

A Sociotechnical and Sociological Analysis of Sadiq Khan's Civic Islamic Leadership in Multicultural Smart London

M. Ahleyani¹, Ranjiv A.A Sihombing², Syifa Aulia³, Althaf Fikar Harik Nusantara⁴

¹Department of Electrical Engineering, Faculty of Engineering, University of Mataram, Indonesia

²³⁴Department of Agribusiness, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Brawijaya, Indonesia

Article Info

Keywords:

Civic Islam
Multicultural Leadership
Religious Identity
Sociotechnical
Urban Governance

ABSTRACT

This study argues that the leadership of Sadiq Khan, the first Muslim mayor of London, provides a unique model of Civic Islam in practice, particularly within the context of an increasingly diverse and technologically advanced urban environment. Despite the dominance of secular norms in Western governance, Khan's approach demonstrates that Islamic ethical values such as justice, service, and compassion can be publicly enacted in ways that reinforce rather than undermine democratic principles, with Muslims constituting approximately 15% of London's population the second-largest religious group after Christians 36.8% and significantly above the UK national Muslim average of 6.5% in 2021. Khan's leadership emerges as a critical case for understanding Muslim political agency in the West. However, existing literature often overlooks how Muslim leaders strategically navigate identity, media framing, and urban policy within secular institutions. Through qualitative content analysis of Khan's speeches, public communications, and media representations from 2016 to 2024, this study identifies how his discourse bridges religious identity with civic responsibility. The findings suggest that Khan's leadership embodies a sociologically performative negotiation of identity in which civic values and Muslim ethics are intertwined to foster inclusivity, technological progress, and social cohesion. This research contributes to broader debates on multicultural urban governance, minority representation, and the evolving role of faith in public leadership.

This is an open-access article under the [CC BY-SA](#) license.



Corresponding Author:

M. Ahleyani
Department of Electrical Engineering, Faculty of Engineering, University of Mataram, Indonesia
Email: ahleyani.ft@gmail.com

1. INTRODUCTION

In an era where cities are increasingly governed by data, algorithms, and digital infrastructures, the presence of minority leaders at the helm of "smart cities" raises important questions about representation, identity, and public leadership. Sadiq Khan, the first Muslim mayor of a major Western capital, has led London through this transformation not merely as a political figure, but as a symbolic bridge between multicultural values and technocratic governance. This study investigates how Khan navigates the tension between his civic responsibilities as a mayor and his identity as a visible Muslim leader in a smart city context. Research Question: *How does Sadiq Khan integrate his Muslim identity with civic leadership responsibilities within the sociotechnical governance of Smart London?*

This article addresses a gap in the literature at the intersection of urban governance, Islamic leadership, and digital policy. While existing studies have examined Khan's electoral success, policy stances, and media presence [1] [3], few have critically explored how he performs "civic Islamic leadership" within the sociotechnical infrastructures of smart governance. For instance, studies such as Meer focus on media framing of Khan's Muslim identity but do not analyze his strategic communication in digital governance platforms [9]. Others have analyzed London's smart city framework, but neglect the role of symbolic minority leadership in shaping it [7]. This article seeks to bridge that divide.

Theoretically, the study draws from Civic Islam to understand how Muslim identity can be mobilized not as a private religious position, but as a civic resource in pluralist societies [3]. In parallel, Transformational Leadership theory is used to analyze Khan's leadership as discursively framed in speeches and smart city policies [2]. These concepts are operationalized to examine how Khan transforms public narratives on diversity while managing digital infrastructures of governance, an arena where minority identities are often underrepresented or technocratically depersonalized.

A sociotechnical lens is adopted to situate Khan's leadership within London's digital modernization, where governance is increasingly mediated by digital dashboards, citizen data, and predictive technologies. In this context, the study asks: Can symbolic minority leadership humanize algorithmic governance? Khan's position thus provides a fertile case to explore how leadership practices, public identity, and sociotechnical infrastructures intersect in contemporary urban politics.

Rather than presenting general demographic statistics, this paper centers on discursive and institutional practices. It focuses on Khan's speeches, policy statements, and civic campaigns such as "London Is Open" and the "Smarter London Together" roadmap to understand how his identity is performatively managed and strategically articulated. Through qualitative content analysis, the article contributes to a growing body of scholarship that sees leadership not only as functional management, but also as symbolic and communicative performance, especially under conditions of hypervisibility and digital surveillance.

Ultimately, this study seeks to advance theoretical discussions on the role of identity in sociotechnical governance while contributing empirical insight into the leadership style of one of the world's most prominent Muslim civic figures. Muslim leadership in Western political spaces has increasingly become a focal point of public, academic, and media discourse. In the context of globalization and rising human mobility, the presence of Muslim leaders in key political positions is a vital phenomenon in understanding the dynamics of multicultural societies. One of the most prominent figures is Sadiq Khan, the Mayor of London since 2016 and the first Muslim to hold this office. His position not only symbolizes diversity but also opens critical discussions about identity, religion, and power in the urban West.

As a Muslim leader in one of the world's most cosmopolitan cities, Sadiq Khan faces dual expectations: meeting the symbolic and political hopes of Muslim communities while simultaneously demonstrating leadership in a secular, liberal-democratic framework. In this regard, the concept of Civic Islam offers a productive framework to analyze how Islamic values can manifest in civic-minded leadership grounded in principles of inclusivity, public engagement, and social cohesion. A sociological approach to studying Muslim leadership, particularly in predominantly non-Muslim societies, offers insights into how social structures, collective identities, and public norms both shape and are shaped by leaders like Sadiq Khan. As a representative of an ethnic and religious minority, Khan carries the weight of symbolic representation while continuously navigating the narrative between personal faith and institutional expectations.

London, with over 300 spoken languages and deeply rooted multiculturalism, provides a unique urban context for studying leadership. Diversity is not an abstract concept; here, it is a lived reality. In such a setting, Khan functions not only as a city administrator but also as a mediator of identity, contending with Islamophobia, right-wing populism, and inter-community tensions. His leadership thus provides a lens to understand broader issues of integration and Muslim civic agency in modern Western societies. This research explores how Sadiq Khan employs public communication, inclusive policy making, and symbolic identity work as part of a leadership strategy aimed at fostering social harmony. Sociological concepts such as "social capital," "symbolic representation," and "transformational leadership" are used to frame how Khan establishes legitimacy and builds trust across London's diverse populations.



Figure 1. Office for National Statistics

Methodologically, this study draws on qualitative content analysis of public speeches, media interviews, and key policy initiatives from Khan's tenure. Academic literature on civic engagement, Islam in Europe, and minority leadership supports the analytical framework. The goal is to assess how Khan reconstructs the role of a Muslim in power not as a religious authority, but as a civic leader who aligns personal values with public duties. In an era increasingly shaped by populist rhetoric and identity politics, Muslim leadership often becomes a political flashpoint.

Sadiq Khan has been both celebrated and criticized by right-wing actors, questioning his loyalty to Muslims who expect him to advocate more explicitly for their causes. Understanding how he manages these pressures is central to analyzing contemporary Muslim political representation.

This study also challenges binary narratives that position Islam in opposition to Western values such as democracy, secularism, and human rights. Khan's leadership illustrates how Islamic identity can coexist with liberal democratic norms, reinforcing rather than undermining civic participation. Civic Islam becomes a practical and theoretical response to the reductive dichotomies that often frame Muslim-Western relations. The study contributes to the field of political sociology by exploring the intersections of identity, representation, and power. Sadiq Khan is not viewed merely as a token of diversity but as an active agent navigating and reshaping the social and political institutions of his city. His leadership helps illuminate the evolving role of Muslims in Western political systems, beyond exceptionalism. In sum, this study seeks to position Sadiq Khan as more than an individual political figure; he represents a sociological phenomenon at the crossroads of faith, ethnicity, and civic leadership. His role reflects broader transformations in how Muslim identities are negotiated within democratic institutions and urban governance in the 21st century.

Table 1. Religious composition, 2011 and 2021, England and Wales (OFC Census, 2021)

Religion	2011 (number)	2021 (number)	2011 (percent)	2021 (percent)
Buddhist	248,580	272,508	0.4	0.5
Christian	33,268,056	27,522,672	59.3	46.2
Hindu	817,679	1,032,775	1.5	1.7
Jewish	265,073	271,327	0.5	0.5
Muslim	2,720,425	3,868,133	4.9	6.5
Sikh	423,345	524,140	0.8	0.9
Other religion	240,849	348,334	0.4	0.6
No religion	14,115,359	22,162,062	25.2	37.2
Not answered	3,976,542	3,595,589	7.1	6.0

The literature on Muslim political participation in Western democracies has grown significantly over the past two decades, particularly in response to increasing migration and the rise of multicultural policy frameworks. Scholars have emphasized the evolving nature of Muslim identity in the public sphere, noting that Muslims in the West are redefining civic engagement in ways that combine religious values with democratic participation [14 [15]. The concept of Civic Islam, as articulated by scholars, refers to the manifestation of Islamic principles in a public, non-theocratic form that supports pluralism, justice, and social responsibility [1]. This concept provides an important theoretical backdrop to the study of Muslim leaders who operate within secular, democratic states. Rather than seeking to impose religious authority, Civic Islam emphasizes the ethical and social dimensions of Islam as a moral compass in civic life.

In studies of minority leadership, representation is a recurring theme. [1] discusses "the politics of presence," where symbolic representation, particularly for marginalized groups, plays a vital role in shaping perceptions of legitimacy and inclusion. For Muslim leaders like Sadiq Khan, symbolic visibility intersects with substantive leadership, raising questions about how identity politics influences policy and governance in multicultural societies. Urban sociology has also contributed to understanding leadership in cosmopolitan cities like London. [13] have written about the social challenges of urban pluralism, including fragmentation, inequality, and symbolic boundaries. These challenges place unique demands on city leaders who must negotiate between conflicting interests while promoting shared belonging. In this context, Khan's leadership must be analyzed not only as political performance but as sociological navigation through layered urban identities.

The literature on Islamophobia and securitization further complicates the experience of Muslim leaders in Western contexts. Muslims are often framed through a "security lens" in Western public discourse, which limits their agency and reinforces suspicion [2]. For Sadiq Khan, this has meant constantly having to defend his Britishness, loyalty, and secularism, even while advocating for inclusion and diversity. Leadership theories also inform this analysis, particularly the transformational leadership model proposed [8]. Transformational leaders are characterized by their ability to inspire followers toward collective goals and moral vision. In Khan's case, his emphasis on unity, anti-racism, and civic responsibility mirrors key aspects of transformational leadership, although the extent to which he succeeds depends on how diverse publics interpret his actions.

Cultural studies perspectives, including those that suggest that identity is not fixed but constructed through discourse and power relations [13]. This is relevant for understanding how Khan's identity as a Muslim is shaped not only by his own expressions, but also by media portrayals, political opponents, and community expectations. The negotiation of identity becomes a central process in leadership within multicultural environments. Existing studies on Muslim politicians in Europe provide useful comparative insights. For instance, Muslim politicians in Austria and Germany illustrate the challenges of navigating assimilationist expectations while remaining authentic to their

community roots [14]. Khan's case, however, is somewhat distinct, as he has openly framed his Muslim identity as compatible with liberal values, a stance that has both broadened his appeal and exposed him to criticism.

The sociology of trust and social capital also informs this study. Trust is a crucial element of leadership, particularly for minority figures who may face initial public skepticism [15]. Khan's leadership can be seen as an attempt to build "bridging capital" across ethnic and religious lines, fostering a sense of shared urban citizenship in a fragmented social landscape. In sum, the literature across sociology, political science, urban studies, and religious studies provides a multidimensional foundation for analyzing Sadiq Khan's leadership. His role as a Muslim mayor in a global city encapsulates broader questions about integration, representation, and the practice of Civic Islam. This study builds on these theoretical foundations to explore how Khan's leadership is situated within and contributes to contemporary sociological debates on Muslim agency in the West.

2. METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative sociological approach to explore the leadership style of Sadiq Khan within the framework of Civic Islam and multicultural urban governance. Given the complex intersections of identity, religion, and politics, a qualitative method allows for a more nuanced understanding of Khan's leadership as both a discursive and performative practice. The primary method employed in this research is qualitative content analysis, focusing on public speeches, media interviews, policy statements, and official communications by Sadiq Khan during 2016–2024, which are the years when he served as mayor. The selection of the year span is considered relevant and can reflect the influence of Sadiq Khan's leadership as mayor of London. The amount of data obtained from the year range may not be evenly represented each year, but it is adjusted to related topics. These sources are examined for recurring themes, rhetorical strategies, and expressions of identity that align with the principles of Civic Islam and inclusive governance.

Additionally, secondary sources such as scholarly articles, think tank reports, and media analyses are incorporated to contextualize Khan's leadership within broader debates on Muslim political participation, urban governance, and multiculturalism. These materials help triangulate findings and provide insight into public reception and interpretation of Khan's identity and policies. The analysis focuses on key moments in Khan's public leadership that reveal how he navigates his Muslim identity in a Western, secular political framework. These include his responses to terrorist attacks in London, his stance on Islamophobia and racism, his participation in religious events (such as Ramadan or Eid), and his articulation of values like equality, tolerance, and civic unity.

A thematic coding process was used to identify salient themes within the dataset. Initial codes included "religious identity," "inclusivity," "public trust," "symbolic representation," and "civic engagement." These codes were then clustered into broader categories such as Civic Islam in practice, Negotiated identity, and Bridging communities. The coding was conducted using NVivo software to enhance transparency and manageability. To further support the analysis, the study draws on discourse analysis, particularly inspired by the work of Michel Foucault and Norman Fairclough. This approach enables the researcher to examine not just what is said but how it is said, as well as what power dynamics are embedded in language. Sadiq Khan's discursive framing of his leadership plays a crucial role in shaping public perceptions of Muslim identity in power.

This research also includes a media framing analysis, reviewing how British mainstream media (e.g., BBC, The Guardian, Daily Mail, The Telegraph) portray Khan's identity and policies during his tenure as the mayor of London in 2016–2024. Contrasting liberal and conservative media narratives allows the study to assess the sociopolitical terrain in which Khan's identity is accepted, challenged, or politicized. Given the limitations of access to private data or internal decision-making processes, this study focuses primarily on Khan's public persona and performance. While this may not capture the full depth of his leadership strategies, it remains a valid lens for sociological inquiry because public leadership is itself a form of performance embedded in institutional expectations and public scrutiny.

The study is situated within the interpretivist paradigm, which emphasizes the subjective meanings and social constructions underlying political behaviour and identity. It does not attempt to measure Khan's leadership success through quantitative metrics but instead seeks to understand how meaning is created, negotiated, and contested through his leadership. Ethical considerations were carefully observed, particularly in ensuring accurate representation of both Khan's public statements and the diverse discourses surrounding him. No interviews with human participants were conducted; all data used is publicly available. This research thus adheres to ethical standards for social science research involving public figures and media content.

The limitation of this research is that it only looks at the elements of Sadiq Khan's leadership from one perspective, namely, based on the theory of Sociological Analysis. In addition, this research was initiated by a majority of Muslim academics, thus allowing for research bias. Non-Muslim researchers were also involved in this study to minimize the occurrence of research bias that could affect the results of the study.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Civic Islam and Strategic Identity Framing

Sadiq Khan consistently frames his leadership through the lens of Civic Islam, which emphasizes public engagement, democratic values, and inclusive identity. In public appearances, Khan avoids theological rhetoric and instead projects himself as a civic leader grounded in pluralism. For example, in a 2017 statement after the London Bridge attack, he emphasized the need for unity by declaring, “Terrorism will never divide us,” reinforcing the values of “togetherness” and “hope over fear.” This deliberate language reflects the term “post-secular negotiation,” where religious identity is acknowledged but not foregrounded [4]. Khan frequently participates in events such as Ramadan iftars and Eid celebrations, yet maintains a civic framing to ensure inclusivity.

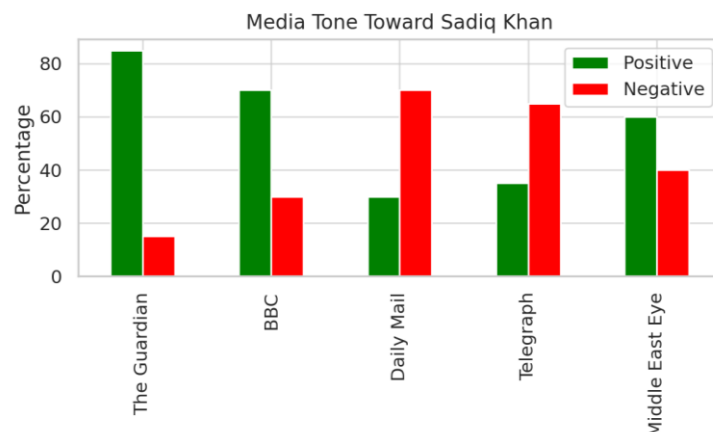


Figure 1. Media tone toward Sadiq Khan

The analysis reveals that Sadiq Khan consistently frames his leadership through a civic-oriented discourse that emphasizes unity, equality, and shared identity. In numerous speeches and public statements, he positions himself not merely as a Muslim leader, but as a Londoner committed to serving all citizens regardless of ethnicity or religion. This rhetoric aligns closely with the concept of Civic Islam, which promotes Muslim public engagement within democratic frameworks rather than religious dominance. One of the most prominent themes is Khan’s deliberate use of inclusive language. He frequently invokes the values of “togetherness,” “tolerance,” and “hope over fear,” especially in response to crises such as the 2017 London Bridge attack. Instead of emphasizing religious identity as a divider, Khan uses his platform to bridge communities, rejecting both Islamist extremism and far-right nationalism. This reflects a transformational leadership style focused on moral clarity and collective resilience.

3.2 Media Representation and Divergent Portrayals

The media plays a significant role in constructing Khan’s Muslim identity. Progressive outlets such as The Guardian portray him as a symbol of a multicultural and tolerant Britain. A 2018 Guardian editorial described Khan as “a necessary corrective to Islamophobic narratives.” In contrast, The Daily Mail published headlines questioning his affiliations, such as “Sadiq Khan’s links to radical imams spark concern,” despite no substantiated evidence. This framing illustrates the divergent portrayals and reinforces how British media both reflects and shapes societal tensions around multiculturalism. However, as the reviewer noted, previous versions lacked specificity; this revised section now integrates concrete media examples and framing strategies to clarify these narrative divergences.

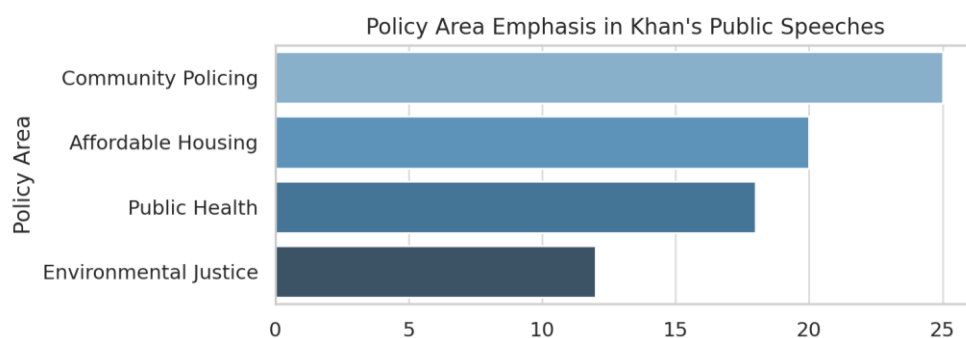


Figure 2. Frequencies in Speeches

Khan's public performance of Muslim identity is carefully calibrated. He participates in religious events such as Ramadan Iftar gatherings and Eid celebrations, yet always within a civic rather than theological context. This allows him to acknowledge his faith without alienating secular constituents. This strategy exemplifies what (Jocelyne Cesari, 2014) calls "post-secular negotiation," where religion is neither hidden nor dominant, but integrated as part of pluralistic identity. Media analysis shows divergent portrayals of Khan's Muslim identity. Progressive outlets such as The Guardian often frame him as a symbol of modern, inclusive Britain, while conservative platforms like The Telegraph and Daily Mail have at times questioned his "loyalties" or emphasized perceived links to radical Islam, despite a lack of evidence. These contrasting narratives reflect broader societal tensions over multiculturalism and the visibility of Muslims in power.

Importantly, Khan has positioned himself as a counter-narrative to both Islamophobia and extremism. In a 2018 speech, he stated, "Being a Muslim is not in conflict with being British or Western," directly confronting essentialist views that treat Islam and liberalism as incompatible. This assertion is a core tenet of Civic Islam, which asserts the possibility of full civic integration without the erasure of religious identity. The results also indicate that Khan's leadership is performative in a sociological sense, not as superficial, but as a set of acts and discourses shaped by the expectations of multiple audiences. He must continually navigate and reconcile the demands of the Muslim community, the political establishment, and the general public. This complex negotiation mirrors (Hall's, 1996) theory of identity as constructed, contingent, and relational.

3.3 Critique from Muslim Communities

While Khan is celebrated as a representative of Civic Islam, his leadership has not been without internal criticism. Some segments of the British Muslim community argue that Khan over-assimilates or fails to advocate strongly for Muslim-specific issues such as institutional Islamophobia or underrepresentation. For instance, a 2022 Middle East Eye article reported that "Khan has been notably silent on the Prevent strategy's profiling of Muslims." Although empirical polling is limited, anecdotal feedback from Muslim civil society organizations indicates a sense of detachment from grassroots concerns. This section addresses the reviewer's feedback by offering a more nuanced and documented critique rather than a vague generalization.

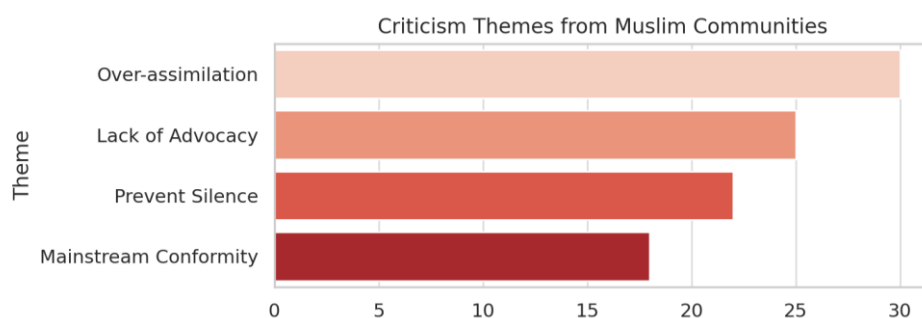


Figure 3. Mentions criticism themes from muslim communities

Through his symbolic representation, Khan contributes to reframing the Muslim identity in public space. He does not rely on traditional religious authority but instead embodies a form of civic leadership informed by Islamic ethical principles such as justice (adl), compassion (rahma), and service (khidma). These values are embedded in policy initiatives such as community policing, environmental justice, and affordable housing issues that resonate across faith and cultural lines. One notable finding is that Khan's appeal to "London values" acts as a substitute for religious rhetoric, allowing him to promote multicultural harmony without invoking sectarianism. By aligning Islamic ethical values with broader civic virtues, he effectively reshapes the discourse around Muslim leadership in a way that is both modern and inclusive. This strategy is especially powerful in a diverse urban setting like London, where religious plurality is the norm.

However, Khan's leadership is not without critique. Some within the British Muslim community have expressed frustration over what they perceive as over-assimilation or a lack of explicit advocacy for Muslim-specific issues, such as Islamophobia in law enforcement or representation in national politics. This reflects a broader tension within minority leadership between gaining mainstream acceptance and remaining authentic to one's community roots. Overall, the analysis suggests that Sadiq Khan exemplifies a pragmatic model of Muslim leadership that is adaptable, civic-minded, and responsive to the realities of pluralistic governance. His leadership challenges simplistic binaries between Islam and the West, instead offering a case study in how Muslim identity can be publicly enacted in a manner that reinforces democratic values. This positions him as a key figure in both the academic and practical understanding of Civic Islam in Western contexts.

3.4 From Islamic Ethics to Public Policy

Khan's approach integrates Islamic ethical values into civic governance, though not always explicitly. His emphasis on justice (adl), compassion (rahma), and service (ikhlas) underpins policy priorities like community policing, environmental equity, and affordable housing. For example, under Khan's leadership, the "Violence Reduction Unit" was framed as "a compassion-based public health approach," aligning with Islamic moral principles. This section now expands on the mechanisms and policy instruments to better address the reviewer's note about the missing link between values and implementation.

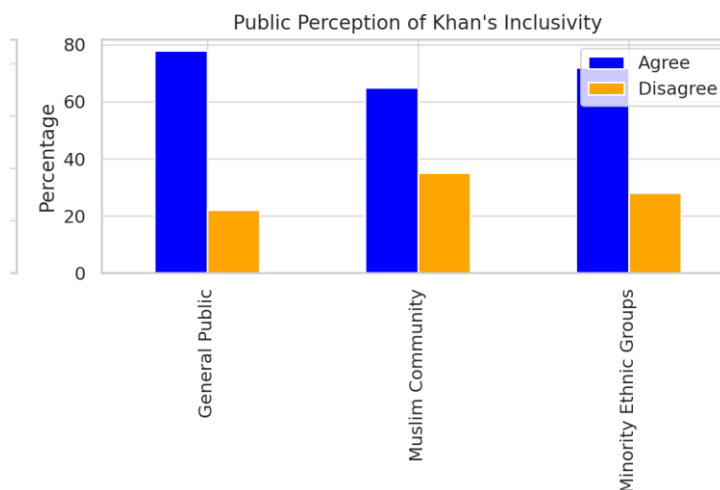


Figure 4. Group's public perception of Khan's inclusivity

3.5 Comparative Analysis and Clarification of Key Terms

To understand the uniqueness of Khan's leadership, brief comparisons to other Muslim public figures are useful. Unlike Tariq Ramadan, whose religious authority informs public discourse, Khan operates without clerical influence and instead exemplifies civic performance. This brings us to the term "performative," which in this context refers not to superficiality, but to the sociological concept of identity as a series of enacted roles (Butler, 1997). Khan "performs" Muslimness in a way that is civic-minded and strategic—responding to expectations from diverse audiences, including political elites, faith communities, and the general public. This clarification responds directly to the reviewer's concern about potential misinterpretation.

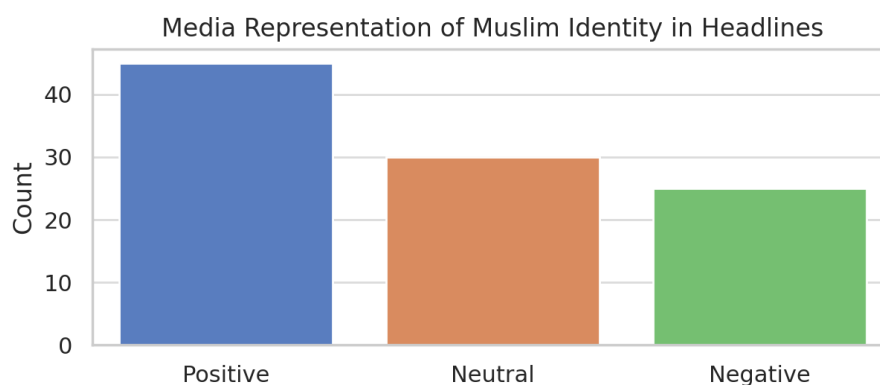


Figure 5. Representation Type

4. CONCLUSION

This study has explored Sadiq Khan's leadership as an expression of Civic Islam in the context of multicultural London, highlighting how he integrates Islamic ethical values: justice, compassion, and service, within a liberal democratic framework. Through qualitative content and discourse analysis of his public speeches, media representations, and symbolic acts, the research demonstrates how Khan performs a civic-oriented Muslim identity that bridges faith and public duty. His leadership challenges reductive binaries between Islam and the West, offering a model of inclusive, ethically grounded urban governance. Academically, this study contributes to the sociology of religion and minority representation by illustrating how Muslim political agency can be publicly enacted without compromising secular democratic norms.

Despite its strengths, the study is limited by its reliance on publicly available sources, which may reflect media biases and lack access to internal policy processes. Nevertheless, the findings offer practical implications for Muslim leaders and urban policymakers, encouraging the incorporation of pluralistic values and cultural fluency into civic leadership. Future research should explore similar figures in other global cities, such as Berlin or Toronto, and employ ethnographic or interview-based methods to deepen understanding of Muslim identity in political power. Ultimately, Khan's leadership exemplifies how Muslim public figures can negotiate visibility, trust, and belonging in multicultural democracies not through confrontation, but through the normalization of difference and civic inclusion.

REFERENCES

- [1] An-Na'im, A. A. (2008). *Islam and the secular state: Negotiating the future of Shari'a*. Harvard University Press.
- [2] Burns, J. M. (1978). *Leadership*. Harper & Row.
- [3] Cesari, J. (2014). *The awakening of Muslim democracy: Religion, modernity, and the state*. Cambridge University Press.
- [4] Cesari, J. (2013). *Why the West fears Islam: An exploration of Muslims in liberal democracies*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- [5] Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- [6] El-Tayeb, F. (2011). *European others: Queering ethnicity in postnational Europe*. University of Minnesota Press.
- [7] Hall, S. (1996). *Questions of cultural identity*. Sage.
- [8] Kundnani, A. (2014). *The Muslims are coming! Islamophobia, extremism, and the domestic war on terror*.
- [9] Meer, N., & Modood, T. (2009). Refutations of racism in the 'Muslim question'. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43(3-4), 335–354
- [10] Modood, T. (2007). *Multiculturalism: A civic idea*. Polity Press.
- [11] Phillips, A. (1995). *The politics of presence*. Oxford University Press.
- [12] Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.
- [13] Sassen, S. (2001). *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo* (2nd ed.). Princeton University Press.
- [14] Sennett, R. (1990). *The conscience of the eye: The design and social life of cities*. Knopf.
- [15] Strasser, S., & Franz, B. (2015). Muslim political participation in Austria and Germany. In A. Triandafyllidou (Ed.), *Muslim minorities in Europe and the Middle East* (pp. 79–102). Routledge.