

Sussex Centre for Cultural Studies presents

New Racisms II

Neoliberalism and its Others

'From the ruins of neocolonialism' . Soup cups, bottled water and thermal blanket. Chios, Greece, Jan 2016



9th and 10th June 2016
Silverstone Building, University of Sussex,
Brighton UK

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Sussex Centre for Cultural Studies Presents
New Racisms II: Neoliberalism and its Others

Silverstone Building (SB)
University of Sussex

PROGRAMME

Day 1 Thursday 9th June

09:00 – 09:50 Registration and coffee (Social Space, SB, 3rd Floor)

09:50 – 10:00 Introduction: **Naaz Rashid & Malcolm James** (SB121)

10:00 – 11:30 Film – ‘Everyday Borders’ and discussion with **Rita Chadha (RAMFEL), Don Flynn (MRN), Richard Williams (Sanctuary on Sea)** (SB121)

11:30 – 12:30 Plenary 1 – ‘Islamophobia as an Ideology of Empire’, **Arun Kundnani (NYU)** (SB121)

12:30 – 13:15 Lunch (Social Space, SB, 3rd Floor)

13:15 – 14:45 Panel 1 – **Racisms, Refugees and Borders** (SB121)

Shirin Hirsch (University of Glasgow) - Racism, borders and the refugee ‘second generation’ in London

Nina Mickwitz (London College of Communication) - Patrolling Borders and Constructing Fences: the construction of Others in European television drama

Kostas Maronitis (Leeds Trinity University) - The Migration Crisis and the Racialisation of the Neoliberal Order

Malcolm James (University of Sussex) – Everyday care and cruelty: the intertwining of racism and humanism in Chios, Greece

14:45 – 16:15 Panel 2 – **Neo-nationalisms / Anti-Muslim Racisms** (SB121)

Sivamohan Valluvan (University of Manchester) - The Ideological Multiplicity of New Nationalism

Ariana Solé i Arraràs & Martin Lundsteen (University of Barcelona) -
Islamophobia, anti-Muslimness and neoliberalism in Catalonia (Spain)

Narzanin Massoumi, Tom Mills & David Miller (University of Liverpool and University of Bath) - Contesting racialisation: Islamophobia, social movements and the practice of the state

Manal Massalha (LSE) - Into the abyss – Is Israel's institutionalised and normalised racism a problem of far-right chauvinism?

16:15 – 16:45 Tea (Social Space, SB, 3rd Floor)

16:45 – 17:45 Plenary 2 – ‘Argumentum ad Misericordiam – the Critical Intimacies of Victimhood’ – **Sally Munt (University of Sussex)** (SB121)

19:30 Conference Dinner (optional) – Lucky Star, Trafalgar Street, Brighton
<https://www.facebook.com/Lucky-Star-Brighton-108461539316197/>

Day 2 Friday 10th June

09:00 – 09:30 Tea and coffee (Social Space, SB, 3rd Floor)

09:30 – 10:30 Plenary 3 – ‘Racial Capitalism’ – **Gargi Bhattacharyya (University of East London)** (SB121)

10:30 – 12:00 Panel 3 – **Neoliberalisms** (SB121)

Raven Brown (Milano School of International Affairs, New York) – The inevitability of crisis: alternatives to the hegemony of capitalism and democracy

Gareth Mulvey and Neil Davidson (University of Glasgow) – The British state, neoliberalism, immigration and EU Referendums

Terese Jonsson (University of Portsmouth) - Feminist politics and racial neoliberalism in Britain

Ben Pitcher (University of Westminster) – The racial politics of welfare in neoliberal Britain

12:00 – 12:45 Lunch (Social Space, SB, 3rd Floor)

12:45 – 14:15 Panel 4 – **Anti-Muslim Racism and Gender** (SB121)

Naaz Rashid (University of Sussex) - Veiled Threats? Producing the Muslim woman in the UK public policy imaginary

Virinder Kalra (University of Manchester) - Phobias and Phantasms in Rochdale: Gendered Violence under Racial Neoliberalism

14:15 – 14:45 Tea/Coffee (Social Space, SB, 3rd Floor)

14:45 – 15:45 Plenary 4 – ‘The continuities of apartheid and neoliberal imperatives in South African higher education: Some thoughts on decolonizing curriculum’ – **Tamara Shefer (University of the Western Cape)** (SB121)

15:45– 17:45 Film – ‘The Hard Stop’ and discussion with **Adam Elliott-Cooper (University of Oxford)** and **Fahim Alam (Dir. Riots Reframed)** (SB121)

18:00 Wine reception and launch of *Cosmopolitan dharma: ‘race’, sexuality and gender in British Buddhism* (2016) (eds) Sharon E Smith, Andrew Kam-Tuck Yip and Sally R Munt (2016) (Social Space, SB, 3rd Floor)

LIST OF ABSTRACTS

Panel 1: Racisms, refugees & borders

Chair: Corinna Schafer

Shirin Hirsch (University of Glasgow) - Racism, borders and the refugee 'second generation' in London

This talk will explore the relationship between state policies and everyday experiences of racism, focusing on an overlooked relationship between the asylum system and 'race'. The research here is drawn from a qualitative study which interviewed 45 'second generation' refugees, from three different groups, who were born and grew up in London. Through these interviews, experiences of racism were recounted which were often mediated through interpersonal relationships. This talk focuses on contextualising these experiences within a wider state discourse. The paper will argue that the strengthening of borders, through varied measurements and controls, impacts on the everyday lives of those outside but also those within the British nation state. In this sense, the research is framed by the work of Balibar and others, which views borders not simply as conceived within strictly territorial terms of state sovereignty, but as 'multiplied and reduced in their localisation'. The paper explores how an ideological defence of the 'thickening' of borders has created new forms of racialisation by political actors, represented through the image of the 'bogus' refugee. The talk will analyse how this racialised discourse is reproduced, interacts with and is made 'real' within the everyday lives of the 'second generation' refugee in London.

Nina Mickwitz (London College of Communication, University of the Arts) - Patrolling Borders and Constructing Fences: the construction of Others in European television drama

North-African migrants occasionally traverse the semi-rural setting of Inspector Montalbano's Sicily, people traffickers and their victims repeatedly cross paths with various Nordic television detectives and marginalised black youth from Parisian banlieus are subjected to a flawed French justice system in *Engrenages/Spiral*.

In tandem with diversionary pleasures, the contemporaneous settings and procedurals of crime drama present a space for negotiating social issues and concerns. Productively harnessing tensions between local and geographic specificity on the one hand, and a more diffuse European identity on the other, these types of programmes have been recognised as allowing a variety of viewer positions and degrees of critical engagement (McCabe 2012; Mcleod 2014; Pitcher 2014).

Yet, despite the national and regional idiosyncrasies constituting part of their appeal, one of the shared traits between a variety of European TV serial offerings is more troubling. Rarely included as a matter of course, characters representing ethnic diversity are overwhelmingly presented as socially marginalised and/or perpetrators or victims of crime. How these television serials, and their circulation, collectively respond to the call for 'European narratives' (Bondebjerg 2014), thus invites further examination. Whose anxieties are offered space for processing, and whose subjectivities are excluded? To what extent do these texts reproduce an increasingly polarised discourse of 'us' and 'them'?

Taking the position that issues of representation are of undiminished relevance, this paper examines how popular European television serials, and especially those having successfully achieved trans-national distribution across different European broadcasting contexts, contribute to the symbolic construction of 'Fortress Europe'.

Kostas Maronitis (Leeds Trinity University) - The Migration Crisis and the Racialisation of the Neoliberal Order

This paper focuses on the relationship between neoliberalism and the European migration crisis. Although neoliberal theories are not in themselves xenophobic, the paper illustrates how generalised competition advocated by neoliberalism draws on state power and ethnic hierarchies for the defence of the European market economy. For Dardot and Laval (2013) neoliberalism is a specific global rationality that compels populations to engage in an economic struggle against one another. Contrary to popular perceptions, current austerity and fiscal consolidation programmes in the EU demonstrate that neoliberalism does not denounce state intervention as a hindrance to private interests but instead encourages the state to provide the necessary conditions for positioning competition at the centre of all socio-political activities (Hayek; Foucault). A vital aspect of these conditions is the dismantling of welfare and social security systems. Dependency on such systems creates irresponsible individuals incapable of rational economic calculations. Drawing on the EU-Turkey "Joint Action Plan" for the return of irregular migrants with no need for international protection in conjunction with political discourses on cultural homogeneity and national security the paper argues that the EU perceives the current migration and refugee crisis as a force that threatens organised competition and increases dependency on systems of social security. This argument derives from two different yet interconnected political actions. First, from the state deployment of military force evident in the presence of NATO warships in the Aegean Sea, riot police on the borders between European states, and the building of fences in the Balkans for blocking the route of refugees towards their desired destinations. Second, from the belief that EU's neoliberal society with an already limited welfare provision can be accessed by a limited number of people qualifying as EU citizens with a shared culture and heritage. Consequently, xenophobia etymologically understood as the fear of strangers, becomes a legitimate defensive strategy supported by EU member-states for protecting their national economies and social cohesion. The paper concludes by presenting EU's response to the migrant crisis as an incorporation of neoliberal rationality and exclusive ethno-culturalism capable of producing an Other to the European citizen.

Malcolm James (University of Sussex) – Everyday care and cruelty: the intertwining of racism and humanism in Chios, Greece

Focusing on Chios, Greece at the start of 2016, and my experience as a volunteer in that location, this essay addresses only a small, but nonetheless important, part of the 'refugee crisis'. Prior to the end of 2015 many in Europe had not heard of Chios. But from October 2015, it became synonymous with that moment as hundreds of forcibly displaced arrived on its shores. This presentation attempts to understand the everyday actions of the state and the volunteers at that moment, and to make sense of the cruelty and care exhibited there.

By state cruelty this presentation refers to the bureaucracies and management systems advanced by EU nation states, the European Parliament, the European border service FRONTEX, the Greek police, and some non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Inter-human care refers mainly to person-to-person acts of solidarity shown between independent volunteers and forcibly displaced people – akin to what Paul Gilroy has referred to as 'offshore humanism'.

While these cruelties and care have often viewed in abstract philosophical terms, or placed in simple opposition – with acts of humanism providing an antidote to racist cruelty – this essay discusses but how they unfolded together. Taking its impetus from works which have examined everyday cruelty and inter-human relationality in other racialised and colonial contexts, this presentation argues that in the everyday workings and small exchange, of state bodies and volunteers actors we find the logics of much larger oppressions, just as we find the horizons of alternative human relations. It contends that for this reason it is vital we understand them, so that we might work against the violence, and towards an alternative, becoming inter-human solidarity.

Panel 2: Neo-nationalisms, Anti-Muslim racisms and Islamophobia

Chair: Naaz Rashid

Sivamohan Valluvan (University of Manchester) - The Ideological Multiplicity of New Nationalism

The British political landscape is currently undergoing a defining transition – being remade by increasingly aggressive populist-nationalist movements (‘new nationalism’) that assert a set of related anxieties concerning immigration, multiculturalism, Muslims, Europe and globalisation. When recent political developments across Europe are seen collectively, it might reasonably be mooted that the contemporary historical ‘conjuncture’ (Hall, 1978) is best bracketed by this toxic revival of a diffuse European nationalism (Carvalho, 2015; Fassin, 2014).

This talk aims to explore how this newly configured nationalist ascendancy draws upon and ‘sutures’ (Hall, 1996) a number of contradictory, conflicting and politically disparate rationalities (Gilroy, 1987). Resisting the tendency of much contemporary analysis to attribute a unitary (generically Rightist) character to this emergent nationalism, the talk aims to sketch how its heightened appeal and reach hinges on processes by which multiple *new racist* ‘political rationalities’ (Brown, 2006) converge at crucial points. Some of the traditions which this talk will touch upon include: classical value-liberalism; resurgent anti-market Left communitarianism; neoliberal individualism and the racialised pathologization of poverty; some feminist sexual freedoms and liberation rhetorics; strands of environmentalist conservationism; as well as a more orthodox phalanx of conservative nostalgia for the putative unity, stability and public morality of pre-war, colonial whiteness.

Put differently, this talk takes as its point of departure Hall’s (2000) pivotal charge that the social sciences are heavily disposed towards ‘imposing a monological, totalizing, linear and systematic frame’ upon emergent ideological conjunctures. Absorbing this influential critique, I posit that extant social science agendas have failed to situate properly the ‘incoherent and multiply sourced’ (Brown, 2006) cultural and political repertoires animating new nationalist formations. I have recently argued that this is not only an intellectual and research failing, but it also renders resistance to nationalism’s confident advances ineffective (Valluvan and Kapoor, 2016). This paper therefore brings together certain late 20th century Cultural Studies and Postcolonialism traditions in order to demonstrate that contemporary discourses of national belonging and its constitutive crises ably integrate multiple rhetorical and symbolic positions from across the ‘Left-Right-Liberal’ (Kundnani, 2012) spectrum.

Ariana Solé i Arraràs & Martin Lundsteen (University of Barcelona) -
Islamophobia, anti-Muslimness and neoliberalism in Catalonia (Spain)

This paper will apply the concept of 'racial neoliberalism' (Goldberg, 2009; Kapoor, 2013) to an examination of contemporary feminist discourse in Britain. Examining in particular some recent debates which relate to the topic of refugees, asylum and immigration, the paper will consider how hegemonic feminist discourse articulates the relationship between gender, race, sexism and racism, and raise questions about whether and how this discourse participates in the reproduction of racist and colonial logics in the contemporary moment. It is clear that, as a result of work by feminists of colour, there has been a marked increase in attentiveness to the need to be 'inclusive' in feminist theory and practice on the part of white feminists. Yet, despite black feminists' call for attention to the colonial history of racism and sexism in Britain (e.g. Carby, 1982; Amos & Parmar, 1984), the increased attention to and attempts at 'inclusivity' and 'intersectionality' (terms which are often used interchangeably, despite not in fact meaning the same thing) within hegemonic – white-dominated – feminist discourse is predominantly ahistorical in approach. The paper will consider whether such articulations and practices could be understood as expressing a racial neoliberalism – a discourse which silences the significance of racism and which continues to evade the significance of Britain's colonialist history for understanding the co-constitution of the categories of gender and race. The paper will call for urgent feminist attention to the persistent underlying colonial structures of contemporary Britain, and feminism's role in reproducing these, arguing that anything less leaves feminist politics ill-equipped to respond with the complexity required to tackle current configurations of racist and sexist oppression and violence.

Narzanin Massoumi (University of Liverpool), Tom Mills (University of Bath) &
David Miller (University of Bath) - Contesting racialisation: Islamophobia, social movements and the practice of the state

Our paper offers a theoretically grounded, empirically rich account of Islamophobia. 'Racialisation' is increasingly used to explain Islamophobia as a form of racism. But while 'racialisation' is a valuable starting point for understanding anti-Muslim racism, those who use the concept have too often turned their attention away from the interests underlying racism and the practical action taken to put in place the infrastructure of disadvantage. We set out an argument that conceives of Islamophobia (a term we prefer to close alternatives) as not simply a product of abstract or discursive, ideological or socially constructed processes, but a product of concrete social, political and cultural action undertaken in the pursuit of certain interests. The practical outcomes of these processes are not only that racist ideas circulate in the society, but that the infrastructure of subordination is put in place.

As a result we focus on the agents and practices that accomplish racism, as opposed to assuming that all of this flows intrinsically from a 'capitalist' or 'neoliberal' racial order. In our view it is concrete practice that fosters Islamophobia and as a result we focus on the specific agents and institutions, which can be empirically shown to be implicated in the production and distribution of ideas and practices that foster Islamophobia. We discuss these under the rubric the five pillars of Islamophobia.

- 1) The institutions and machinery of the state
- 2) The Far right incorporating the counterjihad movement;
- 3) The neoconservative movement;

- 4) The transnational Zionist movement and;
- 5) Assorted liberal groupings including the pro war left, the new atheist movement.

The state is the backbone of anti-Muslim racism. The other pillars are key social movements 'from above' which in combination with the state produce, reproduce and enact certain ideological currents and practical outcomes.

A major contribution of our paper is to make the case for the centrality of the state in understanding the production of Islamophobia, and to bring the state back in to the study of racism more generally. Some academic authors see the state as progressive, or at least neutral, and capable of helping challenge anti-Muslim racism by creating spaces for Muslim cultural and civic engagement. But in our view the state is not neutral. Counter-terrorism policy disadvantages Muslims (and others) through exceptional legislation, pre-emptive incapacitation and intelligence and surveillance. And the counter-terrorism apparatus has spread from its traditional home in the police and intelligence services to occupy almost every branch of the state, from schools and universities to libraries.

Other authors have a less sanguine conception of the state, but tend to overemphasise ideas and decouple their analysis from any concrete interrogation of the practices of state institutions. David Goldberg, for example, focuses on racial formations as an intrinsic feature of the state. While his contribution is useful in illustrating that the state cannot be a neutral arbiter in the field of racial politics, he is concerned primarily with the classification processes and disciplinary mechanisms of governmentality that define membership of the nation. We argue that such approaches cannot adequately grasp the contested nature of the state, which is subject to pressure from both above and below.

Our focus on social movements also allows for an understanding of the racial politics of the state that is potentially subject to pressure from below in the form of anti-racist struggles.

We argue for a new agency centred approach to Islamophobia, which can consider the production of Islamophobic practices but also outline the potential for resistance.

Manal Massalha (LSE)- Into the abyss – Is Israel's institutionalised and normalised racism a problem of far-right chauvinism?

In the last few years, and particularly in the last year, after the rise of ultra-nationalists, chauvinist and colonial settler parties to power, state sanctioned racism and popular racism against Palestinian citizens of Israel, asylum seekers, Jewish leftists, and human rights activists have intensified and hit new lows. In the last six months alone, Palestinian political existence is being delegitimised and criminalised, new legislations are being brought forward to suspend elected parliamentarians who undermine Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, two Palestinian passengers with the Israeli citizenship are forced to get off an international flight after Jewish passengers protested their presence, Jewish human rights activists are labelled traitors, the cold-blooded murder of an injured Palestinian assailant by an Israeli soldier is cherished by far right groups as a patriotic act of defence, and about 20 percent of asylum seekers and refugees are locked up in detention centres. These troubling manifestations of racism constitute only a few of many more. They exemplify the worrying normalisation of racism, cherished and legitimised by far-right chauvinist government, which corrupts citizenship, deepens the social, economic and political exclusion of Palestinians, and which entrenches the increasingly unbridgeable chasm between Palestinians and Israeli Jews. To better understand such processes, the paper will

address the colonial history of Zionism, the founding ideology of the state, which institutionalises and legitimises racism.

Panel 3: Neoliberalisms

Chair: Hanna Stepanik

Raven Brown (Milano School of International Affairs, New York) – The inevitability of crisis: alternatives to the hegemony of capitalism and democracy

After the fall of the Soviet Union the inevitability of capitalist “democracy” as an economic and governing system was taken for granted. That is, until the global financial meltdown of 2008 when even some mainstream economists, politicians, and media outlets acknowledged that the only inevitability of capitalism is a cycle of boom and bust; crisis and exploitation. This begs the question of whether a system which pays little consideration towards equitable development and sustainability is able to meet the needs of the Twenty-First century. This research discusses the history of the neoliberal revolution, how social constructions are often left out of the discourse, why capitalism is prone to crisis, and the principles of economic democracy as an alternative to neoliberal capitalism. The author analyzes different approaches to participatory budgeting and planning, to disaster response, and community resilience through an economic democracy lens. Specific attention is paid to translating the principles of economic democracy from a community-level analysis to analyses at the national and international levels. To this end, the research focuses on practical ways to shift decision making power from corporate entities and the global elite, to groups of citizen stakeholders working towards sustainability and community-based economic security. Examples from Egypt, South Africa, and the United States of America will be discussed.

Gareth Mulvey and Neil Davidson (University of Glasgow)– The British state, neoliberalism, immigration and EU Referendums

The forty years between the two referendums on British membership of the EEC/EU are virtually co-incident with the neoliberal phase in capitalist development. Yet what is remarkable is the way in which the issue of migration has changed between them. This paper seeks to trace the development of neoliberalism in Britain alongside the British states immigration stance. In the 1975 referendum immigration barely registered as an issue, but in 2016 migration has become the dominant theme, at least in popular representations of the issues. This change is linked to the transformations within neoliberalism itself. Once past an initial transition stage, roughly between the resumption of generalised capitalist crisis in 1973 and the establishment of the first Thatcher government in 1979, neoliberalism has unfolded in two periods, and is now entering a third. The first period, of vanguard neoliberalism (1979-1992), established the basic parameters of the new regime, above all in weakening the power of the trade unions and the labour movement more generally, and introducing the elements which we have come to define neoliberalism itself: privatisation, deregulation, indirect taxation, etc. This period was also one in which primary immigration in Britain was relatively low. Indeed the British approach from the ‘oil crisis’ of 1973 was one in which they sought to reduce migration to an inescapable minimum. The second period, of social neoliberalism (1992-2007), saw the conversion of the liberal and social democratic centre left to the new economic order and, partly because of this, an emphasis

on individual rights, particularly in relation to sexuality and ethnic identity, which were instrumental in converting hitherto hostile section of the New Middle Class in particular to support the project. The latter part of this social neoliberal period was also a time in which the British state began to open up various migratory routes to the UK in order to supply workers to British capital. However, this process always operated along a degree wantedness, with refugees, for example, always the subject of harsh restrictive practices. The third and current period, of crisis neoliberalism (2007-), involves in some respects a return to the harshness of the vanguard period, but in a context where it the financial crash and subsequent recession have made clear that neoliberalism has failed to ensure growth and stability for capitalism. The political debate on migration issues since 2007 has been an increasingly hostile one, although migratory movements have continued. This leads to the present referendum where the (im)mobility of particularly European populations shows deep fissures within British elites, with some arguing for a shutting of UK borders, or at least a fortification of such borders, and others arguing that to do so threatens the ability of employers to access the units of labour that they require. This paper tracks neoliberalism and migration and suggests that the focus on migration in the present EU referendum is at least in part a result of the inability of neoliberalism to permanently transform the fortunes of British capitalism.

Terese Jonsson (University of Portsmouth) - Feminist politics and racial neoliberalism in Britain

This paper will apply the concept of ‘racial neoliberalism’ (Goldberg, 2009; Kapoor, 2013) to an examination of contemporary feminist discourse in Britain. Examining in particular some recent debates which relate to the topic of refugees, asylum and immigration, the paper will consider how hegemonic feminist discourse articulates the relationship between gender, race, sexism and racism, and raise questions about whether and how this discourse participates in the reproduction of racist and colonial logics in the contemporary moment. It is clear that, as a result of work by feminists of colour, there has been a marked increase in attentiveness to the need to be ‘inclusive’ in feminist theory and practice on the part of white feminists. Yet, despite black feminists’ call for attention to the colonial history of racism and sexism in Britain (e.g. Carby, 1982; Amos & Parmar, 1984), the increased attention to and attempts at ‘inclusivity’ and ‘intersectionality’ (terms which are often used interchangeably, despite not in fact meaning the same thing) within hegemonic – white-dominated – feminist discourse is predominantly ahistorical in approach. The paper will consider whether such articulations and practices could be understood as expressing a racial neoliberalism – a discourse which silences the significance of racism and which continues to evade the significance of Britain’s colonialist history for understanding the co-constitution of the categories of gender and race. The paper will call for urgent feminist attention to the persistent underlying colonial structures of contemporary Britain, and feminism’s role in reproducing these, arguing that anything less leaves feminist politics ill-equipped to respond with the complexity required to tackle current configurations of racist and sexist oppression and violence.

Ben Pitcher (University of Westminster) – The racial politics of welfare in neoliberal Britain

Race, neoliberal debt and the welfare state In this paper I want to explore how the figure of neoliberal debt might illuminate the racial politics of welfare in neoliberal Britain. Cultural Studies’ attention to the complexity of cultural formation frequently poses uncomfortable and difficult questions for the orthodoxies of left critique. In this paper I suggest that opposition to

the ‘dismantling’ of the welfare state cannot be taken for granted among subjects who have in a variety of ways been de facto excluded from prevailing regimes of welfare citizenship. Thinking about the simultaneous unfolding of postwar race politics and the Beveridgean welfare state, I speculate on the interpellative appeal of neoliberal debt to minoritized subjects in twenty first century Britain. In particular, this paper considers the ways in which household debt might, even as it increases social inequality, simultaneously produce ideas about equality and futurity, as well as gesture towards the possibility of post-national forms of identity and belonging. Rather than reproduce the racialized model of welfare citizenship that is implicit to the ‘defence’ of the postwar welfare state, I suggest that there are elements of neoliberal market relations that might themselves serve as a more substantial basis for expressions of racial equality. There are, in other words, things that we could learn from neoliberal debt regimes in order to develop a more egalitarian future-oriented politics of social welfare and economic redistribution.

Panel 4 : Anti-Muslim racism and gender

Chair: Malcolm James

Naaz Rashid (University of Sussex) - Veiled Threats? Producing the Muslim woman in the UK public policy imaginary

As Abu-Lughod writes, “gendered orientalism has taken on a new life and new forms in our feminist twenty first century” (2013 p. 202). This paper examines this phenomena in the UK context through a critique of the UK government’s engagement with Muslim women as part of its Preventing Violent extremism (Prevent) agenda. Whilst superficially framed in terms of empowerment, such interventions reflect a narrow form of neoliberal empowerment focused on access to consumer capitalism (McRobbie 2009). The paper analyses the way in which such engagement, through a focus on religious identity alone rather than a broader more intersectional approach to Muslim women’s lives contributes to a wider process of gendered racialization of Muslims. As such it feeds into new forms of gender injustice against Muslim women in the form of increasing marginalization, discrimination and racial violence. The paper will frame these developments in the context of historical continuities and global parallels in order to contribute to a deeper understanding of gender justice/injustice. Furthermore, through deconstructing contemporary constructs of ‘the Muslim woman’ in the UK, the paper will discuss the possibilities for greater solidarity as part of a wider anti-racist struggle.

Waqas Tufail (Leeds Beckett University) - From ‘Grooming Gangs’ to Racist Murder: Racialisation and Criminalisation of Muslims in Neoliberal Britain

A series of sexual offences in a number of towns in the United Kingdom since 2008-9 led to a moral panic about ‘Muslim grooming gangs’. The subsequent discourse racialised South Asian men and held the culture of Muslim communities in particular to be the main cause. Following a series of high profile criminal convictions of Asian men for sexual offences, the term ‘Muslim gang’ has, in media and popular discourse, become synonymous with the offence of ‘grooming’. The terms ‘Asian’, ‘gang’ and ‘Muslim’ have been used interchangeably in association with ‘grooming’ and have served as signifiers indicating misogyny, cultural and religious incompatibility with ‘Western values’ and an inherently dangerous masculinity. Such narratives dominated the political and popular narratives surrounding these crimes, serving as but the latest

example in a long history of explaining the deviance and behaviour of British Muslims through a lens of cultural deficiency.

Marginalised or missing from the 'grooming gangs' narrative was acknowledgment of the significant structural and institutional factors that enabled the abuse – long term disinvestment in social and children's services exacerbated by the politics and realities of austerity, the many failures of the police including not believing the survivors, engaging in victim blaming and even partaking in the sexual abuse of those who sought their assistance and protection.

Following the emergence and in the context of the ongoing 'grooming gang' scandal, violent anti-Muslim racism has taken place on a regular basis in the towns affected. In Rotherham, South Yorkshire, 81-year old Muslim grandfather Mushin Ahmed was beaten and stamped to death by two white men who repeatedly referred to him as a 'groomer' during the assault. More than a dozen far-right demonstrations within Asian communities in Rotherham have taken place since news of the scandal broke. In an unprecedented move, Muslim communities within Rotherham unanimously agreed to boycott South Yorkshire police for not taking racist attacks against Muslims seriously and a national defence campaign has been launched to have charges dropped against 12 local Muslim men charged with serious offences after responding to repeated instances of far-right provocation. All of the above merited little attention in the popular press.

This paper is based on empirical data gathered from a mixed methods approach and is part of a wider study that began by examining the 'integration' demands placed on second generation British Muslims. Using the events in Rotherham as a case study, this paper presents a localised analysis of racial neoliberalism in Britain today where race, class, gender and anti-Muslim racism intertwine.

**Virinder Kalra (University of Manchester) - Phobias and Phantasms in Rochdale:
Gendered Violence under Racial Neoliberalism**

On the 20th of February this year, The Times ran the headline 'Imam beaten to death in Sex Grooming Town,' referring to the death of Julal Udin, an aged migrant man, who was returning home after teaching the Quran to a group of children in Rochdale. This media representation balances an evocation of the possibility of this being a racist Islamophobic attack (by misusing the word Imam) with the reputation of Muslim men in Rochdale (and generally) of being exploiters of young white women. Just as the 'grooming' headlines and media representation attracted considerable comment in the last three years, there was a local response and the Times changed the headline to 'Imam beaten to death in Rochdale,' but in one sense this shift was unnecessary, as the grooming phantasm haunts the town. Under a year earlier the town was in the news because a group of nine people were stopped at the Turkish-Syria border, the point of phobia here was the presence of (older) women and perhaps more pointedly of children. The nexus of gender and violence when it comes to the representation of Muslims in the media filters into a local discourse in the town of one that is under siege and where alternative narratives of Julal Udin's death (a frail, poor, migrant man dying after being robbed) or travel to Syria (pilgrimage or masculine misadventure) have no space for circulation or voice. It is this silencing that is the aspect of neoliberal securitisation which is most exposed in these cases.

PLENARY SPEAKERS

Plenary 1: 'Islamophobia as an Ideology of Empire' - Arun Kundani (NYU)

Islamophobia is analyzed as a lay ideology that offers an everyday “common sense” explanatory framework for making sense of mediated crisis events (such as terrorist attacks) in ways that disavow those events’ political meanings (rooted in empire, racism, and resistance) and instead explain them as products of a reified “Muslimness.” Thus Islamophobia involves an ideological displacement of political antagonisms onto the plane of culture, where they can be explained in terms of the fixed nature of the “Other.” This maneuver is also an act of projection in the psychoanalytic sense: the racist and imperialist violence upon which US-led capitalism depends cannot be acknowledged in liberal society so it is transferred onto the personality of the Muslim and seen as emanating from “outside” the social order. Imperial violence is then only ever a proportionate response to the inherently aggressive and threatening nature of the fanatical Muslim enemy. In these ways, a Western self-image of innocence and beneficence can be maintained by screening out resistance to the US-led system of global capitalism.

Plenary 2: 'Argumentum ad Misericordiam - the Critical Intimacies of Victimhood' - Sally Munt (University of Sussex)

This paper will discuss the widespread use of victim tropes in contemporary culture. Since the growth of social media, victim stories have been proliferating, and each demanding a response. Victim narratives are rhetorical, they are designed to elicit pity and shame the perpetrator. They are deployed to stimulate political debate and activism, as well as to foment an all-purpose humanitarianism. Victimhood is a mediated phenomenon that is wrapped up with shame, so we will consider how victim tropes shame perpetrators and are intended to mobilise through shame. Victimology has its origins in Law and Criminology, but this paper opens up the field more broadly to think about the cultural politics of victimhood, to think how its polyvalency can be appropriated by and for different purposes, particularly racial politics.

Plenary 3: 'Racial Capitalism' - Gargi Bhattacharyya (University of East London)

This paper revisits the concept of ‘racial capitalism’ made famous by Cedric Robinson in order to think again about patterns and processes of racialised exclusion in our own time. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the ill-defined yet rapacious monster of neoliberalism marks the world in ever more unjust patterns. Here I would like to think again about the kinds of work that racism might perform for the extension or consolidation of capitalist formations. As part of this discussion, I raise the question of so-called ‘surplus populations’ and ask what might be gained by regarding our times of dispossession as another phase of ‘racial capitalism’.

Plenary 4: ‘The continuities of apartheid in South African higher education: some thoughts on decolonizing higher education and social change’ - Tamara Shefer (University of the Western Cape)

There has been a growing recognition as we enter our 3rd decade of democracy that South African society remains structured by overlapping class and racial hierarchies intersecting with multiple other inequalities, including on the basis of gender, age, citizenship, disability, sexualities, amongst others. Yet, it is also evident that notwithstanding a well publicized and impressive *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in the early years following the dismantling of the apartheid state, there has been an erasure of memory of the past and denial of its continuities in the present, framed by what some have called an ‘ignorance contract’ (Steyn, 2012) or ‘motivated forgetting’ (Hook, 2013). Shaking South Africans out of this amnesia of the past and denial of the present, young people in higher education across the country have brought a range of issues to the table. Beginning in 2015 and continuing in 2016, there have been multiple moments of student protest, from the *#Rhodesmustfall* movement to a mobilisation around fees, *#Feesmustfall*. Student activism, also extended to academic staff and campus workers, has poignantly flagged the significance of the material and symbolic realm and how the geographies, spaces and territorial contexts of higher education together with the curriculum itself, may be implicated in discomforting, alienating, exclusionary and marginalizing experiences and outcomes for many students and staff. In spite of over 20 years of commitment to transforming higher education and its curricula, these protests are testimony to many silences, gaps and failures, not only in higher education but throughout South African society. Higher education in South Africa remains characterised by multiple forms of discursive, social and material difference and inequalities which shape exclusionary and unequal practices both inside and outside the academy. This paper is located in an acknowledgement that universities and their curriculum, notwithstanding much rhetoric and some commitment, continue to reflect raced, classed and gendered inequalities, amongst other intersectional inequalities, and continue to bolster dominant positions of privilege and subordination. A growing normative framework of neoliberal imperatives of individualised, consumerist, bureaucratised and self-promoting models of scholarship arguably further undermines critical social justice projects in higher education. The paper unpacks four areas of challenge emerging from student mobilisation that speak to contestations and gaps in current transformation efforts in higher education and South Africa more broadly, and which potentially offer new directions and alternative imaginaries in the project of social justice, both locally and globally. The paper concludes with a concern related to global ‘othering’ projects and the spectacularization of Southern problems which may serve to obscure Northern implication, complicity and investment in such inequalities; and shares a hope that our gaze on struggles and challenges in transnational contexts are deployed towards a deeper critical reflexivity of challenges at home, and global geopolitical entanglements.

FILMS

Everyday Borders (dir Orson Nava)

Increasing numbers of people are becoming border-guards as employers, landlords, health workers and educators are legally required to administer the UK border as part of their everyday lives. As the 2014 Immigration Act pulls more people into border-guard roles, those who are their subjects experience being denied jobs, accommodation, healthcare and education because these border administrators may not be able or willing to understand the complexities of immigration law, may act on racist stereotypes or, threatened by fines and raids, exclude racialised minorities in order to minimize risk to themselves. What are the implications of these developments to all of us in our daily lives?

The film was made by the University of East London's Centre for Refugees, Migration and Belonging in conjunction with the Southall Black Sisters, Migrant Rights Network and the Refugee and Migrant Forum of Essex and London.

Panel :

Rita Chadha (RAMFEL)

Don Flynn (Migrant Rights Network)

Richard Williams (Sanctuary on the Sea)

The Hard Stop (dir George Amponsah)

In August 2011, 29-year-old Mark Duggan was shot and killed whilst being arrested by armed police in Tottenham, London. This incident ignited a riot that escalated into a week of the worst civil unrest in recent British history. This film explores the life and death of Mark Duggan, and features his childhood friends, Marcus and Kurtis, as they struggle to come to terms with the death of their friend - whilst also waiting to see if the inquest into his shooting will provide them with a satisfactory version of the truth.

Panel:

Adam Elliot-Cooper (University of Oxford and StopWatch)

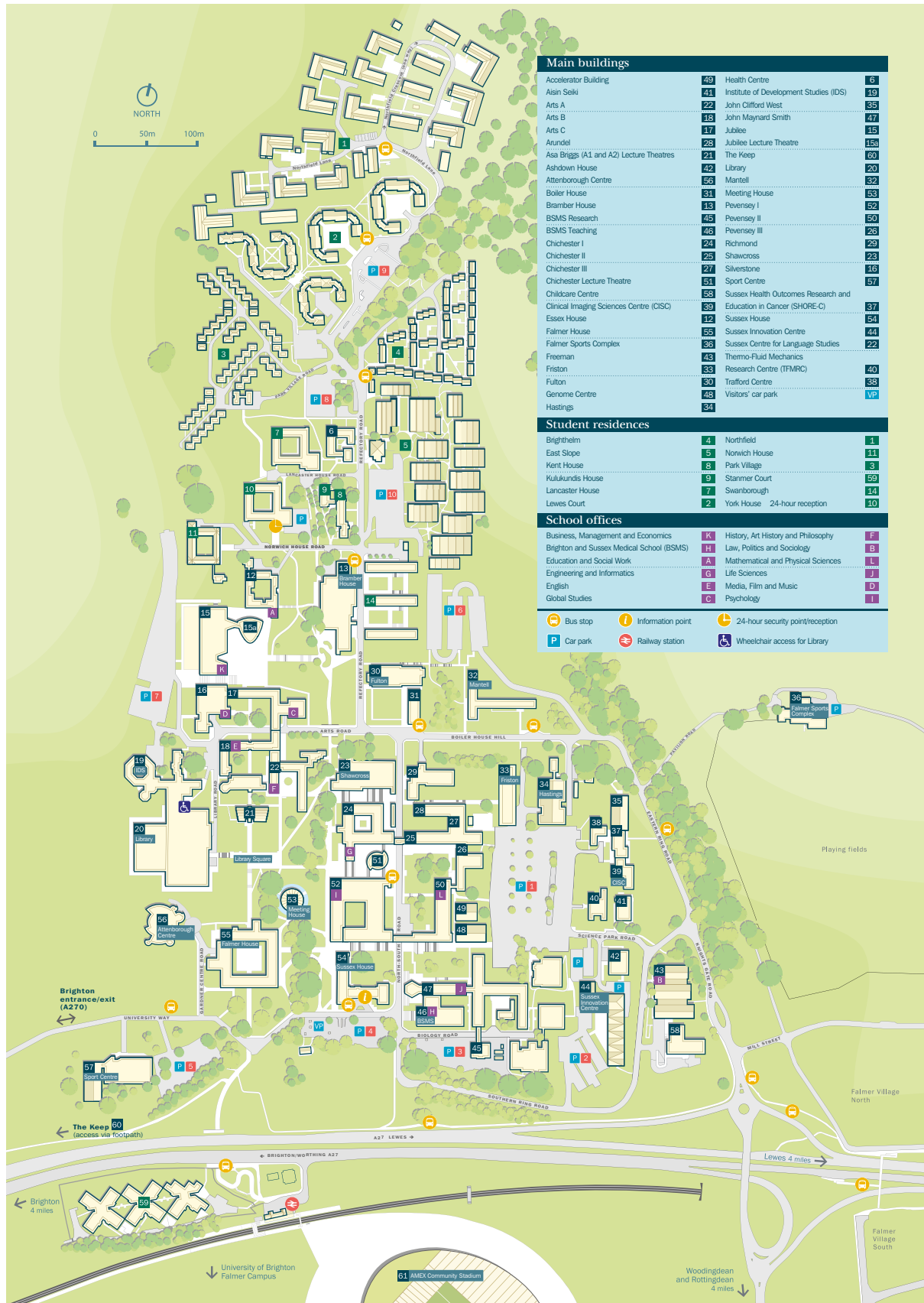
Christina Heatherton (Trinity College) & Jordan T. Camp (Brown University) Editors of 'Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter' (Verso 2016)

HOTELS

All the big chains have hotels in Brighton city centre. Our School uses IBIS. Premier Inn has a branch. Travelodge is also good and bit cheaper.

If you look on [booking.com](https://www.booking.com) you will also find a wide array of private hotels that might have deals on. For these, check the reviews, some are amazing with lovely sea views, others are in need of a bit of work.

CAMPUS MAP



University of Sussex

Reception

54 Main reception Sussex House

Academic units

18 American Studies Arts A & B
 17 Anthropology Arts C
 18 Art History Arts A
 15 Business and Management Jubilee
 28 Chemistry Arundel
 15 Economics Jubilee
 12 Education Essex House
 29 Engineering and Design Richmond
 18 English Arts B
 48 Genome Centre
 17 Geography Arts C
 22 History Arts A
 24 Informatics Chichester I & II
 17 International Development Arts C
 17 International Relations Arts C
 48 Law Freeman
 47 Life Sciences John Maynard Smith
 50 Mathematics Pevensey II
 16 Media and Film Silverstone
 46 Medical School BSMS
 16 Music Silverstone
 22 Philosophy Arts A
 24 Physical Geography labs Chichester I
 50 Physics and Astronomy Pevensey II
 48 Politics Freeman
 52 Psychology Pevensey I
 12 Social Work and Social Care Essex House
 48 Sociology Freeman
 15 SPRU – Science Policy Research Unit Jubilee
 22 Sussex Centre for Language Studies Arts A

University offices

20 Careers and Employability Centre Library
 18 Conference Centre Bramber House
 54 Development and Alumni Relations Sussex House
 34 Estates and Facilities Management Hastings
 34 Health and Safety Office Hastings
 34 Occupational Health Hastings
 55 Research and Enterprise Falmer House
 61 Student Recruitment and Marketing AMEX Community Stadium
 10 Security Office (24-hour reception) York House
 44 Sussex Innovation Centre
 55 University of Sussex Students' Union Falmer House
 54 Vice-Chancellor's Office Sussex House

Student services

54 Admissions Office Sussex House
 55 Advice & Representation Centre (USSU) Falmer House
 20 Careers and Employability Centre Library
 53 Chaplaincy Meeting House
 54 Finance Office Sussex House
 55 Muslim prayer facility Falmer House
 18 Residential Sport and Trading Services Bramber House
 18 Student Life Centre Bramber House
 18 Student Systems and Records Office Bramber House
 52 Student Support Unit Pevensey I
 34 Sussex Abroad Office Hastings
 6 University Counselling Service Health Centre

Other units on campus

39 Clinical Imaging Sciences Centre (CISC)
 41 IMRA Europe UK Research Centre Aisin Seiki
 19 Institute of Development Studies (IDS)
 33 International Study Centre Friston
 37 Sussex Health Outcomes Research and Education in Cancer (SHORE-C)
 40 Thermo-Fluid Mechanics Research Centre (TFMRC)
 32 University of Gothenburg Mantell

Learning services

56 Attenborough Centre for the Creative Arts (opens 2016)
 26 Attenborough Centre Creativity Zone Pevensey III
 28 IT Services Shawcross
 20 Library
 50 Mass Observation Archive The Keep
 60 Special Collections The Keep

Campus services and shops

54 Barclays Sussex House
 20 Bookshop Library
 58 Childcare Centre
 13 Conference Centre Bramber House
 16 The co-operative (supermarket) Bramber House
 6 Dentist Health Centre
 6 Health Centre
 3 Laundrette Park Village
 13 Newsagent (in The co-operative) Bramber House
 6 Pharmacy Health Centre
 13 Post Office (in The co-operative) Bramber House
 34 Print Unit Hastings
 57 Sport Centre
 55 Students' Union Shop Falmer House
 36 Sussexsport (Sport Services) Falmer Sports Complex

Cafés on campus

22 Arts Piazza Café Arts A
 50 Bridge Café Pevensey II
 17 Dhaba Café Arts C
 46 Doctor's Orders Café BSMS
 5 East Slope Bar East Slope
 13 Eat Central (ground floor) Bramber House
 13 Dine Central (first floor) Bramber House
 19 IDS Café and Bar IDS
 15 Jubilee Café Jubilee
 20 Library Café Library
 44 Sussex Innovation Centre Café Sussex Innovation Centre
 55 The Union Bar Falmer House

Can't find what you're looking for?

- Drop in to the main reception, Sussex House 54 9am to 5pm
- To find a person on campus, call switchboard on (01273) 606755
- In an emergency call (01273) 873333 or visit Security Office (24-hours)

• For more information, visit

www.sussex.ac.uk
www.facebook.com/uniofsussex
www.twitter.com/sussexuni

www.sussex.ac.uk/aboutus/documents/campusmap.pdf

TRAVELLING TO THE UNIVERSITY

The University of Sussex campus is well served by public transport with Falmer train station on the south side of campus, and frequent buses on campus to and from Brighton. The adjoining A27 also gives good access by car.

Train

Falmer train station is directly opposite the University campus. Pedestrian access is through a subway under the A27 - follow signs for the University of Sussex (the University of Brighton has a campus at Falmer too). Falmer is on the line between Brighton and Lewes, about eight minutes' travel time in each direction. Four trains an hour go there during the day time. Visitors travelling via London and the west should take a train to Brighton and change there for Falmer. The journey time from London to Brighton is just under an hour. You can also change at Lewes for Falmer, if you are coming from the east.

[Falmer station](#)

[National Rail Enquiries](#)

Coach

National Express Coaches to Brighton depart from London Victoria Coach Station and arrive at Pool Valley in the centre of the city. Services are every hour during the day and take about two hours. Coaches also run to Brighton from Gatwick and Heathrow. From Pool Valley you need to walk 100 metres to the Old Steine where you can catch a bus direct to the University (see Local buses section below), or you can take a taxi.

[National Express Coaches](#)

Taxi

Taxis are available at both Brighton and Lewes train stations and at many places in the centre of Brighton. It is about four miles (six kilometres) from central Brighton to the University. (There is no taxi service at Falmer station itself.) It is often quicker to catch the train direct to Falmer from Brighton or Lewes.

Taxis will cost about £20

[Streamline Taxis](#)

Car

The University is at Falmer on the A27 between Brighton and Lewes, about four miles (six kilometres) from the centre of Brighton. (Please follow signs for University of Sussex on the north side of the A27; the University of Brighton also has a campus at Falmer on the south side of the A27.) Visitors from London and the north should take the M23/A23 road towards Brighton. Before entering the centre of Brighton, join the A27 eastbound signposted Lewes. Drivers from the east or west take the A27 direct to the University.

[Google map](#)
[AA roadwatch](#)

Parking on campus

Parking on campus is limited and there is normally a daily parking charge for visitors. This does not apply for open and admissions days or any visits arranged through the Student Recruitment Services Office. There is designated visitor parking which is signposted on campus. Car parks are not attended and objects of value should not be left in vehicles.

Local buses

The 23, 25, 28 and 29 buses run between the centre of Brighton and the University, bringing you directly to campus. You can catch a bus from the Old Steine in Brighton; the 25 also runs from Churchill Square. The 28 and 29 go from the Old Steine and stop right outside the University campus on their way to Lewes and beyond. Travel time is about 20-30 minutes. Bus timetables and information is available from Brighton buses.

[Brighton buses](#)

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/aboutus/findus/uktravel>

CONFERENCE TEAM

The conference team is: Amy Clarke, Malcolm James, Naaz Rashid, Corinna Shafer, Hanna Stepanik, Katie Wright-Higgins. Please ask any of us if you have any questions.

FEEDBACK

Do tell us what you liked about the conference, and what we could improve.

If anyone would like to write a short review of the conference for the SCCS website we would be very grateful. Please contact malcolm.james@sussex.ac.uk if you would like to do this.

TRAVEL SUPPORT

£250 in travel support for delegates was kindly donated by Sussex Centre for Cultural Studies.