# Representations of Arabs and Muslims in the outback in Australian literature and film: 1890-2011

Erin Claringbold BA(Hons)

Department of English, Division of Humanities Macquarie University Date of Submission: 23 April 2012

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

## CONTENTS

Summary	
Declaration	
Acknowledgements	
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Afghan Menace: the tradition of Arab and Muslim deviance in	
Australian literature (1890-1940)	49
Chapter Two: The Lascivious Aghan and the threat of "brown babies"	_ 105
Chapter Three: 'Fake Afghans' and White Camels: the construction of Afghan abse	ence
	_153
Spatial exclusion	_ 155
Political exclusion	_ 158
Absence from history	_ 160
Literary absence	_ 163
Fantasy fulfiment: clever whites and useless Afghans	_164
The 'Fake Afghan'	_ 177
Camels as metonymic signifier	_ 193
Unheard Afghan voices	_206
Chapter Four: Creating a counter-discourse: reinscribing Afghans into history, the	
outback and the nation	_ 210

Chapter Five: Islam in the Outback: Mena Abdullah's destabilising subjectivity and the		
question of belonging	_268	
Chapter Six: Rising from the ashes: Islamic spiritual rebirth in the outback in Eva Sallis'		
Ніат	_289	
Conclusion	_327	
Bibliography	_345	
Appendix 1 (What it will come to by Anonymous)	_399	
Appendix 2 (Shouting for a Camel by Andrew 'Banjo' Paterson)	_401	
Appendix 3 (Yussuf Khan by C.G.A. Colles)	_402	
Appendix 4 (When Abdul Had Gone by Bakblox)	_404	
Appendix 5 (A Fall in Orientals by Dexter)	_405	
Appendix 6 (Exiles' Land by Gilrooney aka R.J. Cassidy)	_407	
Appendix 7 (Abdul's Love by Gilrooney aka R.J. Cassidy)	_409	
Appendix 8 (The Pilgrimage by Gilrooney aka R.J. Cassidy)	_410	
Appendix 9 (Smiling Eyes of Sunset by Gilrooney aka R.J. Cassidy)	_411	
Appendix 10 (The Desert's Daughter by Gilrooney aka R.J. Cassidy)	_414	
Appendix 11 (An Afghan Hawker by Louis Esson)	_417	
Appendix 12 (Afghan by Douglas Stewart)	_419	
Appendix 13 (A Tribute to Singh by Vince Sheckleton)	_420	
Appendix 14 (The Afghan King by Mena Abdullah)	_422	
Appendix 15 (Sample references of newspaper articles analysed)	_425	

#### Summary

This thesis examines the representation (and self-representation) of Arabs and Muslims in the outback in Australian literature and film in the period beginning in 1890 and ending in 2011. Much of this analysis focuses upon portrayals of the 'Afghan' cameleers, as the first Muslim and Arab community that emigrated to and settled in White Australia, and whose presence in Australia garnered significant public attention. While recent focus has been given to a recovery of the cameleer history, this thesis seeks to address the dearth of attention paid to how this history became translated into fictional portrayals.

The thesis argues that the representation of the Afghan cameleers, while drawing upon Orientalist and colonialist ideologies and bodies of knowledge, helped to establish a tradition of Arab and Muslim representation that is specific to Australia. This tradition of representation is framed by two major practices of 'deviance and absence', wherein Muslims and Arabs are simultaneously demonized and imagined as external to Australia. Despite historical shifts in attitudes, these practices have carried through to current imaginings of Arabs and Muslims in Australia and are most evident in post 9/11 Islamophobic discourse.

The focus upon representations of Arabs and Muslims in the outback is premised upon the significance of this landscape as a space of inherent political and national significance within the Australian imaginary. How Australia has imagined itself with relation to Arabs and Muslims is effectively allegorised in their fictional portrayal within this landscape, where they are often portrayed as those who encroach, invade, corrupt and devalue the outback, and by extension the nation. Alternatively, they are absented from the landscape altogether, their history co-opted either by white men or by the camel, which metonymically displaces them.

In relation to these representations, the thesis also examines evidence of a tradition of counter-discourse, extending from 1890-2011, which has sought to fight against these absenting or demonizing practices and to emplace the cameleers within Australia's historical narrative. As part of this counter-discourse, attention is also paid to Muslim-Australian self-representations in the outback (unconnected to the Afghan cameleer history) and the most recent evolution of this tradition in refugee literature set in the outback, either inside or outside of detention centres.

## Declaration

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled 'Representations of Arabs and Muslims in the outback in Australian literature and film: 1890-2011' has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Erin Claringbold 30688655 April 2012

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my principal supervisor, Dr Marcelle Freiman, for her continued support, patience and guidance throughout the development of this thesis. The generosity of time and advice has been invaluable and inspiring, and I greatly appreciate all of her effort, enthusiasm and wisdom. I also thank those who have intermittently acted as my associate supervisors – Dr Paul Sheehan, Dr Nicole Moore and Dr Toby Davidson – for their advice and encouragement. I wish also to extend a special thank you to my family for their important role during the last four years. I thank my sister for her humour and support, and my parents whose unwavering support and belief in me has continually urged me forward and given me strength. They are my inspiration, my comfort and my home. I also express my gratitude towards the many new friends I have met in the Muslim-Australian community not only for the warmth of these friendships but also the opportunity they have provided me to learn more about Islam, Australia and the world. Thank you all.