

**History of the Bosnian Muslim Community in Australia:
Settlement Experience in Victoria**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the settlement experience of the Bosnian Muslims in Victoria. Overall this research exploration takes place against background of the history of the immigration to Australia. The study covers migration patterns of Bosnian Muslims from post World War 2 periods to more recent settlement. The thesis provides contemporary insights on Bosnian Muslims living in a Western society such as Australia. The thesis excavates key issues about Islam and the Muslim communities in Western nations and argues that successful settlement is possible, as demonstrated by the Bosnian Muslim community. By adopting a socio-historical framework about settlement, the thesis reveals the significant, interconnected and complex aspects of the settlement process.

Settlement of immigrants takes place within global, historical, economic, political, social and cultural elements of both the sending and receiving countries. Thus any study of settlement must examine theories and concepts on migration, settlement, religion, culture, integration and identity. The purpose for migration, the conditions under which migration takes place, the conditions of immigrant reception are fundamental in the context of Australia. Furthermore, Australia since the 1970s has adopted a policy of multiculturalism which has changed settlement experiences of immigrants. These elements are strongly analysed in the thesis both through a critical conceptual appraisal of the relevant issues such as migration, multiculturalism and immigration and through an empirical application to the Bosnian Muslim community.

The theoretical element of the study is strongly supported by the empirical research related to settlement issues, integration and multiculturalism in Victoria. Through a socio-historical framework and using a 'grounded theory' methodological approach, field research was undertaken with Bosnian Muslim communities, Bosnian organizations and multicultural service providers. In addition, historical data was analysed by chronology. The data provided rich evidence of the Bosnian Muslims' settlement process under the various governmental policies since World War 2.

The study concluded that the Bosnian community has successfully integrated and adapted to the way of life in Australia. Different cohorts of Bosnian Muslims had different settlement patterns, problems and issues which many were able to overcome. The findings revealed the contributions that the Bosnian Muslim community has made to broader social life in Australia such as contribution to the establishment of multi-ethnic Muslim communities, the Bosnian Muslim community development and building social infrastructure. The study also concluded that coming from multicultural backgrounds, the Bosnian Muslims understood the value of cultural diversity and contributed to the development of Australian multiculturalism and social harmony.

Overall conclusion of this research is that the different generations of Bosnian Muslims are well-integrated and operate well within Australian multiculturalism.

Doctor of Philosophy Declaration

“I, Dzavid Haveric, declare that the PhD thesis entitled History of the Bosnian Muslim Community in Australia: Settlement Experience in Victoria is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work”.

Signature

Date

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List of Abbreviations

ABA	<i>Australian Bosniak Association</i>
ABS	<i>Australian Biro of Statistic</i>
AFIC	<i>Australian Federation of Islamic Councils</i>
AFIS	<i>Australian Federation of Islamic Societies</i>
AMES	<i>Adult Multicultural Education Services</i>
AMEP	<i>Adult Migrant Education Program</i>
CALD	<i>Culturally and Linguistically Diverse</i>
DIAC	<i>Department of Immigration and Citizenship</i>
DIMIA	<i>Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs</i>
ECCV	<i>Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria</i>
EMC	<i>Ecumenical Migration Centre</i>
GNCs	<i>Good Neighbour Councils</i>
FECCA	<i>Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia</i>
HREOC	<i>Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission</i>
IAC	<i>Immigration Advisory Council</i>
ICCPR	<i>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</i>
ICEPA	<i>Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives</i>
LOTE	<i>Languages other than English</i>
MAV	<i>Multicultural Arts Victoria</i>
MESWA	<i>Multi-Ethnic Slavic Welfare Association</i>
MDAA	<i>Multicultural Disability Advocacy Association</i>
MRC	<i>Migrant Resource Centre</i>
NAATI	<i>National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters</i>
NESB	<i>Non English Speaking Background</i>
SBS	<i>Special Broadcasting Services</i>
SE	<i>Europe South East Europe</i>
TIS	<i>Translating and Interpreting Service</i>
UN	<i>United Nations</i>
VICSEG	<i>Victorian Co-operative on Children's Services for Ethnic Groups</i>
VITS	<i>Victorian Interpreting and Translating Service</i>
VCE	<i>Victorian Certificate of Education</i>
WW1	<i>First world war</i>

WW2

Second world war

3ZZZ

Name for Multiethnic Radio Program in Victoria

Introduction

Opening

This is a study of Bosnian Muslim migration to Australia since World War II (WW2), their settlement experiences in Victoria and their integration in broader Australian society in relation to the development of multiculturalism in Australia. The research is based on relevant literature, and empirical qualitative and quantitative data analysis.

Overview

This thesis is primarily a work of historical research. *Historia* (i.e. history) is a Greek word which historians, sociologists and philosophers - in particular, often explain as 'searching of curious things', 'orderly narration of the principal facts and circumstances', 'the account of things represented as true' and 'desire to knowledge' (Kelley, 1991:440). Thus, history can be seen as a collection of the human experiences, providing an enlightened perspective to advance learning and improve social understanding.

Until recently, among contemporary Western Muslim scholars, not enough has been seriously done to move from the time-bound elements (i.e. time-related documents from early history of Islam) towards new, socio-cultural experiences within Western societies. Some of the previous historical works are over-simplified and have not included the complexity of issues to meet the challenges of modernity and scientific tasks. In response to this fact, this research explores the settlement processes of the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria within the context of contemporary western multiculturalism.

From a historical viewpoint, however, it needs to be noted that this research has been undertaken not long after a turbulent period of hostility (i.e. 1992 – 1995) against Bosnia and its people. This Bosnian tragedy, in particular, is reflected in genocide, 'ethnic cleansing' and culturecide against Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), most notoriously in *Srebrenica*. It is also evident in the increased number of Bosniak refugees who are displaced in many countries. Aggression against Bosnia and

Bosniaks was also reflected in dreadful violence against Bosnian multiculturalism; including its Islamic component. This highlights the importance of the present study in understanding the value of multiculturalism in the face of conflict, negotiation and adjustment.

At the onset of the third millennium, a history of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia is relevant for global learnings about settlement and multiculturalism. The Bosnian Muslim settlement experience in Victoria, which has not been extensively studied, reflects a broader spectrum of issues that go beyond the local context, and includes their integration and adaptation to a new and even more diverse multicultural and cosmopolitan society.

The Bosnian Muslim community has a rich, creative and prosperous history in Australia. The various generations of Bosnian Muslim migrants originally came from Bosnia to settle in Australia during the *Gold rush* of the 1850s. However, this thesis covers Bosnian Muslim settlement periods since post WW2 until the turn of the century. In particular, it researches early Bosnian Muslim dispersed settlement, followed by their involvement in multi-ethnic Muslim communities, and the gradual development of their own Bosnian Muslim ethnic community.

With its distinctive history and characteristics, the Bosnian Muslim community is one of many different ethnic communities in Australia. Although this community is a small one relative to other migrant communities in Australia such as Greeks, Italians and Chinese, it has been able, together with many other communities across the nation, to maintain its identity and be integrated in the wider community as part of Australia's multicultural society. The Bosnian Muslim community, and its Islamic component, is one element in the mosaic that constitutes the diversity of the Australian population and its multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism includes human values without distinction of ethnic and national origins including race, culture, religion, tradition, language and lifestyle. In fact, Australia's distinctiveness embraces *all* multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious richness whose meaningful fulfilment belongs to humanity and social harmony. These values are also supported by cosmopolitanism. Explicitly,

multiculturalism rejects and condemns denials, prejudices, social exclusion, racism, heterophobia (i.e. hatred of the other), suppression of minorities, fundamentalist and/or neo-fundamentalist interpretations, fanatic parochial views, demagoguery, hypocrisy, and extremism in all forms, including Islamic terrorism which nowadays has tended to destroy the social harmony between non-Muslims and Muslims (both believers and secularists) living peacefully and harmoniously within the plurality of secular Western society.

It is pertinent to note that the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia continuously promotes and supports multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious values, as well as embracing both Islamic virtues and secular values that are, indeed, its socio-historical and cultural-religious tradition. This Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition, which is indisputably part of the broader multiculturalism in Australia, recognises, appreciates and interacts with the virtues and values of others as part of the diversity of multiculturalism of the Australian society.

Aims and objectives

This thesis includes two major objectives: (1) assessing the Bosnian Muslim settlement issues in Victoria, and (2) identifying the Bosnian Muslims' integration into their new multicultural environment.

In order to understand the particular issues facing the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, the overall aim of the research is to explore its history, focusing on the settlement experience in the State of Victoria, within the historical framework of the post WW2 period. The specific aims of this research include: (1) the settlement experience of the Bosniaks in Victoria; (2) the key factors of Bosnian Muslim community life and structure; (3) the ways in which Bosniaks in Victoria have integrated with the wider community; (4) the patterns used to maintain social cohesion by the Bosniaks within the broader multi-religious and multicultural society; (5) the ways in which Bosniaks promote Islamic values and support Australia's multicultural society at the same time; (6) the ways in which Bosniaks have adapted into a new broader multicultural society, and their interaction with different ethnic communities in Australia.

This research provides the Bosniak-Australian perspective, and illuminates the multicultural context of the country of Bosnia, including its socio-historical and cultural-religious traditions, which is the basis of the Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition in a new homeland - Australia. It then reveals the complexity of key issues related to the settlement and community development in Victoria, which includes diversity within both the Bosnian Muslim community itself and the wider society.

Historically, the research includes several phases that cover periods from the predominantly 'monocultural' society under the White Australia Policy, followed by a developing multiculturalism supported by the different Australian governments. Assessing the settlement experience of different migration waves of the Bosnian Muslims, which is what this thesis does, assists in identifying a number of issues relating to settlement including preserving and promoting the Bosnian-Muslim identity, as well as establishing the Bosnian Muslim settlement settings and its community activities. This includes the main socio-historical and cultural-religious issues encountered during the settlement process in Victoria. Subsequently, the research reveals the ways in which Bosnian Muslims reject assimilation, and the social exclusion caused by prejudice towards them as non-English speaking background (NESB) people of Islamic background.

Significant consideration is given to the process of Bosnian Muslim integration and adaptation within the broader multicultural society of Australia. Specific consideration is also given to identifying the variety of settlement settings of the Bosnian Muslim community, its participation in significant multicultural activities, and its widely held support for and contribution to social cohesion and harmony. Although the Bosnian Muslim community is minority group, it strongly supports Australia's values of multiculturalism. Indeed, the Bosnian Muslims have demonstrated productive ways of adapting and integrating into Australia's multicultural society.

Research philosophy and methods

A reorientation of the Muslim intellect must clearly commence with a redefinition of *ilm* (knowledge) in the contemporary setting within modern societies (Sardar 1991:21). Sardar (1991:5) posits that contemporary meaning of *ilm*, therefore, includes synthesis of the so-called ‘religious sciences’ with ‘secular sciences’, physics with metaphysics, finding a place for inspiration and institution at the *core* of knowledge. The renewal and renaissance of an Islamic intellectualism is both the essence and goal of a Muslims education and it helps in their cultivation (Sardar 1991:21). The religion of any people, such as the Islam of Bosnian Muslims, is best understood in terms of its function; that is, what it means to and does for its followers, and the part it plays in community life (Brown 1963:133). This should be regarded as a *forward-looking, functional* rather than a structural transformation of Islam as a religion. By applying virtues of *ilm*, it needs to build a shared and wider identity that will not exclude anyone (Silajdzic 2006). Introducing new ways of thinking and analysing the problems of societies by revitalisation of *ilm* in our time is the *merging* of many different cultures, including Muslim cultures, in contemporary multicultural societies (Sardar, 1991:6).

Apart from concept of *ilm* in this research, the *grounded theory* is applied that allows conceptual approaches, which interplay between data gathering and its analysis. The grounded theory approach allows and assists in the building of relevant theoretical concepts from patterns and relations that are observed in this study (Martin and Turner 1986). Thus the philosophy of this research embraces the grounded theory that is embedded on data collection and theory situated in a mutual relationship with each other (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Ethics is an undivided part of human research process. The ethical issues, particularly research in social science, relate to people’s experiences, and this study employed social science methods through interviews with 28 people as part of this study. Ethics includes values of respect, loyalty, honesty and integrity (Bouma 1997:189). Specifically, sensitivity to others is very important, including cultural and/or religious sensitivity. My sensitivity to participants was based on respect of their privacy, respect of their voluntary participation, and their right of confidentiality (Bouma

1997:189). In order to express appreciation to participants in this research my particular attention was given to ethical dimensions in the mutual context of Islam and multiculturalism because the Bosnian Muslim background is based on Islamic and multicultural traditions. As a research 'insider' I approached participants by introducing myself and interacting with them in a culturally appropriate way. I respected Bosnian Muslims diversity of views and ethno-national feelings, their either religious observations or secular views, cultural expressions and lifestyles, their levels of education and occupations at the same time giving them flexible options in terms of communication, either in Bosnian or English.

The *literature review* of this study includes academic books, journals, policy documents and statistics. It begins with a brief historical overview of the Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) in Bosnia and Herzegovina and discusses the relevant *theory* and *practice* issues of immigration, settlement, culture, religion, identity, integration, social exclusion/inclusion and multiculturalism. Issues relating to being a Bosnian Muslim in the context of migration, settlement and broader multiculturalism are also explored. This is followed by an exploration of the history of the Bosnian Muslim community in the context of Australian's multiculturalism. All these sources represent the multidimensional, epistemological research foundation which is derived from historical, sociological, cultural, multicultural, Islamic, multi-religious and bilingual sources (English and Bosnian), and is based on Australian, Bosniak, and international sources.

The above literature forms the basis for the theoretical formation of two main research questions. These include: (1) What settlement experiences did Bosnian Muslim migrants have in Victoria? (2) How did Bosnian Muslims integrate themselves into Australia's multicultural society? In order to address these two research questions, various stages and waves of Bosnian Muslims migrations are considered. It includes the following historical periods: (1) from the late 1940s until the late 1960s; (2) the 1970s and 1980s; and (3) from the early 1990s until the early 2000s. Assessment and analysis include identifying the nature of the Bosnian Muslim community, the impact of Bosniak on Australian society and multiculturalism, and the ways their migration and settlement experience have led to adaptation to Australia.

The *empirical research* part of the study is based on both qualitative and quantitative data collected in three major ways: (1) interviews with Bosniak community members; (2) surveys with Bosniak community representatives and leaders across Victoria; and (3) interviews with settlement service providers and relevant government and non-governmental agencies that have interaction with Bosnian Muslim community members. In addition, supporting research materials has included: (4) selected administrative and archival documents relating to the Bosnian Muslim settlement and community organisations in Victoria.

Thus, this research comprehensively embraces both primary and secondary data to establish the relevant theoretical approaches and provide evidence upon which to answer the research questions.

Significance

The research significance of this thesis includes documentation of: (1) the history of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia; (2) settlement issues of the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria; (3) factors that impact on settlement of the Bosnian Muslim community; and (4) facts and factors which contribute to better integration of the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria and across Australia.

This research is expected to provide: (1) an appropriate understanding of the Bosnian Muslim community history in Australia and the State of Victoria; (2) a greater understanding of Bosniak community integration and adaptation within the multicultural environment; (3) guidance in the making of both policy and programs for Bosnian and non-Bosnians; (4) better community service delivery for Bosniaks; (5) information for service providers; and (6) sources for future academic research development in understanding the situation of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia.

In addition, the specific research contribution to knowledge includes: documentation of history and settlement issues of the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria; exploration of factors that impact on the settlement of the Bosnian Muslim community; understanding Bosnian Muslim community issues related to settlement; promotion and support of multiculturalism; and contribution to better integration of

the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria. This research argues that it is possible to have a well-integrated Muslim settlement in Australia's multicultural society. It also clarifies the Bosnian Muslim contribution to the Australian Islamic heritage by extending the knowledge of those interested in an Islamic component as part of a multi-religious diversity.

Thesis structure

The thesis is structured in seven chapters. It begins with an *historical overview* (Chapter 1) of the Bosnian Muslims and their country of origin – Bosnia (i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina). Beside the precise contemporary determination of Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) and their historical ethno-national identifications, this brief explanation introduces the nature of multicultural Bosnia and its historical constitutional forms, cultural, linguistic and traditional distinctiveness as well as its Islamic component as a part of cultural-religious milieu. It then includes information about Bosnian Muslims departing from Bosnia and settling in Australia based on statistics from the Australian census.

The *literature review* (Chapter 2) provides a variety of theoretical issues that are relevant for the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia and multiculturalism. It includes analysis of both historical and contemporary concepts on migration; diaspora; ethnicity; culture and language. The role of Islam and culture is noted in relation to various aspects related to settlement and integration of the Bosnian Muslims. As a part of this chapter the nature of issues involved in being a Bosnian Muslim in Australia is elaborated upon. Overall this chapter especially assists in (1) an exploration of the history of Bosnian Muslim community in Australia; and (2) observing the settlement experience in Victoria together with multiculturalism and integration.

The *methodology* (Chapter 3) chapter includes the philosophy of the research linked with the research hypothesis, research ethics and role of the researcher. These sections are followed by a section on methodological considerations that include: i) Literature review, ii) Surveys (Email), iii) Interviews (Face-to-Face), iv) Archival and administrative data, v) Statistics, vi) Internet sources. This chapter then proceeds to

data analysis and cross cultural issues related to research. It explores my awareness of the importance of Bosnian Muslim ethnicity, experiences and views within community, the role of Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition as well as Australian multiculturalism.

A history of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia (Chapter 4) is the central chapter of this thesis. It primarily clarifies that the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia is significant part of multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual society of Australia. This chapter covers three settlement periods: after World War 2 until the late 1960s; the 1970s and 1980s; and from the early 1990s onwards.

In chapter 4, particular attention is given to the little known Bosnian Muslim contribution to the formation of multi-ethnic Muslim communities across the nation. The chapter also includes the establishment of new Bosniak welfare services, sports clubs, cultural associations, media and schools. It reveals that the Bosnian Muslims played a significant role in the contemporary establishment of Islamic society across Australia, including their contribution to Islamic cultural heritage.

The chapter *multiculturalism in Australia* (Chapter 5) explores the historical development of multiculturalism in Australia. It assists in a wider understanding of the evolution of policy, including the transitional stages from assimilation to multiculturalism. An integral part of this chapter is consideration of immigration which significantly contributed to the formation of many different ethnic communities and subsequently development of multiculturalism. Special place is devoted to contemporary values of Australian multicultural society.

Analysis of empirical data (Chapters 6 and 7) is structured into two interconnected and crucially important chapters of the thesis, namely: *Settlement experience in Victoria* and *Multiculturalism and Integration*. Together these chapters represent the main findings in this thesis. Chapter 6: *Settlement experience in Victoria* documents many settlement issues and gradual community development covering three historical periods: (1) settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims post-WW2; (2) settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims from the late 1960s to the late 1980s; (3) settlement

experience of Bosnian Muslims from the early 1990s onwards. Chapter 7: *Multiculturalism and Integration* clarifies the Bosnian Muslim settlement process and successful integration. It includes the Bosnian Muslims contribution to and support of multiculturalism.

Introducing Chapter 1

Today across Western societies, such as Australia, different cultures, ethnicities, races, religions and beliefs are coming together in more frequent contact and on an increasing scale. This is an important reason why an understanding of diversity of communities, including the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, has become essential (Beattie 1977:272). Another significant reason lies in fact that ‘societies are never static; social forms evolve and change’ (Ibn Khaldun cited in Aceves 1974:48). Understanding of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia is linked with understanding of their background and nature of Bosnia. Accordingly the first step towards the understanding of Bosnian Muslim community in Australia with specific focus on settlement issues and integration within Australian multiculturalism begins with ‘introducing’ chapter one: *Who are the Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims)?*

CHAPTER ONE

Who are the Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims)?

This chapter aims to present a brief overview of both the *nature* of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter *Bosnia*) and the rich and distinctive history and hybridity of *Bosniak* (Bosnian-Muslim) identity. This overview identifies and represents key components of the complex nature of the ethno-national, religious and non-religious cultural identity of Bosnian Muslims. Their authentic characteristics derive from and contribute to creation, adaptability and integration of a multi-religious/ethnic/cultural milieu. It is important to note that because of the complexity of terminology such as the *Bosniaks*, *Bosnian Muslims* or *Bosnians*, this chapter uses appropriate ethno-national terms primarily adapted from historical, religious, cultural and other authentic events and beliefs.

1.1 Who are the Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims)?

The *Bosniak* is an historical ethno-national name for Bosnian Muslims. Today they are mostly, but not exclusively, Muslims. The Bosniaks constitute one group among other groups of Bosnian citizens (Zulfikarpasic 2001:58). The Bosniak component is part of the tradition of Bosnia and its history (ibid:125). According to the Bosnian and Herzegovinian census (1991) a vast majority of Bosnian Muslims declared themselves *Bosniaks*. Imamovic defines the Bosniaks as ‘part of South Slavic Entity, which was formed on particular grounds of the Bosnian sovereign state and culture’ (2000:24). According to contemporary Bosnian scholars (Imamovic 2000; see also Purivatra, Filipovic, Filandra, Durakovic, Grebo, Nametak and Grebo and Bojic among others), from April 1992 the term *Bosniak* denotes the nationality of Bosnian Muslims. The acceptance of the term was a spontaneous socio-historical process which, in fact, was a renewal of the previous Bosnian-Muslim national name (Imamovic 2000:36). Thus, Bosniak is the national identification of the Bosnian Muslim (Zulfikarpasic 2001:125; Purivatra 1997; Durakovic 1993). This term was officially recognised through a plebiscite during the *Second Bosniak Congress* in 1993 (Imamovic 2000:36). The decision of the Congress was further ratified by the Bosnian and Herzegovinian

National Assembly in 1994, and legalised through an Amendment adopted and confirmed by the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The term Bosniak was also confirmed by the *Dayton Peace Agreement 1995* (ibid).

Thus, the Bosniak identity is more or less similar to other national identities and represents a collective historical definition. However, Imamovic further points out that the Bosniaks are not, in absolute terms, an explicitly homogenous element. He also highlights that in the case of Bosniak identity, there are a great number of nuances and differences (such as being Bosnian, or *Bosnian Muslim*), ‘felt by each person in his particular sense and manner’ (2000:37). The Bosnian Islamic cultural circle is woven into the spiritual code of most Bosniaks (Tankovic 1997:39). Therefore this chapter vis-à-vis historical context further explores the deeper meanings and expressions of being Bosniak. By observing the nature of Bosnia and its Islamic component in particular, the Bosniaks and/or (Muslim) Bosnians are commonly observed as the Bosnian Muslims. This is an important observation because of the diversity within Bosnian-Muslim identities which are connected by several common factors: (1) Bosnia; (2) Islam; (3) Bosnian language and (4) Bosnian-Muslim culture. Certainly, it includes their background developed within the European multicultural environment.

1.2 The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its historical constitutional forms

The rich history of Bosnia demonstrates the uniqueness of a country where Judaism, Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Islam have each given their authentic religious influence to the development of a specific civilization, combining the heritage of Neolithic, Iliric, Classical, Greco-Roman, Slavic, Christian, Islamic and Jewish cultural elements. Mutual influences and the unity of those cultural and natural values in a relatively small geographic area resulted in the specific political, economic, cultural and international character of Bosnia (Izetbegovic 1996:15).

Bosnia, as a central part of the Balkans, derives its name from the Indo-European word *Bos* (or *Bhog*) which means ‘flowing water’. The name also originated from old Roman *Bathinus flumen*, or from Iliric *Bassinus*, which also means ‘flowing water’. The Latin word *Bosina* (*limes* or *termines*) means frontier guard or frontiersmen

(Imamovic 1996:24). The name *Bosnia* appeared in historical documents as early as 950s AD, on an equal footing with Raska (i.e. Serbia) and Croatia. In the 11th century Bosnia was described as ‘a large country, for that period, extending from the Drina River to the upper part of the Vrbas River and toward the Adriatic crossroad’ (Imamovic 2000:26).

The Slavs migrated to the Balkans and settled in Illyria (L. *Iliricum*) from the 6th century. In early medieval times they settled between the two Christian Churches’ spheres of influence and were consequently converted by both the Eastern Church of Constantinople and the Western Church of Rome (Auty 1965:14 cited in Haveric 2004). A third early component also emerged—the conversion of Southern Slavs to Islam, including Bosnians (Haveric 2004). The Balkan lands of the Southern Slavs, particularly Bosnia, were exposed to different cultural, religious, ethnic and linguistic influences, receiving religious missionaries from the East, the West and the Orient, who promoted the values of different faiths, cultures, traditions, costumes and so on (Friedman 1996:xv). Thus, Bosnia was often called the ‘microcosm of the Balkans’ (Malcolm 1996:1).

However, the coming of Islam to SE Europe is not only the most important turning point in the history of the Bosniaks, it represents a turning point in the history of Bosnia and the preservation of Bosniak identity (Karic 1999:90). The Bosniak ethnogenesis began with the Middle Ages, when these Slavic migrations settled in the large area around the source and upper reaches of the Bosnia River (Imamovic 2000:24). A small settlement site excavated at Musici near Sarajevo was considered to be evidence of the ‘first Slav settlement in former Yugoslavia’ (Barford 2001:74). Importantly, the authenticity of the Bosniak background is based on their *Iliro-Slavic* and *Bogumil-Muslim* spirituality and legacy of Bosnia (Imamovic 1996; Haveric 2004). Clearly, the Bosniaks are European inhabitants (Imamovic 1997; Purivatra 1997; Karic 1999; Bojic 2001). According to contemporary Balkan and Bosnian historians, the conversion of the Bosnian *Bogumils* (means ‘Beloved of God’; the authentic Bosnian Church, or neo-Manichaeans) to Islam is a Bosnian phenomenon which lies at the heart of Bosniak *nationhood* (Malcolm 1996:27, 29). In addition, Dawson’s (1991:110) observations in *The Rise of Western Culture and the Classic Medieval Civilization*, considers the Bogumils as ‘pacifists’.

Lying between Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro, Bosnia historically was either exposed or subjected to their influence, but it also influenced or subjected surrounding countries (Friedman 1996:11). Imamovic (2000:24) points out the following:

The Bosnian Muslims mostly inhabited the western portion of the Balkan Peninsula. In this sense their historical background, as well as ethical and demographic centre is the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the region of Sandzak. The Bosniaks may be also found, through in small numbers, in Kosovo and in Macedonia. The Bosniaks are scattered through the industrial centres and larger cities of Croatia and Slovenia. In all these territories the Bosniaks have territorially mixed, more or less with Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Albanians and Macedonians.

Both Imamovic (2000) and Friedman (2004) state that contemporary Bosnia cannot be understood without some comprehension of the impact that its earlier history had on the dynamics of the present-day state. Bosnia is the historical name of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, the European South Slavic country which existed in various constitutional forms for over one thousand years and include the following: *Bosnian Province* or *Banovina* (10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th centuries); *Bosnian Kingdom* (14th, 15th centuries); *Bosnian Sandzak of Ottoman Empire* from 1463, then *Bosnian Eyalet* or *Bosnian Pashadom* (i.e. *Beylerbeylik*) (from 1580, 17th, 18th, 19th centuries); Bosnia as a 'crowned' (*corpus separatum*) country of *Habsburg Monarchy* (1878–1914); Bosnian territory as a part of the *Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* (i.e. the Yugoslav Kingdom) (1919–1941); the *Republic of Bosnia of Federative Yugoslavia* (1945–1991); and *Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1992–). However, most historical sources mentioned one name for the country – *Bosnia* – and refer to its inhabitants invariably as *Bosnianin*, *Bosniak*, *Bosanac* (Bosnian) (Purivatra 1977; Sabanovic 1982; Lovrenovic and Imamovic 1992; Imamovic 1997; Filandra 1998; Karcic 1999; Durakovic and Imamovic 2000; Zulfikarpasic 2001).

These varieties of constitutional forms significantly contributed to the creation of Bosnia and influenced the whole Bosnian population in the creation of their identity.

The reigns of Bosnian bans (*rulers*) started from the 10th century with Bosnian political independence, economic growth and a flourishing cultural life which continued during the Bosnian Kingdom. As early as the 10th century Bosnia was exposed to different cultural-religious influences. It is important to note that the Bosnian Kingdom (–1463) gained power and territorial magnitudes that made it one of the greatest southern European Slavic countries (Auty, Imamovic cited in Haveric 2004). Following the Ottoman conquest Bosnia remained within the Ottoman Empire for four centuries. Throughout this period Bosnia was a central part of the Ottoman Empire, and played a vital role in the Ottoman Empire’s expansion of its borders, particularly across the Balkans, touching ‘the other world’—of Europe and Christianity.

The Ottoman administration respected the position of Bosnia, together with a number of different existing cultural-religious traditions that gave Bosnia significant autonomy. For instance, the Sultan Mehmed al-Fatih, the Conqueror (15th century), after productive discussions between the Ottoman and Franciscan representatives, issued an honourable charter called *Ahdnama* by declaring interfaith tolerance and respect (Ceman 1993; Kostovic, Dozic and Salkic 1997; Anđelović 2002). Similar charters on religious freedom and tolerance were given to other Christian and non-Christian faiths. From the early Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, Bosnia was the centre for various migrations from both the West and the East and new settlements were developed. For instance, from the late 15th century Bosnia welcomed *Sephardi* Jewish refugees who settled mainly in the city of Sarajevo and built their synagogues. From the 18th century Central and Eastern European or *Ashkenazi* Jews also settled in Bosnia. For instance, Sarajevo’s Jews were especially proud of their city, where they lived in peace and tolerance, and called it *Jerushalayim chico* or ‘Little Jerusalem’ (Imamovic 2006:113).

Under the rule of the Ottoman Empire the further spread of Islam and gradual Islamisation of the Bosnian Bogumils was the most important cultural-religious and socio-historical aspect for Bosnia, and particularly for Bosnian Muslims (Malcolm 1996:51). Accordingly, Islamic spiritual influence played a significant role, particularly with regard to the spread of various Sufi teachings (Islamic mysticism), which introduced and promoted Islamic tolerance and harmony in Bosnia towards

other Muslims, and towards followers of other faiths such as Christianity and Judaism. *Sufism* had contributed to the spread of Islam in Bosnia and the Balkans since the early Ottoman period, but also served as a bridge between different faiths (Karic 1999:2). The Bosniaks are Sunni Muslims (i.e. *Sunnies*). The Bosniak Islamic experience is based on the doctrine and practice of the *Hanafian School of Law* (*Mezheb*). This Sunni school was often regarded as free willed and its followers were called ‘the people of independent thinking’. This Islamic School of Law, established in Bosnia for more than a half a millennium, interpreted ‘Islam as the religion of reason containing the postulates which can be proved by generally accepted and scientifically acknowledged truths’ (Imamovic 2000:30). It is also important to note that the Hanafian School of Law rejected any kind of fundamentalism (ibid: 30). Furthermore, during the Ottoman period many Islamic masterpieces were produced across Bosnia, particularly supported by an institution called *vakuf* (an endowment, an irrevocable grant of the income or property set aside in perpetuity for religious and non-religious, cultural, scientific or charitable purposes), of benefit to all Bosnian Muslims and non-Muslims alike (Balic 1994).

With the crumbling of the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy occupied Bosnia and brought the majority of the Muslim population under Western influence. At that time the administration of the Hapsburg Monarchy had a sensitive approach to Bosnia giving her status as the third ‘state’ of the Monarchy. One of the most remarkable achievements in the history of Bosnia, which should be noted, was the flexibility of Bosnian Muslims in their adaptation to broader European influences (Lovrenovic and Imamovic 1992). Following the Hapsburg Monarchy the Yugoslav Kingdom (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) was formed, which included the territory of Bosnia. For centuries an idea of integration among the South Slavic people fermented. Instead of being one united state, with recognition of Bosnian authenticity, the historical, cultural and national movements created small administrative units which resulted in the crumbling of the Yugoslav Kingdom (–1941). After the Second World War (hereafter WW2) the concept of a federal Yugoslavia prevailed. Within this Yugoslavia, Bosnia became a separate federal unit, equal in status with other Slavic countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia (Lovrenovic and Imamovic 1992; Friedman 2004:13; see also Durakovic, Zulfikarpasic, Bojic, Filandra and Filipovic among others). In the process of the disintegration of

Yugoslavia, following the multi-party elections in 1990 and the citizens' Referendum, Bosnia determined to be an independent sovereign state within historical borders. In 1992 Bosnia and Herzegovina was internationally recognised by most countries worldwide, including Australia, as an independent republic (Izetbegovic 1996:15; Friedman 2004:43).

1.3 Historical ethno-national identifications of the Bosnian Muslims

Identities are complex and changing ways in which people create a sense of belonging. Identity formation is a dynamic process and is shaped by historical, political, economic and cultural processes. There is often the creation of hybrid identities arising from complex societal conditions (Woodward 1997). The case of Bosnian Muslim identities are complex, hybrid and dynamic. It should be clearly understood that the term *Bosnian* in Bosnia today relates to all Bosnian residents, whatever their religious denomination or cultural belongings. While a Bosnian could also be a Bosniak, Bosnian Serb or Bosnian Croat, the term *Bosniak* is the renewed ethno-national name for Bosnian Muslims, the meaning of which derives from the Bosnian Islamic component; and more importantly, it is the ethno-national identification for all Bosnian Muslims, which equally includes a mix of secular and religious identities (Friedman 1996).

In this sense three main ethno-national Bosnian groups coexist: *Bosniaks*, *Serbs* and *Croats*, or in other words, Bosnian Muslims, Eastern Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Jews and followers of other religious denominations or cultural belongings (Imamovic 1998). Similarly Mahmutcehajic (2005:10) points out:

The survival of Bosnia over the centuries as a complex society in which individual identity was determined by one of the several religious traditions that constituted it, and overall identity by all of them combined, was made possible by testimony that the God of any one community is the same as the God of all the others.

Muslims, Christians and Jews all contributed to the formation of Bosnia's complex identity in its historical entirety. It is from these religious affiliations that its diverse

political and national identities were drawn during the modern era. Thus today's Bosniaks are linked historically with Islam, Bosnian Serbs with Eastern Orthodoxy and Bosnian Croats with Roman Catholicism. These religious components were an element in the formation of their distinct political and ethno-national identities, accompanied by shifts in the role and understanding of religion that occurred since the Renaissance and continues today. That wholeness of cultural-religious, ethno-national identities covers a spectrum of affiliation from the ideological to diverse traditional forms, frequently intermingled, often blending and interchanging (ibid:67). In this way, through its historical context, Bosnia's inhabitants hold various ethnic identifications (Friedman 2004:4). Over the course of centuries Bosnian Muslims, as well as declaring themselves Bosniaks, have also identified as 'Southern Slavs', 'Yugo-Slavs', 'Croats', 'Serbs', 'Muslims' (the most recent 'religious' name for their 'nationality'), or 'Yugoslavians' (see Imamovic, Purivatra, Bojic, Friedman, Malcolm among others), just as non-Muslims have identified not always by religious denomination, but also by ethno-national affiliations, including for instance, 'Bosniakism' (i.e. *Bosnjastvo* from Bosniak), 'Yugoslavism' (i.e. *Jugoslovenstvo* from Yugoslavian) and 'Bosnianism' (i.e. *Bosanstvo* from Bosnian) (see Purivatra 1977; Imamovic 1998, 2000; Friedman 1996, 2004 and Zulfikarpasic 2001 among others).

During the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, some Bosnian Muslims, mainly of the urban elite and landed classes, declared themselves either Croats or Serbs, that is, 'a religious minority of the respective national group' (i.e. either the Croats of Islamic faith, or the Serbs of Muhammedan faith respectfully) (Friedman 1996:105). During the Federation of Yugoslavia, self-identifications for the Bosnian Muslims were mainly 'Yugoslav Undetermined' and 'Muslim', which did not articulate their nationality, other than 'their ethnic membership'. Importantly, there was a 'formal distinction' in Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia, in terms of being *muslim* (small 'm') or *Muslim* (capital 'M') where the former meant adhering to Islam, but the latter denoted religious or secular identity for ethnic ('national') identification (Purivatra cited in Friedman 1996:154-5). Subsequently, a substantial proportion of non-religious Bosnian Slavic Muslims regarded the ethnic category 'Muslim' as a religious rather than national category. However, it was the first step toward official recognition of Bosnian Muslims as an integral part of 'ethno-national'

membership in Yugoslavia (Friedman 1996:155). This was confirmed by the 1971, 1981 and April 1991 census, when the Bosniaks were listed under ethnic and religious denomination as 'Muslims' and formed the third largest nationality within the former Yugoslavia (Friedman 1996:160; Imamovic 2000: 25). This evolved into a more nationally acceptable identification for the Bosnian Muslims as 'Yugoslavs'. In Yugoslavia most Bosnian Muslims identified as 'Yugoslavs'.

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia into the State of Bosnia, among others, the Bosnian Muslims declared themselves *Bosniaks*. Therefore, due to their new specific historical development and geo-political surroundings within multi-religious Bosnia, today the Eastern Orthodox Christians constitute themselves as *Serbs*, the Roman Catholics as *Croats* and the Muslims as *Bosniaks* who differ from other Southern Slavs in religious, cultural, historical, social and other experiences (Imamovic 2000:24).

1.4 Bosnian Muslims within the Bosnian cultural-religious milieu

During the 20th century Bosnian Muslims founded several cultural and welfare associations in order to promote and preserve the cultural identity of the Bosniaks. The most prominent Bosnian Muslim cultural and welfare associations were *Gajret*, *Merhamet*, *Narodna Uzdanica* and later *Preporod*. 'Gajret' founded in 1904 was led by Dr Safer-bey Basagic, Edhem Mulabdic and Osman Nuri Hadzic. 'Merhamet' was founded in 1913 by prominent Sarajevian merchant Avdaga Kulovic. The chairman was Dr Mehmed Spaho and the main supporter was prominent Islamic scholar Dzemaludin ef. Causevic *Reis ul-ulema* (the supreme Muslim religious leader in Bosnia). 'Narodna Uzdanica' was founded in 1923 and led by Dr Hamdija Kapidzic, Dr Hamdija Cemerlic and Prof Hamdija Kresevljakovic (Prilozi Instituta za istoriju ISSN 0350-1159 2007, updated 15 August 2007). The City of Sarajevo has continuously had significant Muslim cultural and scientific institutions, including an Institute of Oriental Studies, an Islamic theological faculty, the Bosniak Institute and *medresses* for the education of future imams. Beside the Bosnian language in Bosnia, historically, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and various other western or eastern languages were taught, as well as cultures, traditions, philosophies and so on.

Barford (2001:13–5) considers that the Slavic language group (which belongs to the Indo-European languages) contains thirteen separate languages including Bosnian. In the *Dictionary of the Bosnian Language* (1995), contemporary Bosniak linguist Isakovic (1995: xi) states that the Bosnian language was not created within the framework of either Serbian or Croatian, and doesn't derive from them, but is a parallel language. Bosniak writer, Mehmed Havaji Uskufi, author of the oldest dictionaries (titled *Makbuli 'arif* written in 1631) of any south-Slavic language, argued that 'Bosniaks are authentic people as is their Bosnian language' although it includes many Oriental (i.e. Persian, Arabic and Turkish) and European words (Halilovic 1991:135; Isakovic 1995: xv; Malcolm 1996:101; Jahic 1999). Bosniak linguists including Isakovic (1995: xix), Jahic (1991:26, 1999) and Halilovic (1991) state that throughout history, the Bosnian language was widely used, and has endured the longest tradition among Bosnian Muslims. Historically, the Bosniaks mainly called their mother tongue 'Bosnian' (Imamovic 2000:14) and Bosnian is the national language of the Bosniaks (Isakovic 1995: xxvii). However over the past several decades, generations of Bosnian Muslims naturally spoke Bosnian as did their ancestors, their mother tongue was 'commonly determined' as *Serbo-Croatian* (or *Croatian-Serbian*, or single names for languages such as *Croatian* or *Serbian*, or *Yugoslav*), which also contributed to the hybridity of Bosniak identity, particularly in terms of mutual linguistic influences. Today, the Bosnian language is historically the same among Bosnian Muslims: reflected in their culture, spirituality, literature and tradition and remains an integral part of their identity in any new environment (ibid).

It should be stressed that Bosnian Muslims inherit and preserve Islamic and multi-religious values which have been transferred to new generations. Through the centuries they have maintained a Bosnian consciousness and pride, regardless of creed or ethnic background. Other than the Bosnian Muslim religion (Islam), evidence that supports this statement can be found in their language, their Muslim folklore and a permanent belief in the historical autonomy of their country of origin—Bosnia (Lovrenovic and Imamovic 1992). Like many Bosnian scholars, Karic (1999:89) states that the Bosniaks represent a living bridge between Western, Eastern and Oriental cultures which has left an imprint on Bosnia and its population. He (ibid) further points out:

According to their language, the colour of their skin, their Slavic origin and the soil they inhabit, Bosniaks are Europeans. According to the destiny to which they have been exposed in Europe, their faith and the sense of cultural belonging, Bosniaks are Muslims.

Another significant characteristic of the nature of Bosnian society and the Bosnian population is a sharp distinction between Bosnian rural and urban lifestyles, which, according to Bringa (1995), derives from the Ottoman Empire which initiated the development of urban Balkan cities over the rural villages. Bringa (ibid:58–81) states that being a cultured Bosnian Muslim is associated not only with having a formal education, but also with a level of the ‘concept of cultureness’ that includes a person’s literacy, stylish dress and more importantly, sets of ideas and a deeper sense of understanding of differences in society. Moreover there are cultural differences between ‘urban-modern, or liberal style of life’ and ‘conservative-rural, or more traditional concepts’, which are mostly combined in Bosnian cities. These include a variety of costumes, traditions, religious practices, spiritual rituals, mixed marriages, cultural mix and exchange of experiences (Friedman 1996:181).

1.5 Bosniak’s challenge of modernity

Karcic in his observation on the *Bosniak challenges to modernity* states that the first encounters with Western European influence under the Hapsburg Monarchy opened for the Bosniaks the issue of the ‘relationship between Islam and European culture’. In 1891 the most prominent Bosniak, Mehmed Bey Kapetanovic Ljubusak (1839-1902), published the first Bosnian newspaper named *Bosniak* (B. Bosnjak), printed in the Latin alphabet. His work promoted the concept of *Bosniakism* (Bosnjastvo) and openness toward European culture. Since that time the Bosniaks adopted European culture under the broader influence of Hapsburg Monarchy. At the same time they kept the peculiar characteristics of their Bosnian Islamic lifestyle (Karcic 1999:148-9). Important aspects of accepting modernity were strong link with education and cultural-religious interaction, supported by Bosnian Islamic scholars. This was deeply grounded in Islamic virtues, including *ilm* and multiculturalism.

Karcic (ibid) states that these Bosniak attitudes led by Mehmed Bey, along with Bosniak education and publishing, had an important role in the Bosniak's adjustment of Western influence. The flexibility of Mehmed Bey's leadership helped Bosniaks respond to the European challenge. In fact, he was a strong supporter of education and science by encouraging the Bosniaks to attend schools 'according to new western system of education'. These initial, but important initiatives were followed by a new magazine named *Behar* whose founders were Safet Bey Basagic (1870-1934), Ethem Mulabdic (1862-1954) and Osman Nuri Hadzic (1869-1937). Karcic illuminates that 'the objective of Behar was defined as to work for the enlightenment and cultural advance of Bosniaks as well as their Islamic ethical education' - it was reflected in the expression 'Faith and Enlightenment'. In a similar way, Osman Nuri Hadzic published a brochure entitled *Islam and Culture* (B. Islam i kultura). He advised Bosnian Muslims who have come into close encounter with the West 'to intensify their efforts in acquiring knowledge'. Osman Nuri Hadzic also suggested a 'paradigm of the Indian Muslims as a good example to be followed' (ibid, 150-51). The same author published book entitled *Muhammad and the Qur'an. Cultural History of Islam* (B. Muhamed i Koran. Kulturna istorija Islama). This book, written in Bosnian, was for several decades, the most comprehensive work in cultural history of Islam.

Obviously education, followed by suitable policies, contributed that Bosniaks being able to balance belonging to both East and West. Historically, the first policy in Bosnia under western influence was established 1860s, based on *tanzimat* reforms. This policy included codification of customary land tenure relations, reorganisation of taxation, provincial administration, the introduction of a European style army, judiciary and education. During this decade Bosnia and Bosnian Muslims, indeed, faced the earliest challenges of modernity and experienced general social and cultural progress (ibid, 155). It included their direct borrowing of modern European cultural features by incorporating them into the Ottoman multicultural milieu in Bosnia. Another policy that took place was called *wilayet* system and subsequently *nizamiyye* courts were established, new schools opened and print house operations began.

The forty years of Hapsburg rule left a significant imprint on the Bosnian economy, society, culture and politics. For instance in economics, the Hapsburg Monarchy opted for the preservation of the *status quo* in agrarian relationships, trying to improve

agricultural production, but more important changes were related to development of the industrial sector, and transport and communication. All these factors contributed to socio-economic and cultural-political development where the Bosnian urban population increased rapidly. Karcic concludes that issues dealt with by Bosniaks during the Habsburg era correspond to the most frequently discussed topics among other Muslim nations living under non-Muslim rule in the same time (ibid, 159).

Challenges brought by Austro-Hungary were unprecedented in the history of Islam in Bosnia. This historical background in terms of Muslims under non-Muslim rule, the most significant challenges which modernity posed to the Bosniaks were in realm of social life, institutions and ethics. Most importantly in the context of relationship between *Islam* and *Europe*, including the Western influence, was reflected in Bosniaks' integration into the European multicultural mosaic. This development was firstly developed by enlightened nobility and intellectual initiatives, and later accepted and recognised by *ulamma*. Hence, in the early 20th century the Austro-Hungarian authorities gradually admitted and accepted the national political movements that had emerged in the meantime as a feature of Bosnian politics (Imamovic 2006:214). Finally, since the start of the 20th Century the religious and educational movements in Bosnia were turned into *civic political parties* (Imamovic 2006:233). Thus Karcic (ibid) and Imamovic (ibid) agree that intellectual responses of Bosniaks to the challenges of modernity in the Habsburg era 'laid down a foundation for emerging similar issues in the following decades'.

1.6 Departing Bosnia and settling in Australia

While the Bosniaks the most Western Muslim in Europe (Karcic, 1999:89), there is also a significant Bosniak worldwide diaspora (Halilovic 1991; Imamovic 1996; Haveric 1999; Karcic 2001; Memic 2002). The Bosnian Muslim diasporas in the East and the West have not only endured their own long history, but have also made significant Bosniak contributions in other multinational societies. They have promoted and cherished both Islamic and multi-religious values. Even from medieval times the Bosniaks were among the first South European settlers in different regions to contribute to the establishment of universities and libraries; some of them were scholars, rulers, artists, and most of them participated in multi/ethnic/cultural festivals

and multi-religious festivities promoting peace, tolerance and harmony. From their medieval history onwards the Bosnian Muslims were traditionally known as protectors of towns and guardians, as well as defenders and promoters of multiculturalism (Imamovic 1996; Haveric 2004). When the Austro-Hungarian Empire succeeded the Ottoman Empire in 1878 a new era of Bosnian-Muslim migrations started which has continued periodically until the present. At the same time, the Bosnian Muslims have continuously had an intellectual history going back to 15th century Sarajevo. From the late 19th century until the present the intelligentsia (living in Zurich, Vienna and Sarajevo) was traditionally oriented toward an *enlightened humanistic culture* (Waardenburg cited in Taji-Farouki and Nafi 2004:284–5).

The Bosnian Muslims who settled in Australia left Bosnia in three major historical periods. The first occurred post WW2 because of political instability, economic destruction and social-welfare difficulties. The second wave of migration was during the late 1960s and early 1970s for two major reasons: the economic depression and increased unemployment, and the former Yugoslavia opened its borders providing prospects for its people to work in foreign countries and develop its international economy. The third wave of migration was during the early 1990s when Bosnian Muslims sought refuge due to the war in Bosnia. This latter historical turbulence was considered the most difficult period in the modern history of Bosnia and the Bosniaks.

The earliest Bosnian Muslims migrated to Australia over 100 years ago (Price 1968: 65-7; Haveric 1999:14-5) during a period of sporadic migration. However, their first noticeable waves of settlement was evident in the late 1940s early 1950s. This period characterised the first dispersed groups of Bosnian Muslims who then became a part of the multi-ethnic Muslim community. Subsequent large settlements, mostly in industrial areas, were established during the dynamic Australian economic development during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The third settlement period occurred from the early 1990s onwards. In this latter period the Bosnian-Muslim population doubled and settlements spread over residential and industrial suburbs and in other parts of Australia.

Today, the largest reported Bosniak migrant population between 2.4 and 4 million is located in Turkey (Halilovic 1991:30; Australian Bosniak Association: Bosniaks – Short Historical Overview 2006, updated 15 December 2006). At the beginning of the 20th century, a small number of Bosniaks migrated to America (Imamovic 1996:7) and Australia (Haveric 1999:14). In the mid 20th century Bosnian Muslims migrated to Austria, Germany, Italy and the Middle East, then to the USA, Canada and Australia (Imamovic 1996:7). In the last decade of the 20th century, according to the ‘Report of the Centre for Migration Policy Development’, 1.2 million Bosnians (mostly Muslims) fled between 1992 and 1995 (Friedman 2004:78). Of those who fled 208,000 had returned to Bosnia by February 1998 (ibid:79).

Today the Bosniak diasporas are scattered throughout the industrial centres and larger cities of Croatia and Slovenia, as well as Western Europe, North America and Australia (Imamovic 2000:24–5). Ziga (2001:63) estimates that in 2001 there were 600,000 Bosniaks across Europe and transoceanic countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia. It needs to be noted that Australia has a continuing interest in efforts to maintain peace and build prosperity in Bosnia. Since 1993-94, Australia has contributed humanitarian assistance worth over AUS \$ 17 million to countries in the Balkan regions, including to Bosnia. Most of these funds have been provided through international aid agencies, for example the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme and the International Committee of the Red Cross (Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2006, updated 27 April 2008).

A recent estimate of the number of Bosnians in Australia exceeds 20,000 (Haveric 1999:196). According to the 2001 Census (overseas-born by country of birth) there were 23,848 immigrants from Bosnia in Australia (ABS, DIMIA cited in Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:49). The 2006 Census recorded 24,628 born in Bosnia living in Australia. (ABS 2006, updated 27 April 2008). They settled mainly in the outer suburbs of large Australian cities, such as Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane and Perth. Some latest figures show that during the past decade their total number across Australia is almost 30,000 (MDDA Bosnian General Information 2008). The latest 2006 Census recorded 24, 630 Bosnia and Herzegovina-born people in Australia, an increase of 3.0

per cent from the 2001 Census. The 2006 distribution by state and territory showed the following features:

Victoria 8,900.....	36.1 per cent
New South Wales 7,170.....	28.1 per cent
Queensland 3,280.....	13.3 per cent
Western Australia 2,550.....	10.4 per cent
South Australia 2,200.....	8.9 per cent
Tasmania 110.....	0.5 per cent
Australian Capital Territory 370.....	1.5 per cent
Northern Territory 40.....	0.2 per cent
 Total number.....	 24, 630

According to 2006 Census from those 24,630 there is recorded 7,540 Bosnian Muslims in Australia. Indeed this Census indicated that from this total number (only) 7,540 Bosnia and Herzegovina-born are Muslims. Of the Bosnia and Herzegovina-born, 14.4 per cent stated 'No Religion', this was lower than that of the total Australian population (18.7 per cent). 4.6 per cent of the Bosnia and Herzegovina-born did not state a religion (ABS). Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade under its available statistic *Muslims in Australia* also confirms that there is 7,540 Muslim Australians born in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Today there is 340,000 Muslims in Australia of whom 128, 904 were born in Australia and the balance were born overseas. Similar to other Muslim minorities this report did not include Bosniak-born Australians (www.dfat.gov.au/facts/muslims_in_Australia.html).

To obtain a sense of the size of the Bosnian Muslims in Australia the following needs to be considered: (1) this statistic does not take into account Muslims originally from Bosnia who declare themselves either as 'Croats' or 'Yugoslavs' (2) for the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, particularly as an ethnic minority group, these figures (14.4 per cent and 4.6 per cent) are *not* low; (3) this statistic needs to consider and take into more precise account Muslims from the Sandzak region who constitute a

significant part of Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, and indeed the world-wide Bosniak diaspora. In fact, the Bosniaks from Sandzak frequently called themselves *Bosniaks*; (4) this statistic did not include Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) from other regions of the Balkans (eg. Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo); (5) besides religion (Islam), this statistics did not include at all the cultural belonging of Bosniaks; (6) the above statistic rather represents Bosnian's membership to Australian Bosnian mosques or centres; and (7) the renewed term in Bosnia 'Bosniak' for many Bosnian Muslims in Australia is still a relatively new 'phenomenon', or not enough known, hence they declare themselves differently (i.e. Yugoslavs or Croats) as in previous censuses.

It needs to be noted that the 2006 Census recorded (only) Bosnian-born in Australia, although this excludes persons of Bosnian (Bosniak) ethnicity and culture born elsewhere (outside of Bosnia), such as Croatia and the former Yugoslavia. For instance Croats were not recorded separately until the 1996. Nowadays a *similar* statistical issue is faced Bosniaks. Similar to the terms Croatian and Croat, being Bosnian (Muslim) or Bosniak are interchangeable, despite their respective civic and ethnic meanings in both Bosnian and other varieties of English (www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Croatian-Australian.). Since the 2001 Census, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ceased to exist, and in June 2006 Serbia and Montenegro separated. However, *many* persons, including Bosnian Muslims, recorded their birthplace as *Yugoslavia* (33,028) and these were coded to *South Eastern Europe, nfd*. A question on country of birth is included in most ABS population surveys, although detailed birthplace information is *not* available from these surveys because of high sampling error on estimates for small geographic areas and for many small birthplace groups (Census Dictionary, 2006, Reissue; www.abs.gov.au/ABS).

In addition to the *available* statistical data, the above explanations generally suggest that there could be a larger size of Bosnian Muslims (*Bosniaks*) in Australia that includes those who declare themselves differently. These include newly born Bosniaks in Australia and the most recent Bosniak migrants; which will be included in the future Australian Census to provide full statistics related to Bosnian Muslim community in Australia.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

This chapter aims to explore the theoretical debates surrounding the process of migration and settlement as it relates to an understanding of the history of the development of Australia's multicultural society, and more specifically, the formation and identity of the Bosniak (i.e. the Bosnian Muslim) diaspora in Australian society. The first part of this chapter explores the process of migration and then examines the issue of ethnic identity. It firstly addresses the questions of religion, religious identity and the place of religion in migration and settlement and then discusses the broader issues of cultural identity in the context of diasporic identity formation. Discussion of these theoretical approaches is linked to the specific subject of this thesis, the migration and cultural-religious identity of the Bosnian-Muslim Australian community.

Overall, this chapter covers the complexity of specific issues on migration, religious and cultural identity and the Bosnian community language. Using a variety of analyses that link discussions on relevant theories and concepts, relevant elements which belong to and characterise the Bosniaks and their settlement in Australia are explored.

2.1 Migration

Throughout history, *migration* waves occurred from many countries in response to demographic growth, climatic change, the development of production, trade, warfare, and conquest, the formation of nations and the emergence of states and empires. These population movements, whether voluntary or enforced, have always been part of settlement history and have led to diasporic formations in new countries (Castles 1994:43). Many researchers suggest that migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on exploration, colonisation, political influence, family reunion, trade, investment,

employment opportunities, or cultural ties (ibid:21). Indeed, the history of immigration in all its various forms is an important part of the history of the advancement of the human race (Sowell 1996:391).

Immigration is an extremely prominent feature of cotemporary developed countries such as Australia (Chant 1992:1). Particularly since the post-WW2 period onwards the continuing arrival of new settlers has been a dominant theme in Australian history and national development (Castles et al 1998:4). In *Immigration and Australia: Myths and Realities*, Castles et al (1998:1) argues that the modern history of Australia is in a most fundamental sense the product of immigration and settlement. In the international context, the countries with which Australia is most often compared in immigration matters are Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. Over the long term, Australia and these four countries continue to receive the great majority of the world's permanent immigrants (ibid: 8).

It is generally assumed that migration does not just happen; it has to be caused by something (Papastergiadis 2000:17). There is one prevailing model of migration generally known as the 'Push-pull theory', because it explains the causes of migration as a combination of internal *push factors*, impelling people to leave their country of origin and external *pull factors*, which attract people to migrate to certain receiving countries. The *internal factors* include demographic growth, low standards of living, lack of economic opportunities and political repression. The external *pull factors* are a result of the need for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms (Castles 1994:19; Papastergiadis 2000:17).

International migration is rarely a simple individual action in which a person decides to relocate in search of a better life, *pulls up* his or her roots in their place of origin, and quickly becomes assimilated in the new country. More often migration and settlement is a prolonged drawn-out process that is played out for the rest of the migrant's life and impacts subsequent generations. It is a collective action, arising from social change that affects societies in both sending and receiving countries. Moreover the experience of migration and living in another country often leads to modification of the original plans, so that migrants' intentions at the time of departure are a poor predictor of actual behaviour (Castles 1994:18). Papastergiadis (2000:113)

considers that the heightened *movements* of people, *symbols* and *practices* has not only undermined the structures that attempted to confer a sense of homogeneity embedded in the identity of subjects located within given geopolitical units and linear narratives of history, but has problematised the degree to which migrants exclusively identified with their new place of work and living (ibid). He adds that the historical and cultural field that shapes contemporary society is increasingly diverse, thus we can no longer exclusively focus on the traditions and institutions that took root in a given place over a long historical period. The identity of society has to reflect the mix that emerges whenever two or more cultures meet (Papastergiadis 2000:2).

Beside the 'Push-pull theory', there are several earlier theories focused in a specific discipline or analysis such as 'Network theory', 'Institutional theory', 'Cumulative causation theory' and 'Migration system theory'. *Network theory* means sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community (Massey, Arango, Hugo et. al cited in Guibernau and Rex 1997:264). *Institutional theory* emphasises the role of private institutions and voluntary organisations which arise to satisfy the demand created by ambivalence between the large number of people who seek entry into capital-rich countries and the limited number of immigrant visas these countries typically offer. As organisations develop to support, sustain and promote international movement, the international flow of migrants becomes more and more institutionalised and independent of the factors that originally caused it (ibid:265). *Cumulative causation theory* identified by Myrdal (1957) and Massey (1990) follows the 'Network theory' and the 'Institutional theory' and alters the social context in ways that promote additional migration (ibid). *Migration system theory* is characterised by the relatively intense exchange of goods, capital and people between certain countries and less intense exchanges between others (ibid:266–7).

By indicating the variety of theories, Massey et al. (1997:257) argue that current patterns and new trends in immigration, however, suggest that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying exclusively on the tools of one discipline, or by focusing on a single level of analysis, such as Castles's push-pull theory. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of viewpoints, levels and assumptions (ibid).

Importantly, Papastergiadis (2000:17) clearly states that migration patterns have changed dramatically over time. The most recent literature on global migration has drawn more attention to the conceptual difficulty in distinguishing between different forms of movements, in particular, the distinction between political refugee and labour migration (ibid).

Migration in its endless motion, surrounds and pervades almost all aspects of contemporary society, and the modern world is in a state of 'flux and turbulence' (Papastergiadis 2000:1). According to Papastergiadis (ibid:2) the term *turbulence*, relative to the dynamic of migration, is not just a useful concept to describe the course of migratory movement; it is also a metaphor for the broader levels of interconnection and interdependency between the various forces that are in play in the modern world. For Papastergiadis this term is the most appropriate formulation for the mobile and complex processes of diasporic self-organisation now occurring in modern societies, including Australia (ibid:3). He argues that 'it is a system in which the circulation of people, resources and information follow multiple paths as the world changes around us and we change with it' (ibid:1) and that in the modern period, the process of change has also altered fundamental perceptions of time and space (ibid:2). Perceptions of time and space and the emergence of modernity are of concern to most migrant groups, including the Bosniaks, particularly in the process of *settlement*.

On the one hand, the movement of people is not just the experience of shifting from one place to another; it is also linked to our ability to imagine an alternative (ibid:11). On the other hand, today, changing location is a new experience of the dynamic process of migration, where the term *migrant* has a looming presence, and an ambivalent association. While for some *migrant* suggests a 'positive image of *cosmopolitanism* and experience', to others it generates a 'defensive' reaction against the so-called 'foreigners' 'who "unfairly" exploit the limited welfare resources of the host county' (ibid:49). This issue should inspire not only a deeper 're-thinking of the relationship between stranger and *citizen*' (ibid), but should also reveal the contributions made by various communities in new societies.

It needs to be stressed that historically the word 'cosmopolitan' derives its origin from the ancient Greek word *kosmopolitês* ('citizen of the world') (Kleingeld and Brown

2006). Twenty-five hundred years ago an exceptional thinker named Diogenes exclaimed that he is not only Athenian, or Greek, but ‘a citizen of the world’ (cited in Smith 1991: 7). Smith (1991: 7) points out that ‘today we must all be struggling to make those words our own’. Accordingly, some scholars developed the notion of cosmopolitanism as ‘citizens of the earth’ rather than explicitly as citizens of particular states (Kleingeld and Brown 2006). Kleingeld and Brown (2006) agree that the terms ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘world citizenship’ are often used to express an attitude of open-mindedness and fairness. Effectively, cosmopolitanism in contemporary times includes migration processes (Halpin 2008). Similarly to Papastergiadis (2000:49), Halpin (2008) states that cosmopolitanism does not call for a mere readjustment of existing political structures, but rather for an essential re-configuration of the international structure and arrangement.

Because the question of migrant identity is always posed in relation to place and space, Papastergiadis (2000:49–55) considers that identification with migration often continues, even after second or third generations are born in the new country of their parents or grandparents. While for the second or third generation the physical act of migration and ‘assimilation’, or rather adaptation is over, they are sometimes still considered a ‘generation of migrants’ by others. This complex issue is primarily related to the relationship between cultures that requires deeper understanding, so that migration should not be seen as ‘something strange’ and either integration or adaptation is viewed as a natural process whereby culture should ‘fit into a space’ within a culturally diverse society. Addressing this question leads to earlier migrant experiences combined with experiences of their descendants and newly arrived migrant generations in both diasporas and societies. This should include an analysis of diasporic patterns on the one hand and ethnic community adaptability into new societies on the other.

Legrain (2006 117-132) states that opening borders to migrants could transform our world for the better in the twenty-first century. He posits that freer international migration should be the next front in the battle for global justice, as campaigners for global justice argue that rich-countries need increase their aid to poor countries. Along this line, Kleingeld and Brown (2006) state that cosmopolitanism has moral, political, cultural and economic implications. It insists that we human beings have a

duty to help fellow humans in need, including migrants and refugees. Thus the idea of human development, especially in recent years, is a holistic and humanitarian approach (Johnson in Lidstone in Chiang, N. L-H., Lidstone, J., and Stephenson, A. R., 2004: 124).

Most importantly Collins (2007) argues that ‘the cornerstone of a cosmopolitan and civil society is *equality*’. Cosmopolitans argue that solutions to global problems, such as migrations, poverty, environmental destructions, should promote the welfare of the species as a whole. Thus globalisation along with migration may create new opportunities for promoting the cosmopolitan idea that *all* human beings are equal. Baylis and Smith (2001: 629; 230) state that ‘cosmopolitanism is the view that central focus of world politics should concentrate either on humanity as a whole or on individuals’. Thus cosmopolitanism envisages a shift away from the inward-looking focus of the ‘national’ approach which currently dominates understandings of the state, calling instead for a more ‘globally-focused’ cosmopolitan conception and processes, one which is capable of responding to global challenges with internationally-conceived resolutions imbued with the effectiveness of collaboration and mutual aid (Halpin 2008).

The historical links forged under colonialism still provide some of the axial routes of migration. For instance, Algerians continue to attempt to migrate to France, just as the Pakistanis try their luck in Britain. Germany is the principal destination of ‘guest workers’ from the Balkans, and Turkey is the principal source of emigrants from Middle East countries to Europe (Martin 1991 cited in Castles 1994:134). Recent trends reveal that migrants, particularly those from the former Eastern bloc countries, are heading for new destinations on the basis of covert agencies, or messages sent via complex information channels that link friends and families across various locations. The diversity in the sources of migration imply that there are more limited possibilities for migrants to form ethnic bonds (Papastergiadis 2000:49). The attitudes and actions of the people and the state of a country of immigration have a crucial impact on the migratory process. In turn, migrant community formation may modify or reinforce these effects. In both countries the control of migrant labour by the state and its incorporation by employers set the conditions for the settlement process (Castles 1994:118). Castles’s view suggests there is a need for wider consideration of

the complexity of migration. He also argues for the recognition of the roles of different migrant cultures, particularly in terms of their contribution to the efficiency of modern diversity.

Migration consists of the following factors from which this phenomenon can be considered: (1) the multiplication of migratory movements; (2) differentiation in economic social and cultural backgrounds of immigrants; (3) acceleration of migration patterns; (4) expansion in the volume of migrants; (5) feminisation of migration; (6) deterritorialisation of cultural communities and (7) loyalty of diaspora (Papastergiadis 2000:87). Their combined effect will increasingly affect a greater number of locations and subsequently migration will continue to be a dynamic force in the constitution of modern societies. Therefore societies which previously defined themselves in terms of 'ethnic purity' will have to undergo structural adjustments to acknowledge the inevitable interaction with newcomers and different cultures.

Castles's (1994:18) view is that no government has ever set out to build an ethnically diverse society through immigration, yet labour recruitment policies often lead to the formation of ethnic minorities with far-reaching consequences for social relations, public policies, national identity and international relations. However, he (ibid:121) points out that the main approach of Australia to these issues over the last several decades is to be found in *multiculturalism* policy, with its far-flung network of consultative bodies, special agencies and equal opportunity legislation. Papastergiadis (2000:3) makes a similar point that multicultural rights and cultural exchange thus began to play a dynamic role in the reshaping of contemporary society.

Historically, Europeans, Asians, Americans and Africans migrated, either permanently or temporarily, as sailors, refugees, labourers, merchants, missionaries and administrators. These migrations helped to bring about major changes in the economic structures and cultures of both sending and receiving countries, such as Australia (Castles 1994:46), and subsequently complex links have emerged between ethnic communities and the wider society (ibid:120). The development of ethnic communities has reciprocal effects on the attitude and behaviour of the population and state policies (ibid). The attitude of local workers, for example, towards migrants is part of a wider picture. For instance, the 1960s and 1970s were a period of growing

acceptance of cultural difference and worldwide recognition of immigrants' contribution to economic growth (ibid:119).

After the previous White Australian Policy, contemporary immigration and settlement process are linked with the *political history of multiculturalism* (Castles et al 1998). During the *Whitlam Labor* government (1973-5), after visiting countries in the Asian region Grassby described his tour as 'breaking another long-held political *taboo*': no Australian minister had ever visited Asian states with and to explore intention of discussing issues on immigration (Tavan 2005:204). The *Fraser* government's significant contribution was reflected in the Prime Minister's support for multiculturalism and a large intake of Indo-Chinese immigration, including the first Vietnamese refugees in 1976. Fraser's decisions contributed to receiving more Southeast Asian refugees and, indeed, statistics attests to Australia's comparatively generous responses to Asian refugees. So by the end of 1982 almost 70,000 Asian refugees had settled in Australia (ibid; 214).

The *Hawke Labor* government improved equal opportunities and anti-discrimination legislation benefited ethnic minorities, along with other groups'. From 1984 all government departments and agencies were required to make their services appropriate to the needs of various ethnic groups, most notably those of NESB (Castles et al 1995:72-2; 76). Accordingly various settlement services became available with intake migrants of various backgrounds. During the *Hawke* and *Keating* periods of multiculturalism various ethnic communities established ethnic clubs, organisations, media and social services. Support of multicultural policies enhanced *settlement* development and the promotion of increased cultural diversity that included Asians, NESB Europeans, Latin Americans, Middle Eastern, and Africans (Castles et al 1995:207).

Hage (1998:179) sees a spectrum of cosmopolitan development in Australia by it receiving a significant intake of immigrants from various Asian countries, especially during the 1980s and early 1990s. Florida (in Legrain 2006:118) states that economic growth is powered by a diverse mix of creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. Migrant diversity increases the chances that places will attract different types of creative people with different skills and ideas

which generate new combinations. Florida (ibid) further argues that diversity of peoples and their concentration work together to spread the flow of knowledge which in turn leads to higher rates of innovation, high-technology business formation, employment generation and economic growth. In the context of cosmopolitanism, culturally diverse countries all over the world tend to be more productive than more uniform ones because they embrace a variety of goods, services, skills and ideas available for consumption and production (Legrain 2006:132).

Nation building, particularly in the Americas and Oceania, was based on the immigration of new populations (ibid:46) which often meant new opportunities. In turn, this brought about changes in identity, including the move from one suburb to another, one job to another, or from one material status to another. The shifts experienced by international migrants may be rather more significant and will involve the construction of new identities. Migration changes to a greater or lesser degree in all of these cases as well as the adoption of entirely new identities (Bouma 1996:70). Apart from these issues Sowell importantly (1996:391) notes: 'immigrants who began in dynamic turbulence and achieved prosperity advancing the economic level of the receiving society bring into sharper focus the importance of creating wealth and other benefits'. As such immigrants should be regarded as significant contributors to forming not only a legacy of economic gain, but also of human inspiration.

Technological changes, improving communications, along with growing integration of the world market, make the international community smaller and more homogenous. However there are still differences in terms of individual life styles, and group cultural identities. Most importantly, the Australian model of multiculturalism, with its balance between separatism of varied groups, and cohesion of society as a whole, is one relatively successful and peaceful way of well-managing socio-economic prosperity (Castles et al 1995:141). Above all, cosmopolitanism offered a broader way of understanding the similarities and differences including the turbulence of migration, where globalised culture, which itself is a culturally diverse, met a multicultural world, and where existing communities and various cultures are in quicker and closer mutual contacts (Baylis and Smith, 2001:458). Central to the cosmopolitan argument, however, is the understanding that it is not simply a desirable

progression, but an *unavoidable* one if governance is to keep pace with globalisation (Halpin 2008).

2.2 Diaspora

The notion of *diaspora* was subjected to scholarly attention and reformulation, especially among diverse representatives of what became known as post-colonial studies (Myers cited in Hovannisian and Myers 1999:125). Broadly saying, diaspora is dedicated to the multidisciplinary study of the history, culture, social structure, politics, and economics and so on. Hugo (2004) argues that nowadays diaspora has a multiple significance. The role of diaspora, or transnational dispersions, has been increasingly beneficial, most notably in economic domains, in Australia and in a rapidly globalising economy.

Thus there exist various explanations of the concept of 'diaspora' and, according to Braude, the term literally means 'dispersion' (cited in Hovannisian and Myers 1999:13). Vertovec (1997: 227) defines 'diaspora' as the term which often describes any population that is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational' – that is, which has originated in a land other than that in which it currently resides, and where social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states, or, indeed, span the globe'. Castles and Miller (1993:102) consider diaspora as a 'chain migration process by which migrants encouraged and helped relatives, friends and fellow villagers to come and join them'.

Tololian (cited in Guibernau and Rex 1997:283) argues that 'diasporas are the exemplary communities of transnational movements'. Diaspora membership is different from travel in that it is not temporary, and involves dwelling, maintaining communities and having collective homes away from the homeland. By identifying the notion of diaspora, Safran (ibid:284) exemplifies several main characteristics, including: (1) its history of migration, myths or memories of the homeland; (2) alienation in the host country; (3) desire for eventual return; (4) ongoing support of the homeland and (5) a collective identity importantly defined by this relationship. These characteristics and conditions are often based on traditional culture, religious affiliation and the relationship toward the country of origin. Discussions on separate

segments of culture, on meanings of culture and its role in identity formation within models of where and how community exists, are key to identifying specific diaspora.

Boyarin (1995:333) maintains that diasporic culture and identity allow for a complex continuation of cultural creativity and identity. At the same time, people participate fully in the common cultural life of their surroundings. Thus diaspora is instructive in that it can show that it is possible for a people to preserve and promote such distinctive culture and difference. Accordingly, Clifford (cited in Guibernau and Rex 1997:284) suggests that dispersed people in a new country may claim 'diasporic identity'. However, there are gaps which should essentially include structures and patterns of diaspora. Each has its own characteristics based on religion, culture, language and history of origin, but there are also many similarities. The Bosniak diaspora also shares some differences and similarities with other diasporas in Australia. It should be clearly noted that the Bosniak diaspora in Australia is based in the Australian historical context of immigrant intake. For instance, Papastergiadis, Saeed, Bouma, Mol, Wurgaft, Taylor, Giddens, Young, Sowell and others certainly recognise identity, culture, religious and cultural organisations and other community institutions as being a complex set of issues in relation to diasporas.

Sowell (1996:2) states that differences and similarities among immigrants and diasporas lie at the *heart of migration*. Some communities acquire the culture of new lands rapidly, while others cling to their ancestral ways for generations. However, members of diasporas often include combined and adapted experiences of the initial processes of integration and cherish some of the cultural traditions of their country of origin. Sowell (ibid) posits that present theories explore the linking of people from specific places of origin in one country to specific destinations in another, which in some cases extends to the neighbourhood level. It is therefore arguable that Muslims from different parts of Bosnia settled in different neighbourhoods and not always in areas where the majority settled. Some settled where the majority of the Bosniak community was already established (for instance, close to a mosque, community club, or industrial zones), while others chose to settle in other urban or rural environments and landscapes and kept in touch with the Bosniak community and its activities. Arguably wherever they settle in Australia their location and places of gathering constitute part of the Bosniak diaspora.

Many people in diaspora communities have a passion for helping their communities back home, and diaspora volunteering is one of many ways they can help. Legrein (2006:190-1) argues that developing countries need to broadly view a well-educated and well-connected global diaspora, as a 'brain bank' to which countries contribute talented people and from which they can receive remittance.

Giddens (1992:381) argues that social institutions, both ethnic and multi-ethnic, such as mosques, sports clubs, community services and organisations, schools and media are the 'cement' of the migrant social life of the diaspora. These institutions provide the basic living arrangements that human beings work out in their interactions with one another and the means by which continuity is achieved across the generations (ibid). Giddens creates 'space' for further observation toward the unavoidable questions such as the Bosniak migrant's experience, group socialisation and diasporic patterns in Australian society.

Accordingly diasporas, including the Bosniak diaspora, consist of their own structures and patterns based mainly on community institutions and services provided by both their membership and that of the wider society. Castles (1994:23) states that central to the historical process of migration and establishment of diaspora are the micro-structures which are firstly informal networks developed by migrants themselves in order to cope with migration and settlement. These can be understood as dynamic cultural responses which form the basis of ethnic community formation, such as the maintenance of family and group ties which transcend ethno-national boundaries (ibid). Here there are gaps in Castles's accounts of turbulent dynamics, particularly in relation to a deeper understanding of internal adjustments to external perceptions. In contrast, Mahmutcehajic (2005:9) claims that diasporic identity in a new society should be understood as an insight into the *interaction* of traditional and modern. This idea covers the transfer of population from rural and urban communities to the new, urban, even more broadly cosmopolitan centres, which is, among the Bosnian population, an important issue, particularly related to the new 'twin' process of *cultivation* and *adaptation*. Similarly, as Sowell (1996:8) points out, 'the immigrants were not always culturally the same, even when they came from the same country'.

Diaspora is composed of ethnic elements, which include specific culture, religion, settlement, language and other values that contribute to a multicultural society. Therefore clearly Bosniaks in the Bosniak diaspora have their own community institutions, clubs, services, organisations and so on. Historically, the places of their diasporic gathering, over several generations, have specific development. They started with multi-ethnic mosques, Muslim institutions and media, then within social and welfare associations, followed by community mosques and sports clubs, and certainly the multicultural network of Australian ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic plurality, in which Bosniaks actively participate.

The Bosniak diaspora also consists of different types of views, affiliations, experiences, socialisation and so on. For instance, Weber (cited in Guibernau and Rex 1997:25) states that differences in ethno-nationality may exist even among groups closely related and of similar descent, merely because they have different religious persuasions, as in the case of Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks. The concrete reasons for the belief in 'joint nationality' and for the resulting social action vary greatly (ibid). However differences could exist at both levels, in wider society and also within a diaspora, and further research should explore Bosniak diasporic organisational life in Australia and some existing divisions or affiliations in Australia. From a general point of view, Erixsen (cited in Guibernau and Rex 1997:39) clearly indicates that one of the essentially important points of ethnicity is the relationships and mutual contacts within groups. Conversely, there may also be considerable cultural variations within groups in the diaspora. Only in so far as cultural differences are perceived as being important and are made socially relevant, do social relationships have an ethnic element (ibid).

In modern times ethnic communities or diasporas play a significant role in the reshaping of contemporary society where the twin processes of globalisation and *migration* have shifted the question of cultural identity from the margins to the centre of contemporary debates (Papastergiadis 2000:5). In this way, Papastergiadis (ibid:113) underscores the issues between the status of cultural difference within the nation, and the pressures of globalisation are evident in the redefinition of the role of diasporised cultures (ibid), suggesting that globalisation has heightened the contact points between different cultural systems or ethnicities (ibid:108). According to

Castles (et al 1995:159; 141) 'globalisation is one pressure which reduces the power and autonomy of nation states'. The nation-state loses many of its former functions and powers, becoming more and more an empty shell; it suffers a crisis of legitimacy.

The frequency and closeness of various world cultures create the shift of cultural production from the household or the local community to the world wide economy profoundly influences our ways of life - most people wear jeans, drink Coca-Cola, or buying other variety of commercial goods, use electronic media and eat factory food. Thus increasing integration of the world through the role of diasporas result in a simultaneous homogenisation and fragmenting of culture (ibid:140-1).

As a final point Hugo (2004) claims that in the future Australia also needs to build on its record of recruiting highly skilled persons (*recruitment*); it must ensure that there are opportunities for the brightest and the best so they do not have to leave the country permanently to achieve their potential (*retention*); it must recognise that there is much to gain from young Australians working in other countries. If a substantial number can return with enhanced talents the country will gain a double dividend (*return*). Hugo (2004) underlines that many Australians living overseas on a permanent or long-term basis still feel a strong sense of being Australian; this is as he calls 're-engagement'.

2.3 Ethnicity

Migrations of relatively small numbers of immigrants lead to the formation of ethnic minorities. Castles (1994:27) defines an *ethnic minority* as a product of both *other-definition* and *self-definition*. In this sense, 'other definition' means the ascription of undesirable characteristics and assignment to inferior social positions by dominant groups. 'Self-definition' refers to the consciousness of group members belonging together on the basis of shared cultural and social characteristics (ibid). More specifically, an ethnic minority can be defined as a group with some of the following characteristics: (1) being a subordinate group in a complex society; (2) having special or cultural characteristics which are held in low esteem by dominant groups in the society; (3) constituting self-conscious groups bound together on the one hand by language, culture, religion and feelings of shared history, tradition and destiny, and on

the other hand by a common position within the society concerned and (4) membership in the ethnic minority to some extent being transmitted to subsequent generations by descent (ibid). Most minorities define themselves mainly on the basis of cultural and historical consciousness (or *ethnic identity*) among their members. The relative strength of other- and self-definition can vary, but the concept of ethnic minority implies some degree of marginalisation (ibid).

Often an ethnicity is seen as an attribute of minority groups, but most theorists such as Avices, Burnley, Encel, McCall, Giddens among many others argue that everybody has ethnicity, which may be understood as a sense of group belonging, based on ideas of common origins, history, culture, experience and values (ibid). However there are more or less similarities in the defining notion of ethnicity. For instance, Cohen and Bains refer to ethnicity as constituted by a ‘myth of origins which does not imply a congenital destiny – namely the linguistic and cultural practices through which a sense of collective identity or “roots” is produced and transmitted from generation to generation and is changed in the process’ (1988:24–5 cited in Castles 1994:27). Castles claims that becoming an ethnic minority is not an automatic result of immigration, but rather the consequence of specific mechanisms of marginalisation, which affect different groups in different ways (1994:29).

The origins of ethnicity may be explained in various ways. In the work of Geertz, for example, ethnicity is a ‘primordial attachment’, which results: ‘from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social practices’ (cited in Castles, 1994:28). In this sense, ethnicity is not a matter of choice – ‘it is *presocial, almost instinctual, something one is born into*’. On the other hand, many anthropologists use a concept of ‘situational’ ethnicity. Members of a specific group decide to ‘invoke’ ethnicity, as a creation for self-identification, in a situation where such identification is necessary or useful. In all these senses the notion of ethnicity could be ‘primordial’, ‘situational’ or ‘instrumental’ (ibid: 28–9), but more importantly, it only takes a recognised place in social and political meaning when it is linked to processes of boundary drawing between dominant groups and minorities (ibid:29). However notions of ethnicity can be found in multiple sources.

For instance, Brown (cited in Guibernau and Rex 1997:81) considers *ethnicity* as a named human population with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories and cultural elements, a link with a historic territory or homeland and a measure of solidarity. These aspects lead to a further understanding of the creation of ethnic diasporas consisting of several main characteristics. Firstly, an ethnicity must have a name for itself and a lack of name reflects an insufficiently developed collective identity. Secondly, the people in the diaspora must believe in a common ancestry, which is also part of Bosniak pride. Thirdly, the members of the group must share historical memories, often myths or legends passed from generation to generation. Fourthly, the people of the ethnicity must have a shared culture, generally based on a combination of language, religion, laws, customs, institutions, dress, music, crafts, architecture and food, such as Islamic. Fifthly, the people must have a specific piece of territory, which they may or may not actually inhabit, such as Bosnia. Lastly, but not least important, the people in a group have to think of themselves as an ‘authentic’ group, in order to constitute an ethnic community and a shared sense of common ethnicity, often related through the mixed context: multicultural Bosnia, Islam, Bosniak culture, Bosnian language and their sense of a new homeland in multicultural Australia (ibid). Ethnically diverse communities are bound together by a *common* identity, habits and interests (Legrain 2006:256).

Giddens (1992:243–4) maintains that ‘ethnicity refers to cultural practices and outlooks that distinguish a given community of people’. Many different characteristics may serve to distinguish ethnic groups, but the most usual are language, history or ancestry, religion and styles of dress or adornment. This set of references is relevant for the Bosniak ethnicity, because it refers to some sense of group solidarity of ‘belonging together’, classified, or rather recognised, on the basis of particular shared characteristics. In this way, an ethnicity also constitutes a number of people who interact with each other on a regular basis. Such regularity of interaction tends to bind participants together as a distinct unit which is the Bosniak diaspora, but with an overall social identity that is part of Australian society. Clearly, distinction from others cannot be fully applicable because of cultural interaction in a culturally diverse society such as Australia, but also because of the Bosniak propensity, or rather openness, towards others (examples are their friendships). Importantly, one should not forget the Bosniak pride in both their cultural-traditional

identity and modern adaptability. Furthermore Giddens (ibid:275) considers that members of a group expect certain forms of behaviour from one another not demanded of non-members. Groups within the diaspora differ in size, ranging from intimate associations, such as family, to large collectivities, such as sports clubs, in the case of Bosniaks in Australia.

Various ethnicities include more dynamic cultural interaction, frequent communication, broader distribution of goods, available services, fresh ideas, adequate investments, and importantly 'belief in an open social system and equality' (Malik et al 1989:79). Increased ethnic diversity may boost *solidarity* when different ethnic minority groups support each other. The values of ethnic diversity bring virtues into contemporary societies (Legrain 2006:151).

Most modern societies include numerous different ethnic groups, such as multi-ethnic Australia. Many industrialised and non-industrialised societies worldwide are *plural* societies with several large ethnic groupings, involved in the same political and economic order but otherwise largely distinct from one another (ibid:244). Minority groups to some degree are usually physically and socially isolated from the larger community. They tend to be concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, cities or regions of a country in order to maintain their cultural distinctiveness (ibid:245).

Regulation of international migration is one of two central issues arising from mass population movements of the current epoch (Castles 1994:10). The other is the effects of growing ethnic diversity. Castles (ibid:12) states that settlers are often distinct from receiving populations in various ways: they may come from different types of societies (for example, agrarian-rural rather than urban-industrial) with different traditions, religions and political institutions. They often speak a different language and follow different cultural practices and may be visibly different, through physical appearance (skin colour, features, hair type, style of dress and so on). The distinction is often socioeconomic: some migrant groups become concentrated in certain types of work (generally of low social status) and are segregated in low-income residential areas. The position of immigrants is sometimes marked by a specific legal status: that of the foreigner or non-citizen. The differences are often defined in concepts of 'ethnicity' or 'nationality' (ibid).

According to Fishman (cited in Fasold 1984:2) '*nationalities* are sociocultural unit that have developed beyond primarily local self-concepts, concerns and integrative bonds' while *ethnic group* is a level of sociocultural organisation that is 'simpler, smaller, more particularistic and more localistic'. Thus the Bosniak diaspora as a smaller social, religious, cultural and linguistic unit practically initiates the transformation from the former notion of national identity to ethnicity. Similarly, Bouma (1996:69) posits that immigrants learn new identities as they settle in a new society. For example, as they refer to themselves as *Australians*, a new identity is learned. In doing so a former national identity may become an 'ethnic identity'. In applying Bouma's standpoint to Bosnian Muslims in Australia, the Bosniak national identity, which derives from their Islamic background, evolves into an 'ethnic identity' preserving its Islamic characteristics as part of multi/ethnic/religious Australian society within Australian nationality. In other words, the Australian Bosniak ethnic identity (*Bosniaks*) in Australia becomes a part of the Australian national identity (*Australians*) and in turn, Australian identity becomes a part of Bosniak identity. Furthermore Bouma (1996:69) points out that the process of identity change often involves learning to treat as an 'ethnic identity' a sense of self that one had assumed as normal, and had earlier taken for granted as a national identity. What was previously an identity of shared association with most of the experienced social world, upon migration, becomes an identity of distinction, an identity of difference from what is normal in the new society.

Johnson (in Legrain 2006:127) points out that: 'we all have different starting points, different goals, and different experiences in our lives', but we often have 'common activities' which allow us to interact 'that help us solve problems'. Clearly, ethnic diversity promotes creativity. Football is a good example – nowadays many national clubs have been transformed into multi-ethnic well-talented and harmonious teams. Groups – starting from couples and families, through neighbourhoods, cities and countries up to all of humanity can have elements of a common cosmopolitan identity. In this way, people of various *ethnic* backgrounds may feel like a big family. In contrast if an *ethnic group* does not share a common goal, world view or identity, diversity might lead to competition and conflict in the group.

Clearly, learning a new ethnic and national identity, the migrant may also learn a 'new' religious identity (Bouma 1996). This process of forming a 'new' religious identity is obvious within the frameworks of the multi-ethnic Muslim community and multi-religious society. Even those who come from a multi-religious society, such as Bosnian Muslims, may find they too have new things to learn about themselves, especially the place of their religious community and the broader Bosniak diaspora, but most importantly about their *new homeland* Australia. More specifically, although they came from a multi-religious society, the Bosnian Muslims in Australia have opportunities to learn from, and experience, in particular, the larger diversity of Muslim backgrounds which belong to their 'new' religious identity and the broader multicultural/religious society, as a significant part of their 'new' cultural, but more cosmopolitan identity (ibid). Yet two important points come into view: the Bosnian Muslims have opportunities to practically: (1) enrich their own Islamic identity and (2) enrich their multicultural identity. It further follows that religion is a significant factor in both migration and settlement processes (ibid:53).

2.4 Social Capital

The term *social capital* highlights a wide range of specific benefits and diversity of applications that flow mainly from the trust, reciprocity, information, and cooperation associated with social networks. It creates values for the people who are connected either frequently or occasionally. Various scholars define social capital as a 'multidimensional concept'.

Bourdieu (1983: 249) defines social capital as the 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'. Putnam (2000: 19) explains that 'whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called 'civic virtue'. The difference is that 'social capital' calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a network of reciprocal social relations. According to Coleman (1994: 302) 'social capital is

defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure’.

The *core idea* of social capital is that social networks within community or broader society have values. Hence, social capital refers not only to connections among individuals, but also to the collective values of community and society. All social networks and the inclinations that arise from these networks do things for each other, either as norms of reciprocity or support. Information flows (e.g. education, work, exchanging ideas and experiences) that depend on social capital norms of reciprocity (mutual assistance) are dependent on social networks (Putnam 2000: 19).

Woolcock (2001: 13-4) make a distinction between different types of social capital. He distinguished between: (1) Bonding social capital (it denotes ties between people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbours); (2) Bridging social capital (it encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates); (3) Linking social capital (it reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside of the community, enabling members to influence a far wider range of resources than are available in the community). Bridging networks that connect individuals who are diverse maintain reciprocity in general (www.bettertogether.org). While bonding refers to the value assigned to social networks between homogeneous groups of people, the bridging refers to that of social networks between socially heterogeneous groups. Bridging social capital is argued by sociologists, such as Gittel, Vidal and Putnam, to have a host of other benefits for societies, governments, individuals, and as well as building community capacity.

Scholars such as Onyx, Lyons and Hasan consider the notion of social capital as a ‘meaningful construct’ in community building, such as in Australia and Canada (CACOM 2006). Accordingly, the implications of different forms of social capital are linked to migration, settlement, ethnic community development and a multicultural society. More specifically it includes *community structure* (organisations) and *activities*. In point of fact it also means that migrants or refugees

came to Australia because of more or less similar reasons (eg. social, economic, political); they settled within particular settlement patterns (eg. religious settlement, business network) and environments, and they are attached to community settings (clubs, mosques, associations) or activities (eg. sport, culture, arts) not only within their own community framework and institutions, but within a multicultural environment and activities connected with governmental and non-governmental agencies. These factors are interlinked with social capital, 'where one community may have high participation but relatively low trust, another may have the reverse'. Thus the levels of social capital vary from among communities (ibid).

For instance, when new arrival migrants or refugees come into contact with established previous waves of migrants it leads to an accumulation of social capital. Another interconnection relevant to settlement is the way multicultural services support community organisations in providing care and/or assistance, including charity work. Further explanations are that the bridging social capital is an important type of social capital because it can generate broader identities and reciprocity. More precisely, multiculturalism provides a platform for multiple identities – that includes belonging to a community, a new homeland and a country of origin.

Putnam (2000) posits that 'the notion of social capital is a useful way of entering into debates about civil society'. His statement needs to be seen through the context of cultural-religious interaction which enables people to build communities and their settlement institutions, to commit themselves to each other, and to contribute in building of society. From the socio-historical perspective *multiculturalism* is *essentially* an important component of building society along with social virtues, which embraces mutual respect, trustworthy solidarity, tolerance and social cohesion. Social capital supports community development and society in general. All these elements suggest that a society of many virtues is, indeed, prosperous in social capital. Thus social capital is a matter of common contribution without exclusion. It gains international character. Scanlon (2003) considers that social capital brings a new vision of community, in which the complexity and depth that comes with enduring bonds with others is also connected with socio-economic interests. It is little wonder policy-makers are attracted by social capital. Scanlon (2003) stresses that social capital binds people together (ibid).

Conclusively, Putnam (2000:49-81) underlines that official membership in organisations is a significant aspect of social capital – ‘it is useful barometer of community involvement’. Faith-based organisations, cultural and sports clubs are particularly important to social capital. Sociologically, these organisations are an important way of social solidarity, a mechanism for mutual assistance and shared expertise. Various work-related organisations have traditionally been among the most common forms of civic connectedness (ibid; 81). Societies rich in social capital are said to be characterised by dense and extensive networks of trusting and co-operative relationships underscored by a heightened ethic of social reciprocity. Increased social capital has been linked to everything from a vibrant civil society, economic efficiency, strengthened security, reduced poverty rates, improving educational achievements and better health conditions (Scanlon 2005).

Gittell and Vidal (1998) agree that community organising provides a new insight into an important national challenge how to stimulate the formation of *genuinely* community-based organisations and *productive* citizens in society. Finally, Cavaye (2004) believes that the challenge of social capital is to develop at least consistent indicators that can allow conclusions to be drawn across local, state and national frameworks.

2.5 Religion

Firstly, it must be established that the Bosnian Muslims, is a part of the Islamic community in Bosnia, in Australia and worldwide. Historically, as Muslim Bosniaks are part of *umma* (the whole of the brotherhood and sisterhood of Muslims) since the 8th century, they are also part of the European multi-religious diversity (Hadzizalic 1977; Balic 1994). Islam is a very significant part of the Bosniak cultural-religious identity; it is a significant part of their ethnic community in Australia; it is also their substantial value in understanding themselves and others; and it is also a meritoriously important factor in a variety of life aspects which initiate and promote peace, tolerance, mutual understanding, harmony and difference. Like other Australian Muslims of different backgrounds respectively, the Bosnian Muslims in Australia also contribute to promoting Islamic values and preserving the Islamic cultural heritage as

well as supporting Australian multicultural/religious institutions. As such, they constitute the multi-ethnic Muslim community and the multicultural/religious society in Australia.

In Australian multicultural society there is religious diversity. Breward (1993) and Carey (1996) argue that cultural *plurality* in Australia became a fact both within and between religious groups (both cited in Bouma 1996:95). Bouma (ibid) argues that diversity was a constant element in all religious communities in Australia. There is *plurality*, for instance, both within Australian Christian groups as well as the Islamic community in Australia. Thus religious groups, which once presented themselves and were perceived as more or less homolytic blocks, are now seen as a reflection of internal diversity consisting of varieties of viewpoints on issues ranging from religious practices to lifestyles, particularly among Muslims. However, Bouma also states that Australia's religious cultural plurality has also become greater and more obvious, primarily as a result of postwar demographic factors. More importantly, this diversity of religions, including Islam, and cultural diversity, including the Bosniaks, contribute to promoting the emergence of a high degree of inter-group harmony and tolerance (ibid).

Bouma also points out that religious organisations in Australia, including Islamic ones, can be divided into two major groups according to the date of settlement in Australia. He considers the first group to contain all religious organisations settled pre WW2 and the second group to contain those settled post WW2. Each group faces quite different organisational issues (1996:111). Bouma is of the view that issues of identity and determining and developing organisational patterns differ from religious groups with a longer history in Australia (ibid). In contrast to this statement and from a historical point of view, the Bosnian Muslims have had a relatively long presence in Australia, but because of sporadic small numbers in the first decades of the 20th century, their identity was not fully determined, nor were they able to establish a clear organisational pattern. However, there are theoretical gaps and some unclear statements with regard to the Bosnian Muslim contribution to the Australian multi-ethnic Muslim community since the late 1940s and early 1950s. It was a similar case during the 1970s and 1980s, when the Bosnian Muslims continued to contribute significantly to the development of the Australian multi-ethnic society, and this

continues until the present. This point is particularly important in terms of the broader Australian heritage, which embraces Australian Islamic cultural heritage. Thus the Bosnian Muslims contribution deserves to be clearly explored and widely noted, not only in terms of the richness of the Bosnian Islamic community in Australia, but the distinctiveness of the wider multi-religious/cultural society. The Bosniaks contribution to cultural heritage and the promotion of values is significant and contributes to an understanding of the nature of Bosniak settlement in Australia. Strong empirical evidence should illuminate and support these facts and fill some existing gaps.

Bouma (1996:54) also argues that some previously settled religious groups provide 'microcosmic' examples of the bigger picture of religious settlement in Australian society. While in some cases settled religious groups change in structure, shape and program, others move towards separate diasporic identity formation and further community building. As a result of these changes, the distinctive identity of these communities is evolving and changing over time. In the process these religious communities are making their contribution to the evolution of *Australia's national identity*. They have become, or are becoming *Australian* (ibid:27).

The majority opinion among Muslim scholars is that cultural, national and linguistic differences among Muslims are unavoidable, even necessary. In this way, Piscatori (cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:3) states that Islam is practically a social construct, rather than a doctrine of behaviour. From this point of view Islam is varied, flexible and evolutionary and as such is a reflection of existing social characteristics and idealised forms of behaviour rooted in cultural traditions, which by necessity, differ from region to region, state to state. Bouma, Daw and Munawar (cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001: 58) concur that Muslims, having come from a great variety of backgrounds, manage their relation with Australian society in a number of ways. While some may have emigrated from Islamic monocultures, many have come from culturally and religiously diverse societies (ibid), such as Bosnia. Thus Islam in Australia is culturally and theologically plural by virtue of its diverse social and geographical origins, which have brought together Muslims from very different cultural, sectarian, linguistic and national backgrounds (Humphrey cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:35).

Saeed (2003:71) correctly states that the Muslim community in Australia, like other Muslim communities in the world, has followers with varying degrees of commitment to Islam. He categorises the community by saying that 'some Muslims are fully committed to Islam and are interested in manifesting Islamic ideas, values and practices in their lives, but some Muslims are not particularly interested in being religious and see Islam merely as an aspect of their cultural identification rather than a living faith that they practice' (ibid). However, in terms of Muslim identity, it is sometimes an uncertain explicit distinction between religious practices and cultural identification because culture is also an expression of Islamic ideas, sets of Islamic values and social relations and private religious practices in the case of many Bosniaks. In Australia most of Bosniak believers see their devotion to God in the same way that Bosniak non-believers view their secular beliefs: as a matter of privacy. But increasingly most emphasise Islamic cultural tradition and its values publicly. Although religious and cultural components are significant to Bosnian Muslim identity they also sometimes represent mutual overlapping and regional diversity. In this sense, Castles (1994:242) correctly argues that most Western European Muslims, particularly Bosniaks (i.e. Bosnian Muslims), saw Islam and religious practices as a private matter. Thus Papastergiadis (2000:14) argues, *hybridity* became one of the most useful concepts for representing the meaning of cultural-religious difference in identity and included 'culture of believing' or 'culture of secularism'. However, this concept raises further discussion in terms of hybridity of identity.

Interestingly the word *hybrid* has developed from biological and botanical origins, but importantly it is a natural source. A hybrid is defined by Webster as 'a plant produced from the mixture of two species' (cited in Young 1995:4). For instance, Bakhtin's hybridity delineates 'a mixture of two languages', or sources. It describes the condition of the ability to be simultaneously the same, but different (Young 1995:4). Through Bakhtin's concept, the hybridity could also be religious (e.g. different backgrounds, or between faiths), cultural, social, or even mixed experiences or interactions. A mix could be composed of two differences, but could also be a mix of two similarities in people that not only understand their differences, but possess the ability to absorb or explore their variations. This point is very important because it

could also be applicable to Muslims and their experiences, from either similar or different backgrounds. Thus hybridity is a much wider reflection of both external and internal diversities. As Young (ibid) points out: ‘hybridity makes difference into sameness and sameness into difference, but in a way that makes the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different’. As such, hybridity is highly significant and equally important in the broader community.

In a general historical context all communities are slightly different from each other, but the variations are mainly those of cultural-religious observance (Jupp 1966:78–9). Australia is dotted with small *settlements* of non-British descendents, often called minority ethnic groups. Sometimes, because of their size, such communities may dominate in some areas. The religion, names and customs of the residents of minority ethnicities, including those of Islamic background, show their different origins. Bouma, Daw and Munawar (cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:59) state that ‘being Muslim in Australia is different from being a Muslim in Turkey, Lebanon or Indonesia’. Most Muslims migrated to Australia from countries with a Muslim majority, including multi-religious Bosnia. Bouma, Daw and Munawar (ibid) view Muslims in Australia as a minority group and further point out that ‘being Muslim means being different’. In contrast to these views, Karic (1999:85) argues that ‘no matter what we call the Bosniak minority in Europe – European Muslims, Muslim Europeans, Muslims in Europe – and regardless of how Europe is denoted in that cultural-historical context (Muslim Europe, Europe in Islam, the homeland of European Islam), Islam and Muslims are inalienably an integral part of Europe’. This highlights the similarity between the Bosniaks in Australia and those in Europe. An analogical view is that no matter what one calls the ‘Bosniak minority in Australia’ – Australian Muslims, Muslim Australians, Muslims in Australia – their cultural-religious adaptability, establishment and integration are inalienably an integral part of Australia. The primary reason derives from the fact that the Bosniak Islamic background is intermingled with European cultural-religious traditions and customs similar to those in Australia. Clearly, this Bosniak-Australian blend creates the view that being a Bosnian Muslim in Australia does not necessarily mean being different.

The following paragraph discusses the ‘religious’ and ‘cultural’ identity of the Bosnian Muslims. The *Bosniak Islamic identity* is related to the religious belief in

God (i.e. Allah) with religious practices. Giddens called religious practices the 'dimension of religiosity' (1992:451). Islamic practice also represents multiple values from which derive many other characteristics. Islam is the Bosnian-Muslim source for spiritual, ethnic, scientific, cultural, social, traditional, artistic and linguistic inspirations. Being Muslim in the Bosnian way means admiring one's own religious values and respecting the values of non-Muslims. This certainly is the creed of Islam and also a part of universal humanity. It is deeply grounded in the Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition. For more than a thousand years the Bosnian Muslims in the heart of southern Europe successfully interacted with non-Muslims, and along with other ethno-national groups, developed not only cohabitation but also mutual contributions toward the multi-religious/cultural milieu.

Bearing in mind that the Bosnian Muslims bridge East and West, Izetbegovic (Bosnjaci.net 2005, updated 19 October 2006) argues that 'as Muslims the Bosniaks understood issues of the Islamic world and as Europeans the Bosniaks understood issues of the West'. This significant point along with other cultural-religious historical facts of multicultural Bosnia represents not only their ability to explore Islamic values, but also the *pre-immigrant* experience of the Bosnian Muslims, which should be regarded as making advances in either adaptation or adjustment in the new homeland, including Australia. Similarly, for other Muslims of different backgrounds, the Bosnian Islamic religious institutions (mosques, centres and Islamic schools) have always been the most effective sites of ethnic preservation (Mol 1976:174; Bouma 1996). For Bosnian Muslims the preferred site for social gatherings are often mosques.

The *Bosniak cultural identity* also covers broader aspects and includes non-religious views. However, bearing in mind that religious belief for most Bosniaks is a private matter it is almost impossible to make a sharp distinction between religious and cultural identity. However, the key difference relies on the fact that being Bosniak in the Bosnian cultural context includes a variety of views which emphasise ethnic, scientific, cultural, social, traditional, artistic and linguistic values based on their secular vision. However Giddens (1992:451) sees 'secularisation as a complex phenomenon where the influence of religion does not decline to vanishing-point'. But practically, some Bosniaks see the Bosniak cultural identity as an ethnic or cultural

expression, rather than explicitly religious. Clearly religion does not play a primary role in the creation of the Bosniak identity for some who see their cultural views as useful in the process of either integration or adaptation. For instance, Mahmutcehajic (2005:45–6) considers that some Bosniaks replaced the sacred tradition by secular principles as the result of traditional society transforming into modern forms. It seems this view is correct because their preferences for social gatherings are not only mosques, but different social and cultural associations including sports clubs.

However, as Bosnian believers sometimes visit social and sports clubs, the non-believers also sometimes visit mosques. Equally important, as Bosniak believers, the secularists proudly promote their cultural, ethnic and other values. Empirical evidence should support this statement. In addition, because religion and culture in the case of the Bosniaks are interlinked, they both play a prominent role in promoting values of the *common ethnic culture* and multi-ethnicity. Within this discussion it becomes obvious that the Bosniak ‘common ethnic culture’ is a strongly applicable argument, particularly within the Bosniak diaspora in Australia, as the overlapping factor which covers the majority of different views. So, the Bosniak integral ‘common ethnic culture’ includes objectification, commitment, ritual and myth, that will be further examined separately following further discussion on the significance of religion.

The term ‘religious community’ is used in two major ways. On the one hand, it is used very broadly to describe ‘any number of people who share one or more common attributes and are thus bound together as an identifiable group’. This notion of community refers to a more abstract form of collective identity that is more geographically diffuse. However the term *religious community* is also used to refer to the ‘particular type of social organization, as the Muslim community and quality of relationship experienced by a set of individuals living in relatively close geographical proximity who share a common social space, such as the nearest mosque, and communicate before or after rituals of Islamic praying (Goldust 1996:58–9 cited in Bouma 1996:11). Common language and the ritual regulation of life, as determined by shared religious beliefs, are conducive everywhere to feelings of religious ethnic affinity, especially since the intelligibility of the behaviour of others is the most fundamental presumption of group formation including Islamic, either multi-ethnic Muslim or the Bosniak (Guibernau and Rex 1997:24).

However, Bouma (1996:24) suggests an examination of the various religious communities reveals, in most cases, religious motives that were not primary in their migration and settlement in Australia. Typically immigrants did not come out in religious groups but once in Australia gathered together and established their own religious community (ibid). Bouma (ibid) points out that the history of the religious community reflects a greater or smaller degree of influence of their parent community overseas. He further states that this influence can take many forms. At the time of arrival and during the early settlement period the young community invariably reflects the theological orientations and organisational characteristics of the parent religious community. The degree of influence tends to vary with the length of time in Australia. Larger, older and more established religious communities are more able to assert their independence. On the other hand, the smaller and more recently settled religious communities are typically dependent on their parent communities overseas. For instance, some of the more recently arrived religious communities such as Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Orthodox typically establish their monasteries, temples, mosques and churches along the lines of those overseas and also often seek religious leaders from their former homelands. Whether they be priests, bishops, rabbis, preachers, imams, monks, nuns or missionaries they are the means through which religious communities overseas influence those in Australia. Thus settlements reflect the religious, cultural and linguistic influences of their homelands (ibid: 25).

The universal religions, however, even through the *sacralisation* of a social identity, tend to see man and society as adapting to one another (in the context of Bosnian identity *sacralisation* should rather be considered as the *creation of identity*). Their survival very much depends on their capacity to silence, as well as to motivate individuals to constrain as well as co-opt recalcitrant groups, to reform to reinforce the social whole (Mol 1976:184). An alternative view is that just as religious structure and function both interact in Western civilisation, so ethnic groups provide similar evidence. Scholars such as Gibson and Winer (1968) actually use religious identity only in the sense of religious organisation. The integration of immigrants was not exclusively determined by ethnic, but religious differences (Mol 1976:175–6). However, the opposite determination is also possible when immigrants integrate

themselves in the host country through ‘public desacralisation’ and ‘private identity creation’

Religion has also been the cause of discrimination and racism. Historically, there were different grounds for discriminations and these may be based on economic considerations, educational differences, racial and religious discriminations (Beattie 1977:271). Muslims have experienced a variety of forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief and practice of religion including dress. This discrimination and exclusion has often resulted in deepening Muslims sense of alienation and estrangement from the society to which they belong as citizens (*Islamic Women’s Welfare Council of Victoria* 1996:47). Even the mere fact of being an outsider, not one of ‘us’, may be enough ground for discrimination (Beattie 1977:271). The fear and distrust of (Muslim) strangers is ‘new’ form discrimination - a ‘shift’ from previous forms of discrimination such as ‘wogs’. The new forms of discrimination range from outright harassment to denials of some Islamic values. Thus Ceric (2005) highlights that much of the Islamic values are not well understood by the general society. These include (1) respect for the rule of law; (2) the principles of tolerance; (3) the values of democracy and human rights; and (4) to the belief that each and every human being has the right to five essential values: the value of life, the value of faith, the value of freedom, the value of property, and the value of dignity.

The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR) provides that (1) advocacy of religious hatred which amounts to incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence must be prohibited by law; (2) everyone is entitled to equality before the law and equal protection of the law without discrimination on the ground of religion among other grounds; and (3) minority groups are entitled to profess and practice their own religion (cited in Ismae – Listen: *National Consultations on Eliminating Prejudice Against Arab and Muslim Australians* 2004: 34).

While Australia has laws against racial discrimination, there are no national laws covering religious vilification. The following provides a snapshot of the state of affairs in relation to religious vilification or religious *discrimination* (cited in Ismae – Listen: *National Consultations on Eliminating Prejudice Against Arab and Muslim Australians* 2004: 34):

- Discrimination on the basis of religion is unlawful in the ACT, Western Australia, Queensland, the Northern Territory, Tasmania and Victoria.
- In the ACT and Western Australia, the term used is 'religious conviction'.
- In Queensland, the Northern Territory, Tasmania and Victoria, the terms used are 'religious belief or activity' (the Tasmanian legislation also includes religious affiliation). In Queensland and Victoria, these terms include the absence of religious belief as well as any refusal to participate in religious activity.
- In NSW, discrimination on the ground of religion is not unlawful, however discrimination on the ground of ethno-religious origin is. A recent decision of the Administrative Decisions Tribunal indicates that in order to establish a complaint under the ethno-religious ground, a person cannot rely solely on their religion, such as Islam.
- South Australian anti-discrimination law does not cover religious discrimination.

As it is stated above, it is unlawful to discriminate against someone because of their religion in the ACT, Western Australia, Queensland, the Northern Territory, Tasmania and Victoria. Therefore, a person (for instance Muslim) who believes they have been discriminated against solely because of their religion (for instance Islam) has no legally enforceable right if the alleged discrimination occurred in NSW and South Australia (ibid:35).

In recent time, particularly the *Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission* (HREOC) has undertaken several projects which have addressed the prejudice, discrimination and vilification that Muslims in Australia are facing. These reports indicate that while there are laws which make discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin or religion against the law, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that the laws

do not, in themselves, prevent the instances of racial abuse and harassment based on religious grounds (ibid: 33).

2.6 Settlement and integration

Having arrived as a skilled or family migrant, or a refugee or humanitarian entrant, 'there may be many new aspects for migrants or refugees to adjust to in [the] new country'. *Settlement* 'is the process of adjustment' that migrants or refugees experience as they become 'established and independent in Australia' (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2001, updated 6 November 2007). In *Mosques and Muslim Settlement in Australia* Bouma (1994:38) defines the settlement as 'the ongoing process by which immigrants make the transition from life in one country to life in a new country'. In a similar way he extends the definition of settlement pointing that it is (ibid:67):

the process occurring over the time in which an immigrant moves from one place to another and establishes in the new location a home, family, a job, provides education for children, learns to use the health and social services systems, becomes a citizen, and takes on an identity (or identities) appropriate to the new location.

Accordingly, *settlement* also refers to the process involved in 'migration from one place of residence to another...it could be used to refer to moving across town as well as half way around the world' (Bouma 1996:54). Settlement involves the emotional processes of letting go of the familiar and becoming at home in a new place (ibid). DIMIA generally defines settlement 'as the period of adjustment that migrants experience before they can fully participate in Australia's culturally diverse society' (DIMIA cited in Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:63).

The settlement process includes various factors, such as social, cultural, religious, linguistic, and psychological. Lifestyle and climate conditions are factors which also attract settlers (Castles at al 1998:44). Bullock, Stallybrass and Trombley (1988:774) consider settlement as 'the *form* and *process* of population distribution over the land'.

Subsequently, the settlement may be classified as 'rural, pioneer, suburban, or urban'. Settlement policies, redistributing people within a territory, are needed in the case of migration, or rapid population change. Early migration to urban centres often proceeds in a series of steps: the first is moving to a relatively close town and then to a larger centre. These steps of internal migration include: level of mobility, housing, higher percentages of jobs and community development that represent the 'distribution people between urban areas and within urban areas' (Neutze 1977:58,108). Existing ethnic communities were likely to receive new migrants and assist them to become established in their new country (ibid:54). The growth of community also includes the development and establishment of settlements in other metropolitan areas.

Bouma (1994:38) further posits that settlement can be applied at both the *micro* (individuals and families) and *macro* level (community with its culture, religion, language and structure). While some migrants feel settled within six to 12 months, for others it may take years. How quickly migrants settle into a new environment may depend on a range of factors, such as English ability and health status, and whether the immigrant came as a skilled or family migrant or refugee. For instance, if migrants had prior links with Australia, were aware of the society and were 'familiar' with its institutions and way of life, or if they were able to join the workforce quickly, then these migrants are likely to settle quite quickly (DIAC 2001, updated 6 November 2007).

Settlement issues include: (1) finding a place to live (accommodation); (2) educating children; (3) employment; (4) founding a community; (5) establishing a network of friends and relatives who share common values, orientation and attitudes; (6) acquiring the knowledge and skills required to discover a variety of professional help and services (Bouma 1994:38). However among other aspects there are several important factors which make the settlement process more complex and difficult, namely: (1) degree of cultural difference between immigrants' country of origin and new homeland; (2) absence of relatives or friends; (3) problems with recognition of, or ability to use, skills or previous training which affect the immigrant's ability to secure satisfactory employment and (4) the state of the host society on arrival will affect reception. Furthermore, if the community is small and dispersed, the settlement

process is harder, whereas if it is large and developed it makes it possible for immigrants to meet most of their needs without interacting with other cultures, or even with society at large (ibid:39). In addition, the existence of a community of people from similar backgrounds (e.g. Islamic) can contribute to and facilitate some common features of (Muslim) settlement and its institutions (ibid).

Community institutions are the 'cement' of social life. They provide and offer the basic living arrangements for immigrants in their interaction with one another and by means of which continuity is achieved across the generations (Giddens 1992:381). Thus an association or community institution may be simply defined as 'a collective of people organised together in the pursuit of one or more interests or goals they share in *common*' (Acevec 1974:144). Most community organisations within the settlement sector are formed voluntarily and may be relatively enduring or very short-lived (ibid). These institutions have a number of general functions: (1) acting as agencies of socialisation by directing the member into appropriate modes of expressions; (2) promoting community identity; (3) assisting members in achieving common goals; (4) providing some degree of social control over their members, and subsequently becoming (5) a power group in society (ibid:145–6). In addition, there could be no coherent life unless the social relationships which connect people were at least to some degree orderly, institutionalised and predictable (Beattie 1977:139).

Religious settlement and its institutions refer to religion as a part of a society and culture. Settlement for Muslims involves learning what it means to practice Islam in Australia and what it means to be a Muslim in a new environment. This involves immigrants taking what they know to a new place, establish themselves, take on a local identity and become accepted as part of society. For instance, multi-ethnic mosques represent 'trans-ethnic unity grounded in religious identity' (Bouma 1994:65–6). Furthermore Bouma (1996:53) explores the concept of 'religious settlement' which involves four essential processes: (1) religion as a source of motivation, assistance and support provided to the migrant; (2) religion and the individual migrant's settlement and identity formation in a new society; (3) the building of a religious community in a new place, that is, the process by which a new religion, or new variant of an existing religion, finds a place in society including the reactions of both

communities and (4) the adaptation of 'new' religion within a broader multi-religious environment.

On the one hand, mosques established by migrant communities provided a context for self-identification in a new homeland. The Bosnian communities built mosques, other mosques were also built by those who spoke other languages such as Arabic, Albanian, Turkish and so on (Bouma 1994:66). Thus migrant communities often symbolise the origin of ethno-national identities (ibid). Furthermore, religious leaders of Muslim communities, most commonly called *Imams*, are frequently brought from the immigrant's country of origin (ibid:57). Hence, Mograby considers that this suggests that Muslim *settlements* take on an ethnic form – 'ethnicising Islam' (1985: 33). Furthermore, Aceves (1974:223–4) posits the role of religion through its *structural-functional* perspective within the *settlement process*. He points out that religious beliefs assist to *explain* how and why things happen; serve as a *guide* to coping with the physical and social environment by offering salvation which is not only a matter of heavenly reward; and it may often involve *change* in human social relationships. Also, religions *provide* ethical considerations which are intimately linked to religious ideas. Lastly, religion need to serves as a *unifying bond* that holds a people together and provides a basis for identity vis-à-vis non-members of the faith.

Furthermore Mol highlights that 'a religious system and a settlement are conditioned by each other' (1976:185). While religious organisations are constantly focused on being relevant, both in terms of their symbol-system and action programs, settlements are also constantly changing within the process of adaptability by interpreting the practical reality of the new society (ibid).

The establishment of these ethnic mosques, clubs and associations became essential in the life of Muslim settlements and were often primary sources of help to newcomers (Bouma 1994:62). Simultaneously, as a part of the settlement process, Muslim settlers learn about the values of Australian society. Furthermore, as Australians they also promote tolerance, mutual respect and religious freedom as well as different lifestyles. Gillman (1988:232) points out that similar to followers of other religious traditions, new generations of Muslim settlers need to go through the process of upbringing, education and socio-cultural settlement experiences in which the virtues of Islam are

integrated within their personalities. Religious principles, practices, attitudes and settlement experiences become important aspects in the rhythm of their daily lives and in the formation of their self-awareness, respect of different values, as well as their outlook on life and the contemporary world.

The relationship between broader societal factors (differentiation, change) and identity of individuals or groups (integration, consolidation) are interrelated. In human history there has been always a need to establish a sense of identity, a stable niche and a predictable environment (Mol 1976:55). Thus 'space and identity need to be understood as dynamic concepts which are constituted through interactions' (Papastergiadis 2000:52). Similar to Mol and Papastergiadis, Bouma points out that identity formation in contemporary multicultural societies like Australia is a complex and multifaceted process (Bouma 1997:70). Thus there are many definitions for 'identity'. For instance, Papastergiadis defines identity as 'the process of making sense of oneself, and the system by which this communicate and shared is culture' (Papastergiadis 2000:122). He further states that adherents to particular culture not only see it as their duty 'to preserve their specific practices and symbols', but also 'felt bonded to each other' (Papastergiadis 2000:123). Encel (1981:143) considers identity in a variety of ways including religious beliefs, cultural activities, political, economic and work orientations, friendship patterns, participation in voluntary associations and the achievement of worldly success. Also, Cox (in Lopez 2000:448) sees positive roles of settlement welfare in preserving cultural heritage and 'engendering a sense of identity and belonging'. Indeed Australian government support for the preservation or formation of ethnic groups is a means to 'preserve migrant culture and protect migrant identities' (Lopez 2000:448). Frequently identities have been described as separating. They are in the sense of distinguishing self and sub-group from others, 'but not in the sense of withdrawing from society', highlights Bouma (1997:75).

Bouma also sees identity as an integral part of community. He defines that 'most identities are associated with some community, some group of people who have similar attributes and who share other aspects of social and cultural life' (ibid). For instance, the effort and resources invested in building mosques, schools and cultural centers reinforce Muslims to maintain their Islamic identities (ibid). Hence religion

becomes a way of differentiating self and sub-group in a plural society (ibid). Furthermore, Gunew and Rizvi (1994:204) agree that 'cultural identity is also the expression of individual cultural heritage'. However, individuals may feel they belong with groups whose religion, language or cultural practices are no longer bound to a particular nation. All cultures are plural and identity is never explicitly 'fixed' (Papastergiadis 2000:84). The being of identity is transposed into the conditions of belonging (ibid:212). Papastergiadis adds that 'the exclusivity of national identity has never been as sovereign as it claims to be' (ibid:85). Often spirit of attachment to country of origin is seen as being in constant process of constitution of identity. Subsequently settlements dispersed across different locations throughout the world will be able to form new levels of communication and generate new forms of identity (ibid:89). Indeed various people construct their sense of identity and settlement, by defining their *interests*, *mobility* and *affiliations* in ways of their 'priorities' (ibid) It also includes both sense of belonging and identifying with Australia and simultaneously an attachment to country of origin. The future challenge is to find socio-legal frameworks which can secure the rights of diversity of identities in this increasingly cosmopolitan world. Then it is important to explore different models where and how various identities exist.

In the context of migration, immigrant identity is influenced by three main models of integration, namely *assimilation*, *melting pot* and *cultural pluralism* (Giddens 1993:271) But, whatever the model, a culture has to be understood primarily in terms of its own meanings and values (ibid:37). Initially it is important to emphasise those cultural variations or interactions between human beings that are linked to different types of society (ibid:32) during historical evolution.

Giddens (ibid:271) explains the first model in the following way. *Assimilation* means that migrants abandon their original customs and practices, moulding their behaviour to the values and norms of the majority. Generations of migrants have faced situations or pressures towards being 'assimilated' in this way and subsequently many of their children became more or less completely assimilated (ibid). Mol (1976:174) reports on the Canadian situation in which 'to some extent the strictest Muslims are those who are least assimilated [in Canadian society]' and for instance 'those Lebanese who are the most assimilated are the poorest Muslims' (Barclay cited in Mol 1976:174-5).

Mol regards this as an example of the process of assimilation. However, he further reports that children of the poorest Muslims by joining ethnic community became not assimilated but rather 'integrated'. This example clearly illustrates that in modern, differentiated societies 'religious organisations have become identities in their own right' and base for 'ethnic preservation'. Mol considers that in many countries migrants go less to religious institutions if these institutions 'do not represent the desired ethnic identity' (Mol 1976:175). Most importantly various settlement institutions, including religious ones, can reinforce and preserve ethnic identities. Ethnic groups 'shield' the identities of their members against pressure and assimilation (ibid:183). In Australia by the late 1960s, and even more apparent in the 1970s, groups were arriving in large numbers who could not reasonably be expected to assimilate in this sense. However, Greeks, Italians, ethnic groups of former Yugoslavia, Turks and Lebanese stretched the notion of assimilation well beyond breaking point (Bouma 1996:54). Bouma highlights that the 'hegemony' of the great *Australian pie and meat and three veg* was broken, taking a major step toward a truly *multicultural Australia* (ibid).

A second model is the *melting pot*. Rather than the tradition of migrants being dissolved in favour of the dominant ethnic group, all were blended to form new, evolving cultural patterns. Many believe this cultural blending to be the most desirable outcome of ethnic diversity (Giddens 1992:271). The third model is *cultural pluralism*. According to Giddens, the 'most appropriate course is to foster the development of a genuinely plural society in which the equal validity of numerous different subcultures is recognised' (ibid).

Historically, the White Australia 'package' in Australia had three essentially assimilationist elements relating to the question of national identity: (1) Australia was culturally homogenous society based on British values and institutions; (2) this homogeneity would not be disturbed by mass non-European immigration, and (3) It could not survive any Asian immigration (Castles at al 1995:81). Hage (1998:82) argues that assimilationist Australia could not tolerate cultural difference and promoted instead the primacy of its Anglo-Celtic heritage. Indeed it explicitly required non-British settlers to adopt the language, the culture and the values that are

part of this heritage and to relinquish the distinct cultural practices and attitudes of their country of origin (Hage 1998:82).

Australians are from different cultural backgrounds and ‘no culture or cultural group could claim to be better than the others’ underlines Hage (1998: 83). As an ideology, multiculturalism is not only a description of a reality, but also an attitude that needs to be promoted within the broader society. At the level of social policy the services provided to migrants have increased in quantity and quality. A redistribution of state resources in favour of migrant structures helps migrants in their continuing struggle for equality within the Australian economy. Unquestionably as far as CALD/NESB Australians are concerned, multicultural tolerant Australia is a better place to be than its historical predecessors (Hage 1998: 233-4).

A key to understanding the process of cultural pluralism is to begin by trying to work out just what ‘culture’ in Australia we can be *pleasantly* ‘multi’ about. In the Australian multicultural context: ‘culture happens to be no more and no less than that which we can be happily ‘multi’ about (Castles et al 1995:121). The culture of multiculturalism must be those things which ‘already exist’ in diversity’; the ‘interesting’ and the ‘colourful’, ‘personal lifestyles’ and ‘relationship’, ‘identifications’; and ‘points of view’. These belong to ‘the essentially *private* domain of family and religious beliefs’. This word is also the realm of folk, dancing, music, craft and literature and so on (ibid).

Recognising and preserving an identity, such as religious, cultural and/or ethnic, is an important issue for many migrants, including Muslims. Many Muslim communities face the challenges of ways of preserving their identities in the Western plural societies (Lewis, 1993:42). A multicultural orientation can interact between various cultures and, at the same time, provide the opportunities to communication, settlement, integration and promotion of identities (Brislin 1986:299). Hence Ramadan (2005:171) states that the elements that define Muslim identity perceived in the light of *integration*, appear to be very open and in constant interaction with broader multicultural society. It means that we should work toward reform not only as ‘Muslims’, but also as *citizens* of that nation (Ramadan, 2005:147). However, he adds clearly that Western Muslims, who are still for the most part of immigrant origin,

must 'not forget where they come from' (ibid:171). Along this line Mol (1976:185) highlights that the identity formation can be considered as an astute response against the assimilation. These authors also caution that identity formation, especially among minorities, lead to the creation of miniature communities in a segmentalised form that is differentiated from the social whole.

Particularly in contrast to assimilation and to certain extent to other 'cultural models', within multicultural societies, such as Australia, it is then possible to preserve and promote identity. Indeed multiculturalism supports distinctiveness of identities, plurality of beliefs and views; increases creativity, promotes an ability to either adjust or adapt to many different situations in different cultures, fosters openness to cosmopolitanism. It can also act as a cultural mediator, which is, helping monocultural individuals communicate with counterparts in other cultures (Brislin 1986:306). These internalized values then become the guiding orientation for individual behaviour, settlement process and socializing and group relations. Although the rules are constantly evolving and being gradually changed and improved, a multicultural society is where various ethnic identities coexist, and can be defined by its 'shared values or cultures' (Jakubowicz 1984:10). Similarly, Florida (2008) states that cosmopolitanism may be considered as a form of multiculturalism, and is also something that is aspired to as a mark of tolerant sophistication. Cosmopolitanism focuses on a celebration of cultural interaction, hybridity and fluidity. Cosmopolitan values promote social cooperation, integration and cohesion, rather than identification with a particular monoculture, or an isolated place.

Looking back in history, Hugo (1995:3) maintains that factors affecting initial *settlement process* and location decisions of migrants have varied over time. During the 1950s and 1960s industrial development attracted migrants to settle and to be integrated in a new homeland close to their employment in either urban or remote areas. Other factors, during the 1970s and 1980s, that affected the settlement development were either location of hostels, or availability of cheap housing, as well as the presence of family members, friends or earlier settlers from their country of origin (Hugo in Castles et al 1998:43).

During the 1990s and 2000s, recent immigrants are attracted to settle in areas already inhabited by existing immigrants from the same birthplace and where are already established community clubs, mosques and associations. Explanations for *settlement process* include the needs and wishes of immigrants to be near community members, friends and family, mainly for economic and emotional support (Castles at al 1998:43). Settlement concentration leads to the establishment of ethno-specific shops and restaurants which attract more community members of the same ethnicity or birthplace group (ibid).

Lewis (2002:361) maintains that the best hope for *integration* lies in the sometimes hard or painful settlement experiences, which is the most difficult step. The support of various settlement institutions, including multicultural ones, informs broadly about plurality and develops self-reliance. This is accompanied by a growing awareness of new place, language, spiritual and material cultures, rights, duties, responsibilities – which all together assist Muslim settlement to adjust in a free modern multicultural society. Accordingly Penny and Khoo (1996:106) consider integration as *multi*-faced process pointing that ‘it is a lifetime process that mainly begins with most essential economic and continuing with *other* ways’ (ibid:129). They point out different ways or concepts of integration including: *economic integration* (to integrate into practical economic sphere, such as employment; business enterprise); *cultural integration* (such as participation, celebration or visiting cultural events or programs; different cultural and multicultural projects, festivals and feasts); *social integration* (such as gathering or visiting family, friends and community membership); *political integration* (such as adoption of Australian citizenship and voting). While the external manifestations of attitudes and beliefs may be very different, there is no inconsistency in a pluralistic society and no pressure to change (Brislin, 1994:289).

In contrast to above models *multiculturalism*, however, creates the notion of *plurality* in a far-more reaching context that includes various ways of settlement, cultural diversity and integration. In short, but clear: ‘multiculturalism is about diversity not division’ (A Report by National Advisory Council 1999:25). Multiculturalism in Australia includes wider plurality and provides platform for positive outcomes and/or even broader alternatives in terms of (1) broader recognition of minority groups; (2) embracing richer diversity of cultural, religious, racial, ethnic and linguistic

backgrounds; (3) enjoying equal life chances and sharing fundamental values; (4) creating more dynamic economic prospects; (5) enhancing harmonious coexistence; (6) expressing great plurality of lifestyles; (7) initiating groups solidarity and interactions, also merging its systems in institutional forms without imposing certain political unification and there is more open international relationship for economic enterprises (ibid; Brislin 1986). It should be noted that the economic participation of migrants in the Australian politico-economic system is very significant (Jakubowicz at al., 1984:1). In this way, migrant within multiculturalism is also broadly understood as an active participant in social development, 'not the captured victim of a monolithic past' (ibid:10).

2.7 Culture

Clearly, in the history of the human race, there has always been an elemental concern with culture and identity (Mol 1976:14), or as Wurgaft argues, cultural identity applied to world history, is a problematic but indispensable concept (1995:67). Focusing on the concept of cultural-religious identity, Mol (1976:10) points out that the maximisation of order and continuity in the interpretation of reality are prerequisites for identity which states what a society, group or person is, together with morality and in turn the almost visible outlines and concretisation of that order. 'They are the living tissues covering the bones' (ibid). While Mol emphasises order, continuity and morality, Wurgaft (1995:67) posits the role of the historian in promoting structure and cohesion by providing the individual and the group with a sense of continuity, or 'identity over time'.

Mol's main focus on identity pertains to cultural-religious and socio-historical manifestations, where he defines religion as the *sacralisation of identity* (hereafter *identity creation*). A stable niche in a predictable environment is a crucial factor for the process of identity creation where its meaning has pre-eminently safeguarded and reinforced this complex order of interpretations of reality, rules and legitimations. In this regard, the mechanisms of creation at both the personal and social level can be categorised in the following four overlapping aspects: (1) *objectification*; (2) *commitment*; (3) *ritual*; and (4) *myth* (1976:214).

However, each of the above aspects is sufficiently different to warrant separate treatment. According to Mol (ibid) *objectification* 'is the projection of order beyond where it is less vulnerable to contradiction, exceptions and contingencies, or in other words a rarified realm where major outlines of order can be maintained in the face of temporal, but all-absorbing dislocations of that order'. Mol further suggests that objectification is also the projection of meaning and order into a transcendent point of reference where the essences and archetypes of the mundane can be made to appear more orderly, consistent and timeless (ibid). The degree of objectification which includes how remote and independent the transcendent is from its concrete base, and how its quality is relevant for a comprehensive range of social and psychological phenomena, have proved to be significant factors for the analysis of society (ibid). Mol reflects that these insights can create 'tolerance and open-mindedness close to the heart of a person's aspirations and commitments and may therefore have similar centering functions which, for instance, the belief in Allah or Christian salvation have for others' (ibid:11).

The second mechanism is *commitment* which Mol considers as the 'focused emotion or emotional attachment to a specific focus of identity' (ibid:216). This treatment suggests that commitment through emotional fixation precisely takes place in personal and social unity. In this spirit, an analogous point is that the 'fact of commitment is even more important than the object of commitment' and 'the concept of identity should be wide enough to allow establishment of values' (Keniston cited in Mol 1976:11). Keniston and Kaplan (1970 cited in Mol 1976:11) regard the significance of commitment as a turning point in the discussion on fluidity of identity (ibid). As such, the commitment is of necessity linked with consistency (ibid:12). Consistency of commitment can rely on the steadiness of modernity and tradition. In this way, Mahmutcehajic (2005:48) states that the relationship between *modernism* and *tradition* parallels the relationship between trust and confidence. Every the plurality of individualities is thus linked with confidence through the freedom of the individual. For instance, the historical reality of the Bosnian society points to varying interpretations of the self and society that cannot be understood without insight into the relationship between tradition and modernity (ibid:9). However even in the most advanced societies, the concept of identity and its fact of commitment was strong enough to perpetuate a demand for order (Mol 1976:14). It also proved to be

necessary to order with rules, minimising injustices and arbitrariness, and to legitimate the niche of oneself or one's group in a complex arrangement of contributions that protect values, such as tolerance and mutual understanding (ibid). In retrospect, tolerance and confidence is achievable between various elements of the social whole only if there exist grounds for identity (Mahmutcehajic 2005:9).

The third mechanism is *ritual*, which Mol (1976:11–5) describes as often 'repetitive actions, articulations and movements which prevent the object of creations to be lost sight of'. Applying this third mechanism to identity, Mol considers that through rituals or costumes the group periodically renews the sentiment which it has of itself, and of its unity, and as such, individuals are strengthened in their social nature and expression. Rituals also restore and integrate identity, particularly when disruption has occurred, for example, through death, or when rearrangements in marriage or familial relations become necessary. This leads to both cultural identification, through dialogical or transference ways, constituted through the locus of another in a process of substitution, displacement or projection (Wurgaft 1995:80), and to traditions whose memory (ritual, custom as traditional activities) perpetuates the way in which society represents man and the world (Durkheim cited in Mol 1976:13). Such standpoints fit Mol's (1976:237) suggestion that 'what is true for personal habits in relation to personal identity is equally true for social customs in relation to social identity'. Giddens (1992:452) states that, for instance, religion involves a set of symbols which are linked to rituals or ceremonials practiced by a community of believers. The rituals associated with religion are more or less diverse. Religious and cultural ritual acts may include praying, chanting, reciting, singing, eating certain kinds of food – or refraining from doing so – fasting on certain days or months and so on (ibid:453). The Bosniak rituals, either religious or secular, are not only part of their religious tradition and cultural customs, but also reflect representation and socialisation. In this way, Mol (1976:237) clearly clarifies that rituals consolidate both beliefs and customs.

The next mechanism, *myths*, which Mol (ibid:13–5) articulating a complex phenomena, are often grouped under headings of beliefs and religious images as the integration of different strains in a coherent, shorthand symbolic account. Whether in primitive or more advanced societies, myths represent society. The mythology advances the creation and provides the fitting contour for one's existence, sublimating

the conflicts and reinforcing personal and social identity. Thus Mol (ibid:13) states that it is not surprising that there are so many structural similarities among various myths. Also, what myth does for social identity, the dream has done for personal identity – ‘dream is the personalised myth, myth is the depersonalised dream’ (Campbell 1949:19 cited in Mol 1976:258). Cultural-religious symbols and rituals of mythology are often integrated with the material and artistic culture of society, including music, painting or carving, dance, storytelling and literature (Giddens 1992:453). In terms of practising the traditional rituals, customs or myths as a process of ‘traditionalisation’, Hobsbawm describes the ‘invention of tradition’ as a self-consciously created set of practices ‘which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which implies continuity with the past’. Symbolism and rituals, as identity-conferring practices, impose a sense of community identity providing social cohesion for self-indication (Wurgaft 1995:78). Applying, all these segments to the Bosniak cultural identity assists in identifying Bosniak symbols, both religious and ethnic, Islamic rituals, cultural-religious values and norms along with the Bosniak customs which all give authenticity to their identity.

Culture, according to Young (1995:30–1) has a range of meanings including inhabit, cultivate, attend, protect, honor with worship. The culture of land was always in fact, the primary form of colonisation, but it was also associated with processes of adaptation, integration and assimilation. Today’s comparative uncertainty arises because heterogeneity, cultural interchange and diversity became the self-conscious identity of most western societies (ibid:4). While the characteristics of a traditional culture are commonly defined as ‘a given mode of life, a set of practices and beliefs (religious or secular) characterising a group of people’, modern, and in particular, national cultures are defined as ‘the normative and organisational constructions of representations’ (Papastergiadis 2000:104). Some see traditional cultures then as a protection of diasporic integrity within multicultural societies; others see them as a potential asset in the process of assimilation. Papastergiadis (ibid) sees culture as the mechanism for constructing meaning in societies. Thus he and Hall argue that culture is ‘a dialectic between conditions and consciousness’ and there is no need to be sheltered from the very forces that it seeks to explain. However another problem is the conflicting images of traditional culture, sometimes regarded as ‘pre-modern’, which are linked to contradictory understandings of culture as *being*: on the one hand, the

dynamic process by which we make sense of everyday life, and on the other, those fixed and specific rules which precede current changes and guide the practices of living in the world (Hall cited in Papastergiadis 2000:109).

In the policy debates of most western societies, different cultures are identified by the state in terms of an assessment of their susceptibility to implementing policies of integration or assimilation and the degrees of compatibility between cultures (Papastergiadis 2000:104). Robertson (1986:67) clearly states that people create culture as a means of adapting to the environment and so their cultural practices are necessarily influenced by the particular effects and opportunities of the surroundings of the society in which they live. He sees migrant cultures as contributors to the development of multicultural hybridity as they reshape modern culture in the whole society giving it a more cosmopolitan character. In turn, during the process of settlement, in many cases, these cultural variations contribute to transforming the traditional culture into a new modern culture (ibid). In this sense, the Bosniak culture could be seen in its own adaptable cultural transformation in Australian society, but also as the living cultural factor which certainly enriches the nature of Australian cultural diversity.

‘Culture is not a fixed script which actors are bound to follow’, argues Papastergiadis (2000:109), continuing the degree to which culture, either sacred or secular, is an open-ended system that ‘relates to its own principles of interaction and reproduction’. The existence of culture and its flexibility draws attention to the cultural dynamic of transformation where, for instance, giving hospitality to strangers contributes to cultural interaction, or in other words, ‘the outside is brought inside’ without the absolute demand of assimilation (ibid). This ‘activity of culture’ was conventionally associated with the *cultivation* of territory. Every culture is supposed to come from somewhere, to have its place in the world. Through its existence of symbolic representation and communicative practice, culture defines specific relations in space and time. Aesthetics like literary novels or paintings are often taken to be examples of cultural practice. Culture has also generally been defined by the way ‘groups occupied a given territory and the forms by which they communicate their everyday social relationships’ (ibid). Therefore the representation of place and the constitution of a social identity were a central focus in conventional theories of culture which rely on

aspects such as having a country of origin, a living area, sharing the same rituals, customs and so on. Similarly, Taylor clearly defines culture as the 'complex whole' which includes '*knowledge, religion, art, morality, law and customs*' (ibid:103). Taylor's alternative view denotes culture as the link which assists in the process of adaptation.

While Papastergiadis, Taylor, Young, Williams and others are concerned with defining culture, Arnold's focus is culture's social function and its role in promoting social change. According to Young institutionalisation is perhaps among the most specific and influential messages carried by culture (1995:55). For instance, in Australia there are different communities, ethnic and multi-ethnic/religious/cultural institutions. Giddens (1992:31–2) too emphasises the role of culture and its function in society. He states that culture can be conceptually distinguished from 'society', but there are very close connections between these notions. 'Culture' concerns the way of life of the members of a given society, their habits and customs, together with the material goods they produce. 'Society' refers to the system of interrelationships which connects individuals who share a common culture. In fact, 'no culture could exist without a society, but, equally, no society could exist without culture' (ibid). Discussion on culture and its position in society, particularly in terms of the interrelationship between individuals leads to discussion on identity and cultural models of society.

The term 'identity' connotes both a persistent *sameness within oneself* (self-sameness) and a persistent *sharing of some kind of essential character* with others. This persistent sameness can be conscious, but there is also an unconscious striving for continuity of personal character (Mol 1976:57). In this way, Papastergiadis (2000:97) clearly posits that an identity can only be secured by 'cultivating the difference-to-oneself'. However, there are also collective identities such as *class, nation and culture* which, according to Erikson, lead to true identity (cited in Mol 1976:57). Wurgaft (1995:69) considers that mature identity incorporates a notion of wholeness, which often connotes an assembly of diverse parts that enter into fruitful association and maintain the progressive mutuality of a complex and interactive system. At a psycho-historical level, he argues, culture and nations may have some developmental crises on a historical and evolutionary stage, adapting and broadening their identities to meet

new challenges and gain prosperity. This also includes the process of conversion or adaptability that reveals an underlying similarity in a great variety of cultures and ages: where sympathetic support of others is a crucial part of integration and this becomes a substitute for new *acculturation* (Mol 1976:52–3).

In countries of immigration, such as Australia, migrant religious institutions (churches, mosques) were always the most effective bastions of ethnic preservation. There ethnic groups tend to sacralise group identity in order to preserve immigrant identity in the host country (Mol 1976:174). Mol notes an example related to cultural-religious pluralism in the USA, where formal prayers have been used to consolidate ethnic grouping that dates back to the 18th century (ibid). In the first instance, Jupp (1966:39) makes a similar point emphasising that culture and religion sustain bonds between people which might otherwise dissolve. On the one hand, people gather together because of shared interests, physical proximity and ease of communication due to the same language, common ethnicity or nationality, to create a collective feeling and keep in touch with each other more easily. For example, Europeans in Asia and Africa have always formed community groups. Clubs, mosques, associations and various media keep the Bosniak culture alive (Sowell 1996:97). On the other hand, although different community institutions preserve and promote ethnic identity, Jupp (1966:39) argues that within those institutions, clubs and organisations there are often further subdivisions: for instance, choice of religious or non-religious institutions, choice of different club membership, or community services. Certainly choice is part of the Bosniak culture, but because people who speak the same language often have different views, their ‘common ethnic culture’ frequently plays a connecting role. However their culture can generally interact with other cultures in cultural plurality.

‘Cultural plurality’ is taken to refer to a situation in which several significantly different cultures inhabit the same social space with harmony, a degree of mutual respect and tolerance, or at least where inter-group or inter-cultural conflict is regulated by norms and operates through structures which enable the resolution of conflict, without resorting to violence. *Cultural pluralism* by way of contrast is taken to be an ideology which legitimates, defends and promotes the peaceful cohabitation of different cultural groups. Bouma’s (1996:96) focus here is upon describing the

religious dimension of cultural plurality in Australia and he argues that the presence of religious plurality and the long-standing pattern of religious inter-group relations has given rise to cultural orientations which could be described as constituting cultural pluralism. In addition, there is a sense in which cultural plurality is different from a social situation in which a number of subcultures fall under the hegemony of a dominant culture (ibid). In a situation of cultural plurality the cultures in the society are not viewed as a 'subculture' (ibid). Rather postmodern plural societies are characterised by differences that do not go away, but insist on real differences being accepted (ibid:97).

Australia is now officially and effectively a *multicultural society*, valuing the differences brought to it by various migrant groups (Bouma 1996:54–5). Bouma considers that assimilation no longer describes the expected outcome and points out that people do not expect everyone to look alike, dress alike, or enjoy the same cuisine (ibid). With these changes settlement is understood as a mutual process involving adaptations made by both the migrant and by the receiving society and culture. Settlement comes to refer to a process in which both society and the migrant evolve and there is natural interaction and give and take, rather than society dictating what the migrant is to become. The migrant is an active participant in this process with a significant contribution to make (ibid). This often involves adopting a new language in Australia for migrants with non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB), which may take a generation, shifting emphases in theology, worship and/or ethics (ibid:57). Giddens's (1992:37) viewpoint is that the diversity of human culture is remarkable where values and customs of behaviour vary widely, from culture to culture. He adds that in modern cities, for instance, there are also many subcultural communities living side by side (ibid). These interactions and elements question whether ethno-national culture is superior to the new, broader national culture and how the culture of a minority group can be preserved. Viewed through an historical context this research would also include the significance of Bosniak achievements in Australia as a part of Bosniak ethnic success and, more importantly, as part of Australian national success, which has previously not been explored in detail.

In *The essentials of a multicultural society* Rex (1997:218–9) observes that in a multicultural society one should distinguish between the *public domain*, in which

there is a single culture based upon the notion of equality between individuals, and the *private domain*, which permits diversity between groups. And further he observes, moral education, primarily socialisation and religious beliefs belong to the private domain (ibid). More specifically, the structure of the private domain among immigrant minority communities includes kinship that extends to a homeland, a network of associations and a system of religious belief. This structure provides a valuable means, in an impersonal society, of providing a home and a source of identity for individuals. Government legislation, the economy, the educational system, transmission of skills and the perpetuation of civic culture belong to the public domain (ibid). In this way, Radtke (1997:253–6) clearly states that multiculturalism deals with cultural-religious and other ethnic differences in a positive way, which includes recognition and promotion of diversity. Also cultural differences are part of the constitutive features of modernity (Papastergiadis 2000:167).

Oswalt, Friedl and Hiebert emphasise the values of multiculturalism, note that among the diversity of cultural behaviours there are some common features. Thus cultural diversity includes some similarities between different cultures. They argue that where common features are found in all, or virtually all societies, they are called ‘cultural universals’ (Oswalt 1972; Friedl 1981; Hiebert 1976 cited in Giddens 1992:39). According to Robertson (1987:72) *cultural universals* derive from common issues that natural and social environments pose. It is possible then to offer an analogy and indicate the common features between different cultures given the following context: the Bosniak culture as a part of European, Islamic, Australian culture and multiculturalism, even global cosmopolitan culture. This identification suggests that Bosniaks share some similarities, for instance, with other Europeans in terms of clothing, or with Muslims of different backgrounds in terms of Islamic values, or with other Australians in terms of multi-ethnic/religious diversity as a part of their multicultural values.

2.8 Language

Robertson (ibid:78) argues that language is the significant 'keystone' of culture. Culture is shared and without the medium of the spoken word, complex patterns of thought, emotion, knowledge and belief could not be passed from individual to individual, or generation to generation. Language gives human beings a history, access to social experience and accumulated knowledge of generations that have gone before. Equally important, language enables us to give meaning to the world (ibid). Nearly all that is learned in human culture is learned through language in social interaction with others (ibid). Generally, Robertson's statement is significant because it clearly explores multiple values of language. Specifically, this represents a turning point in the discussion about identifying the Bosnian language because it includes its history in Australia; its socio-cultural role in the Bosniak diaspora's media, literature, education and religion; its role in ethics and aesthetics; overall, its significance in the process of settlement in Australia, or in other words, the position of Bosnian language in time and space.

No one disputes the fact that the possession of language is one of the most distinctive of all human cultural attributes, shared by all cultures (Giddens 1992:37). Clyne also asserts that language is the most important medium of human communication, a means by which people can identify themselves and others, a medium of cognitive and conceptual development and an instrument of action (1991:3-4). Robertson (1986:79) states that language and culture then are in constant mutual interaction: 'culture influences the structure and use of language and language can influence the cultural interpretation of reality'.

The linguistic theory of Sapir and Whorf, later known as the 'Sapir-Whorf linguistic relativity hypothesis', is primarily related to community languages. The *linguistic relativity theory* holds that speakers of a particular language must necessarily interpret the world through the unique vocabulary and grammar embedded in their language. Sapir (1986:79) argues that 'the worlds in which different societies live are different worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached'. The 'linguistic-relativity theory' does not imply that speakers of different languages are incapable of expressing the same ideas or seeing the world in the same way. What the theory

actually suggests is that the language one speaks predisposes them to a particular interpretation of reality (Robertson 1986:78–9). For newly arrived NESB migrants such as the Bosniaks, this theory practically describes the first role in their process of settlement in Australia. However, during their establishment in the new society, this theory plays a greater role within the Bosniak diaspora than it plays in society as a whole.

Language is significant, not only as a part of cultural identity, but also because of its role in a multilingual society. As Geertz points out, ethnicity is also a ‘primordial attachment’, which includes speaking a *particular language*, or *even a dialect of a language* (cited in Castles 1994:28). Settlement groups almost always maintain their language and some distinct elements of their homeland culture, at least for a few generations (ibid:12–3).

Although historically a variety of immigrant languages have existed in Australia since the 1850s, the term *community language* is relatively new and has become an important part of the Australian multilingual context. The term was used in Australia from about 1975 to denote ‘languages other than English’ (LOTE) employed within Australian society. Clyne (1991:3) points out those community languages legitimise their continuing existence as part of Australian society. Today Australia shares many aspects of its present multilingual situation with other western industrialised nations receiving immigrants, such as the USA, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands (ibid: 27).

Multilingualism played a significant role in Australian multicultural society and the term *multiculturalism* was ‘imported’ from Canada during the 1980s (ibid:28). The recognition of the rights, cultures and languages of all groups within Australian society and acknowledgement of the various cultures and languages are part of the shared heritage of all Australians. Multiculturalism legitimizes all languages used in Australian society. Clyne argues (ibid:34) that Australia’s multilingualism may have become part of our collective national identity and further argues that whether a language is maintained for its own sake or as part of ethnic awareness, the ‘Australianness’ of being bilingual is now generally not called into question.

Clyne (ibid:107) raises a set of questions by using a *number of language maintenance institutions* as examples including ethnic media, ethnic schools, ethnic religious units and so on. He states that as a predictive criterion, there are also some important issues with the institutional criteria. The first is the inclusion of languages or expressions merged through institutions or community activities which are used mainly for religious functions, cultural gatherings and sport competitions by small ethnic groups in the immigrant country, but also constitute the home languages of the community (ibid), such as in the case of the Bosnians. The combination of ethnic linguistic sources made available through institutional community or public services mainly enables community members to maintain their own 'community language'. This includes a number of radio and television stations and dedicated hours, newspaper circulation, ethnic schools and students, religious services and adherents, with regard to particular community languages.

The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) is an important Australian institution founded in order to assist speakers of many different languages across the country. NAATI was initially established in 1977 by the Commonwealth Government. On 1 July 1983 NAATI was re-established as an independent body jointly subsidised by Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments and is now incorporated as a public company, limited by guarantee, under the *Companies Act 1981* (NAATI 1995:i). It is important to emphasise here that the Bosnian language was officially recognised by Australian institutions, including NAATI. The Bosnian language is included in many ethnic and multi-ethnic/cultural institutions in Australia, including media (e.g. radio broadcasting on SBS, 3ZZZ; television Channel 31; community ethnic newspapers); translating/interpreting services (e.g. TIS, VITS); social and welfare organisations and services (e.g. migrant resource centres (MRCs); the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria (ECCV); and Bosniak ethnic schools at both primary and secondary levels. Bosniak Islamic centres are also significant places where the Bosnian language is spoken. They also promote the value of the Bosnian language through their local Islamic schools and linguistic classes.

In particular, bilingual empirical data in both Bosnian and English show that Bosniak publications, such as newspapers, pamphlets and books, are extremely significant

references. These written works also source Bosniak migration waves and periods of settlement and their ethnic and multi-ethnic contributions to Australia. Clyne (1991:145) states that the number of community publications, such as Bosniak newspapers or magazines, decrease or increase after initial settlement and their circulation frequently depends on new waves of migration. Some ethnic newspapers are written consciously or otherwise in a variety of languages, including Bosnian, at the time of the group's migration (ibid). Clyne (ibid:152) clearly points out that libraries, together with educational institutions, have made great efforts over the past decades to serve more appropriately the multicultural/multilingual society that Australia has become. A larger number of books in community languages, including those published in Bosnian, exist in collections in community libraries and in regional and state libraries (ibid).

Clyne (ibid:66–8) considers that ethnic groups with a high rate of language maintenance are either racially different or have distinctive religious affiliations, world views and practices (Buddhists, Muslims, Eastern Orthodox or Eastern-rite Catholic). In Australia in the field of education bilingualism is a personal and national resource (PLAN Lang Pol 1983:95; Senate 1984; lo Bianco 1987 cited in Clyne 1991:31). Clyne (1991:162) stresses that in Australia there are as many varieties of community languages as there are different community speakers. On the one hand, NESB migrants in Australia need to learn English to communicate; on the other hand, general adaptation to English among migrants depends on the individual speakers' ability to learn English, based on their capabilities and lifestyles, as well as their experiences of community languages and culture. Apart from English as the public and official language of all Australians, Clyne's (ibid) focus on 'community language' recognises linguistic differences and their role, but also the identity of ethnic groups and their greater or lesser bilingual experience.

A more complex and perhaps more interesting question is in relation to cultural determinants of the language shift differential between different groups. Western European cultures (e.g. German, Austrian) more or less 'akin' to Anglo-Australian seem to promote shift to English (Clyne 1991:85). The lowest rate of language shift in ethnolinguistic groups under consideration is among Mediterraneans who are either Muslim or Eastern Orthodox/Eastern-rite Catholics, that is, Greeks, Turks and

Lebanese with ‘Yugoslavs’ (partly Central European, Southern European, Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim) gravitating between the ‘low’ and ‘moderate’ shift group (ibid). However, the ‘Yugoslav-born’ category is too diverse (Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Macedonians, Albanians, Slovenians, Hungarians, Slovaks and others) to be sociolinguistically meaningful (ibid:75).

The names of different languages can be the result not only of their linguistic distinctiveness, but also because it is utilised in a way to function as a standard (national) language(s) (Kloss cited in Clyne 1991:101). Ivic and Franolic state that Serbo-Croatian (or Croat-Serbian) language has a controversial status between national (not just regional) varieties and two separate, elaborated languages—Croatian and Serbian. There were diverging policies with regard to this controversy in the former Yugoslavia itself (Civic 1989; Francolin 1988 cited in Clyne 1991:101), including those related to Bosnian. Between the Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian, Albanian and Slovenian languages there are differences in the *lexicology, phonology, morphology, syntax* and nature of transference or *influence* from other languages (Doucette 1990 cited in Clyne 1991:101). Clyne (ibid:101–102) argues that ethnicity and language being inextricably linked, the claim for the autonomous existence of Croatian, Serbian, or Bosnian as in the case of other ethnicities and languages of former Yugoslavia, is naturally made more strongly in multicultural Australia. Ethnic groups of former Yugoslavia identified their language according to their different cultural, ethical, ethnic (regional origin) or migration histories and political views (ibid). Subsequently these groups could have multiple identifications, for instance, Macedonians could see themselves as Macedonians from Greece or Macedonia, ‘Yugoslavs’ as Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Bosnians and so on (ibid:103). However some languages have speakers of different religious affiliations or ‘mixed religion’ groups, such as most ethnic groups from the Balkans (ibid).

Clyne (1991:163) states that the lexicon is the first and most common area of interlingual influence. On the one hand, the Australian experience is also expressed by new words based on morphological devices produced in the language as a whole (*neologisms*), and is not exclusive to Australia. For instance, in German, a common ending for verbs of Latin or French origin is ‘-ieren’ (e.g. F. *lance*; G. *lancieren*), Italians in Australia employ the existing suffix ‘-ista’ to create new terms based on

English nouns and the Greek suffix ‘-iko’ or ‘-doros’ are employed for similar purposes. Dutch diminutives are formed from nouns derived from English, for example *fensije* (little fence), *flockje* (little flock) (ibid). Similarly, in Bosnian, the common ending for English verbs is ‘-ovati’ (e.g. E. *push*, B. *pushovati*). On the other hand, *archaisms* are also employed by descendants of earlier settlers and by migrants of earlier times. The experience of using archaisms with some speakers from Eastern Europe can also be applied to Bosnian speakers. According to Clyne (ibid) the incidence of archaisms increases with every generation in Australia. To express a contemporary reality many words that have not been used before are now in usage as a semantic expression. Clyne (ibid) indicates two principal reasons for this lexical transference: (1) contextual factors and (2) speech economy.

Most of the countries of the world, either *multinational state*, or *multi-ethnic nation* are unquestionably *multilingual* argues Fasold (1984:2) so that it is almost impossible to wholly understand societal multilingualism without considering the patterns that created its existence (ibid:9). Historically, according to Fishman, there are four distinguishable standards which create multilingual states: (1) *migration*; (2) *imperialism*; (3) *federation* and (4) *broader area phenomena* (cited in Fasold 1984:30).

In terms of *migration*, different immigrants, including the Bosniaks, arrive in the new country speaking their native language (i.e. Bosnian), thus adding its linguistic values to the host nation’s multilingualism (ibid). However there are two major aspects, one that leads to assimilation and the other sustains an ethnic language. While, some of the previous immigrant generations eventually become linguistically and culturally assimilated; others maintain, or tend to maintain, their own ethnic or national identity, including the mother tongue. In addition, Downes (1984:31) states that in the linguistic processes of assimilation or retaining community language, linguistic diversity occurs not only in strictly bilingual or multilingual settings, but within a single language, for instance, Bosnian.

According to Fishman (cited in Fasold 1984:30) the term ‘imperialism’, or more clearly *economic imperialism*, means that a foreign language makes inroads into a country without the associated nationality ever taking political control, partly because

of the association of economic advantage (ibid:10). In broader terms, there are examples of learning foreign languages, such as English, French, German, or Chinese in different countries. Thus, *imperialistic languages* became necessary for international commerce and diplomacy. Host countries, as Fishman states, have a further effect on multilingualism reflected in a third standard, which is *federation* (ibid:11).

By *federation* as the third pattern of societal multilingualism, Fishman means the union of diverse ethnic groups or nationalities subjected to government policies. As a result, many colonies brought together numerous national sociocultural and linguistic groups under a single administration. With the further progress and growth of the state it then becomes a task for the new nation 'to develop a society that is more a multiethnic nation than a multinational state' (Fishman cited in Fasold 1984:11). Although Fasold (1984:2–3) finds it difficult, in some cases, to decide whether a sociolinguistic unit is a nationality or an ethnicity, he points out the importance of a *continuum*. He states that if the members of sociocultural groups feel they are simultaneously citizens of the nation they live in and members of their particular group, then the country is close to the multi-ethnic nation end of the continuum.

The fourth historical pattern relating to the *broader area phenomena* (Fishman cited in Fasold 1984:12) comprises linguistic interactions. This phenomenon includes ethnic groups who are citizens of one nation, but belong to their sociocultural grouping. The essence of Bosnian speakers in Australia is in fact both; they are members of the Bosniak sociocultural group which contributes to Australian multilingualism and, more importantly, they are Australian citizens with broader linguistic exchanges. Downes's (1984:195) view on broader linguistic phenomena is that a 'language system is always in the process of change' and 'bilingualism is prerequisite for language shift' where 'in contrast situations, new languages are born' (ibid). He goes on to indicate a new condition of linguistic process called *creolisation* arguing that 'a creole is the result of mixing two or more languages, which is substantial enough to result in a new system, a system that is separate from its antecedent parent system' (Downes 1977 1984:31). It is common issue for NESB speakers in Australia, such as the Bosniaks, to absorb English words in their everyday

vocabulary that also makes it easier for them to integrate and adapt to the new country, Australia.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that a large number of countries are so linguistically diverse, such as Australia, that it is not uncommon for newly born generations to be bilingual, or multilingual. Clearly, the Bosniak-born Australian may be a speaker of English, Bosnian, and/or other languages. Through the context of multilingualism this is an important point because different speakers, including Bosniaks, use language to share their thoughts with others, to exploit suitable aspects of language to reveal, articulate and define their social relationships, even using 'creolisation' more or less fruitfully to express their feelings, tending to understand what multilingualism means to a multicultural society (Fasold 1984). Also, it should be highlighted that the Bosnian language together with the Bosniaks' process of immigration, culture, religion and history is the major component of Bosniak ethnic identity in Australia.

2.9 Conclusion

The above interconnected elements assist in a broader understanding of the Bosnian Muslim community, particularly in relation to settlement formation, the establishment of community institutions and adjustment to Australian multiculturalism. The varieties of relevant theories support the observation of settlement, as well as a variety of views such as religious, non-religious (i.e. secular), or different lifestyles. Accordingly, distinctiveness of the Bosnian Muslim community explicitly belongs to the wider richness of Australian multiculturalism.

Bouma (2006:121) argues that the challenge for the 21st century is to (1) *understand*, (2) *practice* and (3) *extend* the inclusivity of God's love across lifestyles, religious forms and division within settlements. Clearly the religious and spiritual life of Australia's diverse community is vivid and bright, responding creatively to the social and cultural richness 'that is a complex, mutually influential relationship between religion, spirituality, society and culture' (ibid:171).

Cherishing the distinctiveness of the variety of communities and their mutual interaction and cooperation leads to a further enriching of society in general and

subsequently contributes to its development. In a variety of ways cultural diversity represents a productive platform for exploring Australian *cosmopolitanism* that has a significant part to play in *globalisation* and cooperation between different nations. Conclusively *globalisation* goes beyond nation states by linking international community - 'globalisation is one pressure which reduces the power and autonomy of nation states' (Castles at al 1995:159). Cosmopolitanism shares aspects of universalism – namely the globally acceptable notion of human dignity that must be protected and enshrined in international law. Cosmopolitanism is the idea that all of humanity belongs to a single moral community (Halpin 2008).

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This thesis explores the history of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia and settlement experience in Victoria, and involves research into the patterns and development of Bosnian Muslim settlement and integration within Australia. The nature of this research is socio-historical and is based on 'grounded theory'. The collection of the empirical data involves relevant social research techniques. This chapter will address these fundamental issues of methodology.

Both theory and research represent critical aspects of the historical project. They are essential and work together. On the one hand, historical facts without theory are utterly meaningless, for they lack the framework in which they can be understood. On the other, theories without historical facts are merely speculation and of little practical use. Robertson (1987:29) argues that theory and research are interconnected parts of a constant cycle subsequently resulting in the acquisition of historical knowledge. The outcome of the research process is neither theory nor data, but *knowledge* (Bouma 1997:18).

How research is conducted is fundamentally important, particularly relating to the approach and philosophy of research and methods utilised. This chapter covers the deliberations of the research that relate to several interconnected procedures: philosophy of research; role of the researcher; methodological considerations; coding and data analysis; ethics and cross-cultural issues.

I operated my research by the *compilation* secondary and primary data. Secondary data in its interconnected context is based on extensive, but comprehensive sources that include Australian, Bosniak and international reference books and journals. Primary data is based on empirical investigation which interlinked responses of interviews and surveys with archival documentation. The research operation was undertaken in its socio-historical context.

3.1 Philosophy of research

Within any discipline a variety of discourses illuminate key fundamental differences in approach. Any sociological inquiry raises a number of issues relative to approach, theoretical frameworks and methodology. Epistemology deals with the nature of knowledge (Crotty 1998) and is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible, and how we can ensure that these forms of knowledge are both adequate and legitimate. This section examines the philosophical frameworks that inform my study, namely the Islamic notion of *ilm* (i.e. Islamic knowledge; literally means values of scholarship).

The importance of science and philosophy of research together with science-based technology in the modern world is beyond question and the acceptance of science is an essential part of the Western outlook (Watt 1988:87). It should be clear that knowledge, based on historical science and philosophy of research, is also among *central* matters of contemporary Islamic thought (ibid:77). Sardar (1991:21) argues that intellectual (re)orientation of Muslim communities today should start with a fresh, critical understanding of classical Muslim epistemology, and a creative contemporary formulation of the concept of *ilm* which gradually broadened to mean 'science' (*al-alum* i.e. sciences, wisdom). It includes the process of regaining our 'lost' heritage. In its scholarly domain meaning of *ilm* undoubtedly includes the evolution of Muslim thought, contemporary philosophy, and guides ways of undertaking of research and the synthesis of knowledge largely within a historical framework. In a sense it was only part of the broader Muslim attempt to synthesise socio-historical knowledge, but to distribute this knowledge in a contemporary multicultural context (Sardar 1991:13-5). Thus education forms the most important link between man's past and future and constitutes the process of evaluation and transmission, of coping with the present and planning for the future, which determine a community's integration and survival. The focus is on education which enables cultural heritage, knowledge and values of social groups to be preserved and thus the collective life, as an integral part of multicultural society, is maintained. In short, Islamic education imparts meaning to the existence of a culture and helps it sustain its worldview (Manzoor cited in Serdar 1991:112).

Cornforth (1977:149) views knowledge as essentially a product which represents the social activities of men, including the philosophy of research. If knowledge depends on practice, the growth of knowledge has a transforming effect on practice (ibid:189). Knowledge is the sum of our conceptions, perceptions, thoughts, views and propositions established and tested as accurate reflections of objective reality (ibid: 149), and human knowledge is an essential means to freedom (ibid:189). Bearing in mind the moral and social virtues of Islam as well as values of multireligious, multiethnic, multiracial and multicultural society, the Bosniak Australian scholar Imamovic (1971) pointed out the principles of ethical and moral virtues of Islam, including:

love and compassion, kindness and forgiveness, respectfulness and decency, truthfulness and honesty, faithfulness and loyalty, chastity and modesty, submissiveness and tender love, brotherhood and fraternal solidarity, the inviolability of the human person and his/her property, obedience and uprightness, justice and equity, moral exertion and striving, the acquisition of a livelihood and labour, the acquisition of knowledge and education, benevolence and charity, broadmindedness and tolerance...

My theoretical research is underpinned by a philosophy that relates to Islamic virtues, including *ilm* (knowledge), representing broader multi-religious diversity. Therefore, my research is founded upon Islamic knowledge associated with human virtues, positive attitudes, multiculturalism and social harmony, and with either religious or secular approaches.

Most notably, the philosophy of research in the context of contemporary thoughts within the context of Western plurality creates a dimension towards new insights, visions and approaches. Indeed from an historical perspective appropriate knowledge about Islamic culture and history contributes to an understanding of and respect for different ethnicities, cultures, religions, races, traditions and lifestyles. This also informs other perceptions of Islamic values in a multicultural environment. It should be noted that significant parts of my understanding have been informed by exploring

historical aspects of multicultural, multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-ethnic contributions in Australia.

This perspective informs and determines my *research framework*. Neuman (2003:62) states that frameworks are either orientations or far-reaching ways of viewing the social world. They provide assumptions, concepts and forms of explanation and indicate further community activities (ibid). Thus my *research framework* is underpinned by a broader exploration of the historical development of Australia's multiculturalism for observing and understanding Bosnian Muslim settlement experience in Victoria.

In addition to the concept of *ilm* I did not make assumptions about research outcomes and instead adopted a 'grounded approach'. Grounded theory seeks to develop theory grounded in data that has been systematically gathered and analysed. According to Martin and Turner (1986, 9) grounded theory is 'an inductive, theory that allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of a topic while simultaneously grounding the account in empirical observations or data'. The major difference between grounded theory and other methods is its specific approach to theory development; grounded theory suggests that there should be a continuous interplay between data collection and analysis. The approach allows researchers to build theories from patterns and relationships observed (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

There are a number of benefits when applying grounded theory in social research that involve conceptual relationships and understandings thus the focus is not on measurement. Grounded theory is an inductive process, derived from the phenomenon it represents, that is discovered, developed and verified through the systematic collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection and theory have a reciprocal relationship. Therefore I did not begin with a theory and attempt to prove it. Rather I began with an area of study and allowed what is relevant to emerge. I did not take a prescriptive approach as to how Bosnian settlement occurred, but allowed a picture to emerge from lived experiences and other data collected from a range of sources using multiple data collection methods. This increased the reliability and validity of the data and allowed for triangulation of evidence from a number of sources noted below.

3.2 Research hypothesis

All research begins from a *research problem* (Giddens 1992:688). These are questions that indicate gaps in the scope or certainty of knowledge (Brewer and Hunter 1989:55). It includes selecting a problem to *narrow* the focus of the research question, in order to ‘unpack’ it (Bouma 1997:22). Schatzman and Strauss (1973:3) state that conventional wisdom suggests that a researcher prepare a relatively articulated problem in advance of the inquiry. This implies that the researcher cannot begin their inquiry without a problem (Giddens 1992:688). The nature of *hypotheses* cannot be described either as true or incorrect; rather they can only be relevant or irrelevant to the research topic (Sarantakos 1994:121). Hypotheses therefore are merely statements, as yet tentative and unproved.

It should be noted that my historical research framework is not based on pre-determined periods, but on explicit historical times based on historical facts. For example, the third wave of Bosnian Muslim migration settlement (i.e. late 1990s and early 2000s). Indeed Bosnian Muslims continue to be involved in various community and multicultural activities and programs and foster social harmony. All thesis chapters are located within a socio-historical context which represents a research framework for empirical research. Crotty (1998:111) illuminates that this type of research profoundly resonates with socio-historical, philosophical, cultural, spiritual, religious, secular and linguistic experiences that include a history of particular communities. By exploring the above *historical framework* I have employed two critical research questions on which to base my hypothesis: (1) What were the settlement experiences of Bosnian Muslim migrants in Victoria? (2) How did Bosnian Muslims integrate into Australia’s multicultural society?

These questions have been adopted within the philosophical framework of the research. By applying Islamic virtues as part of a broader multicultural diversity and by using multifarious sources, I make chronological observations which attest to the development and prosperity of Australia’s cultural diversity. While clearly this study is situated in a socio-historical context, I argue that supplementary multidisciplinary sources (sociological, anthropological, etymological, philosophical, religious and secular) are of benefit to this research. However, one should not forget that this is not

strictly comparative research. The illumination of the history of community and settlement experience, within the abovementioned determined periods, is unquestionably the most significant part of the research. It was necessary and reasonable to use many references to test the hypotheses and explore the chronological determinants of prime importance when conducting *historical research*.

In conclusion, historical research linked with the philosophy of research is based on contemporary virtues of *ilm* and values of Australia's multiculturalism. Sarantakos (1994: 27) states that research provides reliable and verifiable knowledge about the past social world. In their interrelated contemporary context *history* means the events of the past, a record of the past and a discipline that studies the past, and *historiography* is the method of conducting historical research, or of gathering and analysing historical evidence. Thus *historical sociology* is a part of historical research and is not a method in itself, but rather encompasses a philosophical approach to the 'study of the past to find out how societies work and change' (Smith cited in Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006:44).

3.3 Ethics and the role of the researcher

Ethics is a vital part of every research project (Alston and Bowles 1998:21) and all research has an *ethical-moral* dimension. Codes of ethics and other researchers provide guidance, but ethical conduct ultimately depends on the individual researcher (Neuman 2003:116). Researchers however have a responsibility to accurately represent themselves and their sponsors (Dane 1990:58). Above all, the researcher has a moral, professional and academic obligation to be ethical, even when research subjects are unaware of or not concerned with ethics (Neuman 2003:116).

Most universities and major welfare and research institutions have ethics committees in order to approve appropriate research projects. As well, some institutions and professions have a research code of ethics (Alston and Bowles 1998:23). In the *Report into the Settlement Experiences of Newly Arrived Humanitarian Entrants* (2007:11) cooperatively produced by the *Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives* (ICEPA) at Victoria University and the *Centre for Multicultural and Community Development* (CMCD) at the University of the Sunshine Coast, the

following ethical principles for the Victoria University researchers were recommended:

- Respect for privacy and confidentiality
- Voluntary participation in the project and the right to withdraw at any point
- Openness and transparency of the research process
- Respect for culture, religion, language, gender, age, ability and other factors
- Ensuring that no harm is done through the research process
- Recognition of the barriers to access and equity
- Belief in the genuineness and dignity of individuals
- Showing respect for sensitive issues such as torture and trauma
- Recognition that participants are equal stakeholders in the research with the researcher
- Use of culturally sensitive research methodologies
- Ensuring the integrity of the research is maintained
- Conformance with standards of ethical clearances obtained from the Victoria University Ethics Committee.

Research is an activity devoted to the advancement and application of knowledge by extending, reinterpreting or replacing existing concepts of knowledge and truth. In all aspects (*VU Guide for Research Degrees* 2006:53) research should therefore:

- Demonstrate integrity and professionalism
- Observe fairness and equity
- Avoid conflicts of interest
- Ensure the safety of those associated with research
- Uphold the rights and dignity of subjects involved in that research.

Additionally, Alston and Bowles (1998:21) identify five ethical criteria for research:

- Autonomy/self-determination (includes informed consent and confidentiality)
- Non-maleficence (not doing harm)
- Beneficence
- Justice

- Positive contribution to knowledge.

I applied to the *VU Human Research Ethics Committee* to obtain permission to undertake empirical research. In order to obtain ethics clearance I informed my supervisors and completed the relevant VU ethics clearance paperwork. Ethics approval to implement the research plan was granted through a process that ensures the research is conducted in accordance with the principles of ethical practice.

The principle of *autonomy* involves issues such as respect for human subjects and their right to decide whether or not they will be involved in research. In this way the researcher demonstrates they have obtained informed consent from all participants. It primarily means that participants understand the nature of the research and its purpose (Alston and Bowles 1998:21). Among other important values ethics include loyalty, honesty, flexibility and integrity (Bouma 1997:188). For instance, the interview situation raises issues such as norms of privacy, ways to gain trust, beliefs about confidentiality, difference in dialects and so on (Neuman 2003:427). The level of attention paid to ethical issues depends on the sensitivity of the proposed study (Kelly cited in Seale 2002:199). I strictly abided by the ethical guidelines for research. I informed participants about who I was and the nature of my research both verbally and in writing. I respected their right to take part in the research and informed them that they could withdraw at any time. I guaranteed utmost confidentiality and privacy in the research process as described below.

At the commencement of the research, I was aware of particular political issues within the community. I appreciate the distinctiveness of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, its socio-historical, cultural-religious and other values which constitute the broader Australian multicultural society. I respect the diversity of ideas, opinions and views held within the community. In terms of religion, I see Islam among Bosnian Muslims as a matter of privacy and subsequently I respect their religious or secular viewpoints. I therefore used terms such as Bosnian Muslims, Bosnians and Bosniaks interchangeably to show respect for historical developments within the Bosnian community.

In my research participants were of different migrant generations, ages, gender, they led different lifestyles from different social classes and demonstrated diverse views on community development. My approach was honest, flexible and fair. I have an understanding of broader Bosnian Muslim cultural traditions, norms, the Bosnian language and ways to respectfully approach individuals in a culturally sensitive manner. It is important to note that I didn't 'favour' or 'minimise' anyone from the 'community'. With such an understanding of the diversity of community issues, I was non-judgmental and operated independently of the politics of community agencies.

My research interests, approach and inquiries were culturally sensitive, either religious or non-religious respectful and politically appropriate, and participation was voluntary. My ethical-moral dimension included the following:

- I respected different views within the Bosnian Muslim community
- I demonstrated cultural sensitivity during interactions with participants
- I avoided jargon and spoke mainly in Bosnian
- I allowed participants to say what they thought and showed no bias
- I communicated with participants without imposing my own opinion
- I kept checking my own thought processes and critical self reflection
- I respected privacy and confidentiality
- I kept diaries securely and removed names from interview sheets.

Before undertaking the research, I provided information about the research project to participants. Accordingly, the *Information to participants involved in research* was written in Bosnian and English and participants read the information and signed the *Consent form* which includes the right to *privacy*, the right to withdraw from the process at any stage and to refuse to answer certain questions if they did not wish to do so. *Confidentiality* means that the information given to the researcher will not be divulged to others, except in reporting research results as agreed (Alston and Bowles 1998:21-2). I did not disclose information given by participants during the research to other community members and did not identify participants because research conducted in small communities can be problematic in maintaining confidentiality. This research was well received by those approached and I received the support of all participants.

My research is undertaken from the perspective that it should benefit the whole community resulting in positive outcomes. As a Bosniak researcher, I intended to: (1) document the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia within a socio-historical context; (2) assist the Bosnian Muslim community significantly with an appropriate contemporary articulation of their integration in modern Australia's multicultural society; (3) explore Islamic cultural heritage by documenting how Bosnian Muslims have significantly contributed to the establishment of contemporary Australian Muslim communities in Australia; (4) present Bosnian Muslim's views to other researchers and, to a larger extent, the insights of Islamic values (using *ilm* in particular) together with its potential flexibility and adaptability towards integration in Australia; (5) promote an understanding of Muslim community settlement in a Western context; (6) extend the knowledge of those who are interested in an Islamic component of multi-religious diversity; and (7) inform policy and service delivery in relation to immigrant settlement and multiculturalism.

As a Bosniak there were distinct advantages for this type of research which included my informed knowledge of Bosnia and the new homeland Australia, particularly with regard to cultural history, all crucial components of my historical research. I believe I have extensive knowledge of both Bosnian and Australian Islamic cultural history and cultural-religious diversity and the Bosnian language.

Being born in an urban (multicultural and multi-religious) environment with a cosmopolitan view, these characteristics work to my advantage in relation to understanding the Bosnian Muslim community, Australian multiculturalism and Western plurality. In order not to influence participants I did not disclose my own issues with regard to migration, settlement, nostalgia and culture. Indeed I believe I have brought from Bosnia to Australia some positive ideas, inspiration, knowledge and skills which have been broadly recognised within the Bosnian Muslim community across Australia, particularly during my professional engagement with SBS Radio and Bosnian newspapers, as well as my voluntary commitment to the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria and Multicultural Arts Victoria.

In sum I see myself as a ‘researcher insider’ due to my background which includes my country of origin *Bosnia*, my religion *Islam*, ethnicity *Bosniak* and language *Bosnian*. I also belong to the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, and possess an informed understanding of Bosnian Muslim culture and traditional values and costumes, as part of the broader multicultural environment in which I live and work.

3.4 Methodological considerations

A methodology is a system of rules, principles and procedures that guide scientific investigation (Robertson 1987:29). The exploration of relevant social theories greatly assisted historical research and subsequently supported my empirical research. In this way Crotty (1998:51) states that the ‘research invites us in a spirit of openness to its potential for new and richer meanings’. It is frequently said, that undertaking historical research requires: (1) patience, insight and creativity; (2) good orientation and prudence; and (3) the *right research methods*.

By method we simply mean ‘the research technique or tool used to gather data’ (Bailey 1978:26). Hughes (1990:11) posits that research methods cannot be divorced from theory as they operate only within a given set of assumptions about the nature of society, the nature of human beings and the relationship between the two. Dane (1990:10) states that research projects involve three different aspects, namely: (1) the researchers; (2) the participants; and (3) the consumers. Like Hughes, Alston and Bowles (1998:20) assess several key players in the research process: (1) the researcher(s); (2) the research subject(s); (3) those who support the research; (4) those who will benefit from the research; and (5) those who have been targeted to implement research findings (e.g. policy makers). According to the above assessment and relative to my research, these would include: (1) myself as researcher; (2) Bosnian Muslim community representatives and community members; (3) academic staff – supervisors; and (4) those institutions who will benefit from the research including ICEPA, Victoria University and other Australian universities, various academics and multicultural institutions throughout Australia and internationally, the Australian Bosniak community, the Bosniak diaspora and academic and cultural institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I believe the findings of the research will be relevant and useful for new generations of Muslims and non-Muslims in Australian

universities, multicultural and multireligious institutions, governmental and non-governmental institutions and the Bosniak community.

Brewer and Hunter (1989:14) consider that each type of research method, if appropriately applied, can lead to valid empirical and theoretical generalisations about the history of community and social life. The field researcher is a 'methodological pragmatist' and sees any appropriate method of inquiry as a strategy and operations designed for obtaining the relevant answers or historical facts to certain questions about experiences of interest. The field researcher is also concerned with the most meaningful information (Schatzman and Strauss 1973:7). Data collection involves researchers and subjects (Brewer and Hunter 1989:91). Thus researchers need access to people, settings, historical materials and documents (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006:15).

My research is both *qualitative* and *quantitative* using multiple research methods. The quantitative data tends to answer questions such as: 'how much, how many, how often?' The qualitative data expressed in the language of images, feelings and impressions describes the qualities of people and events under study, while the quantitative data are usually articulated in numbers or percentages, whereas the qualitative data tends to answer questions such as 'What is it like to experience this or that phenomenon?' (Bouma 1997:174). A qualitative approach is concerned with capturing and discovering the meaning of social phenomena. Concepts take the form of themes, motifs, social phenomena and taxonomies rather than data produced for precise measurement (Neuman 2003:139). Qualitative and quantitative research differ in many ways but more importantly complement each other (Bouma 1997:17).

Scholars such as Reinharz (1992:4) emphasise the importance of *research plurality* in order to explore diversities. During data gathering, historians frequently use a variety of relevant research methods (Hantrais and Mangen 1996:108). This multi-method approach is consistent with triangulation, which is the use of multiple data sources to explain social phenomena (Klein and Myers 1996), in keeping with the *ilm* and grounded theory framework adopted, since both approaches advocate the use of multiple data sources to gain an understanding of multiple perspectives.

The following section explains research methods employed in my research which include the following: (1) literature review; (2) surveys; (3) interviews; and (4) archival and administrative data.

i) Literature review

First, a desk-based literature review was conducted over three months. Before embarking on empirical research I reviewed the relevant literature sources that included various theoretical approaches and discussion, most notably on migration, settlement, culture, religion, community and language. The relevant *references* in the existing literature served as an initial survey research instrument. Importantly, Robertson (1987:45) argues ‘knowledge of relevant literature is essential’. Neuman (2003:416) points out that to access a *broader* picture many researchers use *secondary sources* which include the writing of specialist historians and sociologists who have spent years studying primary sources. Bouma (1997:24) also states that consulting what has been previously written on the topic which includes previous literature reviews also assists with empirical research. These arguments suggest that the researcher locates and gathers evidence through extensive *references*. The literature will assist in identifying primary and secondary sources relating to a particular topic or historical periods.

Print and electronic searches were conducted using a range of databases including:

- Academic books
- Academic journals
- Databases of multicultural organisations
- Archival documents
- Policy and other government documents
- Community agency reports
- Newspapers and booklets.

Key words used to conduct searches included ‘migration’, ‘settlement’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘culture’, ‘multiculturalism’, ‘religion’, ‘Bosnian Muslims’, ‘Bosnians’, ‘Bosniaks’, ‘Islam’. The literature search yielded outcomes which support my thesis and provided:

- Theoretical foundations on key concepts such as migration, ethnicity, multiculturalism, settlement, Islam and community language
- Foundational and conceptual materials to guide methodology
- Findings from existing research on these topics
- Existing policy and settlement programs
- Statistical data.

The literature review included key references relating to Bosnian migration and settlement, written by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars, Australians, Bosniaks and international scholars. Some works were published earlier, but most have been published more recently. They cover earlier historical periods and contemporary history and as such, they are interconnected. These references include topics about Bosnia, Bosnian Muslims, Bosnians, Bosniaks, Islam, West, Australia, immigration, settlement, communities, diasporas, integration, adaptability, multiculturalism, history and culture.

Sample sizes included community representatives who responded on behalf of members of particular organisations. These representatives represented *quite large* memberships and they were from different organisations. Responses from community representatives were based on a variety of their community organisational activities, interactions, cooperations and structures. More detailed investigation was obtained by interviewing community members of various migrant generations, and their responses are *strongly* supported by archival and administrative data. Further justifications of sample sizes include various representatives of many different backgrounds from multicultural agencies. Among these representatives there were some Bosniaks as well. In addition, the literature on Bosnian Muslims was based on a few hundred interviews across Australia. Taken as a whole, all sampling sizes produced data that brought new dimensions in understanding not only the nature of the settlement experiences, but also its historical development.

ii) Surveys (email)

Electronic surveys are convenient and by far the most efficient way of gathering information and can be undertaken by a single researcher. Survey respondents provide a very important *quantitative data* set. Distribution of survey instruments through the mail to a predetermined sample is an efficient manner of collecting data. Furthermore this enables self-administration of a survey – a survey in which respondents complete the instrument without intervention by the researcher. Survey questionnaires can be widely distributed with the possibility of a high return rate in this way. It also provides a greater privacy for respondents (Dane 1990:133).

My research included 20 surveys with Bosnian Muslim representatives/leaders across Victoria. I developed a survey research instrument in order to obtain information about settlement experiences, access to services, multiculturalism and community relations (please refer to Appendix 2). I developed a purposive sample based on the representatives/leaders who represented a wide range of community organisations such as welfare support, culture, religion, sports, media and emailed the survey to key respondents. The rate of return was 100 per cent and the survey served as very useful research instrument in gathering primary data.

iii) Interviews (face-to-face)

I conducted face-to-face interviews with members of the Bosnian community across Victoria and multicultural and mainstream settlement agencies in order to gather primary data. *Interviews* are probably the most commonly used method of collecting *qualitative data* in social research (Seale 2002:102). The interview is a special case of social interaction between two persons and, as such, is subject to some of the same rules and restrictions as other instances of social interaction (Bailey 1978:160). ‘Face-to-face’ interviews have the highest response and permit substantive questionnaires (main questions and subsets of questions) (Neuman 2003:288).

I developed a sample based on the *snowball* technique, when ‘the researcher begins with one case, then based on information about interrelationship from that case, identifies other cases, and then repeats the process again and again’ (Neuman

2003:545). My research participants were Bosnian Muslim community members and representatives from community organisations. In this way my research constructed a snowball sample from (1) responses from either representatives or leaders of community organisations; (2) responses from community members; and (3) responses from representatives of different multicultural institutions.

Purposive sampling was also applied to ensure a representative number of participants including different migrant generations, ages, gender, lifestyles, social classes and a diverse variety of views on community settlement. The interviews provided settlement experiences of Bosnian Muslims while mainstream multicultural institutions provided a precise understanding and new perspectives on issues of settlement, integration and Bosnian Muslim participation in multiculturalism.

I also developed research instruments for interviews. A questionnaire was developed which was semi-structured and open-ended (please refer to Appendix 3). In-depth interviews were undertaken, mainly in Bosnian. The qualitative technique of 'in-depth interviews' assist significantly in that research subjects can talk to the researcher about what is important to them, they are free to tell their stories, and offer their perceptions, feelings and experiences (Bouma 1997:170). Alston and Bowles (1998:117) consider 'in-depth interviews' to be the most flexible type of research instrument and are frequently used in qualitative research. Given the nature of 'in-depth interviews' and prior to conducting interviews, the researcher must have exceptionally good interviewing skills, a highly developed theoretical understanding of the research methodology and considerable experience in working with this method (ibid).

Interviews were conducted in settings that participants felt comfortable with such as community centres, clubs, private houses and cafés. A Bosnian Muslim social-welfare organisation *Merhamet* provided counselling should anyone became distressed during or after the interview.

I undertook 10 interviews with Bosnian Muslim men and women covering different periods of migration, different migration categories (refugee and migrant), mixed marriages and different age groups. Bosnian Muslim community members provided

very significant perspectives of settlement experiences within historical and social contexts.

I also conducted five interviews with representatives from mainstream and multicultural agencies including government and non-government organisations in Victoria. These interviews clarified significant aspects relating to Bosnian Muslim community integration within multiculturalism, and they are mainly identified through their current interaction with the Bosnian community, as either service providers or policy makers (please refer to Appendix 4).

iv) Archival and administrative data

Research materials that supported my research include selected *archival* and *administrative documents* relating to Bosnian Muslim settlement and community organisations in Victoria. The archival data was written in Bosnian and the administrative data in English. This documentation was translated from Bosnian to English and incorporated in the thesis. Unquestionably this was a useful way to fill existing gaps in the research. In fact, this primary data covered significant issues relating to the history of Bosnian Muslim settlement, integration and experiences.

Apart from the literature review, surveys, interviews and archival and administrative data my research also included statistics and Internet sources.

v) Statistics

The use of *statistics* in social research has a long history. The type of statistics collected and how they are utilised is closely tied to programs of legislation and social reform. For instance, official statistics illustrate the link between numbers and modern methods of government (Seale 2002:164). Similarly Hantrais and Mangen (1996:19) concur statistics achieve significant information over time. They point out that statistics need both scholars, including historians, and the state (ibid). Statisticians such as policy-makers, historians and sociologists tend to refer to statistics if they afford a reliable source of information (ibid:132).

In my research the *census* offers significant counts and these valuable data are based on census data collected by various governments for different historical periods. This statistical information played a vital role in collecting and summarising data designed to evaluate and strengthen the socio-historical facts and interpret new understandings about community populations. Throughout history the Bosnian Muslim population is mainly estimated using categories such as ‘Southern Slavs’, ‘Bosnians’ and ‘population from Bosnia and Herzegovina’. Based on relevant sources, most notably *DIMIA* (now the *Department for Immigration and Citizenship*), Bosnian Muslims constitute a large Muslim minority group.

vi) *Internet sources*

In addition to the above research methods, I have obtained valuable data by sourcing the Internet which has enriched the themes explored in my research. Alston and Bowles (1998:190) concur that the *Internet* is also a valuable instrument for socio-historical research. The Internet supplies information and resources on how to evaluate information on the Web, such as *electronic archives* or *administrative documents*.

3.4 Data Analysis

Once the empirical evidence is gathered, data analysis can begin, in this case collating the findings from the literature review, archival materials, surveys and interviews. Data analysis is complex and commences with data coding. It should be noted that from the beginning research data coding was an important and integral part of the research process. Seale and Kelly posit that ‘coding is the *first step* towards data analysis and the quality of a coding scheme influences the eventual quality of data analysis’ (2002:326). More importantly they state that the *creative* construction of an interaction between appropriate data collection, analysis and theory building represents ‘the *core* of research activities’ (ibid). Strauss clearly states ‘the excellence of the research rests in a large part on the excellence of the coding’ (Strauss cited in Alston and Bowles 1998:211). The ability to code well and easily is one of the keys to successful qualitative data analysis (ibid).

As a researcher gathers evidence and locates new sources, he or she begins to summarise and organise the data (Neuman 2003:414) which involves three steps: (1) include categorisation of data which must be selected; (2) once the categories are selected the data are coded; and (3) the data needs to be presented in a form which facilitates the drawing of conclusions (Bouma 1997:145). The data must also be relevant to emerging research questions and evolving concepts (Neuman 2003:414).

I used a coding scheme and selective coding, in particular, relevant areas and categories. I researched a large number of literary sources and specifically organised and classified the data into several major themes:

- settlement issues and processes of settlement
- community development and community building
- factors relating to settlement
- integration, adaptation and social cohesion
- contribution to and support of multiculturalism
- social inclusion, social exclusion and racism.

The following step was to synthesise the data by linking specific data and locating data in appropriate patterns that consisted of ‘subchapter units’ within a historical context. Subchapter units constituted my ‘building blocks’ expressed as reference numbers or brief notes. This classification was supported by selective direct and/or interrelated references.

I created chronological sequencing to enable continuous facilitation of significant data for compilation and refinement which enabled a meaningful pattern. This procedure was followed by a new cycle of checking and correcting data and exploring it within a historical context. The next step was incorporation or distribution of the most relevant data into related chapters and incorporating them in the thesis structure. Coding methods and data analysis included a very careful examination of complex research issues and verified the most accurate factual material. The coding methods led to subsequent conclusions.

A significant part of coding data is including the words or writing of individuals, groups or community organisations about their *experiences*. These are derived through surveys, interviews and archival and administrative documentation. Initially this collected empirical data was mostly expressed in Bosnian which I translated to English. I also attempted to ‘adjust the spirit of Bosniak expressions’ into English which could be understood. The empirical data was then accurately *transcribed, categorised, selected, coded* and *incorporated* into chapters six and seven, namely *Settlement experiences* and *Integration and multiculturalism*, followed by conclusions.

Data analysis represents a significant step after gathering and coding primary data and it is derived from socio-historical elements. *Data analysis* is a process by which the researcher designs and implements a system for maintaining the accuracy and availability of data (Dane 1990:145). Alston and Bowles (1998:187-8) agree that data analysis is the process of using data that was conducted for some other purpose to provide answers to research questions.

I specifically analysed *micro* (i.e. small-scale and narrow-scope aspects) and *macro* (i.e. large-scale and broad-scope aspects) data, then merged relevant issues into the appropriate framework. Micro analysis focused on individual elements of settlement experience, access to settlement services and integration in Australia in everyday life, while the elements of macro analysis included the broader societal and historical context of immigration, multiculturalism and social inclusion. Bailey (1978:28) considers it is probably not necessary to draw a sharp dividing line between macro and micro elements that are both linked. This perspective was adopted in the analysis and the interlinking of individual and societal factors were explored.

With data analysis I ‘unpacked’ many relevant issues of settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims and understood many important aspects of historical context. I obtained the cultural, historical, social and religious idiosyncrasies of each story that was particularly useful to fill gaps in previous published research. My analysis has assisted in reaching conclusions about Bosnian Muslim settlement foundation within multi-ethnic Muslim communities, further community development and Bosnian Muslim integration within Australia’s multicultural environment. This analytical

process enabled me to answer the initial research question. The data is both quantitative and qualitative, consisting of numbers, words and/or images.

3.5 Cross cultural issues in research

Research about the experiences of (Bosnian) Muslims, Islamic beliefs, culture and history is arguably 'best conducted within a framework of multiculturalism' (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 2004:133). Day-to-day living in a multicultural society includes greater amounts of face-to-face contact among people from very different cultural-religious backgrounds. There is therefore a greater exposure of various cultural groups and frequent cross-cultural contact in many different areas or industries such as education, work, mass media, trade, travel, public housing, social service and health care settings (Brislin 1986:1).

Indeed research frequently involves a movement between at least two cultures, those of the researcher and human subjects who are studied (Bouma 1994:4). Research of cross cultural issues requires researchers to possess an in-depth knowledge of different norms, practices, traditions and customs. Knowing another language is not enough; most importantly 'a researcher needs to be multicultural' (Neuman 2003:427). Using my bilingual skills during research was useful in two ways: (1) to communicate in English with representatives from mainstream multicultural institutions and some Bosnians, but also (2) to talk in Bosnian with community members and representatives. My experiences with multiculturalism has given me three avenues for research: (1) to meet and interact with Bosnian Muslims within their cultural environment; (2) an opportunity to interact with them within multicultural settings across Victoria; and (3) to visit multicultural agencies and meet multicultural representatives.

Intergroup interaction is a complex socio-historical and cultural-religious phenomenon to research. Brislin (1986:2) further posits that the 'backgrounds' of people who form different communities can be due to racial, religious, cultural, linguistic categorisations, ethnic loyalties, nationalities, social classes and minority status within a country dominated by another group whose members hold power. He also argues that 'the wisdom of accumulated experience' from one intergroup contact

assists in understanding other ethnic communities and that ‘experiences refer to the accumulated set of events such as migration and settlement, integration and adaptability and people’s reaction to them’(ibid). This statement leads to questions about how cross-cultural issues influence the research process.

Crotty (ibid) posits that ‘culture’ influences the research process because we depend on culture to direct our behaviour, approaches, organise enquiries and fulfil research tasks. Similarly Geertz (cited in Crotty 1998:47) states that researchers mainly see culture as ‘complex concrete behaviour patterns – customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters’. Also culture is considered as the significant source of ethnicity rather than only a result of human thought and behaviour (Crotty 1998:53). Ethnicity also plays a significant role. According to Acevec (1974:164) *ethnic (ethnicity)* is defined in terms of cultural ethos (values, expectations, attitudes and behaviour) of a group who has a common genetic and/or linguistic, religious, national and social background. I respected Bosnian identity although I recognised the diversity within that ethnicity and did not assume a homogeneous identity. Ethnic groups (everyone who is member of the same ethnic group) could be defined by both ‘insiders’ (people who feel they belong in a particular category) and ‘outsiders’ (non-members). As an ‘insider’ within the Bosnian community I was able to gain perspectives, insights and knowledge which I could not have otherwise accessed. And I respectfully recognised the diversity of views, opinions and voices of participants.

As a researcher I was culturally sensitive during my interaction with Bosnian Muslims because I was aware that my research required the acknowledgement and awareness of the importance of Bosnian Muslim *ethnicity* and *culture*. In order to approach community members I used appropriate Bosnian words respecting their *cultural* tradition and customs. As I have already noted I derived my cross-cultural framework from culturally relevant sources, most notably Islamic *ilm* and multiculturalism. In accounts of these experiences I note that memory is both individual and collective, and in a socio-historical context it is selective. In recounting settlement experiences other cultural factors which lead to the reworking of stories include: changes in political circumstances; pain involved in telling and thus reliving the story; fear of repercussions or backlash; lack of skills to articulate feelings; new developments/interests in the community; emotions (guilt, shame, fear) and

forgetfulness. I therefore did not expect one cultural narrative as history is not a monolithic discourse.

The Bosnian Muslim ethnicity in my research is explored through the cultural-religious and socio-historical aspects within a multicultural context. Essentially ethnicity has a multiplicity of significance and meanings. For instance, it includes the following: (1) sense and solidarity that members belong together; (2) having particular characteristics they share (e.g. culture, religion, language, knowledge, experience); (3) contribution to development in a broader society; and (4) constitutes a significant part of multicultural society. Indeed many scholars such as Burnley, Encel and McCall (1985:vii) maintain that ‘ethnicity is always a major force in Australian society’.

Papastergiadis (2000:109) asserts that ‘culture is not a fixed script which actors are bound to follow’. The *cross-cultural* issues in research in relation to ‘insider-outsider’ knowledge, I consider as both a challenge and an advantage. Undeniably it is an ‘open-ended’ system which contributes to the interaction of ‘insider-outsider’ in *different* cultures, the distribution of knowledge and exchange of ideas and experiences. In a broader context, Paul Sears states the following in relation to group culture (cited in Acevec 1974:62):

The way in which the people in any group do things, make and use tools, get along with *one another* and *with other groups*, the words they use and the way they use them to express thoughts, and the thoughts they think – all of those we call the group’s culture.

As a Bosnian researcher, I experience the dilemmas, frustrations, routines, relationships and risks that are part of the everyday life of the Bosnian community. Access to participants however requires building trust and there is an intimate relationship between a researcher and the concepts, theories, ideas, and languages they use. Thus, the importance of accepting other ways of knowing and telling become central to a fuller understanding of Bosnian identity. This includes, in practice, recognising oral traditions, links with the homeland and Australia, and the recognition of different ways of doing things, for example, knowing personal names,

and appreciating familial relations. Developing relationships, building trust and having empathy for the lived experiences of participants emanates from the cultural sensitivity I bring to this research. Furthermore, the very act of the research gives voice and power to the community within a multicultural context.

Overall my research approach included cultural sensitivity, understanding, knowledge and acknowledgement of difference with full appreciation of the variety of community views and experiences. This leads me to conclude, as Hantrais and Mangen (1996:108) point out, that the researcher in a cross-national history needs to document socio-historical and cultural-religious elements and analyse experience, events and administrative processes in relation to their context. Such an approach takes into account historical and cultural values and, indeed, provides a basis for further understanding of difference.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has covered the epistemological and methodological considerations in undertaking the research into Bosnian settlement in Victoria. It has covered the philosophy or theoretical framework deriving from *ilm* and grounded theory. It also covered issues of ethics and the precautions I took as an ethical researcher. The role of the researcher, one who is also a member of the Bosnian community, and the advantages and disadvantages this provides has been discussed. Additionally, the methodology utilised has been described in detail including surveys, interviews, the literature review and other statistical and archival approaches. Finally, the chapter examined the deliberations undertaken in cross-cultural and culturally sensitive research.

CHAPTER FOUR

History of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia

This chapter explores the literature review of Bosnian Muslim settlement in Australia. Almost certainly in previous historical sources the Bosnian Muslims are only mentioned in part either within the context of the general Australian Muslim community, or Australian cultural-religious diversity. This chapter presents a precise historical framework and primarily focuses on general observations of the development of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia covering several decades: (1) post WW2 until the late 1960s; (2) the 1970s and 1980s; and (3) from the early 1990s onwards. Accordingly and chronologically it includes three migration waves of Bosnian Muslims to Australia.

This chapter also highlights Bosnian Muslims in Australia and the important role they have played in many, but little known or forgotten, contributions of historical value. It contributes to a broader understanding of contemporary society, particularly in relation to the establishment of multiethnic Muslim communities, followed by Bosnian Muslim community development. By revealing the gradual process of their early settlement it shows the continuous progress of community development across Australia within major social settings and/or community activities, in which all generations of Bosnian Muslims took part. Important aspects are the Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition and Islamic cultural heritage represented here as an undivided mix constituting a broader wealth of Australian multiculturalism. This chapter is supported by significant archival and administrative data from these different settlement periods.

4.1 Period post WW2

In 1947 the first significant number of refugees migrated to Australia. They included Germans, Dutch, Ukrainians, Latvians, Czechs, Estonians and Poles (Babacan cited in Dalton, Draper, Weeks et al. 1996:156). This was rapidly followed by the migration

of refugees from southern Europe including the Balkan countries. For instance, 20,000 Yugoslavians arrived as displaced persons by 1952 and smaller numbers continued to arrive until the inflow increased again in the late 1960s. As elsewhere, difficult postwar economic conditions in Yugoslavia contributed to their arrival in Australia (Broome 1984:200). From 1947 until 1971 the Muslim population of Australia increased from 2,704 to 22,311. From the late 1940s Muslims from Cyprus, Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria and Russia migrated in small numbers (Humphrey cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh, 2001:36; Cleland, 2002:69). According to the *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* (Vol XII July 1991) the number of Bosnian and Albanian Muslims in 1960s was 6,000. The substantial number of refugees of Southern European origin, including Bosnian Muslims, gravitated to metropolitan towns to take up urban occupation and residence (Price, 1963:149–150). This wave of Bosnian Muslim settlers included highly skilled and capable craftsmen who worked in early Australian enterprises and contributed significantly to different industries (Haveric, 1999).

The first generation of post WW2 Bosnian Muslims worked in various jobs across Australia, such as: timber cutting (South Australia); bush railways, gold mining, drove timber trains, cut sugar canes, filled the wagons (Queensland); cultivated small vineyards, or market gardens (South Australia, Northern Territory); welded constructions for buildings in towns (Brisbane, Melbourne, Adelaide, Sydney, Perth, Canberra), and/or on islands (Nauru), dug out weeds from fences (Tasmania), built fences (Alice Springs), gold and opal mining (Kalgoorlie, WA); loaded various export materials or product on transoceanic ships (Melbourne, Sydney, Perth), mixed concrete, built various buildings, such as shops, houses, towers and bridges (Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide); worked in small manufactures, and truck companies. While, many Bosnian Muslim *men* and *women* worked in different industries, such as chemical, car, plastic, clothe, food and meat factories, printing companies, and hospitals; some Bosnians worked as technical and administrative staff in various companies (ibid).

From the late 1940s and early 1950s onwards the earliest dispersed Bosnian Muslims from Bosnia, Herzegovina and Sandzak regions across Australia formed the first *Bosnian/Herzegovinian/Sandzak* Muslim groups (ibid). It is important to note that

these dispersed Bosnian Muslim groups in Australia preceded the formation of a wider Bosnian Muslim community in Australia. They significantly contributed to the founding of multiethnic Muslim communities. These early Bosnian Muslim settlers had two *alims* (Islamic scholars, particularly in Muslim legal and religious studies – Kadi and Imam), the first was Kadi Ishak ef. Imamovic who migrated in 1949 to Queensland and Imam Ahmed ef. Skaka who migrated in 1950 settled in South Australia (ibid:41–2). These Bosnian Muslim groups had cultural-religious contacts with early Muslim settlers including Afghanis, Pakistanis, Indians, Albanians, Turks, Arabs, Indonesians, Malays and so on. By forming *Bosnian/Herzegovinian/Sandzak* Muslim groups they joined both multiethnic Muslim groups and non-Muslim ethnicities as well (ibid:28). In addition, these early Australian Bosnian/Herzegovinian/Sandzak Muslim groups had cultural contacts with Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia and with British Bosnian/Herzegovinian/Sandzak Muslim groups (Imamovic 1996:90–1).

Historically, during the 1950s and 1960s the first Islamic Societies were established in South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania and the ACT with representatives from different ethnic groups, including Bosnian Muslims in the multiethnic Muslim community (Haveric 1999). The first ideas and initiatives in the founding and building of mosques were linked to the following: Muslims meetings in tearooms, renting houses, buying block of lands and purchasing houses, raising money and donations, hiring rooms at town halls for Islamic festivals, and gathering in schools halls. The establishment of mosques included fruitful interaction and cooperation with Australian authorities, visiting clubs of other ethnic communities, and contacting representatives of various faiths.

From the early 1950s among the earliest multiethnic Muslim gathering was the *Islamic Society of South Australia* located in the old Afghan mosque in Adelaide (ibid 31;42). Led by Imam Ahmed ef. Skaka, the *Islamic Society of South Australia* became the first Islamic Society in Australia to be officially registered in 1955 (ibid). It was supposed that after the decline of the Afghan population in Adelaide this old, four minaret mosque would gradually disappear (Cleland 2002:70). However in the early 1950s when the Bosnian Muslims renewed and revitalised the almost unused mosque, a new multiethnic community was revived. Apart from this mosque – one of the

earliest meeting places of the Bosnian Muslims with a few old Afghan Muslims – there was a *small house*, renewed and adapted by the Bosnian Muslims for tearooms, affording a night's lodging for travellers, and for socialising during the annual fasting month of Ramadan or Muslim festivals (e.g. *Bosnian Mevluds*) and soon after it became their library. It is important to note that this small house located next to the old Afghan mosque was among the earliest 'multiethnic Muslim clubs' in the mid 20th century (Haveric 1999:31;42). Imam ef. Skaka for over 30 years continuously led not only Bosnian Muslims, but Muslims of different ethnic groups in South Australia, particularly Muslim members of Adelaide's mosque (ibid).

The following article provides deeper insights and historical facts that significantly contribute to a broader understanding of Islamic settlement in Australia since the middle of 20th century. It starts as follows (Australian Minaret):

Since 1850s Adelaide became a base for the exploration surveys of the interior and a community of Islam flourished. By the 1870s a mosque had been built and according to early reports, it stood in open fields where the Afghans camped and pastured their camels. Islam flourished until the dawn of the 20th century, when there was evidence of decline. Due to time – 'the natural process of growing old'. Slowly as the years passed the inexorable decline continued, many became a few, a few became fewer still. By the early 1950s the mosque was almost deserted. Weeds grew in the courtyard and decay was far in advance....

This story is further related to the early Muslim migrants, led by Imam of the old Adelaide mosque Ahmed ef Skaka:

.... But in the darkest hour there was the faint ray of a new dawn. *Muslim migrants from Europe* and a few students from Malaya and Indonesia started to meet at the old Adelaide mosque. Slowly Islam began the long straggle to become an organized religion. In 1955 the *Islamic Society of South Australia* was officially registered and from that time progress was experienced. More and more migrants, together with more students, meant that the weekly congregations swelled. Contacts were made with other

Muslims in Australia and with other recently formed groups and societies.

The correct reading of the Qur'an was heard again in the mosque...

Bearing in mind that Imam ef. Skaka was well respected by the Australian authorities who also supported cultural-educational programs of the *Islamic Students' Society of South Australia*, the student-president (presumably of Malay origin) of this Society expressed his and members' gratefulness to this Imam as the following (ibid):

I would like to thank our patron Imam ef. Skaka for his an unlimited assistance, I say unlimited, because Imam practically financed all our functions and gave many worthy suggestions and much encouragement...

During the late 1940s and early 1950s among the earliest mutual meeting places of Bosnian Muslims with Muslims of different backgrounds, including Cypriot Turks and Albanians, in Victoria was an old café called *Cipria* in Drummond Street Carlton, also used as a *masjid* (a small mosque, place for prayer) (ibid:99). The *Islamic Society of Victoria* established in 1957 had representation from different Muslim communities including Arabic, Turkish, Yugoslav (Bosnian) and Indian and it remained a multiethnic society until well after the establishment of the national organisation (Haveric 1999:31; Cleland cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:27). The *Islamic Society of Victoria* brought together Albanians, Bosnians, Turks, Turkish Cypriots, Indians, Lebanese, Indonesians and Malays to consider the establishment of a mosque (Cleland cited in Jones 1993:99). The *Islamic Community of Carlton* was established in 1961 in an adapted Melbourne suburban *house* (masjid) at 1008 Drummond Street, Carlton. The Bosnian Muslims significantly contributed to its purchase and contributed to founding this multiethnic Muslim Community led by imam Fehmi al-Imam, later *Grand Mufti* of Australia (Cleland cited in Jones 1993:95; Haveric 1999:100).

During the 1950s there were initiatives toward the establishment of an educational organisational framework for the maintenance of Islam in Victoria and across the country. The establishment of Sunday schools was early signs of recognition by parents of the need to provide Islamic education for their children. One of the earliest schools was opened in Melbourne in 1957 with fifteen children of different Muslim

ethnicities, including Bosnians. Classes were held in rooms behind the old Savoy Theatre in Russell Street in the inner-city centre and the hire of rooms cost one pound eleven shillings. But for the most part, the educational responsibility and use of these rooms rested with Muslim parents who used his place for multiethnic Muslim socialising. The Bosnian/Herzegovinian/Sandzak Muslim groups along with other Muslim groups supported the establishment of this elementary Islamic school (*makteb*) where children recited the Qur'an and learned basic reading and writing skills in Arabic (ibid:98; ibid:33). In 1962 Muslims of different ethnic groups founded the *United Melbourne Muslim Association* chaired by Dr Abdul Khaliq Kazi. This multiethnic Muslim association joined Bosnian Muslims and contributed to Muslim educational development and cultural-religious events (Haveric 1999:33). In 1963 representatives of different Muslim ethnicities formed the soccer club *Crescent* in Carlton led by the first chairman, Turkish Cypriot Ibrahim Dellal, which had Bosnian Muslim members (ibid).

In New South Wales the multiethnic *Islamic Society of NSW* with Bosnian Muslim representatives was formed in 1961, and in Surry Hills (Sydney) a mosque was established in 1964 under the leadership of Dr Mohammad Afif (ibid:38). It was the oldest mosque established in Sydney. Even earlier (i.e. early 1950s), Bosnian Muslims met some Muslims of various backgrounds, including Pakistani, Afghan, and Indonesian Muslims having gathering in gardens and/or praying in courtyard of foreign (Muslim) Consulates, such as Pakistani Consulate in Sydney, (1950s), or celebrating 'id (Bayram) festivals in Indonesian Consulate in Melbourne (1950s), with consulate officials in their diplomatic hall. Since 1951 one house of the earliest Bosnian Muslim settlers in Sydney was a meeting place of the Bosnian Muslims, old and young Muslim, men and women, as well as Muslims of different backgrounds. This Bosniak house welcomed various Muslims and their friends. During the early 1950s this place was also as a *maktab* (i.e. an elementary school for teaching children of the Qur'an and basics of reading and writing) and has been always visited by Muslims of various origins (ibid).

Also in 1961 Bosnian Muslims formed the *Brother's Islamic Religious Community NSW* ('Bratska Islamska vjerska zajednica' NSW) and in 1969 they formed the *Islamic Community of Bosnian/Herzegovinian/Sandzak Muslims* ('Islamska zajednica

bosansko/ hercegovačkih/ sandžackih muslimana’), renamed the *Brother’s Islamic Religious Community’ NSW* in 1971, also known as the *Muslim Brothers Association* (‘Muslimanska Bratska Zajednica’). During the mid 1960s a multiethnic *Muslim Student Association* in Newcastle was formed (ibid: 40). Before the establishment of the *Islamic Society of NSW* and *makteb*, Bosnian Muslims taught children about Islam in their homes. It was also an opportunity for Bosnian Muslim parents to gather as well as share spirituality with Muslims of different origin (ibid:65).

During the late 1940s and early 1950s with the founding of the old mosque in Brisbane built by Indians and Pakistanis in 1906, Bosnian Muslims joined the multiethnic *Islamic Society of Queensland* (‘Islamic Society of Holland Park’) at 309 Nursey Street, Holland Park, where kadi Ishak ef. Imamovic assisted the multiethnic Muslim community. The Bosnian Muslim settlers in Brisbane also had community gatherings on a big block of land bought by Ishak ef. Imamovic. In the same suburb (Rosedale South, Qld.), where his block of land was located, the Council permitted to ef. Imamovic to name a few streets by his own choice. Hence he named two streets by Muslim names, *Esmā St.* and *Zuhara St.*, and one name for the street called *Rahic*, after the small Bosnian town Rahic, where he was born. This information additionally clarifies the history of Bosnian Muslim settlement in Queensland (ibid).

As in Adelaide and Brisbane, the Bosnian Muslims rediscovered the old Pakistan mosque of Perth built in 1905 on William Street, and they joined the *Islamic Society of Western Australia*. In the garden of the old Perth mosque there existed an Islamic school (*makteb*). In 1960 in Canberra, Bosnian Muslims joined the multiethnic *Islamic Society of ACT* at the *Canberra mosque* on the Empire Circuit at Yarralumla. The Bosnian Muslims contributed to purchasing and establishing this multiethnic mosque. Earlier in 1957 Bosnian Muslims in Canberra played soccer for the multiethnic club called the *Balkans* (ibid:37). It is important to note that in Tasmania Bosnian Muslims also joined the multiethnic Muslim community of Hobart where the first *Islamic Centre* was purchased at 46 Proctors Road, Dynnyrne, Hobart. The second Islamic Centre and mosque in Hobart located at Fitzroy Place was replaced with another convenient address at 166 Warwick Street, where a century-old heritage house was purchased with a large block of land (AFIC Mosques in Australia 1990; Haveric 1999).

Looking back throughout history, the way in which the Islamic faith was developed in postwar Australia parallels the introduction of other faiths by migrant group. The first arrivals practised their religion mostly on an individual basis, or gathering small groups at private homes including Bosnian Muslims (Jones 1993:97). Muslims who found mosques built at the close of the 19th century and on the threshold of the 20th century gathered in these old Afghan/Pakistan/Indian mosques (Haveric 1999). In Victoria Sheikh Imam al-Fehmi pointed out: ‘we did not have a centre, we did not have any Islamic building at the time, even at ‘*id* time we start to hire a hall’ (Fehmi al Imam cited in Jones 1993:97). In the 1950s the small, but ethnically diverse community, would jointly celebrate ‘*id* (T. or B. *bayram*; the Muslim festivals), ‘*id al-adha* (the sacrificial feast of the tent of Dhu al-hijja) and ‘*id al-fitr* (the feast at the completion of the fasting month of Ramadan) in rental halls (Cleland cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:27). Among the earliest mosques in Victoria was one that was built in Shepparton by Albanian Muslims in 1960 (Australian Minaret 1965).

Along with other non-Anglo-Saxons, Muslims were encouraged to adopt both citizenship and the ‘Australian way of life’. However most Muslims wished to preserve their Islamic faith and see it passed on to future generations (Jones 1993:97). Through the rituals of daily prayer, fasting and celebration at Muslim festivals, first generation Australian Muslims gained a sense of an Australian Muslim identity (ibid:98). Even in the 1950s there were some initiatives towards the establishment of an organisational framework for the maintenance of Islam in Australia. Accordingly, an important initiative was the founding of the multiethnic Muslim board called the *Islamic Coordinating Committee* with Bosnian Muslim members (c.1962), which preceded the establishment of the *Australian Federation of Islamic Societies* (AFIS) as the Australian national Islamic multiethnic/racial/linguistic/cultural representative body (Cleland cited in Jones 1993:97).

Of particular significance was the Bosnian Muslim contribution to the establishment and development of Australian Islamic institutions, including the creation of the *Australian Federation of Islamic Societies* (Haveric 1999:128). Even while ethnically-based Islamic communities were springing up, Muslim migrants from various ethnic backgrounds sought to build a degree of unity amongst the followers of Islam. Due to

the efforts of leading Muslims such as Imam Fehmi al-Imam, Dr Abdul Khaliq Kazi, Imam Ahmed Skaka and Ibrahim Dellal and others, the AFIS was established in 1964 (ibid; Cleland cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:27). According to an 'Official Report' the first official Conference of Australian Islamic Societies was sponsored by the 'Victorian Islamic Society' and held at the *Department of Semitic Studies*, the University of Melbourne on 29 March 1964. This historical meeting was attended by 23 Australian Muslim representatives of different origin and four foreign diplomats employed in Australia. It is important to note that at this multiethnic gathering seven Bosnian Muslims were among the 23 representatives in attendance. Significantly among the seven representatives were the Vice-President of the 'Victorian Islamic Society' and the President and Vice-President of the 'Islamic Society of South Australia' (AFIS Official Report 1964:1; Haveric 1999). Cleland stated that although division and argument were common, as in any voluntary community organisation, the AFIS grew in strength (cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:27).

In the meantime *The Marriage Act 1961* was among the important issues for all Australian Muslims, including Bosnians. The legal provisions which pertain to marriage in Australia were contained in the Act (Commonwealth) with requirements relating to the age of consent for marriage; authorisation of ministers of religion and marriage celebrants; application of the prohibited degree of consanguinity and affinity; requirements for notice and registration; the presence of witnesses and other details. The Act is secular in its approach and does not prescribe any religious content. Under Islamic law, marriage is a contract, albeit with religious overtones. Islamic law also has detailed requirements with regard to age, consent, affinity and compliance with religious law. In Australia, it is possible for Muslims to comply with both the Marriage Act and Islamic law when they wish to wed (Hussain cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:163). According to Sheikh Imam Fehmi al-Imam the 'Registration of marriage in Australia allows considerable freedom in the ceremony and place of marriage. A marriage, however, must be conducted by a celebrant authorized by law. Since 1961 imams and other ministers of recognised religions have had this right' (Fehmi al Imam cited in Jones 1993:97). Ahmed ef Skaka was a registered Bosnian Islamic religious celebrant who had a productive association and corresponded with Australian authorities (Haveric 1999:42).

Some countries of origin recognised the religious needs of migrants and provided religious support in preserving and promoting religious values, including Islamic religious values. This pattern was followed by different Australian religious denominations. Some Islamic countries supported the building of mosques and contracted imams in Australia (Bouma 1994:12). According to Cleland a turning point came in 1974 when a two-man mission from Saudi Arabia, consisting of Dr Ali Kettani, adviser to King Faisal, and Dr Abdullah al-Zayed arrived to gauge the needs of the local Muslim community. In a fertile discussion with Australian Muslim representatives there was an expressed need to unite all state Islamic societies under one Australian-Muslim umbrella. Dr Kettani suggested four recommendations accepted by the Australian Muslim representatives to be implemented: 1) the gradual elimination of Islamic Societies based on ethnic, language, racial or sectarian grounds; 2) the establishment of Islamic Societies on a purely geographical basis in each state; 3) the formation of an Islamic Council in each state or territory to represent the entire Muslim population of each state and 4) the association of those state councils into a federation at a national level (Cleland cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:27).

In 1976 the previous AFIS was reformed and renamed the *Australian Federation of Islamic Councils* (AFIC). At first it was based in Melbourne and then shifted to Zetland near Redfern in Sydney, where the city's early Muslim community was located. The AFIC is based on a constitutional structure which takes into account the concentration of Islamic Societies in two cities by giving the state Chairman the power to elect the President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer at election Congresses which occur every second year. The President of the AFIC then chooses the general members of the Executive Committee. Policy is determined by a general vote of all Islamic Societies at the Annual Congress but control of the organisation is vested in the Executive. There are state Councils in all states as well as in the Australian Capital Territory, the Northern Territory and the Christmas Islands. Islamic Societies are permitted to join the State Council if they have 100 financial members, control their own Islamic Centre and are located a certain distance from other member societies. These rules are waived for Islamic Societies in remote areas. Internal democratic organisation, elected leadership and consultation with members are features of all AFIC member societies (Cleland cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh

2001:28). Over a number of years Bosnian Muslims were part of this Council (Haveric 1999).

In an article titled 'Muslim child at an Australian school' the following AFIC observation relating to Muslim multilinguism in Australia appears:

The Muslim population in Australia is growing rapidly. From a handful of Afghan camel drivers brought here over 100 years ago, Muslims today have come from various parts of the world, including Lebanon, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Albania and other Middle Eastern countries and Asia. The children of these migrants do face issues of adaptation to the Australian schools system which include usage of language. The Muslim child in Australia is likely to speak his/her native language (e.g. *Bosnian*) at home, *Arabic* in prayers and *English* in schools. In their formative years of socialization there was a need in improvement of communication. However, given understanding by teachers and with the cooperation of the mosques, the child's own adjustive mechanisms will be able to cope with the experience – probably turning linguistic difficulties into a social asset in later life. Children learn languages easily and naturally and much more than parents and teacher often realize, are very resourceful and resilient and adjust to new situations with greater ease than adults. It is important that the child is not discouraged from coping with these three languages. Arabic, the inner message of the Holy Qur'an, is the language of Islam which he/she must use in prayers and other religious rites. It for instance, preserves the Divine revelation in original form. Pupil may also read the Qur'an in English, Bosnian, Turkish and other language translations. English is the essential tool by which the child learns to live in his/her new home and to adjust its culture and communicate within the framework of its social, educational and economic institutions. In social and educational terms, therefore, it is essential that the Muslim child is given the opportunity, both in and out of school, to learn these three languages and such to adjust their communication (*Australian Minaret* 1982:17).

As the peak Islamic organisation in Australia, the AFIC celebrates ethnic diversity as part of its organisational uniqueness:

AFIC is the national umbrella of Australian Muslims. It is in a unique position indeed for such a vast country. AFIC has a three-tier system with local Islamic societies at the grassroots level spread throughout the continent. Those have formed, at the second level, the ten State Islamic Councils which coordinate the activities of all the local Islamic societies of a State and have formed the national organization, the AFIC Inc. The structure is democratically established from the grassroots level and not imposed from above. The unity of the 250,000 Muslims of Australia in the AFIC system is indeed an extraordinary achievement considering the diversities and multiethnic nature of this community who have migrated here from around the world (Humphrey cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:40).

Borrowing directly from Australia's own slogan on multiculturalism, the AFIC describes Islam in Australia in the following way: 'It is indeed a *unity in diversity* while maintaining *diversity within the unity* of Islam' (ibid).

In the article titled 'Need for improved relations between Muslims of different ethnic origins' (*Australian Minaret* June 1987:25–6) it was stressed that the majority of Muslims in Australia, including Bosnian Muslims, came as migrants or as children of migrants. These people from all over the world arrive with varying hopes bringing with them their cultures, traditions, customs, knowledge, skills and languages. Also the proportionate number of Muslims that migrate to Australia are constantly changing as various crises overseas come and go. Because Australia is English speaking the dominant language is English, but for instance, Arabic is particularly important in mosques and for other Muslim cultural-religious occasions. New Muslim migrants to Australia from Africa, Asia, Europe, and America feel a sense of familiarity in a mosque. In Australia Muslims have an opportunity to meet and exchange ideas, and cross fertilise the living traditions of so many diverse cultures, each of them influenced in their own way by the vitality of Islam and to be truly integrated in Australian multicultural society. As well, the AFIC played an important role in addressing the mix of ethnic origins. According to the abovementioned article

there are several main points relating to multiethnic mosques, namely: 1) If you see a visitor in your mosque try to make them feel welcome, introduce them to your friends and maybe even invite them for coffee; 2) If all of us show hospitality with nice manners we will be achieving a great deal; 3) Invite other nationalities to social functions or ceremonies and explore their cultures; 4) The representatives of the Muslim committee of the mosque should actively encourage the attendance of different groups and the best way to do this would be to offer an English translation of the *khutba* (B. hutba, Friday speech by Imam); 5) Engaged imams should be required to be fluent in English and to possess knowledge about Australia and 6) Imams should be required to assist each other and to equally serve all Muslims of different backgrounds so that no single group, or community, or mosque is dominated by a particular point of view (ibid).

Furthermore, in 1967 Bosnian Muslims together with Arabs, Albanians, Turks and Malays, led by Sheikh Imam al-Fehmi, purchased two old houses and a block of land and in 1974 established the multiethnic *Preston Mosque* at 90 Cramer Street. By purchasing the block of land in Preston, after the suggestion of Sheikh Imam al-Fehmi, the 'first stone foundation' on this block of land, prior the building mosque, has been made by the Bosnian Muslims in 1973. Its official opening was in 1974 and many Australian dignitaries attended, including the Australian Prime Minister. An important feature which confirms the Bosnian Muslim contribution is an inscription over entrances of the Preston mosque, where besides Arabic the following message is written in *Bosnian*: 'All God's houses for praying (mosques, sacred places) are built on behalf of God, then believe only in Allah' (cited in Haveric 1999:103).

In 1974 at 36 Studley Street, Maidstone, Melbourne, the Bosnian Muslims established the *Croatian Islamic Centre* ('Hrvatski Islamski Centar') whose founding initiative started in 1972. There is a masjid, with an inscription *light mosque*, with a tearoom and library. This is also a multiethnic Muslim community. This Islamic Centre provided social welfare services, cultural-religious and educational programs (Haveric 1999:104–5).

In 1977 some Bosnian members from the old Afghan mosque in Adelaide significantly contributed to the formation of the new *Adelaide Muslim community*.

Bosnian and Albanian Muslims purchased a building at 658 Marion Road, Parkholme, South Australia in order to facilitate social activities in the Muslim community. Firstly, they organised activities such as children's games, wedding ceremonies and Muslim festivals. From that time onwards this place was transformed into a masjid. Secondly, the establishment of this small *mosque* (masjid) was an opportunity for Bosnian Muslims and Muslims of different origins to meet. There Imam Ahmed ef. Skaka also assisted Bosnians and other Muslims until 1992 when he was replaced by another Bosnian Imam until 1994. The Adelaide Muslim community also welcomed Dr Adnan Silajdzic from the *Faculty of Islamic Science of Sarajevo*, Bosnia, during his visit to the Bosnian Muslim community in South Australia for the holy month of Ramadan (ibid:96). However, the founding of this cultural-religious environment benefited both multiethnic Muslim social gatherings and religious practices. Such beneficial character was reflected in the annual overview report titled 'Adelaide Muslim Community':

In the last couple of months Adelaide's Muslims have experienced a great sense of 'togetherness' with all different nationalities coming together for the sake of Islamic brotherhood and sisterhood. An Annual Prize giving day and concert at Marion Rd Arabic Education Centre at Marion mosque was huge success as children from all ethnic groups are rewarded for the hard work, performed throughout the year. The children also get the chance to perform in an 'Islamic Concert' which was delightful for both those who participated and watched...During the holy month of Ramadan several *iftars* (food for the month of Ramadan) took place both at the various Islamic Centers and individual Muslim homes... *'Id al-fitr* (the feast at the completion of the fasting month of Ramadan) was celebrated once again this year with a very festive environment bringing together all Muslims from all ethnic groups. The highlights this year were a BBQ organized by the Muslim Women's Association of South Australia, children who were delighted with the various games, prizes and lolly-bags. Thus a joyous family atmosphere was created...Inspiring Islamic/Arabic calligraphy classes were given to Muslim women and girls of various backgrounds. It was followed by magnificent Art Exhibition at

Nexus Gallery in Adelaide's city centre... (*Australian Muslim News* April-May 1997).

Besides the Bosnian Muslim contribution to multiethnic mosques, schools and the AFIC, they participated in a variety of youth programs such as Muslim camps. The *Australian Minaret* (September-October 1985:6) published the article titled 'Australian Muslims attend youth Da'wah camp in New Zealand' (A. *Da'wah*, summons to acknowledge religious truth; missionary movement) written by a Bosnian Muslim girl. This cultural-religious event at the international Dawah Youth Camp was supported by the AFIC. Several young Muslims from different backgrounds, including the Bosnian Muslim girl, represented AFIC at the 1st Da'wah Youth Camp in Christchurch. The *Australian Minaret* reported:

This Camp was the first of its kind held in New Zealand from the 13th to the 18th May 1985. Youth were gathered from all over the Pacific at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. The central theme of the Youth Camp was the role of the Muslim communities, especially the youth in non-Muslim societies. Participants were organized into groups in which they discussed the issues concerning the implementation of this theme of everyday situations. The number of the participants was approximately 150, from those 25 being overseas guests from *Australia*, Fiji, Tonga, New Caledonia and Malaysia. Three international guest speakers also attended and were valuable assets to the Camp. The conference attracted attention from the media, resulting in organizers as well as some participants being interviewed by press, radio and television. Due to the efforts of organizers, the Camp was a success leaving Muslims as well as non-Muslims with great knowledge about Islam (September-October 1985:6).

In March 1988 a similar Muslim youth traditional gathering was held at Carinya in New South Wales. The article in the *Australian Minaret* reported on the 14th multiethnic Muslim Youth Camp organised by the AFIC. Special features included educational programs designed to benefit youth of different ages with different levels of Islamic knowledge and where, for instance, Islamic history was introduced as a subject in the form of short lectures. According to this article some 'Bosnian

Muslims (as junior or senior girls) among other Muslims of different backgrounds attended this well organised educational program, which also included basic Islamic knowledge quiz, Islamic essays competitions, Qur'an memorization and recitation competition' (March 1988:14–17). This example confirms Bosnian Muslim interaction with Muslims of different ethnic groups.

The Australian Muslim community is a central factor in discussions about the education of Muslim children. Evidence from the 1996 Census confirms that the Muslim community is culturally and linguistically diverse and largely of migrant origin. Humphrey and Bouma indicate that the Muslim community is well established in Australia, with its infrastructure of mosques, Muslim organisations, newspapers and Islamic schools. The unifying factors of Australian Muslims are mutual similarities through cultural/religious/linguistic diversities. Education is the crucial factor. For instance, during multiethnic community discussion, contributions to the research about what children need in modern society revealed the significance of education that reflected Islamic values and beliefs supported by Muslim cultural practices as an integral part of multiculturalism. In this way, Clyne states:

What Muslim children need in their Islamic education is an education that encompasses all aspects of life with qualified teachers. It is not only important teaching the Arabic language and memorising the Holy Qur'an, but children need to be taught how to become *good citizens* and how to form families united in solidarity. Also, other important needs were pointed out such as learning appropriate behavior, respect for Islamic culture and values, fostering Islamic identity and providing the skill and knowledge for a good future (Clyne cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:119).

Humphrey (Humphrey cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:28) considers that Muslim settlers were drawn into negotiating their 'Muslimness' through encounters with Australian public life and institutions. These negotiations of *Muslimness* occurred around specific issues in the Australian institutional context. Australian Muslims negotiate their *Muslimness* in relation to a range of requirements which include: 1) obtaining state authorisation for Islamic marriage celebrants through the

Attorney-General's Department; 2) organising visas for Imams from overseas through the recruitment of Imams through the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs; 3) developing applications for mosques and Islamic schools with local councils and the Land and Environment Court; 4) establishing Islamic schools and negotiating with state primary and secondary schools regarding curriculum, including Islamic educational, religious and cultural programs; 5) expanding the role of Islamic welfare with the privatisation of government welfare; 6) obtaining permission to bury their dead according to Muslim burial rites and 7) contesting misrepresentations about Islamic culture and practice (ibid). These requirements are important considerations. Bosnian Muslims engage Imams from Bosnia to conduct Bosnian Muslim Islamic marriage celebrations and Islamic teaching in Bosnian *mektebs* (education in *Bosnian, English* and *Arabic*). Some Bosnian Muslims were also students in Islamic schools established by a particular ethnic or multiethnic Muslim community and contributed to different educational, cultural-religious multiethnic Islamic events. In these environments Bosnian Muslims promote Islamic values through the Bosnian historical experience as Muslims of European background. This includes their adaptability in a new homeland. The Bosnian Muslim Islamic Centres welcome Australian Muslims from different backgrounds and cooperate with Australian Bosnian Islamic welfare or cultural-religious institutions, for example, *Merhamet* and *Mesihat* ('Bosnian Islamic Council of Australia'), with relevant local and state departments, state Islamic Councils and the AFIC. Bosnian *Muslimness* also includes cooperation with Bosnian sports clubs or other associations with mutual membership (Haveric 1999).

This period characterised the arrival of new Bosnian Muslim migrants and their ability to adapt. According to AFIC statistics during the 1960s about 6,000 Bosnian and Albanian Muslims migrated to Australia (ibid:161). The next wave of migration in the early 1970s was mostly from Yugoslavia (Bosnia). As a result of migration, family formation in Australia, a high rate of fertility and an enormous amount of effort expended in establishing societies and associations and building new mosques, schools and cultural centres, the Muslim community of Australia became more identifiable. Internal growth and major investment in community building reflected a vital Muslim presence in Australia (Bouma 1994:27:34). Bouma (ibid:35) further posits that religious groups basically grow in several ways that include patterns of

migration with the continuation of religious practices and some conversion due to language and cultural difference. The greatest and most sustainable source of followings is children born of certain religious denominations, including Islam (ibid). However over 70% of the Australian demographic identify with different Christian groups (ibid:27).

Bouma (ibid:56) points out that a relatively significant number of mosques and Islamic schools were financed by local Australian Muslim communities, sometimes with assistance from Muslims overseas (ibid:57). Some mosques are simply places of prayer, comprising a carpeted room facing the direction of Ka'ba in Mecca. Other mosques are associated with religious schools and classes focused on scriptures, and language classes (Arabic, *Bosnian*, Turkish) and also host social and cultural events. The local Muslim associations manage projects that vary from community to community, depending on local needs and interests, but many include welfare services, health services, childcare, settlement services, educational seminars, assistance with housing, grief counselling and family advice and cultural-religious activities (ibid:57). As such mosques are equally important for both Bosnian men and women. The mix of domes and minarets, colonial terraced houses with verandahs, style of gardens, halal butcher shops, Turkish or Lebanese restaurants, Indian and Afghan specialty shops, Bosnian folk festivals, a variety of Oriental Muslim souvenirs or decorations, or for instance, women wearing hijabs, all add extra flavour to multicultural Australia. More visible signs of multiethnic Muslim communities in Australia have been evident, particularly since the 1970s (Jones 1993:98).

4.2 Period during the 1970s and 1980s

Castles and Miller (1994:104) agree that the increase of migration in the 1970s from Southern Europe was partly due to improving standards in areas of origin, or the demand for labour in destination countries such as Australia. A substantial number of settlers arrived under the *Family Reunion Program* (Petrovic 1999:10) however the mass migration of Muslims to Australia is a relatively recent phenomenon. Only 9.2% of Muslims who arrived before 1971 were migrants and the largest proportion, 23.1%, arrived between 1986 and the 1991 Census (Omar and Allen 1996:27). More specifically, according to *Community Profiles of Yugoslavia Born*, the 1986 Census

shows that of 4,645 Yugoslav-born Muslims, 82.5% lived either in Victoria (2,775) or New South Wales (1,059) (BIR 1990:34). In a chapter titled *Opening the Border* (n.d.:85) the following data has been published under the heading ‘Workers Abroad by Nationality in 1971’: ‘Muslim’ (Bosnian) 6.0% abroad, which represent 8.5% of the total Yugoslav population (ibid).

The Bosnian Muslims who arrived during the 1970s and 1980s were driven by economic factors in former Yugoslavia and by the desire to improve their lives. Many came as skilled and capable workers or educated professionals with some knowledge of English and settled predominantly in industrial areas (Petrovic 1999:10). Broome (1984:216–7) states that Southern Europeans, including Bosnian Muslims, were also engaged in unskilled work due to their background, or language problems as well as qualifications that were not recognised (ibid). In particular, occupations of Yugoslavs between 1967 and 1968 include professionals (3.3%); managerial (2.6%); clerical (8.2%); skilled manual (36.0%); semi-skilled manual (24.3%); service and unskilled manual (30.5%) and farming (0.2%). In broader comparison to other ethnic groups the Yugoslav-born migrants, including Bosnian Muslims, often worked in the hardest and most monotonous jobs in the building industry and various factories (ibid), as the following features show:

Occupation by per Cent of Major *Birthplace* (Males) in Melbourne, 1966

	British Isles	Germany	Netherlands	Poland	Yugoslavia	Greece	Italy	Malta	Australia
Professional	10.0	8.7	8.0	7.0	3.3	0.6	1.1	1.3	11.2
Managerial	9.1	8.0	8.9	20.5	2.6	4.5	5.8	1.3	11.6
Clerical	15.7	10.8	10.9	5.4	8.2	2.1	2.4	6.3	19.6
Skilled Manual	29.3	42.7	36.4	24.0	36.0	20.8	29.5	24.2	22.8
Semi-skilled Manual	19.7	19.1	19.0	24.2	24.3	30.3	26.0	29.1	20.6
Service and unskilled manual	15.7	10.5	15.1	18.7	30.5	41.5	34.5	37.5	13.5
Farming	0.1	0.3	1.7	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.8

Since 1966 the Bosnian Muslim population in Australia increased reaching about 4,000 in 1981 (Stefanovic in Jupp 1988:286). The 1986 Census recorded over

150,000 Yugoslav-born Australians, including an estimated 5,500 Bosnian Muslims (SBS report).

Further economic development in Australia led to companies in Bosnia to establish branches in Australia. As a result of initiatives undertaken by the well known Bosnian leather-company called *KTK Visoko* in Bosnia to establish its company in Australia, the Bosnian (Yugoslavian) company named *Yutil* was established in Australia in 1969. Then *KTK Visoko* as an export-import company, with its Australian outlet *Yutil*, had cooperation with well known Australian companies, such as *David Jones*, *Waltons*, *Mayer* and others. The *Yutil*'s products were exported from NSW to New Zealand, even to Japan. Prominent Bosniak businessmen state that 'the *Yutil* served as an economic *bridge* between Australia and Bosnia'. It also brought and supported other Bosnian companies in Australia, such as *Ilidza*, *Vitex* and the *Sarajevian folklore* by selling carpets, textile and similar products in Australia. Most importantly, in 1976 the *Yutil* assisted the establishment of the Bosnian international company named *Energoinvest* (electrical company). In 1978 after the *Yutil*'s initiatives in Australia there were formed branches of the well known Bosnian international company called *Sidex* (i.e. Sipad). *Sidex* exported exclusive furniture in Australia and had its branches in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth. According to Bosniak economists 'these cooperation with Australia was of mutual benefits for both Bosnia and Australia'. It was also Bosnian economic contribution to Australian markets and from it to other countries in this part of globe. They also point out that throughout these examples 'these Bosnian export-import companies in Australia reflected that Bosnian community in Australia had its fruitful connection with Bosnia'. These Bosnian international companies also encouraged Australian businessmen to visit Bosnia, its market and economic resources. These insights clearly indicate the significance of economic cooperation and interests between Australia and Bosnia. In a similar time, both the Bosniak businessmen and businesswomen had noteworthy successes in terms of private businesses. Some of them opened milk bars, small shops selling various products, café's and restaurants, paving firms, companies for painting and decoration, travel agencies, translation services, publishing company, various trading companies, concrete companies, removing and transport services, car mechanics, real estate companies and engine manufacturers (Haveric 1999).

Although many Bosnian Muslims worked in various industries the following examples illustrate their work situations. For instance, some worked for the *Ford* factory (ibid). According to the *Journal Report* in 1973: 'In the *Ford* factory about 95% of the workers in the production areas, the body shop and assembly line are non-English speaking migrants' (Broome 1984:217). Broome (ibid:207) states that 'the economic problems of class were compounded by those of ethnicity'. Southern Europeans, including Bosnian Muslims, shared the difficulties and greater disadvantages as the lower working class, and encountered difficulties as non-English speakers in an English speaking society. Such an example was similar in most industrial workplaces where immigrants were to be found in large numbers, such as *BHP* (Broken Hill Pty Ltd) mines. The *Snowy Mountains Scheme*, a significant economic enterprise initiated by the Australian Government, welcomed many hard working migrants without whom the project could not have been implemented so rapidly and efficiently (Calwell 1965:140). Among the large numbers of employees were Bosnian Muslims (Haveric 1999).

These and other Australian industries received significant numbers of migrants. From the 1970s most of Muslim communities were organized across Australia were based on ethnic groupings, languages, cultures, traditions and nationalities (Mograb, 1985: 28). Omar and Allen (1996) agree that Muslim settlements are set up in two major elements: 'ethnicity and locality' – where is either land available to build or building available for sale. Subsequently and as a result of industrial development and growth of settlement, new community settings were established. For instance, mosques and clubs often with the prefix of the country of origin, for example, *Bosnian* (or *Bosnian Herzegovinian*, *Bosniak*), together with the location or particular area of settlement, provided more distinct community self-identification in the new homeland (Bouma 1994:63). Due to the dynamics of settling and the arrival of new waves of migrants, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, many community clubs and centres frequently changed their names by embracing the prefix 'Bosnian' and developed new clubs and programs with networks that served future migrant generations. For instance, Bosnian mosques and Islamic centres run on similar models, depending on the constitution of each organisation. They have their committees with elected members, mostly Bosniaks. Committee members and trustees work closely with

Imams who are employed full-time (Omar and Allen 1996:21). As well, sports and cultural clubs have their constitutions, committees, and members and like Islamic centres and mosques cooperate with mainstream multicultural institutions. These affiliations and services assisted Bosnian Muslims during settlement to adapt and develop as *Australian Muslims*. This is reflected in the following examples of community settings within settlements in Australia.

In 1977 the Bosnian 'Brother's Islamic Religious Community NSW' was registered as the *Hurstville Islamic Society* ('Islamska Zajednica NSW') which purchased houses for Islamic practices on Wright Street. Dr Ali Kettani, then adviser to King Faisal, suggested that this Bosnian Islamic community be called the *Gazi Husrev-Bey Mosque* in memory of the founder of the city of Sarajevo. In 1986 the Bosnian Muslims purchased two previous (non-Muslim) religious buildings at 455 Forest Road, Penhurst and 30 Burke Street, Smithfield. From 1987 this Bosnian Islamic community at two locations was called the *Australian-Bosnian Herzegovinian Islamic Society* (formerly *Gazi Husrev-Bey*). Furthermore in 1984 Bosnian Muslims settlers in Liverpool founded the 'Islamic Community of Sydney' and in 1986 they purchased a block of land at 205 Bringely Road, Leppington. They renamed this community the *Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina Sydney* and established the 'Bosnian Resource and Advisory Centre'. Today the 'Australian Bosnian-Herzegovinian Cultural Association' Inc. (i.e. *Bosnian Cultural Centre Leppington*) is among some of the most remarkable buildings earmarked for Bosnian Muslim community cultural events (Haveric 1999:119–120; Australian Bosnian Business Directory 2005).

In Victoria Bosnian Muslims, mainly residents of Footscray, founded the *Muslim's Brotherly Society of Victoria* in 1977 ('Muslimanska Bratska zajednica za Viktoriju'). The Bosnian Muslim founders of the Bosnian Islamic community in Victoria, even several years earlier, reached an understanding with non-Muslim Australians. The following remark confirms the Bosnian Muslim approach and interaction with other faiths, and understanding by majority of Christian residents, and local municipality:

During the early 1970s the Bosnian Muslim settlers adapted an old church in Footscray [Nicholson St] respectfully, and with the approval of the

local authority, transformed it into a Muslim praying room. This place was among the earliest Bosnian Muslim community settings in Victoria.

Shortly afterwards this Bosnian Islamic community was re-established in 1981 as the *Islamic Society of Footscray* ('Islamska zajednica za Viktoriju'). Then later by purchasing a block of land in 1992 in Deer Park, the Bosnian Muslims established the *Islamic Society of Deer Park* renamed the *Australian Bosnian Islamic Centre* since 1997. Besides the mosque there is the Bosnian Muslim mekteb, the library, a restaurant and offices. This currently constitutes the largest Bosnian Muslim community in western Victoria (Haveric 1999). In eastern Victoria, the Bosnian Muslim residents of Dandenong founded the *Muslim Society of Dandenong* in 1978 ('Muslimanska zajednica Dandenong'). In 1979 it was renamed the *Australian Islamic Society of Dandenong* and in 1987 the *Australian Islamic Society of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina Noble Park* ('Australsko-Islamska zajednica muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine Noble Park'). In 1988 this mosque was renamed the *Bosna and Herzegovina Islamic Society of Noble Park* ('Bosna i Hercegovina islamska zajednica Noble Park'). Besides this mosque there are mekteb, a Bosnian Muslim community hall, restaurant, library and offices. This currently constitutes the largest Bosnian Muslim community in eastern Victoria (ibid).

The *Islamic Society of Geelong* ('Islamska zajednica Geelong') was formed in 1983 by Muslims from different ethnic backgrounds, but most notably Bosnian Muslims. They settled in western regions of Victoria and in the City of Geelong with other Muslims from 1985 and used the Hostel Community Centre on Pulevard Road, Norlane for cultural gatherings and religious practice. The Bosnian Muslims organised an Islamic *mekteb* education program, Bosnian Muslim festivals (e.g. *Bosnian Mevluds*) and folk dances (ibid:109). In a letter to the Editor of the *Australian Minaret* (July 1985) an Australian Muslim reader gave his opinion about the Muslims in Geelong and their efforts towards establishing the Islamic community in the following passage:

I recently visited some Yugoslav (Bosnian) Muslims in Geelong. I went with them to their place where they pray. This is an old type hut which they share with their Turkish brothers. While they have made the place as

nice as they can it is not enough suitable as a place of worship. The Yugoslav (Bosnian) brothers have certain amount of money which they would like to use for a mosque. They would like all Muslims in Geelong to be part of this. But they find it hard to get together because of the language barrier. For Islam to grow stronger in Australia we all must come together with English as the common factor. The young people should learn about Islam in the language they understand most which is English.

The article initial reflects on the formation of this multiethnic Muslim community in which Bosnian Muslims constitute the minority settlement group. In addition, during the early 1990s the *Australian Bosnian Islamic Society of Geelong* became part of the multiethnic *Geelong mosque*. In eastern Victoria in 1993 the *Islamic community of Gippsland* ('Islamska zajednica Gippsland') was formed as part of the *Bosnian-Herzegovinian Society Gippsland* (ibid).

As a result of further community development, this settlement period characterised the formation of new Bosnian clubs and Islamic centres in other parts of Australia. In South Australia the *Islamic Society of South Australia* ('Islamska zajednica Juzne Australije') formed in 1977 and included a Bosnian soccer club. It is important to note there are generations of Bosnian Muslim settlers, led by Imam Ahmed Skaka, who purchased the biggest Muslim community building in Australia with multipurpose functions that include a sports club with children's playground, a hall for cultural programs, library, social welfare service, masjid and a section of the building for traditional folk dancing. As well, in Adelaide in 1994 the *Bosnian Islamic Society of South Australia* was formed ('Bosnjacka Islamska Zajednica Juzne Australije') (ibid:96).

In Queensland in 1986 the *Islamic Society of Rochdele Brisbane* ('Islamska zajednica Rochdale Brisbane') formed and was renamed the *Australian Bosnian Islamic Centre – Brisbane* ('Australsko-Bosnjacka Islamska zajednica Brisbane'). In Western Australia the *Bosnian Herzegovinian Muslim Community WA* was established in 1993 and built an impressive community building. In 1995 the *Bosnian Islamic Society Perth* ('Bosnjacka Islamska Zajednica Perth') was established. In the Australian

Capital Territory the *Australian Bosnian Herzegovinian Islamic Society of Canberra and Queanbeyan* was formed in 1994 ('Australsko Bosanskohercegovačka Islamska zajednica Canberra and Queanbeyan') as part of the Australian-Bosnian Herzegovinian Islamic Society (Gazi Husrev-Bey) (ibid:114–20).

4.3 Cultural and welfare associations

The idea and inspiration for the establishment of cultural associations in Australia rely on the legacy of Bosnian Muslim associations in Bosnia such as *Merhamet* and *Gajret*. The prominent Sarajevian merchant Avdaga Kulovic was one of the founders of *Merhamet*. The Bosnian Muslim social welfare service *Merhamet* was founded in 1913 in the city of Sarajevo. *Merhamet* enabled Bosnian Muslims to socialise through cultural events and receive welfare assistance. In Bosnia *Merhamet* together with *wakuf* represented the status of Bosnian Muslims and essential components of their lives, particularly Islamic culture. The *Merhamet* was an institution and its members included prominent Bosniak representatives including Dr Mehmed Spaho and reis-ul-ulema Dzemaludin ef Causevic who was the first chairman. The *Merhamet* organised humanitarian activities to assist Bosnian people (Muslims and non-Muslims). Throughout history this association has been transformed into a modern welfare service with many notable achievements based on Islamic theory and practice. *Merhamet* also promoted the values of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Prilozi Instituta za istoriju ISSN 0350-1159 2007, updated 15 August 2007). Similarly the Bosniak cultural association *Gajret* throughout Bosnian history represented Bosnian cultural organisations in Bosnia which gathered together Bosnian Muslim intellectuals who were educated in western and eastern European schools and universities. *Gajret* was founded in 1904 in the city of Sarajevo. Among its first members were Dr Safvet-bey Basagic, Edhem Mulabdic and Osman Nuri Hadzic. *Gajret* played a significant role in promoting the co-existence of Oriental tradition with new western views, supported by a large number of Bosnian Muslims. Through educative and cultural activities such as literacy courses and publishing, as well as the establishment of schools, reading clubs and libraries, *Gajret* has successfully absorbed western influences, overcoming conservative views and promoting cultural-religious and historical values of Bosnian Muslim identity and Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Gajret's* contribution in this respect was greatly appreciated among Muslims and non-

Muslims alike (ibid). Bojic (2001:144) observes that in Bosnia these institutions were instrumental in the cultural revival of European Muslims which successfully integrated the spiritual and cultural authenticity of the Orient and Europe.

Thus by following the patterns of Bosnian institutions in Bosnia, in Australia from 1970 onwards the Bosnian associations *Merhamet* in Melbourne and *Gajret* in Sydney were established and adapted as a significant part of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia. Their members were single men and women and families who contributed to social welfare assistance and cultural entertainment (Haveric 1999). *Merhamet* and *Gajret*, examples of the earliest Bosnian Muslim associations in Australia, had a common mission to jointly promote the cultural identity of Bosnian Muslims and Australia's cultural diversity.

In Melbourne *Merhamet* (B. description of meanings: *generosity* and *tolerance*) was founded in the late 1960s on the idea of a Muslim social association. *Merhamet* Melbourne was officially registered in 1970 and it was the first 'Australian-Bosnian Muslim Social and Welfare Association'. In Melbourne the Bosnian Muslims of different migrant generations organised welfare assistance, cultural events, promoted tolerance, mutual respect, Islamic values and cultural diversity.

Such values are confirmed by the following *Merhamet* community manuscripts dating from the late 1960s and early 1970s. This approach, embraced by first and second generations of Bosnian Muslim settlers, resulted in the official establishment of the first social welfare organisation *Merhamet* in order to promote Bosnian Muslim community values, virtues of Islamic spirituality, respect toward others, members, friends, neighbours and other communities in Victoria. This was reflected in the following manner:

Dear brother and sister in Islam,

Many of our brothers and sisters live in Australia and during the process of settlement experienced a spiritual need for practising our customs and desires for community socialisation. Thus, our social welfare organisation *Merhamet* was established in order to help each other, to create sense of mutual understanding and nice harmony, to cherish our culture, tradition

and educate our children. Although we are minority, we are proud to have our beliefs and values...

We would like to promote values of our ancestry, to help and respect each other, to talk in our (Bosnian) language and practice old customs and cultural tradition. Hence, we invite all our Bosnian Muslim community members across Victoria to come on our cultural program to share our common values. This event includes traditional Bosnian food (B. pita burek), coffee (B. kahva) and tea, cakes (B. baklava) and lollies for kids. In a lovely atmosphere we will listen to music, sounds of accordion and sing our traditional songs... (Merhamet's invitation to the Bosnian Muslim community members in Victoria, 1970, abridged version)

The 'Bosnian Muslim Welfare Association for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Community' was re-established in 1992 and supported by Australian governmental institutions (ibid:176).

In Australia in 1970 Bosnian Muslims in Sydney formed their cultural association *Gajret* based on the Sarajevo model (ibid:40). Bearing in mind the significance of *Gajret* in Bosnia, Bosnian Muslims in Australia followed the Bosnian model and organised different educative programs, small concerts, entertainment and cultural events, successfully contributing to the Bosnian Muslim community and Australia's multicultural society. From 1974 the *Cultural Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina* ('Kulturno Drustvo Bosna i Hercegovina') continued to promote the activities of *Gajret*.

During the 1970s and 1980s clubs or associations formed in Australia such as the *Bosnian Society of South Australia* in 1977, followed by the *Bosnian and Herzegovina Muslim Society of South Australia* in 1984 ('Bosansko Hercegovacka Muslimanska Zajednica Juzne Australije'); in Victoria in 1974 the *Yugoslavian-Australian Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina* ('Drustvo Bosna i Hercegovina') was established followed by the *Muslim's Brotherly Society of Victoria* ('Muslimanska Bratska Zajednica za Viktoriju') and the *Muslim Community of Victoria Dzemal Bijedic* in 1985 ('Muslimanska zajednica za Viktoriju Dzemal Bijedic') (ibid).

4.4 Sporting and cultural clubs

The settlement period during the 1970s and 1980s was marked by the foundation of Bosnian sports clubs established by Bosnian Muslims. Besides the Islamic communities and social associations for the Bosnian Muslims sport was a significant part of their settlement socialisation and experience. The Bosnian Muslims established Bosnian soccer clubs and organised state and interstate tournaments. Mosely et al. (1997:155) points out that no other sport in Australia was more closely associated with migrants and ethnic communities than soccer. With the arrival of large numbers of European migrants including Bosniaks in the last several decades, soccer has become an 'area of exceptional ethnic penetration and socialisation' (ibid). Jones and Moore point out the significance of forming ethnic soccer clubs:

the soccer ground becomes a focus for dispersed ethnic community...For the normally residentially dispersed supporters, it is the soccer fixture that has become a major rationale for coming together as a group and publicly expressing their shared ethnicity... (Jones and Moore cited in Hughstone et.al 1997:54).

Generally, many soccer clubs and their supporters originally from the Balkans can be said to have used the soccer club to voice, display or express cultural affiliations and pride in their country of origin (Hughston cited in Mosely, Cashman, O'Hara and Weatherburn eds, 1997:54). Representatives from different ethnic communities participated in soccer organising bodies often dominated by Italians, Greeks and ethnic groups from former Yugoslavia (including Bosnians), but Jews, Hungarians, Czechs, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Dutch and Maltese were also represented and contributed (Mosely et al 1997:155). Mosely et. al (1997:155–6) maintains that if migrants encountered difficulties finding a voice at work or in school, they were able to vent their feelings at the football. Thus, many non-English speaking communities formed their soccer clubs and some produced excellent soccer teams and competitions. The extent of migrant support for soccer was also reflected in the increase in spectators (Mosely et. al 1997:155–8).

Various Balkans ethnicities often participated in sport to display their ethnic diversity and diverse cultural traditions. Indeed it was desire and demands for self-determination by the different Balkan ethnicities produced a variety of ethnic sporting clubs (ibid:35-6). Consequently the role of sport, particularly soccer, had a significant impact on the cultural life of migrants, settlement formation and development. This included the promotion of loyalty over generations and the connection between ethnicity, national image and cultural identity (ibid:35–6). Displaying ethnic/national flags at soccer games provided a sense of ethnic belonging, self-respect and satisfaction (Doumanis cited in Mosely et.al 1997:70). Despite geographical dispersion of settlers, their social mobility, mutual contacts and information, better education and interethnic links contributed to preserving and promoting various cultural identities (Mosely, Cashman, O’Hara and Weatherburn eds, 1997:7). Doumanis (Doumanis cited in Mosely, Cashman, O’Hara and Weatherburn eds, 1997:70) argues that soccer reflected the persistence of interethnic contacts, not only during matches, but contributed to the social life of various clubs.

Bosnian soccer clubs have a very important role to play in gathering club members together including the Bosnian community. In fact soccer was traditionally the foremost sport among Bosnian Muslims in Australia. Although previous generations played soccer in Australia, the earliest Bosnian soccer clubs were officially established in 1978 including *Bosnia Melbourne* (Melbourne), *Bosna United* (Adelaide) and *West Wodonga* (Wodonga) and in 1982 *Bosna United* (Sydney). With the growth of the Bosnian Muslim community several new soccer clubs were established including *BH Centar Springvale* (Melbourne, 1990); KUD BiH (Melbourne, 1991); *Bosna Bossy* (Sydney, 1993); *Bosna Geelong* (Geelong, 1994); *Old Bridge* (Brisbane, 1995); *Golden Lily* (Perth, 1996) and *Derzelez* (Melbourne, 1998) (Haveric 1999).

The first ‘Interstate Bosnian Soccer Tournament’ in the history of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia was held in Adelaide in 1980 due to initiative of *Bosna Melbourne*. The following correspondence between *Bosna Melbourne* and *Bosna Adelaide* illustrates the earliest example of a Bosniak interstate soccer tournament. This has historical value because it signals the beginning of broader interstate cooperation and confirms that the first sports competition of the Bosnian

Muslim community in Australia was played in 1980 (Community letters cited in Haveric, 1999:170–2):

Our soccer club (*Bosna Melbourne*) heard that the Bosnian Muslims settled in Adelaide and that they have their soccer club *Bosna Adelaide* and a Bosnian mosque. Because we have a soccer club which has the same name (prefix) as your club, we would like to initiate the first interstate tournament and future friendship. *Bosna Melbourne* is formed by community members of the *Muslim's Brotherly Society of Victoria* situated in Melbourne. – ‘we look forward to our cooperation and tournament’.

Secretary of *Bosna Melbourne*
Melbourne, 1980

We (*Bosna Adelaide*) agree with your initiative and are pleased to welcome your club *Bosna Melbourne* to Adelaide. This time of year is convenient for our club and we heard that you soon have a holiday in Victoria, so during the weekend we can organise accommodation, on Saturday community cultural program and on Sunday soccer tournament. We are grateful for your initiative and cooperation – ‘most welcome’.

President of *Bosna Adelaide*
Secretary of *Bosna Adelaide*
Adelaide, 1980

The first interstate tournament in Adelaide is significant because it was a gathering of many Bosniak community members and Australians of different backgrounds, whether they played or attended. The next letter written by the secretary of *Bosna Melbourne* confirmed the success of the tournament and club cooperation:

On behalf of the soccer club *Bosna Melbourne* and *Muslim's Brotherly Society of Victoria* we would like to thank you sincerely for your hospitality during our visit to your community in Adelaide. We felt that

we were like at home in Bosnia. Please, pass our regards to all community members and their families to express our appreciation for their welcome. For us it was important that on this occasion we mutually established a bridge for our cooperation for future – ‘write to us when your club wish to visit us in Melbourne’.

Secretary of *Bosna Melbourne*
Melbourne, 1980

This interstate tournament became a traditional part of Bosnian Muslim community activities and also attracted other Bosniak soccer clubs from different parts of Australia. In the following year the soccer tournament was held in Melbourne and hence the ‘Bosnian Interstate Soccer Tournaments’ were organised in almost every state in Australia (Haveric, 1999). Most Bosniak soccer clubs organised matches and cultural activities. For instance, the biggest Bosnian soccer club in Australia *Bosna Melbourne United* organised matches and traditional *Bosnian Festivals*. These activities were reported in newspapers, for example, *Novosti* reported the *Bosnia Festival*:

Richmond – *Bosnia Festival*: 12th and 13th of March ’83
Organizer of Festival – Bosnia United Soccer Club
at Burnley Oval, Swan St. Richmond

Rich program includes contribution of the folk group from Geelong, KUD (cultural-artistic group) Melbourne which will represent folk dances from all regions of Yugoslavia. Music band ‘Sounds of the former homeland’ will entertain full two days of the Festival. Our chefs will prepare Bosnian traditional BBQ specialties and drinks will also be provided. We ask everyone from the community who possesses a traditional Bosnian folk dress to wear it and such greatly contribute to this Bosnian Festival.

Richmond – *Bosnia Festival*: 10th, 11th and 12th of March 1983
Organizer of Festival – Bosnia United Soccer Club
at Burnley Oval, Swan St. Richmond

We are honored to organise again a big cultural festival together with soccer tournament where *Bosnia Wodonga Wodonga*, *Bosnia United Adelaide* and *Bosnia United Melbourne* soccer clubs will participate. Duration of festival will be three days with our folk and modern music. This soccer tournament will start at 10:00 am and the official opening of Festival at 2:00 pm. At the same place folk group will play dances from all regions of Yugoslavia. Also, this Festival includes kids' entertainment such as pony-riding, jumping castle and carousel.

Bosnians' Evening

The committee of *Bosnia United Soccer Club* decided to organize 'Trophy Evening' at the beginning of this sport season as additional motivation for soccer players for new competitions. This Bosnians' Evening was excellent and trophies were given to the best soccer players. This celebration was organized after a successful game of *Bosna United Soccer Club* which played on the same day all afternoon at green soccer terrain.

As well as soccer tournaments and Bosnian festivals another cultural manifestation was the 'Miss Bosnia Beauty Pageant' which began in Victoria in 1979 (Haveric, 1999:82-3). Such an event was first organised at the local level and then continued each year in all states, and became a traditional event. The 'Miss Bosnia Beauty Pageant' also became a traditional event in Australia. The Bosnian community also organised the 'Miss Bosnia Folk' and 'Miss Bosnian Charity'. The *Muslim's Bulletin* ('Muslimanski Bilten' 1979:5) reported the first pageant:

Social activity of Bosnian Muslims in Melbourne

The Bosnian 'Muslim's Brotherly Society' of Footscray organised the 'Miss Bosnia Beauty Pageant' in Kensington Town Hall. This town hall was nicely decorated, community members wore formal clothing and hearts of the Bosnian Muslims were happy and joyful. It was a splendid and unforgettable ceremony. Community members danced and sang

popular *Sabah* songs ('Bosnian Oriental songs') almost to the following morning. This was followed by a musical program played on accordion. This interesting event became more attractive by the appearance of the beautiful Bosnian competitors. During this occasion community members chose 'Miss Bosnia Beauty Pageant' and 'Miss Bosnia Folk'...

Editorial, *Muslimanski Bilten*

20.10.1979

In the first community newsletter (*booklet*) of *the Bosnia Melbourne Soccer Club* (formerly the 'Richmond Bosnia United Soccer Club') committee members' reports were published, most importantly, the president:

The history of the club reveals the hard work from the Committees of those times. The Club was formed in 1978/9 and first trained at Holland Park in Kensington and we played for two years on the Flemington Ground in V.A.S.A. (Victorian Amateur Soccer Association). The Committee approached the Richmond Council through our good friend and councillor. We then acquired our present Soccer Ground at Burnley Oval in Richmond in early 1981 where we played and advanced into a successful club. We impressed The Soccer Federation with our well run administration resulting in our placing into Provisional League...In the past 10 months we had the Richmond-Bosnia Festival together with Soccer Tournament playing for Bosnia Festival Cup. Secondly, a picnic-concert presenting highly acclaimed singers and musicians from Yugoslavia. This was followed by Festivity to commemorate Bosnia and Herzegovina Day 27th of July. We have also held various Dinner dances throughout this period. The Club approached Association of the Migrants of Bosnia and Herzegovina ('Matica Iseljenika Bosne i Hercegovine') in order to communicate with our country of origin...

President's Report,

September 1984

This report retrospectively shows: (1) cooperation with the local Australian authorities; (2) sporting successes and excellent administrative work; (3) a rich cultural program as part of the cultural festivals; (4) attachment to country of origin including commemoration of Bosnian national holidays and cooperation with the migrants of Bosnia; (5) performance that included both Bosnian Muslims and non-Muslims. Subsequently a period of cultural and sports interaction with settlers of different ethnic groups from former Yugoslavia took place from the late 1970s to the mid 1980s. The attachment to Bosnia was demonstrated by the welcoming of prominent Bosnian scholars, artists, athletes and diplomats.

This evidence confirmed Bosnian Muslim settlers had their *own* community clubs and cultural activities and provided significant opportunity for community gatherings. It was also a way of promoting Bosniak identity and preserving cultural tradition. Evidently many community activities, such as sport and culture, were held in this combined context. The growth of the Bosnian Muslim settlement and its community network are reflected in these community cultural events which became traditional, especially during the last three decades.

4.5 Media

The immigrant-language (or community) newspapers reported on Australian society to their readers and outlined the role of migrants in this country (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967:93; Mayer 1968). Community newspapers, including Bosnian newspapers, offered information and assistance to migrants about settlement issues in a new homeland. Accordingly, many community newspapers, including multiethnic Muslim and Bosnian newspapers, recommended that ‘migrants should attempt to adjust to life in Australia and play an active part in it’ (ibid:100; ibid).

During a period of economic development, migration networks via the ethnic *media* (newspapers and radio programs) often informed newly arrived migrants about their ethnic community with relatives or friends that were waiting for them. For instance, media comment about the growth of migrant communities and associated services in Australian cities helped to provide a support infrastructure. At a more formal level this included groups such as ‘Good Neighbor Councils’ and the proliferating

newspapers and magazines in languages other than English. Furthermore the diversity of media included more than fifty newspapers aimed at ethnic groups, some ethnic radio stations and the new multicultural broadcasting service (McGregor 1981:293). Many ethnic groups including displaced people from SE Europe supported the establishment and mass circulation of newspapers (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967:27). Accordingly the growth of the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia will support the establishment of both multiethnic/multicultural and ethnic Bosnian media, including radio programs and newspapers that will assist settlers in a new homeland. Media information contributes to community gatherings and socialising and plays a significant role in the social life of settlers.

Historically Bosnian Muslims have a well-developed culture of socialising in reading rooms (T. *kiraet-hana*) or gathering for discussion in cafés and tearooms. This popular tradition of socialising for Bosnian Muslims existed from the time of well-educated *alims* (Islamic scholars) in Bosnia, who were educated in the City of Istanbul (Turkey) (Imamovic 1996:42). This tradition is cherished by the Bosnian Muslims in their settlement in Australia. A significant part of socialising was obtaining books and newspapers initially from Europe and America and subsequently establishing their own media and editorial comment in Australia. Chronologically Bosnian Muslims in Australia contributed to multiethnic Muslim editorial and then established their own Bosnian Muslim community newspaper editorial. Before establishing their own press in Australia, Bosnian Muslims supported the foundation of the newspaper *Awareness* (B. 'Svijest') published in England (ibid:90) and obtained booklets from Bosnian Muslim centres in America and Bosnia (Haveric, 1999:141–2). However the Bosnian Muslim newspaper *Bosnian Views*, published in Switzerland, attracted the most Bosnian Muslim readers in worldwide Bosniak diasporas including Australia:

In every place where the Bosnian Muslims live there is a need to cooperate, to meet each other, to discuss about common issues and to see possibilities about positive overpassing difficulties. Disconnection of the relationships between compatriots in diaspora and country of origin and between resettled compatriots produce animosity. We should contact the

Bosnian Muslims in different countries and continents. Concretely: we should think about foundation of the main cultural-educative association of the Bosnian Muslims in diaspora with their public representative bodies. In that way, we should also think how to improve and develop our publishing. For instance, we need to find one 'Annual Report' or quarterly cultural magazine or newspaper. Already established cultural, social and religious institutions could be platform for our mutual cooperation. This includes 'Muslim Library', 'Bosnian Views', cultural-religious contact in USA and England, residential Muslim areas in Austria, Germany, Canada, *Australia*, *Argentine*. This cultural activity needs a long period of preparation; otherwise our endeavor will be as 'writing on the sand' (Zulfikarpasic, 1960:24-5).

Zulfikarpasic, A.
'Bosnian Views' 1960

Since the finish of *Awareness* (B. 'Svijest'), the newspaper of the Bosnian Muslim workers in England, and the *Right Way* (G. 'Der Gerade Weg'), a bilingual bulletin in Austria, Bosnian Muslims need a new newspaper. Tens of thousands of Bosnian Muslims overseas feel such a need. Hundreds of dispersed the Bosnian Muslims intellectuals in diaspora are occupied with priority tasks in a new home lands with work, families, or haven't time to work in publishing. Our Muslim democrats should contribute to humanity and cultural status of the Bosnian Muslims in both Bosnia and in foreign countries. In terms of promotion of national, religious and social tolerance, freedom and democracy our standpoint is based on loyalty, democratic views, religion and historical experiences (Zulfikarpasic, 1960:5-6).

Zulfikarpasic, A.
'Bosnian Views' 1960

The Bosnian media linked Bosnians in order to promote peace, tolerance and harmony. In late 1963 a Congress was held in Germany of Bosnian Muslim

representatives from 19 Bosniak diasporas (Canada, the USA, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan, Pakistan, Sweden, France, Argentina) and proclaimed the following abridged *Resolution*:

We (Bosnian Muslims) support democratic views for peace...we believe that freedom and developed societies can exist only in a democratic society...we emphasise the significance of respect for human beings and families as a cell of human society...we think that the state should function for the whole society and not just for one class or group...these freedoms must rely on equity and justice...we support religious freedom and awareness, mutual respect, economic development, private ownership and initiatives...we support the UN resolution about human rights...we support the historical integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina...we reject extremism in all its forms and as Muslims we support liberal and democratic views...we appeal to all our dispersed compatriots to promote these ideals (Imamovic 1996:319–21).

According to Imamovic (1996:319–21) this significant international appeal by Bosnian diasporas, including Australian Bosnian Muslims, was published in the well-known Bosnian newspaper *Bosanski Pogledi* ('Bosnian Views') in 1963 in Europe (Vienna-Zurich) by Adil Zulfikarpasic.

Not only media, but works of classical value represent significant achievement, particularly in the domain of science. The Brisbane Bosnian Muslim Ishak ef. Imamovic wrote an essay in 1961 titled the 'National Identity of the Bosnian Muslims' for *Bosnian Views* (Imamovic 1971:vi). Over the following decade Imamovic wrote his book in English titled *Outlines of Islamic Doctrine* which he published in Brisbane in 1971 (vi). This significant work includes the following chapters: 'the Doctrine of Faith', 'the Postulate of Faith', 'the Doctrine of Worship', 'the Articles of Devotion', 'the Doctrine of Ethics', 'the Principles of Ethics' and Imamovic's doctrinal observations. It is noteworthy that this 500-page publication is among the earliest and outstanding Muslim contributions to Australian academic literature and the National Library in both its knowledge of Islamic science and as a

written historical document (Imamovic 1971). The earliest written works among Bosnian Muslims in Australia were manuscripts of the Islamic Ramadan calendar (*B. vaktija*) written by Imam Ahmed ef. Skaka dating from the early 1950s. These Ramadan calendars were written in English, using the Arabic script for prayer times and fasting. Because of its bilingual character they were useful to all multiethnic Muslim members of the *Islamic Society of South Australia* for religious practice (Haveric 1999: 143).

The Bosnian Muslims obtained literature and newspapers from overseas, particularly from Bosnia, such as *Iseljenicki Almanah - Bosna i Hercegovina; Islamska Misao; Glasnik; Zemzem; Oslobodenje, Preporod; Svijet; Ljiljan* and many others. The King of Saudi Arabia, Fahd ibn-Abdul-Aziz, donated the bilingual edition (translated in Bosnian, together with Arabic script in 1412 h.) of the *Holy Qur'an* to the Bosniaks including those who settled in Australia. They also obtained books including *Outlines of Islamic Doctrine, Islam his Science and his Significance* and other publications in Australia (ibid).

The newspapers played an important role by providing additional historical facts. The Bosnian Muslims, led by Imam Ahmed ef. Skaka, significantly contributed to the establishment of the first multiethnic Muslim newspaper called the *Australian Minaret* published in Adelaide since 1961. This was the first example of Islamic press in Australian history. Little is known about the first few editions of the *Australian Minaret* that preceded the formation of new periodicals under the auspices of AFIS. In the first edition few Bosnian Muslims wrote articles about Islamic values in both English and Bosnian and contributed to the adult's and children's sections of the *Australian Minaret*. The first edition was published by the 'Islamic Society of South Australia' with the following front-page editorial (*Australian Minaret*, no 1, 1961):

The name 'Australian Minaret' was conceived more than two years. Necessity of a having a Review for the Muslims throughout Australia has never been forgotten, but high standard demanded for such a Review has been as high that it was found impossible to achieve it. This includes the lack of sufficient number of scholars among us and difficulty in communication. The Executive Committee takes the bold step of

producing the first issue of the Review...We only hope that the issue of the first addition will have the result of gathering around us support not only of the Muslims in South Australia, but also of Muslims throughout Australia...The Review is intend to be a means of spreading the knowledge of Islam, Islamic Culture and current Islamic issues to all Muslims in Australia...We shall be very glad to include in our coming Reviews articles written in different languages such as in English, ‘Yugoslav’ (*Bosnian*), German, Albanian, Turkish and other languages. – ‘Let the *Australian Minaret* will live a long life, so that it will truly stand in our community as the minaret it purports to represent!’

Editorial of the *Australian Minaret*
‘*Id al-fitr*’ edition, 1961, Adelaide

As with the first editorial of the first *Australian Minaret* the following editorial in the next issue also gives details about social, cultural, religious, education and media needs of Muslims in South Australia, including Bosnian Muslims. In the second edition the following editorial view appears (*Australian Minaret* no 2, 1381 h.):

This second issue of the *Australian Minaret* coincides with the celebration of the Holy Prophet Birthday (Peace and the Blessing of Allah be upon him). As we originally intended, the review is again multi-lingual, although English being the language most common to us, is given the prominent role. Difficult as it seems for us to keep this review going we still hope it to be a unifying force among the Muslims in all states and to be a means of communication of knowledge pertaining to the Islamic faith. The maintenance of education is no doubt a necessary part of the life of a Muslim community. While the Holy Qur’an encourages us to seek wealth it also enjoins on every one of us to develop our spiritual well-being in a way of tolerance. Again, we appeal to every Muslim scholar in Australia to send in article in his own language (if they prefer) so that continuance of this pioneer publication be doubly ensured. ‘How much more it is required of us who are now enjoying the bliss of a settled and peaceful existence!’

It is also important to note that Bosnian Muslims who contributed to this edition wrote bilingual articles in English and Bosnian (*Australian Minaret* no 2, 1381 h.). They also continued to write articles for this newspaper in both English and Bosnian. However, later editions of the *Australian Minaret* were published in English, Arabic, Turkish, Bosnian, Albanian and other languages. As Ricketson observes, this helped Muslims in many ways such as learning Islamic values, presenting current affairs, the introduction of many interesting and significant topics and presenting interviews focusing on the structure of the news media rather than the practice of journalism (Ricketson cited in Curthoys and Schultz 1999:168). Clyne (1991:8) states that mosques, as well as ethnic clubs and associations through ethnic media, played a prominent role in preserving and promoting community languages, including Bosnian.

During the 1970s and 1980s various newspapers, either as a part of Croatian or Yugoslavian communities, were published. Those Bosnian Muslims, who were affiliated with Croatian community, wrote articles to Croatian Community newspapers, while those affiliated with Yugoslavian community wrote articles to Yugoslavian Community newspapers. In both cases they wrote about Bosnian culture, multiculturalism, sport, arts, and poetry. Commonly it included their articles related to Bosnia and Australia. Major difference was writing in the context either Croatian or Yugoslav viewpoints especially in terms of politics, which reflected their ethno-national identifications. Major similarity was writing about Bosnian Islamic component and multiculturalism, both in Bosnia and Australia (Haveric 1999).

Within similar time, the Bosnian Muslims published their own community newspapers within their Islamic communities and/or sports clubs. It was a 'turning point' for Bosnian Muslim community as the result of growing settlement in Australia and their more frequent connection with Bosnia.

Indeed, McKnight (McKnight cited in Curthoys and Schultz, 1999:155) points out that the 1980s was a 'golden age' of ethnic journalism in Australia. During that period

Bosnian Muslims published several different newspaper editions. For instance, the Bosnian ethnic local/state/interstate newspapers were: *Muslimanski Bilten* (1978, 1979, 1980); *Muslim Times* (1989, 1990s); *Vijesti*; *Sabah* (1980s); *Bosanski Glasnik*; *BH Ogledalo* (1990s); *Vatan* (1995); *Zov Bosne* (1995–1998); *Magazin Bosna* (1996–2005); *Behar* (1997); *Magazin Zena-21*, *Vatan*, *BH Ogledalo*, *Glas sa Drine* and *Biser* (all est. 2000s) and many others. The significance of most of these newspapers or magazines was to represent in the Bosnian language various community activities and important information about Australian society. The common issues explored Bosnian Islamic values and multiculturalism with articles on sport, culture, religion, entertainment and so on. Most newspapers or magazines were designed with Bosnian motifs or symbols including a crescent and a star, a coat of arms consisting of a crescent and a star, or of six lilies, or lily flower and a Bosnian map. These newspapers, with relatively modest distribution, were published firstly in Bosnian, then bilingually in Bosnian and English, and were distributed mainly within community settings (Haveric 1999).

For instance in 1986 the ‘Islamic Society of Footscray’ published the magazine *Sabah*. The first edition features a motif of lily flowers in an Oriental style. Such a motif would contain strong cultural significance and resonance for Bosnian Muslims (ibid). In the editorial the following message to community readers (*Sabah* 1986:2) appears:

Letter to Reader!

The ‘Committee of the Islamic Society of Footscray’ held a meeting on the 12.08.1986 they decided to publish a monthly magazine called *Sabah* for our dear Muslim brothers and sisters.

With the initiation of *Sabah* we wish to explore Islam and its principles, Islamic life and world, according to our possibilities.

We wish that *Sabah* visits you regularly, thus we need your cooperation and support.

We hope that you will receive *Sabah* with your open hearts and that you will have a pleasant time with it.

All the best and assalamu alaikum!

Editorial, *Sabah*, 1986

Another example of the Bosnian community press is *Magazine Bosna*, which continuously published in New South Wales, and then in Victoria. After a decade of publication, the NSW editorial offered the following abridged viewpoint on the role of Bosniak community newspapers:

... Continuation of our work was inspired by the love we have towards Bosnia, the promotion of the Bosnian language, its culture, hybridity of the Bosniak identity, the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, Australian cultural-religious diversity and Australianness, the pride of being of a Bosnian ethnic origin and our patriotism. By representing the values of the Bosnian people and Bosnia, including its rich history, multiculturalism and cultural heritage we explore the great Bosniak richness that has enriched us ...

Editorial, *Magazine Bosna*

May 2005

The *Magazin Bosna* has been the most distributed newspaper in community settings across Australia and various newspaper outlets. While some Bosnian Muslim newspapers were published in the context of Bosnianism, others published in framework of Bosniakism. Both ways have more commonalities than differences, although the Bosniaks prefer to articulate their writings according to Bosniak (i.e. Bosnian Muslim) contemporary views, recognised in Bosnia and Bosniak world diaspora. All articles include topics on Islam, Bosnia, Bosnian culture, and multiculturalism. It includes Bosnian, Australian and international current affairs. The majority of articles are written in Bosnians, but some in English.

Beside several books written in Bosnian by a number of authors other publications include various booklets, flayers and calendars. The Bosniaks books written in Bosnian and published in Australia are distributed amongst the broader Bosnian Muslim community in Australia, its community libraries, the Bosniak world diaspora, as well in Bosnia. Some of their copies are held in Australian National, State and

Regional libraries in their multilingual sections. Additionally some of Bosniaks are correspondents to the Bosniak diaspora online magazines and various Bosnian/Bosniak newspapers in Bosnia (Haveric 1999).

The creation of institutional space for the expression of Australia's linguistic diversity has been one of the major legacies of multiculturalism. In this way, radio broadcasting in many different languages played a significant role. During the 1970s the Commonwealth Government made significant reforms to broadcasting that resulted in the formation of multilingual, access-oriented radio and television services. The first of these was the *ZZ radio network* in Sydney and Melbourne, which experimented with the idea of community broadcasting. This experiment was later replaced with the creation of the *Special Broadcasting Service* (SBS), specifically designed to be a multilingual radio and television broadcaster (Fenna 1998:371). For Bosnian Muslims, SBS established a radio program for the 'audience originally from Bosnia and Herzegovina'. This was followed by SBS broadcasting in the Bosnian language for the *Bosnian community*. With further community development the Bosnian media included *ethnic radio programs* in all states and the ACT and Bosnian national radio programs at *SBS* (Melbourne/Sydney) and the television *Channel 31* (Victoria) and in various print media including newspapers and magazines (Haveric 1999).

4.6 Period from the early 1990s onwards

From the early 1990s, the Australian immigration policy allowed the intake of many refugee groups. Babacan observes that from 1970 to 1994 refugees from many countries at various intervals came to Australia including Lebanese, Palestinians, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, Chileans, Salvadoreans, members of Latin and Central American groups, Tamils, Sri Lankans, Kurds, East Timorese, Chinese, Assyrians, Somalis, Eritreans, Ethiopians, more recently people from the former USSR and particularly the former Yugoslavian republic of *Bosnia* (Babacan 1996:155). The majority of recent Bosnian Muslims who arrived in Australia came as refugees and humanitarian settlers (Petrovic 1999:10). However, during the early 2000s Australia continued to receive refugees from different backgrounds, including Bosnian Muslims (MacLeod 2006:194). Since that time, a significant number of Bosnian Muslim refugees settled in Australia (Saeed 2003:10). This was also a period

of campaigns to persuade more migrants to take up Australian citizenship (Fenna 1998:370).

On arrival in Australia, new Bosnian Muslim refugees have already found established Bosnian ethnic community institutions which were established during the 1970s and 1980s, such as Bosnian mosques, Bosnian soccer clubs and Bosnian cultural associations. Also they found Australian multiethnic institutions and both government services and non-government organisations. Most became members of these ethnic and multiethnic institutions and further established new Bosnian institutions. The settlement locations of the majority of these more recently arrived Bosnian Muslims were in already existing Bosnian Muslim communities. For instance, most newly arrived Bosniaks settled in suburbs close to industrial working-class areas such as Dandenong, Noble Park, Springvale, St Albans, Deer Park, Broadmeadows, Preston and Brunswick in Melbourne, and Liverpool, Hurstville and Auburn in Sydney (Haveric 1999). Most of these migrants were employed as factory workers (Saeed 2003:10). Moreover among this generation of Bosnian Muslims there are a number of settlers who are well-educated and obtained employment in various fields including government and non-government organisations (Haveric 1999).

The economic successes of previous Bosnian migrants were constructive examples for newly arrived Bosniak *men* or *women* who choose to establish in a similar way their own businesses. Hence during the later 1900s and early 2000s there were established various small businesses with new economic initiatives, which were supported at first by the community, but also attracted interests of other Australians. These newly formed businesses include travel agencies, car services, food and coffee shops, transport, trading, or building companies and various other professional enterprises. Some Bosniaks became employed in governmental institutions.

The *National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters* (NAATI) was initially established in 1977 by the Commonwealth Government. On 1 July 1983, the NAATI was re-established as an independent body jointly subsidised by Commonwealth, state and territory governments and is now incorporated as a public company, limited by guarantee, under the *Companies Act 1981*. The major objectives of NAATI were: (1) to establish and maintain professional standards for interpreters

and translators; (2) to develop the means by which practitioners can be accredited at various levels and (3) to develop and implement a national system of registration and licensing (Directory of Accredited and Recognised Practitioners of Interpreting and Translation 1995:i). Since the 1990s for some communities, including the Bosniak community, recognition of community language became an important aspect for further community development. Over 55 languages, such as ‘Yugoslavian’ (‘including’ Bosnian), were listed by the 1991 Census as used by Muslims at home. Omar and Allen (1996:21) argue that this data indeed demonstrates the diversity of the Muslim community in Australia. Saeed (2003:1) further highlights that Muslims in Australia speak many different languages ranging from English, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Albanian, *Bosnian* (‘Croatian’, ‘Serbian’), Chinese, Tamil, Italian, German, French, Greek, Croatian, Thai, Vietnamese, Serbian, Spanish, Russian, Maltese, Hungarian and so on.

At the request of some Bosniak intellectuals across Australia, the Bosnian language was officially recognised in 1993 by NAATI (Haveric, 1999:196). In fact NAATI followed the standard Australian Government policy and considered ‘*Bosnian* and other languages from the former Yugoslavia as *separate* languages’ (Directory of Accredited and Recognised Practitioners of Interpreting and Translation 1995:v). Subsequently, RMIT Technical College in Victoria from 1995 to 1999 provided the National Diploma of Interpreting in Bosnian (Directory of Accredited and Recognised Practitioners of Interpreting and Translation 1995:v). According to the *Directory of Accredited and Recognised Practitioners of Interpreting and Translation 1995* (1995:231–4) there are lists of Bosnian translators/interpreters for each state and territory which reinforces the use of the Bosnian language in mainstream government and non-government agencies.

Historically the Bosnian language is now officially recognised although it was a community language in Australia for many decades prior to its official recognition. This is the result of an increased number of Bosnian Muslim settlers in Australia and their fresh initiatives, supported by government, which recognised mutual benefits for both the recent settlement process and further multicultural development. In the 1990s a significant number of Bosniaks entered Victoria. According to the *Issues and Options Paper for the Review of the Funding and Management of the Language*

Services System the 'main language groups entering Victoria between 1991 and 1996 were: Cantonese 3,900; Arabic 1,900; *Bosnian* 1,600; Mandarin 1,400; Khmer 1,100; Turkish 970; Serbian 700; Farsi 600 and so on' (Intercom Consulting with Don Plimer Consultancies and Strategic Data 1997:15). This data indicated the use of the Bosnian language as well.

Fenna (1998:370) points out that multiculturalism initiated a celebration of cultural diversity. As a component of multiculturalism, linguistic diversity was a very important platform to those communities for whom the preservation of their mother tongue was among the major cultural issues in order to establish community language schools. This initiated the establishment of language schools (including Bosnian language schools) that also had the task of keeping traditional rituals, customs and cultures alive. Therefore the official recognition of the Bosnian language and the increase in the population of Bosnian Muslims has become important factors in recent community development and adaptation in Australia.

Furthermore during the 1990s *Bosnians* (Bosnian Muslims, Bosniaks) became the largest European Muslim ethnic group in Australia, outnumbering other European Muslim ethnicities, such as Albanians (Jupp 2001:187). According to the 1996 Census the Turkish and Lebanese communities represented the largest number of Muslims in Australia with 14.5% and 17.4% respectively. More recently, the number of Indonesian (3.2%) and Malaysian (1.4%) as well as *Bosnian* (3.5%) Muslims has also grown. In addition there are many other small communities from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Today around 300,000 Muslims in Australia represent about 1.5% of the population (Humphrey cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:36).

The populations of Bosnian Muslims who live in communities across Australia are both ethnic Bosniak and multi ethnic/religious. DIMA data on migrant/refugee settlement in Victoria between 1993 and 1998 show that 4,083 people came from Bosnia and Herzegovina (DIMA Settlement Database cited in Petrovic 1999:17). By comparison the numbers from other ethnic communities in the former Yugoslavia were substantially less: Croatia 1,333; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 10; Former republic of Macedonia 1,048; Slovenia 39; Former Yugoslavia 5,910 (ibid:17). However migrant ethnicity considerations do not always explicitly mean that if

migrants are from a certain part of the former Yugoslavia they belong to the same national, ethnic, geographic, linguistic or religious group. On the one hand Bosnian Muslims could be considered not only Bosnians, but also 'Croats' or 'Yugoslavians' ('Serbs'). This further demonstrates the hybridity of Bosnian Muslim identity. On the other hand Croats, Serbs, and/or Yugoslavians could be perceived as coming from Bosnia, not exclusively from Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro or Yugoslavia. They may well live in Bosnia but describe and consider themselves as Croats, Serbs or Yugoslavians. Indeed even married couples will describe themselves within the context of different ethnic identities.

The Bosnian Muslims have a significant presence in every state of Australia. According to the statistical report 'Settler Arrivals' for 1995–96 (DIMA report, no. 22), migrants who originated from Bosnia migrated to Victoria (4.9%), South Australia (8.6%), Western Australia (4.1%) and Tasmania (5.4%) (1997:3–4). The 1996 Census shows Total Persons by Birthplace (6 August 1997) *Bosna and Herzegovina*: New South Wales 4,515; Victoria 4,753; Queensland 1,516; South Australia 1,023; Western Australia 1,397; Tasmania 84; Northern Territory 25; Australian Capital Territory 301, totalling 13,614 (ABS, DIMA 1997:4). Australia has since accepted several thousand Bosnian Muslims (Saeed 2003:9). Subsequently this number has almost doubled until the early 2000s. Misic (cited in Colic-Peisker 2003) states that during the past decade about 30,000 people from Bosnia settled across Australia. Among people from former Yugoslavia, Muslims were given priority in Australian humanitarian intake, thus they are the most numerous (Colic-Peisker 2003). In other words, majority of newly-arrived refugees are Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) who also called themselves Bosnians. They have mostly settled in large Australian cities. Most Bosniaks chose to settle close to their compatriots and live geographically near them. Thus settling close to each other, most notably in industrial areas, contributes to further community development (Colic-Peisker 2003).

During their settlement process, the Bosnian Muslims were also supported by many different multicultural organisations across the nation (Petrovic 1999). The non-government, community sector comprises a wide range of ethno-specific organisations at the federal, state and local level and also includes workers, such as

ethnic health workers and migrant liaison officers, who work directly with ethnic clients in mainstream community-based agencies (Babacan 1996:157).

Since the early 1990s onwards a noteworthy aspect of their recent settlement history is that Bosniaks established new sports clubs, cultural associations, welfare services and community schools across Australia (please see attachment 1). Various community-based agencies became a substantial part of *community life* with the *social capital* which significantly promotes multicultural activities.

As can be seen from historical documentation, there is evidence of considerable numbers of community gatherings in various cultural, sports, religious, educational, artistic and multicultural projects, both state and interstate. The older Bosniak community organisations in Australia assisted newly-arrived Bosnian Muslims in establishing new Bosniak clubs, associations and organisations. Various community-based agencies, including clubs, associations and mosques, have local, state and interstate network and activities, most notably in sport (soccer) tournaments, cultural and multicultural festivals, religious feasts, educational seminars, celebrations of Bosnian National holidays, launch of books and excursions.

Besides existing community organisations, the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia included recently founded community institutions (2000s), most notably the *Australian Council of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Organisations* and the *Australian-Bosniak Association* supported by various multicultural agencies. In addition to participation in multicultural activities, Bosnian Muslims contributed to the multicultural mosaic in Victoria and across the nation, as described in the following examples:

...Preservation and promotion of the Bosniak cultural and ethnic identity as an integration element in a diverse Australian multicultural mosaic; presentation and introduction of the Bosniak culture, tradition and history to the Australian institutions, media and public; provide care and maintain support network for the Bosniak refugees... (Goals of the *Australian Bosniak Association* (ABA) in Victoria)

Indeed both the *Australian-Bosniak Association* and *Australian Council of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Organisations* are undertaking many current community activities both state and interstate. The new Bosnian Muslims became Australian citizens and continued to participate in economic, social, cultural-religious, media, linguistic, artistic, sport, educational and political life of Australia. In this way, El Erian (1990:117) underlines that an important factor is the commitment to developing a vigorous, bold and creative program of co-operative interaction and integration, so that the Muslim minorities such as Bosniaks take a positive role in further enriching the Australian multicultural society in which they live – culturally, spiritually and socially. Accordingly many demonstrate a deep commitment to Australian multiculturalism.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has established that the history of the Bosnian Muslim community is an integral part of Australian history and explicitly belongs to the broader richness of Australian multiculturalism. As a part of multiculturalism it is also reflected in the Bosnian Muslim contribution to the Australian Islamic heritage and within key Muslim agencies such as AFIC. Initially, Bosnian Muslims engaged in multi-ethnic Muslim communities then worked towards the establishment of Bosnian Muslim community organisations. All generations of Bosnian Muslim settlers across the nation were engaged in community settings and participated in various community activities both state and interstate. During these historical times, covering the post WW2 period until recent times, it has been observed that the Bosnian Muslims integrated in ways that are complex, dynamic, changing, productive and resilient. Their contribution to community building and community development has been significant.

While in this chapter the major focus is given to the general establishment of the Bosnian Muslim community across Australia through community development activities it is important to not the role of these agencies in providing initial settlement support for the recent wave of Bosniaks, in retaining Bosniak cultural and religious identity, in developing interactions with non-Muslims and supporting Australian

multiculturalism. The next section will cover the historical development of contemporary Australian multiculturalism.

CHAPTER FIVE

Multiculturalism in Australia: historical development

A contemporary knowledge and understanding of the meaning and values of multiculturalism directly relate to its historical development and contribution to Australian society. Despite its sophisticated values, multiculturalism is exposed to frequently 'coined' phrases and misinterpretation. Almost certainly, these are often based on insufficient 'factual knowledge', narrowed or simplified 'one-sided critics', or they are a product of 'parochial' or 'fictional explanation'. In fact opinion about multiculturalism has historically been subject to regular scrutiny in different forms and ferocious public attacks over the past decade.

The flourishing of multiculturalism in Australia has either been demonstrated or recognised nationally and internationally as 'the great cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia'; 'the appropriate philosophy for contemporary Australia'; 'ethnic diversity and social cohesion'; 'the operations and lobbying of an entire movement and network of people'; 'a wonderful atmosphere for all citizens'; 'community harmony'; 'the source that makes us knowledgeable, tolerant and strong'; 'our enrichment with a wealth of knowledge, skills and other resources'; and 'the enhancement of our knowledge about Australia's neighbours and overseas'. (cited in University of Western Sydney; Australian Multicultural Foundation; The Australian Nationalism Information Database; Parliament of Australia: House of Representatives; *Internet sources* updated 2000s).

On the whole, Sir William Deane, Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, illuminates that *multiculturalism* must be understood in an Australian context (1997:4):

It does not mean the mere fact of existence of many cultures. It refers to a national policy of acceptance and protection of diverse cultural, racial and religious backgrounds and origins of Australians. It is a policy whose essence lies in a proper balance between respect for, and genuine

tolerance of, the different national, racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds and cultures from which we come and fundamental requirements of national identity, national unity and national standards. Thus multiculturalism recognises the entitlement of all Australians to preserve and cherish with affection, with respect and pride, the customs, cultures and religions which they or their forbears have brought from the lands or regions of their birth but subjects that entitlement to the limitation that all Australians are bound by the overriding loyalties and obligations of their Australian citizenship and their duties under valid Australian laws.

Over the last 150 years the Australian continent was a crucible of races, cultures and religions (Deane 1997:2). Thus it is vitally important to explore and demonstrate the historical development and establishment of Australian multiculturalism together with aspects of immigration, settlement and integration. This chapter details the following stages of historical development.

It needs to be acknowledged that, particularly in last several decades, Australia received migrants from many parts of the world. Migrants of different backgrounds came to Australia either from big or small countries; from Europe, Asia, Americas and Africa. For most of them Australia became a new home land. Immigration to Australia occurs under two streams- skilled and business migration and family reunion (DIAC 2000). The humanitarian program covers people who are refugees or have significant humanitarian reasons for departure from their homelands. Although migrant intake from New Zealand and UK (i.e. British) is the largest, there is also increased immigration from Asia and to certain extent the Middle East, Africa and Americas. As a part of Australian immigration intake during the 1990s, the Bosnian Muslim refugees migrated to Australia mostly under the humanitarian program. These Bosnians were the most numerous single component of the recent Australian humanitarian immigration intake (Jupp 2002)

5.1 Early immigration to Australia

This section primarily explores two major *historical* aspects: the White Australia Policy and racial prejudice toward Asians, Pacific Islanders, Africans and those from

the Middle East and the early growth of non-British culture within British colonies. The latter aspect is supported by little-known statistics and erased examples of early cultural diversity. Overall it will show how both colonial 'White Australia' and immigration and the influx of other cultures from this early historical period left their mark on the further development of Australia. The Chinese philosopher Confucius (551–479 BC) remarked 'men's natures are alike; it is their habits that carry them far apart' (cited in Beattie 1977:271). In this context, arguably there is no biological evidence for racial prejudice. Although various biological strains of mankind may look different, more importantly, they all belong to the *same species*. These recorded differences are attributable to cultural and other environmental factors (Aceves 1974:165; Beattie 1977:271).

Thus the location in this instance where many racial, cultural and religious creeds come together is the remarkable *environment* that is Australia. Lilburne notes in relation to the land that it is precisely how we treat the thin layer of topsoil on which our nation's health depends, that our spiritual destiny will be determined (cited in Howen and Nichols 2001:143). At the heart of the matter this land as such is not to be decided on narrow economic grounds, but constitutes a deeply *spiritual* issue, which requires detailed and sustained reflection within the context of historical development (ibid:144). At first, it needs to articulate that the Aborigines were the original inhabitants of Australia, the largest continent in the world (often called *Tarah Merege* meaning 'Land of Black People'), for over 50,000 years. It should be emphasised that Australian history is culturally diverse. Aboriginal peoples or tribes for thousands of years, for example, have spoken over 200 languages, sharing aspects of their spirituality and cultural heritage that are often mirrored in their vibrant paintings (Collins 2002).

Continuous exploration of and voyages to the 'Great Southern Land' and subsequent interaction between different explorers and visitors from different backgrounds with Aboriginal elders shaped the earliest contours of a culturally diverse past. Despite the 'tyranny of distance' over the course of centuries, remarkable interactions and exchanges of ideas and experiences occurred with a mix of different cultures, races, ethnicities, religions, traditions, languages, mythologies, customs and marriage patterns. Certainly this historical development was followed by the introduction of a

variety of skills, knowledge and goods. Many different ethnicities which peacefully and temporarily settled along Australia's coastline and were scattered throughout numerous islands, were the earliest indication of ethnic diversity. Indeed it was a period that Aborigines recognise today as their 'golden age' (Haveric 2006).

This richness of early historical events did not constitute Australia's 'Asianisation'. Rather there was a gradual development into a much more diverse and prosperous cosmopolitan nation composed of many permanently settled ethnic, racial, cultural and religious communities worldwide, including Britain and Europe (ibid). Until the 1830s the black population constituted the majority in Australia (Grassby 1984:88). Traditionally immigration has been a central issue since the 1800s. In fact Australia has been a country of destination since European settlement over 200 years ago (Babacan cited in Dalton et al. 1996:155). Collins (2003:137–49) argues that immigration has had a profound impact on Australia since the 1800s. Winikoff supports this argument stating that during the last 200 years, waves of immigrants of a great variety of ethnic and racial origins have created a significant evolutionary process which shaped a much more diverse society, hence 'public nostalgia' for a genteel Anglo-cultural past that provided illusions of monocultural homogeneity (cited in Gunew and Rizvi 1994:140).

It is important to note that Asians came to Australia as cheap imported labour due to labour shortages. Willard pointed out that as early as 1779 Sir Joseph Banks suggested Asian labour for the proposed Australian colony. In 1785 Sir John Young also suggested the intake of Asian labour and Governor Wakefield recommended both India and China as likely sources of indentured workers for developing colonies (cited in Lepervanche 1984:37). Indeed Clark states that some Indian immigrants arrived with the early settlers and others came later in convict ships (ibid:36). In 1800 Governor Hunter believed that some Indian immigrants 'might be usefully employed here, and would probably be far more manageable than most of those [convicts] we now have' (ibid). In the 1830s pastoralists imported their coolies from India, China and the South Pacific Islands, and attempted to persuade the government to fund this traffic (Leperevanche n.d:75). Between 1837 and 1846 workers of different backgrounds were imported to Australia (Mitchel 1971:62). By 1840 sheepmen had spread over half the continent from Mount Remarkable north of Adelaide to the

fringes of the Darling Downs, and the early squatters were exploring every possible avenue for labour supplies, most notably, Asiatic coolies. Since 1834 the scramble for cheap labour has demanded immigration from Asia or the Pacific (Yarwood 1973:7). In 1837 300 immigrants were imported from Chile (Mitchel 1971:62) and 62 Kanakas were imported from the Pacific Islands in 1846 (ibid). Two years later Chinese headmen around Amoy sold a hundred of their countrymen under indenture to the squatters of Moreton Bay and Geelong. Within twelve months the importation of Chinese had become 'a regular and systematic trade', including several thousand coolies every year (Rivett 1962:2).

While colonial authorities attempted to procure Indian coolies, the pastoralists began to look to China for cheap labour, but importation in the 1840s and 1850s was not entirely successful and employers again turned to India (Lepervanche 1984:41–2). In 1891 there were 1,800 Indians in New South Wales, and with Chinese and Melanesians they became the object of increasing anti-coloured legal discrimination (ibid:51). Even earlier, the *Indian Emigration Act 1839* restricted the recruitment of Indians opposed by the petition of 'very numerous signed' Indians who continued to live in Australia (ibid:41–2). However Lepervanche (ibid:26) notes it was common for Indian household heads to have their grandfathers come first, thus 'everybody had a grandfather', all of whom 'immigrated to Australia in 1901'.

The discovery of gold in Australia attracted adventurers and immigrants worldwide. Besides the British during the 'gold rush' which spread 'an epidemic of gold fever', many gold-diggers from non-British backgrounds migrated to Australia, including French, Dutch, Scandinavian, German, Polish and Hungarian immigrants, as well as Southern Europeans (Italians, *Yugoslavs* and Greeks), Americans, Indians, Chinese, Malays, Lebanese, Afghans, Maoris, Prussians, Jews and Quakers even Siberians (*Australia's Heritage: The Making of a Nation* 1989; vol v, 958; MacLeod 2006:113). The 'gold rush' represented early cultural interaction between immigrants of different origins and promoted an exchange of skills, techniques, knowledge and experience (ibid).

For instance in 1853, there were at least 2,000 Chinese living and working in Victoria (Rivett 1962:4) and by 1859 this figure had significantly increased to 42,000,

representing one Chinese migrant to every 12 to 14 Europeans (Yarwood 1973:19). By 1875, there were, again, more than 40,000 Chinese while in NSW only 327 Chinese came. In the following year, after the enactment of the Victorian legislation, 12,000 Chinese arrived (Rivett 1962:5). The first Kanakas were brought to Queensland in 1863 to work on the cotton plantations (Yarwood 1973:49) and the discovery of gold in the 1870s brought another wave of Chinese migration. For instance Chinese diggings near Cooktown outnumbered Europeans on the goldfields by 17,000 to 14,000, and by 1877 there were 17,000 Chinese on the Palmer River goldfields (Lepervanche 1984:51). However the *Immigration Restriction Act 1878* and declining gold production reduced the Chinese population in Queensland to about 11,000 in 1881 (Yarwood 1973:19).

In contrast to the *Immigration Restriction Act*, Australian employers liked the Chinese 'because they [Chinese] gave little trouble and you could rely on them to do the work' (Rivett 1962:11). In addition, immigrants from Japan and India also arrived in noteworthy numbers (ibid:12). In order to bring about 1,500 coolies into Australia, the chairman of the Committee on Asiatic Labour wrote a petition signed by a number of 'respectable settlers in the Northern District to move the Home Secretary to induce the Bengal Government to relax the law' (Yarwood 1973:15). For instance Moreton Bay pastoralists had employed Indian and Chinese coolies for ten years. A Northern Colony should be formed, he suggested to the Committee in 1854, based on 'coloured' labour, without which 'it is perfectly futile to expect that the natural resources of the inter-tropical parts of this country can ever be properly developed' (ibid:16).

Colonial authorities considered the large presence of non-Europeans (Chinese, Indians, Afghans, Malays, Indonesians, Pacific Islanders) as the 'economic treat' (ibid:19). Yarwood (ibid) argues that during the 1860s the main opposition to immigration was economic and it was not opposed on 'sentimental, religious or humanitarian grounds'. After the mid 1800s voluntary immigration began to overshadow assisted immigration for the first time (Lepervanche n.d:75). The 'foreigners' in 1861 included 27,000 Germans and 39,000 Chinese totalling 83,395, or 7.2% of the total population (Lepervanche n.d: 83). The resentment, firstly

towards Asians, Africans, those from the Middle East then Southern Europeans and other Europeans were reflected particularly during the last decades of the 19th century.

The earliest *anti-Asian legislation* resulted from conflict between ‘whites’ and Chinese on the goldfields. Victoria was the first to restrict the Chinese in 1855, South Australia followed in 1857 and New South Wales in 1861 (Lepervanche 1984:51). Queensland passed the *Chinese Immigration Restriction Act 1877* and other discriminatory legislation (ibid:64). Like the mainland colonies and after several years of immigration, in 1885 Tasmania imposed *restrictive legislation* against the Chinese (Leperevanche n.d:83). During the 1880s, unfortunately, the workers and trade unions also tended to oppose Chinese, Indians, Kanakas and others on racial grounds because they were coloured, foreign, or simply because they or their parents were born in Asia (Mitchel 1971:62). In 1888 the *Afghan*, a ship carrying 268 Chinese, attracted by reports of ruby fields in the Northern Territory, docked at Sydney and Melbourne and was met by a violent demonstration (Rivett 1962:8). For the ship and its passengers it was said they had brought ‘a rabbit plague’ (ibid:12) and the other colonies soon followed with similar reactions (Mellor 1979:254).

These restriction laws affected opportunities for employment and working conditions, prohibiting new Asian and African immigration waves, restricting social-welfare aspects, family reunions and community improvement, as well as impeding travel between colonial borders and overseas business. Although peaceful Asian (including Muslims) petitions were opposed to such conditions, the history of the 19th century suggests that a certain number of ‘coloured’ immigrants on arrival remained in Australia, and their communities settled for several generations without new arrivals (Haveric 2006:194).

The earliest immigrants were subjected to hardship of various kinds: they had limited holdings; many left school early to assist on the family farm; neighbours helped each other in emergencies, but their social horizons did not extend beyond the local scene; ‘coloured’ immigrants were deemed suspicious and were not always impressed with innovations (Lepervanche 1984:79); their earnings were low; ‘...they did not have our [Australian] standards...’ (ibid:109); ‘...we did not want them in [our] Club...’ (ibid:117); and represented a ‘...great danger allowing the turbaned Mohammedans

(i.e. Muslims) to get a vital hold of the most important industry of the colony...’ (ibid:86). In contrast to these early ‘White Australia’ attitudes, many Asians, including Afghans, Indians and Malays were, indeed, among the major contributors to the development of the earliest economic enterprises, such as the Overland Telegraph Line, Transnational Railways, sugar and cotton plantations and fishing, pearling and timber industries. This significance is also reflected, undeniably, in the richness of early Australian cultural heritage, including Islamic. But further anti-Asian sentiment crystallised in legislation against others besides the Chinese; they included Afghans, Japanese and Punjabi Indians in the 1880s and 1890s (Leperevanche n.d: 89).

Finally, such legislation was expanded toward non-British Europeans. Soon not only the number of Chinese, but Germans and Scandinavians declined after 1891 (Leperevanche n.d:100). Moreover ‘White Australia’ attitudes began to affect other non-British immigrants, including early Southern Europeans.

5.2 Southern European immigrants as part of early non-British minorities

The non-British immigration of the 1920s was marked by a decline in the numbers of Northern Europeans and an increase in *Southern Europeans* as the doors to America closed. Some *Yugoslavs*, Maltese and Albanians who came from places ‘hardly heard of’ arrived as often as not destitute and became a burden on the government (ibid:97). The ‘foreigners’ whose numbers increased were Italians and Greeks and by the 1920s, through a process of chain immigration, had already formed the nuclei around which *Southern European* settlement developed (ibid:92). Furthermore, when the Italians moved into farm ownership, immigrants from *Yugoslavia*, Spain and Greece, in order to settle in Australia, moved into share farming (ibid: 100).

Southern Europeans including Yugoslavs constituted the ‘low status competitors’ in the workforce and tensions produced by the conflict between employers and employees were also kept alive by assisted British immigration (ibid:95). *Southern Europeans* were also considered ‘a source of cheap and efficient labour’ that could replace ‘coloured’ workers (ibid:97). The early *Southern Slavic* workers, mainly from Dalmatia as well as other mixed Balkan regions, immigrated to Australia in considerable numbers after the 1850s (Oikoumene n.d:vi). Among many different

gold diggers were immigrants from Italy and the Balkans, later commonly though *not always correctly* described as *Slavs*. In reality, they were more likely to be Dalmatians, Croats, *Bosnians*, *Herzegovinians*, Montenegrins and Serbs; immigrants who left some of the poorer Balkan regions (such as Herzegovina) of the Ottoman Empire hoped for a better deal in ‘the working man’s paradise’ of the new ‘promised land’ Australia (Bunbury cited in McCalman et al. 2001:141). Equally *inaccurate*, they were officially referred to as ‘Austrians’ because Bosnia and its nearest neighbours were subject to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (ibid). Similarly, the term ‘Italian’ *often* included anyone of Southern European origin including people from the Balkans. However, in the early days, the term ‘foreigner’ frequently denoted someone of Italian, ‘Slavonic’ (Slavic – Dalmatian, Croatian, Macedonian, *Bosnian*), or Greek origin (Bertola cited in McCalman et al. 2001:126).

Due to a misunderstanding of ethno-national identification during the White Australia Policy period, the earliest presence of Bosniaks (i.e. Bosnian Muslims) in Australia should be considered through different ethnic or national ‘identifications’ for two main reasons: firstly, the Bosniaks were exposed to Eastern (Ottoman) and Western (Austro-Hungarian and Italian) influences, although they were Slavs among other Slavic groups respectfully; and secondly, for ‘White Australia’ it was easier to simplify the ‘categorisation’ of diversity of ethno-national backgrounds, particularly in terms of minorities, such as the Bosniaks. Therefore minorities were either marginalised or misinformed in terms of recording their presence and economic participation. Accordingly they were categorised interchangeably as ‘Turks’, ‘Austrians’, ‘Italians’, ‘Jugo-Slavs’. However by tracing the complexity of ‘ethnic-names’, a variety of statistics support the historical appearance of the ‘Bosniak sporadic immigration to Australia’. The statistics regarding immigrants in the 1890s (Census of NSW 1891) include immigrant’s ‘places of origin’, that is, ‘Turkey in Europe’ and ‘Turkey in Asia’ (Syria, Armenia and Asia Minor). In the table in the abovementioned Census showing the number of *Turkish and Middle Eastern Migrants in NSW in 1891* it was estimated that 242 were ‘European Turks’ with a number of ‘Asian Turks’ (116 Syrians, two Armenians and 18 from Asia Minor) totalling 136 respectively. As Yarwood (1964:150) posits: ‘the largest number of ‘Asian Turks’ was 116 Syrians who immigrated to Australia in 1891’. However, according to Yarwood’s explanation, it is possible that among ‘European Turks’ in

Australia there were *Bosniaks* from 'Southern Europe', who in fact were called 'Turks' (the influence of the Ottoman Empire) (McKay 1989:36).

Southern Europeans such as Greeks, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Dalmatians and Northern Italians have migrated in considerable numbers since the 1890s and constituted a highly mobile element of the working population. Because many Greeks, Macedonians and Bulgarians were included in the so-called 'Turkish' population before the 1921 Census, exact figures are not available for many 'Austrian' Yugoslavs. Statistics suggest Southern Europeans made up the following approximate proportions of the working population: 1881 (1.1%), 1901 (1.2%), 1911 (1.3%), 1921 (1.6%) (Price 1963:172). Price (1963:22, Table II) shows that the total number of male Bosnian immigrants in Australia between 1890 and 1940 from *Bosnia and Herzegovina* was 90 (0.2%). However the number of Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) could have been greater, including arrivals from surrounding regions, such as Dalmatia, Serbia or Montenegro. Price (1996:65) illuminates that between the late 1930s and early 1940s under the partial statistic of 'nationality' among 340 Serbs, 12% were Muslims, which accordingly means about 40 *Bosniaks* (Bosnian Muslims). This suggests that there were more Bosniaks. In addition, Price (1963:11, Table I) estimates that in 1891 Southern Slavs in Australia (excluding the Australian-born generation) numbered 300 (5.0%); in 1921 960 (6.0%) and in 1947 8,050 (13.3%). In addition there were 10 (1.0%) Albanians in 1921 and 1,400 (2.3%) in 1947. The first Albanians arrived in 1885 in Queensland but most arrived during the 1920s, settling particularly around the sugar cane region of Cairns, and cotton and tobacco regions near Brisbane. This was followed by Tatar (also Tartar) immigrants during the 1930s (Underwood 2001).

Price (1963:150–51) confirms that the sugar cane districts of northern Queensland were populated by Italians, Maltese, Greeks, *Dalmatian Yugoslavs* and Albanians who settled from the late 19th century. The majority of early Southern Slavic (Dalmatians, Yugoslavs) immigrants settled in Western Australia, the sugar, tobacco and cotton regions of Queensland and northern NSW and farming areas in Tasmania (Oikoumene n.d: vi; Price 1963:152). These skilled Southern European peasants were farmers and cultivated small gardens to re-establish their working tradition and generally contribute to the development of Australian farming (Price 1963:152). Most

frequently described themselves simply as ‘farmers’, ‘mixed farmers’ and/or ‘dairy-farmers’ or ‘dairy-managers’ (ibid).

Important information from the *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* (no 10; 1901–1916) relates to grant certificates issued under the Act during 1904, 1905 and 1906. According to these yearly statistics, of 172 Austrian immigrants, only 84 came from Austria, and of 35 Turkish migrants, only 25 came from Turkey. Among those who arrived from outside Austria or Turkey were the Bosnian Muslims, ‘considered’ to be ‘Austrians’ or ‘Turks’ (no 10; 1901–1907:181). Additional data shows that in 1923 under the category of ‘nationality’, apart from many European nationalities listed, 587 ‘other-Europeans’ migrated to Australia, of which 125 were considered to be ‘Jugo-Slavs’ (i.e. South-Slavs; Yugo-Slavs), and declared themselves Bosnian Muslims after WW1 (no 17; 1919–1924: 946).

The total number of Southern Slavs originally from Balkan coastal regions (3,730) and inland (2,280) who arrived in Australia between 1890 and 1940 was 6,010. In the same period 1,280 Albanians also immigrated to Australia (Price 1963:22–23). According to Jupp (2001:238) the 1933 Census showed the number of Yugoslav-born in Australia was just under 4,000 although the Union of Yugoslav Immigrants in Australia (i.e. *Savez Jugoslovenskih Iseljenika Australije*) estimated their numbers were between 6,500 and 7,000 including those who were born in Austria, or elsewhere in the Balkans outside Yugoslav borders. Of these the *Savez* estimated that 52% were Dalmatian, 15% were Croatian, 15% were Montenegrin, 3% came from *Bosnia and Herzegovina* and 6% were Serbian (including those who were born outside of Serbia). They were overwhelmingly labourers, with 58% working in factories, 18% builders, 12% miners, 10% farmers and 2% office workers (ibid). Without doubt, among this diversity of ethno-nationalities there were Bosniak immigrants, originally Muslims from Bosnia and neighbouring regions.

Around 1920 settlement on land near farms was possible for Italians and Yugoslavs who concentrated on sugar, rice and citrus fruit production (Jupp 1996:5). In 1921 the population of Australia was 5.5 million and it was only then that the Federal Government introduced controls over immigrant selection. Over the next decade some 30,000 non-British immigrants were accepted mainly from Italy, Greece, *Yugoslavia*

and Germany (Plowmen n.d.:7). In addition, an estimated 7,700 Southern Europeans migrated to Australia from 1923 to 1929, and many found their way to the goldfields from Coolgardie to Norseman (Crowley 1960:268).

Before 1920 Slavs from *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Bulgaria settled in Boulder-Kalgoorlie or Broken Hill (Price 1963:239). Among several early Australian goldfield industries were timber cutting and mining. From the outset of the 20th century these industries depended to a large extent on immigrant labour, mostly from Italy and Yugoslavian states. These migrant groups who had fled poverty and, in some cases, socio-political unrest in Europe, were the hard-working timber cutters and carters and many miners worked on the Golden Mile (Bunbury cited in McCalman et al. 2001:141). Italians and Yugoslavians (Montenegrians, Croats, Serbs, *Bosnians*) worked as timber cutters in the spur camps of the woodline (ibid:147) with immigrants of English, Scottish or Irish descent who drove the timber trains (ibid:149).

The Federal Government set up the *Development and Migration Commission* to exercise general supervision of different programs of immigration and land settlement. As a result between 1920 and 1933 43,700 assisted immigrants arrived in Western Australia. More than half were nominated by friends or relatives and hundreds paid their own fares. Among them were the Southern Europeans who were attracted to fishing, mining and timber-felling industries and farming (Crowley 1960:202).

With regard to the religious denominations of immigrants, Price (1996:65) points out that no early statistics exist. However, by 1897 the total number of Muslims in the colony exceeded 2,500 (Yasmeen cited in Saeed and Akbarzadeh 2001:730). During the years between 1933 and 1947 various religious denominations were recorded including the 'Mohammedan' faith (Islam). The 1933 Census estimated 1,877 Muslims of different ethnic backgrounds of which 1,668 were male and 209 female. The 1947 Census estimated 2,704 Muslims of which 2,334 were male and 370 female. In addition, under the category 'indefinite', 18,708 were recorded; those of 'no religion' 26,328; and those of 'no reply' 824,824. Among the two latter categories were non-estimated people of Islamic background. The number of followers of Islam

gradually increased during the first half of the 20th century when Muslims from Albania and Yugoslavia arrived in Western Australia (ibid).

The White Australia Policy impacted not only on visible minorities such as the Chinese, Indians, Afghans, Malays, Indonesians, and Pacific Islanders but also on the non-British Europeans with negative effects on groups such as the Yugoslavians and other Southern Europeans. For instance, the *Federal Bill for the Restriction of Immigration* passed in 1925 resulted in the imposed reduction of immigration quotas on Maltese, *Yugoslavs*, Greeks and Albanians (Leperevanche n.d:98). The White Australia Policy regarded *Southern Europeans* as ‘similar’ to the Chinese. In other words they were considered ‘culturally distinct from Australians’ (ibid:99):

Then, when they became independent, the Southern Europeans took up the mantle of the Chinese settlers of the 19th century, who, after the gold rushes petered out, adopted market-gardening and catering as the most profitable fields for economic endeavour... (cited in Leperevanche n.d:99).

Finally, from 1901 the White Australia Policy impacted non-British groups, including a number of immigration restriction acts and other restrictive legislations. However by settling in Australia, these early non-British ethnic groups brought a variety of cultural influences that enriched this historical period, and opened up a new era of cultural-historical development and interaction with first-born generations.

5.3 Early growth of culture and birth rates in Australia

In spite of White Australia’s toughened attitudes and misconceptions in relation to ‘coloured workers’ or non-British European minorities, two significant factors played dual roles in bringing about social change in Australia:

- The growth of culture with the influx of racially diverse immigrants
- Early birth rates

The growth of culture contributed to the development of early settlement and the enrichment of society in general. It should be noted that colonial 'White Australia' was not explicitly 'white' but rather 'multicoloured'. Geoffrey Serle (1973) illuminated the growth of culture in the colonies. The gold rush, indeed, brought many different musicians and musical instruments from Europe, America and the Orient (violins, flutes, accordions, bugles, banjos and even brass bands) and attracted a large audience (Serle 1973:41). European immigrants also contributed to this cultural diversity including the British, French, German, and Italian with, for example, German sonatas and Italian arias. Mediterranean troubadours and French paintings were popular and there was interest in Aboriginal music with its 'adaptation of natural sounds' and Aboriginal paintings (ibid). Commerce buildings during the 1880s were transformed in variations of Venetian Gothic, Greek, Roman, *Moorish* and *Turkish* styles (ibid). The expansion of language was in response to a growing need to describe new flora and fauna, but also different cultural activities in a new society, thus new linguistic and literal meanings were given (ibid). Clyne (1991:7) also states that in early colonial times a number of immigrant languages other than English were spoken, and Aboriginal and Asians words enriched both British and non-British terminologies.

Racially diverse settlers in Australia were evident, particularly during the 19th century, but there are also earlier examples. In 1791, for example, one Englishman wrote (Mitchel 1971:24–5): '...*Africans* are indispensable for the culture of our sugar colonies; white men are incapable of sustaining the heat of the climate!...' Another visitor from England noted that Melbourne was '...truly a wonderful place...a perfect Babel' with '*Chinese, Russian, Frenchman, African Negro, American...*' and added 'men from *all* nations sit down at the same table and drink from the same bowl, they talk and sing in their own tongue, get drunk according to their own peculiar faction...' (ibid:89). Mitchel observes that in the 1820s settlers dressed in a variety of hats, jackets, trousers and footwear...' (ibid:25). Oliver (1989:223) notes that during the 1860s some *Moroccan* intellectuals immigrated to Australia and 'Malay towns' and 'Ghan towns' also existed.

The following passage from the *Bulletin* (1892) indicates both ethnic diversity and the racist attitudes of white Anglo-Saxons towards Indians and ‘inferior’ *Southern Europeans* engaged in petty commerce (Evans et al. cited in Lepervanche 1984:52):

Hundreds of new-chum *Levantine*s, *Sicilian*s, *Neapolitan*s and *Maltese* have come out to New South Wales and found a living as fishermen and fish-shop keepers. These gentry have begun to seize upon the oyster-room business. And *Italian*s and *Sicilian*s have all but monopolised the fruit-selling business. The bush settlements are being levied upon by *Indian* Hawkers, and lately some *Greeks* or *Bulgarian*s have commenced a really formidable onslaught on the lolly-trade.

A significant example of early Australian ethnic and cultural diversity pre-Federation can be found in the Torres Straits, where Aborigines and Europeans cohabited with different Asiatic groups. A number of accounts support the existence of different groups of settlers. A document written by pearl farmers to the Colonial Secretary of Queensland listed ‘Arabs, Egyptians, Malays, Macassans, Javanese, Cingalese, West Indies and natives from almost every island in the South Pacific’. A Christian missionary during his visit to Thursday Island in 1885 recorded: ‘Hindus, Cingalese, Malays, Siamese, Javanese, Japanese, Poles, Irish, Scotch, English, and Germans among its 32 different nationalities’ (both cited in Haveric, 2006:176). A European businessman visiting Thursday Island in 1892 experienced a ‘medley of tongues and faces’ belonging to ‘Britons, Italians, Spaniards, Maltese, Hindus, Cingalese, Negroes, Malays and Kanakas...’. Other accounts also noted ‘Arabs, Chinese, Cingalese, Japanese etc...everyone with something to sell, and everyone with a tremendous amount to say’. Among Malays, Chinese, Sri Lankans and other Asians were mainland Aborigines and some Europeans including those from S Europe. By the 1890s many Macassans (Indonesians), Chinese, Sri Lankans, Filipinos and Japanese who worked in the pearling industry, as well as Afghans, Indians and Sri Lankans, settled in coastal regions in northern Australia in large numbers (ibid).

These ‘coloured immigrants’ from different cultural-religious backgrounds shared their cultural inheritance in the spheres of religion, sport, music, dance and philanthropy. For instance, although the majority of Sri Lankans were Buddhists some

were also Muslim. Despite their religious and cultural authenticity they contributed to civic life in their newly adopted home. Of particular importance were their contributions through music and dance. Neuenfeldt points out that Asian seamen 'brought their musicianship, music, and performance culture with them to the Torres Straits' (ibid:177). Sri Lankans contributed with their drums and drumming style and some played for the *Singalese Opera Club* performing a series of operas (ibid:177–8).

Early birth rates in Australia were an important aspect in the growth of the domestic demography and building an authentic awareness of *Australianness*. By 1881 over 60% of those who lived in the colonies were born in Australia and this number had increased to 77% by 1901. Mellor (1979:247) considers this to be an important period in the early development of Australian consciousness, and subsequently the gradual acceptance of cultural pluralism. Therefore early birth rates in Australia had significant function and character. Mellor maintains:

There was awareness that a 'different' society was emerging in the six colonies, which although still strongly influenced by British practice and traditions, had its own characteristics and peculiarities. Australian national sentiment grew as those loyalties which had previously been concentrated on Britain and Ireland were now directed towards the new society being built in Australia...Australians began to regard themselves as Australians rather than transplanted Britishers... (ibid).

To conclude Willard argues that 'White Australia' from early times had a significant impact on the Australian demographic in relation to non-British immigrants. For instance, by the 1880s the Chinese numbered about 50,000 of 2.5 million people in Australia, and by 1901 their population had dwindled to a little over 32,000. By 1901 there were 4,383 Hindus and in New South Wales only 2,503 Asians, including Afghans, Indians and Syrians (Haveric 2006:194). There were also Greek Gypsies and several thousand Americans (Broome 1984:118, 124–5). East Africa had long been the source of emigration for Indian Muslims who had little desire to leave their own country. Various rulings affected 'coloured' immigrants in their interstate business dealings. For instance, Afghans were not permitted to cross the border between South Australia and New South Wales without particular procedures, which

were racially unacceptable (Haveric 2006:194). Omar and Allen (1996:27) also concur that Australia's immigration policies affected patterns of Muslim immigration to Australia, for example, the White Australia Policy only allowed some Turkish, Albanian and Bosnian migrants into Australia (ibid).

Where employers had earlier depicted introduced Asian labourers as 'docile, industrious and sober', by 1901 their stereotype had changed, and many Australians were prejudiced towards all coloured immigrants, relegating them to an inferior position in society (Lepervanche 1984:55). From 1890 to 1940 the population of *Southern European* male settlers included the following: Italians 25,680; Greeks 10,260; *South Slavs* 6,010; Albanians 1,280; Maltese 2,600; Spanish, Portuguese and French 1,900 totalling 47,730 (Lepervanche n.d.:92). Furthermore net immigration by *Yugoslav* nationality between 1921 and 1940 (ibid:93) was 412 (1921–25); 2,116 (1926–30); -39 (1931–35) and 1,600 (1936–40). Leperevanche (n.d: 101) points out that from the beginning of the 19th century to 1940, convicts, coolies, assisted British immigrants, Chinese, Kanakas and *Southern Europeans* variously occupied 'low status positions'. He further suggests that immigration to Australia from Federation until WW2 was predominantly British assisted (ibid:92) and concludes (1984:55) that the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* and its amendments strongly influenced the White Australia Policy for several decades.

5.4 Cultural pluralism versus assimilation and the White Australia Policy

Giddens argues that 'culture is one of the most distinctive properties of human social association' (1992:725). It may be defined as the way of life of a people – their work, play, religion, art and so on – an interwoven pattern (Encel 1981:27). Awareness of one's distinct socio-cultural identity and self-consciousness, as a result of early cultural socialisation and language learning, contributes to awareness of multicultural interaction (Giddens 1992:730). Clyne (1991:132) maintains that cultural pluralism supports a close relationship between language and religion. Collins (2002) also emphasises immigration as the major source of cultural pluralism. The influx of immigrants and the subsequent growth of culture have challenged the assumption of Anglo-Celtic homogeneity, itself an earlier 'fiction' (Brunley, Encel and McCall

1985:2). In fact, there is an increasing awareness in Australia of being more *Australian* than British (Mellor 1979:263).

More specifically, increased numbers of immigrants from different backgrounds and the growth of cultural plurality have played significant roles which no doubt have a tendency to not only oppose, but reject the White Australia Policy. Jayasuriya highlights that ‘the ideals of cultural pluralism – richly diverse, tolerant and vibrant – can be sustained only by striving for justice and equality for migrant and ethnic minorities’ (cited in Grassby 1984:106). In contrast to cultural pluralism – hatred, inhospitality, lack of awareness, lack of knowledge – ethnic or national ‘superiority’ followed by social segregation, racial exclusion and discrimination as well as other prejudices, such as xenophobia, were associated with racial attitudes of ‘White Australia’. Brunley, Encel and McCall (1985:65) concur that different groups of immigrants such as Asians, Pacific Islanders, *Southern and Eastern Europeans*, Jews and those from the Middle East during various historical periods encountered prejudice in Australia based on race and ethnicity. Racial stereotyping resulted in barriers to social mobility and economic exploitation in the workplace.

On reflection the White Australia Policy was actually created during the second half of the 19th century and became established from 1891 to 1901. This included restrictive legislations, such as the *Goldfields Amendment Act 1876* and the *Chinese Immigration Restriction Act 1877*. These Acts brought about great change and affected Asian communities, including the Chinese, Malays, Indians, Afghans as well as Arabs. The first Commonwealth legislation passed by the new Parliament was the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*. The fundamental reason for its adoption was the ‘preservation of a British–Australian nationality’ (Haveric 2006:193–4). This racially white legislation was supported by a ‘dictation test of fifty words in length in a European language directed by an officer’, which resulted in a variety of Asian immigrants to be a ‘prohibited category’ (Tavan 2005:7). In fact, some restrictions prohibited entry in a number of other categories (ibid). Thus the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* restricted the process of the arrival of new Asian immigrants and employment of the Asian population, including Muslims in Australia (Haveric 2006:193–4). The *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901* also restricted the immigration of Melanesian workers to northern Australia (Tavan 2005:8). The exclusion program

of 1888 was a 'useful instrument' for politicians because it gained wide or rather dominant national acceptance (Rivett 1962:8). The decade which followed saw the transition of the *ad hoc* policy of Chinese exclusion in pursuit of 'White Australia'. Indeed, the Act of 1888 effectively restricted entry from China (Rivett, 1962:12). At the close of the 19th century as part of White Australia's agitation the Australian Workers' Union denied membership to 'Chinese, Japanese, Kanakas, Afghans, or coloured aliens other than Maoris, American Negroes, and children of mixed parentage born in Australia' (Tavan 2005:8).

Dealing with domestic issues notions of 'White Australia' did not obtain international support and this led to an *International Conference* in 1896 to consider the exclusion of Japanese and Indians (Rivett 1962:12). South Australia, Tasmania and New South Wales immediately passed *Coloured Races Restriction and Regulation Bills* absolutely prohibiting the immigration of Asians, Africans and Polynesians (ibid). At the same time European and British colonial rulers felt impelled to erect immigration and tariff barriers along the Pacific coastline. British Columbia, California, Peru, Panama, Ecuador, New Zealand and every Australian colony asserted that domestic sovereignty included the right to control, restrict and in due course prohibit the entry of Asian immigrants (i.e. 'Orientals') (ibid:1). In addition, the exclusion of 'Orientals' by the colonials was also mutually supported by common anti-Asian 'imitated proposals', such as those in Queensland and government of California (ibid). The situation in Australia toward 'Asiatic and other aliens' was more or less similar to circumstances in New Zealand, Canada and South Africa (Pearson 1990:97). While some Australians spoke alarmingly about Chinese as the 'Mongolians...in their community'; in the gumfields north of Auckland the Dalmatian Yugoslav (often called 'Austrians') gum diggers were called the 'Chinese of the North'. Both Chinese and Dalmatian Yugoslavs ('Austrians') were exposed to racial prejudice and exclusion because they were considered unsuitable immigrants and 'did not fit local European perceptions of the British mould' (ibid). According to Pearson (ibid) similar opposition was experienced by Italian, Greek, French and Lebanese workers and also 'Sikh and Gujurati itinerant traders suffered'.

In 1901 the debates surrounding the White Australia Policy were mostly 'defended' on the grounds of 'eugenics' and 'economics'. Rivett (1962:12) argues that 'the chief

objection was entirely racial'. However others, until recently, have tended to 'claim' that the history of the White Australia Policy is 'the story response' to pressure from Japan who wanted 'equality with Western nations on their own terms' (ibid:15). By 1901 Japan was a military power and as such treated with due respect. Its representatives wrote: 'the Japanese belong to an Empire whose standard of civilisation is so much higher than that of kanakas, negros, Pacific Islanders, Indians, or other Eastern peoples...' (ibid:15-6). In contrast, the Chinese government showed 'little interest in the claims' of its nationals who wished to enter or reside in Australia because it was mainly concerned with its millionaire population spread across the Chinese provinces (ibid). In the Australian context the *Factory Act 1904* stated that workers and traders in Australia must be registered and conduct their business under the provision of the *new law*, listing different ethnicities (Lepervanche 1984:64) as follows:

Afghan camel owner cutting and transporting firewood...*Chinese* market gardener prepares vegetables for market...*Chinese* laundry man and furniture maker...*Sinhalese* or *Eurasian* cook in a restaurant...*Indian* jeweler...*Japanese* and *Malay* pearl-ers...

It was said that 'White Australia legislation is so much waste paper', thus it needs 'force', and was again declared 'white man's country' (Rivett 1962:18). At the *Paris Peace Conference* (1919-20) in discussion with representatives of other European nations it was concluded by 'White Australia' supporters that 'the other nations do not understand at all our point of view with regard to the question of a White Australia' (ibid:19).

Despite domestic and international 'responses' during the first decade of the 20th century Aborigines, Asians, the Chinese, in particular, and Pacific Island immigrants all faced the hostility of the 'White Australia Policy' as well as other ethnic groups. Southern European immigrants were again vehemently exposed to such hostility (Brunley, Encel and McCall 1985:62-3). Indeed the White Australia Policy articulated that Southern Europeans, such as Italians, Greeks, Spaniards, Yugoslavs and Maltese, as well as those originally from Levant (i.e. Levantines), were 'less hopefully regarded than the Chinese as an ingredient of...nationality' (cited in ibid).

Pre-1940 one-third of all *Southern Europeans* were often engaged in some form of farming (Leperevanche n.d:99). By pouring into sugar districts, the Southern Europeans became a 'treat' to workers and farmers alike: 'Australians now tended to assume that the Southern Europeans would be prepared to accept sub-Australian standards' (ibid:97).

During WW1 a large number of immigrants arrived from the Balkans (Bunbury cited in McCalman, Cook and Reeves 2001:141). About 700 of 1,100 Austro-Hungarian immigrants were Serbs, Croats and Dalmatians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who worked in the mines in Western Australia. During the war migrants of different cultural-ethnic backgrounds originally from imperial territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy arranged their own entertainment, cultural and sporting events in the Australian camps. For instance, they formed a variety of *choirs, orchestras* and *theatres*. (German Australia, Gerhard. 1989, updated 16 Apr 2008). For instance, singers from the *Austro-Hungarian Theatre* sang 'so well in various languages' (Splivalo 1982:152). Soccer, gymnastics, athletics, competitive running, jumping, pole-vaulting and tennis were popular among the Southern Slavs, especially the Dalmatians (ibid). A variety of non-British clubs and associations were founded, including athletics, boxing, philatelic and numismatic societies, even a natural science association (ibid:145). Furthermore single men lived in tents so they could save their wages to bring their families to Australia from Europe—a process that would often take a decade. At family reunions fathers saw their offspring for the first time who by then had almost reached adolescence. Those families that did eventually emigrate from the Mediterranean usually had no idea that their long voyage would end in a spur camp in seemingly featureless bush (Bunbury cited in McCalman et al. 2001:147). Bunbury describes the socio-cultural and work circumstances of Southern Slavs during the early decades of the 20th century:

Many Southern Slav immigrants in Australia joined friends and relatives to go cane farming in Queensland. Many of them saved enough to buy a block of land. That year the Commonwealth government declared woodline timber production a vital national industry because of its direct contribution to gold production. The Balkan Slavs as Italian woodliners successfully worked in the Australian woodline timber industry. Later

some workers in the woodline industry have a harder opportunity to earn and Southern Slav woodliners were also employed in the rural edges of Perth to buy small vineyards, market gardens, or to the south-west to grow potatoes on small farms (cited in McCalman, Cook and Reeves 2001:151–52).

The growth of culture and cultural difference also played a role in the early socialisation within and between different ethno-national groups. For instance, both Yugoslavians and Italians talked in large groups on street corners where they met, each turning ‘their attention’ toward other residents (ibid:146). According to Bunbury during the first decades of the 20th century by most accounts Italians and Balkan Slavs mixed culturally well. They participated in cultural activities at night and worked side by side during the day (ibid:149). Also cultural interaction within Austro-Hungarian groups included some 1,300 Slavs, mostly Dalmatians, followed by Hungarians, Austrians, Czechs and Bulgarians, the third largest national group (Splivalo 1982:121). Certainly there were immigrants from other backgrounds who also contributed to *cultural plurality*. However non-British immigrants including Asians, Africans, those from the Middle East, or other Europeans were exposed to the White Australia Policy, its racial prejudices and social inhospitality.

The single main obstacle to building a united family in Australia is the maintenance of the misguided view that Australia has always been a homogenous society. As a result, this inappropriate, indeed harmful myth, divides the nation between ‘them’ and ‘us’ (Grassby 1984:51). The assimilation policy was based on the prevailing governmental assumption that a unified nation could only be achieved by ensuring the dominance of British core institutions and culture (Fenna 1998:369). Consequently the classification of Australians as ‘migrants’, or describing Australian children as ‘migrant children’ with ‘migrant languages’ really amounts to non-Anglo-Saxon children with non-English speaking backgrounds (Grassby 1984:51). These ‘classifications’ were variously labelled ‘British-European’, ‘non-British European’, ‘British part-European’, ‘non-British and non-European’ and ‘British-European’ into ‘British non-European’ (ibid:48).

Furthermore a 1948 government pamphlet titled 'The Australians and You' cautioned: 'Australians are not used to hearing foreign languages...Speaking in your own language in public will make you conspicuous, and make Australians regard you as a stranger...Also try to avoid using your hands when speaking' (cited in MacLeod 2006:115). Or a later example of racial prejudice: 'boatloads of illiterate Southern Europeans are quietly pouring into the country...mental migrants become an immediate charge on the community because they are not properly examined and they help to fill our hospitals and asylums shortly after they get here' (Grassby 1984:45). Immigrants who spoke their native language on the street were called 'Reffos' (refugees), 'Balts' (from Baltic countries), 'Wogs' (originated in England), or 'Dagoes' and told to 'go back to where they came from' (MacLeod 2006:115). Although Slavs were isolated from the community 'they harboured no ill-feeling toward the British' (Splivalo 1982:42). Hostility toward immigrants however rarely went beyond verbal taunts and for the most part many Australians simply ignored them (MacLeod 2006:115). Essentially it was social and racial exclusion of immigrants, an extension of the exclusion of the original inhabitants of Australia, the Aborigines.

Although the assimilation policy was resisted bitterly by Aboriginal people with the support of white allies and other 'coloured' immigrants, the idea of 'integration' gradually developed (Middleton 1977:106). Rivett (1962:107) considers that throughout history the earliest resistance to a White Australia Policy was a response to the desire, on the part of employers, to exploit cheap labour. A pool of cheap labour meant that employers could exploit their workers, spread their overheads and maximise profits by selling their goods at cheaper prices (ibid). However once non-Europeans became permanent settlers this was unthinkable (ibid:110). Apart from economic considerations, there were prejudices on other grounds, such as educational or religious, towards 'strangers' (i.e. outsiders) due to their physical appearance, for instance, skin colour, hair style, clothing, etcetera (Beattie 1977:271). The prevailing desire by early Australian settlers of British origin was to 'put down' any expression of cultural difference supporting the prevailing view of assimilation: 'when immigrants come here they have to accept our ways' (Winikoff cited in Gunew and Rizvi 1994:132).

Like many multiculturalists Baker (2001:246) reveals that assimilation primarily means ‘losing characteristics of an ethnic or cultural group and becoming more like the majority members of society’. Concerns about how the influx of non-British migrants could be incorporated into Australian society were therefore an integral part of planning for the postwar migration program. Official policy for new migrants was a ‘British-oriented Australian society’ and their assimilation within a ‘British-oriented Australian culture’ (Fenna 1998:369). Fenna (ibid:370) clearly posits that the issue of language was central to assimilation. Indeed the emphasis on English as the dominant language, and the need for migrants to conform to mainstream Australian social behaviour and attitudes, was at the *heart* of the assimilation model. In contrast to assimilationists Fenna states that many migrant groups felt that the delegitimisation of their native language was a precursor to the delegitimisation of other cultural manifestations such as religious practice, festivals, rituals and celebrations (ibid: 369).

From 1945 to 1961 high levels of immigration and assimilation became the creed of the Department (Lopez 2000:72). The original goal of the immigration policy was the assimilation of migrants into Australia’s population of predominantly Anglo-Celtic permanent settlers. Migrant selection was carefully managed to preserve the nation’s relative ethnic and cultural homogeneity. Thus categories of potential migrants were ranked according to racial and cultural affinity with British-Australians. British were most preferred, followed by Northern Europeans. The Southern Europeans, considered to be ‘less assimilable, were less desired’. According to the White Australian Policy the least desired were Asians and other non-whites (Lopez 2000:43). At that time, among the few early critics of the White Australian Policy, was Methodist minister Alan Walker who published a pamphlet titled *White Australia* (1947) arguing against the policy on both intellectual and moral grounds (Tavan 2005:46). Between 1945 and 1950 the institutional network to administer the program was established. The Department of Immigration was created in 1945 and the first Minister for Immigration was Arthur Calwell. The Department was supported by two policy advisory bodies: the *Immigration Advisory Council* (IAC est. 1947) which dealt with settlement policy, and the *Immigration Planning Council* (IPC est. 1949) which dealt with immigration policy. A network of *Good Neighbour Councils* (GNCs) created in 1949 were linked to established charitable organisations. The GNCs constituted the Department’s principal network of welfare organisations aimed

at assisting immigrant settlement, welfare and 'successful assimilation' (Lopez 2000:45).

Collins (1991:7) argues that under the assimilation philosophy, immigrants were to be treated the same as others, despite their differences. They were expected to be 'the same' as everyone else (i.e. the majority) and to 'speak, talk, eat the same'. Lopez (2000:46–9) illuminates that the ideology of *assimilation* consisted of a spectrum of assumptions, ideas, connotations, attitudes, explanations and beliefs that oppose distinctive ethnic identities by denying a wealth of cultural values. Various aspects of assimilation can be summarised as follows:

all immigrants, from whatever country, once accepted by the selection criteria, were officially defined and treated as assimilable individuals; immigrants were referred as 'new Australians' until their naturalisation occurred and subsequently the prefix 'new' was dropped; assimilationism borrowed metaphors and imagery from the American nation of the 'melting pot', where disparate elements were broken down to form a new society – the 'British race' – frequently referred to as an example of a successful melting pot (mainly includes Celts, Romans, Anglos, Saxons, Jutes, Normans; migrants were expected to accept British ideas and values as the Australian way of life to assure immigrants 'a free, happy life in the future'; preservation of homogeneity of the Australian nation was considered fundamentally important and included Australia's relative monoculturalism and English monolinguisism; favouring Britons over people of non-English-speaking backgrounds and upholding the White Australia Policy; migrant cultures and languages were considered meaningless; the decline of foreign language was a measure of successful assimilation; education, welfare, health and legal systems were encouraged to provide minimal special assistance; migrants were praised for bringing their talents and skills, but often non-British overseas qualifications were not recognised; institutions were encouraged to treat immigrants, while immigrants were expected to accept initial economic hardship... (Lopez 2000:46–9).

In addition Lopez (2000:47) points out that assimilation had two variations, namely *hard-line* and *soft-line*. The former means migrants become indistinguishable from their hosts as soon as possible through acculturation, and the latter includes accepting the remnants of minor cultural distinctions. Essentially there is not a significant difference between them.

Milton Gordon argues that the *assimilation* of members of minorities and minority groups can be seen to occur, more or less, in seven areas (cited in Lopez 2000:72):

- Cultural behaviour assimilation ('acculturation'), the changes in cultural patterns to those of the host society;
- Structural assimilation, the large-scale entrance into the cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society at a primary group level;
- Marital assimilation (or amalgamation), large-scale inter-marriage;
- Identification assimilation, the development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society;
- Attitude receptional assimilation, the absence of prejudice;
- Behavioural receptional assimilation, the absence of discrimination; and
- Civic assimilation, the absence of value and power conflict

Furthermore the critics of multiculturalism do not share the view that national social cohesion is best served by a celebration of cultural diversity. Critics of multiculturalism express concern, for instance, about manifestations of intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic rivalry or conflict, and tend to view such incidents as proof of multiculturalism's capacity to undermine social cohesion (Fenna 1998:372). In contrast to critics of multiculturalism, Encel (1981:21) argues that *assimilation* means the elimination of national or ethnic clubs. On the contrary, the tendency for many large migrant groups to stay together through expanding social networks, cultural, sporting and religious groups, their own network of language newspapers, even choosing to live in the same suburbs, was a necessary precondition to surviving the dominant English language society (Fenna 1998:369). Resistance to the White Australia Policy which grew within Australia was reflected in a variety of multicultural tendencies and demands for increasing Asian immigration quotas supported by different church leaders in 1958 (Tavan 2005:113). This forecast a wider

acceptance of different cultures. In the same year a new set of proposals and principles required the removal of the dictation test, its replacement with a permit system, the modification of emigration laws and some other provisions, as well as the acceptance of humanitarian considerations, special knowledge, experience or qualifications of applicants (ibid:105–42). Thus Tavan (ibid:117;128) states that the struggle to reform policy and change Australian attitudes became more obvious. However Menzies continued to celebrate Australia's British heritage, particularly with regard to strong economic and political links between Australia and Britain (ibid:111). By 1961, after Britain, Japan became Australia's second largest trading partner (ibid:113).

Lopez (2000:46) is of the view that an understanding of assimilation is a necessary benchmark for comprehending the origins of multiculturalism which emerged from critiques of assimilation. He identifies three periods: (1) anti-assimilationism (1950s to early 1960s); (2) proto-multiculturalism (early 1960s to early 1970s) and (3) multiculturalism (early 1970s to the end of 1975 onwards) (ibid: 46–7). Throughout the 1960s the assimilation model progressively failed to accommodate the emerging multilingual and multicultural society, particularly in major industrial urban centres where arrival numbers tended to be greatest (Fenna 1998:369). Tavan (2005:105) points out there were reasons for optimism toward multiculturalism including: (1) the 1964 *decision* that mixed-race could enter and settle permanently in Australia, and 'their immigration had increased by 1964' and (2) opponents of the White Australia Policy announced by late 1966 the campaign for *Reform*, and according to a statement published by the *NSW Association for Immigration Reform (NSWAIR)* 'the White Australia issue is by no means closed'. Although some foreign media, particularly in Malaysia, China, the Philippines, Japan and India considered these changes to be 'a good step', 'the eventual end of the policy' and 'the relaxation of rules' others either 'did not discuss the issue', or criticised it as 'superficial and inadequate' (ibid:164–5). What became more clear is that it was a period of turning ambiguous views of old loyalties and beliefs toward the demands for a new outlook on immigration and prospects on cultural pluralism, as well as a broader openness to Australia internationally (ibid:165).

The transformation Australia from a relatively homogenous Anglo-Celtic community to a multiethnic and multiracial society was reflected in the amendment to government policy. This represented a turning point in Australian history and its modern social development. In 1972 the commencement of multiculturalism was announced to replace assimilation as the primary theme influencing the new governmental approach to settlement policies. As such multiculturalism was partly a reflection of the need for government to alter its approach in the face of multilingual reality, particularly in relation to major urban centres (Fenna 1998:370). Fenna argues that multiculturalism sought to legitimise the idea of language diversity (ibid). The legitimisation of language diversity was an important concession to ethnic communities for whom the preservation of language was a major cultural issue (ibid). The establishment of language schools had the task of keeping traditional rituals and culture alive (Fenna 1998:371). The creation of institutional space for the expression of Australia's language diversity was one of the major legacies of multiculturalism (ibid).

In summary, multiculturalism reversed the assimilation approach by seeking to celebrate a cultural diversity that did not threaten Australia's core legal and political institutions (Fenna 1998:370). Therefore a change took place in public attitudes toward 'White Australia' (Rivett 1962:vii). Previous influences of 'Anglo-monoculturalism' were gradually replaced with a broader sense of 'multicultural-Australianness' that embraced *all* Australians. Rivett posits that the number of those who promoted racial prejudice and stirred up racial tensions decreased, while prominent citizens and overseas visitors suggested that Australia should follow US and Canadian models and accept immigrants from Asia and Africa (Rivett 1962: vii). This suggests that by replacing 'White Australia' with different models would contribute to a better relationship with South-East Asian countries and indeed the non-European world (ibid:viii).

5.5 Immigration and ethnic communities

Collins states that 'Australia is one of the few traditional settler immigration countries in the western world' (2003 137-49). Besides Australia and other transoceanic countries, Europe rediscovered its desire for immigration as part of globalisation

(Castles and Miller cited in Collins 2003). MacLeod (2006:113) highlights that over the past century peoples from some 240 countries and places have come to settle in Australia. Most immigrants from different cultural and racial backgrounds include different religions, beliefs, traditions, customs, languages and mixed marriages. Many arrived from multiethnic, multicultural, multireligious countries of origin. Immigrants bring a diversity of attitudes and beliefs, ideas and experiences, qualities and lifestyles, knowledge and skills to a new Australian environment, and the success of the cross-cultural experience is influenced by them (Brislin 1986:72).

Brunley, Encel and McCall (1985:i) argue that historically 'ethnicity is always a major force in Australian society and culture'. In the recent Australian context 'ethnic' can be synonymous with the 'first or second generation immigrant of non-English speaking origin' (Encel 1981:27). In the early 1970s Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration, encouraged the general adoption of the term 'ethnic' to describe all Australians in relation to their various cultures and backgrounds with the specific object of building a new sense of unity. He recommended the Greek word *ethnos* meaning 'people' or 'folk' as opposed to *kratos* which means 'city' or 'state'. Unquestionably this was an important success. Federal and state authorities in departments, commissions and institutes of ethnic affairs adopted this term. However Grassby comments that at that time, as far as the majority of Anglo-Australians were concerned, 'ethnic' became simply another word for 'migrant', another term for non-Anglo-Saxon in polite circles and 'wog' in others (Brunley, Encel and McCall 1984:5).

Although the contemporary notion of ethnicity is relatively new, Price (1995: 12) argues that many people believe it is only during the last 30 years that Australia has begun to see a great variety of ethnic communities. Historically Australia consisted of many different communities for more than a century. For instance in 1901 the colonial Census recorded not only the numbers of British Christians but other European, American and Oriental Christian groups. The Census also recorded a number of followers of non-Christian faiths including Jewish, *Muslim*, Druze, Zoroastrian, Parsee, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhism, Confucianism and Shinto (ibid). In 1901 there were about 6,000 Muslims, mostly of Indian, Arab, Afghan and Indonesian descent, as well as Muslims from the Balkans (Price 1995; Haveric 2006).

During the early 1940s the Australian Government investigated possibilities for post-WW2 immigration and the subsequent acceptance of different ethnicities due to chronic labour shortages, and various recommendations from Commonwealth departments and the British Government. In 1944 an interdepartmental committee recommended the recommencement of immigration as a matter of priority (Lopez 2000:44). Until the advent of WW2 Australians were predominately British and Irish. From the 1940s and 1950s more substantial sources of prospective settlers arrived from more ethnically and diverse regions including SE Europe (ibid:69).

Since 1945 nearly six million immigrants have arrived (Collins 2003:137–49). At that time Arthur Calwell created the motto ‘Populate or Perish’ promising to continue the White Australia Policy (ibid). Calwell’s view was that nine of every 10 immigrants should come from the UK or Ireland. Although ‘the net of immigrants’ included mostly British or Irish, there was a need to look elsewhere to meet the immigration quota of 1%. Collins points out that displaced persons and war refugees from Poland and the Baltic States came to Australia in large numbers in the first half of the 1940s and immigrants from N Europe helped to ‘fill targets’ in the first half of the 1950s. In the second half of the 1950s and 1960s Southern Europeans, mainly from Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia, emigrated in large numbers. The late 1960s was the watershed of Australian immigration with almost 200,000 new arrivals each year (ibid). Post-WW2 Southern Europeans worked long hours and difficult jobs, sometimes under arduous conditions. As Australian citizens they had agreed to take whatever jobs the government doled out for the first two years. They were also urged to assimilate and became ‘Australian’, which meant ‘embracing British-type customs and traditions’ (MacLeod 2006:115).

Australia established a large-scale immigration program and between 1947 and 1969 more than two million Europeans settled in Australia (MacLeod 2006:113). Initially refugees came directly from displaced persons camps. Predominantly Eastern Europeans came from Poland, the Baltic States, Hungary and states of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia (ibid). In 1948 the *Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP)* was established following the first wave of non-English speaking immigrants. This early program provided classes for immigrants prior to boarding ships, at immigrant hostels

and community centres (DIMA cited in Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:254). Mass migration from Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Lebanon and Turkey followed the war, and more recently from Asia.

Ward states that ‘Human decency also played some part in making people want to help displaced persons and other victims of the war in Europe’ (cited in MacLeod 2006:114). In 1948 the United Nations (UN) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* stated: ‘All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights...endowed with reason and conscience’ (ibid:81–2). Australian historian Manning Clark was of the view that ‘in every historical epoch it is the beginning of wisdom to know the direction the great river of life is flowing, to flow with it, and accept everything that is in that river’ (cited in Zubrzycki 1995:127) and further states that:

The direction in which the great river of Australian life is flowing in these troubled times is towards a *multiracial* society in which our brothers, the Aborigines, immigrants and refugees from Asia, immigrants from Europe and the Americas, and those of us who proudly call themselves Anglo-Australians, must learn to live together...It is a mark of an educated man that he be not only clever but wise and that his wisdom express itself in love for his neighbour (ibid).

In 1948 the UN signed an immigration treaty with Malta, with the Netherlands, Italy, Austria, Belgium, West Germany, Greece and Spain in 1951 and 1952, and the United States, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland in 1954. By the late 1950s two-thirds of all immigrants were of non-British origin (MacLeod 2006:114). During the Menzies Government the *Colombo Plan* was established in 1951 which enabled Asian students from several neighbouring countries to study at Australian universities (MacLeod 2006:116). Australia had signed the *United Nations Convention on Refugees Treaty* in 1954, agreeing to take in people whose lives were in danger due to oppressive regimes in their countries (ibid). Among those national groups that have migrated to Australia since WW2, various occupations have been represented, and the same would be true for immigrants from non-European countries. Those who sought to come to Australia certainly included those from various

professions including skilled craftsmen and clerks who could speak English. As more immigrants from underdeveloped countries acquired mechanical engineering skills, they became mechanics and tradesmen. Unskilled workers borrowed their fares and migrated to Australia (Rivett 1962:107):

Even poor migrants stand a good chance, after a few years, of buying a house and car, of going on a holiday, even of paying his own fare back to Europe. In most cases his wage is guaranteed at a level sufficient to maintain an Australian in the same job. The initial disadvantages, which are considerable and could be reduced by government action, usually fade away after several years of hard work (Jupp cited in Encel 1981:151).

Mass immigration continued throughout the following decade. By 1966 Australia had 'a great proportion of migrants in its population than any other country in the world apart from Israel' (MacLeod 2006:114). In the same year 10,000 Lebanese Christians arrived and in 1967 'a migration treaty with Turkey brought for the first time substantial numbers of Muslims to Australia' (MacLeod 2006: 115). Those who responded in the greatest numbers were rural peasants from Southern and Eastern Europe along with those from troubled countries in regions such as the Balkans who sought employment in a new democratic society (ibid). In the 1950s and 1960s continued manpower shortages, relatively high wages and the influx of postwar Southern European immigrants (many entering jobs at the lowest end of the socio-economic scale) contributed to the potential for upward mobility for workers already established in Australia (Lepervanche 1984:26). In 1956 modifications to the White Australia Policy included a new category for entry and extended visas for highly qualified Asians. Arrangements previously available to Indian immigrants who permanently resided in Australia were therefore extended to other non-Europeans. Between 1955 and 1965 3,452 non-Europeans were naturalised and by 1966 this number had reached 5,400 (ibid:71–2). The number of refugees accepted under the UN Convention expanded significantly from 1970 when the country opened its doors to Asians and other non-Europeans. Over the following 35 years, in addition to regular immigration programs, Australia consistently took in its fair share of persons displaced by civil wars, genocide and other strife, absorbing refugees from Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Lebanon, Argentina, Chile, Afghanistan, Congo, East

Timor, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Myanmar (Burma), Somalia, Sudan, the former USSR and former Yugoslavia (*Bosnia* in particular) (MacLeod 2006:114).

While displaced persons were most seriously affected, others who left their homes in Europe were also likely to suffer from loss of recognition and status which they had formerly enjoyed. Thus for immigrants who share this common experience, a national or ethnic club fulfils a useful function for settlement (Encel 1981:23). Indeed some immigrants arrived and found small postwar settlements of 'nationals' (ibid:26). These national or ethnic associations were not the only organised groups. In a number of cases immigrant branches or sections were formed within the framework of existing Australian associations (ibid:22).

Winikoff (cited in Gunew and Rizvi 1994:136) stresses that religious buildings, such as Christian churches, Jewish synagogues, Hindu or Buddhist temples and Islamic mosques, as well as ethno-specific clubs and reception centres often provide the core of communal life for diverse ethnicities in Australia. Even when residents move out of the area they will often return to these places to speak their language and meet on 'their territory'. For instance, most immigrants found their own communities and religious institutions which had previously been established (Encel 1981:26). Indeed immigrants who lived in cities were able to attend religious congregations and speak their own language with members of their own clergy (ibid). Clyne (1991:137) concludes that Islamic communities were often organised along ethno-linguistic lines, for example, Albanian, Arabic, Bosnian, Turkish and so on. While the language of Islamic observance is the Qur'anic Arabic, other religious and social activities were conducted in community languages (ibid). European immigrants today, including Bosnian Muslims, are also able to consume a variety of goods and foods (Encel 1981:26).

A significant characteristic of immigrant groups is that most of them represent sectional interests. It is not surprising therefore those immigrant associations in Australia tend to draw their membership from particular nationalities or ethnicities. Encel posits it would be difficult to imagine an Australian club in Holland, for instance, which contained a cross-section of economic, political, religious, social and geographic groups. In other instances associations reflect a division between two or

more cultural-linguistic-religious groups, for example, Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims, Slovenians (1981:22).

In conclusion, post-WW2 immigration and the formation of settlements, followed by the establishment of many different ethnic communities marked this period in history and promoted inclusiveness and social cohesion. With the influx of immigrants from different corners of the world, particularly from the 1970s onwards, the White Australia Policy was gradually dismantled (Collins 2003:137–49). Various immigration policies, including the *Integration Policy*, shaped the Australian demographic and the development of multiculturalism (Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:61). With the arrival of a large number of non-British immigrants post 1945, growing concerns regarding race and ethnicity in Australian society have increased since 1973 (Brunley, Encel and McCall 1985:i). Subsequently the basis for a common assumption of national identity, largely linked to the Anglo-Celtic population, has gradually shifted (ibid).

5.6 Integration: the transitional stage from assimilation to multiculturalism

By the mid 1960s, the inequality experienced by immigrants whose first language was not English, coupled with their relative isolation from the broader Australian society, highlighted the limitations of the assimilation policy. By the late 1960s there was a greater awareness of the diverse needs of the migrant population that included settlement adjustment in Australia. The historical period from the mid 1960s to the early 1970s is generally referred to as the *integration* period. Cox explores the concept of integration by pointing out the following (Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:27):

Integration means to become part of the whole without necessarily losing a distinct identity. Integration policy recognised that the adjustments required for a successful immigration program should include adjustments by the host country.

The 1966 Henderson Inquiry showed that migrants were exposed to high poverty rates, while Zubrzycki's Report in 1968 found they faced a range of difficulties with education and employment, non-recognition of overseas qualifications and housing. Other research related to initial settlement period also suggests exclusion from social security benefits, ineligibility for the age pension and other difficulties. Another important factor which initiated a shift towards integration policy was the gradual removal of discrimination from the immigration program. As a result of the development of the integration policy DIMIA established accommodation and welfare officers based in migrant hostels and various support programs for migrants (DIMIA cited in Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:27–8). In 1966 following a comprehensive review of policy related to the migration of non-Europeans, the government practically ended the White Australia Policy by allowing the admission of well-qualified immigrants from Asia in small numbers (National Multicultural Advisory Council 1999:22).

Thus concepts which grew out of the policy of *integration* (in contrast to assimilation) developed with respect to minority groups. They imply the recognition and acceptance of social diversity and cultural pluralism (Bullock, Stallybrass and Trombley 1988:774). A report by the National Multicultural Advisory Council highlights:

the policy of *integration* represented a transitional phase from the policy of assimilation, which sought to impose a cultural uniformity on the Australian people based on existing dominant culture to the policy of multiculturalism, which acknowledges that cultural diversity is not only acceptable but a positive force for Australia (1999:22).

Hubert Opperman, the Minister for Immigration, stated that the most important goal of Australia's immigration policy was 'a constantly developing community which generally integrated, substantially harmonious and usefully industrious' (ibid). Opperman's statement was followed by Philip Lynch, who in 1971 advocated measures 'to preserve and strengthen the cultural heritage of newcomers' further pointing out that 'all Australians want Australia to be an essentially cohesive society,

notably for political democracy, for the rule of law, for the economic opportunity and social mobility' (ibid).

Brislin (1986:116) posits that immigrants need to understand the *concept* and *values* of a new society and as such, interaction and cross-cultural adjustment creates more opportunities and 'opens doors' for the pursuit of desired goals and knowledge in the host country. Further, immigrants maintain their attitudes, values and beliefs due to in-group support (ibid). Brislin further argues that for the minority, the level of interaction with members of the host country is dependent upon their goals and their desire to integrate. For instance, recent immigrants may accept work which is clearly part of the host country's structure, such as business or government positions. At the same time, they will be influenced and choose to participate in community activities organised by fellow immigrants (ibid).

If immigrants deal with familiar situations, they know how to behave and more or less how to interact with others from different cultures (Brislin 1986:151). Searching for satisfactory rather than the single best match is a common method of thinking. According to Herbert Simon, recipient of the Nobel prize, who terming this type of thinking as 'satisficing', it refers to decisions which attempt to maximize their conditions under constraint and the relationship between cognition and the environment (ibid:89). A common experience for all immigrants is making the transition from their feelings for their homeland to the host country and adjusting to their new environment within the bounds of their new perceptions and constraints (ibid:117).

People often belong to various groups to identify with their *cultural identity* or *roots* (Brislin 1986:115). For instance, community needs can be met at established clubs or mosques that provide social, cultural and religious support (ibid). Among the issues facing immigrants is the necessity to establish *cordial* relations with those of the host country (ibid:109). Immigrants' basic needs for acceptance by and interaction with others demand that they become members of various communities or ethnicities (ibid). Thus information of particular relevance to cross-cultural adjustment is coming from other people rather than, for instance, the mass media although its role is also significant (ibid).

Immigration programs assist with the rehabilitation of victims of war and enrich social and cultural life in Australia (Encel 1981:18). One of the major characteristics of immigrant groups is that they provide a structure within which participants can win recognition to enable them to regain *self*-respect (ibid:22). Recovering self-esteem has been a significant part of the postwar experience (ibid:23). The migration trauma of leaving everything that is familiar for social, economic or political reasons disorients the new arrival and places them in a vulnerable position. They often have great hopes and expectations of a new land with abundant wealth, opportunities, egalitarianism and peace. There is not only a new language, need for communication and conceptual framework to grasp, but also the loss of reference points, cultural context, known ways of doing things and the right places in which to do them. Often it includes both the loss of kinship and friendship structures which provide social support and important nodes in the spatial cognitive map. They have also left behind significant sites and life experiences (Winikoff cited in Gunew and Rizvi 1994:138).

Numerous institutions have changed in response to waves of immigration and social *integration*. Accordingly voluntary organisations offer assistance to migrants, factories and businesses have introduced special induction courses and expanded personnel to include interpreters or welfare officers with a knowledge of European languages, and education authorities have provided special education facilities for advanced study for migrants (Encel 1981:26). An organised system of instruction in English was also established (ibid). Indeed with the growth of cultural diversity in the 1970s English language tuition was progressively offered to new arrivals (DIMA 2003:254). Professional bodies also (reluctantly in some cases) made arrangements for many European trained immigrants to practice in Australia and special advisory bodies and immigrant branches were established to assist newcomers (Encel 1981:26).

Many migrant institutions were formed in Australia during this period (ibid:22). Clubs and mosques primarily functioned as community centres and provided a means of continuing cultural traditions by establishing libraries, organising sporting, music and drama activities and social and cultural events (ibid). All national ethnic institutions aim to provide a wide range of social, cultural, educational, welfare, health and other

services (ibid). As a result of activities organised by migrants, the cultural life of the community – music, ballet, theatre and visual arts – has demonstrated a greater diversity over the past decade (ibid:26). For example, the immigrant press represents the views of immigrant associations, reflecting more or less the solidarity of immigrants as a whole, and most newspapers represent sectional interests (ibid:25). Clyne (1996:145) emphasises that during the 1970s and 1980s there were more than 120 Australian newspapers, including periodicals and occasional broadsheets, published weekly or monthly or *bi-* or *tri-*weekly in many community languages. The largest circulation was Greek, Turkish, Italian, Serbo-Croatian (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian) and Vietnamese, followed by Dutch, German, Jewish, Polish and Spanish print media (ibid; Encel 1981:25).

In many cultures the street serves as the place for commerce, social and recreational gatherings and festivals displaying fresh produce with vendors offering a variety of goods and services, art and entertainment. There may be sidewalk cafés and restaurants with seats for people to observe the theatre of life and the promenade, where young and old stroll and gather at dusk to meet friends and neighbours—definitely dressed to be seen. Shared rituals and celebrations are enacted on the public stage and these forms of cultural animation are the expression of the city's denizens showing that the streets belong to the people (Winikoff cited in Gunew and Rizvi 1994:135). For non-English speaking migrants to gain the confidence to contribute effectively, they need to start from a position of strength. Understandably their desire on arrival in a new country may be to live among their own people (ibid:141).

Thus they initially form communities usually in areas with a strongly determined character. Winikoff posits that the impact of immigrants on the physical environment is more or less influential. For the new arrival, a locality which offers the nearest thing to home in terms of language and customs, goods and services, and proximity to people of like-minded culture is a valuable transitional stage for learning about the new country from a position of relative protection (ibid:138). A desired feature of cultural groupings in Australia is specialist shopping offering culturally distinct foods, clothing, household goods and services provided by professionals who speak the language of particular ethnic groups. Immigrants who are familiar with dense urban

living in their country of origin have developed a great tradition of using public open space for social and cultural activities. Australian parks, public gardens, bush picnic areas and beaches are where the community gathers, games are played, walks are taken, voices are raised, feasts are celebrated and cultural programs are performed (ibid:135–6).

First generation migrants who visit their homeland at some stage find that people and places have changed. They often feel like permanent expatriates, not ‘quite’ integrated in Australia, but no longer totally familiar with or at ease in their country of origin. However by the next generation circumstances have changed dramatically. While there remains a familiarity with some characteristics of the cultural heritage of the previous generation, they more strongly identify with mainstream Australian cultural practice. The new generation will have shaped its public experience within the Australian spatial context and have become *integrated* (ibid:139). Thus Winikoff concludes that Australian public life grew on the basis of cultural pluralism which also included different patterns of settlement and communities from diverse backgrounds (ibid:143) including advanced dialogue between cultures, people and places towards the new setting, with a mutual collective aim—*unity* (ibid:145).

Throughout the development of this historical period, important and influential events occurred in Australia during the early 1970s (Encel 1981:150) when multicultural institutions were first formed (e.g. the Australian Greek Welfare Society in 1972) and played a significant role in preserving the cultural heritage of ‘ethnic minorities and migrant groups’. These institutions also ‘spoke on behalf of all, to promote their rights and to achieve a voice in decision making’, as well as the appropriate use of funds ‘affecting their welfare and interests’ (ibid:151) In 1973 the *Fitzroy Ecumenical Centre* (FEC) was established and organised a series of seminars and speakers who were all members of ‘non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic communities’. Various talks were given including ‘Social organisation and ethnic power: An Italian perspective’ and ‘Social organisation and ethnic power: A Greek perspective’. Encel argues this was a reflection of the times and by merging these titles offers the following slogan (1981:151):

Ethnic Rights

Power and

Participation

Toward a Multicultural Australia

In conclusion, mass migration from Italy and Greece to Australia produced a population that did not choose to assimilate. Most immigrants wished to preserve and promote community language as well as other ethno-national distinctiveness. A large number of Turkish and Yugoslav migrants who came to Australia after a *Migration Agreement* with Turkey in 1967 and Yugoslavia in 1971 respectively also desired to cherish, express and promote community language as well as ethno-national distinctiveness (Jupp 1996:6). Although the final vestiges of the White Australia Policy were not eliminated until 1973, with the formal adoption of a non-discriminatory immigration policy, governmental initiatives and statements represented a significant shift away from assimilation policy and the 'integration model' (National Multicultural Advisory Council 1999:23)

5.7 Development of multiculturalism

Both at *international* and *national* levels, diversity of culture and religion can be viewed as a source of knowledge and understanding, an impetus and challenge to development and improvement, and a broadening of human horizons and enrichment of human life (Deane 1997:2). Encel (1981:151) states that 'multicultural education considers values of *intellectual* knowledge above all other kinds of knowledge'. Indeed, sharing both knowledge and experience is beneficial (Deane 1997:5). The spectrum of cultural, religious, non-religious, philosophical and linguistic knowledge in Australia underpins the 'Western cultural account', and primarily emphasises the possibility of individual and social progress through the application of universal rationality and empirical science (Axford cited in Baylis and Smith 2001:458).

Australia today is thus more culturally diverse than a few decades ago; the social milieu in which the immigrant finds himself is more highly organised and more geared to meet the needs of both immigrants and Australians in the current context. These favourable changes are much more evident in cities than rural areas, and for

this reason many immigrants can be expected to find the city the more congenial environment (Encel 1981:26).

Lopez (2000:29) points out that multiculturalism has a relatively recent history in contemporary Australia. The majority of historical works on multiculturalism are shaped by different ideologies or governmental policies. Multiculturalism was initially developed by a small number of academics, social workers, activists and advocates mainly located on the fringe of the political arena of migrant settlement and welfare. The creators who were responsible for various versions of ideology were also leading figures in the struggle to advance their beliefs and enshrine them in government policy. They were located in Melbourne in rival but overlapping informal networks consisting of core groups surrounded by a smaller cluster of activists, sympathisers and contacts. There were also several notable contributors in Canberra, Sydney, Adelaide and Perth who in turn had their own networks (ibid:39).

Multiculturalism in Australia is multifaceted and often exposed to different meanings and explanations at national, community, subgroup and personal levels (Lopez 2000:1). Most commonly multiculturalism means: (1) *referring* to an ethnically and culturally diverse multilingual society and (2) *denoting* an ideological or normative concept (ibid:3). In other words multiculturalism is an ideology implemented in policy. Lopez argues that government programs and legislation were implemented to embody ideology and policy. A common platform and cross-fertilisation of ideas between different versions of multiculturalism are reflected in the following fourfold typology: (1) *cultural pluralism* (or cultural multiculturalism); (2) *welfare multiculturalism*; (3) *ethnic structural pluralism* and (4) *ethnic rights multiculturalism* (ibid:446–8).

More importantly, the terms ‘assimilationism’, ‘integrationism’ and ‘multiculturalism’ point to successive historical periods. From an historical viewpoint, Lopez indicates that *assimilation* covers the period from 1945 to the early 1960s; *integration* includes the period from the early 1960s to 1972; and *multiculturalism* is evident from 1973 onwards (ibid:4). However interest in multiculturalism rapidly increased from the mid 1990s (ibid:1).

David Cox was the first Australian to visit Canada to consult with a range of agencies and organisations including the Canadian-Italian equivalent of Co.As.It (ibid:165). Cox was not investigating ideology but gathering practical information for his social work. He also visited Yugoslavia to observe migrant recruitment procedures, travelled on to Greece to obtain relevant information on Greek youth and then to Israel to study migrant settlement programs (ibid). In 1973 the Minister for Immigration Al Grassby visited Asian countries to discuss issues on immigration, where he was 'warmly and enthusiastically received by every country in the region' (Tavan 2005:204). In 1974 Grassby invited William Liu, a Chinese-Australian businessman born in Sydney and a long-standing member of the *Australia-China Association*, to participate in an Australian heritage program in which more than 2,300 ethnic organisations were expected to participate (ibid). A variety of domestic and international factors and trends influenced and contributed to the establishment of multiculturalism. Furthermore the impact of decolonisation and shifts in Australia's military alliances and trade relations towards the United States and South-East Asia corresponded with international immigration that attracted increased numbers of migrants from Southern Europe and the Third World to Australia. On the one hand, Lopez (2000:454) argues these factors reduced the options for sustaining a discriminatory immigration policy and Anglo-conformism, while initiating a large-scale immigration program (ibid). On the other hand, through general interaction among a variety of communities and their adaptation, it is argued that significant awareness of the reality of multicultural society already existed (Burnley, Encel and McCall 1985:118).

Lopez (2000:71) maintains that the adoption of multiculturalism in Canada between 1969 and 1971 did not have an effect in Australia in comparison to US social movements. Events in Canada paralleled developments in Australia, but had a negligible impact as a catalyst or source of ideas and concepts (ibid:454). Today it can be said that the influence of the Canadian example varies only between individual multiculturalists (ibid:71). By comparing 'Canadian multiculturalism' with 'Australian multiculturalism' Lopez (ibid:454) states that 'Canadian multiculturalism has had an insignificant impact as a source of ideology on socio-cultural change in Australia'.

However there are various phases of immigration and settlement that include a range of multicultural issues (Babacan cited in Dalton et al. 1996:154). The election of the Whitlam Government with Al Grasby as the Minister for Immigration brought about the shift in policy towards multiculturalism. This was then reflected in the public service. Jim Houston, a representative in the Department of Immigration, made a significant speech by exploring aspects of *A Multicultural Society for the Future*. This was the first time the term 'multicultural society' was used in an official government policy statement to be understood in its ideological rather than descriptive sense (Lopez 2000:245). The importance of this speech has been widely recognised in the historical literature on multiculturalism. Besides various debates, which explored and displaced other versions in competition, the nature of cultural pluralism and its understanding and transformation into the official version of multiculturalism in Australia was realised by Grassby's contribution (ibid:250). The *Final Report* in its conclusion included a cultural pluralist rationale for the continuation of postwar mass migration with the following statement (cited in Lopez 2000:237):

Australia needs more people, not just to augment the consumer market and develop expanding industries, but to develop a *more diverse* and viable society and to sustain cultural and social minorities whose contribution is needed to enrich any community, especially one as remote as ours from the world's great centres of civilisation.

During the 1960s and early 1970s Australia experienced wider international and domestic trends and forces including social, intellectual, academic and professional, many of which either directly influenced the development of multiculturalism, or created a more favourable environment for its development and progress. At that time multicultural activists developed different versions of multiculturalism (Lopez 2000:196). Between 1972 and 1975 multicultural ideas appeared in the reports of committees that included either migrants or supporters of multiculturalism. Where neither were present no multicultural ideas were canvassed and submissions in support of multiculturalism were invariably ignored (ibid:178).

In 1973 the term ‘multicultural’ was used in *Ethnic Rights: Recommendations for a Multicultural Australia* by Storer and Faulkner. These recommendations explore significant aspects including greater tolerance, cultural diversity and a need for the establishment of a new institution in relation to the improvement of social wellbeing, reducing poverty and eliminating inequality and racism (cited in Lopez 2000:278). It also emphasised the demographic nature of ‘multicultural reality’ in Australia with the following statement (ibid):

Australia is at present a multicultural society. Approximately one person in four is either a postwar migrant or the child of one, of whom 58% come from non-English backgrounds. All Australian institutions, and certainly government ones, should be constructed to meet the reality of this cultural diversity.

Significant developments in the emergence of multiculturalism prior to December 1972 occurred in Melbourne and Canberra. In other capital cities small numbers of supporters and sympathisers of multiculturalism were among those interested in migrant welfare. The largest number of migrant welfare supporters outside Melbourne was in Sydney. They discussed a variety of issues addressing cultural diversity as well as the need for appropriate English-language classes for non-English speakers (ibid:189). Multiculturalists mobilised to have multiculturalism accepted by the government at a time when a major challenge to improve migrant welfare under the banner of *integrationism* was launched (ibid:188).

Lopez (ibid:233) stated that ‘multiculturalism initially emerged around the Whitlam Government rather than through it’. Subsequently, multiculturalism became accepted as a platform for government policy in 1973. This was largely because multiculturalists and their supporters were able to influence the ideology of the Ministry’s sources of policy advice to modify government policy and rhetoric in ethnic affairs. The new Whitlam Government created great opportunity for change in Australia (ibid:39) including women’s rights and women’s influence on the public agenda (Weeks and Gilmore 1996:142). Similarly Al Grassby sought changes in migrant welfare that opened up different kinds of influences that multiculturalists were able to further exploit (Lopez 2000:39).

Following the Whitlam Government in 1975 some critics assumed the White Australia Policy would be reinstated in some form, and that immigrants would again be subjected to assimilation. MacLeod (2006:118) however points out that the Fraser Government continued Whitlam's reforms. Both Whitlam and Fraser believed in and were great supporters of cultural pluralism (ibid). Fraser's commitment to multiculturalism had profound implications for Australian society. The initiatives that followed improved migrant settlement services and reinforced Australia's cultural diversity including the establishment of the *Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs*, the *Special Broadcasting Service (SBS)* and various grants to ethnic welfare and migrant associations (Tavan 2005:217). Likewise Bob Hawke and Paul Keating promoted and strongly supported multiculturalism (MacLeod 2006:190). During the Hawke-Keating years, mass immigration was tantamount to economic growth and multiculturalism was transformed into a 'citizen model'. Tavan (2005:217) acknowledges that cultural diversity, as an undivided amalgam of Australian society, included the freedom to express one's cultural heritage as a fundamental human right, stressing the 'rights and responsibilities of all citizens in the context of an overriding commitment to Australia and its core values'. John Howard, after three years in office as Prime Minister, articulated 'multiculturalism' by indicating the flow of cultural plurality by saying, for instance, that 'Muslims could integrate into Australian society and support a modest increase in the migrant intake' (cited in MacLeod 2006:190).

Historically there were different views on multiculturalism, its establishment and influence in Australia. Jupp highlights that 'Gough Whitlam was determined to reverse the support for "White Australia", to reduce the British connection and to oppose racist ideas and practices' (MacLeod 2006:154). Subsequently the *Community Relations Commission* and *Racial Discrimination Act* was created (ibid). Jakubowicz, Morrissey and Palser discuss multiculturalism protection from the dominant class that sought to use social assimilationist policy to perpetuate the system of class relations from which it benefited (cited in Lopez, 2000:14). Betts (cited in Lopez 2000:17) identified several key factors that protect multiculturalism against opposition, and from its 'unpopularity with less-educated non-migrant majority'. These factors included the effects of bipartisanship in marginalising critical opinion; and the acceptance of multiculturalism as part of a cluster of values used as 'status markers'

by members of the tertiary-educated professionals to distinguish themselves from 'narrow-minded plebeians' (ibid). Castles observes multiculturalism as a 'policy of philosophy of inclusion for all Australians' (cited in Collins 1991:15). MacLeod (2006:119) observes that changes in Australia's immigration policies and multicultural attitudes towards other countries were also far-reaching. Burnley, Encel and McCall (1985:11) view multiculturalism not only as governmental *policy*, but a *mutual exchange of information*. They see multiculturalism as being *synonymous* with cultural pluralism: a model of how the society works and how it should work; a situation where different cultural groups compete for influence and power on the basis of equality, where conflicts of interest are resolved peacefully through democratic means, and where one group gains dominance or imposes unnecessarily on others (ibid:113–4). Galbally argues:

The word *multiculturalism* embraces a number of perspectives. It describes an existing reality of a culturally diverse society, but goes well beyond that. It embraces a vision of how this society ought to be: an objective, a social goal which this society should set itself, and towards which it should aim to move. It includes governmental policy and action, but more importantly, multiculturalism means that the different cultures that make up the society impact on one another and upon the whole society. It entails the idea of reciprocity and mutual influence between groups (cited in Burnley, Encel and McCall 1985:114).

Furthermore McGregor (1976:346) offers another important view from a different perspective on multiculturalism. He states that migrant labour provided the backbone of the workforce for the *Snowy Mountains Scheme* and for other macro economic projects that resulted in social change. The birth of multiculturalism in Australia was also seen in relation to different historical periods or circumstances, particularly in relation to the economy. Many Australians proudly see the beginning of multiculturalism, with the advent of national enterprise such as the Snowy Mountains Scheme, as a symbol of alliance between men and nature, harnessing water for irrigation in the Murray-Darling Basin and promoting clean power for cities and towns in New South Wales, Victoria, the Australian Capital Territory, Queensland and South Australia. The Snowy Mountains Scheme is not just a great feat of

engineering; it is also a great *social* achievement. Those who believe that the Scheme is the *birthplace of multiculturalism* in Australia base their view on the following historical source (Racism No Way, updated 13 Apr 2008):

When the Snowy Mountains Hydroelectric Authority was established in 1949, there was a serious national shortage of skilled personnel, equipment and construction materials as a legacy of WW2. The Snowy began an intensive recruitment campaign overseas, concentrated in Europe. The Scheme also absorbed *many of the migrants* who were arriving in Australia in response to the Commonwealth Government's Immigration Scheme in the postwar years. Overall, 100,000 people worked on the Scheme's construction between 1949 and 1974, two-thirds of them migrant workers. The workforce reached a peak of 7,300 in 1959.

The Scheme is widely recognised as the birthplace of multiculturalism in Australia. Workers from *over 30 countries* including Australia, Austria, Finland, Jordan, Russia, USA, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, Estonia, France, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Rumania, *Bosnia* (and other states of former Yugoslavia respectfully) and the Ukraine worked on the Scheme through planning and construction.

Many newcomers were escaping the privations of war-torn Europe and were eager to start a new life in a new land. They brought with them new ideas, new customs and new cuisines, *changing the Anglo-Saxon foundation* of Australian society. Working together on the Scheme, they became part of the Snowy family, with former enemies and allies working side by side.

Einfeld (cited in Fagenblat, Landau and Wolski 2006:310) points out that previous resentments toward Chinese gold labourers and Yugoslav workers, including Bosnian Muslims who emigrated to build the Snowy Mountains Scheme, followed by Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees and other waves of migration, were replaced with more flexible domestic views. These immigrants played a major role in

developing this nation's wealth, character and advancement. Markus also sheds light on the early development of multiculturalism pointing out that it was strongly embraced by non-English speaking Southern European immigrants, particularly from Italy and Greece (ibid:97). Shortly afterwards, immigrants from different Yugoslavian states also supported multiculturalism and their diverse cultures (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin, Macedonian, Albanian and Slovenian respectfully) were gradually recognised in Australia.

A spectrum of different initiatives were undertaken by Australian authorities based on the historical, cultural, linguistic, racial and religious nature of Australian diversity and increasing numbers of immigrants. They included travel across Australia and visits overseas by Australian representatives with an exchange of experiences, followed by new arrivals of immigrants from different backgrounds. Speeches, seminars and policies, academic and professional programs and cultural-religious activities often within a variety of multiethnic, multiracial, multireligious and multicultural centres, associations, services, councils, organisations, programs, unions and institutes contributed to the establishment of multiculturalism in Australia. For instance, in Melbourne some community groups that assisted immigrants also became supporters of cultural diversity. Among these groups and their representatives were Walter Lippmann of the *Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Association*, George Papadopoulos and Spiro Moraitis of the *Australian Greek Welfare Society* and David Cox and Alan Matheson of the *European Australian Christian Fellowship*, which later became the *Ecumenical Migration Centre*. On arrival in Australia in 1956 from England, Professor James Jupp (formerly from Melbourne University) conducted research on related issues that included immigration, settlement, community services and multiculturalism (MacLeod 2006:115). Lopez also observes that Grassby made a substantive contribution to Australia's multicultural society (cited in MacLeod 2006:118) followed by Frank Galbally.

The *Fitzroy Ecumenical Centre* among other multicultural organisations continuously articulated the values of multiculturalism (Encel 1981:151; Lopez 2000:280). Different ethnic associations such as the *Union of Unemployment* and the *Federation of Italian Workers and their Families* also promoted cultural diversity. These associations together with the Ecumenical Migration Centre and the Australian Greek

Welfare Society produced and authorised documents including ‘We Want Our Rights,’ written in English, Turkish and Italian (Encel 1981:150). On 14 July 1974 the *Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria* was founded and formed the basis of the pan-ethnic multiculturalist lobbies (Lopez 2000:40). The *Ethnic Communities Council of South Australia* was established in the same year (ibid:437), followed by New South Wales in mid 1975 (ibid:378). These Councils were inaugurated with the public blessing of the government and opposition at both state and federal levels (Encel 1981:151). The *Australian Federation of Islamic Councils* (AFIC) was also created in the same decade when other Australian multiethnic and multicultural institutions were established (Haveric 1999). The AFIC was supported by relevant Australian authorities, including the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIMEA), and in turn supported multiculturalism and promoted Islam as a significant factor in the development of an Australian ‘ethos of Islam within a multi-religious diversity’ (El Erian 1990:101–2). AFIC supporters were Muslims from different ethnic, racial and cultural backgrounds (Haveric 1999). MacLeod (2006:119) points out that as early as 1965 until 2000 onwards numerous papers, reports and documents appeared on multiculturalism. For instance, while there was a major emphasis on providing useful services to newly arrived immigrants, the Galbally Report (1978, *Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services to Migrants*) supported by Petro Georgiou, one of committee member of the Galbally Report, established multiculturalism as a guiding principle in Australia (ibid):

Every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other culture.

After the report was accepted by the major parties, the Department of Immigration significantly increased grant-in-aid money to community organisations working directly with immigrants. For this reason, the Department also established *Migrant Resource Centres* in different capital cities to provide relevant services and assist settlement (MacLeod 2006:119) and English-language instruction for immigrants was expanded (ibid). In 1977 Zubrzycki and Martin emphasised the following (cited in MacLeod 2006:117):

What we believe Australia should be working towards is not a oneness but *unity*, not a similarity but a *composite*, not a melting pot but a voluntary bound of dissimilar people sharing a *common* political and institutional structure.

The Galbally Report stated that ‘immigrants should use general community services whenever possible’ and ‘special services and programs’ were also necessary. These ‘should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping immigrants to become self-reliant’. Practically this meant that more funds were given to ethnic associations whose staff came from the same background as its clients and spoke their language (ibid:119).

Due to the development of multiculturalism in the vital area of communications, government initiatives resulted in the formation of ethnic radio and multicultural television services (Burnley, Encel and McCall 1985:115). Public ethnic radio programs that began operating in 1975 with eighteen stations broadcasting about 320 hours per week, were an important step forward. Steady progress was made towards the development of a cultural plurality focusing mostly on information for settled immigrants, with improved broadcasting networks and social frameworks *from* assimilation and integration *to* multiculturalism (Ashbolt cited in Burnley, Encel and McCall 1985:103). However Burnley, Encel and McCall (ibid:115) concur that further development of ethnic media in Australia improved Australia’s multiculturalism. For example, objectives that assisted both different communities and society were:

- To promote tolerance and understanding between the different cultural and ethnic groups of Australian society including appreciation of the multicultural nature of that society;
- To assist in the maintenance of language and culture of ethnic communities;
- To facilitate the learning of English and community languages; and
- To provide community information of benefit to non-English-speaking Australians.

Indeed multicultural radio and television stations spread the concept of multiculturalism. Significantly in 1977 SBS radio and television was founded and government supported. Although there is a perception that multicultural programs are too narrow or restricted, Burnley, Encel and McCall (1985:116) believe that multicultural television programming targets ethno-specific audiences and the broader multicultural community (ibid). In this way, they consider SBS television to be multicultural because its locally produced programs are broadcast in English, its imported foreign-language programs bear English subtitles and there is a multiethnic constituent in its production and presentation staff. Subsequently SBS television, especially with the release of foreign films, attracted a wider audience (ibid).

Maintaining community language in school programs contributed to the promotion of linguistic diversity and cultural identity. Smolicz and Secombe concur there was a need for schoolchildren to acquire English and emphasise that immigrants should be able to obtain proficiency in their own language, including literacy, as a feature of cultural identity (cited in Burnley, Encel and McCall 1985:111). Subsequently the teaching of community languages to children in school hours has recently made great headway, and has been accepted as a legitimate area of study in the school curriculum, no longer relegated to Saturday Schools of Modern Languages. More recently we have seen governments take action in recognising that after-hours ethnic schools do exist and play a vital role in the education of a significant proportion of Australian schoolchildren, and as such, are entitled to be regarded as part of the Australian school system (ibid).

Finally the birth of multiculturalism in Australia is a response to differences that exist between migrant cultures and the Anglo-Celtic mainstream culture (Penny and Khoo 1996:10). Penny and Khoo (ibid) argue that multiculturalism is based on notions of a pluralist society and viewed as a means of resisting enforced assimilation; extends official tolerance without prohibition or sanction of cultural differences; creates an awareness at both official and private levels that cultural differences between migrants and the majority of the population exist, and should be tolerated and treated equitably. In Australia today about 100,000 immigrants arrive annually. Since the late 1970s the immigration net has swung to include immigrants from Asian countries now outnumbering those from Europe (Collins 2002).

5.8 Howard's period

Recent political history indicates that some tensions within Australian multicultural society remained, as reflected in the following statement: 'prejudice co-exists with tolerance, as does racism with social harmony and multiculturalism with ethnic inequality' (Collins in Hage 1998:84; Jureidini 2000:202). Tavan (2005:229) makes the convincing point that the most disturbing political development of the recent period has been 'the increased willingness of members of the major political parties to politicise race and immigration issues'. Markus (2005:227) points out that in the last few years what we have seen was the denial of difference by some groups as discriminatory practices that characterised the period of the White Australia Policy. These intensified debates usually emerge against a background of community concern on more general issues, such as social cohesion, unemployment or the environment (Castles et al. 1998:1).

Recent examples of these vigorous debates include the following: Rimmer, economist and an Honorary Research Associate at the University of Sydney, underestimates economic contribution of various migrants and refugees by claiming that 'there are no economic benefits of multiculturalism' (cited in Collins 1991; *The Australian*, 22-23 June). He (1995:91-101) undervalues multi-faith, including Islamic, approaches to multiculturalism. For instance he reduced broader Islamic social virtues and economic contribution by simplifying them 'only in context of religious beliefs, building mosques, schools and cultural centres'. Blainey worries 'that cultural defence can divide Australia', and even states that 'immigrants should be assimilated' (Tavan 2005:227). Blainey (1995:99) also expresses his stereotyped concerns about 'costs of multiculturalism' which can create 'a climate of fear'. Recently we have seen another pseudo-historical claim by Windshuttle, conservative journalist and former history teacher, who argues that 'race played *no* part in the construction of Australian national identity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries' (Tavan 2005:227). These claims are also strongly rejected by the Bosniak Community in Australia.

Anti-multicultural views were mainfist by the rise of xenophobic political parties. The Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI) was formed in 1990 as a single-issue

political party which merged with Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party in 2001. Pauline Hanson was elected in 1996 as an Independent MP, when her anti-immigration agenda won widespread public support. She led her One Nation Party from 1997 until 2002. Another base for racial and anti-immigration mobilisation has been the so-called 'New Right' (Tavan 2005:219). Although Hanson's hostile 'enterprise' became for some voters 'popular' by creating 'divisions' (social disharmony), most importantly her pitiful agenda, and her views were strongly rejected by multiculturalists and majority of Australians (Hage 1998:25). Hage (1998:25) argues that the White fantasy structure of Hanson's agenda is, ultimately, a fantasy of White supremacy. 'Hanson ruined the texture of our daily life', underlines Hage (ibid). This political circumstance clearly documents that within broader Australian society 'coexists intolerance with tolerance' (ibid). John Howard was sympathetic to Hanson's anti-immigrant and anti-Aboriginal politics (ibid).

Since the Federal Liberal-National Coalition came to power in 1996 immigration policy has changed. The numbers arriving from Asian countries have been reduced and the family reunion scheme has been severely curtailed. The government has also diminished the status of multiculturalism. In its first year of office the government disbanded Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, and imposed severe funding cuts on the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, SBS television, and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC) (Jureidini 2000:205). This has led to new citizenship tests and the change of name from DIMA to DIAC (Collins 2007). During the *Howard* government other socio-political changes have occurred: an increasing emphasis on economic immigration, budget cuts to migrant settlement services, harsh treatment of asylum-seekers such as affair before election 'Children over board', a shift from a discretionary model of decision making to more rules-based system (Tavan 2005:221).

Whatever power and influence migrant community organisations including MRCs had during Fraser/Galbally period, during the Howard era they largely struggled (Collins 2007). The *Howard* government removed multiculturalism from ethnic rights to a 'citizenship' model. So, the previous Department for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs was reorganised into Department for Immigration and

Citizenship (Tavan 2005:221). Multicultural bodies such as FECCA (*Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia*) and the state ECC's which played significant roles within broader ethnic communities have been effectively abandoned by the *Howard* government. Consequently, ethnic community organisations, particularly those of ethnic minority groups which recently have been arrived became fairly powerless and immobilised (Collins 2007). Media frequently broadcasted the Howard's arrogant views that 'Muslims in Australia can not be integrated', even that 'Muslims threaten social cohesion' (Tavan 2005:224) which clearly reflects ignorance of Islamic values and Australian Muslims.

Collins's view is that 'the key future challenge for multiculturalism is to include more whites'; to turn from *status quo* into more active engagement and dynamic contributions to multicultural development to be seen more broadly as 'Multiculturalism for All Australians' - that is as he profoundly said 'turning from cliché into practice' (Collins 2007). Conclusively there is no doubt that multiculturalism is still either misunderstood or opposed by some sections of the Australian population (Collins 1991:11; Hage 1998). Despite some previous calls for the abandonment of multiculturalism the challenge of multiculturalism is to continuously reflower. Most importantly Australia is a *multicultural nation* - that is a demographic, social, legislative, political, cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-faith, philosophical, economic, artistic, and even transnational fact for the most Australians. Hage (1998) argues 'to win the battle against racism and various prejudices more and more *white multiculturalists* need to be engaged'. As a final point Collins (1991:8) has stressed that if Australian society is to be premised on social justice, on equality for all irrespective of birthplace, gender, skin colour, religion and politics, it must entail philosophies and programs that seek to achieve quality.

5.9 Values of multicultural society and Australian national agendas

Australia is one of the most culturally diverse nations in the world (Collins 2002). Australian society is becoming more diverse because the White Australia Policy is now long gone. Previous White Australia Policy attitudes became 'fantasies of White supremacy in multicultural society' (Hage 1998). In reality Australian multiculturalism is both recognised and institutionalised (Burnley, Encel and McCall

1985:115). Clearly policy statements from government departments emphasise that Australia is a family of nations under the rubric of multiculturalism (ibid:2), thus Australia has rapidly and inevitably become a modern multicultural society (ibid). Indeed the authenticity of Australian multiculturalism, based primarily on its own values, peculiarities and ideals, has achieved much in past decades (Collins 1991:8). Jupp argues that Australian multiculturalism has grown out of local circumstances and differs in some ways from Canada, Britain and the United States:

Multiculturalism in Australia has developed a public policy to manage the consequences of a planned and controlled immigration program...It seeks to manage a diverse society in order to avoid the stresses found in societies overseas. What makes multiculturalism...is that it consciously denies some of the Australian cultural inheritance created by previous generations, such as the inferiority of some races or the superiority of British traditions (1996:21).

Burnley argues that over several decades immigrants have had a marked influence on all aspects of Australian society and this includes new waves of refugees (cited in Collins 2005). At the beginning of the 21st century refugees are still a major defining issue in the political economy of Australia together with other programs that include humanitarian, business, educational and family immigration schemes (ibid; DIMEA 2003:70). Significantly Australia provided refuge for extraordinary numbers of immigrants seeking a new home, new opportunities and new loyalties (Deane 1997:3). Multiculturalism continuously supports cultural identities and their distinctiveness, social justice and economic efficiency – ‘multiculturalism does not seek to give special advantage to any group’ (Gobbo 1995:50).

With the support of immigration programs and multicultural policies Australia has recently both welcomed and assisted the arrival of new refugees or displaced persons. In the past decade people from many different parts of the world, including Bosnia, became refugees and displaced persons. Hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Muslims (Bosniak) were forced to leave their homes because of *genocide*, ‘ethnic cleansing’ and culturecide. Since 1992 Australia has assisted the arrival of thousands of Bosniak refugees (Haveric 1999). In relation to immigration programs there is no

discrimination on the basis of race, religion, nationality, colour or gender (*Australians from Everywhere*: 178). In fact the national multicultural framework *United in Diversity* upholds the rights of all Australians to articulate their own culture and beliefs and to have equal treatment and opportunity regardless of race, culture, language, religion, location, gender or place of birth (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 2004:105). Many refugees who became Australian citizens fled from Sudan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Sierra Leone, *Bosnia*, Croatia, other states of former Yugoslavia, Russia, Pakistan, Turkey, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Lebanon and Nicaragua (MacLeod 2006:194).

On the whole immigration has contributed to 50% of the total population growth in Australia from about seven million in 1947 to 21 million today, and has also contributed to about 50% of the total workforce during the same period (Burnley cited in Collins 2005). Today first generation migrants comprise 23% of the Australian population which constitutes the greatest proportion of any large industrialised country other than Israel (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 1998a; Collins 2003: 137–49). The 2001 Census confirmed that other than 23% of Australia's population being born overseas, a further 20% has at least one parent born overseas (DIMEA cited in Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:29). Six million immigrants have arrived in Australia over the past 55 years. Almost one in five Australians are born in another country, while over 50% of those living in our capital cities are first- or second-generation immigrants (Collins 2003:137–49).

Immigration has significantly impacted the diversity of the Australian population and it can be said that apart from Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, all Australians are immigrants or descended from immigrants (Deane 1997:2). This statement is clearly reflected in a variety of sources including birthplace, ancestry, mixed marriages, culture, traditions, languages and religions of the Australian people. Apart from English, the most common languages spoken at home are Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, Vietnamese and Mandarin. Today many religions are *freely practiced* in Australia including Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism (DIMIA cited in Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:48). Muslims, Christians, Jews, Hindus,

Sikhs, Buddhists and followers of other faiths and sects live side by side in varying degrees of cooperation (Baylis and Smith 2001:459)

Today people of diverse origin with different cultural backgrounds occupy common territory in social and cultural solidarity and harmony within *national unity* (Herskovits 1958:13). More recently an increasing emphasis on civic values and Australian citizenship as a *unifying symbol* is evident (DIMIA cited in Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:31). Multiculturalism is often used to refer to the contemporary reality that Australia has a racially, culturally, religiously and linguistically diverse population (ibid:29). Equally important strengths in multiculturalism undeniably lie in the cultural, linguistic, ethnic, gender and religious diversity of Australians.

The flexibility of Australian multiculturalism allows different ethnicities to publicly identify with ethno-religious and cultural-linguistic values of their country of origin (Ben-Moshe cited in Fagenblat, Landau and Wolski 2006:109). In a similar way, Maddox (cited in Howen and Nichols 2001:179) argues that the evidence of multicultural inclusiveness is of major concern, particularly from the late 20th century, whereby the topic of religion deserves consideration and respect. The *Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission* (cited in 2004:132) recommends that:

Political and community leaders at a federal, state and territory and local level, encourage Australians to uphold the principles of multiculturalism including respect for the right of all Australians to express their own culture and beliefs and responsibility to support the basic structures and principles of Australian society that guarantee freedom and equality for all.

The creative potential and vitality of cultural practices of NESB immigrants are a rich resource which underpins the growth of new Australian forms of cultural expression, and challenge existing values, question entrenched attitudes, give space to intellectual *dialogue* and work towards a shared vision of a national future which acknowledges and values diversity (Winikoff cited in Gunew and Rizvi 1994:140). Australia is the only country in the world with a Federation-funded translation and interpreting

service that provides a national 'twenty-four-hour', 'seven-days-a-week' telephone interpreting service (Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:45). The whole neighbourhood is being reshaped to enrich and express the cultural lives of its residents through a range of language, arts and design projects (Winikoff cited in Gunew and Rizvi 1994:143). Community languages (i.e. other than English) will receive recognition and a place in the school curriculum; Aboriginal culture is being introduced at pre-tertiary and other educational levels; and other cultural-linguistic initiatives are signs of positive change in Australia (Brunley, Encel, McCall 1985:2). Immigrants have been encouraged to learn English in their new homeland (Legrain 2006:276). In 1992 following a major review of the Migrant Education English Program it was renamed the Adult Migrant English Program for new arrivals. Those who could not speak English were entitled to 510 hours of English tuition (Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:45). Learning to converse in English has multiple advantages for immigrants including the negotiation of terms of settlement, accommodation, adaptation, employment, education and making a positive contribution to society in general. Australians often use popular words such as *avocado*, *barbecue*, *breadfruit*, *chopsticks* and other words derived from different SE Asian languages (Haveric 2006:148). These are examples of emerging values of diversity that have become deeply embedded in socio-cultural reality. In addition Clyne (1991:208) points out that the dominant English language in Australia is also a community language including American, British, New Zealand, Scottish, Indian, Ceylonese, Burgher and Singapore colloquialisms.

Multiculturalism inspired and initiated other significant spheres of society and is recognised and highly regarded among politicians, different political parties and governments which have adopted multicultural policy. There is clear evidence to suggest that multiculturalism represents the democratic choice of the vast majority of Australians. Therefore the *National Agenda* is the product of a comprehensive process of fruitful consultations, productive research and development that began on 9 April 1987. In particular, it suggests ways of improving the *Access and Equity Strategy* and more effectively educating the community about multiculturalism (www.immi.gov.au):

The National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia would look to a multicultural future in which all Australians, irrespective of background, are able to participate fully in national life; in which community resources are fairly available to all; and in which the skills and abilities of all Australians can be harnessed without barriers of discrimination and prejudice.

In 1989 the Commonwealth Government endorsed the principles of the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* which included three key points (Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:30):

- *Cultural identity* – the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion
- *Social justice* – the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, disability, gender or place of birth
- *Economic efficiency* – the need to maintain, develop and use effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.

The National Agenda also extended the policy of multiculturalism to refer to cultural diversity more broadly, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:31). Multiculturalism means that within limits consistent with duties, obligations and standards imposed by legitimate Australian laws, all Australian citizens are entitled to expect and demand mutual respect and tolerance that should be observed and encouraged (Deane 1997:4). Therefore these principles equally apply to all Australians, whether they come from an Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic or non-English speaking background, or whether they were born in Australia or overseas. *Australian multicultural policies* are based on the premise that (www.immi.gov.au):

- All Australians should have an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future, first and foremost

- All Australians are required to accept the basic structures and principles of Australian society—the Constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality
- Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes
- The reciprocal right to express one’s own culture and beliefs
- Responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values
- Racial tolerance.

In the 1999 *New Agenda for Multicultural Australia* includes (Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003:31):

- *Civic duty*, which obliges all Australians to support the structures and principles of Australian society which guarantee us our freedom and equality and enable diversity in our society to flourish;
- *Cultural respect*, which, subject to the law, gives all Australians the right to express their own culture and beliefs and obliges them to accept the right of others to do the same;
- *Social equity*, which entitles all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity so that they are able to contribute to the social, political and economic life of Australia, free from discrimination, including on the grounds of race, culture, religion, language, location, gender or place of birth; and
- *Productive diversity*, which maximises for all Australians the significant cultural, social and economic dividends arising from the diversity of our population.

Australia has an enviable *international reputation* for being a racially tolerant and culturally diverse nation. It needs to be emphasised that multicultural policies in Australia have been a triumphant success and have set an example to the rest of the world. Multiculturalism values Aboriginal culture as a national heritage. Flood (2004:277), for example, describes Aboriginal art as the most complex and creative, not only in Australia, but worldwide. Indeed during the growth of Australian multiculturalism in the 1970s the richness of Aboriginal art became internationally

recognised (Haveric 2006:141). Lilburne (cited in Howen and Nichols 2001:148) states that sharing spiritualities, brought by various migrant generations, and appreciation of Australia's ancient sacred traditions in contemporary times represents accords with multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism are interconnected values, and these settings create multiple identities (Baylis and Smith 2001:459). Baylis and Smith (ibid) concur that globalised culture met a multicultural world where existing communities and cultures were in closer contact with each other. Today immigrant communities are re-conceptualised as *transnational* or *diasporic* (Bach et al. 1994; Cohen 1997 cited in Collins 2002). While widespread tolerance and respect for difference are deemed necessary for cosmopolitan societies to function at interconnected levels (Collins 2002), Charlesworth (cited in Howen and Nichols 2001:27) argues that multiculturalism in Australia depends upon a set of tacit cultural and social conditions and attitudes including forbearance, neighbourliness, civic manners and sensitivities and a willingness to engage in civic conversation. Living in cosmopolitan cities such as Melbourne and Sydney means embracing tolerance and multiculturalism (Baylis and Smith 2001:459).

Australian cosmopolitanism embraces a great diversity of race, place and culture mirrored in the following examples: 'Aboriginal totems', 'Mediterranean styles', 'Greek's Athena', 'Little Italy', 'Asiatown', 'Chinatown', 'Jewish', 'Arabic', 'Turkish', or 'Bosnian' suburbs reminiscent of the 'Oriental mahalla' (Collins 2002). In such proximity, Australians continue to enjoy the benefits of living in a society made up of people from many different backgrounds. They interact, contribute and exchange values held on art, food, sport, fashion and entertainment. Cultural diversity includes an abundant choice of foods, for example, from around the world including Italian *pizza*, German *blackbread*, Lebanese *pita*, Greek *souvlaki*, Japanese *sushi*, Chinese *dim sims*, Turkish *kebabs*, Indian *curry*, Mexican *nachos*, English *dumplings*, Hungarian *goulash*, French *crepes*, Indonesian *satays*, Danish *pastries*, Bosnian *cevapcici*, Dutch *edam*, Sudanese *moukhbaza paste*, Spanish *tapas*, Israeli *orange sauce* and so on.

Australian cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism provide many market opportunities. The business community initiates communication and promotes goodwill, understanding and cooperation between different cultures. Subsequently multiculturalism shapes market demands as well as wider economic trends (Collins 2002). The cosmopolitan character of the Australian people therefore attracts further business development both domestically and internationally (ibid). This benefits Australia with increasing trade and investment and fosters political and cultural relations with Asian neighbours and Africa, Europe and America (Collins 1991:6).

Collins (2002) stresses that Australian multiculturalism includes *productive diversity* so that benefits accrued from business can arguably be attributed to cultural diversity. Many Australian companies are able to demonstrate economic gain, or a *diversity dividend* due to innovative dealings that lead to healthy competition. Immigrant entrepreneurs shape the Australian economy significantly and contribute to an understanding of many contemporary issues (ibid).

Many scholars within the humanities and social sciences currently argue that social life in the late 20th and early 21st centuries in *advanced industrial societies* has become more fragmented and complex, with a number of variables including class, gender, sexual preference, ethnicity and age (Baker 2001:88). During the process of industrialisation in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Europe, science rather than religion became a guiding principle for the development of a plural multicultural society that subsequently became more secular (ibid:88–91). With the advent of television and widespread communication more people were able to see how others lived, while commercial advertising contributed to mass consumerism. Demographic, cultural, economic and technological change led to substantial shifts in attitudes and behaviour from the 1970s onwards (ibid:97).

5.10 Conclusion

Arguably Australia is at the *forefront* regarding multicultural values internationally (Burnley, Encel and McCall 1985:111) and, in particular, Melbourne is recognised as one of the most diverse multicultural cities in the world (Lekakis cited in Access Services Support Respect 2003:i). Modern metropolises including London,

Amsterdam, Frankfurt, New York, San Francisco, Sydney and Melbourne have become *interreligious* neighbourhoods (Hill, Knitter and Madges 1998:103). In public interviews, some prominent Australians expressed the following opinions about Australian values: 'Australia's freedom, tolerance, growing diversity'. 'It is a multicultural Australia and Australians are much more tolerant' than during its early history. 'That's come from the immigration program and refugee policies that have brought people to Australia from every part of the world including regions close to us in Asia'; 'Australia is a delightful place to live...'; 'its democracy, freedom'... 'we have a magnificent rule of law where most of us understand the way in which to behave, to respect each other, respect each other's property, and that rule of law gives us certainty'; 'a wonderfully diverse environment, the mix of our people; we're a very multicultural society'; 'we're a combination of over 150 or 160 different nationalities all here living together'; 'Australians by and large are tolerant and we are a tolerant country'... 'we are a lot more tolerant than most countries...'; 'there's a wonderful mixture of a spirit...'; 'the spirit of Australian people, the commitments within communities and regions of Australia'; '...an extremely stable government structure'; 'our nature, our lifestyle and our personality..'; 'a fabulous country and natural highlights all around us...'; 'a sense of natural beauty and space'; 'freedom and openness of society here and the great opportunities that exist...'; 'we have a wonderful democracy here...'; 'we're a peaceful nation'; 'Australia is a genuinely multicultural society ...' (extracts from *Collective Wisdom* 1998). Great achievements of contemporary Australia, its cultural diversity within the social harmony and economic prosperity are a world's 'shining example of how people can come together as one nation and one community' (cited US President Bill Clinton in Sydney 1997).

While multiculturalism has been questioned, criticized and had ebbs and flows in policy terms, it has nevertheless, been the policy paradigm for the last 30 years with respective governments adopting it as a plank of their government. In the broader Australian community while there have been critiques, recent studies indicate that people accept multiculturalism as a reality of the cultural diversity of Australia and the benefits this can bring to the nation and our lives.

CHAPTER SIX

Analysis of empirical data: Settlement experience in Victoria

The following two chapters present data analysis relating to settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims in Victoria. This chapter covers three major historical periods of settlement: (1) post-WW2; (2) from the late 1960s to the late 1980s; and (3) from the early 1990s onwards. In this chapter the results of empirical research are primarily drawn from interviews with 10 community members including a diversity of age groups (25-35; 36-45; 46-64; 64+), women (50%) and men (50%), mixed marriages (i.e. Bosnian Muslims married with non-Muslims or non-Bosnians) (30%) and young Bosnian who also moved to Australia during childhood (10 %), various visa categories (refugee and humanitarian 50%; working 40 % and family reunion 10 %). The levels of education of participants included 50 % primary education, 25 % secondary education and 25 % tertiary level. The occupational backgrounds of participants were varied and included 40 % in the trades; 10 % sales person; 30 % businesspersons, and 20 % professional workers. Interviewees from the community had arrived in Australia in different historical periods (i.e. during: 1950s; 1960s; 1970s; 1980s and 1990s and 2000s). Interviews were conducted in western suburbs of Melbourne (50 %) and the eastern suburbs of Melbourne (40 %) as well in regional Victoria (10 %).

This chapter explores empirical data in its *depth* and *breadth*. By analysing this evidence using a snowball sample it clearly elaborates the key findings and subsequently addresses major gaps that existed in previous socio-historical research. The empirical data, both qualitative and quantitative, reveal and clarify various experiences, issues and community relations with regard to Bosnian Muslim community settlement in Victoria, offering a range of diverse viewpoints.

6.1 Settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims post-WW2 (interviews with community members)

In 1947 Bonegilla was established as a *Reception and Training Centre* by the Australian Department of Immigration and, until its closure in 1971, received more

than 300,000 refugees and migrants from all parts of the world, including Bosnia. Like many other post-WW2 migrants, Bonegilla was for Bosnian Muslims their 'first home in Australia'. In response to the query, 'what was the main reason for your departure from Bosnia?', all post-WW 2 Bosnian Muslim interviewees (100 %) said they took refuge in Australia 'to escape likely postwar persecution by the new Communist reign in Yugoslavia', and/or 'to leave destroyed postwar towns and their devastated economy' in order 'to rebuild their lives and help their families'. They came to Bonegilla and other Australian camps to cut cane, work on farms, build dams, roads and railways, work in the mines and other industries and open their own businesses. The first generation of Bosnian Muslim migrants in Australia settled under the *assimilation policy* post-WW2, a period of predominantly British settlement in Australia and during the White Australia Policy. As it is stated, influx of post WW2 migrants in Australia included Bosnian Muslims. One such migrant told the following story:

The first generation of the Bosnian Muslim refugees travelled from Europe to Australia on transoceanic ships about one month. After their arrival most of them resided in Bonegilla mainly for a few weeks or months. When I and my husband left Bosnia we felt much hungrier, not having a full stomach. As refugees we came to Australia in 1956 and we didn't bring anything and didn't speak English, which made harder for us to settle in Australia.

In response to the question 'did you meet previous Bosnian Muslim migrants?', she remarked: 'it was very rare to meet people from Bosnia' and, indeed, 'sometimes one or even two years pass before meeting immigrants from Bosnia. The Bosnian Muslims were mainly single or mixed marriages'. This Bosnian Muslim also explained that 'the earliest Bosnian Muslims did not have their relatives that were settled in previous historical times in Victoria'. Their settlement experiences are further outlined below.

One of the key features of the settlement, therefore, was loneliness and the emotional difficulties of adjustment as many had left families behind and migrated alone. 'Loneliness as well as isolation' was a common experience. Another Bosnian Muslim

refugee (10 %) from the mid 1950s also stressed that his major social difficulty was isolation and the pain of separation, and pointed out the following:

Loneliness, loneliness...I felt as if I was in a vast desert. I didn't see my parents for a long time; I waited for letters from Bosnia and met my wife ten years after settling in Australia.

Evidently isolation was a difficult issue which had strong implications for the process of settlement. The White Australia Policy did not meet the needs of Bosnian Muslim refugees to be reunited with their families. Only later did single Bosnian Muslim settlers sponsor their wives or fiancées or other family relatives to join them in Victoria. 'To find basic accommodation was [only] possible by assistance of individual Australians and some other friends' [who talked similar language], stated Bosnian Muslim (10 %). This response suggests that received help was based mainly on charity. However, to find suitable housing was hard, especially for those refugees who came as parents with children as is reflected in the words of one respondent:

It was difficult to find accommodation, particularly for families. While my husband was very busy and worked hard, I looked after our kids.

These comments suggest that the socio-psychological needs of Bosnian Muslim refugees were seen by the Bosnian Muslims mainly 'in crude materialistic terms regarding basic accommodation, food and work'. It also reflects how the Bosnian Muslims needed to balance family duties with the economic requirements of their daily lives. As it is indicated in the above comments, maintaining family life in these socio-economic conditions was hard, particularly for parents with kids. Especially having their father working most of the time extra hours providing for the family, there was not enough opportunities to be together as a family. These circumstances created considerable pressures with quite serious implication on family in their attempts to raise their children. As it is indicated single men suffered hardship because of loneliness and social exclusion in new environment.

One of the main difficulties in the settlement period of the early Bosnian refugees was that there was no previous Bosnian Muslim settlement in Australia which could assist

the first generation of the Bosnian Muslim migrants as stated two post-WW2 migrants (20 %). For Bosnian Muslims settlement was difficult due to two crucial factors: (1) they were small in number and (2) the absence of Bosnian Muslim settlement institutions. However, these post-WW2 migrants pointed out:

The first generation of the Bosnian Muslims in Victoria and across Australia was mainly affiliated as an integral part of the Croatian community. We (Bosnian Muslims) felt, by nationality, as *Croats*. We were the Croats of Islamic faith.

Bosnian Muslims' affiliation within the Croatian community was their way of preserving and promoting their national identity in a new homeland (including their religious beliefs to which they were strongly attached) despite the White Australia Policy which imposed the 'Australian way of life' and its dominant Anglo-Saxon culture and lifestyle. Across Victoria, 'there were also non-British immigrants of different backgrounds such as Italians, Croats, Albanians, Macedonians, Greeks, Czechs, Serbs and so on'. While there were no other Bosnian Muslims with which to network they established contacts with other NESB communities. For instance, 'the Bosnians had a friendship and mixed well with Italians', highlighted one Bosnian Muslim.

The interviewees were asked 'was it difficult to learn English language?', they responded that English language was a major difficulty, as reflected in the following Bosnian Muslim (10 %) experience:

I learn English from tiny kids' storybooks with simple words under pictures. Learning English language was very hard. For instance, the Bosnian Muslims had the desire to talk or listen to language from the land of origin. Only on the streets sometimes was it possible to listen to similar Slavic languages of other ethnic groups.

Similarly, for another Bosnian Muslim migrant (10 %), an important issue was communication with Australians because he didn't speak English. In this way, he explained his experience:

When I tried to learn some words from the dictionary to gain skill in pronouncing words, similar words of different spelling made for hardship in conversation. Thus, often my new attempt at conversation, because of difference between spelling and pronouncing the words, caused additional confusion.

These examples confirmed that the Bosnian Muslim settlers did not effectively learn English other than limited language skills acquired during their working hours. In response to the query 'where they learn English?', the Bosnian Muslims (100 %) agreed that, beside their effort to learn English in their spare times, 'they primarily learned English on work places when they have opportunity to interact with other Australians'. Obviously an important settlement problem was lack of support in terms of providing appropriate English language courses. Because they were more likely to be categorised as being poor in English language proficiency, the Bosnian Muslims worked largely as unskilled labourers. Due to both lack of support services and poor English language skills the workers were been exploited such as being selected to work first two years with other refugees in rural and remote areas and/or receiving less than basic wages.

And yet, during the process of settling, there were many employment opportunities. As NESB workers Bosnian migrants during this period agreed (100 %) that:

There were plenty of jobs and the Bosnian Muslims worked very hard. The Bosnian Muslims worked at hard jobs, for instance in the building industry, contributing significantly to economic development. At that time there were many opportunities to get jobs. Because of the economic need for a workforce, the employers salaried their workers, and on occasion they would bring new migrants to work in the same companies.

The above narration suggests that White Australia Policy resulted in non-British migrants almost exclusively as the 'beneficial' for the workforce but in the hardest jobs. Indeed all post-WW2 Bosnian Muslims (100 %) pointed out 'that there were many job opportunities; however the most difficult issues were lack of knowledge of

the English language, loneliness and communication among community members because we were a geographically dispersed minority'. The absence of language skills or courses to acquire English caused Bosnian Muslims considerable suffering.

The post WW2 Bosnian Muslim settlers in Victoria worked on asphaltting the roads (Geelong); loaded coal onto wagons (Gippsland); farming (Shepparton); mixed concrete, transported raw material, worked as builders on various construction sites in Melbourne, built various buildings (eg. West Gate Bridge; Rialto Tower) and railways and so on. Their monotonous works were expressed in a common motto 'work-home-work', then 'again the same ...', often without time for friendship, family, or holiday. These weren't moments, but an ongoing reality. Basically their homes served only as a 'little rest' before the following working day, or next shift and often overtime work, without any expectation except for 'doing the same'. The nature of their boring jobs meant 'working without creativity' often without spare time. In such working circumstances their 'sameness was filled only with the sounds of machines, the stench of rust and dust; languages which they could not understand enough, without community gatherings'. This was particularly the case in workplaces far away from main cities and towns.

The majority of post WW2 Bosnians was single men who spent most of their time at work. Those who were married also financially supported their families. For Bosnian men their sacrifice meant 'not only earning money, but love for his wife, and support children's education'. During the first few decades Bosnian Muslim *women* in Victoria were more engaged in working at home as housewives, not because that their values and working potentials were underestimated by their husbands, but because White Australia Policy and current economic market recruited mainly male labours for heavy manual work. Bosnian *men* and *women* saw the opportunity to work not only for earning more money, but also 'the best way of integrating into a new environment'.

The situation for NESB migrants during the early 1960s of the White Australia Policy was very similar to those who settled a decade earlier. However, the intake of non-British Europeans continued. Responding to the question 'did you meet and join friends of the Bosnian Muslim community?', the Bosnian Muslim migrant (10 %) of

early 1960s clarified that 'they met some dispersed Bosnian Muslim groups'. Furthermore, the early 1960s was marked by the arrival of more Bosnians and the growth of Bosnian settlement which led to an enhanced community network. These arrivals were supported by post-WW2 Bosnian Muslim settlers, who related the following experience:

My first accommodation was in camp Bonegilla in 1964. Before my arrival to Victoria, in the harbor of Fremantle in Western Australia, from the transoceanic ship which brought me to Australia, I saw some Dalmatians (Croats). When I came to Victoria, a few Bosnian Muslims came to visit me in Bonegilla camp. They were Bosnians originally from same part of Bosnia. They were the first who helped me with accommodation and to find employment. At first I lived in their houses.

This narration indicates that previous Bosnian settlers, at least initially helped those who arrived 1960s. However this initial support, was mainly based on individual help, and often was not enough to support needs of newly arrived migrants. They faced difficulties in relation to obtaining settlement information, medical advice, legal advice, education and so on. Therefore Bosnian Muslims were did not have access to essential advice or elementary welfare and medical counseling. They also had lack of knowledge about the legal system. The problems were extenuated by the absence of professionals such as bilingual counselors. The White Australia Policy chiefly regarded Bosnian Muslims as workforce, not as people needing support or education. Taken as a whole the major reasons for this hardship for the post WW2 Bosnians were (1) social exclusion within broader society and (2) lack of multicultural institutions.

'The first 20 years is the most difficult part of settlement', one Bosnian Muslim argued and added, 'at that time this view was often expressed among post-WW2 migrants'. Practically, Bosnian Muslim migrants during 1950s and 1960s shared similar experiences. Being a Muslim in Victoria was 'different' from being 'recognised' as a NESB migrant, However in their combined context as NESB people of Muslim origin they were impacted in significant ways, as the lack of respect of their identity affected Bosnian Muslims feelings, self-perceptions in new environment

and way of integrating into the new society. Participants indicated that they were considered by British majority as ‘strangers’ and should be treated as ‘alien immigrants’. Consequently the imposed limitation included controls on their public movement and curtailment of their civil liberties. Many were fearful in expressing their opinions in public places or in complaining about something that they saw was unfair treatment. The White Australia Policy was authoritarian and did not allow adjustment to new society to be in the flexible way based on tolerance and respect of others. Thus these limitations imposed by the formal and informal processes of the ‘White Policy’ had heavy impact on Bosnian Muslims and forced them to adjust themselves as both NESB minority group and as Muslims.

One among central questions was ‘did they experience any racism or discrimination in Australia because they are Muslim, Bosnian or both?’. Bosnian Muslims (100 %) underlined that among their major problems was ‘recognition of their NESB’ within ‘mono-cultural’ society. In fact, being NESB was a significant part of their settlement struggle, as they wished to become integrated not assimilated. Bosnian Muslims regarded ‘the way of imposing assimilation towards them as discrimination and denial of their identity’. ‘Denial of different non-British identities, including Bosnian Muslims was obvious’. For the ‘White Policy’ real ‘jeopardy’ was accepting the ‘equality’ of all different non-English migrants within broader society. The attitudes of ‘White Policy’ underestimated values and distinctiveness of others. These social prejudices also inclined to impose cultural breakdown towards NESB people, including Bosnians. In essence it included denials of different cultures, languages, races, ethnicities, traditions, variety of beliefs, lifestyles and outlooks. The ‘White Policy’, based on its prejudices, did not have sense nor capacity to understand Bosnian Muslim multi/cultural and Islamic background. Bosnians were admitted to Australia at a time in which racist policies were at its height and the issues of ‘whiteness’ were important. The Bosnians were allowed migrate to Australia as they were ‘white’ however the broader racism in society affected them through policies of assimilation and through non-recognition of their identity.

‘The experience of the first Bosnian Muslim as NESB settlers was social exclusion within the predominantly British population’, as was stated by participants. This also implies that Bosnian Muslims were in ‘inferior positions’. This was a difficult issue

which they faced and dealt with during the early settlement period. Because of social segregation they experienced a 'reduced social relationship' with English speaking co-workers during their working hours. The 'inferiority' was also experienced by non-recognition of their mother's tongue, although there existed migrant groups speaking languages other than English. Language (Bosnian) as an important component of ethnic background was undervalued, particularly in public life. In fact, this denied that the community (Bosnian) language was not merely a means of communication, but also special way of looking the world, cultural expression and obtaining experiences. While, experienced denial towards Bosnian Muslims on account of being NESB strongly affected their settlement adjustment, their Islamic background did not cause them discrimination.. So, with regard to their religious background two (20 %) Bosnian Muslim settlers stated:

- As a Muslim I didn't experience problems because of my Islamic background.
- At that time it wasn't hard to be a European Muslim.

The European Muslim 'appearance' of Bosnians in terms of their light colour of skin and their type of cloths offered some 'level of protection' from the extreme forms of racism, prejudices and other narrow-mindedness that affected other Muslims. It further suggests that Bosnian Muslim settlers were not visible because they were: (1) small in number and didn't have their mosque; (2) 'looked' like other Europeans (although they were Europeans); and (3) the lack of knowledge among the wider community with regard to the fact that Muslim communities had existed for centuries.

Like many other different ethnic, racial, religious and cultural groups, the Bosnian Muslims attempted to settle and adjust and to do so by cherishing their identity. Their identity was a very significant aspect of settlement life, and undivided part of their experiences. Bosnians came to understand and accept challenges that faced in a new environment and physical hardships of housing, harsh work conditions and lack of English language. This was coupled with emotional difficulties and consequently their struggle with isolation, depression and nostalgia. Thus Bosnian Muslims (100 %) stated their desire 'to form Bosnian Muslim community settings for traditional gatherings and socialising in Victoria'. As they preferred to be together they

gravitated towards settlements in inner city urban environments. Islam for Bosnian Muslims provided the 'framework' for a set of beliefs and values which included traditional culture, customs, religion and language, and served to further initiate, create and strengthen their contribution to and expression of a future foundation for settlement.

The efforts spent in the Bosnian Muslim settlement in Australia represent their rich life stories and resilience. The question of 'the role of culture and religion during the process of integration' was identified as very important. Bosnian Muslims did not see their settlement in Australia as being only about merely migrants' physical survival, but related to their whole being- of sharing spiritualities and creativities. The establishments of ethnic organisations were not encouraged under the assimilationist attitudes. Despite the White Australia Policy ban of the formation of ethnic communities, the religion and culture played important roles for the Bosnian Muslim settlement. Indeed they saw cultural-religious interactions and gathering not only among themselves, but with Muslims of different backgrounds as a way of maintaining their identity, language, traditional folk and sharing with others cultural-religious values. It was not possible for Bosnian Muslims, like for other minority migrant groups, to exist without some form of symbolic expressions or manifestations, such as for instance practice of folkloric activities. It was their common inclination to establish settlement and mutual support, to maintain diversity of their views, values and beliefs.

The earliest Bosnian Muslim settlement in Victoria emerged in the inner districts of the city of Melbourne as part of the *multiethnic Muslim community*. It was a gradual process which started to grow from the late 1950s and before then settlement was dispersed across Victoria. As a Bosnian Muslim settler explained: 'in Victoria, in the late 1940s and early 1950s there didn't exist a mosque, or club gathering of the Bosnian Muslims'. Historically, 'the first forms of gatherings of the Bosnian Muslims were their mutual friends' houses located in urban areas of Victoria, most notably Carlton' and 'Although Bosnian settlers in Victoria were in small numbers, in their spare time, they had a nice friendship and gathering'. Another respondent clarified, 'when I migrated to Victoria I met first generation of the Bosnian Muslims who had their traditional gathering in houses located in city. Their houses were like a *masjid*

(Muslim praying room)', which from an Islamic viewpoint constitutes a *Muslim community*. It is vitally important to note that such home gatherings preceded the establishment of Bosnian Islamic community settings. Indeed the connection between dispersed Bosnian Muslim groups in the form of home gatherings was the first indicator of future settlement initiatives. Thus the initial formation of settlement was primarily a result of mutual contacts between post-WW2 Bosnian Muslim migrants who settled in Victoria and Muslims of other origins. From this we conclude that Islam, for Bosnian Muslims, was the foremost factor in the foundation of settlement.

In 1957 the multiethnic *Islamic Society of Victoria* was established and by 1961 was located in Carlton, a convenient meeting place for Muslims: 'by their arrival in Victoria from the early 1960s Bosnian Muslim migrants together with Muslims of other backgrounds found their *masjid* in Carlton. There were Muslims of different origins including previous Bosnian and Albanian Muslim settlers'. Another Bosnian Muslim who was a member of this society clarified both a place and presence of early Bosnian Muslims in Victoria:

We (Bosnian Muslims) had our first meetings and gatherings in Carlton. The Bosnian Muslims were members of the *Islamic Society of Victoria*. There we met Muslims of various backgrounds such as Albanians, Turks, Arabs, Malays and others. It was located in Drummond Street in Carlton, a place which gave spiritual warmth for *all* Victorian Muslims. In Carlton there was, also, an Albanian mosque.

As a result of the growth of the Muslim population the *Islamic Society of Victoria*, including Bosnian Muslim members, moved from Carlton to Preston. Since the foundation of the *Society* Bosnian Muslims, whose numbers had significantly increased by the 1970s, obviously shared the same fate with other Muslim ethnic minorities in the development of settlement. A Bosnian Muslim stressed that he 'saw post-WW2 Bosnian Muslim settlers and those who settled in the late 1960s' and added:

When the *Islamic Society of Victoria* moved from Carlton to Preston, there on a block of land in Preston the Bosnian Muslims had their

gatherings and interacted with Muslims of various backgrounds. Since the late 1960s and the early 1970s, these gatherings were approximately 700 Bosnian Muslims as well as Muslims of other origins.

Another Bosnian Muslim settler emphasised additional features of Bosnian Muslim settlement:

When I came to Victoria, I saw many Bosnian Muslims in Preston in old houses on the same block of land where there is now built a beautiful mosque with a minaret. In 1971 there was the first place where I ate a popular *Bosnian* type of cake, baklava, I drank traditional *Bosnian* coffee...In Preston we (Bosnian Muslims) celebrated *traditional Bosnian Muslim mawlid* (B. mevlud)

All post-WW2 Bosnian Muslims (100 %) strongly agreed that after several decades of settlement in Victoria their community had become well developed within a number of community settings. Also they clearly emphasised values of *multiculturalism* as well as the establishment of multicultural institutions in Victoria and elsewhere in Australia.

There are big differences between the post-WW2 settlement and the settlement of the contemporary time. Over the course of decades Australia became a dynamically well-developed country and its great values are *multiculturalism, democracy* and *economy*. Nowadays there are many community organisations and a variety of multicultural institutions in Victoria and across country.

The interviewees were asked 'do they call Australia home or would they return to live in Bosnia?' In answer to this question, the Bosnian Muslims (100%) responded that they 'feel that 'fit' well into Australian society'. Although this generation experienced many settlement difficulties, during the first decades, evidently they recognised and acknowledged the values of multiculturalism and Australian society in general. The following answer reflects the attachment to Bosnia evidently illustrated by having visited Bosnia. For instance, it is reflected in one (10 %) such response: 'I visited

Bosnia several times, but 'Australia is my main country'. At the same time this response illustrates the attachment to Australia and that in the long term this is their home.

The following narrative, from a respondent, also identifies the spirit of Bosnian Muslims in fostering friendship and neighborhood:

In Victoria I met many Bosnian Muslims, particularly in the last few decades. My neighbours and friends are people of various backgrounds. I visit the Bosnian Muslim community settings. The earliest generation of Bosnian Muslims assisted newly arrived refugees from Bosnia. I am particularly glad that I helped many newly arrived Bosnian Muslim refugees.

This excerpt also confirms that post-WW2 Bosnian Muslims, as well established migrants, were able to assist subsequent new arrivals who were migrants and refugees and further confirmed friendship with settlers of various origins and within the Bosnian Muslim community.

Next to their attachment to Bosnia and the Bosnian Muslim community, their attachment to Australia is clearly evident. Indeed all post WW2 interviewees (100 %) expressed their appreciation of values of Australian multiculturalism. They highly regarded the cultural diversity of the Australian environment where they lived most of their lives. The major source of their views was based on the facts that their identity is not only Islamic, but multicultural as well, which is derived from their socio-historical and traditional identity in Bosnia.

Hence, through their sense of belonging and identifying with Australia and their support for the development of the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria, this cohort of early Bosnian Muslim immigrants have demonstrated a well integrated and adapted outcome in their new homeland. The Bosnian Muslim settlers of this generation continuously contributed to the economic and social life of multicultural Victoria and elsewhere in Australia and assisted newcomers in their adjustment to

Australia. They played a crucial pioneering role in settlement of Bosnian Muslims in Victoria.

6.2 Settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims between the late 1960s and 1980s (interviews with community members)

Between the late 1960s and the mid 1980s a second wave of Bosnian Muslim immigrants settled in Australia including Victoria. Responding to the question, 'what was the main reason for their departure from Bosnia?' 100 % of interviewees of the second wave migration stated that they arrived in Australia 'because of unemployment in former Yugoslavia' and/or 'family reunion'. In particular the 1970s saw significant changes in the patterns of migration, economic expansion thus consequently on settlement. While at that time unemployment was major factor for migration, the family reunion, to join members of immediate and extended family, was also important aspect of migration.

At the same time, the former Yugoslavia opened its borders and provided opportunities for its population to work in western countries, and developed its economy through this worldwide relationship which included the *Migration Agreement 1971* between Australia and Yugoslavia. Australia still had a predominantly British population, but the White Australia Policy had come to an end. It was also a 'new chapter' in settlement experience for Bosnian Muslims in Victoria.

During this period a new and quite distinctive industrial development occurred. There was a labour shortage in Victoria and across Australia and there was a need for land and new economic opportunities. During the late 1960s and in particular the 1970s, major economic expansion occurred which resulted in the intake of large numbers of skilled migrants including those from Bosnia. The growth of more sophisticated industries and new manufacturing areas - became more attractive to newly Bosnian settlers. In response to the question 'did you meet previous Bosnian Muslim migrants?'

The need of industry dictated how Bosnian community settled and met each other. The interviewees clarified how 'they met previous Bosnian Muslim migrants'. Indeed for these Bosnian Muslim migrants, work was a way to have their first interaction

with previous Bosnian Muslim settlers, Muslims of different origins and non-Muslims from different backgrounds.

Before Bonegilla was closed in 1971 Bosnian Muslim migrants travelled from this camp to hostels in Victoria. Those who followed went directly to Victorian hostels. Most of these Bosnian Muslims who came on working visas, didn't have relatives in Australia. In response to the question 'where did they settle in Victoria?', the Bosnian Muslims (20 %) explained situations related to accommodation:

I lived in the hostel for six months. In hostels there were migrants from all over the world mainly of European background, such as Greeks, Italians, but also Latin Americans. Because of the previous White Australia Policy, in Victorian hostels there weren't many Asians and Africans.

...

The first accommodation was hostels for immigrants although to find suitable accommodation wasn't easy.

The new hostels across Victoria were built with more suitable conditions in more convenient locations for initial settlement, particularly in relation to getting additional assistance and finding employment in areas close to existing community settings. In this way, 'assistance to settle was given by the previous Bosnian Muslim settlers, the *Croatian Social Welfare Service* as well as from other ethnic groups of former Yugoslavia'. This was acknowledged by all the participants who migrated in the later time periods. At that time 'services that assisted immigrants as there are today did not exist', said Bosnian Muslim (10 %). However, he said that 'after hostels and the *Immigration Department*, the *Migrant Resource Centres* (MRC) were the first institutions that provided settlement information and assistance'.

Indeed those Bosnian Muslims who migrated to Australia by family reunion program commonly agreed that 'this (i.e. family reunion) immigration program was beneficial especially in terms of initial settlement support, obtaining information, finding accommodation and jobs and overcoming a sense of social isolation'. Obviously the role of family support contributed to a variety of ways in achieving easier settlement start. For instance, one community member illuminated that the 'first [person] who

helped her to settle in Victoria in 1967 was a Bosnian Muslim relative from the previous migrant generation. 'This Bosnian Muslim found an old relinquished house where we lived first few years'. She further underlined that 'the role of family in settlement process is important'. Furthermore, Bosnian Muslim migrants sponsored under the family reunion provisions. Frequently grandparents, brothers and sisters or other relatives became an integral part of Bosnian Muslim family and social life. While working visa were required for various skills and professions, the family reunion visa was based on the family 'closeness to' or 'dependence on' the family members residing in Australia. It should be noted that distant relatives and non-relatives had a very small chance to be sponsored under the reunion provisions.

The increasing Bosnian Muslim ethnic community membership was extended to the wider Yugoslav community. Because of their common interactions they shared social life with other people from former Yugoslavia. It was also their mutual way of supporting their integration within still dominant Anglo-Saxon society. After their stay in a hostel, the Bosnian Muslims felt they were a part of the Yugoslav community:

The second generation of the Bosnian Muslims in Victoria and across Australia was mainly affiliated as an integral part of the Yugoslav community. We (Bosnian Muslims) felt, by nationality, as *Yugoslavs*. We were the Yugoslav Muslims.

Without a doubt the affiliation of Bosnian Muslims within the Yugoslav community was a reflection of their new nationality. This is indicative of their perception that the Yugoslav community was a way of preserving and promoting the Bosnian Muslim identity, certainly different from other ethnic groups from Yugoslavia. Beside the presence of the growing non-English speaking population, Bosnian Muslim settlers emphasise that 'in Victoria, we (Bosnian Muslims) met migrants of various ethnic backgrounds from former Yugoslavia such as Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Macedonians and Slovenians'. It was a part of their social heritage that made cohesion and solidarity of community life possible.

The interviewees were asked 'where they learnt English?' and 'was it difficult to learn English language?' Two Bosnian Muslims (20 %) responded that 'they learned English in Evening English classes in Melbourne, such as in Fitzroy'. The following narrative confirmed the ability to speak English made it easier to settle and find a job and meet other NESB migrants:

From Bosnia I came to the UK where I lived for two years, then migrated to Victoria in 1969. My knowledge of English language helped me a lot during the settlement period. Because of my bilingual skill, Bosnian and English, I was able to act as a translator for the new Bosniak migrants.

However, the 'lack of speaking English was difficulty for Bosniaks' remarked one Bosnian Muslim. Another also agreed that a major difficulty was communication in the English language:

Despite the kindness of the Australian medical staff even in hospital it was hard to understand English. Language learning was provided in evening English classes and there were possibilities for additional education in colleges in Melbourne.

'The first several years were a difficult time of settlement' stated several Bosnian Muslims and all from the second migrant wave believed (100 %) that settlement process was 'very difficult'. At first there were part-time jobs and then full-time employment', however, 'during the late 1960s there was not many opportunities for employment', said one Bosnian Muslim. Arriving from a situation of former Yugoslavia where unemployment high, the difficulties of finding work in Australia, as indicated this Bosnian Muslim respondents, caused great impact on their settlement. The pressures of not having employment not only related to their survival needs, but also involved also added to uncertainty about their future and their settlement prospects in the longer term. There were compounding factors in not finding employment. The respondents identified that their lack of English skills and the non-recognition of qualifications from overseas added to the hardship in the labour market.

In answer to the question ‘did they have difficulty in finding employment when they first arrived in Australia?’, those who settled 1970s responded that ‘they had many opportunities to find employment in Victoria and across the country’ (100 %). During this period there were many jobs in various industries and migrants often talked ‘work, time and money’. The following passages by two interviewees (20 %) describe their situation regarding employment:

During the 1970s many jobs were available during dynamic development in different industries, and already employed migrants were awarded with extra payments when they brought to their employer new migrant workers. The Bosnian Muslim migrants had opportunities to ‘work days and nights’, and they worked ‘eight even nine’ days weekly. Australia is a vast and rich country that includes an abundance of mines and large farms and prosperous industries...

....

The first help during the first settlement period was received from Australians. At that time there were many vacant positions, so to get a job it was possible in ‘two minutes’. In one day there was a possibility to find ‘ten jobs’, and naturally we chose the most suitable for us.

Although Bosnian Muslims were regarded as very skilled workers they were not given work at their level. They worked under difficult circumstances and often working over-time. The result was that their jobs circumstances were not safe in conditions or hours and often resulted in work related injuries. Being ill caused additional struggles, including the lack of recognition by employers of their of being a sick or injured. As one Bosnian Muslim (10 %) stated ‘sometime we didn’t know risk of work’. The lack of English language caused difficulties as they hardly were able to comply or to ask for their right for appropriate conditions. Thus their lack of knowledge about legal work-protection led to insecurity about their work and hence a tendency to continue working under unsafe conditions.

During the 1970s and 1980s both Bosniak *males* and *females* were employed either in factories or in small businesses. Importantly, the role of *women* became more recognised within the broader society and within the employment sector as a result of

women rights. Subsequently, even within house of strictly traditional families, husbands as much as they have time after work helped their wives by cleaning home, bringing children to school, shopping and other duties. This is a reflection of gender equality in the wider community that is now part of Bosniak life.

In response to the question ‘did they experience any racism or discrimination in Australia because they are Muslim, Bosnian or both?’ respondents (40 %) expressed that they had faced discrimination or racism based on their NESB experiences and Islamic background during the first few years of settlement:

Since the late 1960s because of their NESB the Bosnian Muslims were often called ‘wogs’...At the start of the 1970s talking a mother’s tongue on the streets still wasn’t publicly ‘well-accepted’. Thus it caused discomfiture for the Bosnian Muslims.

This form of discrimination occurred almost certainly on ‘a regular basis’. On being called ‘wogs’ many expressed that were embarrassed to speak their ethnic language in public places, not only on the streets, but in factories in order to keep their jobs and not upset their bosses:

During my interaction with Australian intellectuals I didn’t experience prejudices, while in factories it was often the case mainly because of NESB. I had correct and fair contacts with Anglo Saxons. I often obtained good suggestions and help from Australians. Our initial contacts were like acquaintances, and then later I had many Australian friends.

An important element identified in the settlement process during this period was the impact on young people. Family and social life was impacted with parents working and little sense of community in the neighbourhoods, resulted in social exclusion and isolation of young people. A young Bosnian Muslim remembered his childhood since the late 1960s in Victoria as a settler from a non-English speaking background:

In terms of friendship, sometimes it was extremely hard for children in schools, or for injured and elderly in hospitals because they sometimes

experienced social exclusion there, mainly on account of being NESB migrants. Although a significant number of the Bosnian Muslims settled across Victoria, it was hard for their families because there were only a small number of settled Bosnian families with kids in the nearest suburbs – and because of long distances they desperately wished to play and foster family socialising.

This information confirmed the hardship of settlement experiences away from families with whom most Bosnian Muslims have a traditional attachment, considering family reunions as fundamental to their success. The above experience illustrated that because of their social ‘immobility’ and, more noticeably, segregation by others, both children and parents were more likely to be frustrated since they settled with expectations of finding either education or employment. Also many Bosnian Muslim parents were not often in a position to be with their children or, more specifically, to follow-up on their education because frequently both parents needed to work. Consequently this resulted in little opportunity for developing relationships beyond the family circle, where the wife still performed most of the household duties (husband acted as the ‘head’ of the family). Despite these difficulties, both parents and children recognised the need to be involved in community activities and subsequently they met new friends. Part of the diversity of family life included intermarriage between Bosnian Muslims with settlers of other ethnic groups of the former Yugoslavia, mostly associated with the Bosnian community.

Not only prejudices towards both elderly and young Bosnian Muslims as NESB people caused their struggle to maintain family life or in some public places, but also they experienced some difficulties in relation to their Islamic background. Indeed Bosnian Muslims experienced denials on account of being Muslim. So, during their settlement process and adaptation Bosnian Muslims (40 %) also struggled due to ignorance and prejudice arising from the lack of knowledge of the host population about cultural-religious origins of Bosnian Muslims and, to a certain extent, a lack of awareness of Islamic values and faith. Although Islam *equally* embraces *all* races, a lack of knowledge existed among some non-Muslim Australians that the European population, in fact, includes European Muslims:

Because of their Muslim names they were frequently ‘identified’ as the ‘Turks’, and more ironically because of their Islamic background the Bosnian Muslims were ‘considered’ as ‘camel riders’...

...

During the early 1970s, I heard in school from Australian teachers who simplified that Islam is the religion of people from the Middle East. At that moment I was quiet and realised that there was a need for a broader understanding of diversity within Islam itself. It is because Islam is much more sophisticated and diverse, and certainly it is the religion of the people of various backgrounds from various parts of the globe, including the Middle East who also settled across Australia.

This further suggests that at both levels, among the broader public and including some teachers, the multi-racial richness of Islam was almost unknown, embracing followers of European background and with light skin. Bosnian Muslims therefore highlighted ‘the lack of knowledge by a number of non-Muslims and some Muslims as well, that cosmopolitan diversity within Islamic uniqueness includes Muslims of European origin, that caused the Bosniaks to be more or less ‘embarrassed’ to say that they were Muslims’. However:

When Turkish migrants came in the late 1960s, followed by the Lebanese Muslims during the 1970s as well as other Muslims of different origin, being Muslim in a general context became more comfortable – it also means that Australia received more migrants, including Muslims, and became a more culturally, religiously, racially and linguistically diverse society.

In point of fact, two processes led to a greater recognition of Bosnian Muslims as European settlers of Islamic background. Accordingly the following information shared all interviewees (100 %) of this migration wave.

- Bosnian Muslims introduced themselves during contact with local councils and town hall staff in order to hire halls for community cultural events;

- Larger gatherings occurred within multiethnic Muslim communities where some Muslims of different backgrounds, for the first time, met European Muslims with light skin.

In turn, ‘Bosnian Muslims also met other Australian Muslims of many different backgrounds’, underlined all Bosnian Muslim participants (100 %). This was primarily a result of increased numbers of Bosnian Muslims presence as well as other Muslims of different backgrounds. In contrast to time of the White Australia Policy, the 1970s were years of more welcoming and tolerant atmosphere towards immigrants. In fact, Bosnian Muslims gradually became more apparent and recognised within multiculturalism. Furthermore, one Bosnian Muslim tells the story of his settlement experience:

From the early 1970s, because of their outlook, the Bosnian Muslims weren’t exposed to religious prejudices by others. Generally, Bosnian Muslims, certainly including their mixed marriages, were very adaptable in the new cultural-religious diversity.

Similar to many other ethnic communities in Victoria and across Australia, the second generation of Bosnian Muslim settlers also realised that denominational and ethnic organisations were of particular significance for further settlement development which, in fact, corresponded to the Bosnian tradition of cultural diversity. This attitude, embraced by first and second generations of Bosnian Muslim settlers, resulted in the official establishment of the first social welfare organisation *Merhamet* (B. ‘tolerance’) in order to promote Bosnian Muslim community values, virtues of Islamic spirituality, respect toward others, members, friends, neighbours and other communities in Victoria.

Furthermore, Bosnian Muslims have been encouraged to settle since the 1970s when the settlement process was established with multiculturalism and integration policies. Multicultural policies supported settlement process and integration. Since then denials and various prejudices ‘gradually disappeared’, and misunderstanding about Bosnian Muslim identity became ‘reduced’. At the same time, it opened opportunities for Bosnian Muslim community development, presenting its cultural-religious values and

other distinctiveness, promotion of multiculturalism and support of social cohesion. Subsequently a number of community settings of historical significance were established. Essentially this extended the settlement structure with further community development, which 'during the mid 1970s was still located within the urban Victorian environment' stated all Bosnian Muslims (100 %).

Settlement experiences during 1970s and 1980s obtained by Bosnian Muslims were strongly linked with community settings and multicultural environment. Significant part of their settlement experiences included institutionalization of the Bosnian own community settings supported by the preservation of cultural heritage. In relation to the question of 'the role of culture and religion during the process of integration' Bosnian Muslims (100 %) agreed that both 'religion and culture along with other community activities have important roles'. Within Bosnian Muslim community settings, as a part of broader multiculturalism, the Bosnian Muslims experienced easier way of integration. In fact, 'Bosnian social-welfare-cultural organisations, mosques and sport clubs played a very significant role', underlined Bosnian Muslim respondents, who also express their experiences obtained within community settings (20 %):

During my settlement period, Islam gave me the spiritual fulfilment to settle more easily in Victoria. It supported and encouraged me during my settlement adjustment. At that time I found first the social welfare association 'Merhamet'.

...

Islam and the mosque gave them the opportunity to meet others, and it was like 'remembrance on Bosnia'.

A Bosnian Muslim associated for many years with sporting activities remarks:

Like *the Bosnia Melbourne Soccer Club*, other Bosniak sports clubs and cultural associations served as the 'settlement start' for the newly arrived migrants. Sports clubs helped in many ways such as assisting to find accommodation, job, friendship and cultural and multi-cultural interactions.

During the 1980s another wave of Bosnian Muslims emigrated to Victoria. And yet, during their process of settling the most problematic issue was unemployment. Generally, it was a 'shift' from social elements of settlement to issues related to economic domain. Specifically, with social necessities of day-by-day living the crises of unemployment caused disappointment, frustration and suffering. Two Bosnian Muslim settlers (20 %) articulated their experiences:

I migrated to Australia in 1982. I came from New South Wales to the hostel in Victoria looking for work. Since the early 1980s there was the time of *economic recession* and to get job wasn't easy. So, the initial period of settlement wasn't easy because of unemployment. A previous Bosnian Muslim settler and a Slovenian were the first to help me in Victoria. This Bosniak settler took me to find employment. We went from company to company, from factory to factory – and 'we knocked from door to door'.

...

I came to Australia in 1985. To get a job at that time was hard and it was a major issue 'because of economic downturn' in Australia. I was lucky that I got a job. Since I settled in Victoria I didn't experience prejudices and, indeed, I can say that I obtained a positive settlement experience.

The economic recession, which lasted for several years since the early 1980s, left major impact on settlement process. It became evident that economic downturn created an attitude of fear and uncertainty in respondents. Consequently, the Australian slowing economy produced further unemployed which was particularly difficult issue for Bosnian families. Thus the family needed to adjust both social and economic pressure. In many cases this caused family breakdown, marriage breakdown, and other hardship. Indeed depression and anxiety caused strained interpersonal relationships. To get job it was a matter of 'good luck', as stated one Bosnian Muslim respondent (10 %). However, these circumstances, again, were made worse by the lack of English language proficiency.

Despite employment problems and the subsequent issue of economic integration, Bosnian Muslims during this settlement period agreed that the multicultural society in Victoria was open and flexible. Indeed there was general agreement that during 'the 1980s Bosnian Muslim migrants weren't discriminated against' on account of being NESB or Muslim (100 %). However, during the 1980s for the Bosnian Muslims major concerns were related to (1) find employment; (2) learn English language; and (3) adjustment of family life and working hours, explained participants (20 %). The following describes the issues that Bosnian Muslims (20 %) needed to address:

The major issue was English. Although among Bosnian Muslims were many skilled professionals, because of their lack of English it seemed that they felt misunderstood and even 'inferior', despite their potential capacities to do work very well. The other issue was 'the adjustment of time' for business and enrolment of kids at schools as a part of our family adaptation in new multicultural environment.

Due their lack of English language proficiency the Bosnian Muslims feeling of 'inferiority' or that they were misunderstood. This did not come exclusively from others, but also from their self-perception as failures as the result of problematic pressure to find job and to see to other elements of life became difficult. Certainly it can be said that there was 'some misunderstanding by others', but it was also result of their struggle to find jobs in difficult economic times. The sense of inferiority was not so-evident an issue as in previous times. The Bosnian Muslims were aware that are very skilled professionals, but their concern to find employment, during general economic downturn' in Australia which more or less similarly affected other migrants, led them to be very anxious and worried. Additional pressure for families was providing their children with basic support they required during schooling. What became clear is that this time the psychological effect and needs were understood and supported by community or friends and united family members. The wrong 'perception' did not evolve nor prevail, most importantly their positive energy resulted, for many, in the successful establishing own businesses. Indeed as they became established settlers they took more active part in community activities. It was also time of growing cultural diversity which provided a very useful base for integration.

A further issue which deserves attention was that Bosnian Muslims recognised the advantage and value of cultural diversity and the role of education. This was the case particularly for their children's progress at school, while their parents learned English to gain skills to seek employment or manage businesses. Hence their approach to adjusting to the educational system opened up a beneficial space for family life and further adaptation. Additionally, during the 1980s a 'family reunion' through migration sponsorship was an important element for Bosnian Muslim settlers as the extended family meant additional support.

At that time various aspects which contributed to their social integration were: (1) already established community settings and new social links with Bosnian community members; (2) networks with relatives; (3) interaction with other ethnic groups; and (4) their openness to the wider multicultural society. Another Bosnian Muslim spoke of how she perceived multicultural development since she had settled in Victoria:

In contrast to time when I migrated (1969) to Australia, today there are many services both community and various mainstream institutions for the newly arrived migrants... Since the mid 1970s onwards multiculturalism is a particular value of Australia – every culture is nice and it is good when they are either mixed or in mutual appreciation and share common values. Also, I have attended the Melbourne Show, Moomba and Flemington horse races; these are also examples of my socio-cultural integration in Victoria.

Indeed, she clarified that: (1) multiculturalism was institutionalised and impacted public gatherings which attracted people from diverse backgrounds; and (2) various Bosnian Muslim community organisations existed. Like other Bosnian Muslims during that time she remembered: 'Bosnian Muslims took part in various multicultural festivals in Victoria, including a great festival Moomba'.

Furthermore, when she was asked about being a Muslim (originally from Bosnia) in Victoria, she replied that she had always led her life with religious practice. By

covering settlement periods during the 1970s, the 1980s until recent times she recalled her experience:

As a Muslim I didn't experience religious prejudices, maybe because I wear so-called 'European clothes', but in my heart I am Muslim. Often I go to the Bosnian mosque and also support the Bosniak sports clubs, folk groups, Bosnian language schools and community cultural manifestations. I settled near the Bosnian Islamic centre. I found it suitable because of the presence of many Bosnian Muslim settlers, to run my business, to have available services, halal food shops and so on.

This clearly advocates that the presence of Islam is possible in terms of religious practice and settling into a new life, which include: (1) running business; and (2) interacting and being involved in community activities.

It is interesting to note that Bosniaks born Australians are growing and educating within both cultural influences, Bosniak and Australian. At home it is Bosnian Muslim culture, while in public life it is Australian multiculturalism. Within family life, the culture of young Bosnian Muslims is more or less expressed using English words with Bosnian grammatical construction. However, their lifestyle 'commonly embraces' Bosniak traditional ways of food, interaction, relationships, respect and religious practice. There are issues of *balance* between community culture and broader society influences. On the one hand, children learn Bosnian from parents and in Bosnian language schools, on the other hand, parents learn English from their children and during interaction with Australians of various backgrounds. Linguistic 'variations' are also part of hybridity of identity - languages and cultures are often in mutual interactions. Interviewees (40 %) maintain that 'Bosnian language is still the main language at home'. However, the main source of their cultural manifestation includes Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition within Australian multicultural framework.

Overall the issues of second generation are diverse and complex. First of all they have no problem in English proficiency. In terms of relationship between parents and children at home it is less formal than it was traditionally in Bosnia, although roles of

mother and father remain important. Accordingly it does not exclude parents' concern about children home and public education. It also includes children care for sick relatives or grandparents if for instance both parents work. A contact with the rest of family is less frequent, but sense for friendship is more attractive. In this way it is common opinion within Bosnian Muslim (80 %) community that 'the aged parents may not enough understand the younger generation born in Australia'. However, the children respect their parents and try to be quickly independent.

Intermarriage by second generation Bosnian Muslims is less common in more traditional families, especially if a strong patriarchal family prevails. In case of so-called non-traditional family life (i.e. urban) the choices of origin of their partner is more flexible therefore intermarriage is relatively high. Nowadays these differences are decreasing, whereby the traditional and modern lifestyles do not lead to a sharp distinction in their choice of intermarriage or intramarriage among young adults. Second generation Bosniaks do not only marry Bosniaks, indeed the second generation marry non-Bosniaks and non-Muslims. Mixed marriages with Bosniaks are mostly common with different ethnic groups of former Yugoslavia. Also, the lifestyles of second generation in Australia lead Bosniaks to foster friendship with Australians of different backgrounds and some are married with them. They also have interactions within Bosnian Muslim community and prefer to marry Bosnian Muslim either from community in Australia or from Bosnia. Young Bosniaks during their visit to mosques respect Islamic ethics and follow religious rituals, while in multicultural environment their outlook in terms of type of clothing and cultural interactions is more secular – 'it is their matter of choice' and they balance these factors according to the situation. For the second generation religion has more significance in their spiritual and cultural expressions prevailing as a source for social and traditional gathering than the regular religious observance. However the young Bosnian Muslims keenly acknowledge both 'Islamic and multireligious values'.

In contrast to their parents, particularly during their settlement time, for the Bosniak born Australians education and employment are not problematic issues. Indeed most of participants (80 %) responded that 'their children are successful in schools and/or work'. Due to both high living standards in Australia and acculturation, the second generations Bosniaks find it easier to adjust differences between urban and rural

lifestyles than what is the common case in Bosnia. High living standards, working and educational opportunities, and ability to be creative are supportive of second generation integration and settlement. However, as a result of cultural environment of birth place in Bosnia and level of education, there still exist some differences between urban and rural lifestyles among families and friends within community and this has impacted on the second generation in terms of attitudes to work, education and life. Although the vast majority of Bosnian population came from Bosnian rural environment their *common* link with those who migrated from Bosnian cities is the Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition. The values of the Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition are habitually passed by parents to their children.

Important insights were gained by asking the question ‘how do you try to pass on your values (either Bosniak or Bosnian, including Islamic and multi-cultural) to your children?’ A participant noted that passing on knowledge and experience to new generations of Bosnian Muslims was very important regardless of how long you have lived in Australia. She states:

I have lived longer in Australia than in Bosnia. My children were born in Australia. I am teaching my children about *Islam* and *cultural diversity*. This is *Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition*.

It needs to be noted that this opinion frequently shared most of respondents from all three waves of migrations. This settlement experience highlights the significance of Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition in Victoria and across Australia. Also, this is the way of preserving and promoting Bosnian Muslim identity. In the Bosniak-Australian context the message is clear: Islamic component is traditionally an integral part of Bosnian Muslim multicultural background. In Australia it is also an integral part of Australian multicultural environment.

Cultural tradition, therefore, has played an important role in integration and adaptation, supported by Islamic virtues. Also multilinguism in Australia became an important part of multiculturalism, as one Bosnian Muslim emphasised: ‘nowadays people of various backgrounds freely talk *many* different community languages’.

Certainly this included the Bosnian media, most notably ethnic radio programs and print media that provided excellent opportunities for community advocacy.

The interviewees were asked ‘do they call Australia home or would they return to live in Bosnia?’ In answer to this question, the Bosnian Muslims (100%) settlers in Victoria that were part of this migrant wave expressed: Australia as ‘the main country’ and Bosnia as ‘the mother country’, clearly illustrating their attachment to Bosnia and Australia (100 %).

These answers are based on their sense and knowledge of both Islamic and multicultural issues. Most importantly they recognised many Australian values, most notably multiculturalism, was much broader and richer than in Bosnia. These settlers contributed to the Australian economy and supported the more energetic multicultural development in Victoria and across Australia, which reflected their integration and adaptation in their new homeland.

6.3 Settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims from the 1990s onwards (interviews with community members)

The mid 1990s onwards was the period of arrival of the third wave of Bosnian Muslims (*Bosniaks*) in Victoria. Today these Bosnian Muslims mostly define themselves by nationality as *Bosniaks*. In response to the question ‘what was the main reason for their departure from Bosnia?’ the Bosniak interviewees responded that they took refugee from Bosnia due to ‘ethnic cleansing and genocide’ (100 %). They further highlighted that this tragic historical period between 1992 and 1995 also ‘devastated urban life of Bosnia, destroyed many religious buildings and cultural heritage, because of the culturecide’. Bosnian Muslim refugees settled in Victoria when multiculturalism was established in Australia.

In response to the question ‘did they meet previous Bosnian Muslim migrants?’, recently arrived Bosnian Muslims clarified that they met many Bosniaks across Victoria and Australia. In fact, the third wave of new arrivals met first and second wave Bosnian Muslim immigrants as well as immigrants from different backgrounds. The next question was: ‘who first helped them with housing, employment, and

accessing services such as banks, medicare and post office?'. Bosniaks commonly (100 %) responded that they found an already established Bosnian Muslim community with variety organisations and as well as many multicultural institutions. Settlement assistance for Bosnian refugees was, most notably, provided by the *Bosnian Muslim Welfare Service Merhamet* and many volunteers of previous Bosnian Muslim settlers, Bosnian Muslim community mosques and clubs and the *Croatian Social Welfare Service*. In Victoria, the Bosniak refugees (80 %) were assisted by a number multicultural institutions including DIMA, EMC, MRC, AMES, Housing Services, ECCV, MAV, VICSEG, MESWA, (*Multi-Ethnic Slavic Welfare Association*), the government institution Centrelink, the Overseas Qualification Unit, and various ethnic radio programs including SBS and 3ZZZ broadcasted in Bosnian. 20 % of Bosniaks were supported during settlement process by relatives and/or friends. As they became more aware of the other parts of community the newly arrived Bosniaks became involved in its activities and through community interactions received more support by community members. They indicated that they: (1) meet and join friends of the Bosnian Muslim community; and (2) joined or ever took part in activities of Bosnian mosques and/or clubs.

The following excerpts reflect the experience of arrival in Australia from a turbulent historical period in Bosnia. At the settlement start Bosnian Muslims faced many challenges. For instance two (20 %) new arrivals expressed their initial settlement experiences:

I came to Australia in 1995. Australia embraced me at the most difficult period of my life, when I was forced to leave Bosnia, 'country of my ancestry'. The first community institution which provided help for me and my family was 'Merhamet'.

...

When I migrated to Australia in 1997 the first who helped me was my brother. At first I arrived in New South Wales and there he brought me to Centrelink, Medicare, Immigration Department, MRC, AMES, translating services and other Australian institutions. Shortly after, with my family, I moved to Victoria because of employment. I met first and second

generations of Bosnian Muslim settlers in a variety of community settings in Victoria.

These narratives clearly reflect the experiences of third wave Bosnian Muslim settlers who found: (1) a variety of community organisations, at first and most notably, the socio-welfare agency 'Merhamet'; (2) governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental multicultural institutions; (3) relatives who had settled in previous migration waves; (4) community members from previous generations; and (5) interpreting services in the Bosnian language. Indisputably these provisions made settlement adjustment easier and quicker. What this also confirms is that besides mainstream multicultural institutions, for Australia as a country of immigration, the Bosnian Muslim community agency and other organisations established by previous waves of Bosnian Muslim settlers, were of benefit to future generations of migrants.

In answer to the question about 'the role of culture and religion during the process of integration' Bosnian Muslims (90 %) agreed that both factors assisted them in very positive ways during their settlement. They expressed that they derived 'strength' from their culture and religion and this enabled them to cope better with the challenges of a new country. As noted, well-developed Bosnian ethnic organisations, particularly in predominantly industrial suburbs, represented a 'base' from which to not only settle alongside their compatriots but to become active members in community activities, both ethnic and multicultural. The vast majority of newly arrived Bosnian Muslims (90%) were attracted to the most established Bosnian Muslim communities where they chose to settle, as a result of existing religious, cultural and linguistic connections in these communities. Another reason involved practical and cultural sensitivities because new arrivals found that either Bosnian Muslim professional workers or volunteers, together with mainstream multicultural institutions, understood postwar trauma, disorder and their need for adaptation (90 %). These facts explain why the largest number of Bosniaks settled in the Brimbank and Dandenong (90 %) areas and this frequently contributed to: (1) exchange of settlement information; and (2) sharing experiences within Bosnian Muslim community settings. Only a small number of Bosnian Muslims (10 %) are scattered throughout regional Victoria. In relation to settlement a newly settled Bosnian Muslim remarked:

There are still some difficulties because of the English language, mainly because of post-traumatic stress, but with time I am able to communicate enough with Australians. The Bosnian Muslim institutions had feelings and understanding towards me and my family that made it easier for us to settle.

A commonly held view among the third wave of migrants (100 %) was reflected by one participant who said the 'first two to three years were the most difficult period of settlement'. However they also expressed that many refugees found variety of supports to settle and to adjust to everyday life. These included welfare, medical, social, cultural, multicultural, spiritual, educational, linguistic, family and friends support within community and by many multicultural institutions.

Although this wave of migration brought many educated Bosnian Muslims to Australia, while recovering from postwar trauma, the English language presented the biggest problem. Like many others (70 %) one Bosnian Muslim (10 %) stressed: 'I learned English in AMES because I was entitled to 510 hours'. For those who were well qualified an important concern for further integration was the acceptance of qualifications previously obtained in Bosnia while they sought adequate employment. Some Bosnian Muslims (20 %) were accepted, for example: 'my tertiary qualification from Bosnia was recognised by the Australian authority (i.e. Overseas Qualification Unit). Thus, I can use it for my employment'. Others (30 %) saw their Bosnian qualifications as a way to access further education, gaining other skills and qualifications, so that they could apply for and obtain suitable employment.

The newly settled Bosnian Muslims experienced a rich Australian multiculturalism of a much broader spectrum than was the case in Bosnia including many different cultures, religions, races, ethnic groups, languages and lifestyles. Those who settled in Victoria recognised the significance of multiculturalism in Victoria. In relation to question 'what do they think multiculturalism means?', the Bosniaks (100 %) often acknowledged: 'we (Bosnian Muslims) came from Bosnia which is both multicultural and cosmopolitan country to more diverse society' or 'we came from Bosnian

multicultural society to even more culturally diverse Australian society'. Another (10 %) argued:

The Bosniak cultural tradition, also, means 'to respect own and other cultures and differences'. We traditionally promote both Islamic and multicultural values. I believe, as do many other Bosniak Australians, that it is to our advantage for integration and adaptation in Victoria. Our sense and understanding of difference gives us encouragement to settle easier in a new homeland. We have to know that there are differences and we have to understand diversity. I teach my kids about the values of Islam, they go to the mosque, celebrate religious festivities, they meet the Bosniaks, but also foster good friendship with other Australians and respect people whatever their racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic background or lifestyle. Australia is a great nation where besides Europeans I have met Asians, Africans and Americans.

Evidently Bosnian Muslims regarded cultural diversity in Victoria as the vehicle for integration and adaptation in a new homeland. As an important aspect of their settlement within Victoria, multiculturalism was relevant and beneficial due to: (1) the presence of many community organisations; (2) services obtained from mainstream multicultural agencies; (3) creative multicultural programs; and (4) employment in multiethnic agencies.

However for some recently settled Bosnian Muslims (20 %) unemployment remains a real struggle. Moreover, the majority of newly settled arrivals reported gaining employment in factories (70 %) and the value of cultural diversity, illustrated in the following example (10 %):

Since the late 1990s in Victoria I found employment in the factory. This is a very busy environment where together work people of different backgrounds, such as Vietnamese, Indians, Rumanians, Filipinos, Africans and so on. My working colleagues know my background, and as a Muslim I haven't experienced any prejudices in the factory. Indeed, we workers among ourselves know each other, having a fair and tolerant

atmosphere and mutual respect – ‘we are all equal’. Like many other employees in this factory my colleagues and I have understanding and support from our managers as well.

As time went on, by the 1990s and 2000s many Bosniak *men* and *women* were often both are employed and jointly contributed to their families’ income. In some cases men are unemployed, while women are employed – this diminished ‘strictly traditional barriers’ that ‘female must be [only] at home’. In cases that both are unemployed husband and wife commonly share their home’s duties. Mutual support and understanding between wife and husband or between partners helped each other to work and to fulfill family duties. Women’s engagement became ‘relief and delight’ as ‘the Bosniaks *recognised* values of women in modern western society’. Within Bosniak community many, old and young, Bosniak women contribute to community activities and they are also representatives in various community activities and organisations. This additionally highlights that Bosnian Muslims ‘adjusted themselves within the time and new space’.

The Bosnian Muslims were asked ‘did they have opportunities to share common Australian multicultural values in public life?’ In response to this query Bosnian Muslims (100 %) said that they ‘discovered’ the strengths of cultural diversity in *two* ways (‘patterns’): (1) mutual activities *between* Bosnian Muslim groups and other ethnic groups, either Muslim or non-Muslim, often in a combined sense and subsequently cultural interaction; and (2) participation *within* cultural programs of other cross-cultural groups, illustrated in the following narratives:

Our Bosniak kids and young students participate on various multicultural events in Victoria, with various ethnic groups which are members of ECCV. We participate together with Indians, Japanese and Chinese on various festivals. As a part of multicultural programs, we participated in Australia Day Parade, Moomba Festival, Art Centre Melbourne, various Victorian town halls, Federation Square, Immigration Museum, even were welcomed to visit the Parliament House of Victoria. Such activities assist the young generation to be integrated and to broadly understand cultural diversity.

...

Our soccer club *BH Centre Springvale* and sports ground has welcomed various ethnic groups or sports teams such as the *Caulfield North Soccer Club* (Jewish), or the *Southern Cross School* (Christian), and we have productive cooperation with local and state representatives.

...

I like Australian cultural diversity and, for instance, Aboriginal fine art.

...

We (Bosnian Muslims) actively participate with Bosnian cultural programs; we even take part in ethnic Vietnamese cultural programs by singing songs in the Vietnamese language...For our new Bosniak soccer club called *Dzerzelez* mostly Bosniaks play, but also our team has two players originally from Norway and Vietnam, one player originally from Turkey, Albania, Sudan, Egypt and Somalia...The young Bosnian Muslims *joined* the Chinese folk carnival...We share with others the community hall that is part of MRC. We are open to others and our teamwork fosters either partnership or creative relationships with different ethnic groups including Turks, Greeks, Poles, Chinese, Russians, Cambodians, Italians and with their representatives have mutual meetings *within* the same environment

...

Our young Bosniaks played baseball, particular popular sport in many transoceanic countries, including Australia.

The above narratives confirmed that 'Australian tolerance provides a symbiosis of common values for all settlers'. What is clearly evident for this wave of settlers is that having settled in contemporary Victoria, even after a few years, Bosnian Muslims actively participated in various multicultural projects and programs. Accordingly Bosnian Muslim settlers are keen to absorb common values of the broader multiculturalism without forgetting their distinct cultural background and religious beliefs. In addition to participation in multicultural activities Bosnian Muslims contributed to the multicultural mosaic in Victoria. Besides existing community organisations, in recent times, Bosniak Victorians have established many new community organisations.

In response to the question 'did they experience any racism or discrimination in Australia because they are Muslim, Bosniak or both?' this cohort of respondents said that they not explicitly experience discrimination. However, some respondents indicated that sometimes in public life their 'Muslim identity' became 'source of embarrassment', 'confusion' and 'discomfort' which may in future caused social 'disadvantageous' or to get job harder. Many believe that because of their lifestyles or outlook they considered that it is still 'not problematic'. In terms of their 'Bosnian ethnic identity' it led them to frequently be questioned by others 'are they Muslims?' Bosniaks emphasised that Islam and their belief is a 'private matter'.

Nowadays we live in era of globalization of the world, and in an international war on terror. There are significant issues particularly in terms of Islamic threat to security and well being of the West. Especially after destruction of the World Trade Center in New York on September 11 by Islamic terrorism, followed with series of several serious Islamic terrorist attacks and devastations, the Muslim extreme and radical views are portrayed as typical of Islam. Therefore the following issues which need to be addressed include how events caused by Islamic terrorism have influenced the process of settling in a new homeland. These excerpts discuss the negative impacts of Islamic extremism on settlement experiences. From the beginning Bosnian Muslim settlers (100 %) have 'strongly acknowledged that they are against Islamic terrorism, which is dangerous for national and international security and terribly harmful for non-Muslims and Muslims' and have further remarked:

The current world affairs and domestic media news frequently report about destructive and tragic happenings caused by Islamic terrorism and fundamentalism...There is distressing news about Islamic terrorism, and we (Bosnian Muslims) condemn Islamic terrorism wherever it is...The Bosnian Muslims reject Islamic terrorism and fundamentalism.

The following comments reflect that Islamic extremism and terrorism impacted Bosnian Muslim settlers. In contrast to Islamic terrorism and fundamentalism, without doubt, 'Bosnian Muslims regard Islam as the religion of the peace as other religions'. Indeed, they firmly agreed that 'Islamic terrorism and fundamentalism has nothing at

all [to do] with Islamic virtues and humanity'. In this way, Bosnian Muslim settlers expressed the impact of Islamic extremism toward their religious identity, but also expressed their (80 %) opinions towards the mainstream media which often represents Islam as 'only associated with hostility':

Islamic terrorism, also, denies the Islamic values and damages the honest and peaceful life of the vast majority of Muslims. Often media stereotyping shows 'only negative side of Muslims' which disturbingly causes that the Bosnian Muslims are 'not comfortable in expressing their religious beliefs.'...Because of current troubles in the world and Islamic terror, especially in last fifteen years, I feel some prejudices or comments towards 'both Islam and Muslims', like the unpleasant expression 'bloody Muslim'. During first period of my settlement (late 1960s) because of my NESB I felt some denial of my identity. Today I consider that there is not denial on account of being NESB migrant, while being of Muslim appearance 'attracts' some strange 'attention'

...

After 9/11, my kids at school hear from other pupils some unpleasant comments 'about Islam'. There is a need to learn about Islam and its characteristics.

These important excerpts reflect that Islamic radicalism and terror has impacted on the settlement process of Muslims in Australia, including Bosniaks. It also indicates that to a great extent media, with disturbing news, have an effect on settlement life of all generations of Bosnian Muslims including children. However, Bosnian Muslim settlers (100 %) did not agree with the negative portrayal of Muslims and regarded Islamic values as a consistent part of the broader multicultural society and social harmony that it supports:

My religion '(i.e. Islam) is not an enemy to other religions'. I respect my religion, as others their religions and have decent relationship with non-Muslims. I am proud of being Muslim. While my religious belief and practice (Islam) is for me a matter of privacy, my culture is a link with others, either Muslims or non-Muslims. Also, it is important to 'express

values of own and other faiths'. This is my way how to adjust the Bosnian Islamic culture within a new environment

...

Bosnian Muslims in Australia are proud of their Islamic background and being Muslim in Australia. Their strengths are high respect for other cultures and religions as well as cherishing their own values and supporting multiculturalism.

The above response indicates that Bosniaks have mutually respectful relationships with friends and neighbours who are non-Bosniaks. Another remarked 'since my settlement in Victoria in the mid 1990s I didn't experience any prejudice on account of being Muslim. Perhaps, it is because the Bosniak culture is also part of European culture'. Also many community members maintain that the 'balance between traditional and modern styles of life of the Bosnian Muslims represents the Bosniak cultural tradition, which in fact is among the key socio-cultural elements which assists in the settlement process' (90 %). Many pointed to their interactions with non-Muslims as well. Others proudly emphasised being 'surrounded by the Indian and Pacific Oceans Australia, as a continent island with borders, is a safe country and plays a leading role in this part of globe'.

However, two recent events in Australia, namely 'Children Overboard affair' and 'the anti-Islamic backlash in Australia post 9/11' are an important part of settlement concerns.

In 2001 the Australian media widely reported that 'children (sea-faring asylum seekers) were thrown overboard'. However, the defence chief said there was 'no children overboard'. It was not only a 'certain maritime incident', but the 'Children Overboard' affair became an Australian political controversy. The Howard government was strongly criticised by opposition Parties and frequently by some media for misleading the public to win public support in the lead up to an election. It was not proven that children were thrown overboard and in fact was later established that throwing children over board did not occur. The Howard Government came under fierce criticism over the children overboard affair, including from many ethnic

groups in Australia, including *Bosniaks*. Also, Bosniaks understood that ‘these asylum seekers came to Australia for the better future for their children’.

Hereafter the September 11, 2001 attacks on the USA, followed by the Madrid massacre, the London bombing and Bali bombing, Islam and Muslims came to the forefront of the Western media, albeit not for very positive reasons. Some media reports ‘demonised Muslims’ and Islam, and thus fuelled fear and tension by generalising ‘Muslims as terrorists’. It created the impression of ‘a collective guilt’. Australian, including Muslim, news reported that Australian Muslims were increasingly being discriminated against because of their race or religion.

The anti-Islamic backlash in Australia was directed towards the Muslims of different origin such as Arab, Middle Eastern, African, Indian, Indonesian, Malaysian, Pakistani, Afghan, Turkish, Kurdish, Cyprian, Bosnian, and Albanian etc., most notably Arabs, and/or those Muslims who wore Muslim clothing and/or different races, including European Muslims. Discrimination against Muslims was reflected, not only in media and among some politicians, but also on the street, in shops, in public transport, at work, at school and so on. Serious incidents included: influx of anti-Islamic racism; women in Muslim dress being abused and/or attacked; Muslim men were threatened with violence, and mosques were daubed with graffiti. Anti-Islamic sentiment was reflected in expressions such as: ‘Go back to your own country’, ‘You [all] Muslim terrorists! You don’t belong here!’, and/or labels that Muslims are ‘anti-Western’, ‘unfriendly’ and ‘warlike’. These expressions are examples that the Bosnian Muslims also experienced.

For instance, ‘strange attention towards Bosnian Muslims’ can be seen when they went to the mosques. Like the vast majority of Australian Muslims, the Bosnian Muslims argued that they ‘don’t like racism, intolerance, and prejudice against *all* Muslims’. Accordingly, Bosnian Muslims pointed out ‘respect to other Australian Muslims and diversity of their distinctiveness’. They stated that ‘there is no collective guilt, but the responsibly of terrorists’. Explicit racism and extremism are against social cohesion, human rights and multiculturalism. The Bosnian Muslims emphasised that they ‘do not want these problems and incidents to divide the

community; they want positive futuristic hopes without prejudices; they want the community to help to each other’.

Another contemporary aspect during settlement process is communication within world-wide Bosniak diaspora. The attachment not only to Bosnia, but Bosniak diaspora settled all over the world is greater than ever before in its contemporary history. Set of common values and interrelated ideas, mostly based within cultural context, are ‘living bridge’ among dispersed Bosniak diasporic communities. Although Bosnian Muslim traditionally cherished values of their diaspora, their communication with other Bosniak diaspora is relatively recent phenomenon. In contrast to previous historical eras when many Bosniaks settled for instance most notably in Turkey, nowadays the presence of the Bosniak diaspora is more evident in the West. As a new social phenomenon via technological communication (e.g. the *Internet* and other *Bosniak world media*) Bosnian Muslims in Victoria (80 %) expressed not only their attachment to Bosnia, but to the Bosniak diaspora, with relatives and friends scattered worldwide. The reasons for their attachment to Bosnia are based primarily on their respect for and appreciation of postwar Bosnian survivors; and their slow but progressive recovery and development, most notably reflected in promoting traditional multicultural values and rebuilding Islamic heritage. According to various community members the Bosniaks attachment to Bosnia is reflected by: (1) visits to Bosnia, particularly for those who are able to meet travel expenses, including Bosnian Muslim families, retirees, or younger generations during their working leave, or school holidays; (2) traditional souvenirs; (3) music, painting, concerts – modern and traditional; (4) books and newspapers and so on. While many (80 %) prefer to visit Bosnia: ‘Australia is my new, but permanent country and I also wish, during holidays, to visit Bosnia’, others are satisfied with Bosnian culture within the community and, not surprisingly, expect further developments in Bosnia. One Bosnian Muslim said: ‘I do not intend to go back to live in Bosnia because there is still many political and economic difficulties and it is different to the ‘Bosnia in which I was born’.

Most notably Bosnian Muslims expressed values of Australian multiculturalism which became a new, but significant part of their identity and life, as the vast majority proudly took Australian citizenship. Frequent expression among Bosniaks is: ‘I am an

Australian, but because of my background, I am also Bosniak'. 10 % of the most recently settled Bosniaks (2000s) stated that they were progressively learning about Australian values. Most importantly, responding to the question 'what are Australian values?' the following common views (90 %) were expressed:

I called Australia 'my new homeland'. It gives human rights, educational opportunities, economic stability and an excellent living standard.

...

I feel an Australian, because I wished to be Australian, and I am proud of it - 'my heart is for Australia, but for Bosnia as well'. I am an Australian citizen and I feel an equal with other Australians. 'I love Australian humanity!'

The interviewees were asked 'do they call Australia home or would they return to live in Bosnia?' In answer to this inquiry, most Bosnian Muslims (90 %) underlined that Australia is their new home land, 'they are happy to live in Australia' and 'they would like to see good future for younger generations of Bosniak Australians'.

To conclude, it is evident that Bosnian Muslim settlers during the third wave of migration experienced settlement problems in Australia although they came to an environment in which there were greater support networks. These Bosniaks also expressed their attachment to Bosnia and Australia. Like previous waves of Bosnian Muslim settlers in Victoria, they commonly express their keen interest in contributing to economic growth and a multicultural lifestyle. Overall, similarly to early generations these recently settled generations of the Bosnian Muslims appreciate greatly 'Australian values' and along with their already obtained positive experiences, they appreciate new multicultural environment and have started to build new prosperous future. They also greatly appreciate contemporary Australian cosmopolitanism. Like many well-integrated settlers, they also demonstrated their adaptability in a new homeland.

6.4 Conclusion

The exploration of settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims in Victoria offered a spectrum of insights from community interviewees. It further documented and clarified a variety of interconnected issues which reflect the experience of different generations of Bosnian Muslim settlers in Victoria. The empirical research specifically addressed major gaps which existed in earlier fragmentary works. This in-depth research has revealed the growth of the Bosnian Muslim settlement, which developed during particular socio-economic and historical periods and through the implementation of various policies, broadly demonstrating authentic Bosnian Muslim integration and adaptation.

Settlement experience reveals that during particular historical periods, denial or prejudice towards Bosnian Muslim settlers was most evident during and shortly after the White Australia Policy ended. This chapter also discussed the impact of global contemporary issues on the settlement process. Throughout the history of Bosnian Muslim settlement there have been different legacies and affiliations and diverse viewpoints within the community.

While visiting with friends and acquaintances has been AN initial way of integration; social capital which includes social networks provide the *channels* through which settlers established previous and new community institutions, fostered friendships and cooperation (Putnam 2000:95). Thus social capital has been found in friendship networks, neighbourhoods, mosques, schools, social clubs, and cultural associations. Economic contribution and businesses were *an undivided* amalgam of their integration and social capital. Bosnaiks' bonding, bridging and linking social capitals included their commitment to developing vigorous, bold and creative multicultural programs, based also on flexible understanding and trustworthiness, which enhanced their cooperation and interaction with Australians of various backgrounds and their support of multiculturalism in Australia.

Social capital, evidently, assisted settlers in the following: *firstly* different *ages* and *genders* commonly shared community membership; *secondly* new Bosnian Muslim settlers learned from previous migrant generations, including families as the frequent

sources that shaped them; and *thirdly* the mutual assistance among community members, where network between community institutions and neighbourhood played important roles. These social factors, along their settlement experiences, were mutually interlinked and interconnected with settlement adaptation and economic contribution of *all* generations of Bosnian Muslims.

Essentially the broad issues that cover socio-historical community development from first settlement times until contemporary times represent undivided segments, which effectively reflect the distinctiveness of the community. Accordingly various aspects of the Bosnian Muslim community are interconnected within the multiethnic, multicultural society and within the community itself. The Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition which embraces *Bosnia, Islam, culture, customs* and *language* all played a pivotal role across all settlement generations in the new homeland. It is important to note that the research also clearly underlined the growth and significance of multiculturalism and the role of Islamic virtues. Finally this research suggests that future reference to Bosnian Muslims, particularly the vast majority of newly arrived settlers in Victoria and throughout Australia, should be articulated as the *Bosniaks*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Multiculturalism and Integration

This chapter presents data analysis relating to the settlement experience of Bosnian Muslims in Victoria, including twenty responses from surveys conducted with representatives or leaders (*respondents*) from various community organizations. The locations of these organisations and their representatives are in western suburbs of Melbourne (45 %) and the eastern suburbs of Melbourne (45 %) as well as in regional Victoria (10 %). The age groups of representatives/leaders are the following: 25-35 (20 %); 36-45 (40 %) ; 46-64 (30 %) and 64+ (20 %).

The representatives/leaders of various community organisations were 50 % women and 50 % men. They included 40 % professional workers and 60 % volunteers. Their various visa categories included refugee and humanitarian entrants 50 %, working visa 40 % and family reunion visa 10 %. Their levels of education included 20 % primary education, 55 % secondary education and 25 % tertiary level. Types of their occupations included 20 % traders, 30 % businessmen, and 30 % agencies professional workers. These community representatives/leaders arrived in Australia during 1960s (20 %), 1970s (30 %), 1980s (20 %), 1990s (20 %) and 2000s (10 %).

The Bosnian Muslim community organisations included 10 % religious, 30 % sport, 30% welfare, 20% cultural, 10 % educational. These Bosniak community agencies exist from various periods: 10 % of religious institutions exist since 1970s, 10 % sport clubs exist since 1970s while 20% of them exist since the early 1990s; 10 % welfare services operate since the early 1990s and 20 % of them since 2000s; and 20 % cultural institutions operate since 2000s same as 10 % of educational.

This chapter highlights the significance of social capital, various community organisations, social network and activities which *strongly* support multiculturalism. It is important to note that most of community organisations provide voluntary support in various fields, such as sport clubs provide welfare assistance and organise

cultural program; welfare institutions beside their socio-welfare and Bosnian-English interpreting assistances also provide various educational and cross-cultural projects; religious institutions also provide cultural-educational projects; cultural institutions, for instance support various sport, arts and entertainment activities; educational institutions include cultural, arts, media programs and translation assistance.

Second part of this chapter includes responses from interviews conducted with representatives (*staff*) from various mainstream multicultural institutions, both governmental and non-governmental. These institutions are located in western suburbs of Melbourne (50 %) and the eastern suburbs of Melbourne (50 %) and they have cooperation and/or interaction with various Bosniak community organisations. These multicultural institutions support settlement development of the Bosnian Muslim community and its community activities. The Bosniaks, during their settling in Victoria, used they various settlement services or obtained settlement support. Also, many Bosniaks are supporters and/or members (100 %), while some are volunteers (MAV) and few of them are employed workers of these multicultural (SBS and AMES) and multiethnic (the Minaret College) institutions. Bosniaks are taking part in various multicultural projects of these multicultural organisations.

The survey and interview responses and data analysis presented in the previous chapter *explicitly* identify and clarify the key findings. The main focus of this chapter will be to explore and observe settlement experience in a variety of community settings. These observations from the data will illuminate diverse issues as well as community and multicultural activities, most evidently in relation to Bosnian Muslim integration within multicultural Victorian society. A significant and diverse sample includes viewpoints from different multicultural institutions and/or community service providers. The various organisations and institutions clearly demonstrate that Bosnian Muslims not only form an integral part of Australia's multicultural milieu, but they are active supporters and contributors.

7.1 Survey responses

(interviews with community representatives/leaders)

The Bosniak Victorians proudly confirmed they are well integrated in Victorian multicultural society. There were variables however in responses based on settlement

experience where two major themes emerged: (1) the role of community organisations during settlement process; and (2) elements of settlement adaptation within the multicultural environment.

When survey respondents were asked: ‘what are the most common ways of gathering the Bosnian Muslims within the community in Victoria?’ 85% reported a *diverse range* of community activities frequently within a *mutual* context, including culture, religion, language, education and sport. However, 15% of respondents focused exclusively on either culture and/or religion (5%), sport (5%), or education and/or language (5%). The following arguments are derived from a range of viewpoints, including different age groups:

The Bosniak sports clubs, over a number of years, attracted generations of Bosnian Muslim settlers of different ages, gender and mixed marriages during various local and interstate tournaments – these competitions are traditional. There are many old and new Bosniak soccer clubs across Victoria with a large number of members. Often the Bosniak clubs organised traditional cultural programs. (30% respondents of sport clubs)

Mosques are places that provide opportunities for Bosnian Muslim settlers to practice Islamic worship, celebration of Islamic festivals, education in Bosnian, to learn language of the Qur’an – Arabic, to learn about Islam and its virtues and cultural tradition, as well as meetings and cultural-religious gatherings. They provide spiritual warmth and fulfillment for the Bosnian Muslim men and women, old and young, and to speak Bosnian language where they can feel that they are at ‘home’. It is a worship place which, as well, has welcomed other Australian Muslims of different ethnic backgrounds. (10 % respondents of religion institutions)

In our cultural club Bosniaks and other Bosnians have gatherings and socialise. Often there come various generations, old and young. It is a civic club (i.e. non-religious). There is opportunity to all Bosnians (Muslims and non-Muslims) to meet each other to cherish friendship. After work, in our spare time, we leave our residential areas and go to

meet Bosnian friends. The most important factors in preserving identity are culture, religion and language...As *Bosnians* we visited the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Embassy in Canberra and welcomed to our cultural club prominent Bosniaks from our country of origin, or different community representatives. We celebrate the national holidays of Bosnia. Often parts of socialising are exhibitions, fishing, singing, playing musical instruments, launch of books written in Bosnian. These examples of socialising are our ways of preserving a cultural connection with Bosnia for Bosnians of all ages and generations across Victoria...As *Australians* we organise excursions in different places, for instance, from the Twelve Apostles in western Victoria to the Gippsland farms in eastern Victoria. We went to Phillip Island too. We are visiting a richness of Australian historical heritage across Victoria. Also we travelled to Adelaide a few times to meet our compatriots in South Australia. (20 % respondents of cultural clubs)

The members of our *seniors group* in Victoria are Bosnian Muslim settlers, both men and women. This association of retirees includes elderly people, both previous migrants and recent refugees. We preserve and promote our culture, traditional customs and folklore. It is our desire and opportunity for traditional Bosniak gatherings and socialising and to care for the disabled or sick people. As well, we organise travel and visit cultural-historical places of interest in our new country (Australia) which we *all* love. (10 % respondents of Seniors Group, and 10 % respondents of Merhamet)

These responses reveal that there are many manifestations in Bosnian Muslim community life and subsequently a variety of community activities. These were in turn supported by other responses to: ‘what are the ways in which you preserve Bosniak or Bosnian identity in Australia?’. *All* factors including ‘culture, religion, language, education and sport’ that contribute to both preserving and promoting Bosniak and Bosnian identity in Victoria were reported by 90%. Indeed they further argued that ‘Islam, culture, language, education and sport, together with multiculturalism’, are important factors in preserving the Bosniak identity in Victoria,

particularly for the new generation. Moreover 10% of respondents considered issues of potential assimilation to which the youngest Bosnian Muslims are most frequently 'exposed' and therefore at risk of 'forgetting their identity' because the children's attachment to Bosnia seems more fragile. Such opinions are based on assumptions about eventual assimilation, rather than actual occurrence. Hence respondents commonly stated:

The Bosniaks in Victoria after they join their sports clubs, mosques and cultural associations find it easier to preserve their Bosniak-Australian identity – 'not to be assimilated'.

Young Bosniak generations, including those born in Victoria, should learn about the values of the Bosnian language because it gives a spectrum of possibilities including the sense and expression of the soul of the Bosnian culture which promotes a distinctive identity. The Bosnian language is certainly among key factors in preserving our identity.

Among the 10% one respondent reported: 'for the Bosniak Victorians it is important to have a future vision, both a short-term and a long-term strategy within the community institutions in cooperation with multicultural agencies, so it will either reduce or eliminate potential problems of assimilation of new generations'. What becomes evident is that Bosniaks have already had multicultural experiences in Victoria which they can pass on to their children. Accordingly, they are familiar with the role of community institutions and their activities as well as multiculturalism, which mutually constitutes the major platform for preserving and promoting identity.

When they were asked 'how productive is the cooperation between Bosnian mosques, clubs, organisations (e.g. information, law and order, funding etc.) with Australian non-governmental and governmental institutions?' survey respondents generally responded positively. However, they experienced different degrees of cooperation between community, non-governmental and governmental institutions. One-third of all respondents (30%) reported that cooperation between Bosnian mosques, clubs and organisations and Australian non-governmental and governmental institutions was 'good'; another 30% stated that cooperation was 'very good'; while the remaining

30% considered cooperation was 'excellent'. Only 10% reported that cooperation was either 'insufficient' or 'inadequate'. The following narratives illustrate the majority response:

Being Bosnian *Imam* (religious leader, Muslim priest) in this wonderful society is an honour. Australia is a multi-religious society and among many of its values it includes freedom of religions and interfaith cooperation. Indeed, cooperation between Bosnian mosques and Australian non-governmental and governmental institutions is excellent...It needs to be noted that Bosnian Grand Mufti Dr Cerić recently visited the Bosnian Muslim community during the *Official Opening Day* of the mosque, *the Australian Bosnian Islamic Centre Deer Park* (10 March 2007). Many prominent Australians, including Bosniaks, either participated in or attended this historical event, including other Bosnian Imams from Victoria and from other Australian states. There were representatives from federal, state and local government and non-government and different religious denominations.

The *Bosnian Teaching Association Victoria* has productive cooperation with and it is supported by *Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority* in relation to preparing the final exam for the Bosnian language Year 12. Also, this Association cooperates very well with Victorian School of Language regarding teaching programs and preparing and publishing school textbooks in Bosnian. In addition, there are sections set up for the books written in Bosnian in the Springvale Public Library as well as in the Deer Park Public Library, suburbs where the largest Bosniak settlements are established.

Our cooperation with relevant multicultural institutions, such as MRC, became more productive. We have good cooperation with SBS and 3ZZZ. Merhamet's activities also include various forums, workshops and cross-cultural training sessions in cooperation with the mainstream multicultural institutions.

Our cultural club welcomes and cooperates with Australian representatives from Centrelink, councils, social workers, Aged Care and so on. Also, these activities illustrate our integration and adaptation within our new homeland – Australia.

What the above suggests is a variety of ways in approaching and cooperating with Victorian non-governmental and governmental institutions. It clarifies that Bosnian Muslims have already gained experience and are aware of the advantages of cooperating with governmental and non-governmental agencies which serve as the most effective link between community activities and Bosnia. However in contrast to the above 10% of respondents said:

The existence and services of multicultural institutions are an advantage in Victoria which support community integration and subsequently multiculturalism. However, there is a need for more usage of services provided by the multicultural institutions.

‘How significant are Bosnian Muslim community institutions for newly arrived refugees?’ Respondents differed in their answers to this question. Firstly, 70% reported that community institutions for newly arrived refugees were ‘very important’, followed by 20% who considered them to be ‘important’, while the remaining 10% testified to the importance of Bosnian Muslim community institutions as ‘exceptional’. Most respondents stated: ‘the role of social-welfare agencies and sports clubs as well as other Bosnian Muslim community organisations are very important during the settlement process, in particular’ and added:

- The role of the Bosnian *mosque* is significant because it assists in the process of settlement, community socialising and integration in terms of spiritual fulfillment, information, advice and social welfare support.
- Bosnian Islamic *Centres* (including the tearoom, library, offices, hall and restaurant) provide a spiritual ‘niche’ for *all* Bosnian Muslim generations, where they feel ‘homely’, not lonely. (10 % respondents of religion institutions)

- The Bosniak *sports* clubs and *cultural* associations often serve as the ‘settlement start’ for newly arrived migrants. For instance, sports clubs assisted, on many occasions, in finding accommodation and jobs, providing familiarity, friendship and cross-cultural interaction and hosting multicultural festivals. (30% respondents of sport clubs)

When respondents were asked: ‘what support services do Bosniak mosques, sports clubs, cultural and welfare associations provide in the process of settlement and adaptation?’ there was general agreement that a variety of community organisations provided support services, information, advice, housing, money and opportunities for socialising. They reported that for the process of settlement and adaptation *all* factors, either separate (35%) or combined (65%), included accommodation, jobs, welfare, medicare, finance, family reunions, learning English, translation, and friendship which played important roles. According to 35% migrants needed *both* medical help and advice and English tuition and public housing; while others preferred to access information and socialise within the community.

However, the most reflective response came from the professional staff of the Bosnian Muslim Welfare Service organisation ‘Merhamet’. As part of *the Bosnia and Herzegovina Islamic Society Noble Park*, eastern Victoria, *Merhamet* provides information and assistance on current issues relating to various services and settlement needs:

The recently arrived Bosniaks were forced to leave Bosnia because of the tragic and distressing events during the 1990s, thus, they used *Merhamet’s* support in terms of various assistances, including appropriate housing, welfare assistance, referrals to different medical practitioners, referral to medical care, translation, family reunion, learning English, administrative support and or employment, relevant information, and financial support. Accordingly *Merhamet* staff have both a sense and understanding of Bosnian Muslim backgrounds and often, in cooperation with relevant

multicultural agencies, provide assistance and support for refugees and migrants in Victoria.

On the question of: ‘what were the settlement needs of the Bosnian Muslim settlers in Victoria including different waves of migration?’ 100% agreed that settlement needs of Bosniaks from different migration waves in Victoria were housing, employment, welfare, medicare, learning English, translation, finance, family reunions and friendship. Respondents emphasised the need to learn English, find accommodation and obtain jobs particularly on arrival in Victoria. Although 80% of respondents pointed out that a vast majority of Bosnian Muslim settlers nowadays found suitable accommodation (from those 80 % there are 30 % accommodated in public housing sector; 10 % in private sector, while 70 % bought houses) most notably near Bosnian Muslim community settings or close to employment, they considered that English was still the main issue (65 %), particularly among two groups: (1) those who had experienced horrific events in Bosnia and subsequent post-trauma (35 %); and (2) elderly or disabled recent arrivals (30 %). Furthermore, respondents indicated that almost 70 % speaking a language (Bosnian) other than English at home. The majority of respondents (80 %) pointed out that community members could find Bosnian interpreters. Also 80 % respondents stated that younger generation felt more confident to read and write English. Overall English proficiency has strong impact upon settlement process.

Also 20% of respondents particularly indicated their concern with regard to employment that affects various age groups of Bosnian Muslim settlers. They stated that unemployment (35 %) is among major issues and affects the most middle age groups, including some well qualified community members (in age between 45 and 55). On the whole, 80% specified that ‘their need for services gradually decreased’, which suggests Bosnian Muslims are settled and well integrated in Victoria.

When asked how Bosniak or Bosnian Muslim organisations contribute to promoting multicultural, multireligious, multiracial and multiethnic values in Australia, 75% of respondents reported that Bosnian Muslim organisations contribute ‘actively’, including commemorating significant historic events. The remaining 15% reported community organisations contribute ‘very actively’. Overall, only 10% considered

that the Bosnian Muslim contribution was ‘insufficient’ or ‘could be better’ in terms of their cooperation with multicultural institutions due to ‘the lack of English language proficiency’. Most importantly, they *all* commonly (100 %) highlighted important occasions and events:

- It needs to be underlined that multiculturalism is among the most significant Australian values. The Bosnian Muslim organisations contribute very actively in promoting multicultural, multireligious, multiracial and multiethnic values, including their participation in multiethnic sport activities, multicultural activities, multiracial and multiethnic meetings and festivals, celebrations of national holidays and religious festivities. (30 % respondents of social welfare organisations)
- The members of Australian Bosnian Islamic communities (mosques) contribute very actively in promoting multicultural, multireligious, multiracial and multiethnic values, especially during Islamic festivities and interfaith dialogues. (10 % respondents of religious institutions)
- The Bosnian sports clubs traditionally promote the Bosniak soccer tournaments, interact well with other ethnic clubs, celebrate Bosnian and Australian holidays, organise Bosnian festivals, cultural manifestations and participate in various multicultural projects. (30 % respondents of sports clubs)
- Our club’s cooperation with either non-Muslim or mainstream multicultural agencies is reflected in common multicultural, multireligious, multiracial and multiethnic events, programs, meetings, festivals and celebrations of Australian national holidays (20 % respondents of cultural organisations)
- Members of our association (*the Srebrenica Society for Prevention of Genocide*) are mainly Bosniaks and their families from the tragic town of Srebrenica, but also from other parts of Bosnia. The genocide in Srebrenica is a *symbol* of the recent tragedy in Bosnia. We commemorate this tragedy within the Bosniak community and Australian institutions and in cooperation

with Australian academics we visited Srebrenica's Memorial Centre. After the Holocaust against Jews which was the worst and most horrible human disaster, the genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica is the most terrible recent human tragedy in Europe. Together with other Bosnian community organisations our association held meetings and seminars in cities across Australia including Melbourne (such as at Victoria University) where the majority of Bosniak settlers live (response from Chairman of the Srebrenica Society for Prevention of Genocide (10 %), supported by members and various community organisations)

The above passages reflect the values of: (1) *multiculturalism* and (2) *solidarity* within humanity through mutual understanding, appreciation and tolerance as well as respect for different races, ethnicities, religions and cultures. Furthermore, in answering: 'how do Bosnian Muslim settlers balance Islamic values in a multicultural context?' all respondents (100%) articulated that: (1) many Bosnian Muslims grew up in a multicultural environment and learned to respect other nations and religions and their prior experiences contributed to settlement in Victoria; and (2) Bosnian Muslims traditionally respect other religions and also promote Islam, Bosniak culture, traditions and customs in multicultural society in Australia. Evidently multiculturalism for Bosnian Muslims plays a significant role in both Bosnia and Australia.

It is important to note that 85% of respondents also emphasized 'education as an important aspect' which serves as 'a bridge between Bosniak values and those of other ethnicities'. These respondents: (1) were attached to the importance of Islamic belief as a matter of privacy, while they were more keen to express publicly their Islamic cultural traditions; (2) expressed their Islamic belief and practice within the family, mosque, community, or with Muslim friends who were either Bosnian or non-Bosnian, most notably in their settlement; and (3) respected and cherished mixed marriages and often perceived common Bosnian *culture* as a 'shared expression'. Significantly these strengths within the Bosnian Muslim community have enjoyed a long tradition.

In relation to issues concerning integration and assimilation, 15% of respondents indicated:

We consider that a clear distinction needs to be made *between* integration and assimilation. There are some misinterpretations by community members about integration concerning a 'way of assimilation'...Beside community activities which support our integration and preserve our cultural-religious and linguistic identity, two important factors that contribute to understanding the *difference* between integration and assimilation are: (1) education and (2) further support for multiculturalism.

Evidently these respondents (15%) have further clarified the balance within the community and wider society through the role of either culture or religion, but also stressed the role of education within multiculturalism. These respondents were also asked: 'what are the advantages and disadvantages of being an employee or volunteer in a Muslim agency or institution which works with Bosnian Muslim settlers?' The disadvantages reported by 80% of respondents were mainly related to 'the lack of English language proficiency by some community volunteers' (i.e. 30 % seniors group and 50 % among Srebrenica Society for the Prevention of Genocide), while the remaining 20% (i.e. Merhamet, the Bosnian Teaching Association) illuminated the following advantages, starting with professional employees:

Being employed in *Merhamet* includes great understanding and support from other relevant multicultural agencies, and indeed, there is no disadvantage experienced in working in this Muslim agency.

The Bosnian language is recognised for VCE (i.e. *Victorian Certificate of Education*). It is a benefit for young students in their further tertiary education. Teaching programs include Bosnian culture and the Australian multicultural way of life. The 'Bosnian language belongs to the major factor in preserving and promoting of the Bosniak identity'. In Bosnian schools pupils and young students learn about traditional values. While Bosnian teachers have fruitful cooperation with teachers of different

backgrounds during common meetings, the pupils and young students interact well with other students of different backgrounds during school assembly and multicultural school programs. (10 % respondents of educational institutions)

There are many volunteers who work for a variety of community clubs who emphasised the following advantages:

The chairman of the *Seniors group* in Victoria stated that some pensioners do not drive a car and need help to visit medical clinics or health centres. Our group has intellectuals who are also newly arrived refugees, but do not speak English. Commonly we talk in Bosnian and have friendship with large number of members and, indeed, it is a very good to have such a group close to the Bosnian Islamic Centre. Thus, we support and assist our members to our satisfaction as well. The local councils have an understanding of and support our social welfare projects that are of benefit for us elderly people.

Australia and Australians have provided humanitarian aid to refugees from Srebrenica and to many Bosniak refugees from different parts of Bosnia. Australia has expressed its humanity for many recent refugee arrivals. The Bosnian tragedy is painful for Bosniaks and to overcome horrific events or traumas we educate our children within families and through friendship and humanitarian assistance and appropriate cultural gatherings. Professional counselling and mainstream multicultural services are available in Victoria. We also visit various community settings and share our feelings with community members. This is our approach to settlement and integration in a new homeland. Moreover, we do not forget the Bosnian tragedy and Srebrenica: this is the moral duty of all Bosnians. We state that multiculturalism represents 'a link of many different values' as 'we are all human beings'. Also, freedom of religion is a great value of Australian multi-religious society.

These advantages are clearly evident in: (1) either providing or obtaining community assistance and multicultural services; (2) examples of various community activities, contacts and interactions; and (3) recognised values of multiculturalism and multicultural institutions. These facts, along with the previous arguments presented, confirm the integration and adaptation of Bosnian Muslims in multicultural Victoria. This statement is further supported by the following interview responses.

7.2. Interview responses

(interviews with representatives of mainstream multicultural institutions)

Interviews were conducted with representatives of mainstream governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental multicultural agencies including: DIMA (currently the *Department for Immigration and Citizenship*), MRC (*Migrant Resource Centre*), EMC (*Ecumenical Migration Centre*), AMES (*Adult Multicultural Education Services*), MAV (*Multicultural Arts Victoria*) and SBS (*Special Broadcasting Services*). These interviews confirmed that Bosnian Muslims 'are well settled in Victoria'. As a very adaptable ethnic group the Bosniaks soon: (1) took part in multicultural activities; (2) were employed in these institutions; or (2) were affiliated with them, in addition to a wide range of ethnic community organisations where the majority participated actively. Important information was also expressed by representatives from the *Minaret College* and the ECCV (*Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria*).

The DIMA (*HG, Bosnia profile, 2001*) reviewed the profile of the Bosnian Muslim community in the context of the 'Yugoslavian community', or 'the Bosnia and Herzegovina born population'. Most importantly, it clarified that during the first years of settlement the Bosnian Muslims faced various settlement issues. Particular attention was paid to socio-psychological issues that related to recent Bosnian migration waves, including the Bosnian Muslims who settled in Victoria:

The effects of displacement, witnessing horrific events, and in some cases torture and rape, may present as post-traumatic stress disorder. If not victims themselves, recent Bosnian migrants may have witnessed some of these events.

Further information on the *DIMA* profile needs to be considered as most relevant to Bosnians of Islamic background (i.e. Bosniaks), as a result of turbulent events which forced them to migrate to Victoria. The first years of settlement, and in some cases with long-term effects, were associated with: (1) trauma and depressive illness; (2) unemployment; (3) feelings of inadequacy of care; and (4) insulting the family honour. The vast majority of Bosnians migrated ‘through the *humanitarian* program, while smaller numbers migrated through the *family* stream component of the migration program’ (*DIMA*).

DIMA’s data clearly reveals that most Bosnians, including Bosnian Muslims, settled in industrial areas:

In Victoria 92.3% of the Bosnia and Herzegovina born population live in metropolitan Melbourne with the largest communities residing in the local government areas of *Greater Dandenong* and *Brimbank*.

While ‘over one-third of the population of the Bosnia and Herzegovina born population assessed themselves as speaking English very well’, the *DIMA* profile identified ‘most of the Bosnia-Herzegovina born community with low English proficiency lived in Greater Dandenong or Brimbank’. Thus Bosnians, including Bosnian Muslims, settled in these predominantly industrial areas where they did not require proficiency in English and found employment in factories.

MRC services include three broad categories: (1) settlement; (2) immigration; and (3) general. The first category assists newly arrived migrants and refugees, including Bosniaks. The workers also provide information, practical support, advocacy, counselling and referrals on issues such as health, education, employment, housing and income. Registered migration agents offer advice and assistance on matters including sponsorship, change of status, visitor visas, family reunions and citizenship. General services include casework assistance, information, advice, advocacy and referrals on issues such as family breakdown, intergenerational conflict, income support and material aid assistance and relationship breakdown. The *MRC staff* identified a wide range of needs that Bosnian Muslims sought help with. Further

assistance related to settlement including housing; employment; education; family relationship counselling; torture and trauma counselling; social participation and interaction; grief and bereavement counselling; social systems and services orientation; translating and interpreting; overseas qualification assessment/recognition; immigration advice and assistance and added:

The MRC staff is aware of the cultural backgrounds of Bosnians (diversity of ethnic backgrounds, diversity in religion, mixed marriages, etc). Also, staff are aware of diversity amongst cultural and religious groups and don't take anything for granted. The way in which we learn best is by asking the (Bosnian) person we are working with about their culture, beliefs, etc. By using interpreters and language specific workers the MRC staff is able to communicate effectively with Bosnian speaking people as well as advertise our services via the net, language specific brochures, newsletters, and ethnic press and media.

The ages of Bosnian clients range from 25 to 49. The MRC employ a Bosnian background aged care worker for six hours a week and have an outworker from Bosnian welfare once a week. Bosnian community members are part of our committee of management. So, the Bosnian clients make contact with the outworker from Bosnian welfare (i.e. Merhamet). Currently, the Bosnians regularly use our services for 'mostly immigration advice'.

It is important to note that after providing various services for Bosnian Muslim settlers the MRC staff clarified that by '2003 the number of Bosnians accessing settlement services declined especially as the greater majority seemed to settle successfully' and added:

It should be noted that Bosnian Muslims are well settled and as such have a number of specific cultural, as well as mainstream events, services and agencies as well as mosques and clubs to participate fully in community life. The Bosnians interact very well in the wider community.

In a similar way, the *EMC* staff confirmed Bosnian Muslim settlement in Victoria. Indeed *EMC* staff offer regular cultural awareness training for staff according to need and share a well-developed network with the *MRC*. The Victorian *EMC* is part of the *Brotherhood of St Laurence* and has a good reputation in various communities, including the Bosnian Muslim community, for providing services and advocacy to refugees in the areas of immigration and multiculturalism. It has designed and developed a range of community development projects to enable strong community networks and partnerships, for example, the ‘Refugee Employment and Education Pathways Programs’ (links refugees with mentors from business, community and government). Accordingly, it increased community skills and knowledge through workshops; facilitated information sessions and information sharing between community groups; improved community accessibility to funding and partnership with major service providers; facilitated sustainable projects that will be managed and run by the communities; and offered counselling sessions for families, couples and individuals. Since the late 1990s *EMC* staff identified that:

Bosnia, its background and the newly arrived Bosnian Muslim refugees, were known from media coverage of war in 1990s. Bosnian refugees had slightly different needs than, for instance, recent refugee arrivals from Africa and the Middle East. Nowadays the Bosnian Muslims are part of the Australian society and participate in various activities for migrants. The Bosnians currently do not use our services because they seem to be well settled...

In fact *EMC* staff consider Bosnian Muslims to be well settled, and current *EMC* settlement programs target newly arrived refugees, including various ethnic groups with Islamic backgrounds (e.g. Sudanese, Somali, Eritrean, Afghani, Iranian, Ethiopian).

The following was obtained from the *AMES (Adult Multicultural Education Services)* which grew into a multifaceted organisation that provided: (1) settlement support; (2) education; and (3) employment services to culturally diverse (CALD) clients, including Bosniaks, and *AMES* branches across Victoria employed Bosnians. The staff also stated it has a very good understanding of Bosnian Muslim cultural issues:

‘The Bosnian Muslims are well informed about *AMES* by information provided from the *Department of Immigration* and the *Migrant Resource Centre* as well as *Bosniak community organisations*’. In fact, the staff confirmed that the Bosniaks’ participation in English language classes made it easier for many of them, whatever their age, to settle and be integrated in the new environment:

The Bosnian Muslims utilise offered support by *AMES* and have access to English classes. If there is a difficulty *AMES* offers bilingual support that includes English language tuition, vocational counselling and settlement information. There are available materials in Bosnian language including brochures, course information, citizenship materials and so on.

AMES staff is aware of the Bosnian Muslim culture. There are cultural and linguistic differences between Bosnians and other migrants. *AMES* training offers country profiles including Bosnia, and uses guest speakers to provide information on Islamic culture and Muslims of different backgrounds, including Bosniaks. The Bosnian Muslims interact very well with other ethnic groups in school and mix well in class.

Within *AMES* everyone, including Bosniak migrants and refugees, benefit from the cultural-linguistic exchange experience and development of new skills that foster ‘full participation for all in a cohesive and diverse society’ (brochure, 2006, *AMES at a Glance*).

The following information was gathered from *MAV (Multicultural Arts Victoria)* whose staff pointed out that the organisation ‘has a strong relationship with Bosnian artistic groups, most notably the Bosnian Choir *Sevdalinka*, as well as Bosnian Muslim singers, fine artists and journalists’. Also *MAV* previously employed Bosniak artists and currently has Bosnian Muslim membership, volunteers and supporters. Most staff have developed an awareness of Bosnian Muslim culture and background through practical training that primarily includes mutual cooperation for various cultural events and programs:

The Bosnian Muslims interact very well with other ethnic groups. They are very friendly and open. The Bosnian Muslims settled well and have very strong community values. All dealings and cooperation with Bosnian Muslims has been very positive. Bosnian Muslims both support (as audience) and participate (as artists) in *MAV*'s culturally diverse projects.

The Bosnian choir *Sevdalinka* sang the Australian National Anthem at the Premier's Gala Dinner 2007 at the Crown Palladium Ballroom for 'Cultural Diversity Week' and the 'ABC 2006 Concert'. Also *MAV* auspiced the choir's participation in a program called the *Night in Kasaba* in 2006. Additionally regarding the Gala Dinner hosted by the Premier of Victoria and attended by a large gathering of Victorian dignitaries, the booklet *Multicultural Victoria 21* (2007, vol. 21) noted the following:

Over 1,400 community, government and business leaders enjoyed a spectacular display of Victoria's cultural diversity of many cultural groups: the National Anthem of Australia was sung beautifully by the Bosnian choir *Sevdalinka*; the powerful Japanese drumming performance; two songs by Indigenous singers, a rendition of haka, a fiery performance by Gypsy belly-dancers, an Ethiopian masenko player; and a flamenco group performed after speeches by the Premier, the Leader of the Victorian Opposition and the Lord Mayor.

The above examples confirm that after initial settlement in Victoria the Bosnian Muslims frequently engaged with various multicultural programs. In fact, the successful settling of the Bosniaks in a new environment provides the opportunity for many to focus on and participate in further development of cultural diversity.

Significant evidence was also provided by the media, most notably *SBS* in Melbourne, an Australian governmental institution which also employed Bosniaks for the Bosnian language program, who stated:

The broadcasting program in Bosnian includes the promotion of linguistic, cultural, religious backgrounds as well as multiculturalism. This radio program in Bosnian language is the major source of information for the

Bosnian community. It includes both foreign and world news and domestic news about Australia and the Bosnian community. Different Bosniak age groups listen to the program, but the most interested audience is the elderly and unemployed.

The Bosniaks are taking advantage of living in Australia. They interact with the host society and with different communities. They recognise the values of Australian society. Indeed *SBS* provides relevant information and helps immigrants to be part of the new country. Bosniaks through their community activities such as sport, culture, education, religion successfully promote their own culture and tradition. *SBS* provides informative services in that way too. On the one hand, among the major values of Bosniaks in Victoria and across country are their ability for adaptation and quick settlement; on the other hand different activities of the Bosniak community promote the *Bosnian soul*.

In summary, during empirical research and visits to various multicultural and multiethnic institutions important information was collected from the *Minaret College*, Springvale, a co-educational Muslim College situated in the City of Greater Dandenong, south-east of Melbourne, one of the most culturally diverse cities in Australia. The goals of the *Minaret College* are: (1) to produce young Muslim graduates who feel proud to be Australian Muslims; (2) to enable all students to achieve high standards of learning; (3) to help students to develop self-confidence, optimism, high self-esteem and respect for others as well as achieve personal excellence; (4) to provide students with an understanding of and respect for Islamic cultural heritage, including a broader understanding of the cultural background of Aboriginal Australians and other ethnic groups, races and cultures; and (5) to promote tolerance and respect of other's religious beliefs. The *Minaret College* has employed Bosniaks who pointed out Bosnian Muslims participation in promoting multiethnic, multiracial and multicultural values through its educational environment and productive network:

The *Minaret College* is a multiethnic Muslim school. Students and staff are of different backgrounds. This school employs just a few Bosniak

teachers and officers. Also young Bosniaks are students of this school. There are between 85 to 90 Bosniak students from prep to Year 12 (10% of the total number of students). Cooperation between parents and staff is positive. Nearby is Noble Park High School with about 60 Bosniak students from Year 7 to Year 12 (13% of the total number of students).

The Minaret College staff have a productive cooperation with and make mutual visits to other religious and non-religious schools. This college organises *multicultural events* and *interfaith dialogues* with students of Jewish and Christian denomination and other religious backgrounds from different schools. For instance, it runs a series of seminars entitled *Understanding Islam*. In this multiethnic environment Bosniaks are keen to adjust and promote multiethnic and multicultural cooperation that is regarded as their tradition from Bosnia as well.

This interview confirms that Bosniak staff and students have also successfully adapted in a new, broader multiethnic Muslim environment. This example expresses Victorian ‘diversity within unity’.

The *ECCV (Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria)* was established in 1974 as a voluntary community-based organisation and is now a statewide, peak advocacy body representing ethnic and multicultural communities in Victoria. For more than thirty years the *ECCV* has remained the major liaison point between various ethnic communities, government and the broader community in Victoria. The *ECCV* has members from the states of former Yugoslavia, including Bosnia.

The *ECCV* advocates and lobbies government on behalf of multicultural communities, including the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria, in access and equity, aged care services, migration services, discrimination, community harmony, employment, education and training, health and community services, law and justice and arts and culture as well as delivering for key partners in areas such as multicultural policy and skilled migration strategies. The *ECCV staff* advocate on issues that affect culturally and linguistically diverse communities in Victoria, including Bosnian Muslims. The Bosnian community media (such as SBS, 3ZZZ and community newspapers) are

informed about the *ECCV*'s multicultural advocacy and its support for different ethnic groups across Victoria. Also, the Bosnian Muslim community supports *ECCV*'s projects and strategies. For instance, 'during the process of settlement in the 1990s some Bosnian Muslim representatives contributed in various committees of the *ECCV*'. The previous *ECCV* chairman Mr Victor Borg stated ('Exclusive interview', *Australian Bosnian Magazine* 1997, 12):

The Bosnian Muslim community like many other ethnic communities became an integral part of multicultural society and Bosniaks have successfully adapted in Victoria and they have own community organisations, clubs which promote their culture, tradition and other values as a part of cultural diversity.

It is also relevant here to note the remarks made by Mr Phong Nguyen, *ECCV* chairman, whose advocacy is strongly supported by Bosnian Muslim settlers across Victoria:

The *Ethnic Communities Council* today congratulated all Victorians for their embrace of *immigration* and *multiculturalism*. A new survey has shown that Victoria is the *leading* state in Australia for supporting immigrants and the positive benefits they bring to our community, with two-thirds of Victorians stating immigrants have a positive influence on our society...We have been united in our support for human rights and cultural diversity around a framework of *common* Australian values...Victoria is leading the way in supporting diversity and harmony. We congratulate all Victorians for the small things they are doing every day to make Victoria a *world leader* in multiculturalism. (Nguyen cited in media release, June 2006)

The *ECCV* was and still is a key player in building Victoria as a flourishing, successful, harmonious and multicultural community. It needs to be emphasised that Bosniaks are proud to be Victorians and Australians, as well as many other ethnic groups, and their feelings and experiences are embraced in Nguyen's above remarks.

7.3 Conclusion

The survey and interview respondents have identified and clarified a variety of aspects relating to integration and multiculturalism. These noteworthy reports are based on their dynamic long-term commitment in multicultural fields that historically constitute the Bosnian Muslim tradition. The exploration of settlement experiences of Bosnian Muslims – also seen through the eyes of multicultural organizations – significantly reveal that the Bosnian Muslim community is well integrated and, in fact, productively participates in both the development of the settlement sector and the promotion of multicultural values. Taken as a whole, this research represents cross-cultural reflection which embraces Bosnian Muslim settlement adaptation through a variety of community and multicultural activities.

Accordingly, the responses on key settlement issues by community and multicultural organisations in their combined context offer insight and understanding of Bosnian Muslim settlement experience, and subsequently the identification of strong socio-historical evidence and arguments in relation to Bosnian Muslim integration and adaptation within different, but chronological periods. The chapter has also included socio-historical and cultural-religious components expressed as either religious or secular views that underpin the continuation and development of the Bosnian Muslim community in Victoria. Clearly Bosnian Muslims, both *male* and *female*, throughout the history of settlement have played a significant role in multicultural and multiethnic environments in Victoria.

Evidently, the multicultural *social capital* illuminated that a wide range of community and multicultural organisations provided cultural-religious and socio-economic benefits through a variety of settlement, services, mutual understanding and support. It represents a successful interrelation between *community* and *policy* capital. In this way, multicultural institutions are an accumulated social capital built by different ethnicities. Indeed this empirical research highlights the significance of multicultural institutions, multicultural activities and teamwork. It reveals fruitful cooperation, fostering interaction, broader understanding and greater support. Both ethnic and multi-ethnic social capital, through the process of integration, within multiculturalism, promoted values for *all* Australians.

This empirical research demonstrates the traditional flexibility of Bosnian Muslims who work in social harmony with major social components which support settlement development. These embrace settlement structures within community settings, including the cultural and religious mix over the course of decades and community activities undertaken by all Bosnian Muslim generations, respectfully. Through such diverse and dynamic historical development, Bosnian Muslims demonstrate their ongoing cultural contribution and wider commitment to Victorian society and Australia without forgetting or discounting Bosnia and their origins.

Taken as a whole, this chapter demonstrated that settlement integration supported by *multicultural institutions*, *multicultural policies* and *multicultural activities* contributed to further Bosniak community development, social cohesion, social capital and more dynamic cross-cultural relationships within Australian culturally diverse milieu.

Conclusion

The phenomenology of this project includes integration within a new homeland – Australia, uncovering many significant facts related to the settlement experiences. Firstly this research has found that the Bosniaks' adaptability to a new environment is linked to their previous background of Bosnia's multiculturalism, which is over a thousand years old. Over the course of centuries, the Bosnian population has not been assimilated and, indeed, different ethnic groups within Bosnia coexisted in peace and harmony. However, throughout history Bosnia was exposed to various conflicts including the recent war (i.e. 1992 – 1995). Since then, the Bosniaks together with other Bosnians rebuilt Bosnia and its multicultural society. This additionally clarifies the significance of multiculturalism, recognition of ethnic identity, cultural-religious values and other distinctiveness.

Finding and key issues

This research covered Bosnian settlement, taking place through the different stages and development of multiculturalism in Australia. The research showed the complexity of settlement of one ethnic community, namely Bosniaks, in post WW2 Australia. The study examined the influx of three waves of Bosnian Muslim migrations, starting from post-WW2 until the late 1960s, then through the 1970s and 1980s and gradually finishing in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This historical framework captured the various phases of settlement development that is also linked with (1) Australian government policies; (2) the intake of Bosnian Muslim migrants and refugees; and (3) Bosnian Muslim community organisations and their cooperation with mainstream governmental and non-governmental institutions. The study provided a unique exploration of Bosniaks who are Muslim settlers of NESB and European Islamic origin. They faced similar and different issues to other Muslims in Australia although their European appearance offered some degree of protection from the racism and other prejudice that other Muslims encountered. However, since September 11 and the war on terror, Bosnian Muslims in Australia are also affected by negative attitudes towards Islam and Muslims.

The thesis identified the differing issues in the settlement of Bosnian Muslims as they coincided with the historical and societal developments within Australia. The first

historical period (i.e. post-WW2) was marked by the influence of the White Australia Policy which impacted negatively on the settlement processes of the first main wave of Bosnian immigrants and caused hardship relating to social, cultural, linguistic, economic and family life. The central issues of this period were social exclusion, the denial of services and programs, and prejudices towards the early Bosnian Muslim settlers, particularly in terms of their ethnic identity and religion. This study provided a particular focus on the efforts made to establish Bosnian Muslim community organisations, its infrastructure and the maintenance of a Bosnian identity at a time of implementation of assimilationist policies. The findings of this research confirm the virtually unknown Bosnian Muslim contribution to the establishment of multiethnic Muslim communities and the preservation of Australian Islamic heritage by Bosnian Muslims.

In the decades following the early 1970s, the nature of social participation, cooperation and interaction with Australians of different ethnic origins shows that Bosnian Muslims not only were involved with other Muslim communities but with broader social groups, contributing to further development of multiculturalism in Australia. During this period their settlement needs were similar to those of other ethnic groups with English language barriers, recognition of overseas qualifications, housing and employment being the main issues. Although the lack of English language proficiency remained a problem for some Bosnian Muslims, their productive integration and contribution is widely recognised. In fact, Bosnian Muslims have demonstrated a high level of adaptability and significantly contributed to multiculturalism and economic development in a variety of ways. However, as noted above, in more recent times the discourses on the war on terror have negatively impacted on the settlement process and experiences of Bosnian Muslims.

This thesis also showed the importance of social capital – both community and policy capital. Throughout various periods Bosnian Muslims in Australia had continuous socio-economic and cultural-religious contribution to their community and broader society by the marshalling of their human resources, their *social capital* and *social network*, both within and outside of their community - that was *maximising* potentialities beneficially to multicultural society in general. Therefore their social capital and activities and commitment to multicultural engagement left an important

imprint in the development of multiculturalism in the broader community, especially in terms of the establishment various community organisations, their activities and cooperation with other ethnic groups and multicultural institutions.

During the times of the White Australia Policy, the Bosnian Muslims' process of settlement was made harder and slower because of the lack of existence of Bosnian community agencies or supportive multicultural institutions. On the other hand, the settlement experience of contemporary times characterized by more supportive multicultural polices and a multicultural institutions provided a platform for easier and quicker integration and adaptation. Fulfilling social duty, including loyalty, mutual appreciation, solidarity, care, flexibility and deeper awareness of diversities it gives Bosnian Muslims in Australia 'discipline, stability, nobility, patient and dignity' (Elahi 1993:133). It connects Bosnian Muslims and various Australian institutions making them more productive and supportive *Australian citizens*.

What the research reveals

Historically, all waves of Bosnian Muslim settlers in Australia have taken a noteworthy part in supporting multiculturalism. This research reveals that despite the Bosnian Muslim struggle and/or adjustment during the settlement process, their way of integration and adaptation has not lead them to assimilation primarily because of multiculturalism. They recognise that multiculturalism along with its support for the community organisations represents a fruitful construct for preserving and promoting their distinctiveness. The experiences of Bosnian Muslims throughout their settlement in Australia has created a legacy of a commitment towards Australian multiculturalism that is quickly understood and accepted by new arrivals from Bosnia.

Bosnian Muslims in Australia have 'discovered' an Islam which is even broader and more sophisticated than they found possible in their homeland, because in Australia they have been able to meet fellow Muslims from many different ethnic, racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. They appreciated the diversity of Muslims experiences and cultures, at the same time respecting the distinctiveness of non-Muslims (Ceric 2005). Their mutual interaction and cooperation with Muslims and non-Muslims confirms that the Bosnian Muslims recognise the multi-religious values

of Australia. *Bridge-building* plays a significant role in both multiculturalism and modernity. It can take many supportive forms, especially in culturally diverse and multi-religious societies, such as Australia (El Erian, 1990:117). This is a two way process. It needs to be emphasised that Australian governments have supported the Bosnian Muslim community in Australia through assistance in educational, cultural and multicultural, Islamic and multi-religious projects, as well as sports activities and integration within the broader Australian society and in turn they have contributed to the building of a multicultural Australia.

Esposito's (1999:247) considerations in *The Islamic Threat*, underlines that Islam itself is not monolithic, and there are more Muslim minority communities in existence across the globe than in any previous historical periods. However, for some Muslims pluralism is a 'critical issue', both for the Muslim majority countries and for the Muslim minority communities (ibid). In the global Western world, including Australia, there is an increased concern about the hostility of Islamic terrorism and neo-fundamentalism. Islamic terrorism has negatively impacted on Bosnian Muslim settlement experiences by challenging the value of Islam and the contribution of Muslims to Australia. These negative attitudes have mostly been perpetuated through media coverage. By contrast, the Bosnian Muslim respondents in this study have expressed full support for the peace and security of Australia. In contrast, many felt that this kind of terrorism has nothing to do with the unique values of Islam they practice. Bosnian Muslim settlers regard Islamic religious, social, cultural, educational, and artistic virtues as an integral part of the broader plurality of society and social harmony within modernity.

In terms of Australia's economic development, Bosnian Muslims have left a significant impact in industrialisation, building and production, various businesses and small enterprises. It was indispensably evident in the post-WW2 period, during the 1970s and 1980s when their contribution was even enhanced by Bosnian international companies in Australia, and in the more recent period which witnessed new economic initiatives. This thesis reveals that the Bosnian Muslims have contributed to the economic development of Australia.

Further research implications

This research contributes to a new perspectives in order to create, as Silajdzic (2006:63) states, a new ‘paradigm’ in understanding the relationship between Islam and the Western plurality with *all* their positive cultural traditions *integrated* inside their own religious and secular experience. Silajdzic (in Haveric, 1999) further highlights that throughout history Bosnian Muslim migrants in Australia have respectfully met with different followers of the Judeo-Christian religions and cultural traditions as well as other faiths and beliefs. On the one hand, in their process of integration and adaptation, Bosnian Muslims have fruitfully absorbed those Judeo-Christian cultural aspects which correspond to the fundamental platform of their Muslim *creed*, by integrating these values within their authentic religious and civilisational viewpoint. In reality, these also represent specific values of both Islam and traditional Bosnian Muslims multicultural and multi-religious realm. On the other hand, Bosnian Muslims have significantly contributed to the spiritual enrichment and cultural development of the Australian society. In addition, Bosnian Muslims have observed the themes of ‘Cultures in Conflict and Dialogue’ which places value on cultural interactions. As revealed in an article entitled *Hand in Hand*, Karic (2005) points out the following:

We see how culture gives space for meeting other people. We are particularly enriched by cultures that have occurred as a result of centuries of work of the universal religious spirit. We do not pay attention to the issue of what kind of believers created the work of art but are primarily interested in the universal value that so *deeply touch our hearts and minds* (Karic 2005).

Lewis (1993:42) argues that although Muslim communities in the West, including Australia, are still bound by a ‘thousand ties’ that include many different cultures, languages, traditions, costumes, kinship, mixed marriages, as well as Islam, to their countries of origin, they are becoming gradually *integrated* into their new countries of habitation. Their presence and that of their children and grandchildren will have both immense challenges and significances for the future of the West and of Islam (ibid). Similar points have been made by El Erian, who states that new generations of

Muslims in Australia, during their way of adaptability, should always bear in mind the principle of 'gradualism' supported by multiculturalism, in achieving their goals of *adaptability* as minorities (1990:122). This statement corresponds with the Bosnian Muslim cultural-historical experience in Australia.

Globally this research embraced *Islamic* and *multicultural* values along significant international views within a framework of contemporary *cosmopolitanism*. Overall, both primary and secondary data show that all three waves of Bosnian Muslim settlers have become well-integrated Australian citizens and left a significant socio-historical and cultural-religious imprint, not only in community development, but also within the broader Australian multicultural mosaic.

In sum, Beattie in his *Other Cultures*, underlines that every human society has developed its own distinctive culture and socio-political system; its own way of life. As member of the *same* human family, we are bound to be interested in the research of diverse ways in which peoples of different backgrounds have solved for themselves the problems and issues of living together (Beattie 1977: 274). We are living in a world of different peoples, we must find out what common ground there is among human beings of different lands, what the differences are, how fundamental such differences may be and how the differences can be either be resolved or lived with (Brown 1963).

The fundamental similarity of all human cultures everywhere justifies the study of diverse communities for 'in understanding other cultures, we may come to understand ourselves better' (Beattie 1977: 274) what Brown (1963:3) describes as a pattern of 'common understanding'. Every human culture is precious and by learning something of these varieties we may learn to see ourselves (Beattie 1977: 274).

In pursuing further research, current findings must be treated with caution as they may provide new and challenged assumptions (ibid). Henceforward future researches, including Australian Islamic scholars, face many immediate challenges (Doogue and Kirkwood 2005:321) but need to assist us more profoundly to understand our past and present in all its *complexity* and subsequently to *adjust* Islamic traditional beliefs and virtues within values of modern Western world. This needs to be seen within

framework of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Islam gives Muslims sufficient resources for new and more successful syntheses of what is modern and what is their religious tradition (Simson, 2003:69). Looking forward, multiculturalism provides an opportunity to preserve the religious substance of Islam while offering new opportunities to settle and coexist in the West. Therefore, the future research needs to identify contemporary visions for Islamic plurality within Australian multiculturalism. It includes moving beyond the 'stereotyped explanations and frequent repetitions' towards the new insights and contemporary thoughts as a way for coexistence. Perhaps, the implication of this historical research is (among) the first such Muslim endeavours in Australia.

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Appendices

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VIC.: the *Bosniak National Association* (est. 1990) and re-established in 1994 as the *Bosniak Social Club*; *Cultural Artistic Society Bosnia and Herzegovina*, *Muslimansko dobrotvorno drustvo Merhamet*, *Bosnian Herzegovinian Association of Geelong* with the *Refugee Settlement Group* (part of the Migrant Resource Centre Geelong), *Bosnain/Herzegovinian/Sandzak Council for Australia* and *3ZZZ Radio* (all est. 1992); *Bosnian Herzegovinian Muslim Council Australia*, *Sandzak Community*, *Bosnian and Herzegovinian Centre Springvale*, *Bosnian and Herzegovinian Community Association Geelong* (all est. 1993); *Bosna Geelong Soccer Club*, *Australian Bosnian Information Resource and Welfare Centre* (both est. 1994); *Bosniak Council of Victoria*, *Library Lily* ('Biblioteka Ljiljan'), *Bosnia and Herzegovina Channel 31* (all est. 1995); *Pensioners Club*, *Australian Bosnian Association* (part of the Ethnic Communities Council Victoria), *Cultural Association of Bosniaks Preporod* and *SBS Radio* (all est. 1996); *Choir Mak Dizdar* later renamed *Behar* (est. 1997); *Derzelez Soccer Club*, *Karate Club Noble Park*, *Bosnian language schools* (all est. 1998); *Australian Council of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Organisations*, *Srebrenica Society for Prevention of Genocide*, *Bosnian Teaching Association*, *Australian Bosniak Association Victoria* and *Bosnian Lily Geelong Association* (est. 2000s)

NSW.: the *Association of Muslim Women of Bosnia/Herzegovina/Sandzak* ('Udruzenje zena'), folk group *Bosnian pearls*, *Bosnia Herzegovina and Sandzak Women's Support Group*, *Bosnia Herzegovina and Sandzak Islamic Support Group* (est. 1991/2); *Sarajevo Humanitarian Aid and Reconstruction Committee Sydney*, *Bosnian Relief Fund*, *Australian Bosnian Herzegovinian Community Association*, *Bosnian Information and Welfare Centre* and *SBS Radio* (all est. 1992); *Bosniak Council of NSW*, *Australian Bosnian Herzegovinian Friendship Association*, *Bosna Bossy Soccer Club*, *Bosnian Resource and Advisory Centre* (all est. 1993); *Golden*

Lily folk group (est. 1993/4); *Bosna Bossy Basketball Club* (est. 1995); *Cultural Association of Bosniaks Preporod*, *BH Academy of Literature*, *Gazi Husrev-Bey Choir*, *Modra Rijeka Choir* (all est. 1996); *Bosnian Association of Businessmen of Australia*, *Bosnian language schools*, *Bosnian Information Centre Behar* (all est. 1998).

QLD.: the *Bosnian Relief Fund* (est. 1992); *Choir qasida* (a lyric poem), *Bosnian Muslim Youth Association* ('Muslimanski Omladinski Savez'), *Bosnian Welfare Centre*, *Bosnian ethnic radio program*, *Bosnian language school* (all est. 1994); *Old Bridge Soccer Club* (est. 1995).

ACT.: the *Australian Bosnian Herzegovinian Community Association of Canberra and Queanbeyan* ('Bosanska Zajednica Canberra i Queanbeyan'), *Australian Bosnian Herzegovinian Women's Association* ('Udruzenje Zena') (both est. 1990s); *Bosniak Association of Businessmen of Australia* ('Bosnjacko Udruzenje Privrednika'), *Bosnian ethnic radio program* (both est. 1995).

WA.: the *Bosnian Muslim Youth Association* ('Muslimanski Omladinski Savez') (est. 1990s); *Bosnian Herzegovinian Muslim Community WA* ('Bosansko Hercegovacka muslimanska zajednica WA') (est. 1993); *Bosnian Herzegovinian Women's Society* (est. 1994); *Golden Lily Soccer Club* ('Zlatni Ljiljan') (est. 1996); *Bosnian ethnic radio program* (est. 1990s).

TAS.: the *Bosnian Muslim Community* (part of the *Islamic Council of Tasmania* and the *Migrant Resource Centre Hobart*) (est. 1990s).

Survey to Bosnian Muslim community leaders across Victoria

Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives (ICEPA), Victoria University.

The Settlement of People who come from Bosnia with an affiliation with the Muslim religion in Victoria

Dzavid Haveric PhD student researcher

Section A: Personal details
Personalni detalji

Name (Optional):
Vase ime (opcija)

Gender: Male Female
Spol: musko zensko

Marital status: Married Single Divorced Widowed
Separated
 Partnered

Bracni status: ozenjen/udata neozenjen/neudata razveden/razvedena
 udovac/udovica/ odvojeno partner

Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-64 64+
Starosno doba

Education
Obrazovanje

Occupation
Profesija

Date of your arrival in Australia: Immigration Category: e.g. family, refugee ,.....
Datum vases dolaska u Australiju: Kategorija useljenja: npr. Spajanje familije, izbjeglica.....

Section B: Questions
Sekcija B: Pitanja

What are the most common ways in which Bosnian Muslims gather within its community in Australia? Koji su najcesci nacini susretanja bosanskih muslimana u okviru njihove zajednice u Australiji?

- culture religion sport education language
 all (1,2,3,4 and 5) other, please specify.....

- kultura religija sport obrazovanje jezik
 sve zajedno (1,2,3 i 4) drugo, molim, obrazlozite.....

What are the ways in which you preserve Bosniak or Bosnian identity in Australia? Koji je najvazniji faktor u ocuvanju bosnjackog, odnosno bosanskog identiteta u Australiji?

- culture religion language education sport
 all (1,2,3,4 and 5) other, please specify.....

- kultura religija jezik obrazovanje sport
 sve zajedno (1,2,3,4 i 5) drugo, molim, obrazlozite.....

How productive is the cooperation between Bosnian mosques/clubs/organisations (eg. information, law and order, funding etc.)

and Australian non-governmental and governmental institutions? Kako je produktivna saradnja bosanskih dzamija/klubova/organizacija (npr. informativna, pravna, zakonodavna, finacijska) sa australskim ne-vladinim i vladinim institucijma?

- very bad bad inadequate not sure
 veoma losa losa neadekvatna nisam siguran/a

- good very good excellent
 dobra veoma dobra izuzetna

Please, specify.....
Molim, obrazlozite.....

How significant are Bosnian Muslim community institutions for newly arrived refugees? Koliko su znacajne bosansko-muslimanske drustvene institucije za nedavno useljene izbjeglice?

- unimportant less important don't know
 nevazne manje vazne neznam

- important very important excellent
 značajne veoma značajne izuzetno značajne

In what ways? Na koje načine?

Please, specify.....

Molim, obrazložite.....

What support services do Bosniak mosques, sport clubs, cultural and welfare associations provide in the process of settlement and adaptation?
 Koje su važne usluge bosnjackih džamija, sportskih klubova, kulturnih i socijalnih usluga tokom vašeg nastanjanja i adaptacije?

- gathering information advice housing

- money socialising all (1,2,3,4,5 and 6)

- other, please specify.....

- okupljanje informacije savjet smjestaj

- finansijska pomoc druženje sve zajedno (1,2,3,4,5 i 6)

- drugo, molim, obrazložite.....

What are the settlement needs of Bosniaks/Bosnians in Victoria – including different waves of migrations? Koje su potrebe Bosnjaka/Bosanaca tokom njihovih nastanjanja u Viktoriji – uključujući različite periode migracija?

- accommodation job welfare assistance medicare assistance

- finance family reunion learning English translation
 friendship

- all (1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 and 9) other, please specify.....

- smjestaj posao socijalna usluga medicinska usluga

- finansije spajanje familije učenje engleski prevodenje prijateljstvo

- sve zajedno (1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 i 9)

drugo, molim, obrazlozite.....

How do the Bosniak or Bosnian Muslim organisations contribute in promoting the multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-ethnic values of Australia? Kako bosnjacke odnosno bosansko muslimanske organizacije ucestvuju na promovisanju multi-kulturnih, multi-vjerskih, multi-rasnih i multi-etnickih vrijednosti Australije?

very passive

passive

not sure

vrlo pasivno

pasivno

nisam siguran/a

active

very active

exceptional

aktivno

veoma aktivno

izuzetno

What activities and relationships does your community organisation have with non-Muslim mainstream agencies? How they do this? Koje aktivnosti i relacije ima vasa drusvena organizacija sa vodecim ne-muslimanskim agencijama? Na koji nacin one to rade?

Sport activities multi-cultural activities multi-racial and multi-ethnic meetings and festivals celebrations of National holidays

Religious festivities

other, please specify.....

sportskim aktivnostima multikulturnim aktivnostima multirasnim i multi-etnickim susretima festivalima svecanom obiljezavanju Nacionalnih praznika Vjerskim praznicima

drugo, molim, obrazlozite.....

What are the Australian values particularly important?

Koje su australske vrijednosti narocito znacajne?

multiculturalism business/economy living standard all(1,2 and 3)

multikultura biznis/ekonomija zivotni standard sve zajedno (1, 2 i 3)

other, please specify.....

drugo, molim, obrazlozite.....

How do Bosnian Muslims balance Islamic values in a multicultural context? What are the problems? Identify the strengths. Kako bosanski muslimani balansiraju islamske vrijednosti u multikulturnom kontekstu? Koji su problemi? Identificirajte prednosti.

Please, specify.....
Molim, obrazlozite.....

What are the advantages and disadvantages of being an employee or volunteer in a Muslim social agency? Koje su prednosti ili slabosti biti zaposlen ili volunter u muslimanskoj socijalnoj sluzbi?

Advantages are:

- meeting special needs of Muslim refugees
- providing social-welfare service
- giving relevant services for both Muslims and non-Muslims
- providing information and assistance for Muslim community
- cooperation with different multicultural institutions
- other, please specify.....

Disadvantages are:

- Lack of knowledge
- funding problems
- need for better cooperation with mainstream agencies
- other, please specify.....

Prednosti su:

- razumjevanje narocitih potreba izbjeglica muslimana/muslimanica
- pružanje socialne podrške
- davanje relevantnih usluga muslimanima i ne-muslimanima
- pružanje informacija i podrške muslimanskoj zajednici
- saradnja sa multikulturalnim institucijama
- drugo, molim, obrazlozite.....

Slabosti su:

- Nepoznavanje
- finansijska podrška
- potreba za boljom saradnjom sa glavnim agencijama
- Drugo, molim, obrazlozite.....

Interviews with Bosnian Muslim Community members in Victoria

Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives (ICEPA), Victoria University.

The Settlement of People who come from Bosnia with an affiliation with the Muslim religion in Victoria

Dzavid Haveric PhD student researcher

Section A: Personal details
Personalni detalji

Name (Optional):
Vase ime (opcija)

Gender: Male Female
Spol: musko zensko

Marital status: Married Single Divorced Widowed
Separated
 Partnered

Bracni status: ozenjen/udata neozenjen/neudata razveden/razvedena
 udovac/udovica/ odvojeno partner

Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-64 64+
Starosno doba

Education.....
Obrazovanje.....

Occupation.....
Profesija.....

Date of your arrival in Australia: Immigration category: e.g. family,
refugee.....

Datum vaseg dolaska u Australiju: Kategorija useljenja: npr. Spajanje familije,
izbjeglica.....

Section B: Questions

Sekcija B: Pitanja

What was the main reason for your departure from Bosnia?

Koji je glavni razlog vaseg odlaska iz Bosne?

Where did you settle in Australia? And why?

Gdje ste se nastanili u Australiji? Zasto?

Who first helped you with housing, employment, and accessing services such as banks, medicare and post office? Ko vam je prvi pomogao oko smjestaja, i u razlicitim uslugama poput banke, medicinske njege i poste?

Did you meet earlier Bosnian Muslim migrants?

Da li ste sreli ranije bosansko-muslimanske useljenike?

Was it difficult to learn English language? Where did you learn English?

Da li vam je bilo tesko uciti engleski? Gdje ste ucili engleski?

Did you have difficulty in finding employment when you first arrived in Australia? Do you have difficulties now in finding employment? Da li ste imali poteskoca naci zaposlenje po dolasku u Australiju. Da li danas imate poteskoca naci zaposlenje?

Were your overseas qualifications recognised in Australia?

Da li su vase ranije kvalifikacije priznate u Australiji?

Did you meet and join your family in Australia? Da li ste se susreli i pridruzili vasoj familiji u Australiji.

Did you meet and join friends of the Bosnian Muslim Community? Da li ste se susreli i pridruzili prijateljima bosansko-muslimanske zajednice?

Have you ever joined or took part in activities of Bosnian mosques and/or clubs? Da li ste clan i da li posjecujete bosanku dzamiju i/ili klub?

Which period of your settlement was the most difficult?

Koji je period vaseg nastanjivanja bio najtezi?

During your period of settlement where did you get support for?

Tokom vaseg nastanjivanja gdje ste dobivali podrške?

(1) Information? (2) Medical Advice? (3) Legal Advice? (4) Taxation?
(5) Employment? (6) Education, and Who helped you most?

(1) Informacije? (2) Medicinski savjet? (3) Pravnu uslugu? (4) Porez? (5) Zaposlenje? (6) Obrazovanje? Ko vam je najviše pomogao?

Do you have children? If yes, did they experience any problems in settling into Australia? Da li imate djecu? Ako imate, da li su oni doživjeli neke probleme tokom uklapanja u Australiji?

How do you try to pass on your values (either Bosniak or Bosnian, including Islamic and multi-cultural) to your children? Kako nastojite da prenesete Bosnjacke, odnosno bosanske vrijednosti ukljucujuci islamske i multi-kulturne vasoj djeci?

What are Bosniak values in Australia? Koje su bosnjacke vrijednosti u Australiji?

What are Australian values? Koje su australske vrijednosti?

If there are differences how do you reconcile these? Ako postoje razlicitosti kako ih uskladujete?

Do you think that migrant or refugee experiences of different generations are different? Da li smatrate da su iskustva migranta i izbjeglica razlicitih generacija razlicita?

Did you find available and supportive Bosnian social/religious/cultural/sport services? Da li ste nasli raspolozive bosanske socijalne/vjerske/kulturne/sportske podrške i usluge? Specify in what ways they have been supportive? Obrazlozite nacine njihove podrške?

Did you find available and supportive Australian governmental and non-governmental social/welfare/cultural services? Da li ste nasli raspolozive australske vladine i ne-vladine drustvene/socijalne/ kulturne podrške i usluge?

Specify in what ways they have been supportive? Obrazlozite nacine njihove podrške?

Where did you work when you first came to Australia? Did you have productive cooperation with your work colleagues? Gdje ste bili zaposleni? Da li ste imali produktivnu saradnju sa vasim radnim kolegama?

Where are you working now? Gdje radite sada?

Did you have opportunities to share common Australian multicultural values in public life? Da li ste imali prilike da ucestvujete u okviru multikulturnih vrijednosti australskog javnog zivota?

What was the influence of religious belief during the process of integration? Koji je uticaj religije tokom vase integracije?

What was the influence of cultural style during the process of integration? Koji je uticaj kulturnog stila tokom vase integracije?

What do you think multiculturalism means?
Po vasem misljenju sta multikultura znaci, odnosno podrazumjeva?

How significant was Australian multiculturalism during your process of integration and adaptability? Kako je znacajna australska multikultura tokom vase integracije i adaptacije?

Did you experience any racism or discrimination in Australia because you are Muslim, Bosniak or both? If yes, what did you do about it? How did this experience affect your settlement? Da li ste dozivjeli rasizam ili diskriminaciju u Australiji zato sto ste musliman, odnosno Bosnjak ili oboje? Ako jeste, kako ste reagovali? Kako je takvo iskustvo afektiralo vase nastanjivanje?

Do you have friends and neighbours who are non-Bosniak? Do you go to their houses and they to yours? Da li imate prijatelje i komsije koji nisu Bosnjaci? Da li se medusobno posjecujete u kucama?

How well do you feel you 'fit' into Australian society- which ways do you feel you belong and which ways do you feel you don't? Da li osjecate da se dobro uklapate u australijsko drustvo? Na koje nacine osjecate da pripadate australijskom drustvu, a na koji nacin ne?

Do you call Australia home or would you return to live in Bosnia? Why? Da li nazivate Australiju svojom novom domovinom ili bi se radije vratili da zivate u Bosni? Zasto?

Interviews with mainstream and multicultural agencies in Victoria

Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives (ICEPA), Victoria University.

The Settlement of People who come from Bosnia with an affiliation with the Muslim religion in Victoria

Dzavid Haveric PhD student researcher

Section A: information about institution

Name of service:

Name:

Your Position:

Section B: Questions

What services or assistances do you provide for the Bosnian Muslims in Australia?

Are you aware of the settlement needs of Bosnian Muslims in your area?

Are you aware of the cultural backgrounds of Bosnian Muslims?

Are you able to communicate to Bosnian Muslims effectively?

Do the Bosnian Muslims use your offered support? If yes, which ones, if not why not?

Do the Bosnian Muslims follow or participate in your program? If yes, which ones, if not why not?

How do Bosnian Muslims know about your agency or services? Do you provide any specific information to the Bosnian Muslims (e.g. Bosnian translated materials)

What are the ages of community members most interested in your activities?

Does your agency employ Bosnian staff?

Are your staff aware of Bosnian Muslim culture? Are they aware of the differences between Bosnian Muslims and other Muslims? What awareness training programs are run for your staff to address such issues?

Are the Bosnian Muslims or their community organisations members of your institution or taking part in your advisory committees?

In your opinion do the Bosnian Muslims interact with other ethnic groups?

Do you find that Bosniaks have settled well into Australian society? If yes, in what ways, if no, in what ways?