COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH
(THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND-STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY WALISONGO)

GENDER AND IDENTITY POLITICS (DYNAMICS OF MOSLEM WOMEN IN AUSTRALIA)

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PREFACE

This research, entitled Gender and Identity Politics (Dynamics of Moslem Women in Australia) is implemented as the result of cooperation between State Islamic University Walisongo and The University of Queensland (UQ) Brisbane Australia for the second year.

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Finally , we must state that these report has not been perfect . We are sure there are many limitedness . Therefore, we are happy to accept criticism , advice and go for a more refined later .

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Australia is one of the most multi-faith, multi-lingual, and multi-cultural countries in the world[1]. This multiplicity of cultures brings with it diversity and differences: religious beliefs form one, but arguably an increasingly important, point of distinction within Australian society today. Recent and current events – local and global – emphasise the importance of maintaining adequate means of mediating between different and divergent interests in matters of religion and faith.[2]

Australia's multiculturalism is firmly entrenched, as is globalisation, bringing with the necessity for peaceful coexistence in extremely diverse environments and circumstances. Australian identity is enriched by the fusion of many cultures and traditions. Multiculturalism has contributed to the complex social mosaic that makes Australia a

[1] See recent speech by Kamran Mofid Founder, Globalisation for the Common Good Initiative at the recent Melbourne conference International Conference in June 2008 http://www.gcg-melbourne2008.info/

[2] Mushin and Dimopopous, Freedom of Religion and Belief in the 21st Century- Suplementary Paper

tapestry of harmony. This process, however, has not been without its challenges. This is in part due to religious and cultural differences and misperceptions that arise as a result.

The relationship of Muslims and Islam with Australia is a relatively long-standing one. Islamic traders from Indonesia had already established a relationship with the indigenous people of northern Australia approximately 200 years before the arrival of any European settlers. Today, the Muslim population in Australia numbers approximately 300,000. Indeed, Muslims in Australia come from diverse cultural backgrounds from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Albania, Lebanon, and Turkey. Although Muslims come from distinct cultural backgrounds and are heterogenous in many ways, their common belief in, and practice of, Islam binds them together.

Based on the above data, it is clear that moslem in Australia consisted of a small part among the population of Auastarlia in general that is estimated to be 23,830,900 in the mid of this year.[3] In this context, it is interresting to observe the life of moslem women in mulicultural country like Australia, in which moslem as the minority. The study more and more interresting because in gender perspective women are the subordinated group, so women

[3] Cencus of Australia 2011

subjected to multi-layers domination. It was assumed that women in the above context experienced many interest conflicts. Women have had to deal more directly the conflict in the everyday life in order to survive their life.

Of the all population of Australia, 23.13 million, approximately 7 million are immigrants from over 150 countries. According to the 2011 Census, 26 per cent of Australians were born overseas, and an additional 20 per cent have either one or both parents born overseas. These percentages are among the highest in the developed world. Collectively, Australians speak approximately 260 languages and practise a variety of different religions. Australian society now contains a rich array of cultures represented in art, literature, music, dress, sport and food. It is one of the great triumphs of recent Australian history that so many people, with such diversity of culture and history, have been absorbed so peacefully into Australian society.[4] Over a third (36 per cent) of Muslim Australians are Australian-born, while those who have arrived here as immigrants come from all over the world from Lebanon and Turkey to Bangladesh and Fiji. Some

[4] Cencus of Australia 2011

come from countries where women wear a burqa or a veil, most do not.[5]

Australia has a number of specific features that one must take into account in any discussion of attitudes towards Muslims and their place in society. Australia is a secular, democratic multicultural society with a common law tradition. Perhaps its key feature here is the cultural secularity of Australia and the absence of a dominant religious tradition, despite the privileged historical position of Anglicanism[6]

There are substantial differences among Australian Muslims. Humphrey's (1991: 177) writings suggest that for newly arrived Muslims religion may be subordinated to class and ethnic divisions. Saeed and Akbarzadeh (2001: 3) agree, commenting that 'Muslims in Australia are influenced by their ethnic backgrounds and carry layers of identity: familial, tribal, provincial, national and Islamic tradition.[7]

Another explanation is that in a secular-consumer society it is the assumption that Muslims

[5] (Current Issues Muslim Australians *E-Brief: Online Only issued 6 March 2007 Janet Phillips, Social Policy Section)*

[6] Shahram Akbarzadeh (2013) *Challenging Identities: Muslim Women in Australia*.) Asian Journal of Social Science 41 (2013) 219–236 235

[7] (/ Asian Journal of Social Science 41 (2013) 219–236 235 Shahram Akbarzadeh (2010) *Challenging Identities: Muslim Women in Australia*.)

take their religion seriously that makes them stand out. In a society where commitment to religion is often 'lukewarm', taking religion seriously looks peculiar. It is in this context that we might understand veiling, concern to follow the Shari'a, mosque attendance, commitment to halal dietary norms and so forth [8] that characterize muslim identity become something problematic or not.

It is more interesting once swift attention toward muslim women. Gender biased in society life is one phenomenon of culture. So in muslim socienty. The tend was changing with time. Among muslim community in Australia, although some mosques have inadequate facilities for women, Australian mosques have moved a long way towards gender equality. While these everyday issues about dress, modesty and social participation are important, modern research has increasingly focused on the role of the Shari'a and on the controversial implementation of Sharia. [9]

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[8] Asian Journal of Social Science 41 (2013) 219–236 235 Shahram Akbarzadeh (2010) *Challenging Identities: Muslim Women in Australia*.)

[9] © Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2013 DOI: 10.1163/15685314-12341291 236 Book Reviews / Asian Journal of Social Science 41 (2013) 219–236 issue of conversion to Islam. (/ Asian Journal of Social Science 41 (2013) 219–236 235 Shahram Akbarzadeh (2010) *Challenging Identities: Muslim Women in Australia*.)

However as Anisa Buckley notes there are peculiar problems for muslim women seeking divorce in multicultural societies with legal pluralism related to the minority, as muslim community had. Where their marriages were contracted in a Muslim country according to the Shari'a, they face considerable complexity and delay if they try to divorce within an Australian legal context. Although they can secure a civil divorce, it may not be recognized until and unless the husband gives his consent. In turn, the husband's consent may hinge on a property settlement that can be disadvantageous to the woman. The parallel existence of Jewish tribunals in which a woman has to gain her husband's consent to divorce (the so-called get) has not stirred up public dismay. In the context of anxiety over terrorism and security, Islam 'has become incorporated into a debate fearing the imposition of religio-cultural values upon the wider society. [10]Those are some of many problems surrounding the living of muslim women in Australia. Despite concerns expressed by some, many others argue that the vast majority of Muslim

[10]Gai Scott & Majella Franzmann (2007), Religious identity and 'secular' employment: a case study of young Muslim women graduates in the Sydney workforce, *Cont Islam* (2007) 1:275–288,

Australians see no conflict of loyalty between Islam and Australian citizenship [11]

Over a third (36 per cent) of Muslim Australians are Australian-born, while those who have arrived here as immigrants come from all over the world from Lebanon and Turkey to Bangladesh and Fiji. Some come from countries where women wear a burqa or a veil, most do not. And despite concerns expressed by some, many others argue that the vast majority of Muslim Australians see no conflict of loyalty between Islam and Australian citizenship.[12]

Description above is academical arguments that come up with research done by some academicians that factually should be recognized their existence. Reffereing to what Simon Fisher stated,[13] that any difference of perception that makes the different perceptions collided is conflict, the wide horizon of differences among the communities living in Australia made possible on the existence of conflict among the muslim community and other community in general.

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[11] (Current Issues Muslim Australians *E-Brief: Online Only issued 6 March 2007 Janet Phillips, Social Policy Section)*

[12] (Current Issues Muslim Australians E-Brief: Online Only issued 6 March 2007 Janet Phillips, Social Policy Section)

[13] Simon Fisher, 2001. *Working with Conflict: Skill and Strategy for Action*, London: Zed Book.

The other discources that crusial to consider in the fact about harrasment suffered by muslim women in some of event that published by media. There were some accidents happened last year in Brisbane that forced Queensland police to charge a 44-year-old Windsor man after he allegedly threatened to light a woman's headscarf on fire in West End. Fairfax Media also reported an attack on two Muslim women at Toowongs, which was not reported to police.[14] Claimed as terorist toward women wearing hijab also happened, [15] that all of them constructed the formation of identity of muslim women living in a multy cultural country.

Based on the description above, there must be specific processes in the construction of notions of self, sameness and differences among Indonesian muslim women in Brisbane. The study is centrally concerned with the views about their living, the difference and conflict in their live and the ways the are applying in resolving the conflict. As is argued in the following chapters, the Indonesian muslim women will show the ways they did in fighting their life through conflict resolution on the conflict came up with their life so it may be evident the politics of

[14] Brisbane Times, 8 October 2014
[15] Brisbane Time, 18 February 2015

identity for Indonesian muslim women in contemporary Australia. [16]

B. Research Question

Based on the above background, the research questions of this research are:

1. What are women views about their living in multy-cultural country like Australia?
2. Any difficulty they are facing in their life as moslem women?
3. If so, how they overcome the difficulties?

C. Literature Review

There are relatively few studies of Muslim women in general in Australia. Of most relevance to the current study in a preliminary way, is the work of Christine Asmar[17] who has focused on Muslim students attending Australian universities, the influences of Muslim Student Associations (MSAs), and religious discrimination experienced by Muslim students. This paper follows on from Asmar's research, tracing the path of young Muslim women

[16]Catherine Palmer (2009)" Soccer and the politics of identity for young Muslim refugee women in South Australia"; *Soccer & Society* Vol. 10, No. 1, January 2009, 27–38)

[17] Asmar, C. (2001). A Community on Campus: Muslim Students in Australian Universities, in: A. Saeed, &

S. Akbarzadeh (Eds.), Muslim Communities in Australia (pp. 138–160). Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

graduates out of the university and towards the next professional step, into the workforce. While there is already evidence from the Australian Bureau of Statistics[18] about the number of Muslim women in the workforce, this study probes further to discover the concerns, the frustrations, the highs and the lows experienced by these young women in that context[19]

In the highest age bracket, the respondents have the lowest percentage of married women not only compared to Muslim women in general, but also compared to the average for all Australian women, according to data provided by Saeed[20]. Hussain[21], of Muslim women having many children and having them early. In fact, the figures show that the respondents are following the overall trend of Australian women producing less children, 1.7 babies per Australian woman according to Weston

[18] Cencus of Australia 2011

[19] Gai Scott & Majella Franzmann (Cont Islam (2007) 1:275–288, Religious identity and 'secular' employment: a case study of young Muslim women graduates in the Sydney workforce)

[20] Saeed, A. (2003). Islam in Australia. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Saeed, A. &Akbarzadeh, S. (2001). Searching for Identity:Muslims in Australia, in: A. Saeed, & S. Akbarzadeh (Eds.), Muslim Communities in Australia. (pp. 1–11). Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

[21] Hussain, J. (2001). Family Law and Muslim Communities, in: A. Saeed, & S. Akbarzadeh (Eds.), Muslim Communities in Australia. (pp. 161–187). Sydney: University of New South Wales Press

and Parker[22] of the Australian Institute of Family Studies.

The themes related to muslim in Australia had been become interesting among experts due to the debate surrounding the immigration and settlement of culturally, religiously and linguistically diverse (CRALD) migrants in Australia factually has a a long history since European settlement of the continent[23] The subject become more and more interresting after the enactment of an official policy in 1973 that adopt multiculturalism there exists in some quarters a perception that Muslims, largely because of their religion, have difficulty integrating themselves in Western societies like Australia.

Another study about women muslim in Australia held by Gai Scott & Majella Franzmann[24]. According to this study, muslim women attend Australian universities in greater proportion than

[22] Weston, R. and Parker, R. (2002). Why is the fertility rate falling? A discussion of the literature, Family Matters 63. Available online at http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/fm2002/fm63.html (accessed 7 May 2007).

[23] Rachel Woodlock, (2011), "Being an Aussie Mossie: Muslim and Australian identity among Australian-born Muslims" in *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* Vol. 22, No. 4, October 2011, 391–407,

[24] Gai Scott & Majella Franzmann (2007), "Religious identity and 'secular' employment: a case study of young Muslim women graduates in the Sydney workforce" in *Cont Islam* (2007) 1:275–288

non-Muslim women. They are graduating with qualifications that equiped them for employment in the professional workforce. While some elect to work within what might be viewed as a 'protected' environment in Muslim-run or Muslim-focused businesses or organisations, many others enter the general workforce. This paper explores the major issues and concerns for Muslim women especially within a secular workplace, and raises questions about the ways in which they can maintain a strong Muslim identity within the challenges presented by that workplace

The study held by Samina Yasmeen (2013) about burqa and niqab among muslim women in Australia is interesting. This study focused on the discussion about wearing niqab and burqa within the context of information acquisition and response formation among Muslims and non-Muslims in the contemporary world. The study argued that, with the background of varied opinions on Islam and Muslims around the world, the debate on wearing burqa represents the continuation – albeit up-scaling – of the focus on Muslim women as the signifiers of Islam and Muslim identities. Australia is influenced by, and dealing with, the debate on whether or not to ban the burqa and niqab.

Opinions among both the wider community and Muslims have differed on the justification and advisability of such a ban. The Australian

government at the federal and state levels has demonstrated cautious activism in dealing with the issue, thus protecting the rights of Australian Muslim minorities, and reducing the space in which a heightened sense of exclusion could develop among them.[25]

In an era of increased focus on Islam as the 'other', burqa and niqab are attracting attention as the signifier of difference between Muslims and others. In liberal democracies, the focus has engaged state activism as a negotiator and legislator to set parameters of acceptable dress code for Muslim citizens. France and Belgium have imposed bans on face covering, while Britain and Canada have opted for measured responses within the broader framework of multiculturalism.1 In a globalized world, Australia has also provided a locale for debates on an appropriate dress code for Muslim women. Questioning the wisdom of banning burqa and niqab is being debated – reminiscent of the debates on hijab a decade ago – with societal and governmental actors opting for diverse opinions. This paper explores the responses of the Australian governments, at both federal and state level, to the

[25] Samina Yasmeen (2013). "Australia and the burqa and niqab debate: the society, the state and cautiousActivism" in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 2013 Vol. 25, No. 3, 251–264,

societal debates on the permissibility of burqa and niqab in an Australian milieu.

The argument is premised on the idea that in an age of globalism, dynamics and processes at the international level are constantly influencing the state. These dynamics interact with, and impact on, processes within a state thus causing the emergence of multiple views on the nature of state responsibility. The state faces the task of negotiating and responding to these multiple views. While in some cases the state demonstrates activism, in other cases a lack of activism – or cautious activism – remains its preferred choice. The inaction or cautious action is not inherently problematic and may even protect citizens' rights.

Based on the limited number of researches above, it was clearly revealed that the study focused on Indonesian muslim women is still not found. Meanwhile more and more Indonesian muslim living in Australia.

Theoretical Framework

Multiculturalism in Australia, along with Canada and The US, is considered to be reference of the multiculturalism as policy. However, the process of multiculturalism policy in Australia is not instant process and as smooth as it seems to be. There are context of social problem and discourses as well as long politic discussion related the issues. To

understand multiculturalism in Australia, one should highlight social context and challenge that Australia faces. As Christine Inglis stated that there are three interrelated, but nevertheless distinctive, referents of multiculturalism, namely demographic-descriptive, the ideological-normative and the programmatic-political. The demographic-descriptive usage occurs where 'multicultural' is used to refer to the existence of ethnically or racially diverse segments in the population of a society or State. Programmatic-political usage refers to specific types of programs and policy initiatives designed to respond to and manage ethnic diversity. The ideological-normative usage is value or norm that generates the greatest level of debate related to multiculturalism, emphasizing the acknowledgement of the existence of ethnic diversity and their culture.[26] The chapter will explore the three referents with emphasize on demographic-descriptive and pogrammatic-political referents.

The 'political' that has been returning corresponds to the struggles for reaccommodating the voices of various minorities. Members of cultures, languages, religions and sexes different from those of the majorities that dominated the

[26]Christine Inglis. *Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity* (See http://www.unesco.org/most/pp4.htm#clarification downloaded 5 April 2015

public sphere have started to speak not individually but collectively, transcending the private sphere to which they had been confined. The political does not only return via the encounter of minorities with the dominant discourses in the public sphere but also through what the former says and how it speaks. In this respect, they are invited to be a part of contemporary critical theories, which suggest that 'it is from those who have suffered the sentence of history – subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement – that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking'[27]

The confrontation of Christianity with the early theological and political development of Islam addresses broader questions of intercultural relations and reciprocities and their impact on the formation of religious systems and identities[28] Ethnic communities have a particular significance for migrants: they can provide a sense of belonging and of continuity with the past which gives newcomers a better chance to cope with a strange society than they would have as isolated individuals. Ethnic loyalties, however, need not, and usually do not, detract from wider loyalties to community and country. Indeed,

[27] (Bhabha 2001: 172).

[28] The encounter of Eastern Christianity with early Islam / edited by Emmanouela Grypeou,

Mark Swanson, and David Thomas, BRILL LEIDEN • BOSTON 2006

in a cohesive multicultural society, national loyalties are built on ethnic loyalties.

The principle of majority is embedded in the principle of democracy through the idea of the nation-state. In this respect, the return of the political can be analysed by examining the principle of the nationstate, which constructs the majority in opposition to the minority. The principle of majority becomes the operating tool of the nation-state, which uses majority power to dominate minorities It is possible, by the development of the minority the policy in side more toward minority.[29]

The term of 'identity' is referred to the idea of selfhood, properties based on the uniqueness and individuality which makes a person distinct from others.[30] Identity became of more interest to anthropologists with the emergence of modern concerns with ethnicity and social movements in the 1970s. This was reinforced by an appreciation, following the trend in sociological thought, of the manner in which the individual is affected by and contributes to the overall social context. At the same time, the Eriksonian approach to identity remained in force, with the result that identity has continued

[29] *Jeanett Castellanos and Lee Jones,* 2003 The Majority In The Minority: Expanding the Representation of Latina/o Faculty, Administrators and Students in Higher Education, by Stylus Publishing, Virginia

[30] Erikson, Thomas Hyland (1972). Rthnicity and Nationalism

until recently to be used in a largely socio-historical way to refer to qualities of sameness in relation to a person's connection to others and to a particular group of people.

The first favours a primordialist approach which takes the sense of self and belonging to a collective group as a fixed thing, defined by objective criteria such as common ancestryand common biological characteristics. The second, rooted in social constructionist theory, takes the view that identity is formed by a predominantly political choice of certain characteristics. In so doing, it questions the idea that identity is a natural given, characterised by fixed, supposedly objective criteria. Both approaches need to be understood in their respective political and historical contexts, characterised by debate on issues of class, race and ethnicity. While they have been criticized, they continue to exert an influence on approaches to the conceptualisation of identity today.

Bernstein [31] argues that the concept of "identity" as it relates to social movements has at least three distinct analytic levels: First, a shared collective identity is necessary for mobilization of any social movement[32] including the classic labor movement. [33] Second, expressions of identity can be

[31] Bernstein (1997)
[32] Morris 1992
[33] Calhoun 1993b

deployed at the collective level as a political strategy, which can be aimed at what are traditionally thought of as cultural and/or political goals. Third, identity can be a goal of social movement activism, either gaining acceptance for a hitherto stigmatized identity[34] or deconstructing categories of identities such as "man," "woman," "gay," "straight", [35] "black," or "white." These different explorations of 'identity' demonstrate how difficult a concept it is to pin down. Since identity is a virtual thing, it is impossible to define it empirically. Discussions of identity use the term with different meanings, from fundamental and abiding sameness, to fluidity, contingency, negotiated and so on. Brubaker and Cooper note a tendency in many scholars to confuse identity as a category of practice and as a category of analysis. [36]Indeed, many scholars demonstrate a tendency to follow their own preconceptions of identity, following more or less the frameworks listed above, rather than taking into account the mechanisms by which the concept is crystallised as reality.

Other experts have sought to introduce alternative concepts in an attempt to capture the dynamic and fluid qualities of human social self-

[34] (Calhoun 1994a)
[35] Gamson 1995)
[36] (Brubaker & Cooper 2000, p. 5).

expression. Hall,[37] for example, suggests treating identity as a process, to take into account the reality of diverse and ever-changing social experience. Some scholars have introduced the idea of identification, whereby identity is perceived as made up of different components that are 'identified' and interpreted by individuals. The construction of an individual sense of self is achieved by personal choices regarding who and what to associate with. Such approaches are liberating in their recognition of the role of the individual in social interaction and the construction of identity.

Identity need boundaries for demonstrating how identity works. In the same way as Barth, in his approach to ethnicity, advocated the critical focus for investigation as being "the ethnic boundary that defines the group rather than the cultural stuff that it encloses",[38] social anthropologists such as Cohen and Bray have shifted the focus of analytical study from identity to the boundaries that are used for purposes of identification. If identity is a kind of virtual site in which the dynamic processes and markers used for identification are made apparent, boundaries provide the framework on which this virtual site is built. They concentrated on how the idea of community belonging is differently constructed by

[37] Hall (1992, 1996)
[38] Barth(1969:15)

individual members and how individuals within the group conceive ethnic boundaries. In terms of identity politics in nowadays context, [39]identification of a group not in terms of a trait such as race or ethnicity or sexual orienta- tion, but as a "minority" group—and, worse, the identification of an individual "member" of such a group as "a minority."

Ernesto LaClau and Chantal Mouffe, the originators of identity politics, in their book,*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* proposed a set of theories aiming to prove that society exists not as a unified and coherent social and economic system, but rather in a range of subjective relationships.[40]

There are two key components to LaClau and Mouffe's theory, both of which become problematic the moment the theory is put into practice. The first component is their definition of oppression. In contrast to Marx—who defined oppression and exploitation as objective and therefore unchanging, but consciousness as subjective and therefore ever-changing—LaClau and Mouffe regard oppression itself as entirely subjective.

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[39] richard d. Parker five theses on identity politics

[40] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso Press, 1985), 153–54.

This is a fundamental, not semantic, difference. Since oppression is an entirely subjective matter, according to LaClau and Mouffe, anyone who believes that they are oppressed is therefore oppressed. At its worst, that would include a white male who feels he has been discriminated against when his application is turned down for a law school that practices affirmative action. Conversely, even the most clear-cut instances of systematic brutality are not necessarily oppression. LaClau and Mouffe argue that even serfdom and slavery do not necessarily represent relationships of oppression, unless the serfs or the slaves themselves "articulate" that oppression.[41]

LaClau and Mouffe describe society as made up of a whole range of autonomous, free-floating antagonisms and oppressions, none more important than any other—each is a separate sphere of "struggle."[14] But this concept falls apart once it is removed from the world of abstraction and applied to the real world. Separate struggles do not neatly correspond to separate forms of oppression. Forms of oppressions overlap, so that many people are both Black and female, or both lesbian and Latino. If every struggle must be fought separately, this can only lead to greater and greater fragmentation and eventually

[41] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso Press, 1985), 153–54.

to disintegration, even within groups organized around a single form of oppression. A Black lesbian, for example, faces an obvious dilemma: If all men are enemies of women, all whites are enemies of Blacks, and all straights are enemies of gays, then allies must be precious few. In the real world, choices have to b

As a non-directive and flexible analytical tool, the concept of boundaries helps both to map and to define the changeability and mutability that are characteristic of people's experiences of the self in society. While identity is a volatile, flexible and abstract 'thing', its manifestations and the ways in which it is exercised are often open to view. Identity is made evident through the use of markers such as language, dress, behaviour and choice of space, whose effect depends on their recognition by other social beings. Markers help to create the boundaries that define similarities or differences between the marker wearer and the marker perceivers, their effectiveness depends on a shared understanding of their meaning. In a social context, misunderstandings can arise due to a misinterpretation of the significance of specific markers. Equally, an individual can use markers of identity to exert influence on other people without necessarily fulfilling all the criteria that an external observer might typically associate with such an abstract identity.

Boundaries can be inclusive or exclusive depending on how they are perceived by other people. An exclusive boundary arises, for example, when a person adopts a marker that imposes restrictions on the behaviour of others. An inclusive boundary is created, by contrast, by the use of a marker with which other people are ready and able to associate. At the same time, however, an inclusive boundary will also impose restrictions on the people it has included by limiting their inclusion within other boundaries. An example of this is the use of a particular language by a newcomer in a room full of people speaking various languages. Some people may understand the language used by this person while others may not. Those who do not understand it might take the newcomer's use of this particular language merely as a neutral sign of identity. But they might also perceive it as imposing an exclusive boundary that is meant to mark them off from her. On the other hand, those who do understand the newcomer's language could take it as an inclusive boundary, through which the newcomer associates herself with them to the exclusion of the other people present. Equally, however, it is possible that people who do understand the newcomer but who also speak another language may not want to speak the newcomer's language and so see her marker as an imposition and a negative boundary. It is possible that the newcomer is either aware or unaware of this,

depending on whether she herself knows other languages or is conscious of the plurilingual quality of the people there and is respectful of it or not.

D. Methods

This is a qualitative research. The research methods: observation, interview applying interview guide. Research focus: moslem women from Indonesia. The data reported in this study is part of a broader study of women in Brisbane. The focus of this study is on how identity of muslim women in Brisbane is related to conflict resolution. So the questions that will be answed in this research is how about the their view on their living in multy cultural country like Australia, what kind of conflict came out from the differences and how they resolved the conflict. This study has a number of additional research foci and adopts a range of methodological approaches (analysis of secondary data sources, in-depth qualitative interviews with women and their families, interviews with policy makers and local agencies, a photo-voice component, field observations and interviews with the community development workers in Brisbane). This study reports primarily on the interviews with, and field observations of, women muslim coming from Indonesia.

The methods reported in this study include reflective discussion with informants, field notes of

researcher observations during meeting and gatherings, and face-to-face interviews with the other women informants coming from Indonesia.. All of the interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Each of the interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes, with the exception of the reflective discussion, which took about one hour each time of discussion according to the availability of time in the side of informants.

This study has been concerned with exploring how Indonesian muslim women construct their individual and collective identities through their live. To do this they must contend with an additional set of tensions and complexities. As Indonesian muslim women, resettled in a new country, they do any struggle to be survive in their life. Displaced geographically, they are also 'out-of-place' culturally in terms of the uneasy fit between the traditions of Indonesian Islam and the new culture which they now encounter. In this context, this study will describe the ways that Indonesian muslim women view the realities of life in the new spot of life, the conflict that they are facing, and the ways they did in resolve the conflict. The steps will construct the identity of Indonesian muslim women that are constructed relationally; through their collagues, their family members and the broader community alike. In other words, the Indonesian muslim women living in Australia are culturally constituted within

competing social worlds, as well as through a broader political discourse that positions them as minority. It is this accommodation and negotiation of 'sameness' and 'difference' that is particularly intriguing, how is identity defined and created; where is it located and how is it communicated.

CHAPTER II

IDENTITY POLITICS AND MINORITY-MAJORITY RELATION AMONG WOMEN

Definition of Identity Politics

Identity politics emerged on the agenda of Western social sciences in the 1960s when many previously powerless and discriminated against groups pressed on to claim their place in the changing world.

Identity politics as a mode of organizing is closely connected to the concept that some social groups are oppressed, and that this makes one vulnerable to cultural imperialism, violence, exploitation, marginalization, or powerlessness. Identity politics starts from analyses of oppression to recommend a restructuring of the existing society.[1]

Cressida Heyes argues:

> "Identitypolitics starts from analyses of oppression to recommend, variously, the reclaiming, redescription, or transformation of previously stigmatized accounts of group membership. Rather than accepting the negative scripts offered by a dominant culture about one's own inferiority, one transforms one's own sense

[1]"Identity Politics". Stanford Encyclopedia of Psychology. Retrieved October 17, 2015.

of self and community, often through consciousness-raising."[2]

Cressida Heyes define identity politics are very clear. According to identity politics is a political activity in a broad sense theoretically find experiences of injustice felt by certain groups in certain social situations. Identity politics is more directed to the movement of 'the marginalized' in conditions of social, political, cultural and specific in society. In the political struggle, the use of identity gives a positive result having significant influence. Identity is a key concept in the political arena. Theoretically, the definition of identity has deep enough.

In recent years, scholars working in a remarkable array of social science and humanities disciplines have taken an intense interest in questions concerning identity. Within political theory, questions of "identity" mark numerous arguments on gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, and culture in relation to liberalism and its alternatives.[3]

[2] Heyes, C. Identity Politics. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2002. New edition 2007. http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-politics/ (retrieved October 17, 2015).

[3] Young, Iris Marion. 1990. Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

The content and forms of identity politics, as well as its implementation and expression, are diverse just like the existing social fields. It is important to note that in post-socialist space identity politics finds especially vivid expression in the fields of national and ethnic identity. Despite the fact that "identity politics" is a term used rather frequently in scholarly literature on post-socialism, scholars of post-socialism have not treated the concept to in-depth analysis.[4]

The essence of identity politics is found in concentrated form when we consider the "core issues" that motivate this politics. If for any political process the core issue is that of "who receives what," for identity politics the main issue is "who controls the meaning and concept of identity in the society."

Identity politics, also commonly referred to as the politics of identity or identity-based politics, is a phrase that is widely used in the social sciences and humanities to describe the deployment of the category of identity as a tool to frame political claims, promote political ideologies, or stimulate and orientate social and political action, usually in a larger context of inequality or injustice and with the aim of asserting group distinctiveness and belonging

[4] Olga Filippova, Politics of identity through school primers: Discursive construction of legitimate image of state, Nation and society in Soviet and independent Ukraine, *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 27, 1, 29.

and gaining power and recognition. Additionally, identity politics refers to tensions and struggles over the right to map and define the contours and fixed "essence" of specific groups.

The term identity politics and movements linked to it came into being during the latter part of the 20th century. Identity politics is open to wide debate and critique.[5]Minority influence is a central component of identity politics. Minority influence is a form of social influence whereby a majority is influenced by the beliefs or behavior of a minority. During the 1980s, the politics of identity became very prominent and was linked with new social movement activism.[6] In terms of social and political theory, politics of identity has a more specific meaning than the broad sense. Identity politics, or collective activism based on embodied experiences of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity or nationality, existed before the late twentieth century, but the term was coined in the 1970s and widely circulated in the 1980s as a response to social injustice, widespread prejudice and even assault borne by members of specific minority groups. Still, one might insist that identity politics generates a

5 Heyes, Cressida. "Identity Politics". Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Metaphysics Research Lab, CSLI, Stanford University). Retrieved 2012-11-11.

[6]Calhoun, Craig (1994). *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Blackwell.

necessary counter to oppression. People across the world are still being beaten and sometimes killed because they are an ethnic minority, or belong to a particular religion, or, to take a more recent violent trend, because they are undocumented. In other words, identity politics at its most powerful is about survival and resistance. [7]

Present idea of "identity" is a fairly recent social construct, and a rather complicated one at that. Even though everyone knows how to use the word properly in everyday discourse, it proves quite difficult to give a short and adequate summary statement that captures the range of its present meanings. Contestation over the membership rules, the content, and the moral valuation or political treatment of social categories is what political scientists refer to as "identity politics". "Identity politics" is often played out in contestation over labels and their moral valence.[8]

Meanwhile, in all jurisdictions, the contemporary political environment, in terms of the economic conditions, other main issues on the political agenda and level of political stability, was very influential in determining social identity

[7]Elin Diamond. (2012). Identity Politics Then and Now. *Theatre research international*, 37, 1, pp. 64–67.

[8] James D. Fearon. 1999. What is identity (as we now use the word)? *Draft – Comments appreciated*, Department of Political Science Stanford University Stanford, CA.

activity. Indeed, social identity issues were repeatedly marginalised by the presence of other policy concerns on the political agenda, and when other issues emerged they tended to take prominence. For example, in Tasmania social identity activity was often limited due to the dominance of economic and environmental issues in State politics. Another important factor was the level of electoral stability. Large government majorities in Queensland and NSW enabled the governments to take more moderate approaches to social reform, as there was no need to introduce initiatives to obtain more votes.

The emergence of social identity politics in Australia has been rapid.[9] For ethnic minorities and for women in many Western countries, identity politics has meant working proactively for full legal and social recognition. Women often flies under the banner of identity politics with the argument that gender equality is still far from the norm in Western societies and even less so in many Asian societies, [10] even for Indonesian societies.

Identity mobilises Indonesian people, particularly Indonesian woman in Australia and shapes discursive practices. Energised by the

[9] Elizabeth Fells (2003) The Proliferation of Identity Politics in Australia: An Analysis of Ministerial Portfolios, 1970-2000, *Australian Journal of Political Science,* 38, 1, 101-117

[10] *Ibid*.

affirmative politics of hope, celebration and unity, Indonesian woman immigrant is also motivated by injustice, prejudice and loss, particularly among indigenous women and minorities.

Furthermore, what this identity means for women is that new veiling has a broader meaning with regard to how women remain both modern and faithful to Islamic teachings. It needs to be mentioned that in the colonial discourse, unveiled women meant affirmation of the self and therefore uncovering veils is a condition of modernization. However scholars have found out that in the present Islamist movement, women under veils exercise their agency, thereby signifying a transformation of self for women. Suzanne Brenner suggests that "wearing *jilbab* (Islamic veil) gives Javanese women (as Indonesian as well) a sense of self-mastery and identity; this was reflected in the confidence and determination that I saw in many veiled women".[11]

Visibilisation of markers of Muslim identity, such as veiled women in the public sphere, breaks the neutrality principle by being marked. Moreover, the veil is interpreted as a marker of backwardness, false consciousness, male dominance, and female subservience. Therefore, in order to maintain secular

[11] Suzanne Brenner. (1996). Reconstructing self and society: Javanese Muslim women and the veil. *American Ethnologist*, 23 (4), 673–697.

neutrality, exclusion of the veil from the public sphere is required.

Definition of Majority and Minority

Across cultures, the words 'majority' and 'minority' traditionally have represented different ends of various group dimensions. The terms minority and majority are not to be seen as numerical concepts. They refer to collective possession of power or lack of it. That is, majority groups have the decisive voice in the major institutions of society and their culture determines the character of these institutions.

The issue of effective participation of minorities in public life has become one of the focal points of current international discussion regarding optimal methods for organizing majority-minority relations. While the issues of self-governance and territorial autonomy that were touched upon in the previous section could be considered as one dimension of such participation,the inclusion and integration institutions responsible for the governance of the state as a whole, as opposed to creating special institutions for minority self-governance, constitutes another important dimension. The latter includes forms of minority participation in public life such as special arrangements for minority representation in electoral and party systems at the central, regional

and local levels of government, in advisory and consultative bodies.[12]

In defining the term "minority group," the presence of discrimination is the identifying factor. As Louis Wirthhas pointed out, "minority group" is not a statistical concept, nor need it denote an alien group.[13] A minority group is any group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. It is apparent that this definition includes both objective and subjective characteristics of a minority group: the fact of discrimination and the awareness of discrimination, with attendant reactions to that awareness. A person who on the basis of his group affiliation is denied full participation in those opportunities which the value system of his culture

[12] Protsyk, Oleh. (2008). Majority-minority relations in the Ukraine. In: *JEMIE - Journal on ethnopolitics and minority issues in Europe* Vol. 7, 1, 16.

[13] Wirth, L: "The Problem of Minority Groups.", page 347 in Ralph Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York:Columbia University Press, 1945. The political scientist and law professor, Gad Barzilai, has offered a theoretical definition of non-ruling communities that conceptualizes groups that don't rule and are excluded from resources of political power. Barzilai, G. *Communities and Law: Politics and Cultures of Legal Identities.*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

extends to all members of the society satisfies the objective criterion, but there are various circumstances which may prevent him from fulfilling the subjective criterion.

A minority is defined by the social majority, i.e. those who hold the positions of power in a society. The defining characteristics of a minority group are generally based on one or more observable characteristics, including ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, religion, age, and able-bodiedness.[14] Besides denoting numeric size, these terms have acquired socioreligious (minority heretics), sociopolitical (majority rule), socioeconomic (majority share), and sociodemographic (ethnic minority) connotations. The terms majority and minority also reflect positive or negative social conditions and treatment. Minority denotes negatively stigmatized, ostracized, oppressed, and outcast individuals or groups,[15] or counter normative

[14] Source: Boundless. "Women and Minorities and Democracy." Boundless U.S. History. Boundless, 21 Jul. 2015. Retrieved 11 Oct. 2015 from https://www.boundless.com/u-s-history/textbooks/boundless-u-s-history-textbook/democracy-in-america-1815-1840-12/the-spread-of-democracy-103/women-and-minorities-and-democracy-559-8574.

[15] Blanz, M., Mummendey, A., & Otten, S. (1995). Positive–negative asymmetry in social discrimination: The impact of stimulus valence and size and status differentials on intergroup evaluations. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 34,* 409–420.

groups,[16] whereas majority denotes positively valued or high status groups.[17] Across definitions of majority and minority are themes that distinguish these groups in terms of their power, numeric size, group features, opinions, group benefits, and group conditions and treatment.

Majority and minority groups usually are defined in terms of size,[18] power and/or status,[19] or counternormative stance.[20] Some studies, however, have suggested other characteristics that differentiate majority and minority, thereby facilitating broader understanding. For example, studies of persuasion and message-based attitude change have expanded the definitions of majority and minority groups to

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[16] Moscovici, S. (1994). Three concepts: Minority, conflict, and behavioral style. In S. Moscovici, A. Mucchi-Faina, & A. Maass (Eds.), *Minority influence* (pp. 233–251). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

[17] Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

[18] Leonardelli, G. J., & Brewer, M. B. (2001). Minority and majority discrimination: When and why. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 37,* 468–485.

[19] Blanz, M., Mummendey, A., Mielke, R., & Klink, A. (1998). Responding to a negative social identity: A taxonomy of identity management strategies. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 28,* 697-729.

[20] Moscovici, S. (1994). Three concepts: Minority, conflict, and behavioral style. In S. Moscovici, A. Mucchi-Faina, & A. Maass (Eds.), *Minority influence* (pp. 233–251). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

include such features as opinion deviance,[21] distinctiveness,[22] and ingroup-outgroup status.[23] The results of these studies suggest that minorities with few members,[24] deviant opinions,[25] power,[26] or ingroup status,[27] can sometimes persuade majorities, albeit indirectly, possibly as a function of message

[21] Maass, A., Clark, R., & Haberkorn, G. (1982). The effects of differential ascribed category membership and norms on minority influence. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 12,* 89–104.

[22] Nemeth, C., & Kwan, J. (1985). Originality of word associations as a function of majority vs. minority influence. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 48,* 277–282.

[23] David, B., & Turner, J. (1999). Studies in self-categorization: The ingroup minority in intragroup and intergroup studies. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 38,* 115–134.

[24] Gordjin, E., De Vries, N., & De Dreu, C. (2002). Minority influence on focal and related attitudes: Change in size, attributions, and information processing. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28,* 1315–1326.

[25] Alvaro, E. M., & Crano, W. D. (1997). Indirect minority influence: Evidence for leniency in source evaluation and counterargumentation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72,* 949–964.

[26] Crano, W. D. (2001). Social influence, social identity, and ingroup leniency. In C. K. De Dreu & N. K. De Vries (Eds.), *Group consensus and minority influence: Implications of innovation* (pp. 122–143). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

[27] Crano, W. D. (2000). Social influence: Effects of leniency on majority and minority-induced focal and indirect attitude change. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale, 3*, 89–121.

salience.[28] These studies suggest that majority and minority groups can vary in terms of power, distinctiveness, opinions, and in group-out group status, as well as size. Such characterizations of minority groups are confounded by status and power factors, and undermine the study of group numbers factors in intergroup relations.

Meanwhile, results of previous studies of majority/minority relations are equivocal. Some field studies suggest that increases in minority group size are associated with greater discrimination by majority group members. For instance, Thomas F. Pettigrew reported that white prejudice against blacks and Jews in the U.S.A was positively correlated to the relative increases in local black and Jewish populations.[29] In a similar vein, Allport suggested that Boston's Broad Street riot in 1832 and Los Angeles riots in 1943 were associated with rapid increases Irish and Mexican populations within the two communities respectively.[30]

Other field studies suggest the oppositein minority group size may be associated with

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[28] Crano, W. D. (2000). Social influence: Effects of leniency on majority and minority-induced focal and indirect attitude change. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale, 3*, 89–121.

[29]Pettigrew, T. F. (1959). Regional differences in anti-Negro prejudice. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 59, 28-36.

[30]Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wes1ey.

decreased levels of prejudice and discrimination. For instance, Kalin and Berryfound that evaluations of various ethnic minority groups in Canada by non-members covaried with ethnic group size.[31] Richard D. Hamilton[32]and Ford[33]painted a similar picture in their studies of various city neighborhoods in the U.S.A.

The term minority doesn't necessarily refer to a numeric minority. Women, for example, make up roughly half the population but are often considered a minority group.[34]According to Theodorson and Theodorson, minority groups are the groups who are victims of prejudice or discrimination. The term is sometimes used to indicate to the group the majority rather than the minority. For example, although women are not belongs to a group that numbers were a minority, but is often considered as a minority group. In the men community-oriented, a

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[31] Kalin, R., k Berry, J. W. (1982). The social ecology of ethnic attitudes in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science.* 14, 97-109.

[32] Hamilton, R. F. (1972). *Class and politics in the: United States*. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.

[33]Ford, W. S. (1973). Interracial public housing in a border city: Another look at the contact hypothesis. American Journal of Sociology. 78, 1426-1447.

[34] Source: Boundless. "Minority Groups." Boundless Sociology. Boundless, 21 Jul. 2015. Retrieved 11 Oct. 2015 from https://www.boundless.com/sociology/textbooks/boundless-sociology-textbook/race-and-ethnicity-10/minorities-81/minority-groups-475-3392.

group of people who obtain special privileges but belongs to the minority in number, it can not be classified into minorities. Therefore, the term does not include all minority groups, which amounted to a small, but dominant in politics. As a result the term minority is only accorded to those who, by most of the population of the community may be the object of prejudice or discrimination.[35]

While minorities can attempt to force any of these outcomes, the crucial factor is majority group reaction, whether or not the majority "allows" minorities to intermarry with them (fusion), adopt their ways (assimilation), or exist independently (pluralism). Almost by definition, the majority group has the power to dictate the outcome.

Although women have made great strides in gaining access to education and employment, to this day they continue to face significant hurdles that men generally do not confront. In economics, the term "glass ceiling" refers to institutional barriers that prevent minorities and women from advancing beyond a certain point in the corporate world, despite their qualifications and successes. The existence of a glass ceiling indicates that women, even today, do not enjoy the same opportunities as

[35] Theodorson, George A, and Achilles G. Theodorson, 1979 A Modern Dictionary of Sociology. New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Barnes & Noble Books, 258-259.

men.[36] Ethnic minority women are rarely seen or heard in politics - that has to change.

It have been known that women are considered a minority group, because they do not share the same power, privileges, rights, and opportunities as men. Women are not a statistical minority, as in most societies -- they are roughly equal in number to men -- but they do qualify as a minority group because they tend to have less power and fewer privileges than men. Underlying this unequal treatment of women is sexism, which is discrimination based on sex -- in the context of a patriarchal society, discrimination against women in particular.

Although "minority" status is not about numbers, discrimination against women is still existed in a number of different spheres of society, whether political, legal, economic, or familial. It must, however, be noted that the issue is rarely as simple as that of men versus women. Societies today are home to a variety of different classes, ethnicities, races, and nationalities, and some groups of women may enjoy a higher status and more power relative to select groups of men, depending on factors, such as

[36] Source: Boundless. "Women as a Minority." Boundless Sociology. Boundless, 21 Jul. 2015. Retrieved 11 Oct. 2015 from https://www.boundless.com/sociology/textbooks/boundless-sociology-textbook/gender-stratification-and-inequality-11/women-as-a-minority-88/women-as-a-minority-507-1046

what racial and ethnic groups they are associated with.

Formal discriminations against women are too well known for any but the most summary description. In general they take the form of being barred from certain activities or, if admitted, being treated unequally. Discriminations against women may be viewed as arising from the generally ascribed status "female" and from the specially ascribed statuses of "wife," "mother," and "sister." As female, in the economic sphere, women are largely confined to sedentary, monotonous workunder the supervision of men, and are treated unequally with regard to pay, promotion, and responsibility. With the exceptions of teaching, nursing, social service, and library work, in which they do not hold a proportion ate number of supervisory positions and are often occupationally segregated from men, they make a poor showing in the professions. Although they own 80 percent of the nation's wealth, they do not sit on the boards of directors of great corporations.

In the specially ascribed status of wife, a woman--in several States--has no exclusive right to her earnings, is discriminated against in employment, must take the domicile of her husband, and in general must meet the social expectation of subordination to her husband's interests. As a mother, she may not have the guardian ship of her

children, bears the chief stigma in the case of an illegitimate child, is rarelygiven leave of absence for pregnancy. As a sister, she frequently suffers unequal distribution of domestic duties between herself and her brother, must yield preference to him in obtaining an education, and in such other psychic and material gratifications as cars, trips, and living away from home.[37]

From the perspective of majority-minority relations and the political framework within which they currently operate, Indonesia displays a number of distinctive features. The Indonesian human landscape comprises over 300 different ethnic groups and an even larger array of local languages and dialects - credibly estimated at more than 700.

Establishing and maintaining a shared sense of national identity in a country as vast and diverse as Indonesia is no small achievement, and one of which many Indonesians remain justly proud. How to maintain this sense of a shared identity in the new, more fractious democratic era is a question that clearly continues to exercise the minds of many.

In addition, a major challenge in maintaining a shared sense of national identity stems from the way in which ordinary people now tend to view their own - and equally, other people's - identities. "They

[37]Helen Mayer Hacker, Women as a minority group, *Social Forces*, 30, 1951, pp.60-69. Retirieced http://media.pfeiffer.edu/lridener/courses/womminor.html October 12, 2015.

define people as 'other' simply based their religious or ethnic affiliation. And in practice these often cannot be separated, as ethnic groups usually identify with a specific religious affiliation". In this sense it appears that, in Indonesia as in other transitional countries with past histories of imposed national identities, the advent of the democratic era has brought with it an outpouring of previously supressed identity politics that all too often focuses on the political expression of narrow, exclusionary self-definitions.

Conceptualising Conflict and Resolution

Most types of social, political and economic change involve conflict of some sort, and one could argue that many of the positive changes in world history have occurred as a result of conflict.[38] The key

[38] e.g. Cairns, Edmund, A Safer Future. Reducing the Human Cost of War, Oxfam Publications, 1997. For most, however, a rather narrower conception of conflict is the norm, and derives from a kind of 'socio- psychological model' (Duffield, Mark, 'Evaluating Conflict Resolution. Context, Models and Methodology', in, Sorbo, Gunnar, Macrae, Joanna and Wohlgemuth, NGOs in Conflict - an Evaluation of International Alert, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, 1997: Annex 1: 90). Here the root cause of the conflict is seen as being disagreement, or breakdown of communication, between individuals or groups. Violent manifestations of conflict are therefore viewed as irrational and, almost by definition, based on misunderstandings. In this quite common view, the word conflict may thus be used interchangeably to refer to the conflict of interest,

issue for some organisations is to avoid or minimise its violent expression. Many of the conflicts today tend to be referred to as ethnic conflict, social conflict, or civil conflict and, where there is some cross-border activity or other state involved, international social conflict. They are also often described as being about identity, whether conceived in terms of an essentialist ethnicity, or regionalism, or tensions over state-formation. They are also sited at the margins of an increasingly globalised economy, and it is commonly accepted that this also has something to do with their `root causes'. Although there is no common understanding of the conditions under which a conflict of interest leads to its violent expression, or of the dynamics of violent confrontation once begun, a useful working analysis of conflict deployed by International Alert recognises the importance of structural inequalities as underlying causes, and accepts that there are triggers which tip such situations into violent conflict.

A common aim is that the `normal' state of affairs in society to which one should seek to return, or achieve, is one where conflicts of interest, and thereby clashes of identity, are not expressed violently. The resultant condition of society might

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or to the violent expression of conflict, which itself can lead to misunderstandings.

then approximate to Galtung's negative peace[39], which is the way that the term peace is most commonly used; ie. the end of widespread violent conflict associated with war. The understanding gained from conceptualising peace and conflict shows clearly that policies have to be geared to positive peace, and to longer-term implications, if peacebuilding is to be successful. Just as violent conflict has to be seen as being related to structural and other wider forms of inequality, so peacebuilding has to include measures which challenge and help to change such major forms of inequality, one of which is gender inequality.

During and after conflicts, women tend to bear a much greater burden than men for the care of survivors, and always for children. As we have seen, during wars they often continue to carry the main burden for ensuring the provision of food and other tasks of caring for children and the infirm whilst also taking on a heavy burden of keeping social and political activities going where men are taken to fight in armies away from their homes. This is surprisingly common for the many different contexts in which conflicts occur, from remote rural villages in which most of the food has to be grown and/or gathered, to big cities where all kinds of resourceful

[39] Galtung, Johan, 'Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Responses', Journal of Peace Research, 22, 1995

innovations are developed by women to ensure that families have enough to eat, and some degree of care when they are sick.

The term gender denotes all the qualities of what it is to be a man or a woman which are socially and culturally, rather than biologically, determined. Gender includes the way in which society differentiates appropriate behaviour and access to power for women and men and, in practice, this refers to patterns in which women are generally disadvantaged over men. Most studies of gender address this problematic of the disadvantage directly, with attempts to measure, explain and review ways of challenging it, and therefore tend to focus almost exclusively on the behaviour and experiences of women.

Furthermore, conflicts change over time, passing through different stages of activity, intensity, tension and violence. There are many of stages of conflict:[40]

1. Pre-conflict. At this stage, the incapability of goals of parties could lead to open conflict though generally, it is hidden from the public. There may be tensions in relationships between the parties.

[40]*Simon Fisher, Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Jawed Ludin, Richard Smith, Steve Williams, & Sue Williams (2000).* Working with Conflict: Skills & Strategies for Action, Zed books in Association with Responding to Conflict.

2. Confrontation. The conflict becomes open at this stage. Each party side may be gathering its resources and perhaps finding allies with the expectation of increasing confrontation, even violence. Relationships are getting to be polarized.
3. Crisis. The peak of the conflict. Violence and tensions are the most intense. In a large scale conflict, this is the period of war. There is no or little communication between the parties.
4. Outcome. The crisis will in one way or the other come to an outcome. It may be surrender, or an agreement, negotiations, etc. Mediator may help a lot to this process.
5. Post conflict. The situation is resolved and there are no violent confrontations.

CHAPTER III
MOSLEM IN AUSTRALIA

A. Geography of Australia

The Commonwealth of Australia or Australia is the only country in the world which is also a continent by itself. The island nation is bound by the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Across the water its neighbors are Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Timor Leste to the North, and New Zealand to the South east. The geographic coordinates of the country are 27 degrees 00 minutes South and 133 degrees and 00 minutes East. On the mainland the northernmost point of the country is Cape York in Queensland, while the southernmost point is South Point in Victoria, and the easternmost point is Cape Byron in New South Wales, while the westernmost point is Steep Point in Western Australia.

Australia is divided into three time zones. These are AEST-Australian Eastern Standard Time (UTC +10), ACST-Australian Central Standard Time (UTC +9.5) and AWST- Australian Western Standard Time (UTC +8). Daylight Saving Time is practiced in Australia during the warmer months of the year and begins on the first Sunday of October, and reverts back to Standard Time on the first Sunday of April each year. With the clock set forward by one hour,

the names of the time zones also change to AEDT-Australian Eastern Daylight Time (UTC +11) and ACDT-Australian Central Daylight Time (UTC +10.5). In the third time zone covering Queensland, the Northern Territory and Western Australia, daylight saving time is not observed.

The total area of Australia is 7,692,024 sq km and it is the sixth largest country in the world, area-wise. Australia is also the only continent on earth without any glaciers. The low plateaus and the deserts are characteristic of the general flatness and dryness of the country, however fertile plains are found in the southeast. Another distinctive feature of the country is its vast coastline. The highest point in the country is Mount Kosciuszko in New South Wales which is 2,228 m high, while the lowest point is Lake Eyre in South Australia which lies 15 m below sea level.

The northern part of Australia is warm or hot throughout the year since it lies in the tropics; the central part is more or less arid; while the southern part of the country has warm summers and cool winters. Since the country is a very large island, its climate is influenced by various factors, especially the surrounding oceans. The annual temperature ranges from as low as below zero degrees centigrade, to as high as above 50 degrees centigrade. The coastal parts of northeastern Australia experience maximum rainfall in the country. Almost 80% of the country

receives less than 600 mm of rainfall a year. Thus, most parts of the country, except the coastal areas, are relatively arid.

In general terms, four seasons can be distinguished in Australia, however since the continent lies in the southern hemisphere, the timings of the seasons are different from that in the northern hemisphere. Thus, spring is from September to November, summer is from December to February, autumn is from March to May, and winter is from June to August.

The rivers in Australia are different from those in other countries on two accounts; most of them are located near the coast, and others are seasonal due to the lack of high mountains in the country. The major rivers of the country are the Murray River, Murrumbidgee River, Darling River, Lachlan River, Warrego River, Cooper Creek, and Paroo River. Most lakes in Australia are quite shallow and dry up during the summer months; very few are permanent lakes. Some of the largest lakes in the country are Lake Gairdner, Lake Torrens, Lake Eyre and Lake Frome in South Australia; Lake Carnegie, Lake Macleod, Lake Moore Western and Lake Wells in Western Australia; Lake Mackay in Western Australia and the Northern Territory; and Lake Amadeus in the Northern Territory.

B. Demographics of Australia

The demographics of Australia covers basic statistics, most populous cities, ethnicity and religion. The population of Australia is estimated to be 23,924,700 as of 11 October 2015[1]. Australia is the 52nd most populous country in the world. Its population is concentrated mainly in urban areas

[1] *Australian Bureau of Statistics website. Commonwealth of Australia. Retrieved 29 June 2015.* The population estimate shown is automatically calculated daily at 00:00 UTC and is based on data obtained from the population clock on the date shown in the citation.

and is expected to exceed 28 million by 2030[2]. For the year 2014, the estimated birthrate is 12.19 births per 1,000, and the death rate is 7.07 deaths per 1,000 of population, while the infant mortality rate is 4.43 deaths per 1,000 live births. The sex ratio is estimated to be 1.06 males per female, and the growth rate of the population is estimated at 1.09%.

The estimated figures for the year 2014-2015 for age structure in Australia show that 18% of the population consists of children between 0-14 years, 13.3% of the population is in the early working age between 15-24 years, 41.8% of the population is in the prime working age between 25-54 years, 11.8% of the population is in the mature working age between 55-64 years, and 15.1% of the population is in the elderly age of 65 years and over. As per the 2010 census, 89% of the total population in Australia is classified as urban population, while the remaining 11% is classified as rural population.
The following figures are ABS estimates for the resident population of Australia, based on the 2001 and 2006 Censuses and other data:

a. 23,924,700 (as of 11 October 2015)
b. 21,262,641 (July 2009 – CIA World Factbook)
c. 21,180,600 (end December 2007
d. 20,848,760 (end December 2006 – preliminary)

[2] *Heath, Michael. "Aussie Beer Drinking Market Goes Flat, Slumping to 65-Year Low" Bloomberg. Retrieved 11 September 2013.*

e. 20,544,064 (end December 2005)
f. 20,252,132 (end December 2004)
g. 20,011,882 (end December 2003)
h. 19,770,964 (end December 2002)

Australia's population has grown from an estimated population of about 350,000 at the time of British settlement in 1788 due to numerous waves of immigration during the period since. Also due to immigration, the European component of the population is declining as a percentage. Australia has fewer than three persons per square kilometre of total land area. With 89.01% of its population living in urban areas, Australia is one of the world's most urbanised countries[3]. The life expectancy of Australia in 1999–2001 was 79.7 years, among the highest in the world

Demographics of Australia		
Indicator	**Rank**	**Measure**
	Population	
Population	52nd	23,924,700[1]
	Economy	
GDP (PPP) per capita	10th	$40,073
GDP	12th	$1.56 trillion
Unemployment	↓ 57th	6.40%

[3] *The World Bank*. The World Bank Group. 2013. Retrieved 24 April 2013.

rate		
CO2 emissions	11th	18.3 t†
Electricity consumption	17th	213.5 TWh
Economic freedom	3rd	82.5
Politics		
Human Development Index	2nd	0.937
Political freedom	1st (equal)*	1
Corruption (A higher score means less (perceived) corruption.)	↓ 8th	8.7
Press freedom	18th	5.38
Society		
Literacy Rate	21st	99%
Broadband uptake	17th	13.8%
Beer consumption	20th[2]	4.49 L†
Health		
Life Expectancy	5th	81.2

Birth rate	148th	13.8‡
Fertility rate	137th	1.969††
Infant mortality	202nd	4.57‡‡
Death rate	122nd	7.56‡
		♂ 14.9†‡
Suicide Rate	50th	♀ 4.4†‡
HIV/AIDS rate	108th	0.10%

Notes

↓ indicates rank is in reverse order (e.g. 1st is lowest)

† per capita

‡ per 1000 people

†† per woman

‡‡ per 1000 live births

†‡ per 100,000 people per year

♂ indicates males, ♀ indicates females

The earliest accepted timeline for the first arrivals of indigenous Australians to the continent of Australia places this human migration to at least 40,000 years ago most probably from the islands of Indonesia and New Guinea. These first inhabitants of Australia were originally hunter-gatherers, who over the course of many succeeding generations diversified widely throughout the continent and its nearby islands. Although their technical culture remained static—depending on wood, bone, and

stone tools and weapons—their spiritual and social life was highly complex. Most spoke several languages, and confederacies sometimes linked widely scattered tribal groups. Aboriginal population density ranged from approximately one person per 3 km^2 (1 sq mi) along the coasts to one person per 90 km^2(35 sq mi) in the arid interior. Food procurement was usually a matter for the nuclear family, requiring an estimated 3 days of work per week. There was little large game, and outside of some communities in the more fertile south-east, they had no agriculture.

The distribution of population in Australia is quite uneven. The two coastal areas of the south east and south west, situated on opposite sides of the continent are home to majority of the population. The population densities are highest along these seaboards particularly in the urban centers and cities. However, the population density reduces drastically as one travels inland towards the center of the country. The estimated population density for the year 2013 was 2.8 persons per sq km.

Dutch navigators landed on the coasts of modern Western Australia and Queensland several times during the 17th century. Captain James Cook claimed the east coast for Great Britain in 1770, the west coast was later settled by Britain also. At that time, the indigenous population was estimated

to have been between 315,000 and 750,000[4], divided into as many as 500 tribes speaking many different languages. In the 2011 Census, 495,757 respondents declared they were Aboriginal, 31,407 declared they were Torres Strait Islander, and a further 21,206 declared they were both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders[5].

Since the end of World War II, efforts have been made both by the government and by the public to be more responsive to Aboriginal rights and needs. Today, most of Australia's Indigenous population live on the east coast of Australia, where almost 60% of Indigenous Australians live in New South Wales (208,476) and Queensland (188,954) which roughly represents 2–5% of those state's populations. The Northern Territory has an Indigenous population of almost 70,000 but represents about 30% of the total Northern Territory population.

The languages spoken in Australia are English, Chinese, Italian, Greek, Arabic, Vietnamese, and other unspecified languages. The country has no

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[4] *"Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Population" 1301.0 – Year Book Australia, 2008. Australian Bureau of Statistics. 7 February 2008. Retrieved 3 January2009.*

[5] *Australian Bureau of Statistics (31 October 2012). "2011 Community Profiles: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Indigenous) Profile". 2011 Census of Population and Housing. Retrieved 9 October 2013.*

official national language, but English is considered to be the de facto national language since it is used by majority of the people. Ethnic groups living in Australia include whites, Asians, aboriginals and others.

Australia is a religiously diverse country and it has no official religion. The main religion in Australia is Christianity, comprising of Protestants, Catholics, Eastern Orthodox and other Christian sects, however the country also has Buddhists, Muslims and followers of other unspecified religions.

Christianity is the predominant faith of Australia, though this is diminishing. In the 2011 census, 61.1% of the population classified themselves as being affiliated with a Christian faith, down from 67.3% ten years earlier at the 2001 census. The largest religious denomination was Roman Catholicism, with 25.3% of the population. The next largest Christian denomination was Anglican at 17.1%, and all other Christian denominations accounted for a further 18.7% of the population[6]. The second-largest group, and the one which had grown the fastest, was the 22.3% who claimed to have no religion. Over the ten years since the 2001 census, this group grew from 15.3% to 22.3% of the population; an increase of 7%,

[6] *Australian Bureau of Statistics (31 October 2012). "Australia". 2011 Census Quick Stats. Retrieved 26 April 2014.*

which was the largest change of any religious classification in that period.

Minority religions practised in Australia include Buddhism (2.5% of the population), Islam (2.2%), Hinduism (1.3%) and Judaism (0.5%). The Census question about religion is optional, and 8.6% of people did not respond in the 2011 census. According to the time series data released with the 2011 census, the fastest growing religious classifications over the ten years between 2001 and 2011 were:

- No religion – up from 15.2% to 22.1%
- Hinduism – up from 0.5% to 1.3%
- Buddhism – up from 1.9% to 2.4%
- Islam – up from 1.5% to 2.2%

Meanwhile, the greatest decreases were in the major Christian denominations; all Christian denominations combined decreased from 67% to 61%[7].

[7] *Australian Bureau of Statistics (31 October 2012). "2011 Community Profiles: Time Series Profile" 2011 Census of Population and Housing. Retrieved 26 April 2014.*

Religious Affiliation in Australia (1986, 1996, 2006, 2011)[8]								
Affiliation	1986 ('000)	1986 %	1996 ('000)	1996 %	2006 ('000)	2006 %	2011 ('000)	2011 %
Anglican	3,723.4	23.9	3,903.3	22.0	3,718.3	18.7	3,680.0	17.1
Baptist	196.8	1.3	295.2	1.7	316.7	1.6	352.5	1.6
Catholic	4,064.4	26.1	4,799.0	27.0	5,126.9	25.8	5,439.2	25.3
Churches of Christ	88.5	0.6	75.0	0.4	54.8	0.3		
Jehovah's Witnesses	66.5	0.4	83.4	0.5	80.9	0.4		
Latter Day Saints	35.5	0.2	45.2	0.3	53.1	0.3		
Lutheran	208.3	1.3	250.0	1.4	251.1	1.3	251.9	1.2
Eastern Orthodox	427.4	2.7	497.3	2.8	544.3	2.7	563.1	2.6
Pentecostal	107.0	0.7	174.6	1.0	219.6	1.1	238.0	1.1
Presbyterian and Reformed Churches	560.0	3.6	675.5	3.8	596.7	3.0	599.5	2.8
Salvation Army	77.8	0.5	74.1	0.4	64.2	0.3		
Seventh-day Adventist	48.0	0.3	52.7	0.3	55.3	0.3		
Uniting Church	1,182.3	7.6	1,334.9	7.5	1,135.4	5.7	1,065.8	5.0
Other Christian	596.0	3.8	322.7	1.8	468.6	2.4	960.7	4.5
Christian total	11,381.9	73.0	12,582.9	70.9	12,685.9	63.9	13,150.6	61.1

[8] *"Cultural diversity in Australia". 2071.0 – Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012–2013. Australian Bureau of Statistics. 21 June 2012. Retrieved 2012-06-27.*

Religious Affiliation in Australia (1986, 1996, 2006, 2011)[8]								
Affiliation	1986 ('000)	1986 %	1996 ('000)	1996 %	2006 ('000)	2006 %	2011 ('000)	2011 %
Buddhism	80.4	0.5	199.8	1.1	418.8	2.1	529.0	2.5
Hinduism	21.5	0.1	67.3	0.4	148.1	0.7	275.5	1.3
Islam	**109.5**	**0.7**	**200.9**	**1.1**	**340.4**	**1.7**	**476.3**	**2.2**
Judaism	69.1	0.4	79.8	0.4	88.8	0.4	97.3	0.5
Jedi	No stats				58.0	0.3	65.0	0.3
Other non-Christian	35.7	0.2	68.6	0.4	109.0	0.5	168.2	0.8
Sikhism			12.0	<0.1	26.4	0.1	72.3	0.4
Non-Christian total	316.2	2.0	616.4	3.5	1,105.1	5.6	1,546.3	7.2
No religion	1,977.5	12.7	2,948.9	16.6	3,706.5	18.7	4,796.8	22.3
Not stated/Inadequately described	1,926.6	12.3	1,604.8	9.0	2,357.8	11.9	2,014.0	9.4
No religion/Not stated total	3,904.1	25.0	4,553.7	25.7	6,064.3	30.5	6,810.8	31.7
Total	**15,602.1**	**100.0**	**17,753.0**	**100.0**	**19,855.3**	**100.0**	**21,507.7**	**100.0**

As in many Western countries, the level of active participation in religious services is lower than would be indicated by the proportion of the population identifying themselves as affiliated with a religion; weekly attendance at Christian church services is about 1.5 million, or about 7.5% of the

population. Christian charitable organisations, hospitals and schools play a prominent role in welfare and education services. The Catholic education system is the second biggest sector after government schools, with more than 650,000 students (and around 21 per cent of all secondary school enrolments).

C. Figuring Muslim in Australia

The first muslims to come into contact with Australia predate European settlemet, with visits Macassan fishermen from around the 1750s onwards. From Macassar fishermen in southern Sulawesi, part of today's Indonesia, fishermen would visit the coast of northern Australia Annually n order to catch a particular type of sea slug called the trepang. Bilal Cleland writes:

> "Each year in Desember, as the low pressure cell moved over Australia and the winds blew towards the south, the boats left Macassar for camps along the shores of Marege. Then four later as the sun moved over the northern hemisphere and the winds blew from the continent toward the northern aquatorial zone, they sailed back. By May they had all gone. While they were they caught, cookedand dried the sea slug and trepang in beach camps"[9]

[9] Bilal Cleland, *The Muslim in Austraia: A brief history*, Islamic Council of Victoria, 2002, p. 6

Islam in Australia is a minority religious affiliation. According to the 2011 census, 476,291 people, or 2.2% of the total Australian population, were Muslims[10], which is up 40% since the 2006 Census. The population of Australian Muslims has grown tenfold since 1976. This made Islam the fourth largest religious grouping, after all forms of Christianity (61.1%), irreligion (22.9%), and Buddhism (2.5%). In the early 20th century, most Muslims could not legally immigrate to Australia because of the White Australia policy which restricted immigration to Europeans or those of European descent, very few of whom were Muslim. However, European Muslims from Albania and Bosnia did arrive in numbers especially in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1947, out of 7,579,358 Australian inhabitants, there were 2,704 or 0.04% Muslims. In later history, throughout the 19th century following British settlement, other Muslims came to Australia including the Muslim 'Afghan' cameleers, who used their camels to transport goods and people through the otherwise unnavigable desert and pioneered a

[10] See Susannah Moran, '*Islam Defies the Slow Loss of Faith*', *The Australian*, 22 June 2012; Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Cultural Diversity of Australia: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012-2013* (16 April 2013) < http://www.law.unimelb.edu.au/files/dmfile/FinalOnlinePDF-2012Reprint.pdf >.

network of camel tracks that later became roads across the Outback.

The majority of muslim live in Sydney and Melbourne. In Sydney the most popular suburbs are Auburn, Greenacre, Bankstown, Lakemba and Punchbowl. In Melbourne, muslims tend live in Meadow Heights, Reservoir, Dallas, Noble Park and Coburg.

The majority of muslim populatiom is working class. Only 27 per cent are in the categories of professionals, managers and administrators and mechanicians. The rest (73 per cent) are employed as clerical, service and transport workers, tradespersons and labourers. In each of these two broard categories, women represent approximately one-third of workers, which is line with the general Australian population[11].

Most muslims in Australia are Sunni but there is a significant minority of Shi'i as well. While the majority of the Muslim population in Australia is Sunni, a large of number of migrans from Iraq, Lebanon and Iran are Shi'is. Within each group, there are legal, theological and political and ideological differences. Despite such sharp differences, prominent in the countries of origin, there appears to be a tendency on the part of both

[11] Saeed, Abdullah, *Islam in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, 2003, p. 2

Shi'is and Sunnis in Australia to narrow their differences and come to a more cammon view of their identity as muslims. Although there is somewhat of a sense of togetherness in a number of areas, the two groups still maintains some distictions. Shi'i muslims have their own mosques and schools. However, at times Sunnis and Shi'is may share the same mosques for prayer and other social and religious functions[12].

1. Islamic Organisations

A number of organisations and associations are run by the Australian Islamic community including mosques, private schools and charities and other community groups and associations. Most Australian Muslims are Sunni, with Shia then Sufi and Ahmadiyya as minorities[13]. Irfan Yusuf[14] says that Western Muslim organisations, including those in Australia, are predominantly Sunni.

Broad community associations which represent large segments of the Australian Muslim public are usually termed "Islamic councils". Some organisations are focused on providing assistance

[12] Saeed, Abdullah, p. 67-68

[13] *"Islam in Australia – Demographic Profile of Muslim Youth" (PDF). Retrieved 31 March 2015.*

[14] Irfan Yusuf (born 1969 in Karachi, Pakistan) is an Australian social commentator and author of the memoir *Once Were Radicals: My years as a teenage Islamo-fascist*.

and support for specific sectors within the community, such as women. Two organisations with strong political emphasis are Hizb ut-Tahrir[15] which describes itself as a, "political party whose ideology is Islam"[16] and Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah Association (ASWJA)[17]. All of the Islamic organisations in Australia listed below:

a. Major Organisations
    1) Ahmadiyya
    2) Islamic Community Milli Görüş Australia
    3) Australian Federation of Islamic Councils
    4) Lebanese Muslim Association
    5) Australian National Imams Council
b. Minor groups and associations
    1) Crescents of Brisbane
    2) Darulfatwa – Islamic High Council of Australia

[15] *Benson, Simon (26 June 2014). "Government seeks advice over radical Islamic group Hizb ut-Tahrir: Can't act against them under current laws". Daily Telegraph. Retrieved5 January 2015.*

[16] *Auerbach, Taylor (11 January 2015). "Charlie Hebdo terrorist attacks a 'cure', says leader of Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia Ismail Alwahwah". Daily Telegraph. Retrieved11 January 2015.*

[17] *Olding, Rachel, Olding (28 September 2014). "Members of Street Dawah preaching group feature heavily in Sydney's counter-terrorism raids". Sydney Morning Herald. Retrieved 5 January 2015.*

3) Islamic Information and Services Network of Australasia
4) Islamic Friendship Association of Australia
5) Islamic Museum of Australia
6) Islamic Research and Educational Academy
7) Islamic Women's Welfare Council
8) Muslim Aid Australia
9) Muslim Business Network
10) Muslim Community Reference Group
11) Muslim Women's Association
12) National Zakat Foundation

c. Radical Islamic groups
1) Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah Association
2) Global Islamic Youth Centre
3) Hizb ut-Tahrir
4) Islamic Youth Movement

d. Islamic militant groups
1) "Ahmed Y" group
2) Benbrika group (Melbourne)
3) Cheikho group (Sydney)
4) Lashkar-e-Taiba
5) Mantiqi 4 (Jemaah Islamiah)
6) Al-Shabaab

7) Syrian syndicate

A number of financial institutions have developed Sharia-compliant finance products, with university courses leading to Islamic financial qualifications also being established. Other Australian Islamic organisations have been set up to manage sharia-compliant investments, superannuation, Islamic wills and zakat management. Saudi Arabia has been heavily involved in funding Australian Islamic institutions, with estimates up to US$100 million. This has generated tensions between some Australian Muslim organisations and has raised concerns within the wider Australian community. Conflict between religious groups in the Middle East are reflecting as tensions within the Australian community and in the schools.

2. Islamic Educations

From early childhood, a muslim child begins to learn about the religion. Initially, the child learns how to recite some short chapters (sura) of the Qur'an. As well, the child learns how to pray through watching their parents and other siblings, taking part at times. A moslem child also grows up learning which activities are permissible and which are prohibited in Islam. In this way, the child learns how to be a muslim from early childhood. Australian

muslims often send their children to a mosque or a "weekend school" to learn how to read the Qur'an and about the religion. But many other moslem children in Australia grow up without knowing much about their religion.

In the 1950s, muslim parents began to establish Islamic "weekend school" in Melbourne and Sydney, but there were scant recources and few people had enough knowledge to thoroughly instruct the children on Islam. Despite the difficulties, parents would send their children for a few hours on either Saturday aor Sunday to a local mosque or a prayer facility in order to gain a religion education.

Children still these weekend schools, where they are taught how to read the Qur'an and gain a basic knowledge of the religion and of what they are expected to do as muslims. These weekend classes are held at mosque, prayer facilities, local islamic centres and even at rented public school facilities. Teacher are often volunteers who may not have a formal teaching qualification. Each local community organises its weekend school and there is no umbrella organisation for these school or a common curriculum.

As well as weekend schools, muslims have established a number of regular schools providing primary and secondary education, along with instruction in Arabic and Islam. Islamic schools in Australia are a part of the faith-based system, such as

that of Chatholic, Lutheran, Greek Orthodox, Coptic Christian and Jewish schools. The aims of the Islamic schools are as follows:

a. To achieve the highest possible standart of moral behaviour and ethical attitudes
b. To provide the children with an Islamic environment free from undesirable social values
c. To develop and foster a complete Muslim identity and personality within the child
d. To equip the children with necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviour to enable them to contribute meaningfully to the general harmony, prosperity and good of their community and the overal society[18].

The first Islamic school in Australia is King Khalid Islamic College (KKIC). It was established in 1983 in the northern suburbs of Melbourne with funding received from overseas as well as local sources. Since then, other islamic schools have been established in other countries:[19]

a. New South Wales;
    1) Al-Noori Muslim Primary School, Greenacre (1983)
    2) Arkana College, Beverly Hills (1986)

[18] Saeed, Abdullah, p. 151-152
[19] Saeed, Abdullah, p. 155-156

3) Malek Fahd Islamic School, Greenacre (1989)
4) Noor Al Houda Islamic College (Girls), Condell Park (1995)
5) Sule College, Prestons (1996)
6) Al-Amanah College, Bankstown (1997)
7) King Abdul Aziz College, Rooty Hill (1997)
8) Risalah Islamic College Ltd, Lakemba (1997)
9) Al-Zahra College, Arncliffe (1998)
10) Al-Faisal College, Auburn (1998)

b. Victoria;
1) King Khalid Islamic College of Victoria, Coburg (1983)
2) Islamic School of Victoria (Werribee College), Hoppers Crossing (1986)
3) Minaret College, Springvale (1993)
4) Islamic College, Broadmeadows (1995)
5) Darul Uloom Islamic College, Frawkner (1997)
6) Isik College, Broadmeadows (1997)
7) East Preston Islamic College, Preston (1998)

c. Western Australia;
1) Australian Islamic College, Dianella (1986)

2) Australian Islamic College, Thornlie (1990)

3) Al Hidayah Islamic School Inc, Bentley (1994)

4) Australian Islamic College, Kewdale (2000)

d. Queensland;

1) Islamic School of Brisbane Ltd, Karawatha (1995)

e. South Australia;

1) Islamic College, Croydon (1998)

3. Mosques

Since the 1970s Islamic schools have been established as well as more than 100 mosques and prayer centres. The Australian Muslim community has built a number of mosques and Islamic schools, and a number of imams and clerics act as the community's spiritual and religious leaders. In 1988, the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils (AFIC) appointed Sheikh Taj El-Din Hilaly as the first Grand Mufti of Australia and New Zealand. In 2007, Hilaly was succeeded by Fehmi Naji in June 2007[20]. who

[20] *Zwartz, Barney (11 June 2007). "Hilali out as Mufti, moderate in The Age" Retrieved29 January 2015.*

was succeeded by the current Grand Mufti, Ibrahim Abu Mohamed in September 2011[21].

Australia's first mosque was built for them at Marree, South Australia in 1861. Between the 1860s and 1920s around 2000 cameleers were brought from Afghanistan and the north west of British India (now Pakistan) and perhaps 100 families remained in Australia. Other outback mosques were established at places like Coolgardie, Cloncurry, and Broken Hill – and more permanent mosques in Adelaide, Perth and later Brisbane. A legacy of this pioneer era is the presence of wild camels in Outback and the oldest Islamic structure in the southern hemisphere, at Central Adelaide Mosque. Nonetheless, despite their significant role in Australia prior to the establishment of rail and road networks, the formulation of the White Australia policy at the time of Federation made immigration difficult for the 'Afghans' and their memory slowly faded during the 20th century, until a revival of interest began in the 1980s. And the first mosque in Brisbane was bilt in 1908.

The following is a list of mosques in Queensland:

[21] *Kilani, Ahmed (19 September 2011). "Australian Imams appoint a new Mufti".muslimvillage.com. MuslimVillage Incorporated. Retrieved 29 January 2015. Imams and Sheikhs from around Australia held a meeting last night in which they appointed Dr Ibrahim Abu Muhammad as the new Grand Mufti of Australia.*

City	Suburb	Name	Year	Group	Remarks
Brisbane	Holland Park	Holland Park Mosque	1908		www.hpmosque.org.au
	Kuraby	Kuraby Mosque		Sunni	www.kurabymosque.org.au
	West End	West End Mosque		Sunni	
	Eight Mile Plains	Bosnian Islamic Centre		Bosnian	
	Underwood			Shia	Islamic Shia Council of Queensland
Toowoomba		Islamic Society of Toowoomba, Inc.	2014		www.isot.net.au//

Holland Park is a suburb of Brisbane, Australia. It is located 6 kilometres (3.7 mi) south-east of the CBD[22], and borders Greenslopes, Coorparoo, Carina Heights, Mount Gravatt East and

[22] *Australian Bureau of Statistics (31 October 2012). "Holland Park (State Suburb)". 2011 Census QuickStats. Retrieved 13 March 2014.*

Holland Park West. It is mostly residential, with some commercial areas along Logan Road. Holland Park is an older suburb made of largely post-World War II wooden homes. Logan Road bisects the slightly hilly suburb. Trams operated by the Brisbane City Council operated along Logan Road until 13 April 1969. There are a number of schools and parks in the suburb and a retail zone with shops and a public bar. It is also home to the Mount Thompson crematorium, Queensland oldest crematorium.

CHAPTER IV

IDENTITY POLITIC OF WOMEN IN MULTICULTURAL COUTRY

A. Views about Living as Minority in Multy Cultural Country

The framework of identity is constructed by the perspective on things. Simon Fisher (2001) asserted that the differences in perspective as the starting point of differences in identity. Differences in perspective will bring a difference in attitude and behavior, both in individual behavior and social behavior. Therefore it is very important to explore the diversity of perspectives that arise in a society to know the basic perspective resulting differences.

In revealing the diversity among the informans this research will report some points. The scope will be internal as well as external of Indonesian Muslim. External of Indonesian Muslim pertaining to relation to other muslim, the problem related to public life and the problems related to Australian regulation.

All the views of the informants here were formulated in the perspective of the ways they implemented in order to sustain their life in a multy culture life like in Australia.

1. Among Indonesian muslim

Living abroad did not mean that they live away from Indonesian circumstance. The tried to tie each other in one institution or organization. In this context it is worth to mention IISB (Indonesian Islam Society Brisbane) as an organization which united all Indonesian muslim living in Brisbane. This organization was initially founded in 1975. This is now become a formal and legal organization under the Regulation of Australian Government. IISB is a religious, charitable, scientific, literary, educational, recreational and not-for-profit organisation; and financially is rely heavily on volunteer support.

IISB has an active program, not only catered for the Indonesian Islamic people of Brisbane, but also of other religious or national background, with a vision to enhance relationship amongst each other while providing continuous sense of belonging and comfort. It facilitates regular sermons/da'wah, shadaqah collection, Ramadhan themed activities, recreational outings and many more, allowing extended and unique interpersonal and spiritual development. The organization excutive of IISB for 2015 is as below:

Advisors:	Mr Krishnamurti Suparka
President:	Mr Ardy Muawin
Office of The Secretary:	Mr Jose Lukito (H)

Division	
TPA/Madrasah:	Mrs Indah Sriwindhari (Principal).
Member Relations:	Mr Heriyanto (Coordinator), Taufik E. Sutanto.
External relations:	Mr Febi Dwirahmadi.
Operations:	Dicky, Ridho Imansyah, Sulistyo Himawan, Khoirul Umam.
Business Units:	Rifan Zulkifli (H), M. Rafki Syukri, Agung W.
Programs:	Yeyep hermansyah (H), Hary Imawan, Rajibusalim.
Strategic Planning:	Evandri.
Finance:	Ria Astri (H), Chairil Suta

With a burning desire, they begin their da'wah steps through sermons from one house to the next. Despite many socio-economical barriers, Muslim families from Indonesia or even from transnational/interracial background successfully adopted volunteers to lead their regular religion classes. The volunteers who served in the 1970s include Dr Deliar Noer, Atok Muzhar and Hasyim. Amidst their personal commitments, Dr Noer (was working at Griffith University). Mr Muzhar and

Hasyim (both were Indonesian students studying at the University of Queensland), still devote their valuable time to preach in these classes. "If they were not able to attend to our house, we would bring our children to their house."

Besides the Partoredjo's former Mansfield residence, lessons also took place at other households: Mr Jamal Hur, Dr MacMillan and Hinekkam. Mr Hinekkam is a Muslim revert of Dutch descent and came from Batu Sangkar, Sumatra Barat. During the 1970s to 1980s, Indonesian Muslim people who owned cars were a rarity. One of them was Mr Khairul Kosim, the former owner of "Indonesian Tucker" restaurant. According to Mr Partoredjo, he used to pick up people one by one from their houses to the place of sermon.

Since its humble beginning until mid-1980s, this religion study group did not have a proper governance. Without doubt, the jama'ah have always regarded Mr and Mrs Partoredjo as their leader. "It was only in 1986 that a meeting was held to decide the continuity of IISB and its executives of Principal, Vice Principal and Treasurer" mentioned Mr Partoredjo.

Etched in his memory, prior to the 1993 management and thereafter, Mr Sudirman (Head of Islamic Society of St Lucia) and Mr Abdul Haris are among the da'wah activists who led many of the seminars. Throughout this period, IISB's activities

were undertaken in a "nomad" manner. It was not until 1993, that IISB received a permanent lodging from the University of Queensland rectorate to be used as a mushalla. From then on, a range of IISB activities took place in this centre, including routine religious classes that were often attended by 20 to 40 people each week. The variety and coverage of activities also continued to rise, as seen by the divisions of committee governance and ummah dynamics. However, an undertaking that has never been missed by IISB is their da'wah from and for their members. They stand by the principle of "reminding each other in the path filled with Allah SWT's blessings". This has become a way of living and tradition for IISB's educational program for the jama'ah. Furthermore, ever since its beginning, this organisation has maintained a clear record in Australia.

With Allah SWT's blessing and all praised to Allah SWT, IISB still prevails even with the inflation or deflation of the numbers of its jama'ah. The people who have been entrusted with the honour of leading this organisation have also changed from time to time. From 1993, the presidents were Mr As-Suharti Arief (1993-1994), Mr Husni Jamal (1994-1995), Mr Heru Suhartanto (1995-1996), Mr Taufik Fauzi (1996-1997), Mr Prihandoko (1997-1998), Mr Sutopo Hadi (1998-1999), Mr Dwi Susanto (1999-2001), Mr Jumatil Fajar (2001-2002), Mr Hawin (2002-2003), Mr Saipul

Rahman (2003-2004), Mr Rahmad Nasution (2004-2005), Mr Sulistiyo Biantoro (2005-2006), Mr Suseno Hadi (2006-2007), Mr Mohammad Fauzi (2007-2008), Mr Dedi Muhammad Siddiq (2008-2009), Mr Eko Andi Suryo (2009), Mr Medrilzam (2009-2010), Mr Anjar Prayudi (2010-2011), Mr Febi Dwirahmadi (2011-2013), dan Mr Krishnamurti Suparka (2013-2014).Mr. Ardi Muawin (2014-2015) "With the ever changing Captain, the boat of IISB continues to sail."

Some activities which are organized by IISB are Pengajian Jumat Malam (PJM) , Pengajian Bulanan, and some other incidental meetings. Pengajian Jumat Malam is a forum of meeting which is held once in a week. In that forum muslims living in Brisbane coming to the certain place to recite al-Quran and listening to Islamic teaching delivered by a muslim leader. Once any guest from Indonesia known as Islamic preacher so he or she is asked for giving Islamic speech in the forum. Below is one of the example picture in the forum of PJM.

Picture 1
Attendant of PJM

Sources: Personal Collection

As Pengajian Jumat Malam, Pengajian bulanan is also a forum of meeting for *silaturrahmi* and learning as well as listening Islamic teaching delivered by one of the members of IISB. Once any guest from Indonesia known as Islamic preacher so he or she is asked for giving Islamic speech in the forum In this forum also, all Indonesian Muslim family members attend the forum and there many Indonesian food served. Usually all the family bring with them a specific food and offered to all the persons attending the forum. Factually the committee serve some food but it was a tradition for them to bring some food in the forum. Below are some photoes taken from the the forum of Pengajian Bulanan. Pengajian Bulanan may take place in public building , religious foundation building and also in houses of Indonesian muslim family.

Picture 2
Guest Speaker of Pengajian Bulanan IISB

Picture 3
Another Guest Speaker of Pengajian Bulanan IISB

Picture 4

Quranic Recitation by Children of IISB Member

Picture 5
Indonesian Food Served in Pengajian Bulanan IISB

The latter meeting familiar among IISB member is the meeting which is held by the muslim families when they have special event on behalf of their family. For example for expressing gratitude

(*tasyukuran) as* moving to a new house or celebrating a life cycle event like birthday or wedding ceremony of one of their family member. So it is not easy to predict how many meetings in certain time because they are based on the need of the family members.

Although factually the forum set up by IISB is variable but there are some other meetings set up by some members of the organization. It may be mention here for example, pengajian Jumat pagi, khataman, pengajian ibu-ibu gaul, dan *liqo*. These are all meetings designed to learn more about Islam. Pengajian Jumat Pagi is a meeting in which only women involved in the meeting. This pengajian was set up based on the need for adding religious material among women member. This pengajian is a moving based meeting. So the place will move from one to another house. Meanwhile khataman is a meeting in which the members a "traditional Islam" and the practice of the meeting followed the traditional Islam in Indonesia. So the program of the meeting is reading and reciting al-Qur'an for one juzz, yasinan and tahlil.

Another pengajian set by Indonesian muslim is Pengajian Gaul. This is a meeting set up by Indonesian women muslim whose husband is Australian. They felt nice and comfortable assembling with any other women with a common characteristic, in this case Australian husband. This group had a specific need, that related to the

religiousity of their family. The material discussed in this group usually pertaining to the daily practice, like drink, personal relationship and family dynamics. They usually choose a teacher who is fit to their life style.

One other forum set by the members of Indonesian muslim in Brisbane is *liqo*. *Liqo* is identified by informants as a group associated to Partai Keadilan Sejahtera. According to some informants, this group is in line with the political party mention above. In terms *Liqo* '[1]is a meeting in which the programs contained the activity of teaching and listen to the advice / tausiyah in order to add to the faith . Generally , these activities we can meet in the mosque by establishing " circle " a sort of group discussion . Because of this circle , *Liqo* ' is sometimes also referred to as " *halaqoh* " which means circle . Currently, Liqo activity 'is not only held in the mosque , but also in homes as a form of friendship among the participants.

Liqo' among Indonesian muslim in Brisbane is organizing by moving from one house to another. Usually it is implemented by reading one verse of al-Qur'an and then *ta'aruf* (know each other), *tafahum*

[1] Stūdīyā Islāmīkā, Volume 9, Issue 3, 2009

(understand each other), and *tafakul* (feeling of shared responsibility)[2]

Based on the description above it was clear that Indonesian muslim women who are living abroad, especially in Brisbane Australia are always trying to express their Indonesian tradition in their life in order to keep their Indonesian trait. Seemed that Possessing a personal and community "identity," or awareness of oneself as a member of an oppressed group—and the anger associated with that awareness—is a legitimate response to experiencing oppression. Racism is, of course, experienced on a very personal level—whether it takes the form of institutional discrimination (racist hiring practices, police brutality) or social interaction (racist jokes, violence from an acknowledged racist). Personal experience, furthermore, helps to shape one's political awareness of oppression. It makes perfect sense that experiencing sexism on a personal level precedes most women's political consciousness of sexism as a form of oppression that degrades all women.[3]

[2] Ali Said Damanik, 2002. Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia, Jakarta, Teraju

[3]The politics of identity, *ISR* Issue 57, January–February 2008

Keeping the Indonesian tradition become something comfortable to them so that they feel saver to live in order to do the task of their lives abroad. By having regular meeting with all Indonesian living in the region, applying bahasa Indonesia freely, they feel like at home, and they are aware that they have many friends. As Simon Fisher[4]mentioned that aspect of history become something important in formulating identity so awakening memory of the earlier history of their life will rise ther desire to have a better live.

The plan to have a specific Indonesian mosque in Brisbane supported the above argument. Factually IISB is fighting to have an Indonesian mosque in Brisbane. This desire was manifested by setting up a committee, IMCQ (Indonesian Mosque Committee Queensland). This organisation was established by Indonesian Muslims with objectives of:

- Develop an Islamic center where Islamic society in Queensland can learn about Islam.
- Foster Islamic culture and values to Islamic community in Queensland.
- Contribute positive activities to multicultural society in Queensland.

[4] Simon Fisher, 2001. Working with Conflict,

Activities

- Establish a plan for developing Islamic center in Brisbane
- Organise fund raising for development of Islamic Center in Brisbane

2. Relation between Indonesian muslim and others

The existence of Muslim community in Brisbane have long history, variated. As a part of Australian they estimated have allready came before coming of European. Early muslim in Australia was Muslim that come from East Indonesia that conected with Australi mainland since 16-17 century. Makasar fisherman and merchant, arrived in West Asutralia coastal, North Australia and Queensland. This peoples are traded with the original people and seeking for see cucumbers, sell as a profiable chinese food. Historical evident of these ealry entrants can be und on the similarity of certain words of Makassar and languages of coast Indigenous Australian. Aboriginal cave paintings depict traditional boat Makassar Makasar, and a number of relics have been found in Aboriginal settlements in the west and north coasts of Australia. Marriage between Indigenous and Makassar people are believed to have occurred, and the location of the

burial Makassar have been found along the shoreline.

The history of muslim community increased by Muslim migrants from the African coast and island territories under the British Empire who came to Australia as sailors and convicts in the first fleet of European settlers in the late 1700s. The first semi-permanent Muslim population in significant numbers formed with the arrival of camel drivers in the 1800s. Coming from the Indian subcontinent, the Muslim is very vital for the early exploration of inland Australia and the establishment of communications services.

One of the major projects involving Afghan camel drivers is the construction of the rail link between Port Augusta and Alice Springs, which became known as the Ghan. Railway line to Darwin continued until 2004. Cameleers also played an important role in building the overland telegraphy between Adelaide and Darwin in 1870 - 1872, which eventually linked Australia to London via India.

Through this early work, a number of 'Ghan' towns were established along the railway line. Many of these towns that have at least one mosque, usually constructed of corrugated iron with a small tower.

However, the presence of motor vehicles and lorry transportation signaled the end of the era of camel riders. While some of them returned to their homelands, others settled in areas near Alice Springs and other areas in Northern Australia. Many are married with the local Indigenous population. Since that time descendants of Afghan camel drivers roled and active in various Muslim communities in Australia. A small number of Muslims were also recruited from the Dutch and British colonies in Southeast Asia to work in the Australian pearl industry in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

The first mosque in Australia was established in Marree in northern South Australia in 1861 the first large mosque built in Adelaide in 1890, and another was set up in Broken Hill (New South Wales) in 1891.

The number of modern Australian Muslims is increasing rapidly after the Second World War. In 1947 - 1971, the Muslim population increased from 2704 to 22 331. This happens mainly because the post-war economic boom, which create new jobs. Many European Muslims, mainly Turks, seize this opportunity to look for life and a new home in Australia. At the 2006 Census there were 23,126 Turkish-born Muslims in Australia.

Bosnian and Kosovar Muslim migrants who arrived in Australia in the 1960s made important contributions to modern Australia through their role in the construction of the Snowy Mountains Hydroelectric Scheme in New South Wales. Lebanese migrants, many of whom were Muslims, also began arriving in larger quantities after the outbreak of civil war in Lebanon in 1975 According to the 2006 Census, there were 7542 Australian-born Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 30 287 born in Lebanon.

Australian Muslims are an extremely diverse. At the 2006 Census, there were more than 340,000 Muslims in Australia, where as many as 128 904 of this amount was born in Australia and the rest were born overseas. In addition to migrants from Lebanon and Turkey, other Muslim countries of origin as bellow:

Tabel 1
Number of Nationality Muslim Background in Autralia

No	Muslim Nationaliti	Number
1.	Afghanistan	15 965
2.	Pakistan	13 821

3.	Bangladesh	13 361
4.	Iraq	10 039
5.	Indonesia	8656

Based on the data above, Indonesian muslim is the smallest number of muslim among the other muslim community coming from abroad in Australia. And Afganistan is the most. In order to bring about religious activities, like congregation prayer, quranic recitation learning, religious discussion and other religious communal activities there are some programmes held in the mosques in Brisbane.

Speaking on the religious activities in Brisbane is worth to mention Holland Park Mosque. Holland Park Mosque is the first mosque along the eastern seaboard of Australia Established in 1908 – over 100 years old Home to many migrant communities from all parts of the world over the years All the mosques in South East Queensland can trace their origins to Holland Park Mosque.

With the growing population of Muslims in the area this mosque need to expand praying area. Because according to council regulations it is impossible for the mosque to meet the regulation without purchasing additional land/property . Besides that the mosque need more permanent

teaching facilities and Separate prayer area for women , as well as access to parking facilities. In the terms of this research, Holland Park Mosque has some building applying for religious teachings and public meeting. Here in this mosque all muslim meet and design the programmes benefit for all.

Picture 6
Holland Park Mosque

Totally there are twelve mosques around Brisbane. Beside Holland Park Mosque, the other mosques are

1. Algester (Islamic Society of Algester) in 48 Learoyd Road Algester http://www.is-oa.com.au/

2. Bald Hills (Islamic Society of Bald Hills) 119 Telegraph Road Bald Hills http://www.is-bh.org.au/
3. Buranda (Darul Uloom) 6 Agnes Street Buranda (just behind Office Works) Managed by Darul Uloom
4. Capalaba
   26 Veronica Street Capalaba
5. Eagleby 262 Fryer Road Eagleby
6. Eight Mile Plains / Rochedale 2674 Logan Road Eight Mile Plains (near RACQ and opp. the Sikh Temple) Managed by the Bosnian Muslim Community
7. Kuraby 1408 Beenleigh Road Kuraby aka Masjid Al-Farooq http://www.kurabymos-que.org.au/
8. Logan City (Marsden) Third Avenue and Curtisii Court Marsden
9. Lutwyche 33 Fuller Street Lutwyche
10. Moorooka Musallah 10/204 Beaudesert Road Moorooka
11. West End 12 Princhester Street West End

The availability of mosques make the muslim in Brisbane easier to do congregation prayer and take part in any religious activities organized by the mosques. Related to the availability ot religious

facilities like mosques seen by muslim, especially Indonesian muslim as something important for them to express their own identity as muslims. Although each mosque belong to a specific muslim community but common relation between Indonesian muslim and other is good as long as in their relation in religious activities.

3. Public Life

Related to public life, to take an example is related to Indonesian muslim presence in Australian school. Some will imagine that any muslim go to Australian scholl will face some difficulties pertaining to some regulation. But it does not happen so no one feel as minority. Even one informant having children going in Catholics College feel that the right of minority is honoured. For example, the college serve halal food for all muslim students, give the right to do prayer and for those who want to go to Friday prayer they are supported as long as the parent guarant to come back to school on time. Also the college gave the chance for muslim student for wearing cover or hijab .

Another problems related to wearing hijab in multy-cultural country like Australia is the rise of Islamophobia with the wave of radicalism and terorism in middle-east countries. This crises rise some reactions among non-muslim citizen toward

muslim. Factually in this context women are the most clear identification, especially for those wearing hijab. After some accident happened in some areas of Brisbane, some muslim women feelt of scare for going out home by wearing hijab. By this condition, Muslim women were being warned on social media not to walk the streets only by themselves.

4. Australian Regulation

Despite being widely regarded as Australia's most conservative state, Queensland is a model for Muslim integration into Australian society. More than 20,000 Muslims live in Brisbane. Geographically, they are concentrated on the south side of the city, where there are eight mosques and three Muslim schools. While this is only around 10 per cent of the overall Muslim population in Australia, there has still been remarkably little tension between them and the wider community, and one of the source of the tension is regulation

Factually Australia is an order state. Every thing is in order. It is easy for the official ti treat any on does not in order. It was seen as hard thing for Indonesian muslim women, because it is something very different to the original country Indonesia. Some informants said that the problem on them is to adjust to new order and habil in their residential area, where they are living now. But the thing that

according to the informants is hard to adjust is related to the regulation pertaining to religion. Because there are no religious-based regulation. For example, it is hard to imagine for muslim to do prayer nay where but only in the place served for prayer.

According to Jim Bellos, a Queensland Police Sergeant who has worked as a Cross Cultural Liaison Officer for seven years, this is because of close work ties between the Queensland Police Force and the Muslim community.

> "What happens is we have a commissioner [Bob Atkinson] who comes to events like this [Eid Fest], he supports the work of the liaison officers, the officers, their job is to work with all the communities. So what we do is on a Monday morning we ring up the community leaders to see what's happening and if there is any issues that we need. If there's issues, we address them before they escalate. So that's our work and that's why it's working so well here."

He also said that working with the children was a big part of the job.

> "I'm an adopt-a-cop at three schools. You see little children wearing the hijabs, come up to you and grab hold of you. That's very unusual for the parent to see them grabbing a policeman, because a lot of them come from places where the police force has not been such a very good police to them. It's a major issue but I think it's an important one."

These comments are also echoed by Mohammed Yusuf, the president of the Islamic Council of Queensland.

> "Yes, I think Queensland is a better model [of integration]. Under the leadership of Bob Atkinson … he worked closely to with Muslim community … most of the trouble Muslim people [from abroad] have integrating into Australian life in Brisbane is from the high cost of living."

He also congratulated the attitude of Queenslanders: "…all people in Queensland are a close nit group, we are generally more inclusive and more tolerant of others."

But perhaps for the best indicator of the strength of community integration in Brisbane we need look no further than this: "*Today Tonight*came looking for problems [for a story] … they found none," says Jim Bellos.

B. Some Conflicts Arising : Some Experiences

1. Difficulties among Indonesian Muslim Women in Life and practicing their religion

Muslim women in Australia are an incredibly diverse group, coming from different cultural backgrounds, speaking different languages and having various levels of religiosity. Yet, they share some degree of a commitment to a faith that many assert is contrary to the realization of their human

rights as women, a view that freedom of religion is in conflict with notions of gender equality. This paper will explore the intersection of these difficulties they are facing in their life and religious worship, also how the ways they overcome and negotiate the difficulties.

The paper begins by introducing the difficulties they are facing in religious worship and their life, as moslem women in daily life, organizational and public life in an international context.

The analysis presented in this paper comes from data collected through seven interviews conducted with Indonesian Muslim women (of these 4 are well known Indonesian Muslim women, 1 Indonesian Muslim man, and 2 Australian Muslim women, who originally from Pakistan and Vietnam) in October 2015. These informants came from Brisbane, Queensland. They included managers of Indonesian Muslim organization, university student, activist in Muslim Women organizations, and Muslim Academics. The interviews were either face to face interviews interviews that were about 1-2 hours in length.

In particular the paper considers the responses of these women to several issues including how they experience the difficulties they are facing in religious worship and their lifein Australia. It is argued that Indonesian Muslim women feel that they enjoy a great deal of freedom in the practice of their religion,

and whilst they acknowledge that there are certain aspects of community practice that do undermine gender equality, they are confident that these issues can be addressed by conflict resolutions from within the community as they rely on their view that Islam supports a notion of their status as a minority in Australia.

2. Indonesian Muslim Women and Difficulties in Life

This paper seeks to explore the question of whether allowing greater freedom for people to practice their religion would compromise on the right to gender equality for Muslim women. This is based on the common perception that Islam is an oppressive regime that treats women as inferior and is the basis upon which many women around the world are denied basic human rights. Whilst many Muslim women would vehemently argue that Islam is not such a religion they do readily point to the horrific practices against women in many Muslim countries, where religion is used as a justification for not only discrimination but also violence against women.

Therefore it is easy to see how many can reach the conclusion that there is a deep tension between Islamic teaching and gender equality. This is important not only as a critique of Muslim countries and the lives of Muslim women in those countries,

but also for states where Muslims are a minority and the question is raised about how to balance the freedom of such a minority to practice its religion (including issues of accommodation of certain religious practices) without compromising gender equality. It is the argument of this paper, that from the perspective of many Muslim activists, student and academician, this is a very simplistic solution to what is a complex and multifaceted issue, as one interviewee expressed:

> After 9/11, identity politics came to define them as Muslims and the whole challenge became how do we overcome this gap of suspicion and reach out to each other. As a consequence of 9/11, Muslims living in Western countries faced complex and major challenges. Many Australian Muslims struggled with prejudice, discrimination and vilification in the post-9/11 context.[5]

This is an argument made by several Muslim Women scholars such as Siti Muflicha who argues that:

> In general, here, my fear of being accused of being a terrorist. There was a veiled friendsaid: "You are fucking terrorist". He told you in a whisper because

[5] Nora Amath, Muslim academic, interviewed October 27, 2015.

there is CCTV in the bus. He was afraid that if arrested. The incident like this made me uncomfortable.[6]

The situation of Muslim Women globally is too complex and contradictory for one comprehensive critique. In some nations Muslim women experience horrendous forms of violence and oppression, often under the label of Islam. To explain the reality and suffering of Muslim women in such nations, Yasmin Khan stated that:

> Muslim women were being warned on social media not to walk the streets by themselves.[7]

Furthermore,Yasmin Khansaid thatintegration is the biggest issue. There is no integration between Muslim and Christian here, even in school, dinner, and party.For instance, Indonesian people stick with Indonesians, Arabic people stick with Arabic people, Pakistan people stick with Pakistan people.[8]

Yet, the question remains – is there a conflict among 'Indonesian Muslim in the Islamic tradition.Again, there is no simple answer, but there

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[6]SitiMuflicha, doctoral student, interviewed October 20, 2015.

[7]Yasmin Khan, activist in Muslim Women organizations, interviewed October 22, 2015.

[8]AsmaBarlas, *Believing Women in Islam: Unreading patriarchal interpretations of the Quran*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 2002, p2

is certainly an increasing number of scholars and activists who conclude that the concept of women and religious worship in Islam is not entirely irreconcilable with Islamic teaching.

Surprisingly, somestic violence cases are rejected precisely the priests here, especially Imam from Pakistan.[9]

Also, Yasmin Khan stated that Islamic people often behave badly.

> Islamic people have bad behave, messy, and lazy. However, Islam is beautiful. Mufti and Imam cannot speak English. We've been here for 150 years, for God's sake, so we're not a new phenomenon but the hate is a new phenomenon and again that's being influenced from overseas.[10]

In addition, Fenti, managers of Indonesian Muslim organization, told:

> I'm preaching through recitation, while members of PKS preaching through liqo '. My friend said: "Fenti said on behalf of the student's own popularity.." But I do not care ..

Many argue that whilst there are many practices contrary to women in worshipwhich are

[9]Fenti, managers of Indonesian Muslim organization, interviewed October 17, 2015.

[10]Yasmin Khan, activist in Muslim Women organizations, interviewed October 22, 2015

done in the name of Islam, the reality is that there is no basis in Islam for them. Others make the important point that there are many factors at work which have allowed such oppressive practices to continue, such as the existence of party members that are often confused with religious belief. Undemocratic regimes have denied human rights to their citizens, and attempted to lay the blame on the doorstep of religion.'[11]

Public in Australia has generally characterized Muslim Women as being part of a religious tradition that promotes gender inequality and in particular engages in oppressive practices towards women. There has been a fair amount of recent research that has documented this portrayal of Muslim women in Australia.[12] The rest of this paper will be devoted to

[11]ShaheenSardar Ali, *Gender and Human Rights in Islam and International Law: Equal Before Allah, Unequal Before Man?* Kluwer Law International, The Hague, 2000, 5

[12] Australian Human Rights Commission, *Living Spirit – A Dialogue on Human Rights and Responsibilities, Report on HREOC's Muslim Women's Project,* 2006; Amanda Wise, Jan Ali, *Muslim-Australians & Local Government: Grassroots strategies to improve relations between Muslim and non-Muslim Australians*, 2008; Australian Human Rights Commission, *Isma – Listen, National Consultations on eliminating prejudice against Arab and Muslim Australians*, 2004; Islamic Women's Welfare Council of Victoria, *Race, Faith and Gender: Converging Discrimination Against Muslim women in Victoria, The ongoing Impact of September 11,* 2008; Anti-Discrimination Board of NSW, *Race for the Headlines, racism and*

looking at how Muslim women in Australia are practicing their religion and the issues that arise for them in Australia.

3. Australian Muslim Women and the practice of their religion

One of the central issues of this paper is to explore how Muslim Women in Australia are practicing their faith, and whilst without a doubt the discussion below will demonstrate that they face many challenges, those women interviewed expressed a strong sentiment that they felt a great deal of freedom in the practice of their faith:

> It is not easy for women to go to the mosque alone. They got restriction. Also, in Australia, student has been discriminated because student must pray, worship in Christian school.[13]

Most spoke at length of the benefit of living in a country where they believed there was freedom of religion, some even mentioned that there was some sort of constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion in Australia. For this reason many expressed

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media discourse; Helen McCue *The Civil and Social Participation of Muslim Women in Australian community life,* DIAC, 2008

[13]Yasmin Khan, activist in Muslim Women organizations, interviewed October 22, 2015.

dismay that there have been calls in the past to eatanything that had been provided by school:

> Many years ago, school feeding is forbidden. Now, everything is halal.
>
> At school, though in each class there are only 3-4 Muslim students, but I am sure that must be halal food.[14]

Whilst the issue of dress has been a prominent issue that Muslim women have recently faced in the practice of their faith in Australia, they have also faced other challenges. As one interviewee said:

> But sometimes, I want to pray in the office, but, not all friends in the office are Muslims, I am afraid to pray here in the office because it is not a place to worship.There is also a friend, his name Susiana, he just wants to pray in class ... it's even worse, ...sometimes I do jamak prayers, but the fact is forbidden ... I pray jamak prayer. I do it often. So I made new madzhab by myself. My first prayer before prayer time, because after that there was a lecture. Yes ... this is better than I was late to class.[15]

[14]Fenti, managers of Indonesian Muslim organization, interviewed October 17, 2015.

[15]SitiMuflicha, doctoral student, interviewed October 20, 2015.

This means that many Muslim women are concerned about their personal safety because of fears that they may be targeted simply because they are Muslim. Another significant issue that affects the ability of Muslim women to freely practice their faith in Australia is the general misconception that Islamic practices are oppressive of women, thus placing Islamic values in contrast to gender equality.

Many contend that Muslim women who hold these views are ignorant of the reality and that 'by accepting the framing of women's struggle within an Islamic discourse, Muslim women are legitimizing the limitations and restrictions imposed upon them in the name of religion'.[16] However there are an increasing number of Muslim scholars that argue that in fact there is a strong basis for gender equality in Islam.

Many of the women interviewed commented on the importance of Muslim women gaining an accurate understanding of their faith, including what Islam says about women:

> I had never thought to not wear hijab because so detrimental to myself personally. I sometimes tired and bored. I want to be like other people in general here who do not wear headscarves.I wear hijab because it's a big family to wear the hijab, already from

[16]Ahmed. E. Souaiaia, *Contesting Justice*: *Women, Islam, Law and Society*, State university of New York Press, Albany, 2008, p91

the first wearing the hijab.Here, I have to keep the image of himself, wearing the hijab were nice and tidy.[17]

However, many Muslim women interviewed acknowledged that it is difficult to generalize about the experiences of Muslim women in Australia. The other significant issue raised by the interviewees was the frustration that they often felt that their voices were not heard or ignored. The sentiment was also expressed by several women that the issue of gender equality needs to be understood and appreciated by the whole community, especially by the religious leadership of the community who are predominantly male:

They argue that 'the small but growing group of young Muslim women who are arguing for what they see as their Islamically guaranteed rights in the mosque want greater and more direct role in governance'.[18] Some of the interviewees were quite vocal about this issue:

Others thought that this issue was not so significant, emphasizing the other spaces that Muslim women have created for themselves that

[17]SitiMuflicha, doctoral student, interviewed October 20, 2015.

[18]Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I Smith, Kathleen M Moore, *Muslim Women in America: The challenge of Islamic Identity Today*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2006, pp61-67

allow them to exercise leadership and spiritual development. As one said:

> Leaders of Muslim communities in Australia were forced to take more visible and vocal roles as voices and ambassadors of Australian Islam in the post-9/11 era; they had to engage in interfaith dialogue, represent Muslims in the media and consult and work with all levels of government. Also, Muslim community leaders have had to be confident, charismatic and articulate voices for Islam—a role they did not necessarily train for. They have had to publicly and repeatedly distance themselves from the 'ubiquitous' extremist, terrorist, jihadist, fundamentalist and militant Muslim. [19]

4. Public Life of Indonesian Muslim Women

Eventhough one informant having children going in Catholics College feel that the right of minority is honoured. For example, with the serving of halal food for all muslim students, give the right to do prayer and for those who want to go to Friday prayer they are supported as long as the parent guarant to come back to school on time. Also the college gave the chance for muslim student for wearing cover or hijab . But it is only in certain school and certain cycle. Generally muslim was

[19] Nora Amath, Muslim academic, interviewed October 27, 2015.

discriminated. This come out the feeling of scarcity, concern and worry among muslim women.

Related to the integration between muslim community, There is no integration between Muslim and Christian here, even in school, dinner, and party.For instance: Indonesian people stick with Indonesians, Arabic people stick with Arabic people, Pakistan people stick with Pakistan people

It is not easy for women to go to the mosqe. They got restriction because the imam usually coming from the hard tradition areas, like Pakistan, India, or Middle East which the strick tradition toward women.

Mufti and Imam cannot speak English

> Muslim integration in Australia has faced a number of challenges. Some are structural and are related to the ability of Australian Muslims to participate effectively in rewarding the economic activity, often a difficult task for newly arrived migrants. Other challenges are more subjective and are related to political and cultural barriers.

No regulation to practicing your religion. You can build mosque if the council allow it. Mosque coud be an issue if it build around crowd neighbourhood, no parking area,

To be sure, the problem extends way beyond the extremist fringe. Media pundits barely comment on the outrages described above, while mainstream

discourse regularly heaps contempt on those attempting to fight against oppression—including young women organizing against date rape (which is assumed to be a figment of their feminism-charged imaginations) and immigrants demanding basic legal rights (as if they are out to steal jobs from native-born workers). If the "playing field is level," as so many in the mainstream media assume, those who object must therefore be seeking an unfair advantage.

It is no wonder, therefore, that so many people who experience oppression feel so embattled in the current political climate. Only a movement aimed at fighting oppression in all its forms can challenge the victim-blaming ideology that prevails today. The pressing need for such a movement is acknowledged here. Indeed, this article is intended to address the issue of how to most effectively fight back, since different political strategies lead to quite different conclusions about the kind of movement that is needed to challenge oppression. The bulk of this article is a critique of the theory behind what is known in academic and left circles as "identity politics"—the idea that only those experiencing a particular form of oppression can either define it or fight against it—counterposing to it a Marxist analysis. My central premise is that Marxism provides the theoretical tools for ending oppression, while identity politics does not.

5. *Personal* identity versus the *politics* of identity

It is important to make a clear distinction between *personal* identity and identity *politics*, since the two are often used interchangeably. But there is a substantial difference between these two concepts. Possessing a personal "identity," or awareness of oneself as a member of an oppressed group—and the anger associated with that awareness—is a legitimate response to experiencing oppression. Racism is, of course, experienced on a very personal level—whether it takes the form of institutional discrimination (racist hiring practices, police brutality) or social interaction (racist jokes, violence from an acknowledged racist). Personal experience, furthermore, helps to shape one's political awareness of oppression. It makes perfect sense that experiencing sexism on a personal level precedes most women's political consciousness of sexism as a form of oppression that degrades all women.

Indeed, no white person can ever understand what it is like to experience racism. No straight person can understand what it is like to experience homophobia. And even among people who are oppressed by racism, every type of experience is different. A Black person and a Native American person, for example, experience racism differently—as does a person from Mexico versus a person from

Puerto Rico. A gay man and a lesbian have quite different experiences.

At the same time, personal experience is quite separate from the realm of politics, which involves strategies to affect society as a whole. Personal identity only becomes political when it moves beyond the realm of life experience and becomes a strategy for fighting against oppression. Every set of politics is based upon a theory—in this case, an analysis of the root causes of oppression. So the analysis of oppression informs the politics of social movements against oppression.

There are clear differences in strategy between Marxism and the theory of identity politics, which will be examined below. It is first necessary, however, to make clear which facts are not in dispute. Both theories are in agreement that all oppression is based on genuine inequality. Men and women are not treated as equals in society. Whites and African Americans are not treated at all equally. Oppression is not a matter of perception, but of concrete, material reality.

Nor is there any doubt that struggles against oppression should be led by the oppressed themselves—women themselves can and will lead the struggle for women's liberation. This has always been the case historically, from the struggle for women's suffrage to the fight for abortion rights. The same dynamic is true of the struggle for Black

liberation. Former slaves and other African Americans led the battle for Reconstruction aimed at transforming Southern plantation society in the decades following the Civil War. African Americans led the mass civil rights movement that finally struck down Southern segregation in the 1950s and 1960s.

During the late 1960s, the powerful civil rights movement inspired the rise of movements for women's and gay liberation, while the struggle for Black Power emerged from the civil rights movement itself. All of these new movements were, in turn, inspired by the armed struggle of the North Vietnamese resistance against the forces of U.S. imperialism.

But it is also the case that women and African Americans were not alone in fighting against their oppression—thousands of men took part in the women's movement in the 1960s, and many thousands of whites actively supported the civil rights movement. The gay liberation movement was the first of its kind—erupting in the Stonewall Rebellion in 1969, when New York City police raided a gay bar and touched off a riot among gays that lasted for three days. Although the gay movement won little support in its early stages, movement leaders soon convinced the Black Panther Party to formally endorse gay rights. In 1970, Black Panther leader Huey Newton announced his solidarity with the gay movement: "homosexuals are not given

freedom and liberty by anyone in this society. Maybe they might be the most oppressed people in the society,"[5]

Who's the real enemy?

As the experience of the 1960s shows, *it is not necessary to personally experience a form of oppression to become committed to opposing it*. Yet the central premise of the theory of identity politics is based on precisely the opposite conclusion: Only those who actually experience a particular form of oppression are capable of fighting against it. Everyone else is considered to be part of the problem and cannot become part of the solution by joining the fight against oppression. The underlying assumption is that all men benefit from women's oppression, all straight people benefit from the oppression of the LGBT[6] community, and all whites benefit from racism.

The flip side of this assumption, of course, is the idea that each group that faces a particular form of oppression—racism, sexism, or homophobia—is united in its interest in ending it. The theory of identity politics locates the root of oppression not with a capitalist power structure but with a "white male power structure." The existence of a white male power structure seems like basic common sense since, with rare exceptions, white men hold the

reigns of the biggest corporations and the highest government posts.

What all of these examples show is that there is no such thing as a common, fundamental interest shared by all people who face the same form of oppression. Oppression isn't caused by the race, gender, or sexuality of particular individuals who run the system, but is generated by the very system itself—no matter who's running it. It goes without saying that we must confront incidents of sexism, racism, and homophobia whenever they occur. But that alone is not going to change the racist, sexist, and homophobic character that dominates the entire system.

Class inequality and oppression

The entire element of social class is missing from the theory of identity politics. The same analysis that assumes Barack Obama shares a fundamental interest with all African Americans in ending racism also places all straight white men in the enemy camp, whatever their social class. Yet, the class divide has rarely been more obvious than in the United States today, where income and class inequality is higher than at any time since 1929, immediately before the onset of the Great Depression.[10] It is plain to see that the rich obtain their enormous wealth at the expense of those who

work for them to produce their profits, a process known as exploitation in Marxist parlance.

Class inequality is not a side issue, but rather the main byproduct of exploitation, the driving force of the capitalist system. Class inequality is currently worsening by the minute, as the economy edges its way toward a deep recession. Yet the theory of identity politics barely acknowledges the importance of class inequality, which is usually reduced to a label known as "classism"—a problem of snobbery, or personal attitude. This, again, should be confronted when it occurs, but such confrontations do not change the system that relies upon class exploitation.

In contrast to the inconsistencies and contradictions of identity politics, a class analysis bases itself on materialism—a concrete and objective measure of systemic benefits derived from racism, sexism, and homophobia. In short, the ruling class has an objective interest in upholding the capitalist system, which is based upon both oppression and exploitation, while the working class has an objective interest in overthrowing it. *For the special oppression of women, Blacks, Latinos, other racially oppressed populations, and the LGBT community actually serves to increase the level of exploitation and oppression of the working class as a whole.*

The ruling class has always relied upon a "divide and conquer" strategy to maintain its rule,

aimed at keeping all the exploited and oppressed fighting against each other instead of uniting and fighting against their real enemy. At the most basic material level, no one group of workers ever benefits from particular forms of oppression. The historic role of racism in the U.S. provides perhaps the clearest example. The prevailing view is that if Black workers get a smaller piece of the pie, then white workers get a bigger piece of it. In fact, the opposite is true. In the South, where racism and segregation have traditionally been the strongest, white workers have historically earned lower wages than Black workers in the North.[11] The same dynamic holds true for men and women workers. When lower paid women workers enter an occupation, such as clerical work, in large numbers the wages in that occupation tend to fall. The dynamic is straightforward: Whenever capitalists can force a higher paid group of workers to compete with a lower paid group, wages tend to drop. The same dynamic also holds for the global capitalist system. When U.S. capitalists force their workers into competition with workers in the poorest countries, U.S. workers' wages do not rise; they fall. And that is precisely why U.S. workers' wages have been falling in recent years. The only beneficiaries are capitalists, who earn bigger profits, while ensuring the survival of the rule of the profit system.

It is also important to recognize that all working-class people suffer from some forms of oppression. Workers pay much higher proportions of their incomes in taxes than rich people and have far less leisure time; working-class schools are underfunded and overcrowded, poorer neighborhoods are more run-down, and the streets have more potholes. Perhaps most significantly, prevailing ideology regards workers as generally too stupid to run society—assuming this is better left to the "experts," dooming the vast majority of workers to a lifetime of alienated labor.

So oppression is something that even most white male workers suffer to some degree. If one were to compare the self-confidence of the vast majority of white male workers to that of the arrogant Hillary Clinton or Condoleezza Rice, it would be clear that something more than personal politics is a determining factor in oppression. The problem is systemic.

The point here is not at all to trivialize racism, sexism, or homophobia—but to understand that the entire working class faces oppression and has an objective interest in ending it. To be sure, workers don't always realize this. Male workers can behave in an utterly sexist manner; white workers—male and female—can embrace racism; and straight workers—Black, white, and Latino—can be completely homophobic. But such behaviors are

subjective—they vary from individual to individual and, unlike objective interests that remain the same, subjective factors change according to changing circumstances.

Most important among these is the Marxist concept of "false consciousness." The definition of false consciousness is straightforward: whenever workers accept ruling-class ideologies, including racism, sexism, and homophobia, they are acting against their own class interests—precisely because these ideas keep workers fighting against each other. False consciousness is not unique to white, male workers.

One of the most obvious examples of false consciousness has occurred in recent years, as large numbers of African Americans oppose immigrant rights using many of the same xenophobic arguments as anti-immigrant racists. Similarly, many Puerto Rican people exhibit prejudice against Mexican people (which is racist). Many women call each other "sluts" (which is sexist). These are all examples of false consciousness.

Whenever the levels of racism, sexism, and homophobia rise, the working class as a whole loses out. Workers do not unite to fight back, and living standards drop. Conversely, when workers move into struggle against the system in large numbers, false consciousness is challenged by the need for class unity, and class-consciousness rises—affecting

mass consciousness as a whole. This process was demonstrated at the highest point of class struggle in the 1930s and again at the height of the movements of the 1960s. And it will be demonstrated again with the next rise in mass struggle.

As Marx argued in the *Communist Manifesto*, "This organization of proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier."[12] Put differently, Marx distinguished between the working class "in itself," which holds objective—but unrealized—revolutionary potential, and a working class "for itself," which acts in its own class interests. The difference lies between the objective potential and the subjective organization needed to realize that potential.

Politics in a void

But identity politics does not acknowledge the potential for mass consciousness to change. For this reason, the theory of identity politics can only be accepted at the highest level of abstraction. Ernesto LaClau and Chantal Mouffe, the originators of identity politics, do not seem the least bit concerned with any practical application of the theory laid out in their book,*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics.*LaClau and Mouffe

emerged from the postmodern wing of academia that flourished in the 1980s, proposing a set of theories aiming to prove that society exists not as a unified and coherent social and economic system, but rather in a range of subjective relationships.

LaClau and Mouffe posit their theory as a step forward from Marxism. In reality, their theory is not post-Marxist at all. It is anti-Marxist. These two academics set out to prove that Marx was wrong about the revolutionary potential of the working class—that is, its objective interest in and power to transform the system. This antagonism to Marx makes sense, because if Marx is right—if the working class is capable of building a united movement against all forms of exploitation and oppression—then their theory goes out the window.

There are two key components to LaClau and Mouffe's theory, both of which become problematic the moment the theory is put into practice. The first component is their definition of oppression. In contrast to Marx—who defined oppression and exploitation as objective and therefore unchanging, but consciousness as subjective and therefore ever-changing—LaClau and Mouffe regard oppression itself as entirely subjective.

This is a fundamental, not semantic, difference. Since oppression is an entirely subjective matter, according to LaClau and Mouffe, anyone who believes that they are oppressed is therefore

oppressed. At its worst, that would include a white male who feels he has been discriminated against when his application is turned down for a law school that practices affirmative action. Conversely, even the most clear-cut instances of systematic brutality are not necessarily oppression. LaClau and Mouffe argue that even serfdom and slavery do not necessarily represent relationships of oppression, unless the serfs or the slaves themselves "articulate" that oppression.[13]

LaClau and Mouffe describe society as made up of a whole range of autonomous, free-floating antagonisms and oppressions, none more important than any other—each is a separate sphere of "struggle."[14] But this concept falls apart once it is removed from the world of abstraction and applied to the real world. Separate struggles do not neatly correspond to separate forms of oppression. Forms of oppressions overlap, so that many people are both Black and female, or both lesbian and Latino. If every struggle must be fought separately, this can only lead to greater and greater fragmentation and eventually to disintegration, even within groups organized around a single form of oppression. A Black lesbian, for example, faces an obvious dilemma: If all men are enemies of women, all whites are enemies of Blacks, and all straights are enemies of gays, then allies must be precious few. In the real world, choices have to be made.

If LaClau and Mouffe are correct, and the main divisions in society exist between those who face a particular form of oppression and those who don't, then the likelihood of ever actually ending oppression is just about nil. At its heart, the politics of identity is extremely pessimistic, implying not just a rejection of the potential to build a broad united movement against all forms of exploitation and oppression, but also a very deep pessimism about the possibility for building solidarity even among people who face different forms of oppression.

The only organizational strategy identity politics offers is for different groups of oppressed people to each fight their own separate battles against their own separate enemies. The second key problem with LaClau and Mouffe flows from the concept of autonomy that is so central to their theory. Most importantly from a theoretical standpoint, Laclau and Mouffe go to great lengths to refute the Marxist analysis of the state, or the government. Marxist theory is based upon an understanding that the government is not a neutral body, but serves to represent the interests of the class in power—which in the case of capitalism is the capitalist class. This should not be too hard to imagine in the era of George W. Bush, when the capitalist class has brazenly flaunted its wealth and power.

But Laclau and Mouffe insist that the state is neutral and autonomous. Even the different branches

of government are autonomous from each other. Apparently, the Senate and the House of Representatives have no real relationship, and the White House is similarly autonomous. If that is the case, then the stranglehold of neoconservatives and the Christian Right over U.S. politics since 9/11 must have been a figment of liberals' imaginations. Thus, there is a serious flaw in this logic. Oppression is built into the capitalist system itself, and the state is one of the key ways in which oppression is enforced—through laws that discriminate and the police who serve and protect some people while harassing and brutalizing other groups of people.

But the theory of autonomy leads to another theoretical problem as well: every separate struggle warrants equal importance, no matter how many people are involved on either side, and whether or not demands are being made against the state or other institutions. Indeed, LaClau and Mouffe carry this logic a critical step further, noting that "struggle" need not involve more than one person. It can simply denote a matter of achieving "increasingly affirmed individualism."[15] The personal struggle in this process substitutes for political struggle, leaving the system that maintains and enforces oppression intact.

Like LaClau and Mouffe, theorists who advocate the most extreme forms of identity politics do not actually aim to build a movement, large or

small. They prefer small groups of the enlightened few, who remain content in their superiority to the "ignorant masses." Marxism offers a way forward for those interested in ending oppression in the real world. As Marx remarked of his generation of smug academics, "The philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it."[16]

The argument here is straightforward: The lessons of building a united movement against capitalism train workers to act in solidarity with all those who are oppressed and exploited by capitalism. The battle for class-consciousness is a battle over ideas, but it is one that must be fought out in the context of struggle, not the musings of self-important academics.

Racism and related intolerance do not affect all members of victim groups in the same way. The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (DDPA) focused attention on the issue of multiple, or aggravated, forms of discrimination, which are most significantly experienced by female members of discriminated groups, but which are also suffered by persons with disabilities, persons affected by HIV/AIDS, children and the elderly, among others. These are often among the most vulnerable members of society, and are at greater risk of economic hardship, exclusion and violence; discrimination against them is often compounded.

The intersection of discrimination based on race and gender has the most widespread effects. Although this intersection had long been ignored, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, recognized that "Many women face additional barriers to the enjoyment of their human rights because of such factors as their race, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, disability or socioeconomic class or because they are indigenous people, migrants, including women migrant workers, displaced women or refugees."

In the DDPA, states declare they "Are convinced that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance reveal themselves in a differentiated manner for women and girls, and can be among the factors leading to a deterioration in their living conditions, poverty, violence, multiple forms of discrimination, and the limitation or denial of their human rights." States further recognized "the need to integrate a gender perspective into relevant policies, strategies and programmes of action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to address multiple forms of discrimination."

C. The Ways to Resolve the Conflicts

As a minority, Moslem are challenged by wider society because they are traditional people.

They hold tradition for 500 years ago. People are threatened by their commitment to religion. Their stance is not accepted by changing world so that Islam is always be challenged. Islam is old but it is current.

There are people who are againts Islam. Moslem are being marginalized and are not considered as "we culture". They feel frustated. Australian citizent who go to middle east to fight is those who are fail in his life or divorce. They do not have something so that they do not have anything to lose. So give the young a job. Moslem and government do want that conflict in other part of world come here. Many young moslems are frustated because theya are targetted.

However Australian people are good people. Australia is a beautiful country and has beautiful life. Islam is new for Brisbane people so that they are suspicious to Islam. In Melbourne is more diverse. Therefore what moslems should do is to make themselves known because people tent to be affraid to the unknown. Holland Park Mosque conducted open day in Saturday and many people come. The problem of moslem is they do not contribute to society.

1. Fighting Equality and non-discrimination

The principles of equality and non-discrimination form the basis of all human rights instruments. It is therefore clear that as a matter of human rights law, all women must be entitled to the full enjoyment of their human rights. Women are not a homogenous group of rights holders and discrimination against them can be expressed in many different forms and contexts. In order to protect, promote and advance women's human rights, advocates and policy makers must take into account differences among women with respect to age, socio-economic status, racial/ethnic background, religion, national origin, citizenship, status, health, particularly HIV/AIDS, and disability among others. Among the most disadvantaged and vulnerable are women from minority communities, whose problems are compounded by their uniquely disadvantaged positions in society.

The majority of the world's poorest people are women, who are further affected by discrimination if they belong to minority groups. Women suffer disproportionately from discriminatory labour practices and are frequently forced into underground or informal sectors. Members of racially discriminated groups do not enjoy equal access to health, education or justice, and such access is further limited for women.

Women who are victims of trafficking frequently also suffer from racial discrimination,

doubly subjugated and vulnerable, and women from certain racial or ethnic groups may be particularly vulnerable to trafficking or targeted by traffickers. Women refugees and migrants are also more vulnerable to violence, lack of representation and limitations on their freedom of movement.

Women who are discriminated against on the basis of both gender and race are frequently subject to violence. In armed conflicts, women are sometimes explicitly targeted because of race or ethnic background. Rape and other forms of violence against women have been used as weapons of war in conflicts throughout history.

Among the numerous references to gender in the DDPA, violence against women is given some prominence. In the Programme of Action, the World Conference against Racism urges States "To recognize that sexual violence which has been systematically used as a weapon of war, sometimes with the acquiescence or at the instigation of the State, is a serious violation of international humanitarian law that, in defined circumstances, constitutes a crime against humanity and/or a war crime, and that the intersection of discrimination on grounds of race and gender makes women and girls particularly vulnerable to this type of violence, which is often related to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance." The DDPA also

calls for an end to impunity for such crimes and the prosecution of those responsible.

Global and local civil society, national governments, regional courts and institutions, and international institutions increasingly recognize women's rights through such international instruments as the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), regional mechanisms like the Maputo Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa to the African Charter on Human or Peoples' Rights, or the European Union Gender Equality Directives. Other mechanisms, such as the Convention to Eliminate Racial Discrimination (CERD), also address the rights of minority women.

The 185 Member States who have ratified the CEDAW are prohibited under the provisions of the Convention from perpetrating direct and indirect discrimination against women on the basis of their sex and gender, both in law and practice, by state and by private agents in all areas of their lives. The Convention forbids structural discrimination and intersectional discrimination, the first being caused by past discrimination and cultural traditions, and the second by several grounds of discrimination coming together and compounding each other, as in the case of sex and race-based discrimination against women.

2. Applying Sisterhood and Dialog

However, despite the crucial intersection of discrimination against women and racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, there are as yet limited efforts that link these human rights mechanisms to promote the rights of women facing multiple forms of discrimination. In the formation of successful mega-nations of the contemporary world, a satisfactory solution to the problem of minorities plays a very crucial role. A minority can be based on language, race, ethnicity or religion. The minority consciousness of race, religion or culture normally crystallizes with a feeling of deprivation, exploitation and a feeling of a permanent majority and a permanent minority. As a solution to the problem of minorities, various alternatives- autonomy, self-government or secession have been suggested or tried in various phases of modern history. However, the most practical solution is power sharing which assures each particular segment of society, both big and small, an assured voice in the decision making process and a rough parity in the share of public resources.

This hypothesis can be tested by some contemporary successful examples of power sharing compared with some failures of constitutional arrangements where such power sharing arrangement did not exist. The conflict between a majority and a minority is not insoluble as has been demonstrated by the experience of the USA,

Switzerland, Singapore and also India. Lack of power sharing saw the collapse of USSR, Yugoslavia, breakup of Pakistan and gruesome civil war in Sri Lanka. A creation of a consensual basis of politics based on genuine pluralistic framework of power sharing is the only democratic mechanism of doing away with a feeling of a permanent majority and a permanent minority.

CHAPTER V
CLOSING

Australia is an such muticultural countries, with citizens form indigenous people and migrants and with citizens using various languages. Australia, firstly inhabited by Aborigin considered now as nation, consist of people coming from different countries in the World. The plurality of Australian society has been formed by long history of migration of people from Europe and Asia. The encounter between Australia and the rest of World actually began earlierwhen sailor or fisherman from Indonesia visited Australia to search teripang. The major encounter Aboriginal Australian with other communities started with the influx of migran from Britain in 1788. The migrant came to settle Australia who later act as the backbone of modern Australia. The wave of migrant continue to run especially when Australia rise to be promised land for exiles and those who want to find better life because of Australian success in economic and political development. The migrant come from various countries in the world, i.e European countries, Asian countries, Middle Eastern countries, and America's countries. All bring with them their local culture and language that creat cosmopolit character of Australia.

From 1788 till 1997, there are about 9 million migrant from many countries.

Based on the description on the chapters above, it can be concluded that:

1. There are some view about the living of Indonesian muslim women in Brisbane. They saw that they must always keep in touch with all Indonesian muslim living in Brisbane in order to make them feel save and make possible for them to know and help each other. Considering to that consideration so they set some meetings like those in Indonesia. And by the time the kinds of meeting among Indonesian muslim are also developed.
2. The conflicts rose among Indonesian muslim women who are living in Brisbane related to their presence as Muslims in a country that the majority of non - Muslims can be divided into conflict internally and externally. In internal conflicts related to the management group that among women living in Muslim Indonesia. For example , in choosing to affiliated groups in conducting the study . There was also economic competition among them. Externally, the problem rose are related to the understanding to the regulation of Australia as a state.. So much adjustment that must be implemented by Indonesian muslim women in

their daily life. In social life, the problem felt by Indonesian muslim women is related to the way of life of originate people. The tend of individualistic style showed by Australian seemed as something difficult to adjust by Indonesian muslim women.

3. The ways they resolved the conflict are depended on what kind of conflict broken and at what scale. Once the conflict is the internal one, they tried to understand the diversity in the internal among Indonesian people . Bebeapa informants stated that they feel it does not matter to attend various groups that exist in Indonesian society , although not in accordance with his outlook on life . The principle of mutual respect . However , if there is a dispute informants in order to try to reconcile their conflicts resolved soon

Based on the above conclusion it can be recommended that:

1. here are forums among Indonesian Muslim woman who was in Brisbane who helped identify the problems that exist among them and try to find a solution to that problem is not protracted and there is a settlement.
2. In addition it should be disseminated values of respect for the differences that each person relieved accept the differences among them .

Differences are normal and inevitable. Externally there should be people who are organizationally Indonesia (IISB) served as liaison with external parties Indonesian society in order to accompany the various issues related to the relationship between people , between agencies , and between communities and the state of Australia .

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