

Reaffirming Aboriginality through Allah:

Indigenous Muslims in Australia

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Challenges and Opportunities for Islam and the West—The Case of Australia

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Many Aboriginal people in Australia today are seeking to reaffirm their Indigenous identity by recovering ties to country, culture and community. The retrieval of Indigenous heritage is often narrowly understood in terms of historical accuracy, cultural purity and authenticity. My exploration of the way some Indigenous people are reaffirming their Aboriginality through an identification with Islam, allows the reappraisal of Indigenous subjectivities as a continuous and evolving response to the multiple impact of modernity (with its constitutional uprooting from place and its inevitable corollary, a nostalgia for return). As a vehicle for the reconstruction of an Indigenous identity, Islam produces not only new connections to the past, but new strategies for connecting with the non-Indigenous world in the present and future.

The following examination of some of my Indigenous Muslim interviewees' personal testimonies reveals that their vision is both retrospective and forward-looking. In providing a route back to their Indigenous roots, Islam also creates radiating connections with other Muslims, suggesting a yearning for cosmopolitan community. Their identification with Islam has provided my Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Muslim interviewees with a constructive way of responding to the processes of cultural disruption and physical displacement. This does not stem from a desire to restore a primordial or pre-colonial tribal identity. Indigenous people understand all too well that it is not possible (and perhaps not even desirable) to recreate the conditions of the past in the present. The question is more about finding ways of maintaining a connection with their Aboriginal identity in a modern, post-colonial context.

In terms of asking how the Australian case may or may not be representative, later in the paper I will reflect on some particular aspects of the social and cultural transformation enacted by Indigenous Muslims. A useful point of reference for these reflections is Homi Bhabha's notion of 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' but, as we shall see, it is not clear that processes of cultural hybridisation can necessarily be mapped to spiritual experiences. But first I provide a brief history of Islam in Indigenous Australia, together with some of the recent findings of my current research project.

Indigenous and Muslim communities have traded, socialised and intermarried in Australia for hundreds of years. From the late 17th or perhaps early 18th century, Muslim fishermen from Makassar in southern Sulawesi, Indonesia, made annual voyages to the land they knew as Marege. Arriving with the monsoonal winds in December each year, the men came to the Arnhem Land and Kimberley coasts in search of sea slugs or sea cucumbers, otherwise known as trepang or bêche-de-mer.¹ The Chinese considered trepang to be a great delicacy, and by the 1820s it was the largest Indonesian export to China.² After the fishermen had been in Marege for around four months, and when the winds blew from the continent to the north, they set sail again for Makassar with their cargo of trepang. During their time here the Makassans worked closely with local Indigenous communities in the harvesting and

processing of the trepang.³ The trade that developed between them not only included material goods, there is also evidence that the visitors left a lasting religious legacy.

The Makassan trepang trade in north Australia came to a halt just over a century ago. It was outlawed in the 1906-07 wet season by the South Australian government, which was responsible at that time for the administration of the Northern Territory.⁴ The Makassan fishing fleets provided economic competition for Europeans who had commenced trepang fishing (and who also wanted to exploit the labour and skills of local Aborigines), and they lobbied the South Australian government, who collected import duties and license fees before eventually refusing fishing licenses to the Makassans altogether. Notwithstanding the cessation of the yearly Makassan visits, extensive research carried out by anthropologist Ian McIntosh, in conjunction with the Aboriginal people who inhabit the northeast coast of Arnhem Land and its neighbouring islands – people now known collectively as Yolngu, confirms the existence of Islamic references in Yolngu mythology and ritual.⁵ In mortuary ceremonies still conducted by northeast Arnhem Land Indigenous communities today, there is reference to a creational Dreaming figure *Walitha 'walitha*, whose name comes from Allah. While it is not correct to say that Yolngu were or are followers of Islam, there is much evidence of Islamic influence in Yolngu belief in *Walitha 'walitha*.⁶

The first Muslims to settle in Australia permanently were the 'Afghan' cameleers of the mid to late nineteenth century.⁷ In Queensland and Central, Western and South Australia, Aboriginal communities brokered cross-cultural alliances with the cameleers, the vast majority of whom were devout Muslims.⁸ Between the 1860s and 1920s, the 'Afghans' with their strings of camels provided the most reliable means of cartage and transport in the arid interior. During the many years that 'Afghan' camel handlers and vegetable hawkers worked the inland tracks, they observed the habits and customs of local Aborigines and, in many cases, developed trusting relationships with them. Intermarriage was common and today there are many Aboriginal families, including some of my interviewees, with surnames such as Khan, Sultan, Mahomed, Zada and Akbar.

From the mid-1880s an increasing number of Muslim 'Malays' began coming to north Australia and the Torres Strait. They arrived as indentured labourers employed to work in the burgeoning pearl-shelling industry. They, too, worked with and formed longstanding relationships with the local Indigenous people they met.⁹ The term 'Malay' does not refer to the Malays of present day Malaysia. It is, rather, an ambiguous colonial construction employed in 19th century northern Australia to refer to those from Singapore and Java, Timor, Kupang, Sulawesi and elsewhere in the Indonesian Archipelago. The majority of the Malay-speaking indentured labourers who came to work in the north Australian pearl-shell industry were Muslim.¹⁰ The industry wound down from the post-WWII period, but many Malays who arrived here as young men in the late 1950s remain in Australia. A significant number of Muslim Malays married local Aboriginal women and today there are many Aboriginal-Malay people in Darwin, Broome and elsewhere in the Top End.

My current research project retraces the long history of Islam in Indigenous Australia in its examination of the growing popularity of Islam among contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. It has identified a broad spectrum of Indigenous identification with Islam, ranging from those with Muslim fathers or forefathers, but who are not practising Muslims, to those who have no genealogical ties to Muslim

ancestors, but who, nonetheless, are strict adherents of the faith. Of an estimated 500-1000 Indigenous Muslims in Australia (this figure includes those with Muslim descendents but who do not characterise themselves as practicing Muslims),¹¹ I have interviewed almost 50 people.

Geographically, my respondents hail from Melbourne, Brisbane, Sydney, Broome, Alice Springs, Adelaide, Thursday Island, regional South Australia, Darwin and Perth. My respondents differ in age, gender, marital status, occupation, place of birth, residence and language or cultural group. Not surprisingly, each respondent has his or her own unique trajectory in coming to Islam. This sample size might not be statistically significant in the sociological sense, but it is highly significant in terms of the diversity of experience the interviewees articulate. This diversity is representative of the multitude of ways in which Islam has been transmitted, received and interpreted in Indigenous Australia.

My preliminary research indicates that those involved tend to speak, not of 'conversion' but 'reversion'. In other words, their identification with Islam is seen as a process of emotional, psychological and spiritual return. Unlike Christians who believe that each child is born tainted with the sins of Adam's disobedience to God, Muslims believe that each new baby is born into a state of purity as a creation of Allah. Thus when an individual accepts Islam, they are not turning their back on any prior revelation but, rather, returning to the original and true revelation of Allah. As such, people who adopt Islam are said to *revert* rather than *convert*. For Indigenous Australians, though, the issue of reversion has a double significance because many who identify with Islam today have Muslim forebears.

The notion of returning to a former state is consistent with the contemporary Indigenous interest in reconnecting to one's ancestry. Indigenous Muslims also see a similarity between their desire to have their connection to land recognised and the Muslim view that prayers offered up on stolen land remain inefficacious without the blessing of the traditional owners. Because of this the Indigenous Muslims I have interviewed perceive a convergence between the teachings of the Qur'an and their own Aboriginal traditions. Cultural convergence complements the mechanism of reversion. Reversion is a discursive technique for reconnecting to one's ancestry in Australia, while convergence enables Indigenous Muslims to see their identity as part of a global spiritual community.

Those respondents with Muslim migrant forebears explained the high incidence of cohabitation between Indigenous and Muslim people in terms of complementary cultural attitudes. This was a widely held perception, regardless of whether they had 'Malay' or 'Afghan' heritage. A shared sense of marginalisation from white settler society was a contributing factor in the prevalence of Indigenous-Muslim intermarriage, but it does not, on its own, account for its widespread occurrence. An interviewee I will call Fatima, a third generation Indigenous Muslim from the Torres Strait, contends that one of the reasons there was so much intermarriage between Indigenous women and Muslim Malays in the Torres Strait was that each came from communities where sharing was the normative ideal.¹² Muslim and Indigenous cultures 'went together' she says, because 'we share- we're always sharing [in] the Muslim community ... And it's an Islander custom as well'.¹³

Torres Strait Islander and northern coastal Aboriginal people, like their Malay neighbours, are salt-water people. Each comes from a marine culture where the seas between different land masses connects, rather than divides. Malay pearl-shellers, like

the Indigenous people they encountered, visited sites on a seasonal basis—each took advantage of particular resources at specific times. Both worshipped from the ground, observed strict rituals and led a lifestyle based around the temporary erection of ‘camps’. Pilgrimage to sites of spiritual significance is also shared. Muslims are expected to travel to Makkah at least once in their lives, while Aboriginal people are obliged to regularly visit and maintain sacred sites.

There was also, according to my interviewees, a considerable degree of cultural overlap between the Muslim camel drivers and the Aboriginal communities they encountered. Afghans, like the desert-dwelling Aborigines they met, were accustomed to surviving in a climate of extreme heat and aridity. Both came from vigorously independent tribal cultures where the avenging of injustices was understood. They were peripatetic or (semi) nomadic, eating with the hands was customary, each observed spiritual and sacred sites, practised the circumcision of young boys as a rite of passage and observed their obligation to provide food and other resources for fellow countrymen.

Aborigines and Muslims might have also been inclined to view each other as people respectful of the law because they both lived with a social structure that determined many of their life choices. For Muslims the religion of Islam constitutes a set of laws and practices that affect every aspect of their lives.¹⁴ At least in the early period of settlement, Afghans and Malays strictly adhered to the teachings of the Qur’an—they killed meat in the halal manner, observed the month-long fast of Ramadan and taboos against eating pork and drinking alcohol were strictly followed. Indigenous communities also observed particular taboos or prohibitions. Aboriginal people were obliged to follow very strict rules about who they could marry and who they could look at or address directly. Kin terms, rather than personal names, were often used as a way of reminding people of appropriate and established codes of behaviour including exogamy, or marrying outside one’s moiety.¹⁵ In both Aboriginal and Muslim cultures arranged marriages were customary, wives were usually considerably younger than their husbands, and polygamy was widely practised.

A number of my practicing Muslim interviewees explained this apparent cultural convergence through reference to Islamic teachings. According to a well-known tradition, Muhammad (the final Prophet) said that Allah had sent 124 000 prophets (and 313 messengers) into the world. Muslims believe that all races, nations and peoples have had their own Prophets, all of whom gave the same basic message to surrender to God in their own languages.¹⁶

Abdullah, a practising Muslim who has ‘reverted’ to the Muslim faith of his Malay forebears, notes that he first learned of this teaching about 6 weeks after he decided to become a Muslim. It made perfect sense to him, helping him understand the strong parallels he detected between Islam and his ‘traditional beliefs’ from his ancestral home of Mer (Murray Island). He is convinced that Mer’s creational being was

one of those prophets who has received the divine message, and I think that really, even though I found out after I became Muslim, it drew me more into it. Every time I met Muslims and I said “I’m Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander”, they’d go “you know you must have been sent prophets by God because you have this similar belief, you have that”, so, you know, there has to have been a prophet.¹⁷

For many Aboriginal Muslims the high degree of cultural convergence they perceive between the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and their own traditions can only be explained in terms of predestination. Perhaps this helps explain editor of *Australian Muslim News* Karander Seyit's observation that the Indigenous Australians he knows who have embraced Islam find so many parallels with their Aboriginal worldview and the teachings of the Qur'an that they insist they have been Muslim all along.¹⁸ This is a finding consistent with what many of my interviewees report.

For Shaheer, who identified with Islam more than ten years ago after meeting Muslims while incarcerated, Allah's sending of prophets to all people and races has helped him to comprehend why 'intrinsically in Aboriginal culture we have Islamic principles'.¹⁹ Islam asserts that God is omnipotent, has no beginning and no end, and is outside the realms of time and space.²⁰ In our interview Shaheer noted that the Aboriginal warrior Pemulway reportedly believed in 'a transcendental God, one that's not confined by time and space', to make his claim that the 'attributes that live in the predisposition of Aboriginal people are Islamic values'.

According to Andrew, an interviewee who embraced Islam a decade ago after reading the autobiography of Malcolm X, 'back at the start Aboriginals were Muslim. They were believers in one Creator'.²¹ Abdul, a practising Muslim of Baluchistani and Aboriginal descent also firmly believes that Aboriginal people have always believed in a foundational creation figure that exists outside the confines of time and space:

A lot of Aboriginal tribes did believe and still do believe in a higher creator, and Muslims believe there were 124,000 prophets that came down to all the peoples, and believe there was a message sent to every people, to believe in a creation. And Aboriginal people have that belief in the creation and we call it Dreamtime in the sense that it happened at a time when it's not in our relevant memory, but dreams are still in your mind and in your body.²²

It appears that a number of Indigenous people who identify with Islam today, are doing so out of a sense of disillusionment, both with contemporary materialism and historical Christianity. Many Aboriginal people today feel that both of these forces have and continue to rob them of their Aboriginal culture. But it also appears that Islam is increasingly being seen as an antidote, as a range of cultural, ethical and spiritual values that might help ameliorate this sense of loss. The belief that Islamic thinking closely mirrors 'traditional' Aboriginal cultures is an important factor. In Abdul's words:

I think Islam creates in you that initial control- to control yourself first, understand yourself first, then understand the universe, and understand humanity, and I think if you look at traditional Aboriginal culture, that's what they did. People had to control themselves for the betterment of the broader society.

The contemporary consumer society we live in breeds individualism, not community-mindedness. Rather than self-control and restraint, it promotes self-indulgence and hedonism. My interviewees, including practicing Aboriginal Muslim Alice, believe that Aboriginal people, in 'living like the white man', have succumbed to this materialist, consumerist culture.²³ In Shaheer's opinion:

Now I believe Islam is a universal tribal religion ... the attributes that are Islamic are share and care and unity and brotherhood and sisterhood but the

thing is Aboriginal culture now ... we're basically capitalist and we believe in greed and lust and violence. And it's everywhere, you can't deny it.

Be that as it may, my interviewees believe firmly in the redemptive power of Islam. Against what Alice describes as 'all the destruction' of Aboriginal culture, in which it is all too easy to 'lose focus on what Aboriginal culture is', she notes that her faith in Islam 'connects [me] with my Aboriginality'. She continues, 'I think that being Muslim has encouraged my [Aboriginal] culture. It has made me think about what I am really, truly, and where I really, truly come from'.

The majority of Indigenous people believe that this 'greed and lust and violence' followed, rather than predated, their exposure to Christianity. For Abdul, 'Christianity back then was used, and we all know it was used to ... colonise, it was used to take people away from their traditional lands and values, and cultures'. Many mission-raised Aboriginal people believe that their lives have been enriched and improved through embracing Christianity. Others are equally adamant that it has been an utterly damaging force in their lives that has failed to 'deliver them from evil'.

Indigenous people are alarmed and disturbed by the ongoing legacy of what Abdul calls 'a lot of the hurt of colonisation'. Community and family breakdown, sexual and domestic violence, substance abuse, criminality and material, cultural and spiritual impoverishment are evident in many remote Indigenous communities today. Many Indigenous people are understandably sick and tired of living in dysfunctional communities and want to see change. Cognisant that they cannot go back to the way of life enjoyed by their ancestors prior to invasion, they are also painfully aware that the models of community offered up by 'whitefella' society—Catholicism, paternalism, assimilationism, integrationism and multiculturalism—have largely failed in their various promises to 'uplift' Aboriginal people. How can Aboriginal people create functional communities, live with a sense of pride, acceptance and belonging in Australian society, and play an active role in the market and educational economies without foregoing their Aboriginality?

The Aboriginal Muslims I have met to date firmly believe that Islam is, as Andrew says, 'not an answer, it's *the* answer'. Islam, as Andrew points out, is an entire system that includes a strict code of conduct and a moral and ethical framework. For my interviewees, having clear prescriptions or codes of behaviour to follow has been both empowering and liberating. Islam is often characterised as a fatalistic religion, but in adhering to a strict ethical and behavioural code, followers of Islam argue that they gain independence. Voluntary submission to strict rules means that Muslims can claim to be masters of their own destinies. As Muslim 'revert' John suggests, 'the whole idea of being the slave of God, and I mean slave in a real sense, is that you're not enslaved by other people or other things'.²⁴ This point is particularly salient for Indigenous people who are still regaining control of their lives after years of institutionalised paternalism.

For some Aboriginal people the adoption of a faith that demands the strict observance of religious *and* social practices, including the avoidance of alcohol, drugs and gambling, has played a positive role in their lives. A Torres Strait Muslim interviewee I will call Jamila was, at the time of our interview, married to a Pakistani Muslim and lived in Sydney's Muslim heartland of Lakemba. In not drinking, Jamila knows she will not become an alcoholic, and in not gambling, she can never become a problem gambler; issues that, she notes, have a high incidence in the Torres Strait but from which, through her identification with Islam, she has 'been saved'.²⁵ For Jamila and

other interviewees, having a sense of control over their lives has been very empowering.

Islam has also introduced them to a global spiritual community. Islam is an international religion that emphasises the equality of all people, regardless of the colour of their skin. For Indigenous people, whose inclusion in the Australian national community has historically depended on the denunciation of their Aboriginality, their membership in an international community that not only tolerates difference, but is predicated on it, can be very empowering and affirming. Through embracing Islam and situating their Indigenous identity within a much larger global spirituality, my interviewees no longer have to measure themselves against white society in Australia and their anger has dissipated. A recent letter to the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils from Aboriginal Muslim Kerry Jones recounts his eventual conversion to Islam. Sent from prison, the letter—which he called ‘Why I no longer hate white people’—emphasises the much more positive and embracing attitude his identification with Islam has produced.²⁶ For Muslim ‘revert’ Alice, ‘I find that a lot more Indigenous Australians, if they turned to Islam they would solve a lot of their problems, and the anger they have towards the white community’.

Significantly for my interviewees, this acceptance and sense of belonging and social responsibility does not entail the foregoing of their Aboriginality. On the contrary, many feel that their identification with Islam reinforces and complements their ‘true’ Aboriginal identity. This is due, in part, to a Qur’anic injunction stipulating that Allah made people into nations and tribes. All Muslims are united as followers of Islam, but their regional, cultural and national differences are to be respected. According to Abdul:

Islam recognises tribes and nations ... It doesn’t just say ‘you’re Muslim, that’s it’. It says yes, all Muslims are the same, but it does recognise we belong to different tribes and nations, so it doesn’t do what Christianity did to a lot of Aboriginal people [which] was try and make them like white people. So it allowed you that identity and it still does today, Islam allows you your identity, your tribe and nation and that is quoted in the Qur’an.

It is interesting to speculate on the appeal to Indigenous Australians of Islam’s promulgation of an identity that is both universal and local. The cosmopolitanism of Islam might reinforce, particularly in a post-colonial context, the notion of a generalised or pan-Aboriginal identity. Moreover the insistence in Islam on the importance of respecting the local and regional specificities of one’s Muslim identity perhaps offers a conceptual framework within which Indigenous people can identify both with their Indigenous heritage and their particular language or tribal group. Beyond working as an antidote to materialism, Catholicism and the enduring ramifications of colonisation then, Islam’s universalism *and* localism might be another reason that a growing number of Indigenous Australians today are identifying with it. It is, though, important to recognise that in countries including Malaysia and Indonesia, for instance, Islam has operated historically much as Christianity is said to have done in Australia—that is, as an agent of colonisation involving the repression of Indigenous faith systems. Because it has never occupied a position of dominance in Australia, however, Islam – at least in my study group – appears to operate as a liberating alternative to state-sanctioned Christianity. But whatever the appeal, its features closely correspond to characteristics and practices my interviewees perceive to be part of traditional Aboriginal society.

Commonsense notions suggest that Indigenous communities and identities are entirely separate and discrete from Muslim communities and identities. But my research reveals that some Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders see their traditional Indigenous ethics and social organisations closely echoed in Islamic doctrine. For the Aboriginal Muslims I have interviewed, their Indigenous and Muslim identities coexist. They are not seen as oppositional or competing characteristics but, rather, as complementary parts that together form their spiritual, social and emotional identities. My respondents' belief that Islamic thinking dovetails with certain perceived features of 'traditional' Aboriginal cultures means that there is no apparent contradiction in being Aboriginal *and* Muslim. Significantly, they not only see in Islam their traditional Indigenous belief systems validated and mirrored, but in forms that give them a place in the contemporary world.

Here we return to Homi Bhabha's notion of 'vernacular cosmopolitanism'. Bhabha describes vernacular cosmopolitans as those who, occupying 'marginal or minority positions within cultures and societies' have no option but to forge their identity by 'translating between cultures and renegotiating traditions'. They are people, he states, who are 'compelled to make a tryst with cultural translation as an act of survival. Their specific and local histories, often threatened and repressed, are inserted "between the lines" of dominant cultural practices'.²⁷ Bhabha is describing here the way non-white diasporic communities negotiate a place and identity for themselves in contemporary Britain. These modes of translation and transformation also apply to how Indigenous people in Australia relate to 'mainstream' society. But my interest in these translations and renegotiations also includes the practices of hybridisation that occur along a different axis, one drawn between Aboriginal and Islamic traditions. My interviewees construct their hybrid identities self-consciously and dialectically. They constantly compare and contrast Indigenous and Islamic perspectives to understand their lives and subjectivities. As I have suggested, being Indigenous *and* Muslim is central to their sense of who they are.

While Bhabha's model of hybridisation certainly works in the cultural domain, it perhaps does not apply to spiritual experience. Here, the motive is not to supplement and enrich, but to reduce and purify. Religious reversion exploits points of resemblance between Aboriginal and Muslim spirituality that justify a radical simplification of faith. My interviewees tend not only to invoke an idealised and de-contextualised Aboriginal spirituality, they also call upon a rather essentialised and de-historicised notion of Islam. The comments of Andrew are typical of many of my interviewees. When asked if he subscribed to a particular school of Islamic thought, he responded, 'No, not really, I just follow the Qur'an, that's it. Nothing else, [or] any other sects, I follow God's law, that's it, God's word'. It is this 'pure' and unmediated Islam that helps my interviewees reclaim what Alice calls 'the true history behind being Aboriginal', to reconnect with who she really, truly is, and where she really, truly comes from. The points of resemblance between Aboriginal and Islamic spiritual beliefs make it possible to ignore or jettison the obvious cultural differences between the two traditions. The points at which the different spiritual traditions agree allow the people I have spoken to, to reclaim a faith that is pure, and which in a sense transcends cultural difference.

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- ¹ Peta Stephenson (2007) *The Outsiders Within: Telling Australia's Indigenous-Asian Story*, Sydney: UNSW Press, p. 19.
- ² John Mulvaney and Johan Kamminga, *Prehistory of Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1999, p. 412.
- ³ CC Macknight (1976) *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia*, Carlton, Vic: MUP.
- ⁴ Stephenson, *Outsiders Within*, p. 18.
- ⁵ Ian McIntosh (1996) 'Islam and Australia's Aborigines? A Perspective from North-East Arnhem Land', *The Journal of Religious History*, 20.1, p. 55.
- ⁶ McIntosh, 'Islam', p. 76. See also Peta Stephenson (2004) 'Islam in Indigenous Australia: Historic Relic or Contemporary Reality?', *Politics and Culture* 2004.4 Available: <http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/arts.cfm?id=55>
- ⁷ Some of the camelmen came from Afghanistan, others originated from Baluchistan, Punjab, Kashmir and elsewhere. I use the term 'Afghan' in inverted commas throughout the paper to indicate that not all of the camelmen originated from Afghanistan.
- ⁸ Christine Stevens (1989) *Tin Mosques and Ghantowns: A History of Afghan Cameldrivers in Australia*, Melbourne, OUP.
- ⁹ Anna Shnukal and Guy Ramsay (2004) 'Tidal Flows: An Overview of Torres Strait Islander-Asian Contact' in Anna Shnukal, Guy Ramsay and Yuriko Nagata (eds), *Navigating Boundaries: The Asian Diaspora in Torres Strait*, Canberra, ACT: Pandanus Books, pp 33-51.
- ¹⁰ Christine Choo (1995) 'Asian Men on the West Kimberley Coast, 1900-1940', in Jan Gothard (ed), *Studies in Western Australian History*, 16, p. 96.
- ¹¹ Karander Seyit in Debra Jopson (2003) "Spiritual Warrior for Islam", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 February.
- ¹² Pseudonyms will be used throughout to protect the privacy of my interviewees.
- ¹³ 'Fatima' interviewed by the author 30 March 2005, Brisbane. Transcript in the possession of the author.
- ¹⁴ Stevens (1989) *Tin mosques*, p 167.
- ¹⁵ Ian Crawford (2001) *We Won the Victory: Aborigines and Outsiders on the North-West Coast of the Kimberley*, Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, p 35.
- ¹⁶ Yahya Emerick (2002) *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Understanding Islam*, Alpha: Indianapolis, IN, 2002, p. 103.
- ¹⁷ 'Abdullah' interviewed by the author 27 November 2004, Sydney. Transcript in the possession of the author.
- ¹⁸ In telephone communication with the author, 17 January 2005.
- ¹⁹ 'Shaheer' interviewed by the author 17 August 2006, Sydney. Transcript in the possession of the author.
- ²⁰ Emerick (2002) *Idiot's Guide to Islam*, p. 90.
- ²¹ 'Andrew' in interview with the author, 4 December 2006. Transcript in the possession of the author.
- ²² 'Abdul' in interview with the author 27 November 2004, Sydney. Transcript in the possession of the author.
- ²³ 'Alice' in interview with the author 18 December 2005. Transcript in the possession of the author.
- ²⁴ 'John' in interview with the author 11 August 2005.
- ²⁵ 'Jamila' in interview with the author 25 April 2005, Sydney.
- ²⁶ Jones, Kerry (aka Kalid bin Walid) 'Why I no longer hate white people', Barutiwa News Service, 17 June 2003. Available at http://www.barutiwa.com/cgi-bin/bns/publish/article_106.shtml Accessed 12 August 2003.
- ²⁷ Homi Bhabha (2000) 'The Vernacular Cosmopolitan' in Ferdinand Dennis and Naseen Khan (eds), *Voices of the Crossing: The impact of Britain on writers from Asia, the Caribbean and Africa*, London: Serpent's Tail, p. 139.