help others in some way. This means that they are playing an active role in the community.

Speaking from a different angle, Salah Mohamad saw the responsibility of the citizen from a religious perspective. He felt that it was important for Muslim citizens to participate as workers in the community. On this matter he said, 'A Muslim also has a duty to try and work or do some other thing to benefit society.' Salah Mohamad commented that, 'It is the responsibility of the citizen to work hard and to help better the future of their country. As a Muslim, it is the duty of this individual to contribute something of value in society.' However, it was apparent that some first generation female participants from families of a low socio-economic background had a different view. Zoubayda Deib, Rana Meena and Fatima Omar interpreted the 'responsibility' of the citizen in regard to Muslim parents guiding their

children to develop into mature adults. Zoubayda Deib commented, 'I think the responsibility of the citizen is for Muslim parents to guide their children. So they can grow up into becoming good citizens.'

Many second generation participants explicated different views to those of the parents. Farah Mohamad, Eman Zayi and Belal Deib interpreted the 'responsibility' of Muslim citizens in regard to their 'formal' participation within society. These respondents felt that it was the responsibility of Muslim citizens to vote and to participate in social and community activities. Belal commented, 'A citizen should make sure they vote. They are responsible to obey the law and to act as good, mature citizens in society.'

Also commenting on the responsibility of the citizen, Farah Mohamad said:

The responsibility of the citizen is to be a good person and to do good things in society. I have a responsibility to go to school to learn. Also, I must be an honest and reliable person. I should do my best in sport to make my school successful. I need to participate in social activities, like fund raising, to help my school become much better. I have a

responsibility to show all the successful things that our school does in the school newspaper.

Other respondents expressed a view on the issues of migration as part of their initial response to the question of what it means to be a citizen in a country like Australia. For instance, the first generation members in the Nebal family defined citizenship in regard to their migration experiences. Roula Nebal and Mahmoud Nebal spoke about becoming Australian citizens through a formal ceremony. Citizenship to Roula Nebal meant that she now owned two passports. She saw this as an advantage for her to travel from one country to another. On this matter she said, 'Citizenship means that I can go to Lebanon and Australia. I am able to move from one place to another with no problems'. Many first generation participants in families from a low socio-economic background also discussed formal citizenship. Fatima Omar, Zoubayda Deib and Ahmed Meena talked about their visa applications to emigrate to Australia. Speaking about her journey to Australia, Fatima Omar said that she went through many 'formal' procedures in coming to Australia. She said, 'I had to visit the Ambassador many times until I was granted my visa.' Zoubayda Deib also made a similar point. She commented, 'It took my family a while until we got our visa. Then we went through a terrible trip from Beirut to Cyprus, and later we got to Australia.' Both Fatima Omar and Zoubayda Deib were pleased to receive their citizenship in Australia. They

both felt comfortable having a dual nationality as Lebanese and Australian citizens. 'Citizenship meant that now I have two passports, I can be part of Australia and I can also go back to Lebanon.' In discussing citizenship ceremonies with some of the families, all members in the Nebal family, commented that citizenship ceremonies varied between different areas of Melbourne. For instance, Roula Nebal suggested that the quality of ceremony presentation varied between suburbs in Melbourne.

The type of citizenship ceremony you have, I think varies from one place to another. So it depends on the council, it depends on what area you live in. If I live in Kew I'll have a very good ceremony for my citizenship. If I live in Williamstown or Sunshine, then what sort of ceremony will I have. I think it is important for all citizens to attend a very well organised citizenship ceremony, because this will be an important time for all citizens.

Other first generation participants in each of the families also discussed issues of dual citizenship in terms of a broader issues of cultural life. Roula Nebal, Rouba Mouran and Zoubayda Deib commented about how they saw themselves culturally as both Australian and Lebanese individuals. These

female parents spoke about having to adopt two different sets of cultural habits. Rouba Mouran told of her experiences of having to act differently when socialising with Australian friends, as opposed to the way she usually behaved with family members and the Lebanese community.

I mean sometimes society puts pressure on you. To belong, I felt I had to change my name. I had a 'woggy sort of a name', so I felt to fit in I had to change my name. Whenever I was with my peers I acted like them, but with the family I acted totally different.

Similarly, Roula Nebal commenting on this issue:

I don't feel one or the other. To me, I am both an Australian and a Lebanese individual. I mean, I know I'm Muslim, but I feel that my cultural practices include that of an Australian and a Lebanese way of life. To me, these two have come together. Also, my culture is reflected through my cooking. I cook for the family, both Aussie meals

and Lebanese food. Like now, we make pizza and we sometimes have pies.

Zoubayda Deib also speaking on this matter commented:

I am an Australian Lebanese citizen. I feel I belong to two worlds, because I lived for many years in Lebanon and I have lived for many years in Australia. Although some people might feel differently, this is what I believe my identity is, but my religion is Islam of course, no one can change that. I believe that you pick up a lot of habits and different ideas from society. There might be some behaviours or ideas which may appeal to you from your environment. So you tend to relate your identity to certain practices, and then later on these things become part of life.

Many second generation participants across the families shared different views to their parents. Even though they saw themselves as Australian-Lebanese citizens, these respondents did not feel that their behaviour had to

change in mixing with two different cultures. The participants felt they were raised in Australia and that their 'social behaviour' related to the 'Australian way of life.' On this matter, Hani Meena spoke in the following terms:

I feel I am more Australian, but also I can't deny that I come from an Arabic background. My parents are Lebanese, so I guess this makes me a Lebanese person. But the fact is, I was born in Australia, so I am an Aussie. But I know I act more like Aussies do. My religion is very important to me, but I don't feel I have to act like everything the Lebanese culture expects me to. I have to live like Australians do, because I am living in Australia.

It was also apparent that a number of first generation male participants in the families had a different view. These respondents felt that the notion of dual identity was not relevant to the way they perceived their self identity. The fathers in these families had strong views about their Islamic identity as their sole cultural identity. Sami Mouran, Nour Cedar, Salah Mohamad and Bassam Deib did not relate to the views of their partners about 'dual identities'. These respondents discussed the fact that most of their

upbringing was with their families in Lebanon. Consequently, they believed that they were bound to one culture and one religion. For instance, Nour Cedar commented that having lived in Lebanon for many years, he felt a sense of belonging to the Islamic Lebanese culture. Also, Nour Cedar commented that the Islamic culture relates to some of the ways he acts and communicates with other people in the community. He says, 'From early childhood I have established my identity. This means I have a sense of belonging to a particular cultural and religious group. This also means being a Lebanese Muslim living in Australia.' Speaking along similar lines, Abad Zeidar also said:

I don't believe in this idea that you can have more than one identity. I come from an Islamic Lebanese family and so, this is my background. This is my identity. It is who I am as a human being. Now you can't look at identity like a set of cards which shift and change all the time. You have your identity and that is it. You can't be living in Australia, and to say I have also become an Australian person as well. This is not the right way of looking at your identity.

It is clear that this initial discussion with families about the notion of citizenship focused around the concepts of legal rights, migration and dual identity. However, at a later stage in the discussions, participants extended their views to look at the connections between work, gender and religious identity. One of the issues that emerged during these discussions was the important position that 'work' occupied in the informants' conceptions of citizenship. It is 'work' as related to the notions of citizenship that is the subject of the discussion that follows.

THE 'WORKING' CITIZEN

While, the researcher did not specifically raise the issue of working life in the interviews, it was evident that the issue of work as being related to the notion of citizenship was a major issue for many members of the families in the study. It was felt by many participants that the responsibility of the citizen was to participate as an active worker in the community. As has been shown in earlier sections of the thesis, many family members defined a commitment to 'work' as a key characteristic of the citizen. From the discussions, there seemed to be a general agreement among members in each of the families that the role of the citizen as a 'constructive' worker helped to contribute to the development of Australia's future. Some of the first generation participants in families from a middle socio-economic background saw themselves as 'skilled' workers who could make a valuable contribution to the broader community. For instance, Ayad Zayi felt that his role as a lecturer in Electrical engineering helped to educate and guide Muslim and non-Muslim students to grow into constructive and hard working citizens.

I believe I have made a large contribution to this country by being a worker working in a tertiary institution for up to thirty hours a week and helping generations of students to graduate. I feel

that I am guiding and helping to educate other (non-Muslim) students into being better citizens.

Rouba Mouran also shared a similar view. She felt that her position as a researcher with a government agency was helpful in developing language and literacy programmes for ethnic minority citizens. On this matter, she spoke in the following terms;

As a professional, I feel I am constructively contributing to Australian society. A lot of my work has to do with conducting research on immigrants from various backgrounds. I also do a lot of combined research projects with other specific organisations. This provides people with detailed information about the experiences of other cultures.

Commenting along similar lines, Zoubayda Deib felt that her work with the Arabic community contributed to the improvement of community relations in this country.

I have contributed many years of my life, in fact twenty three years, as an Arabic development officer for the community. I work on many community projects. Everyone has a task. We have workshops and seminars or we have a play to emphasize some of the public issues regarding Arabic people or, Muslims or, the community as a whole.

A number of first generation female participants from a middle socio-economic background felt that non Muslim individuals did not have a clear understanding of the working role of Muslim women in Australia. Two of the respondents commented that many people tended to view Muslim women as practicing a submissive role in the family. However, Wadad Cedar felt that it was important for her to be an active worker and an independent individual.

It is also very important for females to work these days and to also provide a good contribution to society. It is important for me to work so that I can be and, at the same time feel, an independent woman. I therefore don't have to depend on

anyone. It is my right to work and to contribute something as well.

Maha Nemour also shared a similar view:

People in Australia have a wrong impression of Muslim women, they see many of them as housewives who only look after the family. But there are many Muslim women who are entering university and working in good jobs. I know many Muslim women who work, including my sisters and myself.

It was apparent that second generation female participants who were in the full-time workforce also shared similar views to their parents. While these participants felt confident with their role as workers, they commented how other non Muslim people saw the role of Lebanese Muslim girls as workers in the home. Opposing such a view, Eman Zayi commented that it was her right to work and to earn an independent income. 'I feel I have the right to work and to earn my money. I don't see why only men can work. People assume that just because you're a Lebanese Muslim girl that you don't work.'

Hanan Nebal shared similar views when she commented that Australian

employers tended to represent and identify Muslim females as unskilled labourers rather than as educated citizens. She also felt that employers tended to look at Muslim women as workers with poor skills. In her opinion, employers usually assume that Muslim women are unemployed or, uneducated people. On this matter she said,

Many employers assume that Muslim women are uneducated people. This is the general assumptions they make about Muslim women. These employers never consider your educational background or your skills. They quickly jump to conclusions once they are aware of your cultural or religious background.

While some first generation members of the families saw participation in the workforce as being central to their idea of citizenship, some second generation participants, who were still at school, also spoke about this matter. These participants felt that as school students they had the potential, and an obligation, to become educated working citizens and to contribute to the future development of Australia. Eman Zayi felt that while work was not a priority in her life at this moment of time, she felt that her studies and career would enable her to contribute effectively to society in the future. Explicating

a different view, Hani Meena had no thoughts about career and work related issues. At this stage, he was only interested in his school studies.

To me work is not an issue now. I mean I am only a student, a full-time high school student. So, I feel it is important to concentrate on my studies and to think of the future of my work later on when I have finished all of my studies. I'm sure then I will work. By then I would have decided what I really like and what job I want.

While many of the first generation participants spoke about the relationship between work and citizenship, many of the female participants felt that 'equal' rights was an issue for them in the Australian workplace. In particular, Maha Nemour, Roula Nebal and Wadad Cedar, all of whom were from a middle socio-economic background, shared similar views about their inability to exercise their full rights at work, and therefore attain citizenship in its most substantive form. These participants commented that Muslim women lacked full rights as working citizens due to their ethnic and religious background. Roula Nebal felt that women had to fight for their rights to participate as workers in a number of areas of social life in Australia.

Commenting on this matter this respondent said: 'You have to fight for your rights. Also you don't find any Lebanese Muslim women or other Arabic women in politics.' Speaking along similar lines, Wadad Cedar also said;

I felt that as a Muslim worker that my rights were always being taken advantage of by employers and other workers. I had to always stand up for my rights. The workers look at your Hijab and they automatically think that you can't speak English, that you're weak and won't say anything. They expect you to do what pleases them.

From the discussions, it was generally apparent that many of the participants believed that Muslim women tended to experience more problems than Muslim men in the workforce. Roula Nebal believed that the law did not cover the rights of women workers. She suggested, for instance, that women workers lacked rights in business firms. She also stated that employers tended to allocate male employees to higher employment positions. Commenting on this matter, she said, 'In a large business firm it's hard for women workers, not just for myself or other Muslim women. Generally males tend to receive the upper hand.' Some female 'paid' workers in these families also spoke about the 'hijab' being an issue in the Australian

workplace. While, these women felt comfortable with the hijab, they commented about how employers failed to recognise Muslim women as intellectual and skilled workers. Rouba Mouran commented that employers judged Muslim women on their physical appearance and not on their work skills.

It's hard for a woman to get a job because she can be well qualified, but once she shows up at the interview, she won't get the job because of the hijab. People do not take much notice of your qualifications. They base their decision on your looks. This is why many Muslim women are unemployed. They are not given the opportunity to work, because they wear the hijab.

Wadad Cedar also speaking on this matter commented that she was not respected as a worker in a Melbourne business firm. She felt other colleagues in higher positions judged her on her physical appearance, rather than on her merits. She commented that, 'My workmates did not treat me with respect. They assume that I can't do some work tasks. Some workers think that I am an "unskilled" person because I wear the hijab.'

It was also apparent that second generation participants in each of the families shared similar views to their parents about their ethnicity being an issue in the workplace. Nadra Omar, commented that wearing the 'hijab' negatively influenced the attitudes of other work colleagues towards her. She also mentioned that her employer restricted her from participating in certain work tasks. Consequently, this made Nadra Omar feel that she was no longer contributing effectively to the workplace, no longer really a citizen. 'Everything was fine before I wore the hijab to work. Some workers and customers were not as friendly as before.' Speaking along similar lines, Hanan Nebal also said:

When people know that your a Muslim at work, they don't treat you with respect. I wear the hijab and I tend to find that racist people single you out. It involves some workmates and many customers not really relating to you in a good way. They tend not to engage with you willingly and to support you as a worker.

Also commenting on issues to do with ethnicity in the workplace, Hwaida Zeidar said:

If you come from an ethnic background and your employer is Australian, then you will not enjoy your work. Your background is always an issue in terms of who you work with and whether you are capable of being a reliable long - term employee. Sometimes the attitudes of other people puts you of the job, that you tend to quit and look for another job.

Rouba Mouran, a first generation participant, also shared a similar view to the latter second generation participants. Rouba talked about her personal experience in applying for a job. She stated that she had sent a resume to her employer and commented that her employer was so impressed with her qualifications and previous work experiences that he decided to speak to her by telephone. As a result, Rouba Mouran suggested that her employer felt that she was the perfect candidate for the job. She told of how he had invited her for an interview the next morning. However, she suggested that her potential employer changed his attitude towards her when she arrived for an interview, and that he then felt that she was not the type of candidate required for the particular position which had been advertised. She believed that this was because she was clearly identifiable as being of Arabic background. Later on, Rouba Mouran sought the advice of an Arabic

community worker about what she saw as discrimination but commented that it is difficult to prove issues of discrimination in regard to race, ethnic or religious identity.

It's hard to prove work discrimination. This is happening to many Muslim people in Australia. Your employer can discriminate against you and you can't do anything about it. This is something which my friends and I have experienced many times. When it has to do with issues of ethnicity and religion, it is hard to pin point how your employer might have discriminated against you.

In contrast, Ibtissam Cedar, who did not wear the 'hijab' to work, experienced a different work lifestyle. She felt that her ethnic identity was not an issue in her organisation and that her work colleagues respected her and encouraged her to apply for work promotions. 'I guess I experience a better working lifestyle than some of the Muslim women today. I don't know, I guess if I wore the Hijab myself, well maybe things might be a little bit different.'

Ayad Zayi shared a different view to other male members across the families on the matter of racism in the workplace. He commented that his 'workmates'

would make insults about his 'ethnic' name and cultural practice on a regular basis. Ayad Zayi spoke about his personal experiences as a worker in a government agency where he felt that government officials tended to place emphasis on the social and ethnic identity of Muslims, and saw them, as incompetent workers. This latter participant also felt that government officials seemed to distrust their 'ethnic' colleagues. He commented that his attempt to initiate 'new' projects for the Arabic community tended to be overlooked by his superiors.

It is very difficult to be a Muslim worker in a government agency. Your ethnic background immediately works against you. I find it very hard to develop projects for the Arabic community. People in higher positions there, just seemed to be not interested. They were not interested in managing other work besides government work.

Sami Mouran also commented that it is difficult for minority citizens to participate as government workers in Australia.

When you are doing official work in a government or a political institution, you're not treated as a descent human being. There are biased views towards your cultural background. This makes it difficult for a Muslim worker, such as myself, to participate in such institutions. It is also extremely difficult to achieve work promotions and better positions within your department.

In discussing issues of work discrimination with the ten families, some first generation participants felt that stereotypes within the media also affected their participation in the workforce. Sami Mouran, Roula Nebal and Riyad Zayi spoke about the media affecting the attitudes of society towards Muslim workers. Ayad Zayi believed that the media tends to misrepresent the role of Muslims as workers. He felt the media conveyed a distorted view of Muslims as being lazy workers and having poor work skills. 'The media tends to show a hopeless picture of a Muslim worker. They describe them as lazy workers who usually don't have the right qualifications.' Riyad Zayi and Rouba Mouran shared a similar view. These parents talked about how they failed to achieve work promotions within their organisations. For instance, Rouba Mouran spoke about her employers constantly questioning her about her 'background'. 'Employers are always asking me questions about my

background. This makes me very mad because they create problems for you as a Muslim to further succeed in your workplace.'

From the discussions, it was clear that some participants from middle socio-economic families also felt that their experiences of racism in the workplace inhibited their movement towards full citizenship in Australia. More specifically, Fatima Omar, Zoubayda Deib and Ahmed Meena commented about the 'Gulf War' and how it had affected them as Muslim workers in Australia. While these participants saw themselves as Muslim citizens in this country and felt confident with their Islamic identity, they spoke about the attitudes of other workers towards them. As a teachers' assistant Ahmed Meena spoke about being verbally abused by TAFE students about his Islamic identity. He commented that one student called him a 'terrorist'. Speaking about this incident he commented;

Once during the Gulf War, I was a teachers' assistant at a TAFE college. I was sitting having lunch at a table and at another table sat a group of male students. They started to abuse me, to say rude things to me and they also accused me of being a terrorist and they said, 'You belong to a

terrorist group'. I just ignored them, and had my lunch somewhere else.

Both Fatima Omar and Zoubayda Deib also spoke about similar experiences of verbal abuse in the workplace. These participants spoke about other workers verbally abusing them and isolating them as a separate group of citizens. Zoubayda Deib commented how other non Muslim workers perceived her as the 'enemy' and as an 'unreliable' worker. She described how customers were often very rude towards her while she was working in a department store. 'During the Gulf war I worked in a store and customers were very rude to me.' Fatima Omar shared a similar view. As a 'former worker' during the Gulf war, Fatima Omar felt that there was a tense atmosphere in her workplace. She spoke about clients and customers physically and verbally abusing her and making it difficult for her to conduct her work duties.

Being a Muslim worker with the hijab on, especially during the Gulf War was very difficult for me to work. You felt most of the community was angry with you. I hated going to work around that time. There was a lot of fighting and arguing between me and other people at work. At one time

a woman grabbed the scarf off my head and started being verbally abusive.

Riyad Zayi and Ayad Zayi shared different views. They felt that the Gulf War had affected both their social and work lives. These participants spoke about their violent encounters with other non Muslim people both at work and in the community.

Muslims were affected a great deal during the Gulf War. My family and I faced a lot of racism at work, when we're shopping and even in our street. It was a very isolating and frightening experience. In the streets I had the veil removed off my head, and people said rude things to me. I would never like to go through this bad experience again.

Helal Zayi and Eman Zayi also shared similar views to their parents. They felt that the attitudes of other people made it difficult for them to participate in Australian society. Eman Zayi said that she had felt pressured into quitting her part-time job as a result of racism; 'The attitudes of other

workers and people made it difficult for me to continue working there. So I had to quit.'

It was also apparent that racism in the workplace was also an issue for second generation participants in families from a middle socio-economic background. Hanan Nebal and Ibtissam Cedar felt that the racist attitudes of other workers towards them made it difficult for them to participate effectively in their workplaces. Ibtissam Cedar commented that her boss did not allow her to participate in many work activities. She also felt that other work colleagues tended to exclude her from assisting in certain work tasks and that this exclusion was to do with her ethnic status.

Many work colleagues including my employer were very racist towards Muslim workers. There was me and an Albanian Muslim woman in this section of the organisation. The attitude of people affected the amount of work we did. They did not want us to help them any more with their workload. They did not want anything to do with us, simply because we were Muslims.

Hanan Nebal also speaking on this matter commented:

People were very racist towards Muslim workers. I experienced a lot of racism at work because of my background. People tend not to relate to you well. They don't speak to you and they don't make eye contact. This made it very difficult for me to work in such an unfriendly environment. Sometimes I shifted sections or looked for a job elsewhere.

Helal Zayi, who worked as a 'customer assistant' on a part-time basis also shared a similar view. Helal Zayi felt that he was an isolated worker. Nevertheless, he suggested that the racist attitudes of other workers did not affect his ability to participate and contribute effectively in certain work tasks. 'The racist attitudes of other workers did not mean that I could not do my work properly any more, but the fact is that other workers tended not to have anything to do with you. That's what would make it hard for me or someone else to work (in the way that I think a citizen would work).'

It was also apparent that two first generation female participants commented about their roles as 'unpaid' home workers. The respondents considered

their roles as 'housewives' to be very demanding. For instance, Fatima Omar felt that her role as a housewife was demanding in terms of the daily domestic duties required to keep a family. She also felt that the role of parenting was important in raising and disciplining the behaviour of children in the family.

The role and work of the housewife is also very important. A housewife has a lot of duties that she needs to take care of, besides housework. As a parent I have also another very important job, that is, I need to raise and discipline my children properly. I have to make sure that the children are behaving well. I believe that the mother has a very hard and demanding job within the family.

Mona Mohamad also shared a similar view. She spoke about the fact that the role of being a housewife was a demanding and productive role. She felt that it was not different to the work of other women in the workforce.

The job of the housewife is very important in the home. It is much harder than women who go to work. A housewife also has to work twenty four

hours a day. There are a lot of duties that she fulfils in a day. She has to iron the clothes and wash them. A mother has to cook meals, fix the beds and to clean the dust and floors. So they work and get tired just like other employed women.

It was apparent that a number of participants from a middle socio-economic background also felt that their 'ethnic' identity was an issue for other people in the workplace. While members of these families felt confident and comfortable with their role as working citizens, they felt that other people had a problem in conceptualising them as 'normal' workers. Sami Mouran, Ayad Zayi and Roula Nebal felt that their work skills were undermined by their employers. For instance, Sami Mouran who worked as a social worker commented that he was classed as the 'ethnic worker', regardless of the fact that he was a skilled and competent worker across a range of areas. The father from the Zayi family spoke about his work experiences in a business firm. While Ayad Zayi did not have difficulties in speaking English, he spoke about the attitudes of other workers towards him. Ayad Zayi talked about the fact that his employers and other workers in the department had a problem in accepting his 'overseas' qualifications. He also commented about a co-worker acting in a superior way towards him. This respondent believed

that some co-workers did not recognise the fact that he also shared similar knowledge and work skills to them. He felt that work colleagues were prejudiced towards his 'ethnic' identity and did not relate to him as a 'professional' and 'competent' worker. Consequently, Ayad Zayi said that this made it difficult for him to conduct his work tasks. On this matter, he spoke in the following terms:

I found it very difficult to work in an organisation which was totally racist towards Muslim people. Firstly, the people I worked with, were from an Anglo-Saxon background. These men always questioned my advice and my work on the committee. These people did not treat me like a professional, even though I had the same degree and was doing similar work.

From the discussions, it was also apparent that many respondents felt that Islamic cultural and religious beliefs informed their practices as workers in Australia. Consequently, they suggested that many employers and other non-Muslim workers found it difficult to understand such beliefs, because, the respondents argued, these people were unable to see the connections between religious beliefs and social practices. It was generally felt by participants in

each of the families that many work institutions are, for instance, yet to offer Muslim workers the opportunity of prayer services. Two first generation participants, from a middle socio-economic background, emphasized this point by talking about their experiences as teachers in Australian schools. These respondents commented that while all other religious teachings and books were offered in their school, their offer of teaching about the 'Islamic Empire' were not welcomed by the other members of the school's staff. Responding to a question about work discrimination and reflecting his own and his partner's experience, Mahmoud Nebal said:

Well actually with schools, yes, sometimes the classes and teachers did not respond to Muslim women well or encourage them. The high school did not welcome books about Islam and religion which I photocopied and offered for use. Yet their library covered all the other religions. Everything that my wife and I tried to do to better the conditions of schooling for Muslim students were rejected.

Also commenting on issues to do with religious discrimination in the workplace, Sami Mouran said:

Employers in the managerial department did not support any ideas or projects that would benefit Muslims. I tried to have a prayer room established at work, but the boss refused. These people also don't know about the importance of prayer times and the Islamic feast. So I take two days off a year to celebrate the Eid, (feast) with my family.

Commenting along similar lines, Riyadh Zayi felt that work institutions did not cater for the cultural and religious practices of Muslim employees.

Life for Muslims at work is very difficult. Muslims find it difficult to practice their religious beliefs or their cultural beliefs, because many organisations don't understand the practices of Muslim workers. There are very racist people in them. Therefore, they, (organisations) don't offer the right facilities for Muslims to pray.

While the second generation participants who were in full-time work felt that they did not specifically place an emphasis on their cultural and religious values during their working day, these teenagers commented how other work colleagues questioned their behaviour and found it difficult to understand both their work and cultural practices. Helal Zayi spoke of how other non-Muslim workers in a furniture factory could not understand why it was important for him to take a five minute break to pray. Speaking on this matter, Helal Zayi said, 'I work in a furniture factory and when I take a five minute break to pray, because as you know, a Muslim prays five times a day, the other staff considered my behaviour unusual .' Nadra Omar also speaking on this matter commented:

I feel other workers and customers have an attitude problem towards me. I don't always talk about my Islamic culture with other people, but they seem to have a problem with my hijab, (the 'veil'). Many of them don't understand why I have to wear it to work. These people prefer that I have a hair style and come with make - up. They don't understand that I am following an Islamic principle. Instead, they feel that I am bringing my religion to work.

While many of the participants in the study felt that the adherence to a religious perspective in all areas of their life, meant that they experienced varying degrees of isolation in the workplace, a number of the participants also talked about their exclusion in the workplace from a different perspective. Bassam Deib and Abad Zeidar felt that 'semi-skilled' workers could no longer keep up with the new demands of advanced industries.

I used to work in Australian factories, and I used to do my job very well. I used to work many hours, and the factory depended on my skills in handling the machines and products. But this was all in the 1970s. But today the structure of factories have changed and you are required to have extra skills as a worker. Well! There are new machines, like computers, that I still need to know how they work.

Zoubayda Deib commenting about similar issues, felt that her potential as a hard worker was recognised by employers in the past. However, she felt that she could 'no longer meet today's work requirements'. On this point, she said, 'I feel my role as a worker back in the 1960s and '70s was more appreciated than today. These days, the machinery has become so advanced

that they no longer need people to manage them.’ Likewise, Fatima Omar and Ahmed Meena were confident with their work skills, but felt that other workers perceived them as ‘poor’ and ‘unskilled’ workers. Fatima Omar commented; ‘I know I have the skill to do a particular work task, but other workers don’t appreciate you. Some see you as an unskilled worker (simply because you are a Muslim).’ Ahmed Meena also felt that ethnicity was an issue for him in the workplace. He commented that immigrants, such as himself, were viewed as the ‘factory worker’ by many people in the Australian community. ‘In the past it was very hard working in Australian factories. Everyone saw you as the ‘ethnic factory worker.’ Explicating a different view, Zoubayda Deib, another first generation participant, spoke about her job as an Arabic community worker in Melbourne. She did not experience many work difficulties as opposed to the latter participants. Zoubayda Deib stated that she adapted well to her work environment as people were from a similar background and spoke both English and Arabic.

Unlike many other Muslim workers I talk to, I don’t experience trouble at work. I work in a happy and good place because all my co-workers, they, speak both Arabic and English. Everybody respects each other. So I feel I have been fortunate in terms of working in Australia.

From the discussions, it was also apparent that other respondents discussed some of their 'earlier' experiences as 'migrant workers' in Australia. Generally, it was felt by some participants from the different families that cultural groups such as Muslim Australians were represented as 'ethnic minorities' and 'marginalised' groups in workplaces. First generation participants from the Nebal, Mohamad and the Omar families commented about the difficulties they had experienced as new settlers into the Australian community. Salah Mohamad spoke about his experiences with former workmates in the factory.

Other factory workers saw you as an intruder. They couldn't care less about whether you could do the work but they felt that you were taking the jobs of other Australians. We always used to argue with the workers. They would say, ' "wogs" should go back to their country.' Some used to spit on us.

Members of the Omar family also shared a similar view on this matter.

Fatima Omar said:

In the 1960s and early 70s, it was very difficult for migrants, especially Muslims, to work in Australia. The Australians felt that so many migrants were taking over their jobs. It was also difficult for Muslim workers who spoke little English. It was hard to stand up for your work rights. Many Australian workers treated me in a rude way and tried to take over some of my work tasks.

Both Sami Mouran and Ayad Zayi from middle socio-economic families shared a similar view. These participants also spoke about their work experiences as 'migrants' settling in Australia. Sami Mouran and Ayad Zayi felt that other members of the community had a problem in accepting them as 'professional' community workers. Ayad Zayi spoke about the angry attitudes of his clients in the social work industry. He commented that some clients were not happy with an 'ethnic migrant' assisting them in their 'own country'.

You worked hard for all clients, but some clients from an Anglo-Saxon background were not very appreciative. They saw you as a 'wog'. They did

not like the fact that their care worker or assistant was from an 'ethnic' background. There was a lot of prejudice in the community. That is not to say there isn't today, as we still deal with cases of racism in the Australian community.

Many participants in each of the families also discussed the different work structures between Australian and Lebanese industries. Some first generation respondents experienced problems in the workplace because they were not familiar with the work structures and systems. Speaking about his experiences as a factory worker in Australia, Salah Mohamad felt that his lack of English was a major factor in limiting his activities within the factory. He commented how the system was organised to better suit workers from an English speaking background. This respondent felt he was unable to effectively operate the factory machines, as many regulations were not explained in other languages. This was a major problem for him as he felt that the workplace was organised very differently from those in Lebanon. In approaching his employer to discuss some work difficulties, Salah Mohamad commented, that his 'boss' ignored implementing new strategies. Also, he spoke about his 'boss' ignoring his work skills and always referring him to easier work tasks. Salah Mohamad felt that the relationships between employers and employees were different in Australia to those of Lebanon.

He commented, that in Lebanon, employers and employees were treated as equal people. As an employee in his former country, Salah felt that he was treated fairly and felt less restricted as a worker in the workplace.

I find work in Australia to be different than back in Lebanon. There are different work structures. The system here is more tight and it does not relate to other immigrant workers. Their needs are not considered. Also the way you relate to other workers is different in Lebanon. Your relationship with the employer is less formal than in Australia. You tend to be treated as a friend and with respect by many employers in Lebanon.

While, a number of respondents raised the issue of language at different stages of the interview, some participants felt that the Arabic language was important in considering their place as citizens in the workplace. Many of the participants from a middle socio-economic background saw the Arabic language as a valuable business skill. Some bilingual respondents in these families felt it was an advantage to speak more than one language. They suggested that Arabic enhanced their work and communication skills with other prospective clients. Hisam Nemour suggested that his facility with

Arabic had helped him to establish international links with clients from regions across the Middle East.

Arabic has been extremely beneficial to my role as a working Muslim in Australia and, also in my workplace, being able to speak Arabic, helped me to effectively communicate with other workers and business people in the Middle East. I was able to communicate with other Arabic speaking groups in the Middle East by sending them documents written in Arabic.

Members of the Cedar family shared similar views. Both Nour Cedar and Wadad Cedar felt that Arabic had helped them to communicate effectively with many clients from an Arabic speaking background. These participants also felt that their bilingual skill had assisted them with work promotions and had also enabled them to take on special work projects, thereby making a significant contribution to the workplace. Responding to a question about language and reflecting her own and her partner's experience, Wadad Cedar said:

It was a great advantage for me to speak Arabic and English, while working in a major business firm. This meant I was able to establish links with the Middle East, which helped the business to gain extra potential buyers. At the same time, I received a work bonus and got to travel for free. I was also able to demonstrate myself as a skilled and effective worker.

However, Mahmoud Nebal had a different view in terms of language and work. As a working parent, Mahmoud Nebal felt that an Asian language was more useful than Arabic in terms of future business dealings between Australia and other countries in the Asian region. Commenting on this matter he said, 'I believe it is also more important for our children to learn an Asian language. This will help them in the future to work with Asian countries.' In contrast to the view expressed by Mahmoud Nebal, a number of first generation participants from low socio-economic background saw the Arabic language as a valuable skill for their children. These respondents felt that Arabic would increase their children's employment opportunities after completing their studies. Salah Mohamad, for instance, viewed language as being beneficial for Muslim children with interests in the interpreting and translating sections of the workforce. 'You can be an interpreter for other

Arabic people who don't speak English or Muslim children will also be able to translate in Arabic at their work.'

It was also felt by many of the second generation participants that Arabic would assist Muslims and other individuals to work as Arabic interpreters or translators in the workforce. Helal Zayi viewed language as an important skill in regard to a number of jobs, such as, teaching, interpreting and tourism.

If you can speak Arabic then it can give you opportunities. You can work for tourists. You can translate for Arabic people. A second language helps people to communicate with others in an effective way. Also like my uncle, because he knows both Arabic and English. He teaches both languages in schools.

His sister Eman Zayi shared a similar view. Eman Zayi felt that having another language, such as Arabic, increased your chances of finding a job. As with first generation respondents, there were also differences on this matter among the second generation participants. For instance, Sarah Nemour did not see the Arabic language as being of importance in regard to work

opportunities. Sarah Nemour seemed only interested in the relevance of Arabic towards her current Victorian Certificate of Education studies. She felt that the Arabic language would assist her in gaining higher scores in school and therefore increase her chances of entering a university course of her choice. 'I believe Arabic will help me to get a higher score at the end and to get into many courses at university.'

From the above discussion of work, which includes the respondents' experiences in the workplace as well as study aspirations, the connections between these issues and citizenship remain closely interrelated. In the course of the discussions, it became clear that issues of citizenship overlapped other social and cultural categories. For example, the respondents also raised issues of gender as being integral to their notions of citizenship. It is these gender related issues and conceptualisations that are explored and discussed in the chapter that follows.

POSITIONING ONESELF THROUGH GENDER

While it was apparent that gender was an important issue in all of the areas that were discussed by the participants, this particular part of the thesis specifically focuses on how members of the families represented themselves through the category of gender. Many of the participants felt that the issue of gender was intricately related with the notion of parenthood. In discussing the matter of parental rights and citizenship with the families in the study, a number of first generation participants from a low socio-economic background felt that they had to adopt Australian family ways. Salah Mohamad, Bassam Deib and Rana Meena, in particular, spoke about the pressure of having to conform to the idea of parent-child relationships which predominated in Australia. Bassam Deib and Zoubayda Deib felt that they were unable to fulfill their role as Lebanese Muslim parents in Australia. Commenting on this matter Zoubayada said, 'It's not enough to say that I already have my own set of standards for disciplining my child. There are different ways Australian parents treat their kids, that I feel one has to follow. For example, sometimes children get carried away with their misbehaviour that a parent needs to smack the child to get his or her attention. This is because the parent has failed to get the child's attention by talking to him or her.' Commenting along similar lines, Nahed Zeidar also said:

I am a person who agrees with child spanking, because talking to the child does not work on all children. As a Lebanese parent I have to watch out not to spank the child in public. I am not saying to beat the child badly, but when they are naughty, it doesn't hurt to spank the child. He will learn from this, and he will later realise not to repeat this behaviour. I feel, as a parent, I am the one who spends a lot of time with the child and I understand the behaviour of my child much better than anyone else.

Also commenting on issues to do with the idea of parent - child relationship in Australia, Salah Mohamad commented:

When I am being over-protective of my children, this protection will only benefit the child in the end. My Australian neighbours let their children go out during the night. Now, through my experience, I feel the child is prone to danger and trouble by going out during the night. I feel I have to sometimes let my children go out, so that I am

not seen as the tormenting father or the 'restrictive' parent.

Many first generation female participants from a low socio-economic background also made a connection between the issue of citizenship and their role as the 'good mother'. Fatima Omar, Mona Mohamad and Zoubayda Deib all felt it was important to guide their children into becoming responsible Muslim citizens. While, these women felt that other non Muslim people perceived Muslim women to play a submissive and maternal role in the family, these women had different interpretations of their role as the 'mother'. These respondents felt that it was their duty as Muslim women to care and discipline their children and to bring their children up as good citizens. While domestic duties was an important issue to these female participants, their roles as mothers also was central to the definitions of citizenship offered by them. To these respondents, citizenship was not just about barriers and discrimination, but they also saw it as a positive contribution. These particular female parents felt that they had a responsibility to raise and prepare their children into becoming good second generation citizens.

I feel it is my duty as a Muslim mother to care for my children. I feel it is my responsibility to guide

my children, and to discipline them, to be responsible and mature adults. So I don't see my role as a mother any differently, but I understand this is my right to guide my children.

Members of the Omar family also shared a similar view on this matter. Fatima Omar felt that she lacked the right to exercise her role as a mother in Australia.

It is very hard for me as a woman, as a worker and, as a mother, to exercise my full rights (as a citizen). For example, it is hard to be a Muslim Lebanese mother in Australia. Here no one can relate or understand your ways of disciplining a child. I feel I need to watch out for how some mothers treat their children and I try to act upon that.

A number of other female participants in these families were also concerned with their role as parents in Australia. While, Rana Meena, Nahed Zeidar, Mona Mohamad, Maha Nemour and Roula Nebal felt confident with raising their children according to Lebanese cultural practices, these women pointed

out that government officials, such as police officers, often had a problem in relating to the social and cultural practices of Lebanese Muslim parents. Because of this lack of understanding on the part of different government officials, many of these participants commented about having to play a different role as parents in Australia to the one that they would have followed had they stayed in Lebanon. Fatima Omar, Roula Nebal, Rana Meena and Rouba Mouran shared similar views on this matter. For example, all of these female parents talked about the expectation in Australia of sending their children to bed by a particular time. This was a concern for these participants because in Lebanon there was a general expectation that children would be able to stay up until late into the evening. On this matter, Fatima Omar spoke in the following terms:

I feel that my role as a Lebanese parent in Australia is restricted. The law gives children a lot of rights and freedom. I feel that the government does not understand my cultural way of life. For example, I have to be careful at what time I send my child to bed. I don't feel that I am doing something wrong by sending my child to bed at ten or eleven o'clock. It does not effect the child in anyway.

Roula Nebal also speaking on this matter commented:

It is important to educate non Arabic people about the Lebanese culture, the family and other things about our lives. I am also thinking about the government here and the police. There are a lot of cross - cultural issues that exist in Australian society which the government is yet to address. For example, I feel it is my right and my business to send my children to bed at an appropriate time and not at a standard time. As long as I am not neglecting or abusing my kids, it is no ones business to interfere with my children's day and night hours.

Furthermore, Hisam Nemour, Rouba Mouran and Nour Cedar also commented that other people failed to recognise that 'multicultural groups' had their own ideas about parenthood. Sami Mouran discussed the need to plan a legal code of ethics in regard to family law and group differences, particularly those differences which existed between the Islamic Lebanese community and the general community in Australia. While ethnic and cultural representation were important issues in terms of how these

participants tended to overall define and characterise themselves as Australian citizens, these respondents also felt it was important for them to initiate social change at both a civil and political level. In response to this view Sami Mouran commented:

Every multicultural group has its own ideas about what it means to be a parent, among other things. I believe we need to organise, well each group, needs to organise a code of ethics for culture, religion, family and the law. There are loopholes in the government about things to do with multiculturalism. All cultures have different views about the family, parenting, divorce, religion and other things. There are many misrepresentations of one's culture, especially the Islamic Lebanese community.

While a number of the first generation women saw their role as parents as being central to the idea of the 'good' citizen, some of these respondents' views of themselves as citizens were not constrained by the traditional images of the role of women as 'home-maker'. Many of the women in the study felt that it was a woman's right to be educated to a high level in order

to increase her self-confidence and independence in society. Wadad Cedar and Rouba Mouran commented about how their education allowed them to become independent women in both the Lebanese and Australian communities. Rouba Mouran raised the issue of other non Muslim groups perceiving Muslim woman as the 'uneducated housewife' or being denied an education for cultural reasons. In response to this view this latter participant commented:

It is important for me to have an education and to also work, because this means I can depend on myself when things get tough. This means I can live without a husband and I can think for myself. Usually people in Australia they tend to see Muslim women as the 'uneducated housewife', but this is not necessarily true in some cases.

Commenting along similar lines Wadad Cedar felt that it was important for Muslim women to represent themselves as both educated and employed citizens. She felt that these were valued personal characteristics for her as a female citizen. Wadad Cedar commented that her university degree increased her self-esteem and made her feel positive about many aspects of her social and political life in Australia. She felt that as an educated citizen

she was able to take up many social challenges, (ie. being a president of an 'ethnic' committee in Victoria), as well as, being able to participate in a number of social activities in Australia.

I think education is very important for Muslim women in this country. Firstly, I can represent myself as an educated and employed citizen. This allows me to earn the respect of other individuals, and they are also able to see me as a contributing citizen in a positive way to society. My tertiary qualifications, I feel, have set me up for life. I am able to handle my own social goals and commitments in society much more better. I feel that I have increased my choices in communicating and in being able to join and handle many social activities. I guess my educational background is a source of power which strengthens my personality and increases my participation and contribution with the rest of the community.

While the issue of education of women was one issue on which participants focused, it was apparent that there were gender differences among second generation participants in regard to career aspirations. Many of the second generation female respondents expressed interest in welfare and public service professions, while the male participants were keen on pursuing business and health professions. Also, some second generation male participants placed emphasis on their gender role as the 'family care-taker', recognising that it was important for them to achieve professional levels of employment. Belal Deib and Hisham Mouran commented that it was part of their cultural values to become well educated workers and citizens, and to support their families in the future. Commenting on this matter, Belal Deib said:

There is a difference when it comes to Lebanese boys and girls. The boys are expected to do very well at school. You are expected to become a lawyer or a doctor. The parents usually rely more on the boys to go to university, because the girls can get married anytime. Boys are expected to get a good job that pays well. He is expected to get married and to spend money on his family.

In examining the way in which issues of gender inscribed the views of the participants on the notion of citizenship, it was also apparent that many of the respondents felt that other Muslim cultural practices were often misunderstood by the broader community in Australia. Roula Nebal, Rouba Mouran and Maha Nemour, in particular, commented that there were different perspectives between non Muslim and Muslim groups in regard to the roles which men and women performed in their daily lives. Wadad Cedar, Riyad Zayi, Nahed Zeidar, Rana Meena and Mona Mohamad spoke about other non Muslim people perceiving some of their behaviour as being 'strange', because these people did not understand that their social behaviour was importantly linked with cultural and religious practices, as well as, Islamic principles. This particular respondent felt that it was important to educate the non Muslim community about the relationship between the social practices of Muslim women and Islamic principles. Speaking further on this matter, Wadad Cedar commented that non Muslim members of the community constantly questioned her behaviour and gender identity:

All the time people at work ask me, 'Why do you behave like that?, Do you have to do this?'. There are all these questions about my role as a woman in the Lebanese community, and also questions about my religion. They don't understand that a

Muslim woman's behaviour has got to do with certain cultural practices that she follows.

Rana Meena also shared a similar view. Rana Meena spoke about her friends questioning her rights as a Muslim woman. She also suggested that they also often asked her about her role as a female in a Lebanese Muslim family.

My friends, when I used to work, constantly ask me about my background, my religion, about me, the fact that I was a Muslim woman. They want to know what are my rights and how do I feel about my life. They really don't understand anything about me. I think they think I'm not a good and free living person, but I am, and I always explain my background to them.

A number of second generation female participants shared similar views to the female parents in the study. Commenting on this matter, Sarah Nemour suggested that some of her social behaviours were different from her friends. This participant felt that it was against her cultural and religious principles to mix with her friends at night clubs. 'I told my friends that I am not comfortable with this lifestyle, you know, it goes against my religious beliefs,

my culture.’ Eman Zayi also shared a similar view. Eman Zayi spoke about other non Muslim girls finding it difficult to understand some of her social behaviours in the broader community. She also commented that these girls would ask her questions about her lifestyle as a Muslim girl. ‘There might be certain activities like swimming for sport or things like that I don’t want to join in. But your friends and other girls find it hard to understand and they tend to judge you on your background.’ Also commenting on issues to do with social behaviour, Nadra Omar said:

I wear the hijab and people who are not Muslim tend to judge you by your dress code. So the way I interact mainly with women rather than men is questioned by others. When I go to pray, other people don’t understand the necessity of taking time to pray during study or work hours. I feel my behaviour is constantly questioned by people who are not Muslim in society.

In response to the latter views of female participants in the families, some of the male respondents commented that gender was not an important issue in terms of how they generally tended to represent themselves as citizens in the Australian community. Najee Omar, Mahmoud Nebal and Nour Cedar saw

their gender role more in terms of their own duties and responsibilities as Muslim individuals within the family. Nour Cedar, for instance, believed that he did not have to behave very differently to his partner. He felt he had a responsibility to act as one of the parents in the family. On this issue, he suggested that there were 'no clear-cut' differences between the gender roles of both his partner and himself.

In my family there are no specific thoughts as to how the man and the woman should behave. I don't believe that social behaviour has to do with gender roles. But, both a Muslim man and a woman have a responsibility to act according to their Islamic principles. My wife and I both work, we both share the housework, and we both look after the children whenever she is free or I am free.

Speaking further on this matter, Najee Omar commented that the concept of gender and social behaviour needed to be treated as separate issues. He felt that the behaviour between Muslim men and women differed, because these Muslim individuals had their own different sets of duties and responsibilities that they needed to carry out both within the families and as members of the community. On this point, he said:

It is incorrect for non Muslim groups to look at the social behaviour of Muslim men and women as playing a submissive or inferior role. The social behaviour of Muslims has got to do little with gender status and more to do with the their cultural and religious beliefs and duties. In Islam both men and women are to be treated equally, everyone has their own rights and set of responsibilities. So you can't solely rely on gender status, and to start asking why is he behaving like that and why can't she. This is not the right way of looking at a Muslim's behaviour.

Some first generation female respondents of the families, such as Maha Nemour, Wadad Cedar, Nahed Zeidar, Roula Nebal and Fatima Omar felt comfortable with their role as Muslim women, because they believed it offered them many individual rights as women. However, they felt that the misunderstandings of non Muslim individuals about the way they dressed, for instance, meant that they were often not viewed as having any form of citizenship. According to Maha Nemour and Roula Nebal, these non-Muslim individuals failed to understand the social life of Muslim women behind the 'hijab', (the veil). Similarly, Rouba Mouran commented how the differences

in clothes between Muslim men and women, allowed 'westerners' to believe that women played the submissive partner in the family or the Islamic community. In contrast to the views of non-Muslims, Rouba Mouran felt that she had equal rights as a woman in a Lebanese Muslim family. 'People probably see me as if I'm inferior to my husband because I wear the hijab. They just don't understand the rights and duties of Muslim women.' Members of the Nemour family also shared a similar view on this matter. Maha Nemour felt that she had many individual rights as a Muslim woman in Australia.

I believe many Non Muslim people have been exposed to many wrong ideas about Muslim women wearing the 'hijab'. Many of these people don't consider the social life and the rights of Muslim women behind the 'hijab'. If people were to take time to carefully read books about Islam, they will come to realise that a Muslim woman has a number of individual rights, and that she is to be treated equally and fairly as a human being.

As has been discussed earlier in this study, there was a general view among participants that citizenship meant being involved in productive work both

within and outside the home. While this was the case, many of the participants spoke specifically about the role of men and women in the world of work. From the discussions, it was clear that some of the male participants from middle socio-economic backgrounds had experienced little difficulty in achieving social mobility in the workplace. Nour Cedar, Hisam Nemour and Sami Mouran felt that their gender status was not an issue that they needed to protect in terms of equal work rights and participation. Speaking on this issue, Nour Cedar suggested that Muslim male workers tended not to experience gender discrimination in the workforce. He felt that his role as a worker was to represent himself as a skilled worker, proving that he was potentially capable of becoming a productive member in the workplace. In his view, Muslim women were susceptible to discrimination because of their gender status and Islamic identity. Nour Cedar commented that Muslim female workers were easy targets, because of their physical characteristics; (ie. wearing the veil to work).

I believe it is easy for a Muslim man to work in this country. People identify him as a worker, and they tend to respect his work if he is doing it well. He just has to prove to his boss and others that he is a good and hard worker. But I think it is more difficult for a Muslim woman to work here,

because if she is wearing the veil, then others tend to easily identify them as Muslim women. They then start to judge them on their background and not on their ability to do the work. So I believe Muslim women and other women in general experience a lack of respect because of their sex and they are not treated as equal to men and their work rights are denied by the boss and other workers.

Speaking from a different angle, while Sami Mouran felt that Muslim female workers experienced both racial and gender discrimination in the workplace, he also suggested that the identity of Muslim men remained hidden within the workplace. He suggested that non Muslim workers were unaware of his racial background unless he had informed them or they had previous access to his personal records. Sami Mouran also believed that gender discrimination was more prominent among both Muslim and non Muslim women, because male workers tended to receive priority work options and promotions by their organisations.

I think Muslim women experience gender discrimination and there is discrimination against

their race in their work. I think it's easier for a Muslim man because he doesn't wear the 'hijab'; (veil) and his identity remains hidden at work. Nobody knows who he is, because there are no characteristics which show he is a Muslim. So therefore it is safer for him to remain quiet and to do his work. By this, no one can discriminate against his race and religion. I have worked in many organisations, perhaps someone knew about my background in personnel, but I use to know that person from somewhere else. To be honest, it is both Muslim women and non Muslim women who experience gender discrimination, because job opportunities and promotions are given mostly to the male workers and not to the females. That is how it seems to me anyway.

However, in contrast, many first generation female participants in families from a middle socio-economic background felt that they had encountered some major obstacles to career advancement. For instance, speaking on this matter, Wadad Cedar commented on the fact that male workers tended to take advantage of women's work rights. She also felt that male colleagues

perceived female workers as weak individuals in regard to meeting the demands of certain work tasks.

When I worked for a business firm in the city, there were many men who worked there. You had to be strong and you had to stand for your rights as a woman worker. These men tend to have low expectations of women workers. I remember I always had to be cautious of my rights and my position as a female worker in this particular firm.

In addition, Maha Nemour, shared a similar view on this issue. While, Maha Nemour perceived herself as an equal and competent worker in regard to other male co-workers, she talked about employers viewing female workers as being unequal workers to men. On this matter, she spoke in the following terms:

I am convinced that female workers are not treated equally to males in the workforce. I have a male employer who gives work promotions mainly to men. At work, I feel I am capable of

handling all the work tasks that are presented to the men. As an employee in the business, I tend to give computing advice to three male workers. These people tend to move into higher positions, while I keep working in my section.

Generally, it was felt by many female respondents from a middle socio-economic background that their places of work advantaged their male colleagues in regard to types of work and career advancement. Consequently, Roula Nebal, Riyadh Zayi, Maha Nemour and Wadad Cedar found it difficult to exercise their rights in the workplace.

As discussed in this chapter, self representation through the category of gender is a major dimension of the ways in which notions of citizenship are interwoven and enacted in concrete everyday activities, such as work. In a similar fashion, the many discussions with the participants in this study also revealed the importance of religious self representation in relation to conceptions of citizenship in the Australian context. In the next chapter we discuss the religious self representation which was explored with the respondents as part of this study.

POSITIONING THE 'SELF' THROUGH RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

A key 'positionality' with which all families identified with throughout the interviews on the notion of citizenship was their Islamic religious identity. Many of the participants, across socio-economic, gender and generation divisions did not identify themselves as Lebanese or Australian citizens, but rather, saw themselves as Muslim citizens living in Australia. Rouba Mouran, for instance, commented that being Lebanese or Australian was not important to her, but that she saw herself as a (Sunni) Muslim. 'I can't really say, for me, I'm Lebanese or I'm Australian. Those things don't matter for me. I am a Muslim living in Australia.' When looking at what being a Muslim meant to members of these Lebanese families, it was clear that Islam was an important part of their identity because it provided them with a sense of self confidence and allowed them to act and communicate with other people as 'responsible' citizens in the community. Some first generation participants in each of the families commented that being a Muslim meant that you were 'polite to other people and treated them equally.' It also meant a sense of peace to some parents and the ability to contribute effectively to society in a range of ways. Mahmoud Nebal commented:

Islam means peace, the environment, nature, being
a good person, being good to your neighbour. It

also means that you treat others equally. Being a Muslim also means that you contribute something to society, whether by doing or building something, or through your education. This is what I think.

Members of the Meena family also shared a similar view on this matter. Rana Meena felt that her Islamic faith allowed her to have a positive mentality on life.

Being a Muslim means that it is my whole life. My prayers help me to become a much more disciplined person. Islam is everything to me. It is my identity. It has to do with how I behave and interact with the community. Being a Muslim enriches my personality and makes me feel confident about who I am. It makes me feel good and happy towards others, my family, my work, my lifestyle.

A number of other participants also commented that their social practices were shaped by Islamic principles. Many first generation female respondents,

in particular, suggested that there were certain religious principles to consider in terms of social behaviour and practices. The mothers in the Nebal, Omar, Nemour and Zeidar families were keen to practice their religious beliefs and participants, such as, Fatima Omar, commented that she felt confident about practising her religious beliefs in Australia. 'I am not embarrassed about who I am, what my culture is, what my religion is. My religion is very important to me. This is who I am.' Bassam Deib, commenting further on this matter, put forward the idea that 'identity' has to do with an individual's birthplace and historical background. Yet, he felt that individuals needed to adapt to the habits and practices of their immediate surroundings. Speaking about his early migration experiences, this latter participant commented that moving from one country to another in the Middle East 'helped' him to learn about the social and cultural practices of many Arabian cultures. Consequently, he felt that his Islamic identity was central to his idea of himself as a citizen.

I feel that identity has to do with where you were born and what culture and religion your parents followed. So it has to do a lot with background. To me, religion is more important than some cultural traditions. When I was young, my family travelled to many countries. I learnt about other

cultures, but I never lost focus of my Islamic identity and the fact that I was a Muslim citizen in a certain country.

Earlier in this thesis, there was a discussion of how one of the participants felt that she needed to change her name in order to be accepted in Australia. A second generation participant, Fatima Omar, also spoke about the pressure on her to change her name. This respondent commented that she felt pressured by the fact that all her classmates had English names and that she therefore felt that she had to tell her class that her name was Fiona rather than Fatima.

Once at the start of school, the teacher made us go around the class and to introduce ourselves. So by the time it was my turn I had realized everyone had 'Australian' names, all the other students had come from an Australian background. So I felt I had to say, 'Fiona', it was the closest I could think to Fatima. Also I felt this would save me from everyone asking me where I come from.

In contrast, when discussing issues to do with religious identity, some first generation and second generation participants from all families discussed the importance of maintaining their 'foreign names' as a way of representing themselves as Lebanese Muslim citizens in Australia. This commitment to original names, it was felt, allowed them to represent themselves clearly as being Muslims. Nevertheless, while members of the Nebal, Deib, Zayi and Zeidar families were committed to keeping their Lebanese names, they commented that many non Muslims failed to recognise the importance of 'names' in regard to Islamic religious identity. Despite the importance of maintaining their original names in representing their religious identity in Australia, Mahmoud Nebal, Belal Deib and Fatima Omar spoke about non-Muslims having difficulties in remembering their names. This meant that they were often referred to by a different 'English' name. For instance, Mahmoud Nebal commented that his colleagues at his workplace liked to call him, 'Mike'. On this matter, he spoke in the following terms:

It was very important for me that I was called by my real name and to be respected as a Muslim citizen. I felt strongly about my Islamic identity and practices. When I started working in an Australian industry, some workers called me 'Mike' and not Mahmoud. They thought it was

difficult for them to remember and to pronounce my name. After a few months, I demanded that everyone would call me by my real name.

Belal Deib also speaking on this matter commented:

When I worked in a theatre, everybody wanted to call me Brad, so they could remember my name. When my mum told me about the importance of my name as a Muslim person, I made sure that people called me Belal, even when I worked at McDonalds. Even at school everyone had 'nicknames', my mates called me Billy, but at least they called themselves by their real names at other times.

Similarly, Rouba Mouran commenting on this issue:

I believe that all Muslims should not change their names even though they are in another country. They should not listen to others and keep their Arabic names. If a Muslim thinks about his

religion, it is not a good thing to be changing your name to please others, and not to act in a non Muslim way. But, it is important to be proud of your culture, background and your religion.

The fathers in the Cedar and Meena families also saw their religious identity as an important basis for active citizenship. Nour Cedar, for instance, felt that his Islamic faith meant that it was very important for him to represent himself as a 'descent' citizen in the community. However, he suggested that it was difficult to do so in Australian society, where many people did not accept or relate to Muslims as 'good' citizens; 'I believe it is part of a Muslim's belief to act in a descent way, to respect others and to contribute to society in a good way.'

All of the second generation participants in the study shared their parents' strong commitment to the idea that religious identity was central to citizenship. Sarah Nemour, Fadi Cedar, Farah Mohamad, Hani Meena and Hwaida Zeidar, for example, believed that it was important for a Muslim to act as a 'good' member of the community. An important aspect of citizenship for these latter participants was the obligation of respect for others. Helal Zayi speaking about what it meant to be a 'good' citizen commented in the following way:

I think it doesn't matter whether you're an Aussie, a Vietnamese or Lebanese. Everyone has their own religion, identity and culture. I think that all cultures should respect one another and to act good in the Australian community. Also, people need to see each other as individuals and not in terms of their background.

Hwaida Zeidar also shared a similar view:

It is important for Muslims to be good to others and these people need to also be good to us. Everyone needs to respect each other, because we all come from different cultures in Australia. We need to be good to our friends, our families and our neighbours. It is very important that everyone accepts everyone. I have friends from different countries around the world and we all respect each other.

Some parents from a low socio-economic background also spoke about the fact that many people in the broader community had a problem in viewing

Muslims as 'normal' and 'ordinary' citizens. Mona Mohamad, for example, felt that many people in the community tended to treat her as if she was not a citizen at all. Hisam Nemour, for instance, felt that other workers tended to discriminate against him because of his religious identity.

I find it hard as a worker in Australia. People tend to discriminate against your racial background, especially when they know you're a Muslim. They tend not to relate to you as an important worker and they don't treat you as a human being. Other people don't treat you like a normal citizen, instead they joke about your background.

Some first generation female participants across the families also raised concerns about other non-Muslim people questioning them about their cultural and religious background. Nahed Zeidar felt irritated by this constant questioning of her Islamic identity.

When I used to work in a milkbar many customers asked me about my culture and religion all the time. 'Where do you come from?', 'What do you believe in?'. 'Is it true that a Muslim woman

can't...?', 'Are you happy wearing the Hijab?'. I feel it is none of their business. Why do they have to ask such questions? What is so important about them?

Roula Nebal, who had similar experiences to Nahed Zeidar, spoke of situations in which non-Muslims would have conversations with her about her religious background and practices. A key concern in these conversations was the issue of the wearing of the Hijab.

I am always asked about the reason for wearing the Hijab. I find that many people whom I work with or whom I meet, seem to ask me a lot of questions about my culture and my religion. Sometimes they ask me to elaborate about certain Islamic practices. For example, people ask me about the month of Ramadan and some of the reasons for fasting.

From the discussions with members of the ten (Sunni) families in this study, it was apparent that all the participants felt comfortable with their religious identity, but were concerned that other people did not perceive Islam as a

modern religion. Consequently, it was felt by many first generation members in each of the families that many non-Muslim Australians did not perceive Muslims as being able to properly integrate into Australian society. However, despite this view, first generation participants from the Nebal, Deib, Zayi, Cedar and Zeidar families did not see themselves as being 'different' to other non Muslim citizens in Australia. Roula Nebal commented that many people failed to recognise the religious practices of Muslim citizens in a modern context. Commenting on this matter she said:

They see us, well they see Muslims as different people. Many 'westerners' are ignorant of Islam. They feel we cannot live our lives properly in a multicultural society. They believe our religion, our practices, are ancient history. But they need to understand that Islam is a modern religion and that there is a lot of logic to it.

Continuing this theme of the outsider from another angle, Maha Nemour commented in the following terms:

It is not always the case that your behaviour as a Muslim person is always going to depend on how

you behave in society. But some people, especially some of the people I work with, assume that every behaviour or every movement I make has to do with my cultural background. My advice to these people is to go and learn about Islam before they start to comment about the religious practices of Muslim people.

Speaking along similar lines, Ayad Zayi commented that he felt that non-Muslim groups need to differentiate between the social, cultural and religious practices of Muslim citizens in some instances. He says, 'It is not always correct to assume that the behaviour or current action being taken by a Muslim relates to his (or her) culture.' Sami Mouran also commented that there are certain roles which are acted out differently between Muslim men and women within the Lebanese culture. But, he also pointed out that these roles are not always necessarily linked with the way Muslim people are expected to perform their role as citizens in the society in which they are living. Speaking on this matter Sami Mouran said, 'Every Muslim, whether they be men or women, should know what their role is and how they should behave. Not every act a Muslim does in society relates back to Islamic practices.' Similarly, Riyad Zayi and Ayad Zayi, commented that 'westerners' often perceived and interpreted the social behaviours of Muslims as if they

were 'immoral' practices. Speaking on this issue, Riyad Zayi, said that there are different attitudes between non-Muslim groups and Muslims in regard to their views on Islamic practices. ' "Westerners", do not realise that there is a lot of logic behind the way Muslims behave. Instead, they see the behaviour of Muslim citizens as bad, not right or immoral.' Commenting on this matter, Wadad Cedar and Nour Cedar from a middle socio-economic background, felt that there was a need for the Australian government to initiate research projects in regard to ethnic groups such as Sunni Muslims. They felt this would help other people to understand the nature of the cultural practices of groups such as this one.

Some first generation members in families from a middle socio-economic background also spoke about other non-Muslim people perceiving them as a 'different' group. While these respondents felt that it was important to represent themselves as 'good' and 'respectable' citizens, they also saw citizenship as a positive integration of multicultural groups, where they felt new ideas could be shared and learnt between different cultural groups and themselves. However, the participants felt that many cultural groups had negative views about the Islamic community, which made it difficult for them to establish a relationship with non Muslim groups. Rouba Mouran, Maha Nemour and Ayad Zayi commented that a 'myth of difference' existed in Australia, where people had the 'wrong ideas' about the cultural and

religious practices of Muslims. Consequently, Rouba Mouran, felt that other non-Muslim individuals in the Australian community saw the practices of Muslims as being 'socially unacceptable'. On this matter, she said:

I believe it is hard for Muslims to integrate with other people in Australia, because there are many misperceptions of Muslim groups. I believe there is this 'myth' that Muslims are a totally 'strange' and 'different' people. Many people have wrong ideas about Islamic practices. This is because society is giving the public wrong messages about the Arabic culture and Islam.

Some second generation participants from a number of the families spoke about the fact that many non-Muslims seemed to emphasize the cultural differences of Muslim groups. Sarah Nemour, Walid Nemour, Helal Zayi and Hanan Nebal all mentioned the idea that many people perceived Lebanese Muslims as a separate and isolated social group within Australian society. Helal Zayi, responding to such a view, commented that other non-Muslim individuals had a distorted view of Muslim groups, as these people failed to see Muslims as 'sociable' people.

Muslims are not accepted as one of the many cultural groups in Australia. I mean people are always stereotyping. A lot of people feel that Muslims are one group who are only interested in themselves, in their culture, and not other people. They give them a violent and lazy image. This only makes people more willing not to accept them as Australian citizens.

While it was felt that there was a high degree of stereotyping of Muslim identity in the community, a number of participants saw the media as creating barriers for their efforts to represent their religious identities and become (substantive) citizens in Australia. Roula Nebal and Sami Mouran, who came from middle socio-economic background, commented about the media misrepresenting Muslim groups by simply representing and equating Lebanese cultural practices and Islamic principles as if they were one and the same. Consequently, Roula Nebal and Sami Mouran felt that the media provided the Australian community with a distorted view about Muslim groups. The respondents in these families saw themselves as active representatives for Muslim groups in the broader Australian community. They felt it was important for them as Muslim citizens to educate and guide other non Muslim individuals about the Islamic community. To these

participants, citizenship was not just about representing themselves as the 'good' citizen, but they also saw their role as 'advisors' to people outside their own group. These participants felt that their advocacy about Islam would help to create positive attitudes and judgement among future Australian generations towards Muslim citizens. Roula Nebal, agreeing with other participants suggested that it was necessary to deal with this stereotyping by offering different versions of what it meant to be a citizen of Muslim background in Australia.

I am currently working with an Arabic organisation and we work hard on projects about Arabic people and Muslims as well. We offer Media seminars to help educate westerners about Islamic issues and practices. We look at targeting all group ages. It is important for someone to show people that it is wrong to associate Arabic with Islam.

Speaking along similar lines, Sami Mouran also said:

I am part of an Arabic committee, we always monitor media articles or other social issues which

may involve showing Arab Muslims in a very negative way. It is then our role to address these issues, by educating non Muslims about the reality of Arabic Muslim groups. Perhaps our efforts will help Muslims to have a better lifestyle in the future.

Commenting on these matters, many first generation participants from a middle socio-economic background said that many individuals in the broader community should recognise the prayer times of Muslims to allow these individuals to also fulfill their religious duties as citizens in Australia. Commenting on this issue, Roula Nebal suggested that the government should distribute pamphlets to all social services in Australia. This, she felt, would enable many people to have a basic understanding of the Islamic culture. Also, Sami Mouran, Ayad Zayi and Wadad Cedar spoke about Australia not meeting its own rhetoric in which it represented itself as a multicultural society, because it failed to recognise the cultural and religious dates and practices of different cultural groups such as (Sunni) Muslims.

I don't believe that Australia is a multicultural society, because it is still to live up to its name as a 'multicultural' society. The Australian government

fails to recognise the important dates of all cultures and religions. In particular, the Australian government fails to consider the five important stated times of prayer for Muslim citizens.

While the participants saw their religious identities as a basis for the development of their broader social identities as citizens, they generally believed that this did not mean that they should not be interested in engaging with other cultures within the community. All of the first generation participants in each of the families felt that it was important for children to learn about other cultures in school, though they did not support the idea that their children adopt another culture. Sami Mouran and Nour Cedar, who were of a middle socio-economic background, felt it was valuable for Muslim citizens to learn new experiences from other cultural groups, but not to replace their Lebanese Islamic identities with some other notion of the self. On this point, Sami Mouran said:

See I don't mind my children to learn the cultures of other countries or whatever. But I don't encourage my child to adopt any other culture. Everyone has his own culture, traditions, his own religion. I would like my family to all be Lebanese

and to all be Muslims. It is important for my own children to experience a similar lifestyle.

While, some first generation participants, from a low socio-economic background, had clear views about education and identity issues, some members of the Deib, Omar and Meena families felt that individuals should be taught about general knowledge in schools, and that parents should teach their children about cultural and religious identities at home. Zoubayda Deib speaking on this issue commented:

Your identity should be established at home with your family. What they should be learning at school is education, like history, geography and other subjects. This means kids will have knowledge to make them educated and effective members of the community. But their identity, I think that should be formed at home with their parents.

Members of the Omar family also shared a similar view on this matter. Najee Omar commented:

Schools are a place for children to go and expand on their general knowledge, where they learn how to write and how to add up. This is what I believe is the purpose of schools. Schools should not try to educate kids about the possibility of constructing their own identity. Instead, the parents should be encouraging children to keep their culture and religion in Australia.

Similarly, Roula Nebal and Mahmoud Nebal, who were from families of a middle socio-economic background, felt that it was already difficult for many Muslim parents, alone, to be teaching their children about the principles of one culture in a multicultural society and felt that the schools could make a contribution to the maintenance of different cultural identities. However, they were concerned that there were no cultural or religious programmes within schools, as far as they knew, that would educate children in and for a multicultural society. While, some second generation respondents in each of the families felt that children could be confused about issues of identity, these participants commented that children should have the right to make decisions about their own identity when they are adults. On this matter, Hani Meena commented:

I don't think it's right to teach children about identity, because they are too young to understand things like that. Children already need to learn more things about their own culture and their own religion. Then, when a child grows up, he or she can decide whether they want to be Lebanese or something different.

Speaking along similar lines, Eman Zayi also said:

I don't believe we should allow children to compromise different identities at such a young age. I don't think they are going to understand identity issues, and for them to make a good choice about who they want to be. Children should have the right to decide what culture and what religion they want to follow when they're adults.

OVERVIEW

In examining the views held by members of the (Sunni) Islamic Lebanese community, it was apparent that the participants had strong beliefs about what it meant to be a citizen of Muslim background in Australia. Regardless of socio-economic status, gender, or age, the participants saw themselves as having a responsibility to make a contribution to the welfare of the broader community. They also saw that this could be achieved in the workplace, the home, or in the formal political process. More specifically, a number of participants spoke about respect for other people as being important in fulfilling the obligations of citizenship, while some of the women saw their parenting roles as being crucial in preparing their sons and daughters for active citizenship in Australia. However, despite this commitment to fulfil the image of the 'good' citizen, it was also clear that many of the participants, once again regardless of socio-economic background, gender, or age, felt that they confronted major barriers in achieving this goal in Australia. Many of the participants felt they were not understood by the broader community, but were treated as if they were the 'outsider'. For instance, this feeling of being excluded was most noticeable when a number of the respondents spoke about other non-Muslim workers not accepting them as colleagues in a working environment. In discussing their sense of exclusion in workplaces, many of the respondents attributed this to stereotyping of Muslims in

Australia. A small number of participants from a middle socio-economic background particularly commented on the way in which the negative attitudes of other workers prevented them from achieving their goal of being productive workers; a role which they saw as being central to the idea of the Muslim citizen.

However, while many of the first generation participants commented on the barriers they encountered in the workplace, some of the participants saw their role as active citizens as offering some solutions to these issues. Some participants from a middle socio-economic background, particularly, offered their own solutions to better the work situation of Muslim citizens in Australia. These respondents felt that it was necessary for the government to offer public seminars to educate some sections of the non-Muslim community about the different work needs of ethnic minority groups, in particular the Islamic Sunni Lebanese community. These participants felt that this would allow non-Muslim Australians to become aware of cultural differences and provide them with an understanding of the beliefs of (Sunni) Muslim workers. Interestingly, some of the respondents pointed out that the work barriers were the result of faults in the current structures of the workplace, which were different to those that they had experienced in Lebanon. To deal with this matter some participants emphasized the need to change the internal structures of some Australian work practices to ensure that all

workers, regardless of ethnic and cultural background, could perform their role as active citizens.

As stated, a key element in the notion of citizenship for some respondents was that of participation in the formal political life of the country. Whereas there was a common view on the experience of work in Australia, it seemed there were different responses provided by participants on the matter of the obligations of the citizen to political life. Most of the respondents from a low socio-economic background seemed to see themselves as being at the mercy of government. These participants did not seem to be concerned with engaging or representing themselves within the contemporary political debates. But clearly, a number of the respondents, from a middle socio-economic background, were discontent with the fact that they felt that their identity as 'outsiders' and as Muslims, as 'Other', excluded them from participating in local and national decision making processes. In contrast to the views of participants from a low socio-economic background, many respondents from a middle socio-economic background were explicit about such things as 'equal rights'. However, some of these latter participants felt that the notion of 'equal rights' was too vague a term to make claims around. In their view, the notion of citizenship rights needed to take into account issues of cultural differences.

From the discussions, there seemed to be a general pattern across the families to indicate that there was an omission of Muslim citizens from the political agenda, in which a number of the respondents felt that there was a gap between Muslim groups and the state. These participants suggested that their views on new legislation were excluded from the political agenda. Many of the respondents in these families felt that their views about cultural issues were not properly addressed in terms of politics and the law in Australia. A small number of first generation participants, from a middle socio-economic background, pointed out that the Islamic culture was misunderstood by the law, and was open to many misinterpretations in the existing legal processes. While, some participants saw themselves as having legal rights in the Australian community, they felt that their cultural practices were not regarded seriously within the political sphere. In response to these issues, a male participant suggested the need to plan a legal code of ethics in regard to family law and group differences in Australia.

Another area which participants saw as being relevant to their idea of citizenship was that of education. On this matter, there appeared to be a pattern across the families which illustrated that many of the participants felt that issues of difference were yet to be properly addressed within schools. As with the workplace, these respondents talked about some of the barriers experienced by Muslims in schools which prevented them from gaining more

out of education and achieving their idea of citizenship for themselves and their children. A number of the participants felt that stereotyping and racism limited them from fully participating in school activities. An example of this, was a first generation female participant suggesting that the racist attitude of her teacher negatively affected her participation in a school newspaper. Furthermore, while many participants recognised that their lack of English proficiency limited their participation in schools, these respondents also felt that schools failed to play a role in addressing certain policies to better the situation of ethnic minority parents, in particular Muslim citizens. In offering a solution to school participation, the participants suggested that cultural studies needed to be included as part of the curriculum or that there be changes to the operation of school councils to ensure that groups, such as (Sunni) Muslims could play an active role. These respondents felt that such changes would assist all students to better understand the cultural and religious situation of other social groups, in this case Muslim background groups. Interestingly, some of the respondents also suggested that school teachers should attend cultural seminars to educate them about the cultural backgrounds of their students. The general view among the participants was that this would assist in improving the relationship between teachers and ethnic minority students, particularly Muslim students. Overall, the respondents commented that the latter solutions were ways of starting to

break down the barriers which existed between sections of the Muslim community and Australian schools.

In considering the views of the respondents in the interviews, many members across the families felt that their Islamic identity provided them with a sense of belonging to a particular social group that shared similar interests and beliefs. But at the same time, these respondents were also willing to mix with other cultural groups to share and learn new ideas. Furthermore, it was apparent that the male participants identified themselves as Muslim citizens in Australia. These male respondents felt comfortable with the idea of practicing their Islamic beliefs in this country. Their vision of being a member of an Islamic community was not obscured through the migration process or through their experiences of life in Australia. But in considering the views of female participants in the families, it was apparent that some of these respondents had different views to many of the male participants, in that they felt the pressure arising from the dissonance between their original culture and that of the broader Australian way of life, particularly the differences which developed around attitudes to such matters as that of parenting.

Furthermore, in some of the discussions, some of the respondents raised the issue of cultural, religious and gender identities as being interrelated.

Although, all members across the families defined the concept of citizenship

by reference to Islamic cultural practices, it was also important for these Muslim men and women to consider issues of gender, particularly as they related to their social behaviour. Many members of the families, in particular the female participants, commented that other non-Muslim individuals misunderstood their gender roles, as such individuals were not able to make distinct connections between some of their behaviours and Islamic principles. In the discussions, these female respondents commented that there were some Islamic principles which related to the specific behaviours of men and women. For instance, many female participants across the families felt that they had completely understood and accepted their position as Muslim women within the Islamic Lebanese community. But, rather these female respondents also felt that it was non Muslim individuals who had a problem in accepting them as female Muslim citizens in the Australian community. In response to the negative attitudes of 'westerners', many participants from a middle socio-economic background felt that there needed to be a well developed education program to raise awareness of Islam in Australia. Many members of the families also pointed out that while they felt it was important to identify and represent themselves as Lebanese Muslim citizens in Australia, some of these participants suggested that the negative attitudes of some non-Muslim members of the community presented another barrier to them expressing their citizenship in broad terms, including religious terms. The negative experiences which many of the participants said that they

encountered in their workplaces, schools and other arenas of social life, led to a common identification of being an 'outsider' in Australia. This feeling of not being a citizen was shared across both the first and second generations, with some of the second generation participants pointing out that they felt that non-Muslims seemed to always be negatively emphasizing the participants' Islamic identity and background.

While the study has provided some insights into the way in which members of a specific ethnic and cultural minority group define and experience citizenship in Australia, a number of important points can be made about the possibilities and limitations of notions such as multicultural citizenship as proposed by a range of theorists (see Castles, 1996, Habermas, 1994, Kymlicka, 1995). First, the notion of multicultural citizenship relies on the idea of a single identity, principally that of an ethnic or cultural identity. All of the participants saw their religious identities as being the central one in the idea of what it meant to be an active citizen in contemporary Australia. Clearly, for some of the participants, being a (Sunni) Muslim was viewed as a stable part of their identities, regardless of place or time. However, it was also apparent that while aspects of this identity position filtered through into all areas of their life in Australia, the participants also enunciated a number of competing identity positions, including those of woman, educated citizen, working class or professional worker. This patchwork of identity positions

means that a concept of multicultural citizenship would need to take account of the fact that the social self is constituted in a much more complex way than that which is understood by former versions of multiculturalism in Australia. This is because the earlier versions of multiculturalism often reinforced ethnic identity in its most simplistic form (see Terry forthcoming).

Second, while this research has considered some of the ways in which (Sunni) Muslims tend to narrate themselves as citizens in contemporary Australia, in so doing, the research also highlights the social and cultural needs of the participants in reference to their definition of citizenship. Many of the respondents felt that their cultural practices were misinterpreted within the legal and political spheres. A number of researchers argue that the state needs to consider the constant social claims made by different groups of citizens, yet the mechanisms for ascertaining the views of minority groups, such as the one in this study, are not clearly outlined by any of the theorists. (see Habermas, 1994, Mouffe, 1992, Bhabha, 1990). It can also be said that the state excludes the ethical and moral principles of multicultural citizenship from its national decision making processes. Clearly, for some first generation female participants, being a 'mother' was also central to the their definitions of citizenship. To these respondents citizenship was also about ethics and morality, in which, these Muslim women felt that they had a responsibility to guide their children into becoming 'good' second generation citizens.

Third, while a range of theorists (Castles, 1994, Mouffe, 1992, Hindess, 1993) discuss the notion of multicultural citizenship in reference to the formal and substantial participation of ethnic community groups in Australia, such theories in most cases do not follow through their idea of 'substantive' citizenship, with reference to the participation of ethnic and cultural groups in national decision making processes. From this research it was evident that ethnic and cultural representation were important for (Sunni) Muslims in defining the concept of citizenship. It was important for some participants to initiate social change at both a civil and political level. However, these participants felt that the notion of multicultural citizenship does not take into account their ethnic background, class status and professionalism. Some of the participants also felt that the notion of citizenship needs to be better explained within the Australian constitution, so that the idea of substantial citizenship also supports ethnic minority representation.

Fourth, the study also provided some insights into the notion of equal rights as viewed by members of an ethnic minority group. Many theorists deal with the notions of equality and freedom in terms of universal citizenship. However, a range of theorists propose that the notion of multicultural citizenship needs to be expanded to take account of differences that cannot be expressed in universalistic terms. (see Castles, 1994, Yeatman, 1993, Hall in Terry, 1995). Some of the participants from a middle socio-economic

background felt that the notion of 'equal rights' was too vague a term to make claims around. Clearly, all participants did not feel a sense of 'equality' in explaining their role as active citizens and participants in contemporary Australia. Many of these latter respondents felt that they did not gain respect nor equal rights in terms of their social access and participation with key social institutions. The participants felt this was due to the social barriers they faced as 'ethnic' citizens in the broader Australian community. As Castles argues in his work, the notion of multicultural citizenship must recognise that the 'formal equality of rights does not necessarily lead to equality of respect, resources, opportunities or welfare'. (1994:13). The participants in the study felt that the notion of multicultural citizenship needs to consider aspects of equal rights in regard to group differences, and to recognise that there is a growing ethno-cultural diversity within contemporary Australia. In recognising the complexities associated with the notion of universal rights, it is suggested that the concept of multicultural citizenship must recognise the different social principles of citizenship among group identities in Australia. This is, as already stated, because former versions of multicultural policies often reinforce the notion of equality in a simplistic universal form.

Fifth, a range of theorists, (see Castles, 1994, Habermas, 1994, Hindess, 1993) tend to explore issues of citizenship, multiculturalism and identity at a

complex theoretical level. Obviously, there is a gap which exists between these theories and the views of (Sunni) Muslims at a community level. In interviewing (Sunni) Muslims, it was apparent that there were a range of voices among the families in describing some of the complexities and other broader aspects of citizenship. There were also similarities and differences across these families in terms of their thoughts and experiences about what it meant to be a citizen in the Australian community. For a number of these respondents, it was not just a matter of representing themselves as 'good' citizens, but many of them saw the notion of citizenship in terms of a positive contribution, in that, their definitions of citizenship would ensure a better relationship between future second generation community groups.

Sixth, a number of definitions are offered by theorists in relation to the notion of multicultural citizenship. (see Castles, 1994, Marshall, 1965, Wexler, 1990, Thompson, 1970). While a range of ideas are associated with Australian citizenship, these theories remain embedded within the broader version of cultural diversity. The ideas of participants on citizenship indicate that it is no longer possible to deal with the notion of multicultural citizenship in a Eurocentric framework, but instead, have raised important issues which move beyond the legalities and formal aspects of citizenship. For many (Sunni) Muslims, the notion of multicultural citizenship was not just about formal rights, but they also tended to narrate the concept of citizenship in

terms of responsibilities, contribution and social participation. Many of the participants saw the idea of contributing to one's community as central to their definitions of citizenship. The views of (Sunni) Muslims do not attempt to dissolve the notion of citizenship altogether, but to disassociate aspects of citizenship from the 'stricter' understandings of multiculturalism. The notion of multicultural citizenship needs to take into account the various ways in which citizens narrate the social self in describing some of the complexities of citizenship. Therefore, the idea of multicultural citizenship needs to be modified to take account of cultural pluralism, rather than to remain subdued by contemporary western political thought.

Last, the ideas on citizenship of the participants in this study may not be enunciated in the same way as those explicated by social scientists and policy makers, but importantly, they raise issues that are of significance for researchers to explore in more detail. This study provides a starting point for thinking about how these researchers might work with specific communities in further building a notion of multicultural citizenship which moves beyond celebratory pluralisms.

APPENDIX: A

TABLE 1: SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TEN LEBANESE MUSLIM FAMILIES PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY ON CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY ISSUES

Family	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Parents	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f
Sons	*	1	2	1	1	*	*	2	1	*
Daughters	1	*	1	1	3	2	2	*	2	1
Age	mp-42	mp-46	mp-41	mp-40	mp-43	mp-37	mp-42	mp-39	mp-41	mp-39
	fp-37	fp-39	fp-34	fp-33	fp-35	fp-34	fp-39	fp-33	fp-35	fp-35
	d-17	s-17	s-15 d-14	2-14 d-16	d-16	d-14	s-15	s-17 d-14	d-17	d-17
Suburbs	Inner	Middle	Outer	Inner	Middle	Inner	Middle	Middle	Outer	Outer
Occupation	m-Teacher	m-Social Worker	m-Social Worker	m-Business Owner	m-Arabic Worker	Parents Unemployed	Parents Unemployed	Parents Unemployed	Parents Unemployed	Parents Unemployed
	f-Teacher	f-Teacher	f-Arabic Worker	f-Teacher	f-Business Owner					
	Daughter p/t worker		Son & Daughter p/t workers		Daughter p/t worker	Daughter p/t worker				Daughter p/t worker

Note:
f = female; m = male; fp = female parent; mp = male parent; d = daughter; s = son

APPENDIX: B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

* The following interview questions were posed to the family participants in this study:

UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP:

- 1) What does citizenship mean for you ?
- 2) What are the obligations of the citizen ?
- 3) Is it possible to belong to two countries ?
- 4) Did you have to give up something to be a citizen ?
- 5) Do you think you have equal rights in this country ?
- 6) What new aspects does citizenship involve you with ?
- 7) Have you encountered any barriers as a citizen ?
- 8) What are the responsibilities of the government to citizens ?
- 9) What contributions have you made to the country ?

CULTURAL IDENTITY:

- 1) What nationality do you consider yourself to be ?
- 2) Is cultural identity important to you? If so, why ?
- 3) What does being a Muslim mean to you ?
- 4) How do you represent yourself as a citizen in Australia ?
- 5) What have been some problems experienced by the broader community in terms of being a Muslim ?

IDENTITY AND THE NATION:

- 1) Are all your rights as a citizen covered by law ?
- 2) What does 'multiculturalism' mean to you ?
- 3) Are you aware of any issues where the government needs to address in terms of 'multiculturalism' ?
- 4) To what extent are you participating in the national decision making process ?
- 5) What can this country offer Muslim individuals ?

RELATIONSHIPS WITH KEY INSTITUTIONS:

- 1) How important is the Arabic language in terms of living in Australia ?
- 2) Has being a Muslim prevented you from equal access to health centres ?
- 3) In what ways would you like to participate with your children's school ?
- 4) Are you aware of situations where your identity made it hard for you to participate in an Australian institution ?
- 5) What is your understanding of parliamentary systems ?

* Also, the following questions were posed to community representatives who had participated in this research:

- 1) What are some of the general problems faced by the Islamic Lebanese community ?
- 2) Have Muslims found it difficult to participate in society ?
- 3) Have Lebanese Muslims had problems in access to social services ?
- 4) How has ethnic identity played a role in terms of these problems ?
- 5) What has been your role in community issues ?

APPENDIX: C

PROFILE FORM

1) NAME:

2) AGE: years months

3) SEX: Male Female

4) EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

5)

a) OCCUPATION:

b) ARE YOU CURRENTLY EMPLOYED? Yes / No

6) PLACE OF BIRTH:

Australia.....

Another Country:
(please specify)

7) WHEN DID YOU ARRIVE IN AUSTRALIA?

.....monthyear

8) WHAT LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN AT HOME?

.....

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