

INDIAN MUSLIM RESPONSES TO ISLAMOPHOBIA IN AUSTRALIAN CITIES: CONFLICTS OVER MOSQUES

Goolam Vahed¹

There has been increased tension in Australian cities over the past decade over plans to construct mosques in a context where Islam appears to be less accepted as a component of Australian religious and cultural society at a time when the Muslim population has increased as a result of migration from various countries in Southern Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East. Explicit opposition to mosque construction, threats to desecrate sacred spaces, and anti-Muslim bias in the media and amongst politicians has intensified in the aftermath of 9/11. Little research has been carried out into the effects of urban planning policy and practice upon minority religious groups in Australia. Local councillors and residents seem reluctant to allow mosques to be built in their neighbourhoods, and representatives of Muslim organisations are having to work hard to establish sound relations with local authorities. This paper, focusing primarily on Indian Muslim migrants from Southern Africa (South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) addresses several key questions: What role do mosques play in the lives of Muslims? How do local communities perceive mosques and Muslims, and why? What is the basis of vehement opposition to mosques? How are these Muslim migrants articulating their needs with the characteristics of their local and national environment? Are objections to mosque construction a manifestation of Islamophobia? How are Muslims coping in situations where they are not permitted to build mosques?

Keywords: *Islam in Australia; Mosques; Islamophobia; Migration; Urban Planning.*

Introduction

‘Hospitality is not our custom here, we have no use for visitors’

— Frantz Kafka’s castle peasant in *The Castle* (1965: 125; in Nursoo 2007)

‘Hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated with hostility when he arrives on someone else’s territory’

— Immanuel Kant (1991: 105; in Nursoo 2007).

Most Muslims would regard the claim upon public space to build mosques as natural and legitimate. In many parts of Australia, however, such requests have generated vigorous opposition from local communities. This paper, by examining community integration / division between mainly Indian Muslim migrants from Southern Africa, and the wider Australian society around the construction of mosques and other Islamic institutions, provides a lens through which to examine broader issues related to the presence of Muslims in Australia. Are they treated with hostility as Kafka’s stranger or welcomed as a right as Kant’s cosmopolitanism would have it? Although Indian Muslims constitute an important segment of the Muslim population in Australia, due to the general tendency of the local Australians

Address for communication: **Goolam Vahed**, Department of History, University of KwaZulu-Natal,
E-mail: vahedg@ukzn.ac.za

to treat Muslims as homogenous, I have emphasized the unified opposition to Muslim mosque building and avoided the impression that the issue is one of ethnicity. My purpose in diluting the internal ethnic diversity among Muslims in Australia is to highlight the generic fear against Islam which I describe as Islamophobia in the title of the paper. It investigates attitudes towards the building of mosques specifically, and more generally attitudes towards Muslims over the past two decades among mainstream Australians. This paper probes several key questions. Have attitudes towards Muslims changed during this period; if so, how and why? Are Muslims and mosques seen as an unwelcome intrusion in the community? What impact does the building of mosques have on the surrounding community and how has this affected the perspective of residents living in the vicinity of mosques? What role do planning policies play in providing an institutional setting for the contestation over mosque construction?

Mosques as Religious and Social Centres

Religion is usually important in the lives of most migrants of whatever faith, its importance perhaps magnified by original dislocation or even prejudice in the receiving context. Islam remains important in the lives of Muslim migrants to Australia, with mosques forming an important component of Muslim religious life. The word 'mosque' originates from the Arabic *masjid* which literally means a place for prostration (*sujud*) before God. Muslims are required to perform obligatory *salah* (prayer) five times daily. While *salah* can be performed anywhere, there is greater reward in offering it communally. The Friday noon *Jumuah* prayer must be offered in congregation. Communal prayers underscore the cohesiveness and unity of the *ummah*. When the Prophet Mohamed ²(pbuh) migrated from Makkah to Madinah his first act was to build a mosque. While mosques are usually within easy access in predominantly Muslim countries, in Western countries, where Muslims live far apart, it is common to find a few individuals usually gathering at home to pray communally.

Mosques usually have a *minaret*, the tower situated at one of the corners. Before each prayer, a muezzin calls the *adhan* from the *minaret*, inviting worshippers to prayer. In Australia and most Western countries, mosques are not permitted to broadcast the *adhan* aloud and do so from inside the mosque. In some parts of the Western world, but not in Australia, minarets have become "towers of contention". In Switzerland, for example, they were banned in 2009. Mosques are not just used for prayer. To be a "good" Muslim carries with it many social obligations. Traditional Islamic constructions for public use were complexes of buildings - mosque, school, fountain for ablution, library, bathing houses, and residential rooms for teachers and students. During the early Islamic period, it was at the mosque that judicial decisions were taken and punishment implemented (Rasdi and Utaberta, 2010: 5). Many mosques, particularly in Western countries, serve multiple purposes and

provide organized and informal services to the community. In the present-day United States and many countries of Western Europe, for example, mosques host voter registration and civic participation drives to involve Muslims in the political process. Some mosques have amenities such as medical clinics, libraries, gymnasiums, adult classes for women, madrassahs for children, drugs awareness programmes, study halls, activities for young people, places for funeral services, as well as a place for passing on information about finding jobs or searching for housing (Zaimeche, 2002)

The Central Role of Mosques in Islamic Cities

The “city” has been a feature of human civilisation since antiquity but it is only over the past few centuries that there has been an unprecedented movement to cities by people in search of work, and for access to services and amenities. Cities are not fixed entities. Economic, political, geographic, social and cultural factors continually transform the shape and form of the built environment. Space and place are not just physical locations but contested terrains ‘where politics, class, power and identity interact’ (Buggs, 2012: 4). Applications for mosque development, thus, are often contingent on the politics and ideologies of the day.

Cities have played a formative role in Islam since its inception. The principles of the Islamic theory of general planning have been articulated in the Holy Qur’an and *hadith*. The city in Islam is the site where people work, live, pray and interact with each other and with God. The tenth century Muslim philosopher al-Farabi wrote that the ‘fashioning of a city (state) is not the outcome of a natural process; it depends, like the moral life of individuals, on the right decisions being taken, it makes all the difference whether “will” and “choice” are directed towards the true good or not. The result will be either a good or bad city’ (Omer, 2011).

Can we speak of an ‘Islamic city’ and, if so, what are its fundamental features? What is the role of mosques in these cities and what is their impact on land use? Between 1920 and 1950, Orientalist scholars such as William (1928) and Georges Marçais (1937), Roger le Tourneau (1949), and Jean Sauvaget (1930) produced a concept of the Muslim city through monographs on Arab cities like Marrakesh, Rabat, Algiers, and Damascus. These studies were generally dismissive of Middle Eastern cities before the arrival of the French whom they saw as bearers of civilization to colonized subjects. Arab cities were portrayed as structurally chaotic in comparison to the well laid out Roman cities of Antiquity (Raymond 2008). William Marçais (1928) described the Islamic city as essentially clustered around a Grand Friday mosque, a bazaar (*sug*), and a public bath. Georges Marçais (1937) added residential quarters differentiated by ethnicity and religion to the construction of the Islamic city which he described as rectangular in shape and walled, with two main roads which went from one end of the city to the other and intersected at right angles in the centre where the main Friday mosque was located. The palace of the prince (political power) was situated next to the mosque, as was the market and

commercial centre. It was in the quarters, which were divided by ethnicity, caste, religion, and occupation, that various groups maintained their respective traditions and customs (Goddard 2006: 22).

Lapidus' *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* and Hourani and Stern's *The Islamic City* criticized the Orientalist model for presenting an essentialised Islamic city on the basis of a few case studies in North Africa and the Middle East even though many cities in the Islamic world did not fit this stereotype. Sociologists, geographers, anthropologists, art historians, and architects began to challenge a 'unified abstract model' of cities in the Muslim world, with the result that a nuanced picture has emerged (Negalia 2008: 15). Andre Raymond's study of Muslim cities in North Africa and the Middle East points to an urban centre organized around the pairing of a covered market (*qaysariyya*) and Great Mosque which had a strong religious and cultural ethos. Some mosques were universities of international standing (eg. al-Azhar in Cairo). 'Administrative' services were situated in this mosque. The "quarters" that developed outside of the central region were a distinct feature of Arab cities; they met the daily needs of inhabitants as they included a minor market and mosque. The population of each quarter communicated with the city centre for trade (special items), work, and the communal Friday prayer (Raymond 2008: 53).

Gaubere constructed the history of Isfahan since the eighth century. At the heart of the city was a Grand Mosque from which streets ran radial to the gates from southwest to northeast and from southeast to northwest. The *maidan* (old square) to the southeast of the mosque contained the mosque, madrassahs, palace, bazaar and royal music saloon. By the eleventh century the *maidan* was the religious, administrative, and commercial centre (Gaube 2008: 167). Gaborieau's study of 'Indian' cities covers pre-partition British India. The greatest Mughal city was New Delhi, built by Shah Jahan (1628-1658), which was divided into quarters divided by religion, caste, and ethnicity. The "Friday mosque" was located close to the emperor's palace, but daily prayers were offered in small mosques within each quarter (Gaborieau 2008: 189).

This cursory overview of cities in the Muslim world underscores the fact that the mosque stood at the "heart" of the Islamic city and was the pivot around which Muslim life revolved as it served religious, intellectual, and socio-political functions. This observation is important because in the contemporary West, Muslims usually seek to establish mosques as one of their first acts in their new "home". This sacralisation of public space is perceived by many in the host community as a sign of Muslim "herding" and a refusal to 'integrate', ignoring the fact that Italian migrants to New York or Greek migrants to Melbourne behaved in much the same way. Concentration around a mosque is usually a result of Muslims choosing to live in proximity to a mosque because it plays a practical role in their lives. Religious classes, for example, contribute to the Islamic and normative socialisation of

children. Conversely, one of the reasons why residents in host countries may oppose mosques is that they become a

proclamation of [Muslim] stabilisation, a sign that it has definitively settled abroad. It is a territorial marker that is expected to reassure the community and protect its members against the risk of being assimilated by the host society. The mosque ... is proof of the Muslim community's legitimate presence and a source of prestige for the community (Manco and Kenmaz 2005: 1109).

Islam in Australia

Islam is not a new religion in Australia. It dates back to the seventeenth century when the Macassarese visited the north coast on fishing expeditions. Muslim sailors sometimes worked on British ships and in 1796 a few Muslim sailors were abandoned on Norfolk Island. These and other early Muslim families left no records, institutions, or mosques. Formal Muslim settlement began with the Afghan cameleers who arrived from the mid-nineteenth century when camels were introduced to open up the interior of the Australian continent. They played a significant role in the initial development of the continent through their exploration of central Australia, the establishment of the inland telegraph, and development of inland mining towns (Kabir 2003: 29). The need for Afghans ended when the railways became the main form of transportation. The *Immigration Restriction Act* 1901, more commonly known as the 'White Australia Policy,' ended Afghan immigration, and over the decades this embryonic Muslim 'Ghan' community gradually disappeared (Kabir 2003: 39).

A permanent Muslim population began to establish itself after World War Two, growing almost ten-fold from 2,704 to 22,311 between 1947 and 1971 (Wise and Ali 2008: 17). The shortage of European immigrants forced the Australian government to recruit, initially, small numbers of 'White' Muslims from Cyprus, Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Russia, then approximately 10,000 Turks between 1967 and 1971, and 17,000 Lebanese between 1975 and 1985. The 1970s and 1980s saw the arrival of teachers and engineers from Egypt, doctors from the South Asian subcontinent, and tertiary students from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh as the basis of immigration shifted from race to occupational skills. The 1990s saw the arrival of political migrants from Fiji and Sri Lanka (Kivisto 2002: 43).

Indian migrants arrived directly from India, and others from Sri Lanka, Fiji, and Southern Africa. Migrants from Southern Africa, mainly South Africa and Zimbabwe, but also from Zambia, Mozambique, and Botswana, began arriving in small numbers in the 1970s. These were mainly medical doctors and other professionals. The 1980s, and especially the 1990s, saw this stream increase significantly. Indian South Africans have been emigrating primarily because of a drop in levels of confidence following the end of White minority rule in 1994; fears that affirmative action will deny employment to younger Indians; high levels

of crime and violence; and a perception of declining services in education, health, and other government services. Similar factors motivated emigration from Zimbabwe, with the June 2000 land invasions providing the “spark”. Emigration destination was determined by ease of entry (both Canada and the United Kingdom tightened entry requirements) and presence of relatives who facilitated adaptation to the new environment. According to one respondent, ‘we felt “pushed” from Africa and Australia was the best alternative ... there was no compelling “pull” into the country ... no El Dorado waiting for us.’ Most emigrants in Brisbane secured permanent residency status on the basis of skills or business and are relatively financially self-sufficient. This migratory stream includes Muslims as well as Hindus who have maintained transnational ties with South Africa through business links, migrants keeping their homes, regular visits, and marriage ties (see Vahed 2007).

Most Muslims from Southern Africa who moved to Queensland settled in a radius of about five miles in Brisbane’s suburbs of Stretton, Underwood, Runcorn, Eight Mile Plains, and Kuraby, where they have built a mosque. Indian Muslims from Fiji and Pakistan, on the other hand, settled mainly around the mosque in Holland Park. According to the 2006 census, in the South-East Queensland suburbs of Runcorn, Eight Miles Plain, and Kuraby, there were 1,815 Muslims. Of these, 968 were born in South Africa and Zimbabwe. All of them are Indian Muslims, However, this number is an underestimate as it does not include the children of migrants from these countries and there has been ongoing in-migration from other states in Australia since the 2006 census (Vahed, 2008: 12). The 2011 census revealed that Kuraby had the largest concentration of Muslims in any suburb in Queensland; almost 20 per cent of its residents cited Islam as their religious affiliation. The population of Kuraby was 7,777, with 50.8 per cent born in Australia, while the other highest responses for country of birth were India (4%), New Zealand (3.8%), South Africa (3.5%), China (2.6%), and England (2.2%). Mandarin, Arabic, Cantonese, Hindi, and Urdu were spoken by residents. The religious make up was 19.3% (1501 persons) Islam, 17% Catholic, 13.6% No Religion, 8.7% Anglican, 4.8% Buddhism. This is a middle class suburb with professionals, clerical and administrative workers, and managers making up over half the workers; labourers constituted just 7.5% of the workers. In Runcorn, of 14,075 people, 5.3 per cent (732) were Muslim; while in Underwood, 5.1 per cent (277) of the 5,328 residents were Muslim (see <http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au> for census data).

Indian migrants from Southern Africa established extensive infrastructure in Brisbane in a relatively short time to enable them to live according to the tenets of their religion. This includes building a mosque, which is discussed later in this paper, a madrassah, cemetery, Islamic schools, burial services, halaal (kosher) butchers and food outlets, and Islamic banking and finance. The mosque serves as the venue for madrassah classes in the afternoons. It was initially run by a South

African Imam, Mawlana Peer, while the current Imam is Imam Akram, who studied at the DarulUloom in Azaadville, Gauteng, South Africa. Virtually all the teachers have been from South Africa from the time that the madrassah was established. There are two Islamic schools, The Islamic School of Brisbane, established in 1995, and Brisbane Muslim School, opened in 2002, both of which offer classes to grade 12. The latter has a strong South African connection with Mawlana Peer having taught at the school for several years.

One of the notable features of this community is the Crescents of Brisbane Club, which was established in 1998 by migrants who had been members of the Crescents Sporting Club in South Africa. It was initially formed by a small group of runners for social purposes but as interest grew, the club organised various sports events, a Quiz/Trivia night, golf day, 'Day-In-The-Park', and an annual fun run called Creswalk since 2002. The race attracts close to 600 runners annually. Crescents of Brisbane started an electronic mailing list on 27 November 1998 to keep migrants 'informed of the activities, events, lectures, programmes and functions that take place in our community.' It is a means of keeping family members in South Africa in touch with developments in Brisbane (see <http://www.crescentsofbrisbane.org/Newsletter>). Indian Muslims from Southern Africa inspired the formation of the Muslim Business Network (MBN) which was officially launched on 12 February 2006 to provide 'members with various networking opportunities, assistance in identifying and exploiting business opportunities, outreach programs and philanthropic initiatives' (see <http://www.mbn.net.au>). Another opportunity for communal get-togethers are the two annual Eid festivals observed by Muslims. On both occasions, the morning prayer, which brings together Muslims of all nationalities at a few central points, is followed by a special lunch event in a hired venue primarily for Muslims from South Africa who, as pointed out above, are almost exclusively of Indian ancestry.

Questioning the Place of Muslims in Contemporary Australian Society

According to the 2011 population census, 476,300 people in Australia listed their religion as Islam. Muslims made up 2.2 per cent of the Australian population. Queensland's Muslims numbered 34,048, comprising 0.8% of the state's population, but reflecting an increase of 68 per cent from 2006. New South Wales' Muslim population numbered 219,377 (3.2 per cent of the state population); Victoria had 152,775 Muslims (2.9 per cent); Western Australia's Muslim population was 39,117 (1.8 per cent) Muslims; South Australia had 19,511 Muslims (1.2 per cent); and the Northern Territories 1,589 Muslims (under 1 per cent).

The census data shows that Australia is becoming diverse. While Christianity remains the religion of the majority of Australians, it declined from 63.9 per cent in 2006 to 61.1 per cent of the population in 2011. During the same period, the percentage of people who reported a non-Christian faith increased from 36.1 to 38.9

per cent; those who reported, “No religion” increased from 18.7 to 22.3 per cent; Buddhism (2.5 per cent) had the highest number of adherents among non-Christians, while Hinduism (1.3 per cent) experienced the fastest growth, almost doubling from 148,130 to 275,534. Muslims increased from 340,394 to 476,291 (40 per cent increase), and Buddhists from 418,749 to 528,977 (2006-2011). Although Hindus and Buddhists are either numerically superior or growing at a faster pace, it is Muslims and Islam that is targeted as a threat to Australian values.

Contemporary debates about the place of Muslims in Australian society must be seen in the context of long held fears that the country was becoming “Asianised”. John Howard, who was prime minister of Australia from 1996 to 2007, stated publicly in 1988 that ‘it would be in our immediate-term interests in terms of social cohesion if we could slow down [Asian immigration] a little’ (Jupp 2007: 67). While migrants from Asia are distinct from the majority of the receiving Australian society in terms of religion, culture, and physical features, international geo-politics has given these differences an added edge in the case of Muslims. The negative mainstream public perception of Muslims is due to such events as the first Gulf War (1991), attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001 by Al-Qaeeda, the Bali bombing (2002) which resulted in large numbers of Australian casualties, and anti-Lebanese riots in Cronulla (Sydney) in 2005. Muslim dress and appearance is an added dimension to the othering process.

The place of Muslims in Australian society has been questioned at the highest levels. John Stone, former National Party Senator, had the ‘gravest reservations’ about Muslim immigration: ‘the Islamic cancer in our body politic ... continues to grow—stealthily, unobtrusively, even unknown to many Australians busy about their daily lives. One day, however, we shall experience a terrible national pain—awakening, for example, to the equivalent of the London bombings ... and we shall ask ourselves, “How did it come to this?”’ (Stone, 2006:12). Such sentiments are contrary to the policy of the Australian government which shifted from assimilation to integration in 1966 and to multiculturalism in 1972. The Race Discrimination Act of 1975 encouraged diversity within a framework of shared values among citizens. Multiculturalism stressed the right of all Australians to express their cultural heritage (cultural), to receive equal treatment (social justice), and be given an opportunity to develop their skills (Moran 2005: 30).

Multiculturalism has become a discredited policy in the wake of the 9/11 bombings. John Howard, while he was Prime Minister, felt that multiculturalism ‘stupidly meant a federation of cultures.’ Most Australians, he said, found the *burqa* (full head-to-toe covering by women) ‘intimidating’. In 2006, he was quoted as saying that ‘there is a section, a small section of the Islamic population,... which is very resistant to integration ... Fully integrating means accepting Australian values’ (Kerbaj 2006). This is a view shared by many Australians who, according to Moran, believe that Muslims, by definition, cannot be ‘patriotic because their religion ...

comes before anything else in the world.... That's where their patriotism is, to their religion' (Moran 2005: 67). According to Rane *et al.* obfuscation of the beliefs and views of ordinary Muslims by politicians and the media points to the...

... perceived incompatibility of Islam with the broader Australian public. Much of this commentary has espoused a remarkably negative and overly reductive picture of Islam and its adherents. Underpinning this are several assumptions about Australia's Muslims: that their beliefs are antithetical to Australian values; that they cannot assimilate; that they are inherently violent and condone extremism and martyrdom; that they prefer theocracy and Islamic law to democracy and secular Australian law and that they actively oppress women (Rane *et al.* 2011: 17).

Dunn *et al.* also reported strong feelings of Islamophobia in Australia. They argued that the way in which Islam is presented in the media produced anti-Muslim racism in the wider Australian community. Media coverage of Muslims was seen to '(mis)inform opposition to mosque development and ever more restrictive asylum seeker policies, and lies behind arson attacks and racist violence' (Dunn, 2007: 580). A two year study by Issues Deliberation Australia, completed in 2007, found that almost half of Australians believe that Muslims have a negative impact on Australia's social harmony and national security and view them as threatening the essence of Australia's democracy. 83 per cent of Australians saw an incompatibility between Muslim and Western values as one of the prime causes of terrorism (IDA, 2007: 10).

Indian Muslims can relate to this stereotyping. The "Haneef incident" of 2007 caused many to believe that life in the West post-9/11 can be precarious. Mohamed Haneef, a young Indian-born doctor working in a Queensland hospital, was arrested on 2 July 2007 at the Brisbane Airport on suspicion of involvement in the 30 June 2007 attack at Glasgow International Airport. Haneef, the second cousin of Kafeel and Sabeel Ahmed who carried out the attacks, was the first to be detained under the 2005 Australian Anti-Terrorism Act and the first to have his detention extended under the Act. He was detained for 12 days without being charged. Newspapers carried police misinformation about Haneef planning to blow up a Gold Coast skyscraper and that he had expressed interest in the operations of planes in Queensland. When the matter went to court on 16 July, Haneef was granted bail because of the flimsy evidence against him. The Immigration Minister cancelled his visa based on evidence, he said, he could not disclose for security concerns. A Federal Court judge described the timing of the cancellation as 'suspicious' and suggested that it may have been aimed at circumventing the magistrate's decision. Charges were dropped on 27 July 2007 by the Commonwealth Director of Public Prosecutions amidst reports of errors and misstatements by prosecutors and the police. Haneef's passport was returned and he left Australia voluntarily on 29 July 2007. The cancellation of Haneef's visa was overturned by the Federal Court on 21 August 2007. There was legal outrage and concern among Muslims at this blatant

act of Executive interference in proceedings before the court. The Muslim Business Network (MBN), an organisation founded by Muslims from Southern Africa, issued a statement calling government interference 'totally unfair,' 'biased' and 'victimising people of the Muslim faith.,' Haneef, the statement continued, 'has not committed a terrorist act [and] has not been found guilty in a court of law of anything. This kind of action by the government, we think, is very high-handed, it is out of proportion, and it is again creating a fear of Muslims. We have no sympathy for terrorists' (see Vahed 2008: 22-25).

Rane *et al.* claim that while 'Muslims value their Islamic identity, they seek to integrate into Australian society.... The direction of this process is towards the harmonization of Islam with the values and institutions of Australian society and its people' (Rane, *et al.*, 2011: 19). This is applicable to Indian Muslim migrants from Southern Africa. Many Muslims understand that given the tensions around the presence of Muslims, they need to participate in civic structures and forge wider civic ties. Southern African Muslims have certain advantages relative to other Muslims, such as command of English, experience of participation in non-ethnic, non-religious associations, and familiarity with the democratic process. One example is inter-Faith Forums which have been taking place regularly. The mosque in Kuraby holds an annual Open Day, where members of the local community are invited to observe the prayer and are educated about the core beliefs of Islam. Visits are also arranged for members of the police force and schools. At state schools, parents are actively involved in fundraising and other activities of schools. Members are also encouraged to participate in the local Rotary club. The local Member of Parliament and other (non-Muslim) dignitaries are invited to community events. During crises such as the floods of 2010, when large parts of Queensland were ravaged, or when the northern parts of the state are hit by cyclones, organisations such as the MBN and Crescents of Brisbane either actively engage in flood relief or raise funds for the relief funds (see Vahed 2008: 26).

There is contestation over representation. Traditionally, the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils (AFIC) was accepted as the Muslim "voice" in Australia. However, many Muslims see AFIC as conservative because of the organisation's historic relationships with the Saudi's. When a Saudi delegation visited Australia in 1974, it recommended the establishment of Islamic Councils in each state and their organisation coalesced into a national federation, AFIC, in 1976. Some Muslims dispute AFIC's right to represent them or have formed organisations to represent specific needs. For example, Muslims from India formed the Indian Muslim Association of Australia (IMAA) in 2008. According to its website, the IMMA was formed by 'a group of elite Indian Muslims residing in Australia ... to provide a common platform for the Indian Muslims from various states of India with different cultural backgrounds and different languages to work together for the common cause such as welfare activities' (http://imaa.org.au/about_IMAA.html).

Sydney-based Gujarati Muslims, on the other hand, formed the Gujarati Muslim Association of Australia 'to bring all Gujarati Muslims residing in Australia on one platform, as we all belong to same origin. We represent the same state Gujarat, same country India, apart from representing same Muslim culture, believing in the same Prophet Mohammed (pbuh) and the glorious book Quran' (<http://gujaratimuslims.org.au>).

While there are differences amongst Muslims, the difficulty for many is that they are treated as homogenous by the wider society irrespective of their individual beliefs and engagement with and involvement in the wider society. The negative image of Muslims, held by a large segment of the wider Australian community, as discussed above, is important in framing our discussion of the next section of the paper, for it influences the way in which ordinary Australians react to the everyday requirements of Muslims in their midst, including requests to build mosques.

Opposition to Mosque Development in Australia

Queensland: Masjid Al Farooq in Kuraby

There has been heated opposition across Australia to the building of mosques and other Islamic institutions over the past decade. One example is the Masjid Al Farooq in Kuraby, a suburb of Brisbane in South-East Queensland. This mosque was built by Indian Muslim migrants from South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The first 'preoccupation of early Muslims,' according to one interviewee, 'was to have a masjid of their own and that is what they were preoccupied with for the best part of the first twenty years.' Muslims in Brisbane had congregated in the south-eastern suburbs as the first mosque was established in Holland Park in 1908 by Indian and Afghan migrants. Most Muslims from Southern Africa who began arriving from the 1970s onwards settled in the Eight Mile Plains area, and it was they who built the Masjid Al-Farooq which, in turn, attracted more Muslim migrants. The "founding fathers" had modest objectives. There were approximately thirty Muslim families in Eight Mile Plains in the mid-1980s and they were looking for premises to hold madrassah (religious) classes for children. They formed the Islamic Madrassah of Sunnybank Ltd. to locate suitable facilities. The committee purchased an Anglican Church at the end of 1989. This was a pragmatic decision since the land was already designated a place of worship and the Council and local residents could not object to the establishment of a mosque. Thirteen donors from South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia funded the purchase of the property and construction of the mosque.

Differences over the mosque and its uses among Muslims underscored the fact that they did not constitute a homogeneous community and one group established a second mosque in the nearby suburb of Algester.³ Notwithstanding this, the rapid growth of the population in the vicinity of the Kuraby mosque resulted

in the mosque becoming too small for the congregation. By 1995, the original building proved inadequate and the trustees submitted plans on 19 October 1995 for a double-story mosque. Council officially granted permission in May 2000. The rudimentary building was renovated and (re)opened in 2001 as *Masjid al-Farooq*. There was little opposition from the local (non-Muslim) community at the time, probably because the area was semi-rural and sparsely populated, with few Muslims living in the vicinity of the mosque (see Vahed 2008: 18-20).

However, Masjid Al Farooq did not escape the ramifications of the September 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York. The old mosque building was petrol bombed on 22 September 2001. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC) Radio Australia recorded the comments of worshippers and Muslim residents in the immediate aftermath of the bombing, which reflected their pain and hurt (<http://www.abc.net.au/rn/relig/enc/stories/s404240.htm>):

- There's been a lot of disappointment and hurt obviously, a religious place is always a focal point for any community, and this has struck at the heart of the Muslim community, being the mosque. I must say there has been anger, but not directed at any particular person or persons, but we understand the climate that we live in.
- You cannot really describe such a feeling because this is not your house. I mean, you might have a different feeling if you see your house burning, but this is the house of God, the house of Allah has been burned.
- Because I attend this mosque every day, so when it actually happened it actually felt like someone was saying, "Your house has actually been burned down", that's the way it hit me, you know that's the way I felt.
- My children literally live at the mosque, this is their place where they play around, they spend the entire afternoon here after school. What if these children were in the mosque? They've been scared, because they'd gone on a camp out, and when they came back there was no mosque there. They were shocked. They just came home – normally they talk about what a wonderful camp it was, but this time it was, "Oh, Mummy, I don't believe it."
- There were a lot of Korans and books that were in the children's names that were burnt, and children are very possessive of their things. They were traumatised, they were crying, because this institute was very, very dear to them.
- And I think they've sort of grown up a little bit in the matter of a few weeks, and they always remember the day, because 11th September was the bombing, 22nd September was their bombing.
- My son, three years old, he doesn't know anything about the fire, but now at home he's building a mosque with his building blocks, and then he

drops it and he says, "The mosque is burnt". And I say, "I'm going to the mosque now," and he says, "I can't come with you. Maybe the naughty man will burn me."

- Those few who woke up and thought, "Let's go and attack (the Muslims)" – they've attacked us, but they haven't really attacked us, they've attacked Australia.

Imam Abdalla, head of the Islamic Research Unit at Griffiths University, recalled the impact of the bombing on the ABC National Radio programme, "Religion and Ethics", on 10 August 2010:

Immediately after the inhuman and barbaric attacks of 11 September 2001, our mosque in the quiet suburb of Kuraby in Brisbane was burnt to the ground. The arsonist was not a Muslim. One could claim that he was a Christian and by extension accuse all Christians and Christianity of being violent. Of course, this is tantamount to a fallacy of generalization. Nevertheless, everything was burnt with our mosque, except for one page of a book of Hadith (narrations of Prophet Muhammad), that had the following Hadith: "A strong person is not one who wrestles and defeats others; but a strong person is one who controls one's self in times of anger." In these times of tension, the Muslim community's calm and compelling demeanour successfully contained and managed reconciliation strategies between the Islamic and Australian communities. They led a reconciliation strategy to create better understanding between the local Islamic and wider Australian community. The mosque opened its doors for the wider Australian community to visit and observe how Muslims worship, and engaged in a discussion about Islam. Many Christian groups and churches responded positively, and interfaith gatherings are ongoing (transcript at <http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2010/08/10/2978407.htm>).

Despite the 2001 extension of mosque, rapid population growth has made it difficult to accommodate worshippers at peak times. Between 2001 and 2006, according to the Population Census, the Muslim population of Kuraby increased from 276 to 804 and has continued to increase. In view of the overcrowding, mosque management lodged an application in February 2011 to extend the mosque. The local council replied that the car parking spaces was inadequate for the proposed development. Public notification of the proposed development was carried out in accordance with the law. Letters were mailed to surrounding properties on 28 March 2011; notices were erected on the mosque property on 29 March 2011; and an advertisement was placed in the *Courier Mail* on 29 March 2011. Only three submissions were made in opposition to the development. These pointed specifically to the logistical problems created by the presence of the mosque rather than the character of Muslims per se or Islam as a religion. On 14 June 2011, the mosque submitted a revised plan omitting the deck, the central point of its proposed development as it would have increased the number of worshippers. This suggests that the mosque management had conceded defeat on the original development plans, with the problem of overcrowding unresolved.

Many locals believe that the refusal to allow the extension to the mosque, and resolve the parking problem by making land available in the nearby park, is really due to the prevailing concern about multiculturalism, which has become synonymous with Islam. And confirmation of this, as far as they are concerned, is evident in the struggles over mosque development in other parts of Australia, a few of which are discussed below to illustrate this point. While the examples below do not concern Indian Muslims specifically, they are related here to draw comparison with the mosque in Kuraby.

New South Wales

In 2003 the Baulkham Hills Shire Council rejected an application from an Islamic group led by Abas Aly to build a mosque in Annangrove at the rural fringe of north-western Sydney, an application that had been recommended by the Council's planners. The group comprised mainly of migrants from Pakistan, who number over 31,000 in the wider Sydney area. The rejection followed opposition from local residents that there were few Muslims in the locality (Mourad 2009: 89). Residents felt that Muslims should remain in 'Muslim areas', that is, places like Bankstown and Punchbowl which had large concentrations of Muslims (Al-Natour, 2010: 5). Of 5181 submissions from 532 households, there were 5170 objections and 11 in favour of the application. Councillors ignored their own legal advice in voting 10 to 2 against the application. Councillors concluded that 'in view of the number of objections received the subject proposal is not in the public interest' (Mourad, 2009: 90).

Abas Aly appealed to the Land and Environment Court in New South Wales (NSW). Council argued that 'the proposed development is antipathetic to the shared beliefs, customs and values of the local community and, if approved, would result in a change in the character and amenity of the area.' The Court, however, ruled in favour of Aly's group on 30 June 2003. Justice J. Lloyd said that the consenting authority should 'not blindly accept the subjective fears and concerns expressed in the public submissions. In this case, the objections must be afforded little weight and appear to have little basis in fact.' Council responded by imposing cost prohibitive conditions such as the installation of high grade security fencing which cost Australian \$100,000 more than standard fencing. The Imam Hasan Centre was opened on 16 October 2004 (Mourad 2009). Dunn, Klocker and Salabay wrote with regard to Annangrove that 'opposition to mosque development had depended heavily on stereotypes of Islam as fanatical, intolerant, militant, fundamentalist, misogynist and alien' (Dunn *et al.*, 2007: 584).

Laura Buggs examined the discourse surrounding the refusal of permission to develop Islamic schools (with a prayer facility) in Camden and Bankstown in metropolitan Sydney. She found that in Bankstown the presence of culturally diverse immigrant groups, in a context of growing unemployment, has created concern

among many Anglo-Australian residents at the high number of Muslims settling in the area. Opposition centred on three broad reasons: Islamic institutions would be incompatible with the surrounding environment; the small Muslim population did not warrant an Islamic school; and a “moral panic” that the presence of Muslims would increase anti-social behaviour. Concerns about where the pupils reside, Buggs adds, are absent when private Catholic or Anglican schools are built. The real fear was that the presence of the schools would attract Muslim families to the area, thus changing its racial, religious, and cultural composition (Buggs, 2012: 7). The local Council’s decision was overturned by the Land and Environment Court in May 2009, with the court questioning whether there would have been similar opposition to an Anglican school (Murray, 2009). The mosque is being built by the Saarban Islamic Trust. “Saarban” is an Urdu and Persian word for cameleers and was chosen to remind Australians of the Afghan Muslim cameleers. The project is led by the likes of Rashid Khatak, Imran Umer, Muhammad Uzair, and Muhammad Asim.

Camden on the outer fringe of Sydney, has a very tiny ‘Culturally and Linguistically Diverse population,’ as identified by the census, and is home mostly to young and upwardly mobile families living in gated communities (Buggs, 2012: 9). The Land and Environment Court upheld the Camden Council’s decision on the grounds that a school was incompatible with the rural zoning of the area. Community opposition, however, included a strong element of racial and religious arguments. The proposal was first announced in October 2007. A local resident told ABC reporters that if the school did get the go ahead, ‘every ragger [“raghead”] that walks up the street’s going to get smashed up the arse by about 30 Aussies.’ Ragger (“raghead”) is a pejorative term to refer to people of Middle Eastern origin, some of whom wear turbans (Al-Natour, 2010: 12). On 5 November 2007, a public rally against the proposal was attended by around 2000 people. The Camden/Macarthur Residents’ Group was formed in December 2007 to campaign against the school. On 27 May 2008 Camden councillors unanimously rejected the application. The Quranic Society Dar Tahfez El-Quran, led by Fouad Chami, scaled down its plans and appealed the decision to the Land and Environment Court which rejected the appeal on 2 June 2009 (Armstrong, 2011). The Quranic Society has given up on its plans.

A writer to the *Camden Advertiser*, in the section “Your Say”, was upset that ‘because we uphold our traditions, morals, heritage and Christian culture, the media choose to report us as being “rednecks”. I ask these reporters: where is your loyalty? We are passionate, trustworthy Australians with a sense of loyalty’. The community produced petitions, pamphlets and bumper stickers that opposed the school; several rallies were organised; a wooden crucifix with biblical inscriptions was placed on the site; and even a Nazi white supremacist group ‘became involved against a perceived Arab invasion of the Camden area’. A typical pamphlet read: ‘What’s wrong with the schools that are already established in the local area? It is ABOUT

TIME Aussies stand together whatever religion or race of people'. Ironically, a local residents' group that had opposed the Islamic School, approved plans to build a Catholic school in Camden. Accused of being hypocritical, the president replied that he was not racist: 'It's very simple: people like some things but don't like other things. Some of us like blondes, some of us like brunettes. Some of us like Fords, some of us like Holdens. Why is it xenophobic just because I want to make a choice? If I want to like some people and not like other people, that's the nature of the beast' (Al-Natour, 2010). In 2007 two pigs' heads were lodged onto metal stakes at the site. At the hearing before the Land and Environment Court on 21-24 April 2009, four Christian churches presented a letter stating that Islam espoused views that were 'incompatible with the Australian way of life', there was a DVD articulating the views of local residents, who felt that the school would be a 'breeding ground for terrorists' (Murray 2009).

There was similar contestation in Elernmore Vale, Newcastle, over plans to build a mosque. A development application was lodged on behalf of the Newcastle Muslims Association (NMA) for a place of worship at a site across two frontages on Croudace Road totalling approximately 9000m². The application included the erection of a place of worship (Mosque), a three bedroom dwelling house for the Imam, a community hall, a funeral ceremony building, and parking areas for around 166 cars. The mosque was to cater for up to 400 people maximum. Local community members were invited to comment on the proposed development. Between 25 August and 22 September 2010, the following responses were received: 963 individual submissions of objection; five petitions containing 1453 signatures of objection; 32 individual submissions of support and two petitions containing a total of 360 signatures of support.⁴

The matter was heard by the Joint Planning Regional Panel (JRPP) in May 2011. The JRPP is appointed under New South Wales (NSW) State Government legislation to assess major developments and consists of three members appointed by the State Government and two Local Council appointed members. A decision was deferred until additional studies were carried out. Around forty community members voiced their opposition before the Panel. The several hundred members present shouted 'shame' when the decision was deferred rather than rejected. Opponents argued that the mosque would encourage Muslim settlement in the area and lead to the presence of 'radical extremists' who would attack non-Muslims. Traffic, parking and acoustic issues were also cited as residents' concerns (ABC Newcastle 2011). Newcastle City Council planners recommended in early August that the development application be refused on traffic and parking grounds, a decision that the JRPP formally endorsed on 22 August 2011.

The NMA modified its plans and lodged an appeal. The amended plan excluded the mezzanine level and limited worshippers to 250 (from the original 450). The NSW Land and Environment Court the NMA's appeal in March 2012, ending hopes

of reviving the plan. A new zoning plan formally prohibits a 'place of worship' at the Croudace Road site. Barrister for the NMA, Adrian Galasso, SC, described opposition to the development as 'somewhat paranoid': 'When it comes to a mosque, somehow this sprinkling of cynicism seems to come to the surface,' he added (Smee, 2012). Web comments that followed the report suggested relief on the part of some residents and disappointment by others. "Longtime resident" posted the following comment on 15 March 2012: 'The community has had to put up with a lot for the past two years and now we just want to get on with enjoying our wonderful place to live.' 'TouchoneTouchall' had a different view: 'plain and simple racism' (Smee, 2012).

Western Australia (WA)

Muslims are the second largest minority religious group in WA and Perth, accounting for 1.7% (39,160) and 2.1% (36,350) of the state and metropolitan population in 2011. What this shows is that Muslims are concentrated in metropolitan areas which explains the many applications received by metropolitan councils for permission to build mosques, community halls, and Islamic schools. This has resulted in fierce contestation. The City of Gosnells, for example, rejected plans in September 2010 for a mosque in Orange Grove on the grounds that it would result in increased traffic, and that there was insufficient car parking and inadequate toilet facilities. The proposal attracted 18 objections, mostly about parking, light, noise and opening hours (for the morning and night prayers). However, after further appeals, the City of Gosnells voted in December 2011 to approve the application. Islamic Association of Southern Districts secretary Matthew (Suleyman) Foster said that his association, which had members whose origins can be traced to 36 different countries, would manage the mosque which would service a very large area. Web responses to this decision showed the depth of division within Australian society:

KEITH

19/01/2012

Emma,

The massive problems in Europe and the USA, as well as in Australia due explicitly to islamic bad behaviour and an unwillingness to integrate started when the muslims were allowed to build their control centers aka mosques. These islamic parasites have NO place in our countries.

PLP

19/01/2012

Mosques are Terror Mills. In the United States, for example, 81% of Mosques Promote Jihad. No more Mosques!

ANGELA

18/01/2012

Australia you are now on a downwoodspirall allowing this to happen in this wonderful country. Look at Britain and all the problems that are associated with these mosques. and

the demands that these people want and by the way they get by saying we are racist!!!

JOTHS

17/01/2012

Another place of hatred against the infidels of Perth

ALIYYAH

02/02/2012

I wish to address a few points here. I am a muslim and I was born in King Edward and grew up on a farm 6 kays out of Armadale. I am a seventh generation Australian of Scots/Irish descent with an Aboriginal ancestor. Anyone who tells me to go back to where I came from is showing their lack of education. As for all of you finding burkas offensive, get a life. I don't tell you what to wear, so lay off.

JENNA

31/01/2012

Umm hello But sorry to burst the hatred Muslim migrant bubble but there are A LOT of Australians like MATTHEW and myself who are making an informed educated choice to embrace Islam as our faith. So one mosque in this area is not going to be an issue, end of the day we are going to pray in congregation somewhere regardless. I am so sick of hearing "Go back to where you came from".... I am exactly where I came from! Stop sticking all people who are "different" into a stereotypical box! As with the "burka" I am happy to talk to anyone who approaches me regarding my hijab and answer any questions and the mosques are open for anyone wanting to listen or have a look around. Fear is what breeds hatred... and you big tough Aussie's who want to name call ("parasites") and breed hatred are just scared pussy's who are too arrogant to speak up and find things out for yourself... You don't have to like each other but we can all still live in peace....

SAD

25/01/2012

It's unfortunate to see that a majority of the comments are based on the negative stereotypes that the media portrays of the Muslims during times where the Muslim fundamentalist do something that is in fact AGAINST Islam. That's the only thing most people at home see when they flick on the TV. Why comment on the good and positive thing any religion does, when bad press sells money? You hear about priests who are rapists and yes the community yells and screams but the hatred blows over so quickly. It's sad and I hope with the diverse culture Australia as a nation has chosen to adopt, it's people who have voted the reps in Government positions support their decisions as acting on their behalf (Young 2012).

In the City of Swan, the Bosnian Islamic Society of Perth (BISP) received approval in June 2010 to develop a mosque at its Smallbrook Retreat property after a four year struggle with the local Council which originally voted against the plan. This was overturned before the State Administrative Tribunal after the BISP reduced its plans by 40 per cent. Rod Henderson of the Swan Valley Progress Association said that local residents were 'very disappointed' and 'angry' about the decision as they had 'actively opposed it' with support from the City of Swan and the Swan Valley Planning Committee. BISP president Sajit Smajic, who migrated to Australia in 1999, was hopeful that the mosque would become a reality in the not too distant future. However, there was a further hiccup. The Nyungah elders were opposed to

the development as the mosque was to be built on a sacred Aboriginal site and BISP had to apply for consent from the Department of Indigenous Affairs under the Aboriginal Heritage Act (Hatch 2010). This process too dragged out until Peter Collier, Minister for Indigenous Affairs, approved the application on 3 May 2012.

Conclusion

According to Lefebvre, the right to the city includes the “right to freedom, to individualisation and socialisation, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to *oeuvre*, to participation and *appropriation*...” (original emphasis). This includes the right to practice one’s religion. While, in theory, the Australian government’s policy embraces multiculturalism, urban planning policies at local level often deny minority groups a right to the city (Buggs, 2012: 1). The mosque in Kuraby is an example of the shortsightedness of planning authorities. The failure to find a way to accommodate more worshippers makes it difficult for Muslims to practice their faith freely. In many Western countries, local governments, ‘caught off balance and unfamiliar with the realities of this [Muslim] population and its religious practices,’ are sometimes ‘tempted to deal with this new phenomenon by taking a strict law-and-order, populist or xenophobic line’ (Manco and Kenmaz, 2005: 1115).

Buggs argues that such bureaucrats are ‘constructing abstract, not lived space... Because this space is determined by “experts” and officially communicated, it may be viewed as the “true” understanding of space.’ Planning authorities’ ‘hegemonic reading of land-use zoning ordinances’ privilege certain developments and ‘reproduce the dominant ideologies of their communities.’ Framing the discourse purely in land use terms means that they continue to appear as neutral and impartial (Buggs, 2012: 11). Planning authorities should assess development proposals not just against existing planning instruments but also consider the ‘value’ of recognising claims of religious minorities to city space. Religious communities who attend places of worship several times a day are a permanent part of the landscape and this paper argues that while the matter of visible religious worship is highly emotional, it cannot be resolved by ignoring it, as planning authorities seem wont to do, or denying groups such as Muslims equitable right to public space.

Anger and distrust against Muslims has increased in many parts of the world, including Australia, following the events of 11 September 2001 and it seems that the institutionalization of Islam faces a challenging time in Australia for the foreseeable future. While planning issues, land, and the environment are used to deny permission to Muslims to build mosques, it may be argued that at the heart of the opposition is Islamophobia. Opposition to mosque building projects by Muslims is an indication of increasing abhorrence of the Muslim presence in Australia and the most obvious manifestation of Islamophobia. Like the opposition to the headscarves worn by Muslim women, mosques are seen as a visible political statement of Muslim claims to space and opposed as such. Mosque construction

has become a political “hot potato” and if the current opposition to such projects continues it will have significant repercussions for Indian Muslims. The mosque is a central part of most Muslims’ lives and serves as a compass to reorganise their lives in new settings. Refusal of permission to build mosques makes it difficult for Muslims to establish their religious practices and it remains to be seen how Muslims confront this challenge and also whether hate attacks on mosques, a feature of life in many parts of Europe and even America, will become a feature of the religious and political landscape in Australia.

Notes

1. Research for this paper was carried out while Goolam Vahed was a Research Fellow at the Griffith Islamic Research Unit, Griffith University, and he would like to thank its director Associate Professor Mohamad Abdalla for assistance rendered.
2. Muslims always say “Peace be upon him” when mention is made of the Prophet Mohamed. This is shortened to pbuh in written form.
3. By the early 1990s, reflecting divisions among Indian Muslims in India and well as the global diaspora which drew religious inspiration from India, Muslims split into two groups, broadly termed “Tabligh” and “Barelwi”. It is not necessary to explain the finer points of difference suffice to say that the latter grouping was more populist oriented in its observance of rituals. They were prevented from observing some of their practices at the Kuraby mosque and therefore opened their own mosque in the suburb of Algeester.

References

- Al-Natour, R. (2010). ‘Racism, Ragheads, and Rednecks. Analysing the Uproar over the Construction of an Islamic School’, *Nebula*, 7 (1/2): 1-22. http://uws.academia.edu/RyanAlNatour/Papers/814355/Racism_Ragheads_and_Rednecks (Retrieved 29 June 2012).
- Armstrong, K. (2011). ‘Protest Wasn’t Just about Racism’, *Camden Advertiser*, 5 October 2011.
- Buggs, L. (2012). ‘Religious Freedom and the Right to the City: Local Government Planning and the Rejection of Islamic Schools in Sydney, Australia’, http://www.irmgard-coninx-stiftung.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Cultural_Pluralism/Religion/Essay.Bugg.pdf (Retrieved 29 June 2012).
- Deen, H. (2003). *Caravanserai: Journey among Australian Muslims*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.
- Dunn, K. M., Klocker, N., and Salabay, T. (2007). ‘Contemporary Racism and Islamophobia in Australia: Racializing Religion’, *Ethnicities*, 7(7): 564-589.
- Eckersley, R. (2011). ‘Malcolm Fraser: “We Have Lost Our Way”’, ‘The Conversation. From the Curious to the Serious’, 10 October 2011. <http://theconversation.edu.au/malcolm-fraser-we-have-lost-our-way-3734> (Retrieved June 1, 2012).
- Gaube, H. (2008). ‘Iranian Cities’, in S. K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccilio, and Andre’ Raymond (eds.). *The City in the Islamic World*, pp. 159-180. Leiden, Brill.
- Gaborieau, M. (2008). ‘Indian Cities’, in S. K. Jayyusi, R. Holod, A. Petruccilio, and A. Raymond (eds.). *The City in the Islamic World*, pp. 181-204. Leiden: Brill.

- Goddard, C. C. (1999). 'The Question of the Islamic City', MA Thesis, Unpublished. Quebec: University of Montreal.
- Hatch, D. (2010). 'Mosque Go-ahead Sparks Outrage', *The West Australian*. 6 July 2010. <http://au.news.yahoo.com/thewest/a/-/mp/7520556/mosque-go-ahead-sparks-outrage/> (Retrieved 5 August 2011).
- Hourani, A. H., and Stern, S. M. (eds.) (1970). *The Islamic City: A Colloquim*. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer.
- Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ibrahim, A. A. (1998). 'Architectural Characteristics of the Islamic City', *The Fountain*, January – March 21. <http://www.fountainmagazine.com/article.php?ARTICLEID=287> (Retrieved June 2, 2008).
- IDA. Issues Deliberation Australia/America, (2007). 'Australia Deliberates: Muslims and Non-Muslims in Australia', http://www.ida.org.au/content.php?p=overview_of_the_dp (Retrieved March 31, 2007).
- Jupp, J. (2007). *From White Australia to Woomera. The Story of Australian Immigration*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Kabir, N. A. (2003). 'The Muslims in Australia: An Historical and Sociological Analysis, 1860-2002', Ph.D Thesis, Unpublished. Brisbane: University of Queensland.
- Kabir, N. and Moore, C. (2003). 'Muslims in Australia: The New Disadvantaged?', Paper Presented at The Brisbane Institute, November 11, 2003. <http://www.brisinst.org.au> (Retrieved 10 October 2004).
- Kafka, F. (1965). *The Castle*, trans. W. & E. Muir, London: Secker & Warburg [1930].
- Kant, Immanuel. [1795] (1991). 'Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch,' in H. S. Reiss (ed.) *Kant: Political Writings*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 93-130.
- Kennedy, H. (1985). 'From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past and Present*, 106 (1): 3-27.
- Kerbaj, R. (2006). 'Howard Stands by Muslim Integration', *The Australian*, 1 September 2006. <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,20322022-2702,00.html> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).
- Kivisto, P. (2002). *Multiculturalism in a Global Society*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lapidus, I.(ed.) (1969). *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- le Tourneau, R. (1949). *Fesavant le protectorat; etudeeconomiqueetsociale d'uneville de l'occidentmusulman*. Casablanca: SMLE.
- Manco, U.and Kenmaz, M. (2005). 'From Conflict to Co-operation Between Muslims and Local Authorities in a Brussels Borough: Schaerbeek', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31 (6): 1105-1123.
- Marcais, W. (1929). L'Islamismeet la vie urbaine. In *Comptes-rendus des séances, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Paris: L. Massignon.
- Marc'ai, G. (1940). 'L'urbanismemusulman,' Conférence, Tunis, 1939, publiée par la Revue Africaine, pp. 13-34.

- Modood, Tom and Pnina Werbner. (1997). *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community*. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Moran, A. (2005). *Australia. Nation, Belonging, and Globalization*. London: Routledge.
- Mourad, H. (2009). 'The Development and Land use Impacts of Local Mosques', B. Planningthesis, Unpublished. Sydney: The University of New South Wales.
- Murray, E. (2009). 'Sydney Islamic School Rejected', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 June 2009. <http://www.smh.com.au/national/sydney-islamic-school-rejected-20090602-btfo.html#ixzz1Ueuc7B75> (Retrieved August 15, 2011).
- Negalia G. A. (2008). 'Some Historiographical Notes on the Islamic City with Particular Reference to Thevisual Representation of the Built City,' in S. K. Jayyusi, R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (eds). *The City in the Islamic World*, pp. 3-46. Leiden: Brill.
- Nursoo, I. (2007), 'Dialogue Across *Différance*: Hospitality Between Kant and Derrida,' *borderlands e-journal*.6 (3). http://Www.Borderlands.Net.Au/Vol6no3_2007/Nursoo_Dialogue.Htm (Retrieved 27 September 2009).
- O' Meara, S. (2007). *Space and Muslim Urban Life: At the Limits of the Labyrinth of Fez*. London: Routledge.
- Omer, S. (2011). 'Conceptualizing the Phenomenon of the Islamic City (Madinah)', *MEDINANET*, 18 November 2011. <http://medinanet.org/urban-history/182-conceptualizing-the-phenomenon-of-the-islamic-city-madinah-part-one> (Retrieved May 25, 2012).
- Rane, H., Mahmood, N., Isakhan, B., and Abdalla, M. (2011), 'Towards Understanding What Australia's Muslims Really Think', *Journal of Sociology*, 47 (2): 1-21. DOI: 10.1177/1440783310386829.
- Rasdi, M. T. and Utaberta, N. (2010). 'The Design of Mosques as Community Development Centers from the Perspective of the Sunna and Wright's Organic Architecture', *Journal of Islamic Architecture*, 1(1): 1-7.
- Raymond, A., (2008). 'The Spatial Organization of The City', in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, A. Raymond (eds), *The City in the Islamic World* (2 vols), pp. 47-69. Leiden: Brill Press.
- Saeed, A. (2003). *Islam in Australia*. New South Wales: Allen & Unwin.
- Smee, B. (2012). 'Elernmore Vale Mosque Plans No More', *Newcastle Herald*, 15 March 2012. Accessed at <http://www.theherald.com.au/news/local/news/general/elernmore-vale-mosque-plans-no-more/2489634.aspx> (Retrieved April 15, 2012).
- Stone, J. (2006). 'The Muslim Problem and What to Do about It', *Quadrant Magazine*, Vol. 50, no. 9, September 2006: 11-17. http://quadrant.org.au/php/article_view.php?article_id=2207 (Retrieved April 5, 2012).
- Vahed, Goolam (2008). 'Post-Apartheid South African Muslim Migration to Brisbane, Australia,' *Loyola Journal of Social Sciences*, XXII.1: 7-32.
- Vahed, Goolam (2007) 'Adaptation and Integration of Indian Migrants in Brisbane, Australia,' *The Anthropologist*. Volume 9, Special Issue No. 2: 37-51.
- Wise, Amanda and Jan, Ali (2008). 'Muslim-Australians & Local Government: Grassroots Strategies to Improve Relations between Muslim and Non-Muslim-Australians', Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, Macquarie University. <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/multicultural/grassroots/full-report.pdf> (Retrieved 17 May 2011).

- Young, Emma (2012). 'Mosque Gets Green Light', *inmyCommunity*, <http://www.inmycommunity.com.au/news-and-views/local-news/-Mosque-gets-green-light/7612022/> (Retrieved April 27, 2012).
- Zaimeche, S. (2002). *Education in Islam: The Role of the Mosque*. Manchester: Foundation for Science, Technology, and Civilisation.