State Conflict Management in Multiculturalism: Lesson from Australian Muslim Experience

M. Amin Nurdin

Fakultas Ushuluddin UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta amin_nurd@yahoo.com

Abstraksi: Gerakan multikultural, multi-etnik, dan multi-agama di dunia socio-demografik Australia—sebagai implikasi dari kebijakan migrasi pada tahun 1960an—telah mendorong pemerintah Australia guna melakukan socio-political engineering berdasarkan multiculturalism sebagai ideologi negara. Kebijakan ini dimaksudkan untuk meredam konflik nilai dan norma kerap terjadi antara 'masyarakat kulit putih' di satu sisi dan para pendatang di sisi lain. Australia tampak lebih berhasil dalam menangani banyak konflik ini, seperti diindikasikan dari prosentasi rendah dalam kekerasan politik, etnik dan persoalan-persoalan keagamaan, termasuk terorisme, dibandingkan negara-negara lain, khususnya negara-negara tetangganya. Implikasi multikulturalisme ini juga muncul dalam perkembangan masyarakat-masyarakat Muslim masih dilindungi oleh warisan kultural mereka, dan sampai saat ini warisan tersebut tetap bertahan serta berlangsung baik, walaupun masih dicurigai memendam potensi konflik, khususnya sikap Islamophobia dari non-Muslim Australia. Terdapat hal-hal positif dan negatif dalam kebijakan multikulturalisme Australia tersebut.

Katakunci: Multikulturalisme, Ideologi, Masyarakat kulit putih dan migran.

Abstract: The movements of multiculturalism, multiethnic and multireligion in the Australian sociodemographic—as implication of migrant policy in the '1960s—have supported the Australian government to conduct socio-political engineering based on multiculturalism as the state ideology. This policy is pointed to eradicate value and norm conflicts which have frequently existed in between 'white people,' in one hand, and immigrants, on the other. Australia seems more successful in handling over such conflict, as indicated from low-rate presentation of political, ethnical and religious-affairs harshness, including terrorism, compared to other countries, especially its neighbors. This implication of multiculturalism has also emerged in the progress of Muslim society which is protected by their cultural heritages that until now still endure and develop, although are still suspected as having conflict potencies, particularly Islamophobia attitudes from the Australian non-Muslims. There are positive and negative effects in the Australian policy of multiculturalism.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Ideology, The white community and migrant.

Opening

Contemporary societies are generally multicultural. This term has become fashionable and is largely accepted as an ideal social concept in a state ideology. In the Western countries such as Western Europe, the United States of America and also included Australia, multiculturalism is taken for granted as a 'New World' to take over the 'Old World' which is conservative, racist and fascist. As a result, world opinion towards

values and hegemony is also changed. This ideology keeps changing in several countries, although in varied application techniques.

Multiculturalism is a new history as a response to the flow of foreign migrants who, particularly from Asian and Middle East countries, came to the Western countries after the outburst of the 2nd World War which reached its apex in the year 1960s, and caused changes in the demographical composition

¹ Eliezer Ben-Rafael, "Multiculturalism in Sociological Perspective", in Rainer Baubock

⁽ed.), The Challenge of Diversity: Integration and Pluralism in Societies of Immigration (Avebury, England), 143.

in terms of ethnics, social and culture. In its extent, this has brought out some problems of migrants about their cultural differences with principles in the liberal-democracy cultural values.² There are two problems faced by the liberal-democracy countries in this respect, firstly, how to internally maintain social integration of the migrants so that they can be self adapting with the dominant culture and the life-view in their new place. Secondly, how to externally maintain the cultural baggage and identity of the migrant group which they have brought from their respective home countries?³

Responses of the liberal-democracy countries in managing multicultural ethnic realities of their population that has become minority group in the context of social integration are acted through two kinds of ideological policies, that is, the assimilation and multicultural ideologies. Assimilation ideology is built upon assumption that the migrants can release their way of life by adapting themselves to the Western cultural frame and life style (Western conformism.) Within the assimilation, hegemony values become the main references, whilst the minority ethnics' component only fills the remains that are actually not really needed. Within this situation, ethnic food is also suspected; home ethnic language is thought not intellectual and not bringing fortune both socially and politically. This ideology is so racist and discriminative toward all social access and the state, and is also a fertile land for the growth of ethnocentrisms which believe that the validity is only in certain cultural system.

Critics toward the assimilation ideology around the 1960s and birth of the multiculturalism ideology has aroused academic and public discourses about what are the future forms for the state ideology. Amongst them are those who hold opinion that multiculturalism and ethnicity is a threat to the Western people and their way of life. The opposite opinion believes that the multiculturalism ideology and ethnicity are capable to resolve the social and political and economic right problems of the minority groups. This opinion is supported by another opinion which holds that the strength of the national identity of the people which is racist will become weaker by the development of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism ideology then becomes a movement which drives the emergence of protection of the cultural identity of the minority group. Several factors that had caused change in this ideology are amongst others, (a) fluctuation in the big population composition of the migrant group, (b) migration speed that had caused increase of immigrants flow; and (c) the emergence of the changing view in the part of the white people about equality and justice for the minority group.⁶

The similar opinion is also happened in Australia. Australia is also an immigrant and liberal-democracy country, located in Asia and is a neighbor of Indonesian country. All religions existing in Australia, except the religion held by the Aborigines ethnic, came through the migrants, who brought at once their belief systems and religious practices from their original countries. Later, these religions then were transformed by the

² Joseph H. Carens dan Melissa S. Williams, "Muslim Minorities in Liberal Democracies: The Politics of Misrecognition", in Rainer Baubock (ed.), the Challenge of Diversity, 157.

³ Jean I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence:* Australian Responses 1947-1977 (George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1978), 15-25.

⁴ James Jupp, "Power in Ethnic Australia", in James Jupp (ed.), *Ethnic Politics in Australia*, George (Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1984), 184-185.

⁵ Norman C. Habel, "Introduction", in Norman C. Habel (ed.), *Religion and Multiculturalism in Australia*, Australian Association for the Studi of Religious (AASR), Adelaide, 1992, 12.

⁶ The Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs, Multiculturalism for All Australians: Our Developing Nationhood, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1982, 12.

missionaries, Islamic and Buddhist preachers, and the publication of media. By this, the profile form of religion in Australia is very much linked with the migration history of the people or the Australian people themselves.

Australian people by the year of 1960s were still seen as a Christian country. But since the day of the prime Minister Whitlam, this perception has changed and not based on the only one religion, but has become a country with multi-cultural background.

The Australian people, who are crowded and full of tumult with all kinds of values and norms backgrounds as cultural references, seen from sociological way, are fresh ground for a variety of conflicts and violence as the consequences of heterogeneity in social-culture, ethnics, and religions. Nevertheless, this is the uniqueness of the Australian country. This country is widely known with its 'loneliness' of varieties of conflicts, let alone conflicts with religious aroma, when compared to its neighboring countries, particularly Indonesia, including the American and European continents.

Here lay the questions: why a country that is populated by so many multi-ethnics can attenuate tensions in the forms of cultural conflicts and terrorism with radicalism? This success has implication in the diminishing of islamophobia attitude toward religion, particularly, Islam.

Is it that easy to build up a uniting process and social cohesion in the Australian country, if this country is taken as a success story of a modern country? The answer is of course no, and it even had gone through a long and meandering rejection experience. Firstly, the dominant white people's rejection is reluctant to mix and share feeling with the migrant groups, minority and the colored groups, who came bringing their marginal and opposite culture. Secondly, the white society is apprehensive about loosing the race and superior cultural identity prides originating from the Anglo-Celtic and following with

their obsessive nationalism.

Multiculturalism: State Conflict Management

Since the year 1973, Multiculturalism has become a state ideology and started a new era in Australian history in stepping the path of its statecraft and nationality for the next era. This is a domestication effort toward ethnicsocial communities that are widely spread and fluctuate as well as sensitive to conflicts. New era is started after the many efforts previously done by the state in receiving the arrival of the newcomers. This policy is a kind of socio-political engineering effort and conflict management in the framework to redeem harshness and violence in the forms of cultural conflicts, terrorism, and radicalism. Within this social reality, conflicts in socialethnic, cultural and religion are seen as a small possibility that had happened so far in Australia.

The emergence of Australian multiculturalism idea through debates and long struggles with supports from manv academicians, ideological schools, and leaders of the ethnic communities, in the year 1970-s Prime Minister Gough Whitlam whom originally came from the Labor Party, took the multiculturalism policy. This policy based on realities of the varied ethnics and cultural Australian population resulting from the outburst of the big migration policy. Because of that, a form of national identity is needed which plays the role of the guard keeper so as to avoid the Australian society from many conflicts and violence in the future. At the first phase of the Multiculturalism application is still limited to the governmental commitment to insure the newcomers' rights in fulfilling their living needs. Many policies had been made by the government

⁷ The Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs, Multiculturalism for All Australians: Our Developing Nationhood, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1982, 12.

in the field of economy, culture, settlement, and employment. The government are not only insuring their rights, but also wishes to maintain their social ethnicity and religion as enrichment and strengthening the Australian national identity. The migrant's cultural identity—from anywhere—is permitted to stand side by side with the Australian cultural mainstream, including in the way of clothing, even in wearing hijāb for Muslim ladies (compare this with the French that do not permit the usage of religious symbols.) This also includes the usage language that is multilingual (compare with the multiculturalism in Canada, which becomes the reference for Australia that only applies the bilingual: French and English.)

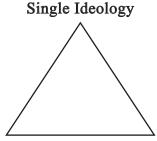
The second phase of Multiculturalism in the era of the Prime Minister Malcom Fraser, from the Liberal Party, continued and increasingly got stronger fundamental amongst the Australian society through the featuring of the social equity aspect for all the people without seeing the socio-cultural, ethnics and religious background (all for Australians), especially the given of social, economical, legal access and so forth, which vanishing social distance and discrimination. The next periods is identified by the birth of many ordinances and acts which put the Multiculturalism ideology more on earth. Substantially the idea of maintaining the cultural heritage of the newcomers had become a reality. A movement from monoculturalism toward multiculturalism is now rolling and in process.8

But the problems of integration and social cohesion of the Australian society in reality is not as easy as what can be thought of. The problem lies in how social interaction of the Muslim society with the cultural hegemony of the white population which seem in contradiction one of the other. The Australian

Muslim society can be taken as representing the social link with the Australian society in general, because they are not only sitting on the second position of the amount of religious followers (1,2% = around 400.000 people)—although there are the second position who stated as non-religious (21,8%)—after the Christian religion which is the majority, but they are also taken as a community which is difficult in self-adaptation so that they are stamped as one of the potential sources of the social conflicts in the Australian society.

Where is the place of religion in a society based on the spirit of multiculturalism? A question forwarded by Malory Nye in his book *Multiculturalism and Minority Religions*. According to him, religion position in multiculturalism must firstly assume the existence of freedom in practicing any religion or 'multireligionism' which is produced by many cultures. Because of that, religion in this case is needed to be redefined as an open view and not as an essentialities.

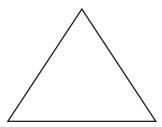
Essentialist religious view is supported by a society that is moved by a single ideology, although emphasizing a secularist state. In this context religion is used by power to maintain status quo.



Established Religion Secular
Whilst the religion position in the
multicultural society is as follows:

⁸ Bilal Cleland, the Muslims in Australia: A Brief History, unpublished paper, 2000, Melbourne. See also Abdullah Saeed, Islam in Australia, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2002, 7.

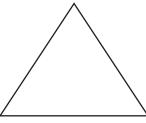
Multiculturalism



Established Religion Secular

A model which is wholly in opposite with the spirit of multiculturalism, but has no dominant ideological base is as follows:

Communalism



Established Religion Secular/
multiregion

History of the Muslim Community's Arrivals

Historical background of the Muslim people existence in Australia had gone through a long time. Even before the white people occupied Australia's land in the year 1778, fishermen from Makassar had gone to and from Darwin coastal area to find trepang (name of a sea slug) to be sold further for market in the land of China as some of them also married women of the Australian original people, Aborigine, whilst introducing Islam religion. The first arrival waves preceding other ethnics were the Muslim group started with the Afghanistan Muslim happened since the year 1860 until 1910. The story began when a group of mining entrepreneurs felt a need for camels as transportation media to explore the more inland areas. Thence came 34 camel drivers of Afghanistan nationality who are Moslem and then created a strong community in the fringe areas of the inland towns. Although they were not settled for long time, but they had became the source of inspiration for others who had economic problems but attracted to the wide and rich Australian land to find fortune. There were around 3,000 until 4,000 people came into Australia. Most of them worked as traveling traders to supply daily need goods for the people. This is the early arrivals of Muslim in Australia and had become history and tales of the Australian people.

The next phase was a declining era for the Moslem when the federal government that was just created declared the White Policy which is racist and discriminative in the year 1901. This policy decided rejection to the non-European settlers to claim naturalization rights to become permanent residents. This had caused difficulties to get chances of employment which had made them becoming the marginal group. Eventually, the bigger part of them returned to their home land, while a small group remained in Australia. This remaining group amounting around 3,000 people until the year 1921 and were alienated by the Anglo-Celtic White people in terms of religion and race which made many of them lost their belief in Islam. 10 The White Policy of the year 1901 identified the end of the coming of Muslims to enter Australia.

The next phase further was a honeymoon period for the Muslims. This was started with internal and external problems of the Australian people themselves that had happened before and after the World War II. Internally, the Australian population growth was very slow (9 million people), while the economic growth increased in a significant way that creating a need for new working force that was imported from abroad. Externally, Australia faced the atrocious attitude of the

⁹ Mary Lucille Jones, "The Years of Decline: Australian Muslims 1900-40", in Jones M. Lucille (ed.), an Australian Pilgrimage: Muslims in Australia from the 17 Century to the Present, the Law Printer, Melbourne, 1993, 77.

¹⁰ Mary Lucille Jones, "The Years of Decline: Australian Muslims 1900-40", in Jones M. Lucille (ed.), an Australian Pilgrimage: Muslims in Australia from the 17 Century to the Present, 84-85.

Japanese troops invasion to Southeast Asia who had occupied Papua New Guinea and had bombarded Australia's defense in Darwin together with the emergence of new states in the Asian region, who are happened to be its neighbors such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Pakistan, and India. In facing both unfortunate situations, the Australian government speedily accelerated addition in population for the sake of its national defense in the long run by softening its immigration selection criteria to the arrivals of migrants and refugees, which simultaneously can strengthen the ongoing industrialization process.

Until mid 1950s, arrivals of Muslim ethnics were still scarce, but they had high education and were professionals. It was in the year 1960s, the Muslim people came in a very big number (around 10,000 people), particularly from Turkey, due to the treaty between the Australian and the Turkish governments. It was then continued in the year of 1970-s by the arrivals of ethnics of Muslim majority from Lebanon in hundred thousands number as refugees caused by the civil war in their home country, followed by those from the Palestine. The next arrival of Muslim happened every year from varied countries, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. The rise in number of the Australian population until the year 1998 had caused the number of the Australian population increased two times compared to the after World War II (in the year 1947).11

This final phase can be called as the basic formation of Muslim community in the midst of the Australian people, especially since the year of 1960-s until 1970s. In general the Australian Muslim society is urban people as seen in the Australian census (1996), Muslim majority (50%) settled in Sydney and

Melbourne 932%) and other small numbers spread in other main cities. The Muslim community base could be divided into two parts. First, the group that based on ethnicity. Generally the Turkish ethnic were the biggest in number that settled in Sydney, followed by the Lebanese ethnics, and Bangladesh. Indonesian ethnics also the one that biggest in number who settled in this city. Also, in the state of Victoria, many ethnic groups from Turkey and Albania settled there. Generally they are holding the Sunnī and Shī'ī schools, a small number holding the Ismā 'īliyya school, and Aḥmadiyya both of Lahore or Qadyan. Second, are based on localities (residence address). Many Muslim people settled in a place for quite long that can create a community, like in the Preston area in Melbourne and in Lakemba area in Sydney.

It is unfortunate that the united Muslim community already shaped was not yet functioned in uniting the many Muslim ethnics, as they are still fragmented into variety of ethnics. The ethnic loyalty factor is still maintained that made social interaction amongst them are still very limited. Ethnics of Turkey, Lebanon, and Albania are very significant just like a Muslim an Australian landscape festival, that are still running by themselves. May be it can be understood, this Muslim ethnic fragmentation is an inevitable consequence for the people's psychology that occupied 'new home' which is still strange.¹²

The mosque's function that existed in the environment or in the city they are settled in has become the integration factor between many ethnics. At least this factor can reduce the ethnic over-loyalty. The mosque has a central role in Muslim community life both in religious rituals or social. Mosque

¹¹ Gary D. Bouma, Mosques and Muslim Settlement in Australia, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra, 1994, 27.

¹² Anthony H. Jones dan Abdullah Saeed, "Muslims in Australia: The Building of a Community", in Yvonne Y. Haddad dan Jane I. Smith (ed.) *Muslim Minorities in the West*, Altamira Press, New York, 2002, 201.

is the central ritual place and the place for expression, interpretations, and celebration of religious ceremonies. Therefore, it is also the community's reference and a media for self identification. Almost all of the religious and social activities of the Australian Muslim communities are controlled from this God's House. Progress of Islam in Australia is similar and synonym with easiness in finding tenths of mosques built up in many town and cities, particularly in new South Wales and Victoria (80 mosques.) Government's support to the establishment of mosque is very conducive. This can be seen at an official announcement of the biggest mosque in Preston, Victoria, which was witnessed by the private representative of the Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Melbourne (although getting mosque building permit is not an easy thing.)

From the mosque also emerged ethnic and Islamic leadership. They are consisted by the domination of religious leaders (imām) which are sent directly from the respective ethnic countries, such as Turkey, Egypt, and Albania and a small group of Islamic scholars, graduated from Middle East universities. The multiculturalism policy had made it easy for the religious imāms to obtain arrival visa for the sake of supporting religious services. Religious leadership role is very significantly played in maintaining religious identity feeling. But the imported leadership model are often found many obstacles when themselves still feel estranged with the new atmosphere of the Australian cultural flow and part of the religious leaders are keeping their ethnic oriented attitude. As the result, the actual themes of Islamic studies are not yet accommodated well and less enlightened with the nuance of the Australian Muslim.¹³

Efforts in covering many Muslim ethnics had also gave birth to many organizations, started from the nation-state level to the federal state level. At the federal level there exists the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils/AFIC) and at the nation-state level that functions as an organization representing Muslim community's voice at the federalstate level, besides its function to finance and to facilitate all of the needs of the Australian Muslim society. It has been funded by support from the local communities, from oil-rich Muslim countries, from revenue generated by the issuing of halal food certificates. Outside this organization, there are also social organizations that moved in the field of English language mastery, solidarity, equity of gender, and culture. The Canberra Islamic Centre is an organization which is quite significant established in the year 1993 and formally announced by the Governor General in the year 1997. Establishment of this organization symbolized the Muslim culture and the Muslim way of life that provides social cultural facilities and become the connecting point between the Australian government and Islamic embassies Canberra on behalf of Muslims.

Besides that, there are many more services in the forms of weekly and periodically religious studies run both by private person or group and student organization of those studying in Australia. The religious life atmosphere is so lively that often made them feel as if they are not living in a secular Australia country with Christian religion majority. These religious activities were then quite significantly declining after the 11th September event in 2001 and the Bali bomb case in the year 2003.

One of the services of AFIC was the establishment of modern Islamic educational institutions from the primary until the secondary levels in the year of 1980s, funded by the Saudi Arabia Kingdom. Amongst them is, The King Khalid Islamic College

¹³ Anthony H. Jones dan Abdullah Saeed, "Muslims in Australia: The Building of a Community", in Yvonne Y. Haddad dan Jane I. Smith (ed.) *Muslim Minorities in the West*, 204.

in Melbourne and The Malik Fahd Islamic School in Sydney, and Islamic College in Perth The curriculum taught there are not only religious in nature, but there are also general subjects. Alumni of these schools are recognized high in quality as shown in their being accepted at Australian higher educational institutions. Financial sustainability of these Islamic schools and other Islamic schools are supported and subsidized by the Australian government from Australian tax payers. Compare this with other Western countries such as The United States of America and Britain who have no Islamic schooling system funded by the government.

The importance of Islamic modern educational institutions is very supportive in the continuation of the second and the third generations of Muslim community who came and who were born in Australia. Due to their background coming from developing countries and those in midst of civil war, the bigger part of them are having low education and have no skill. Only a small amount of them have qualified academic or high education and skill that they like it or not, had made them marginalized in the many access demanded in the established Australian social structure.

The consequence of immigration for the Australian society and the incoming Muslim groups (and migrants in general) lies not only outside the demographic limit, but also linked to the social, cultural, religion, politics, and economical dimensions. This an be seen from the responds of the Australian society to the Muslim groups vice -versa, how the responds of the Muslim group themselves in adapting and interacting within their new home. Australian society's responses are imagined in the stereotyped given toward Muslim society as a minority sect with all the connotations of having neither history nor civilization and the potential group becomes member of a dangerous international conspiracy plot. Part of the 'image' is known or not shaped by the domination of the take side's media and other political and blooded international events which are linked directly with the Australian Muslim group. As a result, they have to harvest suspicions and discriminative actions in the forms of rejection and isolation, with atrociousness.

Responses of the Muslim group that interact with Australian society found themselves counting for little, and faced disregard, if not hostility. Culture shock, bewilderment and disorientation were the common response at arriving in a land where the local way of life seemed sterile, boring, and empty. These are understood as obstacles in the adaptation and assimilation process amongst the Australian society. These are seen in contact social orientation that tends to ethnic with all of its cultural nuts and bolts.

Although unintended, latent response of part of the Australian society toward Muslim group is still 'minor', but the support to the multicultural ideology shed a light and optimism to the future of Islam in Australia to be able to adapt and then integrate with the people and the Australian country. By doing so, islamophobia can slowly but surely be developing. The Australian government does have a commitment to create a sense of belonging and mutual religious understanding. Amongst these is the establishment of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) that pioneers a role in encouraging and supporting the new immigrant group through many inter-religion dialogues and meetings.

Conclusion

Basically, multiculturalism is a kind of services toward minority groups. With this policy, a Muslim is hoped—including the other ethnic religion—to be able to become a 'real Australian', and does not have to be 'a typical Australian.' Those services in the form of policies in the fields of multicultural

education from the primary level to the middle level, health, settlement, subsidizes, multilingual education/learning, law, employment, and so forth. For the Muslim group this ideology is an 'entrance gate' to introduce mastery and understanding of the real Islam to the white people society whom are so far 'ignorance' and 'intolerant' toward Islam.

Internally, there are some obstacles faced by the Australian Muslim society in giving responds to the said policy, for instance due to lack of English language mastery, lack of skill, religious group fragmentation that is centered to ethnical background, and a shallow interpretation to Islamic teachings, due to the home country of origin's background. 14 A new understanding is needed by the Australian Muslim people in interpreting substances of Islamic teachings that in nature are universalism transcendental or universalism transculturalism so that they can live side by side with the multiculturalism in Western countries. In this line, Prof. Dr. Taufik Abdullah's opinion in a seminar on 'Islam and the West' during 11-12 September is quoted as follows: 2002 in Jakarta,

'Multiculturalism is an alternative to solve the problem of the 'clash of civilization' between Islam and the West.' In other words, a combination of universalism transcendental with multiculturalism can avoid conflicts between 'religious culture' and the 'secular culture'. At least the Australian Muslim group would not need to be worried about their third generation to experience loses of their Islamic beliefs."

The above propositions has described that the governmental and the Australian people's responds to multiculturalism have influenced their way of life so that they can create a new society which is tolerant and can appreciate cultural varieties of the varied level of societies. As seen in the existence of Australian Muslim community that gets space for developmental process of the community themselves. Implication of multiculturalism has demonstrated an emergence of social equity irrespective of the social, cultural, ethnic and religious back ground as part of the a democratic ideal of values that is universal in its nature.

¹⁴ Khalida Begum, *Islam and Multiculturalism:* With Reference to Muslims in Victoria, Unpublished Dissertation, Monash University, Melbourne, 1984, 119.