*Al-Qasemi Journal of Islamic Studies*, **volume 6, issue 1 (2021), 1-40**

# A Short History of the Muslim Community Newsletter

**Abdullah Drury**[1]

## Abstract:

During the 1980s, the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand, a national Muslim organization, tried to foster a sense of nation-wide Muslim identity though various means, such as group activities, youth camps, seminars, and so forth. To some extent, the Federation tried to achieve this goal through the publication of Al-Muslim, a regular community newsletter that was available in all New Zealand mosques and Islamic centers and which purported to provide a forum for local Muslim news and discussions. The publication also included some of the first accounts of the community's history, and it provides outside observers with instructive insight into the internal workings and philosophies of the minority (and its leadership) and its perspectives and priorities. This article examines the newsletter, explores the popular themes and issues found within it, and discusses which topics were discussed and which were not. It concludes with a brief overview of the importance of the publication during this era and the role it played in teasing out significant nodal points and hermeneutical paradigms. Considering the role of this newsletter can expose much about the wider Muslim experience in the South Pacific.

**Keywords:** New Zealand, Islam, Muslims, immigration, identity, newsletters, halal.

[1] *Abdullah Drury*, University of Waikato, New Zealand.

## Introduction

In 1979, three Muslim regional associations in New Zealand established a national organisation called the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand, often known by the anonym FIANZ. This was something of a turning point for local Muslims, who at the time were facing new challenges and opportunities. The following year, the organisation created a print newsletter called *Al-Muslim* ("*The Muslim*"), which was distributed free of charge across the country to all of New Zealand's Islamic Centres and Muslim congregations and to any general reader who wrote in and asked for a copy. The newsletter aimed to create a forum for all New Zealand Muslims to express themselves, but also, ostensibly, served as an official channel to articulate a specifically New Zealand sense of Islam and Muslim communal identity. Toward this end, a variety of opinion pieces, articles, and news stories were published and the first community histories prepared.

It should be noted that the extant newsletters present difficulties of interpretation and identification that incidentally shed light upon the socio-religious conditions of the era. For the first half of the decade, the newsletter remained modest but was coherent and focused. However, following the departure of the first editor, the quality and regularity of the issues fluctuated wildly. It seems likely that after 1985, the secretary-general of FIANZ superintended the newsletter and acted as a prompter of communal discourse within but was not so concerned about linguistic coherency. (However, scholars of a later age may detect a subtlety of theme and intention that might have escaped contemporaneous readers).

In the 1990s and thereafter, the nature of the bulletin changed dramatically; it became merely a forum for the president of the Federation to articulate his personal views; furthermore, the disparity between polite and popular communal (ethnic) traditions grew more pronounced as the size and shape of the Muslim population slowly expanded. So *Al-Muslim* newsletters of the 1980s may well have been the last effort to reconcile the various immigrant cultures in the region. It is in a spirit of societal difference and change, too, that the newsletters are best understood. The assessments, judgements, and rather oracular statements – though occasionally garbled and quite confused – are nonetheless revealing. They almost seem to invite conflicting ideas about their trajectory – *tariqa* or *madhab* – and so forth, they are open to endless interpretation. In part, this reflects the fact that most New Zealand Muslims during this decade were foreign, and the texts positively rattle with ambiguity and profundity. Was this really a united *ummah* or a loose aggregate of individuals? In more recent years, the Federation has switched to circulating e-newsletters and messages electronically.

The first Muslims arrived in New Zealand as part of the Anglo-European settlement process. The earliest Muslims were itinerant South Asian sailors (lascars) working on British and European vessels in the South Pacific. Most Muslim settlers during the colonial era, from 1840 onwards, emigrated from or through British India. It is worth bearing in mind that New Zealand developed very differently from other Anglo-European colonies; as a society, the state is ardently secularist, possibly more so

than most European states (apart from Hoxha's Albania, historically).[2] Consequently, New Zealand society was (and remains) a place where every spiritual temperament and permutation can find a niche, albeit it was possessed of a profoundly secular in ethos in the 1980s. Today, the general public and the government remain fundamentally uninterested in and increasingly ignorant of matters of faith or theology. Nevertheless, in terms of its cultural and societal values, the state was founded by Protestant Christians and retains an ostensibly Judeo-Christian heritage (using the Roman alphabet, the Western calendar, and so forth). The introduction of halal meat products into the extensive frozen food industry in the 1980s, for instance, went relatively unopposed and had the tacit support of the state, which was eager to ensure meat sales to the lucrative Middle East markets.

The research for this essay was drawn from a variety of newsletters, archival material relevant to appropriate individuals and groups, critical analyses of various media, and a close examination of the limited academic output related to this area of study. I believe the results offer interesting insights into the ambitions and boundaries of New Zealand Muslim 'society'. Although many copies of these newsletters remain extant, far too much supporting documentary, literary, and epigraphic material is absent. Nor is it likely that a complete and fully documented history can ever be written, since so much oral and community memory, not to mention data (newsletters, documents, internal correspondence, and

[2] For an introduction to New Zealand history, see: Paul Moon, *This Horrid Practice* (Auckland: Penguin, 2008).

so forth), is contested or confused. Just as contemporary accounts of New Zealand and New Zealand society were linked by a stance of authorial impartiality and a belief in a stereotypical Pakeha 'type' (and for the Maori, a quasi-genetic one), so too, they shared a myriad of common tropes and themes repeated with near formulaic predictability. These idiosyncratic themes were developed through the endless repetition of key points, issues, perspectives, and symbols – themes that may have been of little significance to the wider (non-Muslim) society within which Muslims found themselves, but that were fundamental in fostering a general mood, fleshing out basic realities that were understood to buttress the dysfunctional character of the social and religious life and values of New Zealand. Such clearly recognisable *topoi* both informed the writing within the newsletters and arose from it. As with any community publication, spelling and grammar present all sorts of challenges. In many cases, direct quotes from primary source documents are reproduced with their glaring inaccuracies intact, as I believe this helps to illustrate the sense of the original material, and I have minimised the use of *sic*, so as not to unnecessarily distract the reader.

My aim here is not to correct errors. I have no especial interest in demarcating "false" articles from "true" ones, even if such a project were tenable, nor have I succumbed to the temptation to homogenise the multifaceted theology articulated therein. Rather, I invite the reader to enter a corpus of highly complicated and frequently discrepant intellectual byways that revel in tumultuous images of the forces and power of god. My aim is to explore the multifarious manner in which the Muslim

community leaders represented the world – and themselves to the world – and to what end.

## The Creation of the Muslim

In April 1979, five years after the Commonwealth Games were held in Christchurch, the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ) was created. The new institution had no income, funds, or resources and relied heavily on the goodwill of Muslim community leaders and volunteers. Specifically, the national body comprised the Christchurch-based Muslim Association of Canterbury, the Wellington-based International Muslim Association of New Zealand, and the Auckland-based New Zealand Muslim Association (NZMA). In 1980, two new regional Muslim associations were set up elsewhere – in Hamilton (the Waikato district) and Palmerston North (the Manawatu district) – and they joined the Federation, with immediate effect.[3] In 1982, Sheikh Khalid Kamal Abdul Hafiz (1938-1999) from India settled in Wellington to work as the local mullah. Trained in Saudi Arabia, he was appointed senior spiritual advisor to the Islamic Federation within a few short years. In 1989, the South Auckland Muslim Association (a suburban

[3] William Shepard, "The Muslim Community in New Zealand" in *Indians in New Zealand: Studies in a Sub Culture*, ed. Kapil N. Tiwari (Wellington: Price-Milburn, 1980), 139-162; "FIANZ in Retrospect," *The Muslim (N.Z.)*, Volume 3, Number 1, June 1985, pp. 6-7; William Shepard, "New Zealand's Muslims and Their Organisations," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Volume 8, Number 2, December, 2006, pp. 8-44.

satellite of the NZMA) became independent and also joined the Federation.

In 1951, there were just over 200 Muslims in the entirety of New Zealand, almost all Indian or Asian, according to the government census. By 1981, this figure had risen to 2,004; in 1991, it stood at 5,769.[4] it is important to note that most of these Muslims were new immigrants concentrated in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, rather than converts to the faith. However, there were a number of significant actors and contributors to Muslim national leadership spread across the country.

One of the Federation's earliest objectives was to produce a regular community newsletter. Newsletters can be an exceedingly useful resource for historians looking for evidence of meetings, meeting minutes, summaries of annual reports, and so forth. They can be very illuminating, detailing the putative internal functioning of a minority and its perception of itself within a society. New Zealand Muslim community leadership felt that religious writing and themes were especially important for enhancing, sustaining, and strengthening spiritual morale. Curiously, newsletters have been underutilised, dismissed, or ignored by historians and other researchers, because they are generally considered irrelevant propaganda read by few, or because much older material has been irreparably lost or mislaid. A careful review of newsletters, however, demonstrates that, cumulatively, the articles can provide insight into one of the avenues by

[4] Abdullah Drury, "Mahometans on the Edge of Colonial Empire: Antipodean Experiences," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, Volume 29, Issue 1, 2018, pp. 71-87.

which Muslims tried to influence and persuade one another. We also need to remember that 'in-house' articles, accounts, and histories prepared by community leaders, even brief items presented as impartial and formative, are in fact highly partial. The majority of the articles deal with religious matters about constancy and contumacy, for example, while fewer touch upon socio-political issues. They invariably serve the task of buttressing a particularly worldview on a variety of topics, especially in regard to the powers of the communal hierarchy to interpret history. Sometimes, history is comprehended as a primarily discursive construction, and many professional historians understand communal myths as a barrier to their real work, a view that fails to properly grasp the deeper significance of communal myths for the individuals or groups involved.

It was an intellectual operation entirely within the tradition of Islamic transcendental philosophy. The contributors anticipated a horizon that would compromise all knowledge and serve as a backdrop to all the activities of life. They were attempting to grasp an absolutism of reality that could never really be held. In this context, they formulated a fundamental ontological principle for communal relationships.

There were multiple impulses towards the formation of a national Muslim body, most prominently involving the issues of halal meat and the Islamic calendar. Determining the exact temporal dates for the beginning and end of the fasting month of Ramadan, and the two annual Eid celebrations, had been disputed with increasing frequency over the 1970s. Local Muslim Associations could easily establish the correct daily times for the five regular prayers within their own particular urban environments, but a

garrulous situation evolved where the Eid festivals were sometimes observed on different days in differing towns and cities. Most Muslims in Auckland relied on very conservative interpretations of Quranic directives whereby they determined the time of the new moon by direct observation, whilst Muslims in Wellington and the South Island were content to accept international astronomical guidelines, usually conveyed by the Muslim staff attached to foreign embassies. One of the earliest goals of the Federation was the formation of a national Hilal (moon) committee to communicate with local astronomical observatories and reliable Islamic scholars abroad on the subject, in order to pinpoint the dates with greater accuracy. This was tied in with a desire to promote greater communal consensus and unity on the subject at the national level (that is to say, to have New Zealand Muslims begin and end Ramadan and celebrate the Eid festivals on the same day).

The first president of the Islamic Federation was an Albanian refugee from Kosova, an Auckland-based businessman named Mazhar Krasniqi.[5] As the inaugural leader of the entire New Zealand Muslim community, Krasniqi was intent on placating as many factions as possible – regional, ethnic, ideological, and potential; it was part of his Balkan worldview, in which the vagaries of religious extremism and phantasmagoria were equally chastened. A man of enterprise and bold decisions, he insisted the newsletter should be in English but permitted (or indulged) the use of popular and peculiar 'Indianisms' such as the employment of the '786'

[5] Sabit R. Abdyli, *Bijtë e shqipes në tokën e reve të bardha* (Auckland: Universal Print & Management, 2010), 88-90.

chronogram (representing *Bismillah*). Overall, the Federation itself was something of a rickety structure, patched together with brazen claims, special pleading, and much compromise, but it held together remarkably well, and this is reflected in the newsletter. Krasniqi's only oversight may have been to underestimate the appeal of recalcitrant Wahabism or the Tablighi Jamaat and similar otiose factions and voices, as well as the residual cultural baggage of many immigrants, but after his inaugural stint as president, the general trajectory of the Islamic Federation on religious matters was never seriously in doubt. (In fact, this was possibly one of the most significant errors of the Federation leadership during these early years – a failure to adequately prepare for serious internal communal arguments or contests for power within the mosques. This may possibly be linked to an unrealistic expectation that the communal goodwill carefully fostered in the 1970s would continue unchallenged forever, and, as we will see in the newsletter histories below, it may also have been linked to a poor appreciation or study of history, which might have pointed to such potential questions over power, hegemony, evolving factionalism, and mental health issues.) In any event, the newsletters were not expected to endure forever, and few contributors anticipated that later researchers might examine them. So there arise serious questions around text conservation and loss – the interplay of written and oral forms of communication, the choice of language employed, the linguistic register of compositions, and so forth.

The Islamic Federation obtained its first annual halal meat contract with the New Zealand Meat Producers Board in 1984. The Meat Board

organised the recruitment and employment of halal slaughtermen, and the Federation employed supervisors to visit the freezing works, ensuring that the meat designated as halal was in fact halal. Albeit implicit, this was an important area of Christian-Muslim cooperation within this secular society.[6] Much of the cash raised was invested in mosque projects and Islamic activities, such as educational workshops, seminars, youth camps, Qur'an recitation competitions, and so forth.

## *Al-Muslim*: the First Communal Newsletter

On 30 August 1980, at a Special General Meeting of FIANZ, a six-man editorial board was appointed to operate a modest community newsletter, which was called variously *Al-Muslim* (Arabic for *The Muslim*) or simply *The Muslim*, in English. It featured a very neat, if rudimentary, arrangement, which in its pristine form did not last for very long. Throughout the decade, the title varied. Often, both the Arabic transliteration and the English title were used at the same time, but occasionally only one or the other. Sometimes it was disseminated as the *FIANZ Bulletin* or *FIANZ Circular*. Originally, other names had been proposed but were declined. The use of the title *The Muslim* / *Al-Muslim* continued until the early 1990s, when the format and content of the newsletter changed dramatically and the title was dropped entirely.

[6] Chun Foo-Yuen, "The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia" in *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, (Christchurch: Australasian Middle East Studies Association, 1987), 149-176.

It would be otiose to prepare a roll call of all the folk involved in the FIANZ newsletter; more to the point are the names and personalities that emerge within the text. The inaugural editor, Mansoor Khawaja, from the Punjab in Pakistan, resided in Christchurch at the time and worked for the New Zealand Statistics Department. He was man of simple words and virtuous rhetoric, possessed of extraordinary energy and mental agility, and the cadence and syntax of his articles are mellifluous. It was he who solicited essays and material from writers for approval, and no doubt it was his duty to revise and prepare everything for publication in consultation with the Federation secretary. (In cases where the names of authors and contributors have not been preserved, it may be safe to assume a collective effort.) Khawaja was a great editor and censor of other writers' words, deleting material that might be too indelicate, salacious, or offensive to immigrant eyes. His amenability towards contributors was always evident, and he also dressed up some of their essays with more appropriate vocabulary, since some of their writing might have otherwise seemed intellectually threadbare. Khawaja was noted for the volume and quality of the work he produced, the skillful range of styles therein, and the depth of his research; he revised and enhanced the material in the same spirit. It is clear that the talented young editor reveled in his ability to orchestrate an efficient and informative newsletter. Khawaja was aided by Dr Ashraf Chaudhary and Khalid Rashid Sandhu (both also from Pakistan), Amin Farooqi and Hafiz Mohammed Ismail Sidat (both from Fiji), and Abdur Rahman Khan (from Bangladesh). He worked very closely with the Secretary of the Islamic Federation, Dr Hanif Quazi, also

from Pakistan.[7] Is it a coincidence that the two most significant contributors to *Al-Muslim* – Khawaja and Quazi – were both from Pakistan, a polity specifically set up to represent the interests of all Muslims across a broad spectrum of ethnicities, languages, classes, castes, and sects? They were industrious and zealous, avoided trouble with the authorities, and kept themselves out of jail. It is often said that the first characterisation of invention is imitation, and the early FIANZ newsletters clearly reflect the educated, middle-class views of Khawaja and Quazi.

By June 1981, three more names had been recruited to help: Anisur Rahman (India), Ghulam Irshad Abdur Razzaq Khan (Bangladesh), and Mohammed Sharif Mahdavi (a Shia cleric from Iran, attached to its embassy in Wellington). The son of a Bangladeshi history lecturer at Victoria University, Ghulam Irshad Abdur Razzaq Khan was a persuasive young Muslim who had grown up in New Zealand and resided in Christchurch and Wellington by turns throughout the 1970s and 1980s; in the newsletter, he toiled to articulate a utopian vision of an idealised Islam and Muslim community that impressed many readers. In many respects, the editorial board operated like a group of colleagues and friends with shared interests and shared spiritual obligations. Generally, under this leadership, *Al-Muslim* espoused an inclusive textual framework containing no less than a comprehensive history of the world, including the character of the entire New Zealand Muslim community, written against the appealing backdrop of a promised eternity. The publication

[7] Hanif Quazi, *Hybrid of Peace – Pioneered in New Zealand* (Levin: 2019), 103-119.

had to be versatile and extemporaneous, serious but slightly theatrical (to sustain interest).

The first edition of the FIANZ newsletter, issued in November 1980, was entitled 'The Muslim (New Zealand)' in English and was The cover featured *Surah Ikhlas* in a large square calligraphic shape, copied from the 16th century Ottoman scholar Ahmad Qarahisari. Below this image was the chapter title in English: 'Say, He is God (Allah), The One and Only; The Eternal God; He Begetteth not, Nor is He Begotten; And there is None Like Unto Him'. The first-page editorial, by Mansoor Ahmed Khawaja, proclaimed that '*The Muslim* (New Zealand) is the official newsletter of the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand'. The text went on to advise that all communications and correspondence was be directed to the Islamic Centre in Philipstown, Christchurch. The editorial was followed by the *Surah Fatiha*, in both English and Arabic.[8] This set the tone for future editions until 1986.

The major goals of the Islamic Federation, as outlined in the inaugural November 1980 newsletter, were:

> To promote the religious, social and economic welfare of the Muslims in New Zealand; To co-ordinate the propagation of Islam in New Zealand; To promote and maintain unity and brotherhood among the Muslims, within and outside New Zealand; To promote, organize and encourage religious, cultural and

[8] *The Muslim (New Zealand)*, Volume 1, Number 1 (November 1980), pp.1-2.

> recreational Muslim youth activities; To establish and maintain liaison with kindred Islamic organizations overseas.[9]

A wise reader will immediately note the salubrious expressions 'Muslims in New Zealand' and 'unity and brotherhood'. Obviously, Muslims in New Zealand at this stage did not consider themselves indigenous or native, not 'of' New Zealand but 'in' it. Furthermore, the energetic nod towards 'unity' reminds us how central this nodal point was at the time.[10] Elsewhere, the editor clearly had no interest in inconclusive metaphysical debates in which the elusiveness of the topic matter would be paralleled only by the sheer density of the surrounding prose. Curiously, the FIANZ newsletters appear to repeatedly tone down the natural diversity of the Muslim community (in terms of race and nationality) and its multiple layers of differences in order to stress social cohesion and the unity of the *ummah*. As Shepard expressively summarised the point: '[L]oyalty to the umma should be put above loyalty to the clan.'[11] This must have been a deliberate decision of the editorial board. It is also curious that there is no evidence of any effort to distinguish the Islam of the elite (*khassa*) from that of the commonfolk (*amma*); that is, the Islam of a religiously informed (and often governing) scholarly class and Islam as it was widely understood by most practising Muslim laypersons at the grassroots level.

---

[9] "A Brief Note on the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand," *The Muslim (New Zealand)*, Volume 1, Number 1 (November 1980), p. 3.

[10] Erich Kolig, *New Zealand's Muslims and Multiculturalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 42-49.

[11] William Shepard, *Introducing Islam* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 30.

Can a community newsletter inform modern readers much about the identity rubric of the intended audience? Can it provide insightful hints about Muslims' domestic experiences and cultural identity? I believe a lot can be teased from the FIANZ newsletters, which employ complex narrative devices, such as innuendoes of the innate moral superiority customary to all religious literature and theological authority and self-referential claims relating to historical precedents.

In terms of carefully read literary devices (disregarding for a moment emblematic motifs and embedded narratives, such as overly repeated hadith, inadvertently long narrative tangents, and sweeping assertions about cause and effect), these newsletters endure as a critical chronicle of the Muslim community over the decade and can offer helpful insights into the communal debates and discussions.[12] To some degree, the FIANZ newsletter compendia (in particular the internal historical analyses) served both to reflect the readership and simultaneously construct the idea of a New Zealand Muslim identity that is still somewhat recognisable and valid today. For readers and reporters alike, the sense of local minority status was assuaged psychologically by steady invocations reminding them of their participation in an ancient and international faith. This reflects an age-old paradox confronting all religions and all immigrants;

[12] The uneven use (and scrutiny) of the *hadith* in these newsletters evinces a methodological inconsistency that is found across the collective body of Muslim communal literature. This inconsistency presents serious challenges to readings of such newsletters because the information needed to supply any historical context largely derives from an examination of relatively coherent chains of thought.

Muslims were continually encouraged to envision themselves simultaneously as both Kiwis and as part of an expansive global community of believers. The small size and shape of the Muslim community obliged the leadership circles to foster very close economic, social, and educational ties with the enveloping Anglo-European, Christian, and secular population, and a strong sense of following an ancient monotheistic faith was actively countenanced at the same time that notions of integration, trans-national encounters, and social incorporation were encouraged.

However, it should always be remembered that these papers were never intended for academic or non-Muslim readers; they were never supposed to serve as a guide to the internal functions and workings of the local Islamic community. One of the reasons for the variety of opinions expressed within the newsletter was, first and foremost, to reflect the myriad languages and cultures of the Muslim faithful. The religious articles within the newsletters, concerning innumerable philanthropic ideas and ideals, communal pursuits and projects, venial and mortal sins, local histories, and so forth, constituted a kind of vehicle for influencing and shaping readers' minds. This is important if we think that being Muslim implied some cognisance of a continuum of Islam between community and personal identification. Benedict Anderson argued that 'imagined communities' are nurtured and produced over time through various means, but interestingly, he emphasized the role of mass-produced literature written and distributed in the vernacular language as part of this process. Anderson claimed that societies and nations were entirely

imagined communities, socially constructed groups that came into being as a result of the rise of 'print capitalism' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which entrepreneurs and politicians articulated in the common language of the people (rather than, say, in Latin or classical Arabic) through pamphlets, newspapers, books, and other similar media. Through these communicative means and processes, folk from diverse social and regional groupings were able to discourse and negotiate a common purpose.[13] Language is polysemic and always layered with both carefully defined meanings and affective residues that may value to historical contextualizations; these apparently indissoluble proximities lurk behind the more obscure details of everyday narratives, governing everything from personal memory to the utterance of a toponym.

Clearly then, New Zealand Muslims were eager to establish local means of communications in order to undertake precisely this task: to convey their own information and perspectives on their religion, to advise the wider community on approaching dates of religious importance, and so forth. This suggests that English had become the common and dominant language of Muslim popular discourse for this period. It is noteworthy, considering the plethora of nationalities and races involved, that all of the newsletter communications were in English and that only a limited amount of Quranic Arabic was used. The utilisation of one language or another in particular social circumstances or discourse remained largely contingent on situational aspects and factors rather than on theological or

[13] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Press, 1983).

teleological persuasion. The fact that Muslims were reviewing the same articles, deliberating on the same subjects, and addressing the same questions and topics in a common medium, suggests that the concerns of the regional communities were broadly disseminated and shared. It can also be seen that many common Muslim narratives (such as the story of Adam and Eve, the apocalypse, and so forth) were semantically adapted to correspond to the realities of the period and to the New Zealand social environment (for example, the topic of Muslims' relations with Christians). This leads us to a working conclusion that the writers were engaged in the formation of a particular understanding and perspective of Islam, while simultaneously attempting to embed this vision of their culture and faith in the land of new zeal.

## Rivers of Blood: Indian Accents

We human beings are social animals, and our identities are shaped by the putative common-place norms and values we absorb from other folk and exhibit in return. Every society or nation expresses and demarcates its own notions of normality (and abnormality) according to ascendant, redolent, and prevailing meta-narratives; it encourages its people to comply and excludes them if they do not. In this vein, one of the more obscure features of the newsletters is their strong sense of the Indian subcontinent. This should perhaps come as no surprise, considering the contributions of men from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Fiji. However, it is odd, considering the publication's ostensibly universal and multi-ethnic pretence of pan-Islamic religiosity. Therefore, we need to be careful in asserting that English was the lingua franca of the newsletters. In reality,

the language employed is sometimes a very curious mixture of Arabic and Indian diction and Anglo-Saxon demotic. Any study or analysis of the use of certain rhetorical devices shows marked divergences among different contributors, whose mental acuity and moral reputation were presumed rather than examined. Discussions on some issues are very intelligently and well composed, and some articles are concerned with the social tension and dynamics between passion and reason, which underlie human conduct and behaviour.

Later editions (post 1985) bear all the hallmarks of rushed improvisation and suffer from alarming factual errors, excessive hyperbole, poor grammar, misplaced parentheses, haphazard punctuation, the copious misuse of apostrophes and commas, an excess of present-continuous English, spurious analogies, an absence of codas, and so forth. There is use of a typeface which made the newsletter resemble student agitprop of the 1970s. The texts regularly employ possessive pronouns and vague noun signifiers, and there is periodic trouble conjugating verbs and declining nouns, some challenges involving comprehending the difference between the accusative and the ablative cases, series of split infinitives and double negatives, and an ongoing habit of misplacing and misusing verbs: verbs became nouns and nouns became verbs. Superfluous tautology is compounded by the breaking of basic rules of printed text (for instance, American spelling for certain words, words spelt all in lowercase letters, capital letters used in the middle of sentences for no apparent reason), in addition to serious hesitations and inconsistencies (conflations and expansions) of time and space in some texts.

Occasionally, in the same edition, a word or name may be spelled inconsistently, or perhaps mis-transliterated, sometimes in two or three different ways. Vast dissimilarities in the spelling and grammar may, of course, be attributed to the uncertain and loose orthography of the various immigrant contributors, rather than to any perceived absence of group identity.

However, the persistence of this aspect of the newsletters does at least suggest that the presence of the writers in New Zealand was not fully formed or determined. (On the other hand, mainstream New Zealand media also often struggled with Muslim and Islamic words, terms, and names. Possibly, some of the confusion simply mirrored wider public, non-Muslim, orthography.) These wide variations suggest the work of many contributors, a multifarious prolificness, and some polyphonic universality in the approach to English. Generally, aside from these irregularities, the newsletters are relatively fluent, even if they regularly demonstrate a utilitarian employment of the Queen's tongue reflecting facility rather than enthusiasm. Moreover, these newsletters often employed Hinglish – the English of the Hindi-speaking Indian subcontinent – which follows its own whimsical idiosyncracies, syntax, and grammatical rules. Above all, it employs vocabulary in a distinctive fashion. This paradox underlines one of the principal tensions of community newsletters. Suffice to say that if the FIANZ newsletter were a commodious mansion with many rooms, they would sometimes be poorly signposted.

What is not in doubt, however, is an evident reverence for Quranic Arabic. The incantatory scripture of Islam contains words that possess a profound depth of meaning and their own peculiar etymology, in order to marshal complex ideas into coherent patterns. When it is employed, albeit infrequently, for the delectation of the readers, the various contributors use a classical Arabic vocabulary and references with consummate ease and a delightful proficiency. Even when they cannot agree on a standard transliteration, they deploy the language of both the learned mullah and the overly enthusiastic amateur poet, and the text is striated with charming Quranic terminology. The text consistently uses Arabic tags and Quranic allusiveness with great confidence, bravura, and spirit. There are other themes that seem to exfoliate through the newsletters, but a dramatic invocation of Allah remains the principal and enduring impression. It is important to grasp this connection and context, if only to bring life to the texts; it is one of the defining points and structures of Muslim communal literature and imagination.

Depending on the circumstances, history can be utilised to destabilise or buttress leading elements of both a faith and a religious community. While confessional and ethnic identifications may be porous and contextual, and while they are frequently and regularly negotiated and re-negotiated, the articulation of a history circulated through community organs and agencies such as a newsletter may be a valuable tool for bringing differing social classes and nationalities together. Communal publications are a product of their time, and as such, they divulge much about the cultural, personal, and theological choices of the reporters and their target

audiences. For example, as discussed above, the language one uses can be a powerful signal of identity and intentions. The choice of English may reveal much about cultural heritage and aspirations in the new land. Communities (particularly of minorities) usually try to mould and articulate complex ideas and group objectives into idealised words, forms, and shapes. A shared history (or the belief in one) may help to foster a sense of common identity. In their simplicity, the histories published by the community within these newsletters secure a new quality and purpose; perhaps they even become something unintended by the writers who compiled them. A scholarly reading of such material demands that one consider the distance of time, meanings, objectives, and wider cultural functions when examining the texts; one should try to elucidate their meaning in accordance with the author's original intent. What sort of history did they try to express, inculcate, and preserve? How can this inform contemporary readers about the community that received them?

For instance, some Muslim community histories inside these newsletters were structured to support certain perspectives and interpretations, particularly regarding the legitimacy of the Islamic Federation and its pursuit of halal slaughter and certification, in addition to their assertions about representing all Muslims across the country. To be sure, there were brave and noble efforts, but overall, facts were less valued (and certainly less researched) as a genuine record of the past than used as a vehicle to clarify or justify the policies of community leaders. We have a further conundrum, inasmuch as the salient sources for all of these accounts were prepared by those who were educated and literate, those who chose to

settle permanently, and those with an adequate command of English – not by transitory workers nor those unable to express their ideas in written English. As a consequence, the historical accounts that survive must obviously suggest an interpretation of past events at best or a somewhat partial and idealized view at worst. The textual portrait of the newsletters is further complicated when we consider the loquacious verbal strategies employed by Muslim community leaders to justify their actions, ideas, and policies.

Intriguingly, there is an abundance of articles that were written within New Zealand rather than abroad. Some provide the name of the writer, others are studiedly agnostic on the question of authorship. Occasionally, there are items that have been copied from overseas periodicals, but surprisingly few. Most pages are brimming with thoughtfully prepared religious articles, book reviews, and histories of various regional Muslim Associations, demonstrating a variety of local perspectives and issues. As ideas and tropes assumed complex socio-cultural forms, the notion of invigorating Islam through ideals originating from outside of New Zealand was often expressed. For example, in 1984, Soraiya Gilmour, a student at Canterbury University and a local convert to the faith, wrote a page-long review of the book *In the Shade of the Quran* by the notorious quack Said Qutb. Writing with ease and fluency, she generously described it as a "vigorous intellectual and practical campaign of struggle" for Islam.[14] Gilmour's contributions are graceful and eloquent, a soaring sprit

[14] Soraiya Gilmour, "Book Review," *The Muslim (New Zealand)*, Volume 2, Number 4, December 1984, p. 23.

unfettered by the delusions often observed in religious literature, the pleasure of the reader equalled only by the pleasure of the author. Perhaps this is unsurprising. It is somewhat typical of those who have changed confessions to adhere to the vocabulary of their old faith or worldview, and never more so than when elucidating the sacred and profane. All of Gilmour's contributions possess an exultant and self-sufficient energy, demonstrating the dispassionate nature of her literary intelligence *in excelsis* and an almost impersonal intensity towards her writing.

Occasionally, the newsletter contributors contested ideas from overseas. For instance, Ayesha de Raadt, a history graduate of Victoria University and regular writer in the early 1980s, wrote a long and substantial rebuttal of *Ideal Woman in Islam* by Mohammed Iman, a foreign pamphlet then being distributed for free inside mosques. Her essay is brilliant in its diction, elaborate in its cadence, and filled with clever oppositions and paradoxes, exclamations and epithets, and images and conceits. She argued persuasively against the primary, highly misogynist position of this overseas publication – namely, that the role of Muslim women was to stay at home and produce babies.[15] De Raadt introduced a high-spirited, vaunting rhythm to her critique that became typical of her literary style. Many outside observers have stressed the severity of traditional Muslim society, where patriarchal authority was allegedly dominant and where physical repression was the most convenient form of dealing with social

[15] Ayesha de Raadt, "A Critical Reply to Mohd. Imran's Book," *The Muslim*, Volume 2, Number 3, 1984, pp.11-13 and Ayesha de Raadt, "A Critical Reply to Mohd. Imran's Book," *The Muslim*, Volume 2, Number 4, 1984, pp. 5-7.

or family issues. There must be significant room for doubt in such a narrow analysis, however, and the FIANZ newsletters are often replete with evidence suggesting a widespread failure of parental and/or male authority at home: there are repeated calls for youth to respect their elders and senior males. Such idealized demands would not be made without reason or need.

While the FIANZ newsletter presents balanced convergences in the writing styles and methodologies of the various contributors and editors, it also reveals differences of opinion. If the mosques were physical places of ingress and egress, the newsletters were a center of intellectual exchange and dialogue. Most newsletter editors disliked discord in all its forms, even though – paradoxically – the newsletters thrived upon a peculiar kind of harmonious discord reflecting the collective reality. In addition to intelligent, well written material, there was a share of glib and brittle articles. Items written by local Muslims could articulate views in voices both self-assured or hesitant, sometimes defensively so. A contemporary reader might well ask what issues, tropes, links, and vignettes were being muted? For instance, in ten years, there is no mention made of the New Zealand monarchy or Sufism or any esoteric topic. Elsewhere, while one observes a number of historical essays – exploring topics from local community history to the biography of the prophet Muhammad – there are no efforts to explain historiography and the basic philosophical theories underpinning any such historical excursus. Basically, the prophet and the Rashidun are presented as multifaceted geniuses who could do no wrong, whilst every opponent of Islam is an

evil scoundrel motivated by Satan alone, and every successor of the first four Caliphs is a scheming weasel or a well-intentioned disappointment. There are no discussions about Muhammad Ibn Khaldun. There is no Nietzsche, no Shakespeare, no Izetbegovic. This is concerning, as a community that does not appreciate the role of interpretation and interpretive processes in the presentation of historical data runs the risk of a degree of intellectual myopia regarding past events. The creation of the newsletter enabled the community to foster literate introspection and reflection. Indeed, a staunch understanding of interpretation is essential to any serious comprehension of the past. One of the most amusing newsletter articles revolves around a highly emotive critique of William Shepard's chapter about New Zealand Muslim history.[16] Khan scorned the brief prefatory remarks about Islam with malice and ridicule as "confusing and irritating." He then valiantly alleges:

> If Dr. Sheppard [*sic*] had probed the matter a bit further, he would have discovered a new synthesis, that of a New Zealand Muslim. The formation of the Federation in 1979 is clearly an indication that the Muslim community has long past the phase of being in New Zealand and is now manifestly of New Zealand.[17]

[16] William Shepard, "The Muslim Community in New Zealand," *Indians in New Zealand: Studies in a Sub Culture*, ed. Kapil N. Tiwari (Wellington: Price-Milburn, 1980), pp. 139-162.

[17] A. Rahman Khan, "Muslims in New Zealand: A Review," *The Muslim*, volume 1, Number 2, February 1981, pp 12-13.

Such intellectual acrobatics constituted a very bold statement of intent, but did it have any bearing on reality? It followed a year after the same newsletter had pronounced the very opposite and urged unity; however, this may be excused, because the newsletter did relay contrary views and opinions. A merry cynic might suggest that, within his jeremiad, Khan was proposing, delineating, and demarcating a new actuality that he asserted had evolved from a singular societal process and a shared idea of a common faith. The author of the article is almost attempting to mould a new collective identity through force of will. This article (and others) were not prepared or presented as semantic sports, and comparable ideas and ideals were expressed throughout the 1980s.

One interesting linguistic feature of the FIANZ newsletters concerns the employment of the term *ummah* to designate the whole New Zealand Muslim community, as opposed to any other appellation such as *minority*. The notion of global Muslim solidarity is a recurring trope. (In the end, these repeated appeals and reminders may suggest that discrimination was indeed an ongoing problem.) This orientation might be anticipated within a theologically motivated organisation whose publications highlighted the international and universalist aspect of the Islamic faith. However, in informed traditional Islamic discourse, the term *ummah* implies the global religious body of Muslims, and any mullah worth his fez will argue that the Muslims of New Zealand cannot constitute a stand-alone supra-national entity. Thus, the expression is a basically inaccurate, albeit popular usage (widespread across many Muslim social groups living

outside the traditional world of Islam).[18] (One alternative would be the term *al-amma* or 'the common people', although this has class overtones. The noun *jumhur* might also be more accurate in some cases, as it signifies the general public. The verb *jamhara* means 'gathering together', and *jumhur* is the core linguistic root word of the Arabic term for a political republic: *jumhuriyah*. Curiously enough, it is related to the Arabic word *jama*, meaning 'congregation'.) William Shepard points out that the word *ummah* technically means the 'nation of Muslims worldwide'.[19] The popular employment of the word in English discourse, however, also reflects the purposes and expedient utility of the community leadership and some degree of concurrence in their spiritual objectives in this country. The word *ummah* implies a highly idealised community of believers (in contradistinction to an immigrant, ethnic, social, or societal minority grouping); it carries a more modest, Quranic, and therefore noble, resonance for Muslims.[20]

In general, *Al Muslim* highlighted the ethical and spiritual aspects and goals of the community, in addition to expressing popular political causes such as anti-apartheidism. The essay contributions are not only religious in content, but also in style. Unsurprisingly, there is a distinct tendency towards Islamic rhetoric, drawing on popular Muslim emotions and

[18] Muhammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓur, *Lisan al-Arab* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1883), volume 4, p.149.

[19] Shepard, *Introducing Islam*, p. 303.

[20] Esposito, *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 327.

sentiments, and using articulations such as ‘Bismillah’, ‘Allahu Akbar’, ‘Alhamdullilah’, and so forth. The FIANZ newsletter also sometimes republished articles about Islam that had been printed elsewhere. Due to historical Islamic concerns regarding imagery and idolatry, there were surprisingly few pictures – even of mosques or Muslim buildings – until the 1990s, when various FIANZ presidents began the custom of including an image of their face on the cover of each edition. Overall, the *Al-Muslim* newsletters tend to reveal a great deal of anxiety about the dominant Anglo-European secular society enveloping Muslims. Within these newsletters runs an undercurrent suggesting a keen sense of differences between contrary confessional identities, subtle distinctions and gradations in customary or religious observances, and complex ideas about social propriety, patronage, and prerogatives.

Some articles examine theological matters, with conjectures about moral superiority over non-Muslims or at least hinting of some relativity superior status in regard to the *nasara* (Nazarenes or Christians) and thereby critiquing their social milieu. There is an oddly eclectic treatment of New Zealand institutions and society, although it lacks the harshness or magniloquence of Ahmed Deedat (whose irrational and penumbral views are sometimes quoted). Some opinion pieces portrayed a simple divide between Muslims and non-Muslims in terms of good versus evil, as opposed to a more complicated series of evolving socio-cultural relationships. Through a complex juxtaposition of ‘the self’ against the ‘the other’, localised Muslims were able to describe themselves in a manner similar to that in which early British settlers and Pakeha

contrasted themselves to the Maori majority in the nineteenth century.[21] What is curious about such assertions and observations is that they successfully debunk themselves; it does not require the affectations or pretensions of a postmodern critic to comprehend the absurdity of some of the statements put into print. The assumption was not considered a compromise of the impartiality of the observer, since it was believed to constitute an indisputable fact and not a degree of impartiality.

The newsletter drew on religious concepts, slogans, and rhetoric and was for some immigrants a new means of communicating about Islam, certainly in this country, arising from a sense of sociality. Consequently, there was always a sentiment of pedagogy present, and it was often implicitly egalitarian. A surprising number of articles aimed to educate readers about Islam and foster a common Muslim identity among them. All of the essays repeatedly underlined the significance of faith as the defining element of a shared sense of culture: there was an explicit educational purpose in texts that taught the basics of the Islamic religion and history. Some readers learned more about their faith, which they had often taken for granted in their native societies as part of the broader cultural backdrop; here, they read about Islamic manners and learned how a Muslim should act and speak.

[21] See: G. I. Abdur Razzaq Khan "Nasaraniyah and Islam: The Need for a Greater Understanding," *The Muslim*, Volume 1, Number 2, February 1981, pp.4-6; and Abdur Rahman Khan, "Islam and Christianity in the Modern World: Proceedings of the First Seminar on Islam in New Zealand," *The Muslim*, Volume 1, Number 3, June 1981, pp.15-16.

The newsletter also served as a tool to convey socio-political ideas and messages to readers. For instance, the Salman Rushdie affair during the late 1980s was an opportunity for G.I.A. Razzaq Khan to criticize the publication of the book (rather than review the text itself.)[22] For some Muslims, these texts were even a major vehicle for religious and doctrinal instruction. For others, not so much. One must remember that many Muslim immigrants during this period emigrated from societies dominated by oral culture, which relies upon strong memories and the animated retelling of stories containing vivid imagery. (If one cannot consult a book or literary source, then one must assiduously work on a regular basis to recall an issue or event and how it is spoken of. Paradoxically, such a mnemonic focus, in turn, discourages any reliance on the written word, as it lacks aural resonance and gravitas. Overall, this gives rise to an intersubjective or relational view, rather than an individualistic view, of ethical obligation. (Individualistic views are dominant in Western culture and are seen in the tradition that runs from Hume to Kant to Nietzsche.) Consequently, even some of the newsletter articles and contributions give the impression of being rhetorical gestures and devices aimed at folk from oral cultures, rather than educated, informed, or serious discourse, let alone proper religious pronouncements.

[22] G.I.A. Razzaq Khan, "Is 'The Satanic Verses' a Fictional Novel?" *Al-Muslim* (1989), number 3, pp.12-15.

## Stichomythia?

Unsurprisingly, most newsletter articles that dealt with the Islamic religion portrayed the Federation as the centre and bulwark of Muslim life in New Zealand. Such assertions were substantiated by numerous articles on religious activities taking place under the auspices of the Federation and its affiliated organisations. *Dawah*, sometimes translated as 'outreach', or the ideal of spreading Islam organically, through the miscible conversion of local people, remained alive for most of the decade. There was a resolute effort by some mosque leaders to secure converts to the Islamic faith and to involve them in the administration of some mosques. Several contributed to the FIANZ newsletters. However, the basis of immigrant identity is primarily racial rather than theological, especially within a secular environment like New Zealand, despite the best efforts to hide this reality. Interestingly, some mosque leaders took their spiritual identity seriously and articulated their ideals within the newsletters. As previously discussed, the Bangladeshi immigrant A. Rahman Khan wrote very sharply in a 1981 *Al Muslim*: "The formation of the federation in 1979 is clearly an indication that the Muslim community has long past the phase of being in New Zealand and is now manifestly of New Zealand."[23] This assertion was as questionable as it was internally ambiguous. New Zealand Muslim community identification was (and perhaps remains) a new phenomenon with no significant historical roots.

[23]A. Rahman Khan, "Muslims in New Zealand: A Review," *The Muslim*, Volume 1, Number 2, February 1981, pp. 12-13.

What exactly does it mean to be a New Zealand Muslim? Who are the real New Zealand Muslims and who are the transients?

Publicly and privately, many immigrants might like to pretend to a measure of New Zealand identity. In reality, this fools few people, least of all other migrants. Johann Herder had a theory that nationality was defined by a common ethnic-cultural heritage expressed in a common language and that, in a very real sense, every society (and every substratum of society) is constantly re-inventing itself, its values and its myths.[24] Perhaps this is the best way of understanding the issue. It is clear from this critique that such details are either dramatically abridged or are simply assumed to be familiar to the putative readership. No elucidation is given concerning historic or geographic significance, or economic or political positions. In fact, these articles serve a critical function. They make and bolster assertions about the extraordinarily sanguinary character and immoral behaviour of the non-Muslim society around the Muslims; in short, its moral depravities are seen not as a manifestation of individual proclivities but as a cultural-national trait.

Through these variegated literary styles and subject matters, the FIANZ newsletter energetically advocated for Muslim communal unity within New Zealand. Its repeated appeals were made for a reason. Why? Did Muslim immigrants and refugees accept and acknowledge FIANZ leadership or challenge it? If the latter, there is little evidence within the

[24] Johann Herder, *Treatise on the Origin of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 65-164.

newsletters themselves. Tensions must have been imported. What would be more natural than continuity rather than surcease? Many of the articles drew on keystone memories of past bygone glories, the 'Golden Age of Islam' during the life of the Prophet and his immediate successors. Issues featured stand-alone quotations from the Quran and the Prophet, connecting issues of community, religiosity, and group identity. Life is an ongoing existential process rather than an egregious ideological construct. It would be misleading to assume that the Muslim community somehow, magically or mysteriously, began with the formal creation of a regional national Islamic organisation; rather, the Muslim community emerged within and entered an already thriving socio-religious environment, and these newsletters constitute a useful representative literature that sheds light on the Muslim community leadership of the era; these textual imaginings reveal much about their basic assumptions and worldviews.

In 1984, FIANZ secured its first annual halal meat certification contract and finally had a modest amount of money to inject into the newsletter. However, at around the same time, Khawaja resigned from his post, and Quazi returned to Pakistan.[25] The daily administration of the newsletter moved to the new FIANZ office in Wellington and was undertaken by various staff (newly employed) acting on instructions from members of the governing Executive Committee of the Federation (newly appointed). The quality and regularity of the newsletter slipped considerably as the entire project seemed to be seized by a severe transitoriness (illustrating the opposite of the well-known rule of thumb that where there is

[25] Hanif Quazi, *Hybrid of Peace – Pioneered in New Zealand* (Levin: 2019), pp.140-143.

contiguity, there is continuity). The differences between the later newsletters and the earlier ones under Khawaja and Quazi, in terms of composition and execution, are the differences between a rough pencil sketch and an oil painting by Rembrandt; there is some continuity and semblance, but the earlier editions of *Al-Muslim* are immeasurably superior and richer and deeper in intellectual assiduity, and their characterisation of the Muslim community more assured.

By the 1990s, as the number of Muslims in New Zealand grew exponentially, the newsletters suddenly became asinine, stressing the affairs and opinions and activities of the various FIANZ presidents rather than those of the burgeoning Muslim population. Tellingly, the title *Al Muslim* was discarded, and the publication was printed as *The FIANZ Newsletter,* with related variations. In terms of size, form, content, regular date of publication and so forth, the newsletter, usually irregular after Khawaja's departure, became even more erratic. The newsletters of this period were interspersed with what can only politely be described as unusually poor narrative composition, synaptic leaps and conjunctions, and fertile apocrypha (often an uneven mix of information and adulation). It would not be unkind to compare some of the texts to an undiscovered Terry Pratchett manuscript. Alternately, these texts reflect an element of English language use that has been lost forever.

## Conclusion

The subject of Muslim community publications has been near the centre of much public discussion in the modern era. In the age of cyberspace communications and mobile phones, this paper bulletin means of relaying information may seem extremely antiquated. Over the 1980s, the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand endeavoured to nurture a sense of localised Muslim identity though a variety of means, including group activities such as youth camps, seminars, and so forth. To some degree, these were expected to supersede differing immigrant and refugee notions of identity. It is unwise to assume malevolence where one can assume ignorance, incompetence, or a general lack of professionalism. When organising the newsletter, the various individuals and committees involved aspired to several simultaneous and consecutive objectives. Above all, the Islamic Federation strove to accomplish its goals with a regular community newsletter that was distributed throughout all the mosques and Islamic centres across the country, offering an outlet for local Muslim news and discourses. This publication contained within it some of the earliest communal accounts of the Muslim minority's own understanding of its history, affording academics and outside readers useful insights into the inner workings and philosophies of the local Muslim community. However, the newsletter was often ambiguous and incongruous in content, hurriedly and clumsily prepared, and disordered in its execution. This essay has explored the newsletter and elucidated popular themes, issues, and curious points of omission. In the modern age, the dated technology and format of the print newsletter leads many

observers to ignore it, but it was clearly a significant avenue for the exchange of ideas and values at the time. Above all, the reader is left with the question: Did the New Zealand Muslim experience of newsletters really help foster a unique local Muslim identity or merely postpone the inevitable push towards more ethnically-focused Muslim organisations, such as those that have emerged in recent years?

In the final analysis, Muslim communal unity and consensus were slow to develop across New Zealand, and this is reflected in the *Al-Muslim* newsletter, which frequently exhibits a peculiar circumstantiality whereby communications pay digressive and disproportionate attention to irrelevant details of the faith (such as the exact manner in which the Prophet Muhammad cut his fingernails). This national Muslim community newsletter, which evolved over the 1980s, provides a fascinating medium through which to examine the means by which a religious minority articulates its place in society and works towards the normalisation and regulation of the presence of Islam.

## References

Abdyli, Sabit R. *Bijtë e shqipes nëtokën e reve të bardha.* Auckland: Universal Print & Management, 2010.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso Press, 1983).

Drury, Abdullah. 'Mahometans on the Edge of Colonial Empire: Antipodean Experiences.' *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, volume 29, issue 1 (2018): 71-87.

Esposito, John L. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Foo-Yuen, Chun. 'The Dynamics of the Halal Meat Trade in New Zealand and Australia.' *New Zealand and the Middle East*, ed. Ron MacIntyre, Christchurch: Australasian Middle East Studies Association, (1987): 149-176.

Herder, Johann. *Treatise on the Origin of Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Ibn Manzur, Muhammad ibn Mukarram. *Lisan al-Arab.* Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1883.

Kolig, Erich. 'A Gordian Knot of Rights and Duties: New Zealand Muslims and Multiculturalism.' *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, volume 8, number 2 (2006): 45-68.

Kolig, Erich. *New Zealand's Muslims and Multiculturalism.* Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Kolig, Erich. 'Extremist Orientalism: the local and the global in the Christchurch massacre.' *Waikato Islamic Studies Review*, volume 5, number 1 (2019): 20-37.

Leckie, Jacqueline V. *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2007).

Leckie, Jacqueline V. *Localizing Asia in Aotearoa.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2011.

Moon, Paul. *This Horrid Practice.* Auckland: Penguin, 2008.

Nachowitz, Todd. 'Towards a Framework of Deep Diversity: Identity and Invisibility in the Indian Diaspora in New Zealand.' Ph.D. diss., University of Waikato, 2015.

Quazi, Hanif. *Hybrid of Peace – Pioneered in New Zealand*. Levin: 2019.

Shepard, William. 'The Muslim Community in New Zealand.' *Indians in New Zealand: Studies in a Sub Culture*, ed. Kapil N. Tiwari. Wellington: Price-Milburn, (1980): 139-162.

Shepard, William. 'New Zealand's Muslims and Their Organisations.' *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies,* volume 8, number 2, (2006): 8–44.

William Shepard. *Introducing Islam.* London and New York: Routledge, 2009.

William Shepard, 'The Muslim Community in New Zealand.' *Indians in New Zealand: Studies in a Sub Culture*, ed. Kapil N. Tiwari. Wellington: Price-Milburn, (1980): 139-162.