

NEW ZEALAND'S MUSLIMS AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS

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The Muslim community in New Zealand is small, remote and relatively new, but not so small, remote or new as it once was. Over the last three decades it has become effectively organised and has grown vigorously, but not without growing pains. This essay seeks to provide an overview of the main features of the community, paying attention primarily to the organisational aspects.

The Muslim community is made up of relatively recent immigrants and their descendants: but in fact most New Zealanders are relatively recent immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. The majority of the population stems from British (Anglo-Celtic) immigration beginning in the 1820s and 1830s and continuing to the present, and these people, along with much smaller numbers from other (predominantly Northern) European countries, are commonly called 'Pakeha'—to distinguish them from the indigenous Maori (New Zealanders like to refer to themselves as 'Kiwis'). There is also a significant number of Pacific Islanders (Samoans, Fijians, etc.), accounting for about 6 per cent of the population. Dozens of other ethnic groups are present, but mostly in very small numbers. The largest Asian groups are Chinese, comprising 2.7 per

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cent of the population, and South Asians, 1.8 per cent.² In recent years there has been some focus on multiculturalism, but the predominant commitment is to biculturalism, relations between Maori and Pakeha, which should not, but sometimes does, detract from multiculturalism.³

The present Muslim community began with a few Indian immigrants early in the twentieth century and now includes some forty nationalities, including people from various Arab countries, Malaysians, Indonesians, Iranians, Somalis, people from the Balkans, Afghans and some Pakeha.⁴ Though still small in number, the community has in fact increased almost thirty-fold since 1976 and roughly doubled in each five-year Census period since 1986. According to the Census of 2001, there were 23,631 Muslims in New Zealand, representing 0.7 per cent of the population.⁵ Current estimates run between 30,000 and 50,000, with 40,000 being a reasonable guess. This would represent about 1 per cent of the total New Zealand population. The majority of Muslims live in the Auckland area, while most of the rest live in Wellington, the nation's capital, or four other major cities.⁶ They include probably several thousand overseas students who will mostly leave after completing their studies, but many of whom will contribute significantly to the community while they are in New Zealand.

History of the Community

The Census records report small numbers of Muslims from 1874 onwards, but those that came before the early twentieth century have left no further record. Some were almost certainly Chinese working in

² South Asians includes Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Fijian Indians. For ethnic figures, see *2001 Census of Population and Dwellings*, 'Ethnic Groups', pp. 166-186 and elsewhere. The Census lists fifty-nine ethnic groups and nationalities on the basis of self-identification, not counting 'other' categories; of these, twenty-two are European.

³ The New Zealand government has a Human Rights Commission, with four commissioners, one of them being the Race Relations Commissioner. It also has an Office of Ethnic Affairs within the Department of Internal Affairs, and there is a government portfolio specifically for ethnic affairs.

⁴ The figure of nationalities was given by the president of FIANZ in the FIANZ newsletter of November 2005, p. 1 (FIANZ website). For figures derived from the 2001 Census see Appendix A.

⁵ Based on the figure of 3,442,020 for the total population given in 'Ethnic Group (Total Responses) and Sex by Religious Affiliation' in the *2001 Census*, pp. 166-186. The final official figure for the total population was, however, 3,820,749. See Appendix A.

⁶ See Appendix B.

goldfields in the south of the country.⁷ The continuous and remembered history of the present community goes back to a handful of Gujarati Indian men who arrived in the earliest decades of the twentieth century and opened small shops, mainly in towns south of Auckland. Over time, they brought their sons to New Zealand to help in the shops, while their wives, daughters and younger sons remained for the most part in India and the men would visit them with some frequency.⁸ At this stage they do not appear to have viewed their stay in New Zealand as permanent. Government immigration policies after 1920 precluded further significant Asian immigration. The Muslim population of New Zealand remained at less than a hundred until after World War II.

In the early 1950s, however, the children of the first arrivals did bring their wives and children and settled on a more permanent basis. Subsequent generations of these families have been raised in New Zealand, although they appear to keep in close contact with members of their extended families elsewhere in the world. After World War II, the government accepted a limited number of refugees for immigration, and among these were some Muslims from Turkey and the Balkans, including perhaps twenty to thirty who came to the Auckland area, where the resident Indian Muslims helped them to settle in.⁹ This group appears to have been more inclined to assimilate into Pakeha society and attenuate their Muslim identity. Some, however, have remained active in Muslim and ethnic matters and have publicly expressed their concern in the recent crises in Bosnia and Kosovo. The Censuses of the 1950s reported about 200 Muslims in the country.

Further significant but still limited growth began in the mid-1960s, when a period of liberalised immigration policy paved the way for a small number of Muslims, mainly South Asians, including Fijian Indians and some professional and white collar workers. A few overseas Muslim students also came to the universities (Adam 1999).¹⁰ The small community grew rapidly in relative terms, according to Census figures, trebling between 1961 and 1971 from 260 to 779 and reaching 2500 by

⁷ Information in the 1874 Census reports suggests that fourteen of the seventeen Muslims reported were in this category.

⁸ The three early arrivals most often mentioned are Ismail Bhikoo and Joseph Moses (Isap Musa), who settled in the North Island, and Muhammad Suleiman Kara, who settled in Christchurch. There were other individuals who appear not to have left descendants who are part of the New Zealand Muslim community. There are a number of descendants of Bhikoo and Moses in the Auckland area who are active in the community.

⁹ Several came on the *SS Goya* in 1951. (Communication from Abdullah Drury.)

¹⁰ Under the Colombo plan, according to Leila Adam, but I have not been able to get further information on this.

1986, while the actual number may have been even higher.¹¹ The years from 1977 to 1980 saw major organisational developments at both local and national levels, which will be described in this essay.

Since the late 1980s Muslim numbers have risen dramatically, partly as a result of political events elsewhere and partly as a result of changes in the government's immigration policy. The 1987 *coup d'état* in Fiji caused a considerable influx of Fijian Indians, many of them Muslims, in the Auckland area in particular; and the continuing uncertainties in Fiji presumably still encourage people to come. Since 1993 probably two thousand or more refugees have come from Somalia, and they form a significant presence in several centres. Smaller numbers of Iraqis, Bosnians, Kosovars and Kurds have also come as refugees, as have a number of Afghans in the last few years, including some of the 'boat people' rejected by Australia.¹² Apart from applications by refugees, immigration regulations introduced by the government in 1991 established a point system that favours immigration by wealthy or well-educated people from any ethnic background. Under this system a number of Muslim professional people have entered, especially from the Middle East. Unfortunately, many of these have found that their qualifications are not recognised in New Zealand and some have moved on or will move on to places where opportunities are better, such as Australia. There is a significant number of Shi'is among the Iraqis and Afghans, introducing a significant Shi'i presence into what was an almost totally Sunni population.

Also a small number of Kiwis have become Muslims, often in the context of marriage, although in some cases their interest in Islam had begun before meeting their future spouse. Some have made significant contributions to the community, including contributions at the leadership level.¹³

¹¹ This was commonly claimed by Muslim leaders in the 1980s. See Shepard (1996:fn. 3).

¹² Technically most of the Somalis are not refugees, since those who have come as refugees have brought members of their families under 'family reunion' provisions of the law, but in reality they are all refugees. I do not know how many Iraqis are technically refugees. I understand that most of the Afghans are recognised as refugees. 'Boat people' are the people rescued in 2001 by the ship 'Tampa' and refused entry into Australia. New Zealand eventually took a number of them.

¹³ I have received varying estimates over the years of numbers of recent converts. The estimate of one of the community leaders in about 2000 was less than 5 per cent of the community. The European numbers in Appendix A would suggest more, but these numbers are somewhat suspect.

The Community Today

The recent-immigrant character of most of the community is reflected in the fact that only about 23 per cent of Muslims were born in New Zealand (compared with over 80 per cent of the general population, and 26 per cent of Muslims in 1986).¹⁴ There is a preponderance of males over females, but much less so than was once the case. In the 2001 Census, 54 per cent of Muslims were male, compared with 48 per cent for the New Zealand population as a whole.¹⁵ By contrast, the male proportion for Muslims was over 60 per cent in 1981, and close to 90 per cent in the 1950s. The Muslim population is also younger than the population as a whole, and younger than it was before the immigration of the last decade and a half. In 2001, 57 per cent of Muslims were under thirty years of age, compared with 42.3 per cent for the general population. Only 2.1 per cent were over 65, compared with 12.2 per cent for the general population. (See Appendix C)

The Gujaratis who came early in the twentieth century were almost all small shopkeepers, and many Muslims are still owners of small businesses. Some of these are doing quite well. A larger proportion of the community comes under the category of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers, particularly in Auckland, but there is also a fair number of professionals, as already indicated, and some have attained high recognition in fields such as medicine and scientific research. Those raised in New Zealand have often gained tertiary qualifications that have led to good jobs.

For those who have come to New Zealand in the last decade or so, however, the situation is generally more difficult, although this varies with ethnic groups. South Asians on the whole have probably had the least difficulty, since there was already a strong community here. At the opposite extreme are the Somalis, who have experienced particularly severe trauma prior to arrival and who suffer from a gap between their culture and the Pakeha culture that is greater than that of most other

¹⁴ Calculated from *2001 Census*, 'Birthplace and Sex by Religious Affiliation (Total Responses)', Table 8 (website). The figure for 1996 was 20 per cent (*1996 Census*, 'People Born Overseas', p. 65). The 1986 figures are given in Wille (1989:5). A local leader has estimated 30 per cent.

¹⁵ Calculated from *2001 Census of Population and Dwellings*, 'Ethnic Group (Single and Combination)' and 'Sex by Religious Affiliation (Total Responses)', Table 11b (website). See also Appendix D.

Muslim immigrants.¹⁶ For some time, few of them were able to gain employment, even though many are well educated and of middle or upper class background.¹⁷ In between are groups such as the Bosnians and the Kosovars, who have some countrymen here and whose culture is European. The more recent Kurdish and Afghan refugees also seem to be settling in relatively well. Some professionals, especially in the early 1990s, have come to New Zealand under the point system but have found that their qualifications are not recognised here. They have had to earn a living in some other way, such as by working in ethnic restaurants or relying on an unemployment benefit, while they seek to pass the necessary professional examinations (often requiring high levels of English or local knowledge) or to train for some other occupation.¹⁸ For them, and for many of the refugees, the loss of status has been hard to bear. One Somali commented, 'Somehow you can turn from a hero at home to a fool here. I mean I was a very important man in my village at home and here I cannot get a job' (Hoby 2000).

Muslim women who are not recent arrivals appear to be employed in the labour force in fairly large numbers, though at a rate somewhat lower than that of the general population.¹⁹ Allowing for family responsibilities and cultural traditions, the newly-arrived women may not be too much worse off than the men; but the Somali women were, at least initially, generally less willing or able to work than those from other

¹⁶ Many informants say simply that most Somali women do not go out to work; but a community worker in Christchurch tells me that Somali women could work in nursing homes if they were willing to wash male patients.

¹⁷ Humpage (1998:65) cited a figure of 95 per cent unemployment for Somalis. Also, it appears that many had to bring relatives under the family reunion scheme, for which they had to pay. As of 2005, the employment situation had improved, according to a source in the Refugee Migrant Service.

¹⁸ From November 1991 to October 1995 the point system considered the general level of education but took almost no cognisance of the degree to which particular skills were needed. Since then more attention has been given to skills needs and as far as I know fewer immigrants entering since then have faced this particular problem. There is also a separate category for immigrants with entrepreneurial skills and considerable capital, but I have no information on how many Muslims have come into New Zealand in this way. The general impression is that people from such places as Taiwan and Hong Kong have done so.

¹⁹ According to the 1986 Census, 44 per cent of Muslim women were in full or part-time employment, compared with 53 per cent of women in the general population (1986 *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*, Series C, Report 14, pp. 44-45). I do not have these figures from the later Censuses. One estimate in 2000, for the community as a whole, is 30 per cent.

groups. Initially many of them were here without their husbands, but this is evidently no longer the case.²⁰

In moral and cultural terms, Muslims have some problems adjusting to a society that has traditionally prided itself on 'rugby, racing and beer'. Beer and racing are clearly in conflict with Muslim moral values. Few Muslims relate to rugby, but other sports such as cricket and soccer are popular in the countries from which they come. As is true elsewhere, clothing, and particularly women's clothing, has been an issue. Many but not all Muslim women wear distinctively Islamic garb, or at least a headscarf, in public, and more do now than in the past. Reasons given include a greater cultural confidence arising from the increased size of the Muslim community and the arrival of people from more conservative areas. The Somalis are often mentioned in this connection. Information differs on the degree to which this makes it harder for them to get jobs. It does in some cases, but the surrounding community has generally become more accepting.²¹ There was one particularly prominent case in which a Muslim woman wanted to wear a full-face veil (*burqa*) when giving evidence in court.²²

Mainstream schools do not, of course, provide any specifically Islamic education and they naturally reflect the general community mores, presenting a challenge to Muslims and eliciting some degree of adjustment on both sides. Standard school uniforms for girls are skimpy by Muslim standards but, to my knowledge, state schools have been for the most part reasonably accommodating on this point, allowing headscarves and sometimes variants to the uniforms and even to bathing suits. The issue of long trousers, rather than regulation shorts, for boys has also been raised and successfully addressed in some schools. Schools also appear to be fairly accommodating on matters of diet and allowing time for *salat* and time off for *jummah* (Friday communal prayer); and in some cases setting aside space for *salat*. The situation varies from school to school, however, often depending on the attitudes of the headmasters, as well as the degree to which the students or their parents insist. In some cases, the presence of a Muslim on the teaching staff has made a significant difference. There was some public discussion in 2003 when a 'mosque' (actually two rooms for prayer) was established with state funds at Hagley Community College in Christchurch, which had some 130

²⁰ A source in the Refugee Migrant Service tells me that the men have come now and have been able to get jobs.

²¹ I have been told of cases quite recently in Christchurch where women were denied supermarket jobs if they would not take off their headscarves. I understand that in the past one or two cases have gone to the Human Rights Commission (see note 3).

²² See *Christchurch Press* 17 April 2004. Later media reports indicated that she was allowed to keep her face veiled except in front of a very limited number of people.

Muslim students.²³ A small group of Muslim women have been running a programme comparable to 'Bible in Schools' in two or three primary schools, and in at least one high school Muslim teachers on the staff have given lessons on Islam during lunchtime.

The ways in which children and young people respond to the conflicting pressures for conformity to Kiwi norms, Islamic norms and family expectations, and indeed the degree to which these conflict in practice, vary so much from group to group and individual to individual that generalisation is impossible. I have been told that getting Muslim girls to wear headscarves is harder than getting schools to allow it, and that some girls remove their scarves once they get to school. On the other hand, I have also been told that some second-generation Muslim girls have insisted on their rights concerning dress in school and on other matters. Yet again, a Fijian-Indian Muslim woman won the title of 'Miss India-New Zealand' in May 2000, which hardly conforms to the image of the conservative Muslim woman.

There have been some problems for Muslim workers getting time to perform *salat* or attend *salat al-jumma*, but mainly in assembly-line conditions where one person stopping stops the whole line. I am told that office workers rarely have problems today and recently a large supermarket provided a prayer room for its Muslim employees.²⁴ Matters of this sort are usually handled in an informal and low-key manner. An example of the low-key approach is provided by the issue of female genital mutilation. With the arrival of the Somalis, New Zealand health authorities became concerned about this and it was made a criminal offence by Parliament at the beginning of 1996 (Crimes Amendment Bill No.2 1994); but this was done with virtually no publicity or media discussion at the time and little since. The stress is on education, of both Somalis and health professionals.²⁵

Racial and religious discrimination is illegal in New Zealand and New Zealanders are on the whole tolerant; but they have had comparatively little inter-racial experience (except with Maori and Pacific Islanders) until recently, and are not well informed about Islam. Therefore prejudice and negative stereotypes do exist in the minds of many people. This is partly because the media, drawing heavily on overseas sources, tend to stress violence and extremism in the Muslim world. Events such as the destruction of the World Trade Center in New

²³ See *Christchurch Press*, 30 August, 8 and 14 November 2003 and 1 April 2004.

²⁴ Pak'n'Save, according to the FIANZ newsletter of November 2005 (FIANZ website) and *Al-Mujaddid*, October 2005.

²⁵ See 'Long, Delicate Process', *Christchurch Press*, 3 October 2000. According to this article, 'there is no evidence of the procedure being performed here'; though in fact I suspect it may have been.

York in 2001 (9/11), the Bali bombings of 2002 and 2005, and the London bombings in 2005 (7/7), as well as the conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel/Palestine and elsewhere, have served to reinforce this impression. Indeed, these events seem to have brought a latent prejudice, often associated with fears about Asian immigration, to the surface. In a widely-reported speech in July 2005, the leader of the New Zealand First Party, Winston Peters, questioned the suitability of Muslims as immigrants, since they come from countries without traditions of political freedom, and claimed that there are Muslim extremists in the country.²⁶ Letters to the editor in newspapers produced some striking examples of Islamophobia, but also calls for understanding. Muslims, in fact, get a considerable degree of positive attention from the local media and in some cases are on quite good terms with the local press.

There is evidence that intelligence services and the police have given more attention to Muslims since 9/11.²⁷ Some Muslims have complained of harassment at airports.²⁸ The most prominent case, of course, is that of Ahmed Zaoui, a member of the Algerian FIS (Islamic Salvation Front), who was arrested upon his arrival in New Zealand in December 2002 and has still not been completely freed, although he was cleared by the Refugee Status Appeals Authority in August 2003.

The recent controversy over the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad played out here as elsewhere.²⁹ Three newspapers and at least one television channel showed some of the images and local reaction (as seen, for example, in letters to the editor) ran the whole spectrum of possible viewpoints. Muslim protests were forceful and included a large street march in Auckland, organised by the Pakistan Association.³⁰ There was little or no violence, however, and the situation was defused when the Race Relations Commissioner held a meeting with

²⁶ 'The End of Tolerance', given to members of Grey Power in Kaitia on 28 July 2005 (Press Release). The source of the claims about extremism was a Muslim student leader, who was interviewed by Linda Clarke on National Radio, 29 July 2005. It appears that it only involved the personal views of a few students and some literature from Islamist sources. *The National Business Review*, following 9/11, made claims that the *imam* of the Hamilton mosque had terrorist links (Kolig 2003:28).

²⁷ One source is an interview by Linda Clarke with Paul Buchanan of Auckland University on National Radio in February 2003.

²⁸ See *Christchurch Press*, 23 November 2005.

²⁹ In September 2005 the Danish newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*, published cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad, some of which have been generally deemed offensive. Certain Danish Muslims brought this to the attention of the Muslim world generally and this led to vigorous and sometimes violent protests, exacerbated by the fact that some Western media reproduced some of the images on the grounds of exercising freedom of speech and informing the public.

³⁰ *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2006.

some of the editors, the leader of The Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ) and others. The editors, in a carefully worded statement, apologised for offending Muslims but not for publishing the cartoons.

There have been scattered cases of discrimination, harassment and violence directed at individual Muslims.³¹ Incidents of this sort, however, are isolated and result more from racial than religious motives. They, too, are handled in a very low-key manner, both by the Muslims and by the local authorities, and their importance is generally downplayed by Muslim spokespeople. As well, there has sometimes been local resistance to the granting of building permits for mosques.

There have been several serious incidents over the years. In 1990, during the Gulf War, graffiti was sprayed on the Islamic centre in Wellington, but Muslims received considerable support and sympathy from local churches, a Jewish congregation and other agencies.³² In Hamilton in 1998 the mosque was burned and gutted in an arson attack only about six months after opening. The local people were deeply shocked and the City Council and citizens, spearheaded by some church groups and the local Jewish community, assisted in various ways. One Muslim leader commented that the whole event showed them how many friends they had. Graffiti was sprayed on an Auckland mosque after the London bombings in July 2005 and, in response, an inter-faith rally was organised in Aotea Square in Auckland. In Dunedin at about the same time dung was thrown on some Muslim women and eggs were thrown at the mosque; but, at the next mosque open day, some local people came to apologise and present flowers in a public ceremony.

Recent years have seen increasing engagement with politics and government, as illustrated by the presence of political leaders at Muslim activities.³³ They have also seen significant symbolic recognition of

³¹ For example, Somalis have suffered personal assaults in several cities; in Christchurch a group of Egyptian Muslims was harassed while picnicking (see the minutes of the Christchurch Refugee and New Migrant Forum for 17 April 1998); and in Wellington a Muslim was badly bashed (*New Zealand Herald*, 22 August 1990). A Muslim woman reported seeing people with headscarves insulted in supermarkets and said that her husband was verbally abused on the street after 9/11 (*Christchurch Press* 25 July 2005). Information from the Christchurch office of the Race Relations Council towards the end of 2001 indicated a very low level of complaints.

³² See the *New Zealand Herald*, 22 August 1990; the *Evening Post*, 22, 23, 27, 28, 31 August 1990; the *Sunday Star*, 26 August 1990.

³³ For example, the local MP and party leader, Jim Anderton, spoke at a MAC exhibition of art in August of 2003. The Prime Minister and other political leaders have messages printed in *FIANZ: Silver Jubilee*. The magazine of the Milad Committee for 2003 has a message from the Prime Minister and also from the local mayor, but the magazine for 1998 only had a message from the mayor.

Muslims at the national level, including governmental honours for at least six Muslims for their service to the community, and a celebration of *eid al-fitr* at Parliament in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of FIANZ.³⁴

Since at least 1999 there have been several Muslim candidates for parliament. One of them, Ashraf Choudhary, was elected on the Labour Party list in 2001 and re-elected in 2004. Choudhary, of Pakistani origin, had been active in ethnic affairs and was national president of the New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Councils for two years. He had also been quite active in Muslim organisations, but sees his political involvement more in ethnic than religious terms, and describes his choice of the Labour Party as motivated by a concern for the underdog. His election was made possible by the introduction of Mixed Member Proportional Representation (MMP) in 1996, since its party lists give ethnics a better chance.³⁵ An immediate outcome of MMP was the first Chinese Member of Parliament. Choudhary believes that being a Muslim and an Asian may have both hurt him and helped him in politics, but in the long run has probably helped more than hurt because he gained votes for the party. Given their small numbers, this ethnic emphasis would seem to be the most practical political stance for Muslims at this time. Possible conflicts between Muslim identity and political pressures were dramatically illustrated when Choudhary abstained from voting on a bill to legalise prostitution and voted for another to recognise civil unions (including homosexual unions). In the first case his abstention allowed the bill to pass, and was condemned by some Muslims for this. In the second he voted for it.

Local Sunni Islamic Organisations

The local or regional Sunni Islamic institutions in New Zealand consist of seven associations affiliated to FIANZ, along with several unaffiliated associations, student groups, trusts and two schools. The oldest local association is the New Zealand Muslim Association, which was established in 1950 in Auckland. Initially its membership consisted of the few Gujarati families present at the time, joined shortly afterwards by

³⁴ For the names of those receiving honours see *FIANZ: Silver Jubilee*, p. 14. For the *eid* celebration, on 16 November 2005, see *The Indian Tribune*, 1 December 2005; the newsletter, *FIANZ News*, March 2006; and the FIANZ website. The government has also hosted at Parliament events to mark the Chinese New Year, the Jewish festival of Hanukkah and the Hindu festival of Diwali.

³⁵ Under this system, half the members of Parliament are elected from single member districts and half from nation-wide party lists chosen by the party leaderships.

a few families coming from Turkey and the Balkans. Fijian Indians and others were added after the 1960s. In the early years, its meetings were held in homes or shop premises, and then from 1957 in a series of houses owned by the association. For larger celebrations such as *eids* a hall would be hired.³⁶

By the mid-1970s, three other Muslim groups had also been formed in Auckland. The Anjuman Himayat al-Islam was a mainly Fijian-Indian group. The New Zealand Council of the World Muslim Congress was led by a businessman of Albanian origin, Bajram Murati, and seems to have focused mainly on publicising Muslim social and international political concerns. There was also a 'Sufi' group led by a New Zealand convert, Abdullah Dougan, who was much influenced by Gurdjieff and whose following was mainly Pakeha (see Buehler's essay in this volume). The existence of these several groups in a small community posed problems and a visiting delegation from Saudi Arabia in 1976 advised them to unite. As a result the Anjuman and the New Zealand Muslim Association did unite that year, to form the new New Zealand Muslim Association (NZMA). The other two groups went their separate ways. To my knowledge Murati's group is no longer active, but Dougan's group still is, under the label 'Gnostic'.³⁷ The new NZMA promptly began to plan and raise funds to build a mosque. The foundation was laid on 30 March 1979 and by 1983 the main prayer hall, with a capacity of 400 worshippers, and the ablution block had been completed and furnished. A meeting hall and flat for the *imam* were completed by 1990. The NZMA has grown in recent years and, at the turn of the twenty-first century, had an average of about 500 worshippers at *salat al-jummah*.

As Muslims have grown in numbers, and spread to various parts of Auckland, there has been quite a proliferation of groups in the area. The South Auckland Muslim Association (SAMA) began as an offshoot of the NZMA in the early 1980s and became a separate association in 1989. In 1995 it committed itself to building a mosque and centre, which was officially opened in 2003. This mosque claims to be the largest in the Southern hemisphere. At that time, there was an average of about 300 worshippers at *salat al-jummah*. The West Auckland Mosque, a branch of the NZMA, was opened in October 2003, with the Minister of Ethnic Affairs as guest of honour. Another branch of the NZMA, the Avondale Islamic Centre, began before 2000, when it changed its name from the

³⁶ For more information on this and other local groups, and on FIANZ, see *FIANZ: Silver Jubilee*.

³⁷ Dougan, himself, has passed away. It is worth noting that the architect of the NZMA's mosque in Ponsonby was connected with Dougan's group.

Blockhouse Bay Muslim Centre and Mosque. The Mount Roskill Islamic Centre (Masjid-e-Umar) is run by an Islamic trust formed in 1989 and is independent of the other associations and of the national federation. After meeting in a purchased house for several years, they acquired a church building in the late 1990s and now meet there. They have the largest attendance at *salat al-jumma* of all the Auckland groups, about 800 on average in 2003.

Smaller centres include Al-Iqra' Islamic Trust, formed in the 1990s; Al-Farooqi Centre, also run by a trust; Glen Innes Islamic Centre; East Auckland Islamic Centre (Masjid Abu Bakr al-Sideeq), run by a trust formed in 2003; the North Shore Islamic Centre, also run by a trust and founded before 2000; al-Taqwa Trust, founded about 2001, which acquired property for a centre in Manukau City in 2005; and the Abu Huraira Islamic Centre in Kelston, opened in October of 2003.³⁸

Since 1999, *salat* for the two *eids* have been held in a park. For *eid al-fitr* in 1999 about 4000 attended; in 2000 there were 7000 to 8000; and for *eid al-adha* in 1999 some 3000 attended.³⁹

There are several other Muslim communities in the North Island. The Muslim community of Hamilton dates from the 1970s and was for a time associated with the NZMA in Auckland. *Salat al-jumma* was held in Hamilton from 1974, and the Waikato-Bay of Plenty Muslim Association was founded in 1980.⁴⁰ It developed into a very active association, building a mosque in 1997, which, as mentioned, was burned down in 1998 and subsequently rebuilt. More recently an association has been formed in Tauranga, which liaises administratively with FIANZ through the association in Hamilton.

The International Muslim Association of New Zealand (IMAN) was established in Wellington in 1966.⁴¹ Initially it was made up mostly of university students and used various venues until a building was purchased in 1978, by which time it was gaining a base of permanent residents. It acquired and modified a large commercial building for its present mosque in 2000. The growth and spread of the community has led to the opening of three new facilities in the greater Wellington area.

³⁸ The groups mentioned here are all listed in *FIANZ: Silver Jubilee* p. 43, except the last two, for which see *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2000, p. 14 and November 2003, p. 14. I have heard of or read about one or two others.

³⁹ Figures for *eid al-fitr* come from *Al-Mujaddid*, December 1999, p. 11 and personal communications. Figures for *eid al-adha* come from *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2000, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Now called Waikato Muslim Association according to the FIANZ website.

⁴¹ According to the IMAN website the group began with students, who formed an earlier association in 1964. The name IMAN was adopted in 1967; it was incorporated in 1969.

The Porirua Islamic Centre is a branch of IMAN. The Lower Hutt Islamic Centre, which was established in 1999 and purchased a building in that same year, and the Northern-Suburbs Islamic Community in Newlands are independent trusts that include IMAN members on their boards.⁴² The average attendance at *salat al-jumma* for all of these centres combined was estimated at about 300 to 600 in 2003, with an attendance of 1000 at *eid al-fitr salat* that same year. IMAN seems somewhat more committed than other associations to emphasising the international dimension of Islam, as opposed to particular ethnicities, and to making English the language of its activities.

The Muslim community of Palmerston North dates from the 1970s and was for a time associated with IMAN. It was incorporated as a separate association, the Manawatu Muslim Association, in 1980. It now hosts many of its activities in a mosque built in 1998 on the campus of Massey University as well as in a centre in the city.⁴³ A newer association in Hastings liaises with FIANZ through the Manawatu Muslim Association, but is suffering from internal divisions at this time.⁴⁴ There are also small groups in New Plymouth, Hawera and possibly Rotorua.⁴⁵ A Muslim group in Wanganui has a property and is apparently associated with an alternative umbrella group called the Muslim League of New Zealand, which was formed in 2000 and also claims to have groups in Hastings, Hamilton and Auckland.⁴⁶

In the South Island, Muslim communities can be found in Christchurch and Dunedin. The Canterbury Muslim Association (MAC) was established in Christchurch in 1977 and, though a small group, was able to purchase a small house in 1980 and build a mosque in 1985. Like

⁴² I understand that the Lower Hutt Islamic Centre is primarily attended by Somalis.

⁴³ The mosque is on land leased from the university. The funds were raised by Muslim staff and students at the university and it is run by a management committee which, I understand, owns the mosque.

⁴⁴ Apparently one of the sides is associated with the Muslim League of New Zealand, which does in fact claim a connection with this group. The same informant says that the Hastings group had planned to affiliate with FIANZ but because of the departure of a key family is not strong enough to do so.

⁴⁵ The information is from a current informant; also the association in New Plymouth is mentioned in a report in the *Daily News* on 24 July 2000 (passed on via the internet by a staff member of FIANZ). There is a reference to a Hawke's Bay Muslim Association in Hastings in an article in the *Christchurch Press*, 18 July 2001.

⁴⁶ The Muslim League of New Zealand was incorporated by Muhammad Abdel Al (see section on *halal*). Its stated purposes are: to provide facilities for Muslims in New Zealand to practise Islam; to safeguard and improve the welfare of all Muslims; to provide education and recreational facilities; to promote co-operation and understanding between Muslim and non-Muslim (wording abbreviated; see Companies Office, www.companies.govt.nz). I am told that the Wanganui group has been weakened by the death of a key member.

others, it has grown in numbers and currently has an average attendance of 300-400 at *salat al-jumma*. It has drawn some leadership over the years from graduate students at the two universities in its area (Canterbury and Lincoln), although the universities are not heavily represented at present. Unfortunately, the association has suffered from serious and sometimes well-publicised divisions since the early 1990s, based partly on personalities, partly on perceived ethnicity and, to a considerable degree, on differences between a stricter and more liberal interpretation of Islamic practice. The present management, commonly labelled 'Wahhabi' by its opponents, sought in 2003 to turn the mosque property over to a trust dominated by the Saudi Al-Haramain Trust in return for money to establish a school, and still evidently wants to establish some sort of a trust. The opposition group has vigorously opposed these efforts, aided by the discovery that some branches of the Haramain Trust had been involved with terrorist activity, and has even sought help from the local municipal authorities. There have also been issues relating to *halal* slaughter, and the establishment of a union for *halal* slaughtermen with which the present management is involved. At the time of writing they are engaged in a concerted effort to take control of the association.⁴⁷

In Dunedin there have been Muslim students, mainly Malaysians, at the University of Otago from the late 1970s. They had an association for a time in the late 1980s, but the present Otago Muslim Association (OMA) was only incorporated in 1995.⁴⁸ It is composed predominantly of students and works very closely with the present Muslim University Students Association (MUSA), which was founded a little earlier. In 2000 it acquired a commercial building for use as a mosque. They have an average of perhaps twenty at *salat al-jumma*.

Depending on numbers and resources, these associations provide for the main religious services, including regular *salat*, *salat al-jumma*, prayers and activities for *ramadan* and the main *eids*, and various social activities. The concern to pass on the faith to the next generation, which was growing up in a non-Muslim environment, appears to have been one

⁴⁷ For publicity on problems within MAC and problems between MAC and FIANZ see *Christchurch Press*, 24, 25, 27 October, 8 December 2003; 22 January 2004; 3 May 2005; and 3 February, 15, 31 March 2006. The last article reports a mediation effort by FIANZ at which an advisor from the Office of Ethnic Affairs was an observer. On *halal* slaughter see the *Christchurch Press*, 15 September 2004. On the union, see *Al-Mujaddid*, October 2005, p. 15 and March 2006, p. 15.

⁴⁸ There appears to be no memory of the earlier association in the present group.

of the major motives for the founding of the associations.⁴⁹ They all provide basic religious teaching and Arabic instruction for children and adults as circumstances and resources permit. The Mt. Roskill Centre in Auckland has a very large afternoon school (*madrasah*) with some 350 children. Al-Manar Trust, also in Auckland, does not to my knowledge have a mosque, but runs a weekend school and opened a library in 2002. Children's instruction appears most often to be given in English, certainly where there is a mixture of ethnic groups. In some cases, for example among the Somalis, an ethnic group will have separate classes in its own language. Some associations have organised the provision of *halal* food; although this is also usually obtainable from some shops in the larger cities or informally by other means. Most have marriage celebrants and burial space in a local cemetery. Most, or all, of the larger centres have at least one full-time trained *imam*, as does Al-Madinah School. Mt. Roskill has a trained *imam* running its children's *madrasah*.

Since about 1990 most, or all, of the associations, as well as FIANZ, have adopted *shura* (consultation) as the way of conducting their business or at least as the name for it. A typical structure is a relatively large *shura* council, chosen in some manner by the members. The council appoints or oversees the appointment of the executive or management committee, which in turn appoints the officers, all for fixed terms. The use of the term *shura* represents an effort to be Islamic. The actual systems seem to involve stronger leadership, and perhaps in theory more consensus decision-making than most New Zealand associations, but the practice varies, of course.

It is worth noting that since about 1990 there has been a tendency to establish trusts rather than associations. The main reason appears to be a desire on the part of the founders to keep control. Motives suggested include the fear that another ethnic or sectarian group will take over in the future; a desire to avoid the divisive politics that trouble some associations; and financial protection. It may also be because a trust is relatively similar to the Islamic *waqf*,⁵⁰ which would be familiar to Muslim immigrants. Many of them come from cultures that are not democratic and thus find it hard to make democratic associations work.

Women are active in the local associations and to my knowledge most of these associations have women's groups, more or less formally organised. In some mosques they have a separate space in the main

⁴⁹ I have been told this in the case of Canterbury, and the circumstances regarding the founding of the NZMA suggest this. As noted, IMAN and OMA originated because of the needs of university students.

⁵⁰ A *waqf* is a distinctively Islamic kind of trust. The concept of *waqf* is referred to in a pamphlet defending the plan to turn the Christchurch mosque over to a trust in 2003.

prayer room⁵¹ and in others they have a separate room. In one case it is reported that an increase in numbers at *salat* forced the women out of the mosque for several years, until new facilities were built. Most of the communities have activities for youth, especially sports activities, which may or may not be organised by the associations. Some teams apparently compete in ethnic leagues and also overseas.⁵² Youth camps and family camps are also held with some frequency.

As mentioned earlier, the regular schools provide neither Islamic education nor an Islamic atmosphere. Some Muslims want a Muslim day school that will provide these and there are currently two such schools in Auckland. The older is Al-Madinah School, backed by the Islamic Education and Da'wa Trust, which began on a 'home-schooling' basis in 1989, moved into its present building in 1995 and became a government supported 'integrated' school in 1996. In 2005 it had 348 students in years one to ten, with plans to extend to year thirteen, and to be a co-educational elementary school and a secondary school for boys. The other school, Zayed College for Girls, opened in 2001, and added a grade each year to build a complete years one to thirteen programme by 2005.⁵³ It had 66 students in 2004. Another school for younger students, Auckland Muslim School, ran for a few years but was discontinued due to financial problems. Government funding brings a measure of government control. The latest Education Review Office reports for Zayed College (2004) and Al-Madinah School (2005) are quite positive for the former, but indicate that the latter has significant problems of governance and management, but has made improvements (www.ero.govt.nz).

None of the associations or trusts has had the resources to build schools or to build or acquire buildings for mosques or centres, so considerable help from overseas has been necessary. The Christchurch mosque, for example, was funded largely from private Saudi sources; the Malaysian government contributes significantly to the Wellington mosque; and the Al-Zayed School was funded by the Al-Zayed Foundation in the United Arab Republic. Some of the groups outside of Auckland plan, or at least hope, to establish day schools.

As of 2005 there were over 10,000 Muslim students in universities and other tertiary institutions. While these students contribute to the regular associations, there are also Muslim student associations at all the

⁵¹ In Dunedin and Wellington, at least. I have been told of one mosque that does not allow women at all.

⁵² See *Al-Mujaddid*, October 2005, p. 19, on the victory of a soccer team from Hamilton in a tournament in Australia.

⁵³ According to a pamphlet for 2005. Some of the other information comes from the ERO reports.

universities and at many of the other tertiary institutions, varying in size, activity and continuity.⁵⁴ The programme of the Muslim Student Association at Otago, for example, includes a Sunday school for children of members, Arabic language and Qur'an recitation classes, a newsletter, and sports and recreational activities.⁵⁵

Working closely with the student associations is the Auckland Muslim Girls' Association, founded in 2001, for girls from ages twelve to about twenty-five. They seek to raise girls' awareness through a variety of social events and a camp which involves non-Muslims and Muslims, and for which they received the Sonja Davies Peace Award. They have about 2000 members. Their advisory board includes a representative from the Islamic Women's Council and a Muslim from the Department of Ethnic Affairs.⁵⁶

Islamic Organisations: National Level

The Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ) was formed in 1979 in order to co-ordinate the activities of the individual associations and to regulate contact between New Zealand Muslims and Muslims abroad, especially in such matters as the solicitation of donations and representation at international gatherings. Its offices are in Wellington and its membership consists of seven local associations as indicated; NZMA and SAMA in Auckland; IMAN in Wellington; the Waikato Muslim Association in Hamilton; the Manawatu Muslim Association in Palmerston North; MAC in Christchurch; and the Otago Muslim Association in Dunedin, as well as the Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand as an affiliate. Under its present structure the local associations select representatives to its council and this in turn chooses

⁵⁴ I have been given an estimate of 7000 Muslim tertiary students in Auckland with perhaps double that number for the country as a whole. In many or most cases I believe they have prayer facilities. This has been the case at the University of Canterbury for a year or two. See *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2006, p. 12, regarding a prayer room at one of the campuses of Victoria University of Wellington.

⁵⁵ Flyer put out by MUSA. Muslim students in Dunedin were successful in getting a speedy apology from the Otago University Students Association for scurrilous material about Islam in one of its publications in 2000 (Kolig 2003:37) and similar things have happened at the universities of Auckland and Waikato, according to e-mail messages I have received. The response of the student editor at Otago is representative of common Kiwi attitudes: she said she would never offend Maori but knew nothing about Islam.

⁵⁶ The president of the group was interviewed on National Radio in 2005. Most of my information is from a telephone interview with her; but see also *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2006.

the officers and executive committee. As noted, some of the newer associations or trusts are connected to FIANZ through one of the member associations, while others are not connected, but there is usually some level of co-operation. The Muslim League of New Zealand represents a competing organisation whose significance is hard to assess.

The objectives of FIANZ are currently described in the following terms:

- To establish and maintain the highest standard of Islamic practice in accordance with the teaching of the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah.
- To undertake *da'wah*, education, welfare and other Islamic activities.
- To strengthen Islamic unity and assist in the development of the Muslim community of New Zealand.
- To establish and foster good relationships with Muslim countries and international Muslim organisations and institutions.
- To promote and explain the message of Islam to the wider New Zealand community.⁵⁷

Among other things, it provides local associations with some funding, undertakes some 'trouble-shooting', and holds activities for youth and children, including camps and Qur'an recitation competitions. It has a committee to determine the dates of *eids*, a matter on which there has been some divergence in the past. A few years ago it formed an *Ulama* Board to deal with *fiqh* issues among other things. The most recent of these was a decision relating to the mechanical slaughter of chickens. In 1990 FIANZ created 'Amana', which had the goal of generating revenue for the Muslim community and making FIANZ financially self-sufficient. It was not very successful, however, and has now been virtually superseded by the FIANZ Business Division, which has recently purchased a revenue-producing property in Auckland.⁵⁸ There has been some talk of establishing forms of Islamic finance.⁵⁹

Both FIANZ and the local associations publish newsletters, with varying degrees of regularity, which present religious teaching, news of the associations and other news of interest to Muslims. In the 1980s FIANZ produced a fairly long newsletter called 'The Muslim' (varying from about fifteen to forty pages) which published articles on religious,

⁵⁷ FIANZ website, 'Welcome to the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand', posted 12 April 2003.

⁵⁸ FIANZ *Newsletter*, November 2005.

⁵⁹ There is a notice regarding an effort in the direction of Islamic banking, claiming FIANZ support, in *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2000, p. 10.

cultural and historical topics. Since the 1990s it has produced a shorter newsletter, in a glossy and more professional format, which emphasises news items and community activities.⁶⁰ FIANZ and at least two of the associations (IMAN and MAC) have internet web sites.⁶¹ Since 1998 an independent Islamic news-sheet, of some twelve to twenty pages, called *Al-Mujaddid*, has been published three or four times a year.

FIANZ arranges visits by overseas speakers, distributes books, videos and other literature both to Muslims and non-Muslims, issues press releases, and otherwise seeks to make Muslim concerns and positions public where appropriate, both on its own and alongside efforts by local associations. This includes publicising Muslim viewpoints on moral issues in New Zealand and overseas issues specifically concerning Muslims such as events in Palestine, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya and Afghanistan, through press releases, media interviews, articles and letters, and the Muslim community's newsletters, websites and *Al-Mujaddid*. During the Kosovo crisis, a long-time member of the NZMA, speaking for the Albanian Civic League of New Zealand, got prominent coverage on national television and the League set up a charitable fund for refugees. In March of 2000 a group of FIANZ leaders met with the Russian ambassador to express their views on Chechnya. Over one hundred Muslims in Christchurch marched after *salat al-jumma* on 6 October 2000 to protest the violence occurring at that time between Palestinians and Israelis.⁶² Other efforts have included organising collections for Muslim victims of the earthquake in Columbia in January 1999, and raising goods and money for Kosovo. *Al-Mujaddid* has published advice on how to send parcels to Iraq.⁶³ In 2003, FIANZ and the other major groups issued a Declaration condemning terrorism, which was appreciated by the government.⁶⁴ The Muslim march in Auckland

⁶⁰ My information is not complete here. I have an incomplete set of the first series, running from 1980 to 1990, and an incomplete set of the second series of which the earliest is October 1995. I also have newsletters from NZMA, IMAN and the Canterbury Association. Recent FIANZ newsletters can be found on its website.

⁶¹ These are the ones I know of. In the past, some of the university student groups seem to have had websites.

⁶² *Christchurch Press*, 7 October 2000, p. 2. There were very likely protests in other centres also.

⁶³ For the meeting with the ambassador see *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2000; for the collections for Columbia see *Al-Mujaddid*, March and July 1999; for Kosovo and advice on parcels to Iraq see *Al-Mujaddid*, July 1999. For the Albanian Civic League see, *inter alia*, the 1999 FIANZ Annual Report on the FIANZ website.

⁶⁴ See 'NZ Muslims' Declaration Denouncing all Kinds of Terrorism' (FIANZ and IMAN websites), endorsed by the seven affiliated associations, Ahlul-Bayt, Al-Manar Trust and Islamic Information Services. See also MAC's rejection of the killing of hostages, *Christchurch Press*, 11 April 2004.

regarding the Danish cartoons issue, and the role of the president of FIANZ in mediation, has been mentioned.

On several occasions FIANZ has taken vigorous and often high-profile action *vis-à-vis* the media for its treatment of Islam. FIANZ lobbied hard, though largely behind the scenes, against the airing of the television docu-drama 'Death of a Princess' in 1980, which may have contributed to the decision not to air it.⁶⁵ FIANZ also had some involvement in protests against the film 'The Last Temptation of Christ', and, in 1987, narrowly failed to get an injunction against the television documentary 'The Sword of Islam'. Later a Muslim response to this documentary was published in the media magazine, *The New Zealand Listener*.⁶⁶ The same year the *New Zealand Listener* published a particularly outrageous article also entitled 'The Sword of Islam', and FIANZ initiated a 7 million dollar defamation suit that was settled out of court.⁶⁷ FIANZ also took considerable interest in the controversy over Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* and apparently made some effort to get the book 'scheduled' under the Race Relations Act, but nothing came of this. Otherwise, the approach was relatively low-key and included a letter-writing campaign, a variety of statements, articles and interviews in the media, and helping to organise a series of public debates at the universities.⁶⁸ FIANZ has not mounted comparable actions since these, partly because of the considerable cost of such efforts along with some doubt about whether they really are of value. Also, it seems the media have 'got the message' to some degree.⁶⁹ In 1996, FIANZ and the Otago

⁶⁵ See, for example, 'Caucus Strongly against Movie', *The Evening Post* (Wellington), 29 May 1980 and 'Stupid to show film', *The Press* (Christchurch), 31 May 1980. FIANZ presumably used this argument in its own lobbying. See also D. Wille, 'Muslims Down Under' (1989:14-15).

⁶⁶ Khan 1987. See 'Bid fails to stop "Sword of Islam"', *Christchurch Press*, 8 September 1987 and other articles at about the same time.

⁶⁷ The article, published on 7 March 1987, reported the views of John Laffin in a totally uncritical manner. I do not believe that this could happen today. So far as I have been able to determine, FIANZ was given the right of reply but did not take it up, considering that it would not be productive.

⁶⁸ See the 'Status Report on the Response by the Muslims' by G.I.A.R. Khan (June 1989, internal FIANZ report). To my knowledge, the statement of Shabbir Akhtar that the New Zealand government banned the import of the book is incorrect (*Be Careful with Muhammad!* 1989:93).

⁶⁹ Relevant to these two points, Wille (1989:16 and *passim*) says that FIANZ spent NZ\$100,000 in legal fees on the injunction against the TV documentary, *The Sword of Islam*, and at least \$16,000 on its campaign against the *Satanic Verses*, with several Muslims mortgaging their homes to finance the first effort. Although the legal effort failed they felt that 'FIANZ did signal to the media its willingness to use the courts in the pursuit of its interests'. One person close to the events has told me that they did not follow up on the right of reply to the article because they did not feel this

Muslim Association laid complaints with the Race Relations Conciliator over comments by the mayor of Dunedin about Arabs being 'enemies of civilisation' and received an apology (Kolig 2003:35).

The women's organisation, The Islamic Women's Council, was formed in 1989.⁷⁰ It is affiliated to FIANZ and has two representatives. It is also registered with the (secular) National Council of Women. It holds an annual conference, rotating around the centres. The 2005 conference was held in Christchurch and was attended by seventy to eighty people (not counting children). It was addressed by the MP Lianne Dalziel. The Council holds an annual conference, organises an annual camp for girls and has made media statements and submissions to government authorities on various issues.

In 1997 a nation-wide university students' organisation was formed, and at the end of 1999 it took the name Muslim Students and Youth Organisation of New Zealand.⁷¹ It co-operates with the Youth Division of FIANZ. While focusing on university students, it also seeks to encourage activities among polytechnic and high school students. I have been told that it draws considerable inspiration for its programming from Muslim student activities in the United States, where some of its members have studied. Among other activities it holds an annual youth camp.

There is also a New Zealand Muslim Sports Association, affiliated to FIANZ, which has organised major tournaments around Easter, and raised money to send a soccer team to Fiji in 1999 for a five-nation Muslim tournament. In addition to soccer, the tournaments include golf, volleyball and squash. The Women's Council has organised netball for girls.⁷²

FIANZ is also actively related to several transnational organisations such as the Muslim World League, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, the Islamic Development Bank and the Regional Islamic Da'wah Council of South-East Asia and the Pacific (RISEAP), and has links to the Organization for Islamic Conferences (OIC). Conferences organised in conjunction with these groups include a youth conference in

approach would be good for them. An unpublished statement, 'FIANZ at a Glance', from about 1990, states of the defamation case that, 'This case made the media acknowledge Muslim views. Our opinion is now sought for all Islamic news by the media'.

⁷⁰ Date suggested by *FIANZ: Silver Jubilee*. Other sources say 1990 or 1991.

⁷¹ Prior to 1999 it was the Muslim Students and Graduates Association of New Zealand.

⁷² *Al-Mujaddid*, July 1999 and March 2000. The five nations are Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Canada and the United States. A later report says the team did well (October 1999). See also *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2003, p. 12.

Auckland in 2002 on 'Challenges for Muslim Youth Living in the Global Village', sponsored by RISEAP; and a three-day conference in Auckland in 2003, entitled 'Islam: The Cultural and Civilisational Dimensions and Human Relations', sponsored by the OIC.

An important economic development for New Zealand in the last quarter-century has been the introduction of *halal* meat slaughter. Sheep meat has been one of the main New Zealand exports for more than a century and, until the 1970s, most of this went to the United Kingdom. Excess production and the growth of the European Economic Community required it to seek other markets and, following the lead of Australia, it began to look to Middle Eastern and other Muslim countries. Exports to the Middle East began in 1976. When in 1979 the revolutionary government in Iran signalled a willingness to purchase large quantities of New Zealand lamb, on the condition that it was *halal*, the New Zealand meat industry moved promptly, and with relatively little opposition, to comply.⁷³ Iran has taken little New Zealand meat in recent years, but other Muslim countries have replaced it, especially Saudi Arabia. In the beginning most slaughterers were brought on a temporary basis from overseas, but now most are local Muslims. There are two certifying agencies. One is FIANZ, which has offered this service as its main economic activity, since 1984. At present it is qualified to certify for the whole Muslim world and is the sole certifier for the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The other certifying agency is New Zealand Islamic Meat Management, an independent, Wellington-based company run by Muhammad Abdel Al, a Muslim of Egyptian origin. It has been certifying since the late 1970s for a number of Muslim countries. The meat industry authorities believe that having more than one certifier increases the credibility of the certifying process, as well as controlling costs.⁷⁴ It took some effort in the beginning to convince Muslim countries to accept New Zealand meat and problems occasionally arise. Recently Malaysian authorities banned meat from both Australia

⁷³ A small group of farmers objected that this practice was anti-Christian and got brief media attention but had no further effect. Today all but one or two export meat processing plants use the *halal* slaughter method.

⁷⁴ According to a spokesperson in 2000. According to *FIANZ: Silver Jubilee* FIANZ supervises 80 per cent of the meat plants and certifies for 43 countries, but Abdel Al claims to certify about 50 per cent of the meat exported. Evidently, Abdel Al deals in a wider range of meat products than FIANZ. On *halal* slaughter in New Zealand, see, *inter alia*, 'Halal, lawful and safe', *The New Zealand Meat Producer*, Last Quarter, 1996.

and New Zealand for a time because of questions about the method of slaughter.⁷⁵

Sunni Devotional Movements: *Tabligh* and *Milad*

The *tabligh* movement began with the work of Maulana Ilyas in India in the 1920s and has since spread throughout the world. Its major concern is to recall Muslims to regular practice of the major obligations of Islam, such as *salat*. It may be described as *salafi* in the sense that it opposes 'innovations' of the popular and Sufi sort, but it is apolitical. In addition to regular local meetings, groups of volunteers travel about within a country and internationally to spread their message and stimulate existing activity. This movement is quite strong in New Zealand, particularly, but not exclusively among South Asians. There is *tabligh* activity in most local areas, especially in Hamilton and Auckland. *Tabligh* groups are distinct from the local associations and from FIANZ, but co-operate with them, with some associations more interested than others. Each *tablighi* group has an *amir* (commander) and there is a national *amir*, but the organisation is fairly informal. Since 1979 there has been an annual national gathering (*ijtema*) and at present there are other meetings on a national or regional basis.⁷⁶ A number of *tabligh* groups have visited New Zealand from overseas and Muslims from New Zealand have travelled overseas for *tabligh* work. To my knowledge *tabligh* meetings are mostly held in English, but other languages such as Gujarati and Urdu are also used.

Some have criticised *tabligh* as being a conservative force and too associated with Indian ethnicity, but in my view it is well suited to the New Zealand situation. The meetings reaffirm and strengthen the Islamic identity and commitment of those involved. The level of teaching and discussion is very basic so that it can both be understood and carried out by relatively untrained laypeople. One participant remarked to me that the purpose of the groups is not so much to learn something new as to provide a means of doing something for Islam and to keep them from being 'carried away by the world'. The 'lay' character of the activity means that the financial costs to the community are not great, since the work is done on a voluntary basis with much of the expense sustained by

⁷⁵ My information about this comes from two radio reports in July and August 2006, and from Mr Abdel Al.

⁷⁶ According to an informant in 2000, the *ijtema* was held around Christmas and the two *jour* (unity) meetings around Easter and Labour Day (23 October). In 2006 I was told that there is a biennial *ijtema* around Easter and an annual one later in the year.

the volunteers themselves. The apolitical character of the teachings fits the desire of most Muslims in New Zealand to keep a low profile politically. It does often seem to be very 'Indian' in cultural form but in fact the *tabligh* movement today is found throughout the Muslim world and there is some evidence that it can appeal to Pakeha.⁷⁷ In the longer term, these strengths may also be weaknesses. Its appeal to the more educated seems limited⁷⁸ and it can make more demands on participants' time than many will be willing or able to give. As the community becomes more educated and more characterised by a New Zealand life-style its value may decrease, but at present it appears to play a positive role.⁷⁹

Quite different is the *milad* movement, which stresses love for the Prophet Muhammad and has Sufi elements. It came to New Zealand from Fiji but evidently has Indian roots. The New Zealand Milad Committee was formed in 1994 and organises annual celebrations of the Prophet's birthday, as well as *ashura* and *miraj* (the Prophet's ascension) and other events. As of 2003 it had eight branches, all in the North Island, with regular programmes, as well as a youth association and two women's divisions. According to its president, some 1500 people attended the celebration of the Prophet's birthday in 2003. Distinct from, but affiliated with, *milad* is the Ma'unatul Islam Association, which practises a ceremony known as *ratib* that involves cutting the body. Apparently this is well known in Fiji and goes back to the Rifa'i Sufi Tariqah.⁸⁰ On one occasion recently the ceremony went wrong and got media attention.⁸¹ *Ratib* is of course rejected by most New Zealand Muslims, but even the celebration of the Prophet's birthday is rejected by some. The highly respected *imam* of IMAN went on record against it in 1995.⁸²

The *Miladis* and *Tablighis* may be said to represent two well-known, contrasting tendencies in Islam and are quite critical of each other. Some associations and mosques are known for their sympathy

⁷⁷ I have personally encountered the movement in Egypt and it is also strong in Malaysia, where some New Zealand Muslims come from.

⁷⁸ A member of the Auckland community said to me that it is only the 'humbler' people who come to the *tablighi* meetings, but I do in fact know of some educated people of Indian and other backgrounds who are involved.

⁷⁹ For more detail on the *Tablighi* movement in New Zealand, including descriptions of some meetings I attended in the early 1980s, see Shepard (1982:70; 1996:220-221).

⁸⁰ Most of this information comes from an interview with the president, Mushtaq Sheikh, in 2003 and from booklets produced by the Committee in 1998 and 2003.

⁸¹ Kolig (2003:41) has some detail on this.

⁸² Shaykh Khalid, in a sermon dated 6 October 1995, of which I have a reproduced copy. The date and some of the contents of the sermon suggest that this was a response to the *Miladis*.

with one or the other. I understand that the South Auckland Muslim Association, for example, is strongly *miladi*, while the Mt Roskill Centre is strongly *tablighi*.

A more 'standard' Sufi practice is carried out by Shaykh Airof of the Ponsonby Mosque in Auckland. He is initiated in the Shadhili Tariqah and, as of 2003, was conducting *dhikr*⁸³ two evenings a week with a small group. There may be similar *dhikrs* elsewhere but I am not aware of them.

There is also a Sufi movement, mostly in the 'Inayat Khan tradition, among Pakeha, who generally see Sufism as a universalist movement and do not have much connection with the other Muslim groups. Abdullah Dougan's 'Gnostic' group falls into this category.⁸⁴

Until the 1990s, New Zealand Muslims were overwhelmingly Sunni and most of the associations were strongly Sunni in ethos. The NZMA limited its membership to Sunnis until 1980, but an Iranian *mullah*, who had been sent to oversee *halal* slaughter, appears to have played a role in changing this. In the 1990s a number of Iraqi Shi'is came to New Zealand and, more recently, Hazara refugees from Afghanistan. There are also South Asian Shi'is and Iranians, although the Iranians tend to be less involved in religious activities. South Asian Shi'is founded the Ahlul-Bayt Foundation in Auckland in 1993 and acquired a large centre and mosque around 2001. As of 2006, there are four other centres in the Auckland area, somewhat distinguished by ethnicity and language, but *salat al-jumma* is held only at the Ahlul-Bayt Foundation. There are also Shi'i centres in Hamilton and Wellington, whose members go to the Sunni mosques for *salat al-jumma*. An Afghan association in Christchurch organises Shi'i teaching and celebrations, holding distinctively Shi'i ceremonies in rented facilities since MAC does not allow these ceremonies in its mosque. In Auckland approximately sixty to eighty people attend *salat al-jumma* at the Ahlul-Bayt Centre; around 400 attend celebrations such as the births and deaths of Shi'i *imams*;⁸⁵ and around 1000 come for *eids* and *muharram*.⁸⁶ There has been an Iranian embassy in Wellington since the 1980s that sometimes conducts events with IMAN and takes some interest in inter-faith activities.⁸⁷ A few

⁸³ *Dhikr* refers to various Sufi ceremonies, which usually include recitation of the names of God.

⁸⁴ See Arthur Buehler's article in this volume for more on these.

⁸⁵ 'Imam' here refers to the twelve successors of Muhammad according to Shi'is. This is a different usage from the *imam* of a mosque.

⁸⁶ Most of this information comes from the current teacher at the Ahlul-Bayt Foundation, but the organisation also has a website.

⁸⁷ In the mid-1990s there were a number of Iranian Shi'i students in Dunedin who participated in the associations there to some extent; although accounts of the

Ismailis came to New Zealand from Uganda after they were expelled in 1972, but there is little information on their activities. In at least two cases they sought to bury their dead in the Muslim section of cemeteries and permission was granted by the associations after some investigation.

***Dawah*: Dialogue and Community Relations**

Dawah refers both to efforts to reach non-Muslims and efforts to strengthen the commitment and activity of those who are already Muslims. In a sense, most of the activities described so far could be called *dawah*, but some in particular are seen as such.

All of the communities are engaged to a greater or lesser degree in *dawah* activities directed towards non-Muslims, some of which might better be described as community relations. This takes various forms, such as advertisements and announcements in the local press; receiving visitors and visiting groups at the centres and providing them with literature; inviting speakers from outside; and presenting expositions on Islamic culture. 'Open days' have frequently been held in the mosques, and 'Islam Awareness Week', first held in Dunedin in 1999, has been held nationally under FIANZ sponsorship since 2004. In 2005 a co-ordinated national 'open day' was held during 'Islam Awareness Week'.⁸⁸ The television programmes provided to the Auckland and Christchurch areas by the Voice of Islam Trust are another form of *dawah*.⁸⁹

The Islamic Da'wah and Converts Association was started in Auckland about 1989 and currently continues under the name of the Auckland Resource Centre.⁹⁰ There is also in Auckland an Islamic

situation differ. Some say they got on well with the Sunnis, but another source says there was conflict and the Iranian ambassador sought to intervene. Possibly in connection with this, the Iranian ambassador gave an *iftar* (meal that breaks the *ramadan* fast) in Dunedin.

⁸⁸ According to *FIANZ: Silver Jubilee* the Hamilton Mosque held the first open day in 1998 with some 300 visitors (p. 25); but a MAC leader claims that MAC was the first to hold one. Certainly what amount to open days, though not necessarily under that name, have been held for some time. For example, MAC organised an art exhibition in August of 1986 (see *Christchurch Press*, 23 August 1986). For the first 'Islam Awareness Week' in Dunedin, see *Al-Mujaddid*, October 1999. It included a radio programme, films, an exhibition of Islamic artefacts, a public forum, and an invitation to the general public to witness *salat al-jumma*. See the FIANZ website for information on the more recent events.

⁸⁹ See *Al-Mujaddid*, March 2006, p. 20.

⁹⁰ The Converts Association claimed up to 100 members in 2000. I understand that the Resource Centre has meeting rooms and a library. A branch of the Converts Association was started in Christchurch in about 2003, described to me as a 'reverts'

Information Centre, which began as a telephone information line in 1998, and which works closely with the Resource Centre. There have been National Islamic Converts Conferences in Christchurch in 2004 and in Auckland in 2005. It was estimated that there were between 250 and 300 converts living in New Zealand in about 2001 but there is no precise data. Unquestionably converts have played important roles in the associations. Many of the converts have come to Islam in the context of marriage to a Muslim or other significant personal contact with Muslims, here or overseas, but more strictly theological reasons have also played an important role.⁹¹

Prominent figures from overseas are brought to New Zealand from time to time by FIANZ, the associations and the *dawah*-oriented groups to speak in one or more places. These have included Jamal Badawi, Merryl Wyn Davies, Ahmad Deedat, Yvonne Ridley, a well-known former journalist and convert, and Bilal Philips, a scholar and convert of Jamaican origin—these last two in 2005.⁹² These visits, whether or not labelled as such, can be considered a form of *dawah*, directed at both Muslims and non-Muslims.

Significant inter-faith activities have been taking place in at least Auckland, Wellington and Hamilton, as well as nationally with some government involvement in recent years. In Auckland, the Council of Christians and Muslims was formed in 1997 and holds public meetings four times a year, including one meeting held jointly with the Council of Christians and Jews. In Wellington, the Wellington Inter-faith Council has met monthly and is beginning dialogue with Orthodox Jews; and in Hamilton the Waikato Inter-faith Council meets every three months.⁹³ Inter-faith activities also take the form of co-operation in matters of mutual concern. Many Christian individuals and churches have supported Muslim complaints about the Danish Muhammad cartoons, while Muslims have supported Christian complaints about offensive

association'. I do not know if it is currently active. There is considerable discussion around the terms 'convert' and 'revert', which is beyond the scope of this article.

⁹¹ On converts in New Zealand see Hill (2001). Hill (p. 6) estimates 250 to 300 while another Muslim estimates 300 to 500 (Kolig 2003:27, fn. 4). One Muslim leader estimated in 2000 that there had been 150 converts to Islam in the previous three years.

⁹² See *Al-Mujaddid*, October 2005, for Ridley and Philips; March 2000, for Deedat. Ridley was sponsored by the Auckland Resource Centre and NISA, a Christchurch women's group distinct from the Islamic Women's Council.

⁹³ I understand that the Wellington group is not meeting monthly at present, partly because of a hiatus in local Jewish leadership and partly because its members are involved in other inter-faith activities. See *Al-Mujaddid*, September 2004, pp. 1-2 for a description of one of the events sponsored by the Hamilton group; 'Commonalities between two Abrahamic Religions—Islam and Christianity'.

treatments of the Virgin Mary at the National Museum in Wellington in 1998 and on the television programme 'South Park' in 2006.⁹⁴ The Auckland Council of Christians and Muslims was involved in making these complaints, as well as in the rally at Aotea Square after the London bombings. Muslims and others also participated in the National Inter-faith Memorial Service in Auckland in January 2005, in response to the Asian tsunami, and in three national inter-faith forums, the last of which took place in Wellington in February 2006 and was preceded by a Women's National Inter-faith Forum. They also participate in a national inter-faith network established in April 2005, which is part of the New Zealand Diversity Action Programme. This arose out of a forum in Parliament in 2004 in response to cases of racial and religious harassment and is facilitated by the Human Rights Commission. Eighty Muslim community representatives participated in a 'Building Bridges Forum' held by the Office of Ethnic Affairs in November 2005. Muslim leaders, along with other religious and government leaders, attended the Regional Inter-faith Dialogue on Inter-faith Co-operation in Yogyakarta in December 2004, and the Dialogue on Regional Inter-faith Co-operation for Peace, Development and Human Dignity in Cebu in the Philippines in March 2006.⁹⁵

Issues Around Ethnicity

Unlike the situation in many countries, the Sunni New Zealand associations are not divided along ethnic lines, although one or two ethnic groups may predominate in some centres. The Shi'i branch centres appear to be distinguished on ethnic or language lines but not the main centre. This situation results partly from the still relatively small size of the Muslim community but it also reflects the policy and efforts of the leadership. Ethnic feelings are present—sometimes strongly so—and they certainly contribute to tensions and disputes within the community and the associations, usually in combination with personality factors. I have been told more than once by someone from one ethnic group that another ethnic group confuses its customs with Islam. The current

⁹⁴ The first involved a so-called work of art that consisted of a statuette of the Virgin Mary covered by a condom. The second involved an episode in which a statue of the Virgin Mary bled menstrual blood.

⁹⁵ See the *Report of the New Zealand Delegation to the Cebu Dialogue on Regional Inter-faith Co-operation for Peace, Development and Human Dignity*, Philippines, 14-16 March 2006, which includes information on several of the developments mentioned here. One participant has suggested that a major reason for government involvement is its concern for regional security.

management of MAC is often referred to by its detractors as 'Arab', although the previous president was also Arab. There has been some resentment about the perceived predominance of South Asians in FIANZ although the leadership makes efforts to be ethnically inclusive. Leaders to whom I spoke a few years ago recognised the possibility that ethnic mosques may appear some day, but not in the immediate future—and they appear committed to trying to avoid this development.

As to whether individuals have a greater sense of ethnic or Islamic identity, in the 1980s several leaders told me that Islamic identity was more central at that time than had been the case earlier. Developments since about 1990 have stimulated both ethnic and Islamic awareness, which are in most cases mutually reinforcing. It is interesting that the march against the Danish cartoons was organised by the Pakistan Association. Islamic identity is certainly reflected in the increased concern for such matters as Islamic dress in schools. An example of conflict between ethnic and purist Islamic practice is the issue of Kava, a Fijian drink said to be alcoholic and banned in 1996 by the *imam* of IMAN, but still drunk by many.⁹⁶ The Somalis present an interesting and extreme case. Their ethnic identity here is so strong that they form quite a distinct group within those Muslim communities in which they are numerous. At the same time, to be Somali is to be Muslim and in New Zealand the mosques have formed the main focus of their communal activity. There is reason to believe that Somalis in New Zealand (and probably elsewhere in diaspora) are more consciously Islamic than they were in Somalia. The recent Afghan and Kurdish immigrants and refugees would seem to be in a somewhat similar but less extreme situation. By contrast many Eastern Europeans, insofar as they are not completely assimilated, would seem to stress their ethnic identity. The same is true of those Iranians who dislike the present regime in Iran, but have a strong sense of their Iranian identity. In addition to Muslim groups, there are a number of ethnic associations that are largely or partly made up of Muslims. These include the Albanian Civic League mentioned earlier, long-standing Indian associations, and associations of Somalis, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Iraqis, Egyptians and Malaysians, among others.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ The *fatwa* is on the IMAN website.

⁹⁷ The last six appear under "ethnic groups" on the CINCH pages of the Christchurch City Libraries website (<http://library.christchurch.org.nz>), which includes only groups based in Canterbury. Other ethnic groups on this list, which may include Muslims, are Singaporean, Fijian, Yugoslav and Malaysian, and the Shakti Ethnic Women's Support Group, which is headed by a Muslim. I have also heard of Ethiopian and Iranian groups.

There is also a question of whether Islam as such may be considered an ethnicity, given its strong communal concern and sense of *ummah*, a word that refers to the global Muslim community but also carries the sense of 'nation'. In 1987 the effort of FIANZ to sue the *New Zealand Listener* over an offensive article failed in part because the Human Rights Commission would deal with religion but not with groups while the Race Relations Office with groups but not religion.⁹⁸ Today such distinctions are less clear. Certainly the Race Relations Commissioner, who is now under the Human Rights Commission, does deal with religious complaints and the Office of Ethnic Affairs deals in practice with Islamic groups. Still, government agencies are much more oriented towards an ethnic approach. There is, for example, an Office of Ethnic Affairs but not one for religious affairs, and the government appears to see its policy towards Muslims as a part of its ethnic policy. For this reason Muslims can achieve some goals with an ethnic approach, and this is bound to encourage them to think in ethnic terms, whether this ethnicity be Islam or the sum of other ethnicities.⁹⁹

What of the Future?

In the early 1980s I was told that the main purpose of the recently formed associations with regard to their membership was 'to keep them Muslim'. That goal continues to be relevant but is now somewhat easier to achieve, given the increased numbers and activity. But how firmly rooted in New Zealand is this larger community? At the collective level, it has reached the point where its continued and reasonably flourishing existence seems assured. At the individual level, however, I would judge that a considerable number of Muslims is not firmly rooted in New Zealand. Many of the South Asians even, the second or third generation here, have family connections and other interests overseas that could draw them away. Some of the more recently arrived will return to their homelands if and when conditions settle down there; or else they have moved or will move elsewhere if they cannot find suitable employment here. Of course many Kiwis also emigrate for economic and professional reasons. For some Muslims the main advantage of their stay in New Zealand may be the acquisition of a New Zealand passport that can open doors elsewhere

⁹⁸ At one stage they sought to get Muslims defined as an ethnic group so that the case would come under the auspices of the Race Relations Office, which had powers to deal with such matters but did not deal with religion.

⁹⁹ The president of FIANZ suggests that the ethnic approach by the government is appropriate because the issues involved, such as national security, are not strictly speaking religious ones.

in the world. This has serious implications for the character of the community and, in particular, for the continuity of its leadership. Especially in the smaller centres, the loss of a single individual or family can cause considerable setback. All of this inhibits the process of taking root.

Over the years some community leaders have drawn a distinction between being 'Muslims in New Zealand'—that is, an immigrant community surviving in an alien environment—and being 'Muslims of New Zealand'—that is, a community feeling at home here and developing forms of Islamic expression appropriate to New Zealand society. This represents the hope of many within the leadership, as well as others—and certainly the converts. Such a hope looks for a community of Muslims more consciously committed to their faith by virtue of living in an environment where Islam is not 'in the air', as it is in the Muslim areas where most of them, or their parents, came from. Muslims would ideally relate to each other primarily on the basis of Islam rather than ethnic or other identities. Their interpretation of Islam would slough off or modify distinct ethnic interpretations and practices, without entirely rejecting ethnicity. It would build on the common core of belief and practice found in the Qur'an and the Sunnah and shared by all Muslims (Adam 1999). It would interact positively with 'mainstream' New Zealand society and contribute to it. Such a goal was, in fact, rather distant in the 1980s and it became even more so in the 1990s, given the influx of immigrants and refugees and the immediate needs and problems they brought. This influx continues, so that the process of adaptation has to begin from scratch again and again. At the same time, there is now a considerable number of younger people who have been raised and educated here and do in fact feel fully at home. In a variety of ways Muslims have engaged positively with New Zealand society, not least in politics, and have in turn received various forms of recognition. There are many who do see themselves as 'Muslims of New Zealand'. Insofar as New Zealand society becomes more multicultural, not only recognising other cultures but also opening itself to their influence, this will become easier.

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FIANZ: <http://www.fianz.co.nz/>

IMAN: <http://www.iman.co.nz/>

MAC: www.mac.net.nz/

Appendix A: Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Group	Number	%
South Asian	8703	34.9
Indonesian and Malaysian	1080	4.3
Other Asian	1533	6.2
Arab	3177	12.7
Iranian	1107	4.4
Somali	1815	7.4
Pakeha/European	3684	14.8
Maori, Pacific Islander	1284	5.2
Other	2505	10.1
Total of these figures	24,888	100
(Total 2001 census figures for Muslims)	23,631	

Source: tables on 'Ethnic Group (Total Responses) and Sex by Religious Affiliation' in the *2001 Census of Population and Dwellings*, pp. 166-186. The breakdown of major groupings is derived from these tables, in which as many as 52 nationalities are indicated. South Asian includes Fijian Indians as well as Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. These figures have to be taken with a grain of salt, however, because the figures in these tables do not add up as they should. This may be due to overlap: the figures are for 'total responses', but a person is allowed to list more than one ethnicity (e.g. New Zealand European and Welsh), and such a person would be counted more than once. My calculations suggest that more than 1000 of these responses overlap. The Pakeha/European number is greater than my observations would suggest. The number of 'overlaps' may be greater in this group. The Maori/Pacific Island figure also seems high. Another anomaly is that tables indicate at most only 36 South-Eastern Europeans and no Turks. Some of these people, and even more so their descendants, may identify as Pakeha or be in the 'other' category.

Appendix B: Selected Urban Areas

City	Number	%
Auckland	15,204	64.3
Hamilton	1272	5.9
Palmerston North	444	1.8
Wellington	3264	13.8
Christchurch	1542	6.5
Dunedin	456	1.9
Total	22,182	94.2
Other areas	1455	6.2
Total	23,637	100.4

Source: *2001 Census of Population and Dwellings*, 'Religious Affiliation (Total Responses)' for the Census Usually Resident Population Count, 1991, 1996 and 2001 (www2.stats.govt.nz).

Appendix C: Age Brackets

Age Bracket	Muslim % 2001	General Population % 2001	Muslim % 1996	General Population % 1996
0-14	29.0	22.8	29.7	23.0
15-29	28.0	19.5	29.4	22.3
30-64	40.8	45.5	39.4	43.0
65+	2.1	12.2	1.5	11.7
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: Figures for 2001 are calculated from *2001 Census ... 'National Summary'*, Table 17, 'Religious Affiliation (Total Responses)' and 'Sex by Age Group' for the Census Usually Resident Population Count, 2001. The 1996 figures are based on pre-publication figures that are not significantly different from the published figures.

Appendix D: Muslim Population of New Zealand 1874-2001 Based on Census Reports

Year		Muslim Population (% Males in parentheses)
1874	17	(100%)
1878	39	(100%)
1881	7	(100%)
1891	(Not available)	
1896	43	(100%)
1901	41	(100%)
1906	17	(94%)
1911	12	(100%)
1916	47	(87.2%)
1921	65	(100%)
1926	76	(98.7%)
1936	51	(98%)
1945	67	(88.1%)
1951	205	(89.3%)
1956	200	(75.5%)
1961	260	(n/a)
1966	551	(78.5%)
1971	779	(71.5%)
1976	1415	(60.2%) [1341]
1981	2004	(63.2%) [1701]
1986	2544	(58.2%)
1991	5772	(56.4%)
1996	13,545	(54.7%)
2001	23,631	(54.0%)

Note: Based on official Census figures. The percentage of males is given in parentheses. Through to 1971 the figures are for 'total population'. For 1976 and 1981 the 'total population' figures are given in the main column and 'usually resident population' figures are given in square brackets. From 1986 onwards, the figures are for the 'usually resident population'.