

**Islam and Justice**  
**AAIMS Inaugural Conference on the Study of Islam**  
**and Muslim Societies**



**Date: 18-19 December 2017**

**Venue: Copland Theatre, 198 Berkeley Street,**

**The University of Melbourne**

**Parkville, VIC 3010**

# Sponsors

National Centre of Excellence for  
Islamic Studies

Asia Institute

School of Historical and Philosophical  
Studies,

Faculty of Arts

**University of Melbourne**



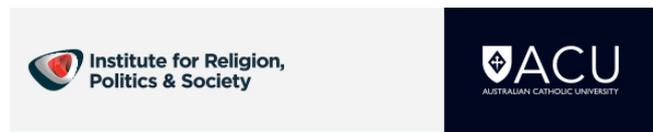
Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship  
and Globalisation

**Deakin University**



Institute for Religion, Politics and  
Society

**Australian Catholic University**



Routledge

**Taylor and Francis Group**



## Conference Conveners

**Professor Abdullah Saeed AM**

Sultan of Oman Chair in Islamic Studies

Director, National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies

University of Melbourne

**Professor Vedi Hadiz**

Deputy Director, Asia Institute

University of Melbourne

## Conference Committee

**Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh**

Deputy Director (International), Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation

Deakin University

**Associate Professor Richard Pennell**

Al-Tajir Lecturer in Middle Eastern & Islamic History

School of Historical and Philosophical Studies

University of Melbourne

**Dr Joshua Roose**

Director, Institute for Religion Politics and Society

The Australian Catholic University

## **National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies (NCEIS)**

The National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies aims to advance the knowledge and understanding of the rich traditions and modern complexities of Islam, and to profile Australia's strengths in the field of Islamic studies. The Centre's activities will focus on issues of significance and relevance to Islam and Muslims in the contemporary period with a special focus on Australia. The Centre's courses aim to provide a knowledge and skill foundation for students aspiring to religious and community leadership roles in Australia and will provide opportunities for professional development in relevant areas.

## **Asia Institute (AI)**

The Asia Institute is The University of Melbourne's key centre for studies in Asian languages, cultures and societies. Asia Institute academic staff have an array of research interests and specialisations, and strive to provide leadership in the study of the intellectual, legal, politico-economic, cultural and religious traditions and transformations of Asia and the Islamic world. The Institute is committed to community engagement and offers a dynamic program of academic and community-focused events and cultural exchanges that aim to promote dialogue and debate.

## **The Australian Association of Islamic and Muslim Studies (AAIMS)**

AAIMS is an inter-disciplinary network of scholars at Australian universities, committed to teaching and research excellence on Islam and Muslim experiences. It was registered as an incorporated not-for-profit association in October 2016. By fostering a network of academics based at Australian universities, AAIMS will generate opportunities for joint research across disciplines and institutions, as well as a wide dissemination of research output by its members. AAIMS promotes the field of Islamic and Muslim studies by:

- Creating a professional network for collaboration
- Creating opportunities for research students and Early Career Researchers
- Fostering links with policy and decision makers
- Informing public discourse in relation to Islam and Muslim societies

The Interim Executive Committee:

- President Prof Shahram Akbarzadeh (Deakin)
- Vice-President A/Prof Lily Rahim (USyd)
- Secretary Dr Joshua Roose (ACU)
- Treasurer Dr Ghena Krayem (USyd)
- A/Prof Halim Rane (Griffith)
- Dr Derya Iner (CSU)

### **Advisory Board:**

The Interim Executive is operating under the patronage of long standing scholars in this field. The National Advisory Board consists of:

- Prof Riaz Hassan, AM, FASSA, Director of the International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding, University of South Australia.
- Prof Tim Lindsey, Malcolm Smith Professor of Asian Law and Director of the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society at the Melbourne Law School.
- Prof Fethi Mansouri, UNESCO Chair in Cultural Diversity and Social Justice and Director of the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation.
- Prof Abdullah Saeed, AM, Sultan of Oman Chair in Arab and Islamic Studies and Director of the National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies at Melbourne University.
- Prof Amin Saikal, AM, FASSA, University Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Public Policy Fellow, Chair of the Middle East Reference Group, and Director of the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies (The Middle East and Central Asia) at the Australian National University.
- Prof Bryan S. Turner, Professor of Sociology of Religion, Australian Catholic University and winner of the 2015 Max Planck Research Award.
- Prof Samina Yasmeen, AM, Professor of Political Science and International Relations and Director of the Centre for Muslim States and Societies, University of Western Australia.

## AAIMS Inaugural Conference at NCEIS

The inaugural conference of the Australian Association of Islamic and Muslim Studies (AAIMS) will represent the depth and breadth of scholarship in Australia. It will showcase the diversity of this field of study which reflects the range of Muslim experiences across many countries and continents. The experiences and daily challenges faced by Muslims in Australia is, by definition, different to those in the Middle East, South Asia and South East Asia. This difference, however, does not detach them from events and processes that shape the lives of other Muslims. Studies of Muslim experiences and manifestations of Islam require a multi-disciplinary approach to capture the topic in all its multi-faceted complexity. AAIMS inaugural conference will address this important consideration by bringing together leading scholars from many disciplines, including law, politics, sociology, religious studies, philosophy and theology.



# AAIMS

Australian Association of  
Islamic and Muslim Studies Inc.

# Conference Program

## DAY ONE

18 December

9am-9.30am

### Welcome

Conference Conveners: Professor Abdullah Saeed AM (Director, National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies, University of Melbourne)

Professor Vedi Hadiz (Deputy Director, Asia Institute, University of Melbourne)

AAIMS Interim President, Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh (Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University)

9.30am-10.30am

### Keynote

Chair: Professor Samina Yasmeen (University of Western Australia)

Professor Amina Wadud (Starr King School for the Ministry)  
*Muslim Women Leading Islamic Reform*

10.30am-11am

### Morning Tea

11am-12.30pm

### Parallel Session 1A: Islam and Gender

Chair: Dr Dina Afrianty (Australian Catholic University)

Dr Adis Duderija (Griffith University)

*Contemporary Muslim Male Reformist Ijtihad and Gender Equality Affirmative Interpretations of Islam*

Ms Kinda AlSamara (University of Melbourne)

*Muhammad 'Abduh, Islam, Justice and the Liberation of Women*

Dr Imran Lum (Australian Catholic University) and Dr Anisa Buckley (University of Melbourne)

*Marriage, Money and Divorce: Sharia-compliant Transactions in the Lives of Australian Muslims*

## **Parallel Session 1B: Islam in Australia 1**

Chair: Professor Michele Grossman (Deakin University)

Dr Mario Peucker (Victoria University)

*Muslim Community Volunteering from the Mainstream to the Fringes*

Dr James Barry and Prof Ihsan Yilmaz (Deakin University)

*Towards an Understanding of Regional Australian Islam*

Mr Muhammed Aksu (University of Western Australia)

*Multicultural Representations of 'Good' Muslims on the Screen, a Comparison of Australian and Canadian Television Shows*

**12.30pm-1pm**

**Lunch**

**1pm-2pm**

**AGM**

**2pm-3.30pm**

**Parallel Session 2A: Comparative Perspectives on Islam**

Chair: Dr Anisa Buckley (University of Melbourne)

Associate Professor Halim Rane (Griffith University)

*Early Muslim Australians: Perspectives on Islam in Challenging Times*

Associate Professor Richard Pennell (University of Melbourne)

*Teaching Middle Eastern and Islamic History in Australia: How do the Practicalities Change the Methods?*

Dr Hakan Coruh (Charles Sturt University)

*The Abolishment of Caliphate in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey*

**Parallel Session 2B: Perspectives on Islamophobia**

Chair: Dr David Tittensor (Deakin University)

Ms Zarlisht Sarwari, Dr Oishee Alam and Prof Linda Briskman  
(Western Sydney University)

*Anti-Muslim Sentiment in Australia: Populist Depictions of Islam*

Dr Zouhir Gabsi (Deakin University)

*An Islamic Perspective on Islamophobia: From Misconception to Reason*

Dr Leticia Anderson, Ms Shima Shahbazi, Mr Mujib Abid (University of Sydney)

*The Islamophobia Index*

## **AAIMS Advisory Board meeting**

**3.30pm-4pm**

**Afternoon Tea**

**4pm-5.30pm**

### **Parallel Session 3A: Political Economy of Islamic Movements**

Chair: Professor Vedi Hadiz (University of Melbourne)

Professor Vedi Hadiz (University of Melbourne)

*Islamic Populism and Oligarchic Politics in Indonesia*

Dr Nadeem Malik (University of Melbourne)

*The Political Economy of Defence and Religious Extremism in Pakistan*

Orhan Karagoz (University of Melbourne)

*Islam and Neoliberalism in Turkey*

### **Parallel Session 3B: Islam in Australia 2**

Chair: Dr Mario Peucker (Victoria University)

Dr David Tittensor (Deakin University)

*Navigating being Muslim in Australia in an era of hyper-security*

Ms Husnia Underabi (University of Western Sydney)

*Are Sydney Imams Agents of Socialisation?*

Dr Sherene Idriss (University of Western Sydney)

*Contested Islamic Practices: The Convergences of Art, Doctrine, Ethnicity and Youth in Contemporary Australia*

Ms Sarah Cheikh Husain (Deakin University)

*Countering Islamophobia: Islamic Organizations in Australia as Agents of Resistance*

**DAY TWO**

**19 December**

**9am -10.00am**

**Keynote**

Chair: Prof Shahram Akbarzadeh (Deakin University)

Professor Amin Saikal AM FASSA (Australian National University)  
*How Islamic has 'Islamic State' been?*

**10.00am-10.30am**

**Morning Tea**

**10.30am-12.00pm**

**Parallel Session 4A: Discussion Panel on Countering Violent Extremism**

Chair: Dr Joshua Roose (Australian Catholic University)

Anna Parle (Vic Department of Premier and Cabinet)  
Professor Kevin Dunn (Western Sydney University)  
Professor Michele Grossman (Deakin University)  
Dr Yassir Morsi (La Trobe University)

**Parallel Session 4B: Shi'ism in society**

Chair: Assoc Prof Lily Rahim (University Sydney)

Assoc Prof Morteza Bahrani (Australian Catholic University)  
*The Iranian Insecure Self; the Paradox of Contemporaneity*  
Dr Naser Ghobadzadeh (Australian Catholic University)  
*"Principled distance": The de-governmentalization of Shi'ism*  
Mr Mahmoud Pargoo (Australian Catholic University)  
*Politics of Islamisation of Knowledge in Post-Revolutionary Iran*  
Dr Yaghoob Foroutan (University of Waikato)  
*Comparative Perspective on Shi'a – Sunni Muslims: Socio-Demographic Analysis*

**12pm-12.30pm**

**Lunch**

**12.30pm-1pm**

**Book launch**

**Professor Ramesh Thakur (ANU) launching:**  
*Jihad and Dawah: Evolving Narratives of Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jamat ud Dawah* by Samina Yasmeen (Hurst 2017)

**Prof Amin Saikal (ANU) launching:**  
*The Politics of Islamism: Diverging Visions and Trajectories*, edited by John Louis Esposito, Lily Zubaidah, Rahim & Naser Ghobadzadeh (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

**1pm-2.30pm**

**Plenary session: Islam, Law and Authoritarianism**

Chair: Professor Ihsan Yilmaz (Deakin University)

Dr Melinda Rankin (University of Sydney)

*The Intersection between Islamic and Western Concepts of the Law in Response to New Wars*

Mr Daniel Peterson (Australian Catholic University)

*Islam, Blasphemy, and Human Rights in Indonesia – The Case of Ahok*

Associate Professor Lily Rahim (University of Sydney)

*Regime and Reformists Islamists in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: Case-Studies from Malaysia and Iran*

**2.30pm-3pm**

**Afternoon Tea**

**3pm-4.45pm**

**Plenary session: Islam in Cross-regional Perspectives**

Chair: Professor Amin Saikal AM FASSA (ANU)

Professor Riaz Hassan AM FASSA (University of South Australia)

*Demography and Religiosity in South and Southeast Asia*

Professor Samina Yasmeen AM (University of Western Australia)

*Islamism in Pakistan*

Professor Ihsan Yilmaz and Dr James Barry (Deakin University)

*Instrumentalist Use of Islam by a 'Secular' State: Turkey's Diyanet on Interfaith Dialogue under Kemalist and Kemalo-Islamist Regimes*

Dr Yelena Zabortseva (University of Sydney)

*Patrimonial State-building in ex-Soviet Central Asia and the Role of Islam in these Processes*

**4.45pm-5pm Closing Remarks, AAIMS President**

## Speakers and Abstracts

**Mujib Abid** (University of Sydney)

*The Islamophobic Index: Constructing and Validating an Index for the Evaluation of Anti-Muslim Discourses*

See Dr Leticia Anderson for abstract

### **Bio**

Mujib Abid is a PhD candidate in Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. His doctoral thesis explores cultural hegemony and cultural hybridity in post-9/11 occupied Afghanistan, with a focus on American-led Western dominance and nativist forms of resistance.

**Prof Shahram Akbarzadeh** (Deakin University)

### **Bio**

Professor Akbarzadeh is the Deputy Director (International) of the Alfred Deakin Institute, and a recent Future Fellow with the Australian Research Council with decades of research experience. He researches Islamism and the politics of the Middle East and Central Asia. Among his publications are the *Routledge Handbook of Political Islam* (edited in 2012 and 2017), and the *Politics of the Middle East* (forthcoming).

**Muhammed Aksu** (University of Western Australia)

*Multicultural Representations of 'Good' Muslims on the screen, a comparison of Australian and Canadian Television shows*

Representations of Muslims and the Muslim world in Western television and cinema has traditionally been dominated by negative images and stereotypes defined by Orientalism. It is predominately shaped by socio-cultural and political phenomena such as migration and more recently extremism. Most Muslim portrayals in Western cinema and television originate from the United States and Britain; nations where migrants are expected to assimilate into society. Multicultural nations such as Australia and Canada allow for migrating cultures to maintain their own traditions and language in an attempt to manage and promote diversity. Media images of Muslims in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century were shaped by socio political events from across the globe, forcing Australia and its Muslim community to reimagine their relationship with each other. This presentation compares how two television shows, Australian police drama East West 101 and Canadian comedy Little Mosque on the Prairie, construct 'integrated' or 'good' representations of Muslims in modern multicultural nations. It discusses how these 'good' Muslims interact with the rest of society and dispel myths about themselves. Finally, it discusses how these two shows consider faith, gender and the image of Muslims and Islam in the modern Western world.

### **Bio**

Muhammed Aksu is a Phd Candidate in Culture and Film Studies at the University of Western Australia. His PhD topic focuses on 'Integrated Representations of Muslims in Western Cinema and Television'.

**Dr Oishee Alam** (Western Sydney University)

*Anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia: Populist depictions of Islam*

See Ms Zarlisht Sarwari for abstract

### **Bio**

Oishee Alam is a sociologist of race and religion, with a research and teaching focus on racism and anti-racism, Islamophobia, racialisation, nationalism, secularism and whiteness. As a Research Fellow at the Challenging Racism Project at Western Sydney University, she is working to increase understandings of bystander responses as a means of countering racism among Australian school students. Oishee completed her doctoral thesis in 2016, wherein she explored how white Australian converts to Islam conceptualised and negotiated race and racial identity after their conversion to Islam.

**Dr Leticia Anderson** (Southern Cross University), **Ms Shima Shahbazi** and **Mr Mujib Abid** (University of Sydney)

*The Islamophobic Index: Constructing and Validating an Index for the Evaluation of Anti-Muslim Discourses*

Islamophobia has become a serious social problem within contemporary Western societies, with anti-Muslim prejudice seriously impacting upon the quality of life of Muslims and damaging wider communal harmony and social cohesion in countries with Muslim minorities. In a wide variety of studies over the past two decades, the media has consistently been identified as a significant social institution implicated in normalising and disseminating anti-Muslim prejudice. Identifying and combating Islamophobic discourses within media discourses has been a challenging proposition. However, Islamophobia is a complex and contested phenomenon which defies easy classification within the vocabulary of critical theory. This paper outlines some of the difficulties involved in defining and categorising Islamophobic discourses through an exploration of the process of constructing, evaluating, validating and applying to textual analysis a unique social indicator, the 'Islamophobic Index'.

### **Bio**

Dr Leticia Anderson is a Lecturer in Humanities at Southern Cross University. Leticia has a dual research focus on inclusive and transformational higher education and on race relations and Islamophobia in contemporary Australian society. Her current research focusses on evaluating representations of Islam and Muslims in press reporting during Australian election campaigns.

**Rosalie Atie** (Western Sydney University)

*Sydney Muslim community attitudes towards policing and CVE: senses of procedural justice*

See Prof Kevin M Dunn for abstract

### **Bio**

Rosalie Atie is a research assistant with the Challenging Racism Project at Western Sydney University. Her projects include: a partnership project with NSW Police on the effects of NSW Police community engagement counter-radicalisation model; a partnership project with the Islamic Sciences and Research Academy on the Ordinarity of Australian Muslims; an

ARC funded study on ethnic discrimination in the private rental housing market; and an ARC funded project on cyber-racism and community resilience. Rosalie is currently undertaking a PhD in the School of Social Sciences and Psychology at Western Sydney University. Her PhD project looks at slam poetry as a space for alternative storytelling.

**Assoc Prof Morteza Bahrani** (Australian Catholic University)

*The Iranian Insecure Self; the Paradox of Contemporaneity*

Are we - the Iranians - contemporary with the world around us? Why do Iranian selves not recognize others who are constructing an important part of our world? What is so effective in defining and identifying us historically and epistemologically that makes us feel anachronistic? Based on Habermas's normative question 'can complex societies form a rational identity?' (1974), the answer lies in the public dialogue atmosphere. Taghaviyan (2016) endeavours to bring this philosophical analysis into sociological study by criticizing the ideas of Shariati, Soroush and Tabatabaee on Iranian identity. He maintains that social identity cannot be merely based on historical and past values. In continuation with these arguments, this paper explains Iranian identity according to the notion of 'Iranian insecure self' and examines the relationship between self, part-self and other and different systems of classical knowledge (Islamic jurisprudence, theology, mysticism and philosophy; i.e. Fiqh, Kalam, Erfan and Falsafe). Some findings of this paper indicate that an insecure situation is the second permanent variant in constructing Iranian social identity; an important key that has given continuity to Iran and, simultaneously, has denied it to be contemporary.

### **Bio**

Morteza Bahrani is an Associate Professor of political thoughts in Iranian Institute for Social and Cultural Studies and a visiting researcher at the Institute for Social Justice (ACU), Sydney. His research interests include; political thought, political Islam and justice in an interdisciplinary vein. He has published several works, including 'Individualism in Islamic Teachings' (compilation), 'Jihad and Martyrdom in Islamic Devotion Books', and has translated 'The Law of Peoples', 'A Theory of Justice (J. Rawls)', 'Interpretation and Social Criticism', and 'Thick and Thin' (M. Walzer) into Persian. He is currently working on 'Farabi's political philosophy'. He has also offered courses in 'Socio-Political Thoughts of Contemporary Muslim Thinkers' and 'Political Thoughts in Classic Islam'.

**Dr James Barry and Prof Ishan Yilmaz** (Deakin University)

*Towards an Understanding of Regional Australian Islam*

Most research on communities of Australian Muslims takes place in the capital cities, specifically Melbourne and Sydney. However, the development of Muslim communities in regional Australia offers interesting insights into the nature of anti-Muslim prejudice in post-9/11 environment, how integration occurs among migrant communities in regional areas and the evolution of Australian identity. This paper focuses on historical and ethnographic research performed in Shepparton, a Victorian city with approximately 10% Muslim population. Shepparton has not faced the levels of public opposition to mosque construction, as has occurred in Melbourne and other Victorian towns, and the city has four mosques, two Sunni and two Shi'a. This paper, therefore, concentrates on how Muslims have developed their Australian identity in a regional context, looking at four distinct Muslim communities: Afghan, Albanian, Iraqi and Turkish.

*Instrumentalist Use of Islam by a 'Secular' State: Turkey's Diyanet on Interfaith Dialogue under Kemalist and Kemalo-Islamist Regimes*

See Prof Ihsan Yilmaz for abstract

### **Bio**

Dr James Barry is an anthropologist and associate research fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute, Deakin University. He has previously worked on ethnic and religious minorities in Iran, especially Armenian Christians. James is currently working with the Chair of Islamic Studies at Deakin on a number of projects focusing on Muslims in the West and Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle East.

**Prof Linda Briskman** (Western Sydney University)

*Anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia: Populist depictions of Islam*

See Ms Zarlasht Sarwari for abstract

### **Bio**

Linda Briskman holds the Margaret Whitlam Chair of Social Work at Western Sydney University. She is a human rights advocate in the spheres of Indigenous rights, asylum seeker rights and challenging Islamophobia. She conducts research and publishes in each of these areas.

**Dr Anisa Buckley** (The University of Melbourne)

*Marriage, Money and Divorce: Sharia-compliant transactions in the lives of Australian Muslims*

See Dr Imran Lum for abstract

### **Bio**

Dr Anisa Buckley is a Business Development Manager-NSW at Amanah Islamic Finance. She was a founding Board Member of the Islamic Museum of Australia and has served as a Board Member of Noor Al Houda Islamic College in Sydney. She is currently a Board Member of the Australian Muslim Women's Centre for Human Rights in Melbourne and the Australian Muslim Women's Association in Sydney. Prior to her role at Amanah, Co-founded arabicmadeinchina.com an online Arabic learning platform and taught Islamic Studies at the University of Melbourne. Anisa has a B.Ed (University of Sydney), a Grad Cert in International Development (RMIT), a MA in Islamic Studies (University of New England) and a PhD in Islamic Studies (University of Melbourne).

**Dr Hakan Çoruh** (Charles Sturt University)

*The Abolishment of Caliphate (Khilafah) in The Grand National Assembly of Turkey: Seyyid Bey (1873-1925) and Juristic Foundations of Its Abolishment from within Islamic Legal Tradition*

The Islamic State (ISIS) declared its self-proclaimed Islamic Caliphate in 2014 in an attempt to lead the worldwide Muslim movement. Mia Bloom, a security studies professor at

Massachusetts University and author of *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism*, stated that ‘the idea of living in the caliphate is a very positive and powerful one that women already living amid ISIS fighters hold dear to their heart’. (The Guardian, 2014). This comment opened various discussions on the notion of the Caliphate (Khilafah), the idea of the Muslim Umma (community) and Muslim communities worldwide and in Australia. This paper will focus on early 20<sup>th</sup> century Muslim thought and discussion on the Caliphate. While the idea of restoring and purifying the Caliphate was present during this period, the Turkish Grand National Assembly decided to abolish the Caliphate on March 3, 1924. Jurist Seyyid Bey provided juristic justifications for the abolishment from an Islamic jurisprudential perspective. This paper will analyse Seyyid Bey’s juristic reasoning, his place in the idea of Islamism, and the implications for today’s discussions on the institution of the Caliphate.

### **Bio**

Dr Hakan Coruh is a research coordinator and lecturer at the Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilisation (CISAC) at Charles Sturt University. Hakan's main field of research is Qur'anic exegesis (tafsīr). He teaches and writes on Qur'anic studies, classical exegesis and contemporary approaches to the Qur'an and Islam. He is interested in classical and modern Qur'anic exegesis, contemporary Islamic thought, Islamic Legal Theories (usul al-fiqh) and Jurisprudence (fiqh), Islamic theology and inter-faith relations.

### **Dr Adis Duderija (Griffith University)**

*Contemporary Muslim Male Reformist Ijtihad and Gender Equality Affirmative Interpretations of Islam*

Several recently published studies by reformist minded Muslim male scholars have both questioned the normative nature of, and emphasized the need to rethink, some of the fundamental assumptions and interpretational models governing traditional Islamic legal theories and ethics. As part of this process they have strongly expressed the need to develop novel Islamic hermeneutics. One major element in this emergence of novel Islamic hermeneutics is the production of an increased number of what I term ‘gender equality affirmative scholarship on Islam’ by these reformist minded Muslim male scholars. This article examines the arguments employed by three prominent contemporary Muslim male reformist scholars, both Shī‘ī and Sunnī, in developing gender equality affirmative interpretations of Islam. They include Nasr Abu Zayd, Mohsen Kadivar, and Khaled Abou El Fadl.

### **Bio**

Adis Duderija is a lecturer in Islam and Society at Griffith University. He received his PhD in 2010 from the University of Western Australia. His research interests include contemporary Islamic hermeneutics, Islam and gender, Islam and the religious other, progressive Islam, neo-traditional Salafism, contemporary Muslim reformist thought and the role of religion in western Muslims' identity construction. He is the author of *Constructing Religiously Ideal ‘Believer’ and ‘Muslim Woman’ Concepts: Neo-Traditional Salafī and Progressive Muslim Methods of Interpretation (Manahij)* (Palgrave 2011) and editor of *Maqasid Al Shari’ah and Contemporary Muslim Reformist Thought* (2014) and *The Sunna and its Status in Islamic Law: The Search for a Sound Hadith* (Palgrave 2015) and *The Imperatives of Progressive Islam* (Routledge 2017) as well as several academic articles, book chapters and encyclopedia entries.

**Prof Kevin M Dunn, Rosalie Atie and Rachel Sharples** (Western Sydney University)  
*Sydney Muslim community attitudes towards policing and CVE: senses of procedural justice*

This paper reports on Sydney Muslim community perceptions of NSW police practice and procedural justice, trust, co-operativeness, as well as interactions with police. A face-to-face survey collected data between July and August 2015 achieving a completed sample size was 185. Police practice was mostly seen as procedurally fair. Trust between NSW Police Force and Muslim communities was perceived to have diminished over the last six years. There was concern about the procedural unfairness of laws. The minority of Muslims who perceive inconsistency between Islam and Australian norms are more likely to perceive procedural injustice in Australia. Around a fifth of respondents saw specific police actions, and NSW police leaders, as anti-Muslim. The vast majority (76%) agreed that counter terror laws unfairly targeted Muslims. However, preparedness to co-operate with police on general crime issues was very high (over 90%), with only one-in-twenty stating they would be unlikely to assist, or report, to police. Respondent views on assisting with CVE policing were also a majority disposition (over 80%) with only one-in-ten saying they would be unlikely to co-operate. There was elevated wariness to assist police if the CVE action involved respondents advocating co-operation with peers and others across the Muslim communities. Reasons given by respondents for co-operation with police included: civic duty; national obligation; religious obligation, and; a wish to improve Muslim / police and Muslim / non-Muslim relations. Reasons given by the minority who were against co-operation were a lack of felt trust between Muslims and police. General levels of political distrust, and media distrust, has not eroded all community confidence, reflecting the high rates of cultural confidence, belonging and preparedness to co-operate.

| 17

### **Bio**

Kevin Dunn is Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Psychology and Professor in Human Geography and Urban Studies, and commenced at Western Sydney University in May 2008. His areas of research include immigration and settlement; Islam in Australia; the geographies of racism; and local government and multiculturalism. Recent books include *Landscapes: Ways of Imagining the World* (2003) and *Introducing Human Geography: Globalisation, Difference and Inequality* (2000). He is Lead Dean for Global Rankings at WSU and Provost of the Penrith campus.

**Dr Yaghoob Foroutan** (Waikato University)

*Comparative Perspective on Shi'a – Sunni Muslims: Socio-Demographic Analysis*

Using a comparative and socio-demographic perspective, this paper presents research-based evidence to examine patterns, determinants and differentials associated with Shi'a and Sunni Muslims. The field of this analysis is one of few Shia-dominated countries in the world: the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has undergone one of the world's most spectacular demographic changes. This particularly applies to its substantial birth fall over recent years. The country has also witnessed revolutionary socio-cultural changes during the past decades. These all echo that such field of study serves as a human and social laboratory for this analysis to examine the key research objectives outlined above. This analysis identifies demographic characteristics through several indicators such as attitudes towards family formation and marriage patterns (i.e. ideal age of marriage, marriage within kinship and group or endogamy, simultaneously multiple marriages or polygamy, unregistered/white marriage or cohabitation), abortion, divorce, childbearing desires (ideal family size), attitudes

toward contemporary population policy, religiosity and gender roles among Shi'a and Sunni populations from a comparative perspective. Methodologically, this paper is based on two sets of data. It begins with the secondary data analysis of census (1956-2016) in order to highlight the main demographic trends over the past half a century in this Shia-dominated context. Then, the main analysis will be based on a recently-conducted and nationally-representative survey, which includes a sample of 4267 male and female Shi's and Sunni populations aged 15 years and over. Finally, due to the typical situation of the field of this study highlighted above, the results of this analysis will contribute to the contemporary literature and will shed further lights on the existing knowledge on Shia studies from comparative and demographic perspectives.

### **Bio**

Dr Yaghoob Foroutan is an Associate Professor at Mazandaran University and a Research Associate at Waikato University. He completed his PhD in Demography & Sociology Program at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. He was previously a Post-Doctoral Fellow at The University of Waikato, New Zealand (2010-2012), where he now holds a Research Associate position. Furthermore, he holds a position as Associate Professor at the Department of Social Sciences, The University of Mazandaran, Babolsar, Iran. Dr Foroutan also holds position as Adjunct Research Fellow at The Swinburne Institute for Social Research, Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne. Dr Foroutan has also served as the Chair of the Scientific Group on 'Demography of Asian Migrants and Diasporas' at The Asian Population Association and as a committee member of The Society of the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR) in the United States. Dr Foroutan also serves as Editorial Board Member of four academic journals including International Journal of Social Science Studies, Today Social Science, Internal Journal of Social Science and Technology and Comparative Islamic Studies. Dr Foroutan has published extensively in peer-reviewed journals.

### **Dr Zouhir Gabsi** (Deakin University)

*An Islamic Perspective on Islamophobia: From Misconception to Reason*

Islamophobia has been a recurrent narrative for some time now, and it has been exacerbated since the aftermath of 9/11. However, little is known about Muslim scholars' perception of this phenomenon. This is due primarily to the language barrier wherein the Arabic language is the code for their discourse. It is important to merge both views to understand the problem fully and hence suggest solutions, as relying on one approach is both biased and unaccommodating. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is threefold: Firstly, it explains how Islamophobia should be defined contextually. Secondly, it demonstrates how the Islamic perspective contrasts with its Western perspective. Thirdly, this paper discusses the variables that affect Islamophobia such as Western media and terrorism (including state terrorism). Finally, this paper proposes some solutions to curb the situation.

### **Bio**

Dr Zouhir Gabsi is a lecturer in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Deakin University, Melbourne Australia. He has wide research interests including, language teaching, minority languages and more recently Islamophobia, the Arab Spring, Youth Identity and Islamic Discourse.

**Dr Naser Ghobadzadeh** (Australian Catholic University)

*“Principled distance”: The de-governmentalization of Shī’ism*

In an attempt to conceptualise the political characteristics of the traditional Shiite orthodoxy, this paper will investigate how the seminaries interacted with political power prior to the rise of political Shiism. In existing literature on the subject, two notions - "quietist" and "apolitical" - have been advanced to describe the political orientation of the traditional orthodoxy. Departing from these conceptualisations, I borrow Rajeev Bhargava’s notion of “principled distance” to articulate a more nuanced understanding of the traditional orthodoxy’s approach to politics. Grounded in the lived reality of the traditional Shī’ite orthodoxy, this paper will also propose principled distance as a normative and prescriptive conceptual framework for envisioning a constructive dynamic between religion and the state.

| 19

### **Bio**

Researching at the intersection of religion and politics, Naser’s interests lie in the study of Islamic political theology, secularism, state-religion-society relations, and Middle East and Iranian politics. By mapping competing discourses and practices in the Muslim world, his current research project involves conceptualising the possibility not only of the co-existence of religious and secular democracy, but also the need to recognize the religious roots of an emerging model of secularity in the Muslim world. Naser is also working on authoritarian resilience in Iran with the aim of exploring the contribution of repeated elections to the durability of authoritarianism. Naser has authored three books including *Religious secularity: a theological challenge to the Islamic state* (Oxford University Press, 2015), *Caspian Sea: legal regime, neighbouring countries and US policies* (Farhang-e Goftehan, 2005 - In Persian) and *A study of people's divergence from ruling system* (Farhang-e Goftehan, 2002 - In Persian). His articles have appeared in leading international journals. Naser is one of the principal investigators of a 3-year QNRF-funded NPRP project on intersections of Islam and democracy with special reference to the production of civic and democratic learning and identities in Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Qatar, Syria, and Tunisia.

**Prof Michele Grossman** (Deakin University)

### **Bio**

Dr Michele Grossman is Professor of Cultural Studies and Research Chair in Diversity and Community Resilience at the Alfred Deakin Institute, Deakin University, where she convenes the AVERT (Addressing Violent Extremism and Radicalisation to Terrorism) Research Network. Michele’s research engages with community perspectives on and responses to terrorism and countering violent extremism policy and practice. Her work appears in leading journals including *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* and others. In 2016-17, Michele co-led with Prof. Paul Thomas an ESRC-CREST funded project on UK community reporting thresholds for violent extremist activity, <https://crestresearch.ac.uk/resources/community-reporting-thresholds-full-report/>.

**Prof Vedi Hadiz** (The University of Melbourne)  
*Islamic Populism and Oligarchic Politics in Indonesia*

The concept of Islamic populism as addressed by Hadiz (2016) is explored further here in relation to intra-oligarchic competition over power and resources in post-authoritarian Indonesia. The concept is based on an understanding of ‘populisms in general’ as cross-class coalitions within which internally contradictory social interests are temporarily nullified within alliances that are necessarily tenuous and volatile. Within Islamic populism, there is a ‘suspension of difference’ within an actually highly diversified *ummah* – resulting from social changes associated with capitalist development and neoliberal transformations – through the mobilisation of an Islamic political identity and conservative interpretations of Islamic values and morality, underpinned by a narrative of common experience of economic and political marginalisation under Dutch colonialism and within the authoritarian New Order period (1966-98). In the present democratic period, this narrative is being utilised to develop bases of social support for oligarchic interests that have been able to colonise Indonesia’s democratic institutions to continue to pursue a form of predatory politics where the accumulation of private wealth is largely determined by control over public institutions and resources.

**Bio**

Vedi Hadiz is Professor of Asian Studies and Deputy Director of the Asia Institute, University of Melbourne. His previous positions were at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University and the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore. He is a recent Australian Research Council Future Fellow and was recently elected a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. His research interests are in the broad areas of political economy and political sociology. He is the author of several books, including *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East* (Cambridge University Press 2016)

**Prof Riaz Hassan** (University of South Australia)  
*Demography and Religiosity in South and Southeast Asia*

Majority-minority differences in socio-economic outcomes are well studied in sociology. This paper breaks new ground by investigating the effect on religiosity of majority-minority status in two Muslim majority and two Muslim minority countries of South and Southeast Asia. Religiosity is conceptualised as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The paper critically discusses this conceptualization and the survey data used in the study. The findings show significant differences in sociological profiles of religiosity in Muslim majority and Muslim minority countries. The architecture of religiosity is comparatively significantly more orthodox in Muslim majority countries. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of the findings for understating the nature and dynamics of religious orthodoxy, nature of civil society, religious reform and the role of collective religious social movements.

**Bio**

Riaz Hassan is Director of the International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding at the University of South Australia, Visiting Research Professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies National University of Singapore and Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Flinders University. He has also held academic appointments at the University of California Los Angeles and Yale University. His publications include: *Indian Muslims: Struggling for Equality of Citizenship; Inside Muslim Minds; Life as a Weapon; Faithlines:*

*Muslim Conceptions of Islam and Society*. He is a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and a Member of the Order of Australia.

**Ms Sarah Cheikh Husain** (Deakin University)

*Countering Islamophobia: Literature Review of Australia's Islamic organisations in Australia*

In Australia, Islamophobic assumptions on Muslims' loyalty and integration attract a heated backdrop of literature on Muslims' lives. The literature focuses mainly on aspects related to this populist debate such as identity, belonging, citizenship and religiosity. Little attention is paid to Muslim activism, and far less attention is paid to institutionalised or collective Muslim agency. Furthermore, available studies on Muslim activism discuss their civic and political engagement particularly from an active citizenship platform. Arguably, a populist understanding of Islamophobia invokes active citizenship as a dominant framework of studies on Muslim activism. This implies that Islamophobia as a social, political and discursive phenomenon has been limited to this populist discursive field. This paper examines this gap and advocates for the necessity of examining agency of Islamic organisations in challenging Islamophobia as an ideology through the platform of empowerment and agency theories. Keywords: activism, Australia, Islamic organisations, Islamophobia.

### **Bio**

Sarah Cheikh Husain is a PhD candidate at Deakin University. She is the recipient of PhD Scholarship for the UNESCO Chair for Comparative Research on cultural diversity and Social Justice. Her previous research examined the representation of Arabs and Muslims as a minority group in picture books published in Western countries by adopting textual and semiotic critical analysis framework. Her current PhD research revolves around Islamophobia, agency and empowerment within the Muslim community. Her study aims at analysing Islamic organisations' activism and agency strategies and responses to an evolving climate of Islamophobia.

**Dr Sherene Idriss** (Western Sydney University)

*Contested Islamic Practices: the convergence of art, doctrine, ethnicity and youth in contemporary Australia*

This paper will examine the practical and moral dilemmas that some young Australian Muslims face as they develop creative vocational aspirations. It will draw on in-depth interview data with young Arab-Australian men from Western Sydney who have developed creative-based interests, in drawing, design, poetry, film and theatre, but feel conflicted about pursuing these interests as long term careers due to what they see as a major conflict with their faith-based identities. The paper will discuss some of the pressures and constraints young Muslims experience within their religious and ethnic communities around the 'respectability' of their career interests. It will explore how discussions and debates about art and Islam are both gendered and sexualised. Finally, it will discuss the strategies these young men employ to navigate between conflicting subjectivities.

### **Bio**

Dr Sherene Idriss is a lecturer in the School of Humanities and Communication Arts and adjunct researcher at the School of Social Sciences and Psychology, Western Sydney

University. Her book, *Young Migrant Identities: Creativity and Masculinity*, has recently been published with Routledge. It examines the ways that categories of youth, gender, social class and personal ambition intersect and play out in ethnic-minority communities. Her research interests include; community politics and cultural brokerage in Muslim minority groups within Sydney, youth subcultures and the intersections between religion, gender and identity practices.

**Orhan Karagoz** (The University of Melbourne)

*Islam and Neoliberalism in Turkey*

In the 1980s Turkey followed the global trend towards neoliberalism. However, due to Turkey's unique historical and social context, neoliberalism was applied differently and had different consequences to those of other countries. I will first outline the history and the economic policies of pre-neoliberal Turkey. The junta of 1980 introduced neo-liberalism to Turkey while promoting a Turk-Islam Synthesis (TIS), and by doing so fostered Turk Islamism. Consequently, the disenfranchised 'Islamic bourgeoisie' changed its hostile attitudes towards the West once benefiting from neoliberal economic policy and moved into the spaces vacated by the neoliberal reduction in state-governed structures. In consequence, new classes arose amongst the Islamists, where the ideas of self-help and entrepreneurship became prominent, and where some aspects of Islam were commodified in conjunction with cosmopolitanism. These transformations liberated some Turkish women but oppressed many others, particularly those of the lower classes. However, the rise of new money, or the 'Islamic bourgeoisie', did not lead to severe tensions with the old bourgeoisie, or old money, as both groups realized the importance of maintaining a neoliberal environment and a stable government. Overall, Islam and neoliberalism had different consequences for different people and groups in Turkey.

### **Bio**

Orhan Karagoz is a PhD student in Anthropology at the University of Melbourne. He has done his undergraduate degree in History and Classics at the University of Melbourne. He also has a Graduate Diploma in Anthropology from the University of Melbourne. His honours thesis was on Turkish politics, in particular the gendered metaphor of the Turkish nation-state. His PhD research is on the Turkish diaspora in Broadmeadows Melbourne.

**Dr Imran Lum** (Australian Catholic University) and **Dr Anisa Buckly** (University of Melbourne)

*Marriage, Money and Divorce: Sharia-compliant transactions in the lives of Australian Muslims*

Significant life events for Muslims in Australia, such as marriage, home ownership and divorce, often involve not only financial but also social transactions. Our research shows that many Muslims in Australia feel strongly about undertaking these major transactions in a Sharia-compliant manner, even though they do not consider themselves to be 'practising' Muslims, with non-religious, conventional avenues available. This paper is based on our respective PhD theses which focus on Muslim attitudes towards *riba* and Muslim women's experiences of marriage and divorce. We found that while some transactions relating to marriage sat comfortably at the intersection of Australian and Islamic laws, other transactions

pertaining to home ownership and divorce were not easily reconciled. This paper discusses the conscious and pragmatic decisions that many Australian Muslims have made based on religion, even though some made a choice not to pursue the Sharia-compliant path.

### **Bio**

Dr Imran Lum is currently an Associate Director at the National Australia Bank (NAB). Imran was appointed by the Foreign Minister to the Board of the Australia-ASEAN Council, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and he is an Advisory Board Member of the Islamic Museum of Australia. Imran is also an Honorary Research Fellow at the Institute for Religion, Politics and Society at the Australian Catholic University and the Founder of an online Arabic learning platform called [arabicmadeinchina.com](http://arabicmadeinchina.com). In 2017, Imran was ranked in the top 500 who make the Islamic Economy by ISLAMICA 500. Imran has an undergraduate degree (University of Adelaide), a Masters in Islamic Studies (University of New England) and a PhD in Islamic finance (University of Melbourne).

### **Dr Nadeem Malik** (University of Melbourne)

*The Political Economy of Defence and Religious Extremism in Pakistan*

Pakistan is passing through a critical phase of instability because of religious extremism and militancy at different levels. Religious extremism has caused much violence and eroded the rule of law. It has grave economic consequences for the country as well. This paper analyses the structural causes of such a menace. It will be argued that such a predicament is a result of the political economy of war-making and defence that led to a governance strategy based on conflicting ideals. On the one hand, a policy of the modern market economy was adopted for industrial development - an ideal of a modern nation-state. On the other, militarization was vigorously pursued in the name of defending the Islamic state from its Hindu enemy, India - a necessity to create a permanent space for the army to rule. The conflict of ideas was eventually resolved in favour of the ultimate militarization of the state establishing its legitimacy through the political project of Islamization of state and society during the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s. Zia's legacy persists and has significantly created a culture of religious intolerance and extremism in the society detrimental to economic growth and progressive social values in the country.

### **Bio**

Nadeem Malik is a senior lecturer in Development Studies program in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. He was the Director of the Development Studies program until 2014. Before that, he worked in the development sector as a development researcher and a trainer for around 20 years. His major areas of specialization are Third World development, globalization, gender and development, governance, civil society and the state, decentralization or local governance, project and program management and monitoring and evaluation of development projects, anthropology of development, political anthropology and art/theatre and development.

**Dr Yassir Morsi** (La Trobe University)

**Bio**

Yassir Morsi completed his PhD at the University of Melbourne in Political Science and Islamic studies. He researched the ‘Muslim Question’. Yassir is a columnist for *The Guardian* Australia and a community activist. His first manuscript *Radical Skin, Moderate Masks* is a book that examines the performance of being a "moderate Muslim" during the war on terror. He is lecturer at La Trobe University and a recipient of AMAA's award for Muslim Man of the Year, 2015.

**Mahmoud Pargoo** (Australian Catholic University)

*Maṣlaḥa and its Discontents: legal change in the post-revolutionary Iran*

Post-revolutionary Iran has seen an extensive reference to *maṣlaḥa* as a means of legal change ranging from rulings regarding individual morality such as permission of music and chess to social and economic rulings like the Labor Law. Unlike many other countries, the use of *maṣlaḥa* is institutionalized in a council comprised of jurists, political leaders, economists, and military commanders. The council is called “The Maṣlaḥa Discernment Council of the System” (*majma‘-e tashkhiṣ-e maṣlaḥat-e niẓām*). However, after almost four decades of using various fiqhī conceptual apparatus (including but not limited to *darūra*, *‘usr* and *ḥaraj*, and especially *maṣlaḥa*) to adapt Sharia rulings to the ever-changing social, economic, and political environment, a powerful counter-*maṣlaḥa* wave is increasingly being shaped in different layers of clergy, politicians, and academics in Iran. They pose the question: what are the limits of *maṣlaḥa*? When are we going to stop and say no? What remains of Islam and Sharia if all of its substantive rulings are compromised and only a façade is remained of them?

The current paper will explore this emerging dissatisfaction with *maṣlaḥa* by focusing on an ongoing debate in Iran between non-state ulama and religious institutions of the state over the issue of banking interest (*ribā*) and marketing companies using pyramid schemes (*shirkathāy-e hiramī*). It seems that Maṣlaḥa is a double-edged sword and overutilization of it, irrespective of the believers’ imaginary of what constitutes an authentic Sharia ruling, could result in its own de-legitimation.

**Bio**

Mahmoud Pargoo is a PhD candidate of Social and Political Thought at the Institute for Social Justice at the Australian Catholic University. His main focus is on religious, cultural, and intellectual trends in post-revolutionary Iran. He is trained in classical Shi’ite law and philosophy and publishes his analysis of Middle Eastern current affairs in *Al-Monitor*.

**Anna Parle** (Victorian Department of Premier and Cabinet)

**Bio**

Anna Parle is the Victorian State Chief Resilience Officer and Director of the Community Resilience and Social Inclusion branch at Department of Premier and Cabinet. Anna is a communications and strategy specialist and brings years of diverse experience to this position. Prior to being appointed to her current role, Anna led the design, development and implementation of the Victorian Government’s “Victorian. And Proud of It” Campaign. Anna has experience working abroad which has heightened her understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity and the importance of social inclusion. Anna prioritises a multiagency approach to implementing policy and programs that will drive social cohesion

and protect the resilience of the communities. She will seek to strengthen the Victorian Department of Premier and Cabinet's relationship with other government agencies and with the private sector. Anna has worked in multiple lead marketing and communications roles and understands the importance of strong collaboration to implement successful policy initiatives.

**Assoc Prof Richard Pennell** (The University of Melbourne)

*Teaching Middle Eastern and Islamic History in Australia: How do the Practicalities Change the Methods?*

This paper addresses the question of teaching about Islam and justice in Australia by proposing that the fundamental lack of knowledge about the region and religion inhibits serious discussion of deeper questions. It is the product of twenty years of teaching about the history of the Middle East and Islam in Australia. Many (most?) Australian students are unfamiliar with the region and topic. This results partly from distance and a lack of knowledge, and partly from the way in which students have been exposed to the region at school - considerations that also apply (at least in part) to other parts of the world that Australian students contend with. This paper describes the tactics I have used to overcome these problems. Assessment tasks have been designed specifically to concentrate students' attention on these questions. Project work based on the structural development of Islamic buildings and cities (in a second year subject on early Islam) and the accounts that asylum-seekers give to refugee tribunals (in a third-year subject on the modern Middle East and North Africa) have replaced traditional research-essay questions. Familiarisation exercises, based on the historical evidence contained in maps (modern period) and reviewing year 7 & 8 Victorian & Australian curriculum history textbooks (early Islam) have replaced more general summing-up/ review essays. These are questions that are crucial before any deeper discussion can take place, because without a basic familiarity with concepts and history and political and geographical structures it is too difficult to undertake a deeper exploration. They are also important in any cooperative projects university academics in which might have to engage with the school education system.

### **Bio**

Associate Professor Pennell is al-Tajir Lecturer in the History of Islam and the Middle East, University of Melbourne, Australia. He has published extensively on the history of North Africa and the Middle East, including *Morocco Since 1830* (London & New York: C.Hurst and New York University Press 2000). He is currently researching the history of asylum seekers accounts of oppression from the Middle East and North Africa

**Mr Daniel Peterson** (Australian Catholic University)

*Islam, Blasphemy, and Human Rights in Indonesia – The Case of Ahok*

This paper asks whether or not Indonesia's national human rights law regime can withstand the rise of political Islam in that country. If it cannot, using Alfred Stepan's democratic theory of the 'twin tolerations', the paper argues that the ideological ramifications for Indonesia's nascent democracy are inherently undemocratic. The findings of this paper are based on two landmark blasphemy cases: the Indonesian Constitutional Court's 2010 material review of the country's Blasphemy Law, and the May 2017 decision of the North Jakarta State Court to convict the former governor of Jakarta, Basuki 'Ahok' Tjahaja Purnama, of

blasphemy. Analysing both Ahok's legal defence, as well as the judgment of the court, what becomes clear is that, as long as the Blasphemy Law prevails in contemporary Indonesia, the country's national human rights law regime will remain dormant.

### **Bio**

Daniel Peterson is currently completing his PhD at the Institute for Religion, Politics and Society at Australian Catholic University. Using the blasphemy conviction of former Jakarta governor Ahok as his primary case study, Daniel's thesis investigates whether or not Indonesia's broader human rights legal framework can withstand the challenges presented by the rise of political Islam nationwide. Daniel also works as a research assistant at the Institute, where he is a principal contributor to both Euro-Islam and SHARIA source. He is a qualified lawyer, fluent in Indonesian, and is an Associate of the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society at the University of Melbourne.

### **Dr Mario Peucker (Victoria University)**

*Muslim community volunteering from the mainstream to the fringes*

While official statistics in Australia suggest a lower rate of civic engagement among Muslims compared to the overall population, it has been argued that Muslims' unpaid (and informal) contributions to their community is often regarded as an obvious part of every-day life and thus, not considered to be a form of volunteering. This suggests that Muslim community volunteering is underestimated and misunderstood in the broader public. In 2016 and 2017, I conducted two multi-method research studies in Muslim volunteering communities that offer fresh empirical insights into various facets of Muslims' active engagement within Islamic organisations. A preliminary analysis of survey and interview data underscores the diversity of Muslim community activism. It draws a complex picture of active Muslims' motivational drivers, goals and experiences, as well as the personal implications of their community engagement. The findings also highlight similarities and differences between Muslim volunteering in 'mainstream' Muslim community organisations and within fringe groups, such as Salafi organisations or Hizb ut-Tahrir.

### **Bio**

Mario Peucker is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing, Victoria University. Since 2003, he has undertaken research in Europe and Australia in the areas of active citizenship, exclusion-inclusion dynamics and far-right activism. He received his PhD in 2015 for his study on civic-political participation of Muslims in Australia and Germany at the University of Melbourne. Mario has contributed to consultations with various agencies, such as the UN Special Rapporteur on Racism, the Australian Human Rights Commission, the Commonwealth Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, and the Victorian government. Mario has published three books and several refereed journal articles, book chapters and research reports.

### **Assoc Professor Lily Rahim (University of Sydney)**

*Regime and Reformists Islamists in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: Case-Studies from Malaysia and Iran*

The paper focuses on Islamist political trajectories in the authoritarian quasi-secular state of Malaysia and authoritarian Islamic state of Iran by placing these country case-studies within

the framework of the inclusion-moderation (IM) thesis. The Malaysian and Iranian case-studies suggest that Islamist engagement in electoral politics and government does not necessarily result in their ‘political moderation’. Indeed, authoritarian religious and socio-political perspectives are likely to persist when Islamists are embedded within the political structures and dynamics of authoritarian states – whether Islamic or quasi-secular. In Iran, regime Islamists are intent on preserving the Islamic state. By contrast, regime elites and ethno-nationalists in Malaysia have expediently embraced the rhetoric of the Islamic state (based on comprehensive *sharia* laws, including *hudud*) in the face of mounting electoral challenges, mediocre governance record and weakening legitimacy. Since the controversial 2013 election (when the BN government lost the popular vote), regime elites have increasingly colluded with conservative *salafi* Islamists that now dominate the opposition party PAS and are intent on Islamising the quasi-secular state. Reformist Islamists and Muslim democrats are thus faced with an uphill task – lacking a cohesive and robust theological discourse that is able to counter the ethno-nationalist sentiments of Muslims influenced by *salafi* Islam from the Arab Middle East for more than three decades. Finally, the paper examines the prospects of regional *Nusantara* (Malay world) Islam in attenuating the socio-political and theological conservatism of *salafi* Islam and tempering the excesses of authoritarian governance.

### **Bio**

Lily Zubaidah Rahim is an Associate Professor at the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. She is a specialist in authoritarian governance, ethnic politics and democratisation in Southeast Asia and political Islam in Muslim-majority states. Her books include *The Singapore Dilemma: The Political and Educational Marginality of the Malay Community*, (Oxford University Press 1998/2001; translated to Malay by the Malaysian National Institute for Translation), *Singapore in the Malay World: Building and Breaching Regional Bridges* (Routledge, 2009), *Muslim Secular Democracy* (PalgraveMacmillan, 2013) and *The Politics of Islamism: Diverging Visions and Trajectories* (PalgraveMacmillan, 2017). Her fifth book on governance reform in Singapore will be published in 2018. Lily has published in numerous international journals such as *Democratization*, *Contemporary Politics*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Commonwealth and Contemporary Politics and Critical Asian Studies*.

### **Assoc Prof Halim Rane** (Griffith University)

*Early Muslim Australians: Perspectives on Islam in Challenging Times*

This paper examines the changes Islam in Australia has undergone in relation to the migration of Muslims since the 1970s based on in-depth interviews with early Muslim Australians. Using time-period effects as an explanatory framework, the paper discusses how the importation of politicized, neo-classical Islam – variously labelled as fundamentalist, Islamist and Salafist – transformed the more apolitical, traditional Islam of early Muslim Australians, negatively impacting on intra-community relations and relations with wider society. In highlighting the processes of change, the paper suggests possibilities for alternatives to such late twentieth century manifestations of Islam based on the experiences and insights of early Muslim Australians.

### **Acknowledgements**

*The presenter would like to thank the Griffith Centre for Social and Cultural Research for its support in conducting the research for this paper as well as the interviewees who generously gave their time and shared their valuable insights and experiences.*

### **Bio**

Halim Rane (PhD) is an Associate Professor of Islam-West Relations at Griffith University. In 2015, he received the prestigious Prime Minister's Award of 'Australian University Teacher of the Year'. Assoc. Prof. Rane's research focuses on Islam in the West, particularly Muslim communities in Australia. He is the author of numerous articles and books on Islamic and Muslim issues including: *Media Framing of the Muslim World: Conflicts, Crises and Contexts* (co-authored with J. Ewart and J. Martinkus, 2014, Palgrave Macmillan); *Making Australian Foreign Policy on Israel-Palestine: Media Coverage, Public Opinion and Interest Groups* (co-authored with E. Han, 2013, Melbourne University Press); *Islam and Contemporary Civilisation: Evolving Ideas, Transforming Relations* (2010, Melbourne University Press); and *Reconstructing Jihad amid Competing International Norms* (2009, Palgrave Macmillan). His forthcoming book entitled *Islam and Muslim Communities in the West* is co-authored with Adis Duderija and will be published by Palgrave Macmillan. Assoc. Prof. Rane is a founding member of AAIMS and served on its inaugural executive committee (2016-2017).

### **Dr Melinda Rankin** (University of Sydney)

*The intersection between Islamic and western concepts of the law in response to new wars: The case of CIJA and the IIM for Syria*

This paper explores the intersection between western and Islamic concepts of the law in the context of investigating and preparing case briefs for crimes against humanity in Syria. Specifically, the paper focuses on the role of the Commission for International Justice and Accountability (CIJA), and the recent establishment of the International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism (IIIM) for Syria. This paper has two central arguments: First, as a combination of western and local non-state actors, CIJA's willingness to use the law was an attempt to extend the system of international criminal law. Second, it also shows how the establishment of the IIIM represented an opportunity for states that practice western and Islamic concepts of law to reach a consensus on how to begin to address breaches of international criminal law with respect to Syria. In conclusion, this paper considers lessons learned from other tribunals in the region, such as the Iraqi High Tribunal and the Special Tribunal for Lebanon. It explores how attempts to address the issue of impunity in Syria in the long-term, could draw on western and Islamic concepts of law in the context of international humanitarian and criminal law (IHCL) and local Syrian law.

### **Bio**

Melinda Rankin is a lecturer in international security and associate at the Centre for International Security Studies at the University of Sydney.

**Dr Joshua M. Roose** (Australian Catholic University)

**Bio**

Joshua M. Roose is the Director of the Institute for Religion, Politics and Society at the Australian Catholic University and the current Interim Secretary of AAIMS. He was recently a visiting scholar at the East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard Law School from 2014-16 and prior to that at the Hagop Kevorkian Centre for Near Eastern Studies at New York University (2013). He sits on the Expert Advisory Panel for the Victorian Government Department of Premier and Cabinets Institute for Social Cohesion. Joshua was Secretary of the Australian Sociological Association (TASA) from 2015-16 and sits on the Editorial Board of the Journal of Sociology. Joshua is the Legal Theory Associate Editor for the Wiley Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Social Theory (2017) and an Ottawa University Law and Religion Project 'Scholar as Resource'.

**Prof Abdullah Saeed** AM (University of Melbourne)

**Bio**

Abdullah Saeed is currently the Sultan of Oman Professor of Arab and Islamic Studies, and the Director of the National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies at the University of Melbourne, Australia. His recent publications include *Human Rights and Islam* (in press, Edward Elgar); *Reading the Quran in the Twenty-First Century* (Routledge 2014); *Family Law and Australian Muslim Women* (co-edited, MUP, 2013); *Islam and Human Rights* (edited, Edward Elgar 2012); and *Islamic Political Thought and Governance* (edited, Routledge, 2011). He is a member of the UNESCO Commission of the Department of Foreign Affairs of Australia and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Humanities. For his contribution to the development of Islamic Studies and interfaith activities in Australia, he was awarded the Order of Australia (AM) in 2013.

**Prof Amin Saikal** AM FASSA (Australian National University)

*How Islamic has 'Islamic State' been?*

Two principle views have emerged on the nature and operations of the so-called Islamic State (IS) or khilafat. One contends that IS was the embodiment of a Salafist-Wahhabi version of Islam, and therefore it was Islamic. The other view claims that IS has had nothing to do with Islam in both its ideological disposition and practical dispensations. However, their view recognises the fact that Islam like any divine faith is open to a range of interpretations and applications, but the one that carries authenticity must have the consensus of a cross-section of the mosaic Muslim world. The question is: Was IS Islamic or not, or did it exude a form of political Salafism and Islamism of our time?

**Bio**

Amin Saikal AM, FASSA is University Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Public Policy Fellow, and Director of the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies (Middle East and Central Asia) at the Australian National University. He has been a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow in International Relations, and Visiting Fellow to Princeton University, Cambridge University; the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex; and Indiana University. He is an awardee of the Order of Australia (AM) 'for service to the international

community and education through the development of the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, and as an author and adviser', and an elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. His latest books include: *Iran at the Crossroads* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016); *Zone of Crisis: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012); *The Rise and Fall of the Shah: Iran from Autocracy to Religious Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); *Islam and the West: Conflict or Cooperation?* (London: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003); *The Arab World and Iran: A Turbulent Region in Transition* (New York: Palgrave, 2016); *Weak States, Strong Societies: Power and Authority in the New World Order* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016) – editor; *Afghanistan and its Neighbors After the NATO Withdrawal* (New York: Lexington Book, 2016) – co-editor; *Democracy and Reform in the Middle East and Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014) – co-editor; *American Democracy Promotion in the Changing Middle East: From Bush to Obama* (London: Routledge 2013) – co-editor. He has also published in major international journals and dailies, including *The New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Guardian*. He is a frequent commentator on Australian and international TV and radio networks.

**Kinda al-Samara** (The University of Melbourne)

*Muhammad 'Abduh, Islam, Justice and the Liberation of Women in the Nineteenth-Century Arab World*

Islam is an integral part of the Arab world that is part of every Muslims' psyche. Its precepts and laws govern every aspect of life from the cradle to the grave. Most Islamic traditions were conceived in antiquity, during turbulent times of religious warfare, conquest and short life expectancies. During the nineteenth century, Arab intellectuals wanted to emulate the modernity of Europe but faced opposition from religious traditionalists who saw it as hostile to the Islamic faith. This paper examines how sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh bridged the gap between secular modernists and religious traditionalists by reinterpreting Islamic doctrine with a contemporary outlook. Included in his calls for renewal and reform, were appeals to men to follow the principles of Islam in their telethon shops with women, including divorce, polygamy, and responsibilities to wives and children. Using a similar rationale and logic might today help to shield Muslims from radicalization, religious fundamentalism, terrorism, and injustice carried out in the name of Islam.

### **Bio**

Kinda al-Samara is a researcher in Arabic and Islamic Studies at The University of Melbourne.

**Ms Zarlisht Sarwari, Dr Oishee Alam and Prof Linda Briskman** (Western Sydney University)

*Anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia: Populist depictions of Islam*

Negativity about Islam is propagated by three main groups in Australia – political leaders, sections of media and right-wing groups. These seemingly divergent entities coalesce in the public domain to signal that Islam is incompatible with Australian society and a threat to Australian values. This paper examines the convergence of narratives by influential actors, that seamlessly conjoin to perpetuate falsehoods. It examines how the narratives are not only fabricated but permitted to flourish by uncritical discourses about free speech. Finally, the

impact of the narratives in allowing Islamophobia to flourish at institutional and community levels is discussed.

### **Bio**

Zarlasht Sarwari is a PhD candidate in the School of Social Sciences and Psychology at Western Sydney University. Her research explores Afghan Identities in Australia with a particular focus on negotiation of hybrid identities, transnationalism, nationalism, racism, immigration and multiculturalism. As a research assistant at the Challenging Racism Project, she is developing bystander anti-racism training for professional development within schools and organisational settings.

### **Shima Shahbazi** (University of Sydney)

*The Islamophobic Index: Constructing and Validating an Index for the Evaluation of Anti-Muslim Discourses*

See Dr Leticia Anderson for abstract

### **Bio**

Shima Shahbazi is a PhD candidate in International and Comparative Literary Studies at the University of Sydney. Her research interests include de-colonial feminist philosophy, intersectionality theory, transnationalism, critical race theory, life writing and micro-history. She has taught cultural and international relations units at the department of Arabic Language and Cultures and International and Global Studies at the University of Sydney. Her current research is a comparative study of the life writing narratives written by transnational Iraqi and Iranian women post-2003.

### **Dr Rachel Sharples** (Western Sydney University)

*Sydney Muslim community attitudes towards policing and CVE: senses of procedural justice*

See Prof Kevin M Dunn for abstract

### **Bio**

Dr Rachel Sharples is a researcher in the Challenging Racism Project at Western Sydney University. Rachel's research interests include refugee and migrant community dynamics, the constructs of ethnic and cultural identities, spaces of solidarity and resistance, racism and anti-racism, Islamophobia, Muslim community attitudes towards policing, and racism in digital platforms such as social media and the sharing economy services. Rachel has published in the areas of refugees, borderlands, displacement and national identity.

### **Dr David Tittensor** (Deakin University)

*Navigating being Muslim in Australia in an era of hyper-security*

Since 2002, Australia has sustained a predominantly 'hard' punitive approach in the form of legislation and surveillance in the fight against Islamic radicalism. Indicative of this was the government's \$630 million countering violent extremism package in 2014, with only \$13.4 million allocated to the Living Safer Together program, which seeks to engage community organisations to help prevent radicalisation. This represents only 2.1% of the package. Rather than spending money on community engagement (a soft measure) the Australian government is desirous of the (Muslim) public to police themselves, and this continues to be the agenda. Ahead of the 2016 federal election the government engaged in an \$8 million national security

anti-terror ad blitz entitled “If it doesn't add up, speak up”. Drawing on 23 interviews with young Muslims (18-30yrs) from different communities in Melbourne, Australia, this paper will argue that excessive surveillance is causing potential generational rifts amongst Muslims.

### **Bio**

Dr David Tittensor is a Lecturer in Studies of Religion, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts & Education at Deakin University.

### **Ms Husnia Underabi** (Western Sydney University)

*Mosque Sermons and Audience Receptivity*

Are Sydney's Imams agents of socialisation? Do they pose a challenge for the integration of Muslims into mainstream Australian society? Taking the literal meaning of the term 'Imam' - the person standing in front - this study focuses on the sermons delivered in Sydney's mosques to answer these questions. Adopting a structural functional frame of analysis, 46 sermons across 16 mosques in Sydney were recorded and content analysed. The findings revealed that most of the topics covered in Sydney's mosques have social and spiritual orientations and are highly relevant to the lives of Muslim Australians. The study did not find any significant evidence to suggest the teachings taking place inside Sydney's mosques on Fridays pose an impediment for the integration of Muslims, but on the contrary, as it relates to topics such as dealing with Islamophobia, Muslims were pressured to take an active approach to interacting with non-Muslims. The analysis also found significant evidence to suggest imams are agents of socialisation. Relying heavily on Islamic sources of knowledge, such as the Qur'an and hadith, they not only define what it means to be a Muslim relative to the issues experienced in the Australian context, but also adopt structural methods of socialisation to encourage and pressure individuals to act in line with their role expectations. Imams also demonstrate how the 'role' of a Muslim, as prescribed in the sermon, should be performed using Muhammad and other prophets mentioned in the Qur'an as role models. Based on these findings, the conclusion reached was that Sydney's imams are agents of socialisation, but there is insufficient evidence to suggest their teachings pose an impediment for the integration of Muslims into the mainstream Australian society.

### **Bio**

Husnia Underabi is a PhD Candidate at Western Sydney University and has recently submitted her thesis for examination. Her thesis focused on understanding the content of sermons delivered in NSW's mosques during Friday's congregational prayers and its reception and impact on audiences who participate in the congregational prayers. Today, Husnia will be presenting some parts of her findings.

### **Prof Amina Wadud** (Starr King School for the Ministry)

*Muslim Women Leading Islamic Reform*

It is difficult to dispute that Islam and Islamic thought are going through a necessary and complex reform. While the multitude of Islamic reform as led by Muslim male thinkers lingers long and hard over hair splitting details of theory and legitimacy, the Muslim women's movement has taken the lead to move Islamic reform beyond mere abstraction. From grassroots activism, to challenging centuries of entrenched patriarchal privilege, to policy reform and constitutional demands, even to the level of international advocacy,

Muslim women have demonstrated their capacity to create, promote and sustain the most viable reform in status quo. This paper will discuss Islamic feminism in the 21st century. While not all Muslim women fully identify as Islamic feminists; this presentation will trace the historical development, internal diversity and global impact of Muslim women's advocacy using Islamic feminism as the rubric for discussion. Islamic feminism—once dubbed the 'unwanted child of political Islam'—has moved the debates from justice and equality in Muslim Personal Status laws, to the level of constitutional amendments, international advocacy and the democratization of authority in Islam beyond mere rhetoric while still accountable to personal, cultural and spiritual demands.

### **Bio**

Dr Amina Wadud is most well known as the Lady-Imam because of her embodied social justice. She is Professor Emeritus of Islamic Studies and Visiting Scholar at the Starr King School for the Ministry, in Berkeley California, USA. Currently she is doing research funded by the Arcus Foundation on Sexual Diversity and Human Dignity in Islamic Classical Sources. One of the 8 founding members of Sisters in Islam, Malaysia, she is Resource Scholar and member of the International Advisory Group to Musawah: a global movement for reform in Muslim Personal Status Laws. Author of *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*, now 25 years old and translated into more than a dozen languages, she is also author of *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam*. Mother of five and Nana to six, she still travels globally to consult on Islam and social justice from a faith perspective.

### **Prof Samina Yasmeen AM (University of Western Australia)**

*Jamat ud dawah: from Jihadi identity to a political party*

In August 2017, Jamat ud Dawah once again acquired a new identity: after years of decrying the evils of Democracy, its members announced the formation of Milli Muslim League. The political party contested elections for the seat vacated due to Nawaz Sharif's dismissal by the Supreme Court in July 2017. Its ability to secure more votes than the Pakistan People's Party raises questions about the trajectory that led to JUD opting for the inclusion model, and the likelihood of it carving out a role in the political space. This paper aims to explore these two dimensions: it argues that the signs of a preference for the inclusion model were apparent the JUD narrative for nearly a decade. The recent political upheaval has aided it to openly acknowledge this preference and mark its mark. However, it is unlikely to tilt the balance away from the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz Group or Pakistan Tehrek-e-insaf (PTI).

### **Bio**

Samina Yasmeen is the Director of Centre for Muslim States and Societies at the University of Western Australia, where she lectures in International politics. She specializes in South Asian foreign policies, militant Islamic ideas, citizenship and Muslim minorities in Australia. She has conducted extensive research on Muslim immigrants in Australia, their identities, and the impact of Islamization across the Muslim world. She has served on Ministerial Councils in Australia on issues dealing with Islam, multiculturalism, and immigration issues. Apart from numerous book chapters, journal articles and government reports, she has published a study of Jihad and Dawah: Evolving Narratives of Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jamat ud Dawah (Hurst, 2017).

**Prof Ihsan Yilmaz and Dr James Barry** (Deakin University)

*Instrumentalist Use of Islam by a 'Secular' State: Turkey's Diyanet on Interfaith Dialogue under Kemalist and Kemalo-Islamist Regimes*

The main aim of this paper is to show how throughout different types of governmental regimes, the interreligious dialogue was interpreted by the Turkish state's Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet). Going parallel with the state stance on the interfaith dialogue, the Diyanet started promoting interfaith dialogue in mid-1990s in order not to lose its official monopoly over Islam. The formerly Islamist AKP government continued this stance when it was pro-EU membership. After the failure in the democratization process and the authoritarian return, the same AKP government has changed its view on the interfaith dialogue. After 2011 AKP government was no more the adamant supported of the interreligious dialogue. Consequently, as an ideological apparatus of the state, the Diyanet has switched its perspective on dialogue from positive stance to factious. Thus, after 2011, Diyanet has started to criticize the concept of 'dialogue' by arguing that the dialogue between religions is impossible. Through a historical political analysis of recent Turkey and content analysis of the Diyanet texts and declarations, the paper will show how Islam has been controlled and used for social engineering by the so-called secular Turkish state by using the case of interfaith dialogue.

*Towards an Understanding of Regional Australian Islam*

See Dr James Barry for abstract

### **Bio**

Professor Ihsan Yilmaz is Research Chair of Islamic Studies and Intercultural Dialogue at Deakin University, Australia. He was professor of political science at Istanbul Fatih University between 2008-2016, lecturer in law, social sciences and politics at SOAS, University of London between 2001-2008 and research scholar at Center for Islamic Studies, University of Oxford between 1999-2001. He was the Deputy Chair of the Centre for Ethnic Minority Studies at SOAS (2003-2008) and the Founding Director of the London Centre for Social Studies (2003-2008). He had served as the editor of Turkish Journal of Politics (TJP) between 2010-2015 and editor in chief of the European Journal of Economic and Political Studies (EJEPS) between 2009-2013. His most recent book is *From Kemalism to Erdoganism: Religion, State and Good Citizen in Turkey* (2015, in Turkish). He is also the author of *Muslim Laws, Politics and Society in Modern Nation States: Dynamic Legal Pluralisms in England, Turkey and Pakistan* (2005, 2016 Reprinted). His current research interests are Islamism and Populism in International, Transnational and Global Perspective; Islam-State-Society-Law-Citizenship (Turkey, Pakistan, UK, Australia, USA); Islamic Education - Muslim Schooling (Turkey, Pakistan, Australia) and Islamic and Islamist Movements (Turkey, Egypt, Pakistan, UK, Australia).

**Dr Yelena Nikolayevna Zabortseva** (University of Sydney)

*Patrimonial state-building in ex-Soviet Central Asia and the role of Islam in these processes*

Three decades ago ex-Soviet Central Asia was considered largely ignored as a scholarly backwater of the defunct communist world system. Yet, collapse of the Soviet authoritarian

system resulted in different trajectories of development among ex-Soviet states. In ex-Soviet Central Asia, the role of Islam in fulfilling the new ideological vacuum has grown. In some states, such as Uzbekistan, this revival is based upon traditions that were not eradicated under Soviet rule. Yet, in others, such as historically nomadic Kazakhstan, the new ideology under construction artificially and selectively integrates Islam religion and its cultural elements to distinguish Kazakhs from the previous Soviet and new Russian identity. Moreover, in Turkmenistan, religion and religious literature is highly controlled, with people often without access to the Koran. This paper aims to conduct comparative analysis of the extent to which Islam is integrated in the new state-building and cultural identities of populations in ex-Soviet Central Asia. Special emphasis is made to the role of the key leadership, various state mechanisms of this new fusion of religion and ideology, degree of population's knowledge of Islam and the role of foreign policy aspects in the new nation-building in the region.

### **Bio**

Dr Yelena Nikolayevna Zabortseva works for the Government and International Relations Department of School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Sydney. She recently published *Russia's Relations with Kazakhstan: Re-thinking Ex-Soviet Transitions in the Emerging World System* with Routledge. She has published several works that focus on international conflicts resolution, globalisation, investment policies, competitiveness (with a focus on Kazakhstan) and intercultural dialogs in a number of Kazakhstan's and international journals and books.