

Revisiting Pluralism in Malaysia

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Southeast Asian Studies
Programme

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Revisiting Pluralism in Malaysia: An Introduction

Recent political and social transformations in Malaysia point to the currency of the older concept of “plural society.” However, recent references to plurality suggest distinct changes in the understanding of this concept at both the state and below-the-state levels. Discourses emerging from official (state) and citizenry levels reveal simultaneous imaginations of ethno-religious differences as well as trans-ethnic identifications, common desires and expectations of inclusion, equal opportunity and treatment within the Malaysian nation-state.

The immediate catalyst for these renegotiated meanings of pluralism was the political “tsunami” of the March 2008 General Elections where, for the first time in Malaysian history, the ruling government (National Alliance) lost control of five states and merely held a simple two-thirds majority in parliamentary seats (winning 140 out of the 220 contested seats). Importantly, the electoral results led to the emergence of a non-ethnic based political opposition in the form of the Pakatan Rakyat which raised hopes for a viable alternative vision of a truly plural Malaysian nation whereby all ethno-religious groups are included in the national imaginary. The weakened political grip of the National Alliance government has intensified power and imaginative horizons about ethno-religious co-existence, citizenship, human, and religious rights in Malaysian political pluralism.

In the new millennium, efforts to empower Islamic institutions and Islam in public life on the one hand, and struggles to prevent the loss of religious and citizenship rights on the other, have come to dominate the landscape of Malaysian pluralism. Overarching interests to protect both religious and civic constituencies have led to the conjunction of a host of diverse groups representing a variety of cross-ethnic, religious and civic interests never before witnessed in the Malaysian political landscape. As these groups struggle to defend their interests, controversies over procedural justice from the country’s separate systems of syariah and civil laws on inter-religious family conflicts and differing interpretations of the existence and nature of a “social contract” between the Malays and non-Malays in early Malaysian history have erupted into the centre stage of plural politics. These quarrels have resulted in ideological deadlocks between Islamic and civic interpretations on how the contours of ethno-religious, civic and citizenship rights should be defined within a plural Malaysia.

Given these momentous shifts in ethno-religious politics at both the state and below-the-state levels, it is timely and appropriate to bring together experts working on Malaysia to help generate clearer, more coherent and integrated perspectives on the state-of-affairs of pluralism and political communities in Malaysian society.

This project aims to bring together scholars working on Malaysia in a two-day workshop to rethink these issues. Six thematic issues around the politics of pluralism are identified as areas of discussions in this conference. They are:

- political economy;
- social contract;
- constitutionality;
- newer state-society relations;
- democracy, interfaith and human rights; and
- citizenship versus communalism.

PROGRAMME

Day 1: Thursday, 9th July 2009

0930-1000	Goh Beng Lan Maznah Mohamad Cheah Boon Kheng	<i>Opening Address</i>
1000-1030	Cheah Boon Kheng Department of History, National University of Singapore	Malay Political Dominance: Deconstructing the so-called 'Social Contract' And Its Fallacies
1030-1050	Q&A	
1050-1110	Tea Break	
1110-1140	Ariffin Bin S.M. Omar College of Law, Government and International Studies, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Kedah	The Contradiction of Religious Freedom in Malaysia
1140-1200	Q&A	
1200-1230	Madeline Berma Faculty of Economics and Business, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Selangor	Journeys Toward Progress: Development- <i>Bejalai</i> Nexus of the Iban in Sarawak, Malaysia
1230-1250	Q&A	
1250-1410	Lunch	
1410-1440	Tunku Abidin Muhriz Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore	Federalism Pluralism: A Way Forward for Malaysia?
1440-1500	Q&A	
1500-1530	Ooi Kee Beng Institute of Southeast Asian Studies	Centralism and Federalism in Malaysia's Plural Society
1530-1550	Q&A	
1550-1610	Tea Break	
1610-1640	Azmi Sharom Faculty of Law, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur	Broken Promises: The Malaysian Constitution and Multiculturalism
1640-1700	Q&A	
1700	High Tea	

Day 2: Friday, 10th July 2009

0930-1000	Maznah Mohamad Department of Malay Studies & Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore	Syariah and the New Malay-Muslim Masculinity
1000-1020	Q&A	
1020-1050	Goh Beng Lan Southeast Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore	Islam versus Religious Freedom in Malaysian Political Pluralism: Exploring a Way Out of Extremes
1050-1110	Q&A	
1100-1130	Tea Break	
1130-1150	Sharon Bong School of Arts and Social Sciences, Monash University, Selangor	Queering Narratives of Becoming
1150-1220	Q&A	
1220-1250	Rusaslina Idrus Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore	Entitlement and Obligation: Orang Asli and the Malaysian State in the Legal Arena
1250-1310	Q&A	
1310-1430	Lunch	
1430-1500	Gan Cheong Soon Department of History, University of California, Berkeley	Making Muhibbah: State propaganda and the meaning of citizenship from Merdeka to May 13
1500-1520	Q&A	
1520-1550	Johan Saravanamuttu Institute of Southeast Asian Studies	Notions of Communal and Multicultural Citizenship in Malaysia
1550-1610	Q&A	
1610-1630	Tea Break	
1630-1700	Cheah Boon Kheng Maznah Mohamad Goh Beng Lan	<i>Discussion + Closing Address</i>

ABSTRACTS

Malay political dominance: Deconstructing the so-called 'Social Contract' And Its Fallacies

Cheah Boon Kheng

No specific UMNO-MCA-MIC pre-Merdeka 'social contract' (named as such) has ever been found, although several versions of a binding covenant have been cited. It was a British reversal of policy on the Malayan Union constitutional plan that had led to Malay rights being protected and embedded in the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948. The British upheld the position of the Malay rulers, restored the sovereignty of the nine individual 'Malay' states, and recognized the 'special position' and rights of Malays. The British also secured citizenship rights for non-Malays. In 1956, on the eve of Malaya's independence, the MCA and the MIC recognized and accepted this fait accompli. The UMNO went on to insist that the Malay language be accepted as the national language and Islam the national religion. There has been no specific mention of 'Malay political dominance' in Malaya's 1957 Constitution, or in any other document.

CHEAH BOON KHENG is a Visiting Professor at the Department of History, National University of Singapore. He is the author of several books including *Red Star Over Malaya: Resistance and Social Conflict during and after the Japanese Occupation, 1941-1946* (1983) and *Malaysia: The Making of a Nation* (2002).

The Contradiction of Religious Freedom in Malaysia

Ariffin Omar

The Malaysian Constitution was created with multiculturalism in mind. There are provisions in it which are designed specifically to rectify perceived imbalances in Malayan society. However, what may have been created with good intentions has been warped to the extent that the spirit of the Constitution and the ideals that it holds as fundamental, have been distorted. What should have been a tool for nation building has been instead manipulated as justification for racial superiority and exclusivity. This paper will examine the relevant provisions in the Constitution and see how it has been used and abused by the political elite for their own political benefit. It shall also suggest that a return to rule of law and constitutionalism is the only way that Malaysia can get back on the track of nation building.

ARIFFIN OMAR is a contract lecturer in International Studies at the Universiti Utara Malaysia and formerly Associate Professor at the Universiti Sains Malaysia. He studied at the St. Xavier's Institution, Penang from 1957 – 1969. He graduated from the Universiti Sains Malaysia in 1973 with a B.A. and proceeded to his Masters at the University of Singapore which he completed in 1979. He graduated from the Australian National University specializing in Southeast Asian History in 1990. Ariffin taught at the

University as a Lecturer from 1979 till 2006. He was a visiting Fulbright Fellow at the University of Utah in 1998. Ariffin is a founding member and former president in the Aliran Kesedaran Negara, one of Malaysia's foremost human rights organizations. He has published *Bangsa Melayu: Malay Concepts of Democracy and Community*, 1945-50, Oxford University Press, 1993 and edited an important volume on *The Bumiputra Policy: Dynamics and Dilemmas*, University Science Malaysia Press, 2005. He is now writing a book on *Freedom of Religion: the Malaysian Experience*. He undertakes research on nation, nationalism, ethnic relations, religious freedom and the rights of ethnic minorities and has presented papers in international forums on these issues.

Journeys Toward Progress: Development-*Bejalai* Nexus of the Iban in Sarawak, Malaysia
Madeline Berma

Malaysia has registered rapid economic growth, however, UNDP and official statistics reveal that the Iban (the largest ethnic group in the State of Sarawak) has one of the highest incidences of poverty in the country. Iban poverty is deep and persistent because the majority of them have low educational achievement, therefore, limiting their economic strength and political options. To escape poverty and protect themselves from insecure political, economic and social conditions, many Iban pursued *bejalai*. *Bejalai* is the Iban traditional custom of young males leaving their *rumah panjai* (longhouses) and going on journeys to gain wealth and social recognition. The Iban migrated permanently or semi-permanently not only to the urban centres in Sarawak but also to other parts of Malaysia and foreign countries. Against this backdrop, the paper discusses the development-*bejalai* (migration) nexus and brings into perspective “new” forms of *bejalai*, and the intersecting relations of economic growth, government policies, migration and socialisation. The paper analyses the role and impact of *bejalai* on the economic and social lives of the Iban. It examines the factors that “push” or “pull” Ibans to seek better opportunities in the urban centres of: Kuching, Sibul, Bintulu and Miri in Sarawak; Kuala Lumpur and Johor in Peninsular Malaysia; and Singapore. It also discusses the opportunities and challenges associated with *bejalai*, such as adaptation, adjustment and accommodation to the new urban conditions under the impact of rapid economic growth and within the context of a plural and globalised Malaysian society. The paper is based on primary data sources on Iban *bejalai*, and secondary data sources regarding Malaysia's economic development.

MADLINE BERMA is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Economics and Business, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. She lectures on Development Economic Theory and Malaysian Economics at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Her research interests are poverty, indigenous communities, rural development, small-scale enterprise, and impact of financial crisis on low-income households. She has various publications on Iban poverty and micro-economics of households in East Malaysia.

Federal Pluralism: A Way Forward for Malaysia?

Tunku Abidin Muhriz

Regional autonomy was practised for centuries amongst the present constituent states of Malaysia – the only formal federation in Southeast Asia – yet the country is among the most centrally administered in the region. The central government makes decisions across many sectors that other countries in Southeast Asia have begun to decentralise. While “decentralisation” per se is no panacea, potentially invoking many complex processes laden with bureaucratic and legal hurdles including multiple institutions, competing stakeholders and multidirectional transfers of authority, it is at least curious that it is not more widely debated in Malaysian policy circles.

Yet Malaysia’s history of federalism, pluralism and constitutionalism provides fertile ground for decentralisation efforts. The aftermath of the general elections of 8 March 2008 features several events with implications for the relationship between federal and state-level actors, providing a timely opportunity to consider the policy merits and political viability of greater federalism and decentralisation in Malaysia in relation to Malaysia’s plural society.

TUNKU ABIDIN MUHRIZ is a Research Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. He is also Director of the Malaysia Think Tank which he co-founded in 2006. He has worked in British Houses of Parliament, several London-based think tanks, the World Bank, UNDP and a KL-based regional stakeholders management firm. He writes a regular column in *The Sun*.

Centralism and Federalism in Malaysia’s Plural Society

Ooi Kee Beng

The British tried in the 1920s and 1930s to standardize the administration of its peninsular possessions. This involved the return of some power to the Federated Malay States, to harmonize these with the Unfederated Malay States. Central control was to be exercised from Singapore. They failed, and it was only with the coming of the Japanese Imperial Army with no regard for complex political structures that political control over the peninsula could be considered “standardized”.

This wish for standardization stemmed in both these cases from external imperial needs, and overlooked the plural society character of the region. Plural society tended to be considered a negative consequence of colonialism, and with the spread of nationalistic and anti-colonial ideologies, one benchmark for successful decolonization was the ability to dismantle ethnically informed divisions in the national economy.

And so, in the all-encompassing New Economy Policy implemented in 1970, the government did not satisfy itself with fighting poverty, but also sought to erase the most evident indications of plural society from Malaysian life. This paper partly argues that

this naïve nationalism denied the socio-economic plurality inherent in the largely maritime region, in favour of standard nation-state notions derived from German Idealism.

After failing to form a union after the Second World War, the British admitted federalism into their equation for decolonization. But federalism – through the growth of racialism over regionalism – quickly veered towards centralism. The 2008 elections signal the return of regionalism into mainstream consciousness, along with the wish for stronger federalism.

OOI KEE BENG a Fellow at Singapore's Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), and is coordinator for its Malaysia Study Programme. He is also Adjunct Associate Professor at the Southeast Asian Studies Programme, NUS. His recent books include *Arrested Reform*; *March 8: Eclipsing May 13* (co-authored); *Malaya's First Year at the United Nations* (co-compiled); *Lost in Transition*; *The Era of Transition*; *The Reluctant Politician – Tun Dr Ismail and His Time*, and *Continent, Coast and Ocean* (co-edited). He writes regularly for regional newspapers and websites.

Broken Promises: The Malaysian Constitution and Multiculturalism **Azmi Sharom**

Prior to independence the Malayan ruling elite realised that the multicultural nature of the new country required its own unique method of governance. The Federal Constitution recognised this and was drafted with it in mind. Thus we have on the one hand typically liberal democratic provisions and on the other certain provisions which appear to fly in the face of those liberal democratic ideals. It is submitted that this was a necessary element in the Federal Constitution and that if taken in the right spirit it should have laid the foundations for a truly pluralistic system of governance. Unfortunately certain developments in Malaysian politics have ensured that the spirit (perhaps even the letter) of the Constitution has been betrayed. This paper shall attempt to examine what has occurred and to put forward once again what should be.

AZMI SHAROM is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Law, University of Malaya where he has taught since 1990. His teaching and research interests are in the fields of environmental law and civil liberties. He writes a fortnightly socio/political column in The Star entitled Brave New World.

Syariah and the New Malay-Muslim Masculinity **Maznah Mohamad**

Syariah reforms of the past ten years reveal many things about the state of the nation, among which is the excessive liberty and entitlements given to men within the rules of marriage, divorce and polygamy. In contrast restrictive stipulations have been enhanced

for women in their rights to marriage, divorce and maintenance. What is being fashioned is a new Malay-Muslim masculinity which is engendered by the conferment of entitlements rather than earned through a meritocratic or responsibility-based authority system. In some ways this could be a throwback, even a consequence of the NEP, where privileges are expected to be granted rather than achieved. Far from being “orthodox” or “fundamentalist” the Syariah is in fact stretched to accommodate these reinventions of identity and traditions. The heart of the Malay-based Islamic state lies in its reconstitution of the Malay family. This process can be unsettling when the challenges are coming from voices such as those represented by the Sisters in Islam (SIS), because this movement attacks the core of the reinvention, or the making of this new masculinity. The labels used on the group as being “liberal” or “secular” are convenient tools for demonization but does not explain the enmity. In this paper I will use family cases from the Syariah courts and Islamist’s battles against SIS to demonstrate the above trends. I will then relate the making of this new masculinity to the project of subverting the pluralism of nations.

MAZNAH MOHAMAD joined ARI as a Visiting Senior Research Fellow in 2006 with concurrent appointment as a Visiting Senior Fellow at the Southeast Asian Studies Programme, NUS. She now holds a joint appointment with Dept of Malay Studies, NUS. Before becoming a part of the ARI family, she taught at the Universiti Sains Malaysia and also held a visiting chair appointment (ASEAN and International Studies) at the Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto. Dr Mohamad obtained her Ph.D. in Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Malaya and her M.A. in International Development Education at Stanford University. She also holds a Bachelors degree in Sociology (cum laude) from Macalester College. Her publications include, *The Malay Handloom Weavers: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Traditional Manufacture* (ISEAS, 1996); *Risking Malaysia: Culture, Politics and Identity* (co-edited, Penerbit UKM, 2001) and *Feminism and the Women’s Movement in Malaysia* (co-authored, Routledge, 2006). She has also published articles on Malaysian politics, Islam, democracy and human rights.

Islam versus Religious Freedom in Malaysian Political Pluralism: Exploring a Way Out of Extremes **Goh Beng Lan**

The arrival of a measure of Islamic demagoguery in Malaysian plural politics have rendered religious criticisms difficult if not ineffective and threatened the future of pluralist democracy in the country. Using inter-religious family law disputes arising from conflicting areas of jurisdictions between the country’s separate civil and syariah legal systems, this paper explores the dilemmas of and plausible alternatives to establishing Islamic criticism in Malaysian political pluralism. It argues that both the radical claims of pluralism and the defence of human rights cannot provide a way out of the current impasse over adjudications on Islam and religious freedom. Rather conventional pursuits to establish substantive and procedural compromises on both sides of the

disputes are needed. Such reformations require at least two steps: first, to expand the registers of public reasons on Islamic and other cultural principles of freedom (and justice) found in Malaysian history in order to better reveal permeable dimensions as well as distinctive value differences and dilemmas over procedural justice on each side; second, to press on with developing fair and representative structures of dialogue which can foster better recognition and incorporation of each other's different moral and procedural frameworks of religious liberty into each side's thinking so that frameworks common enough for both sides to come together to deliberate on the best course of action can be developed. These pursuits must be guided and regulated by the values and history of democratic citizenship in Malaysia if they are to succeed. There can be no simple quick solutions nor are frameworks produced likely to be coherent or unanimous. Rather, mishmashes of compromises over values and procedures pieced together over time are anticipated. With a bit of luck, these accommodations can gradually change each side's original frameworks over time towards more democratic deliberations on religious difference.

GOH BENG LAN is an Associate Professor and currently Head of the Southeast Asian Studies Program, National University of Singapore. She is the author of *“Modern Dreams: An enquiry into Power, Cultural Difference and the Cityscape in Contemporary Urban Malaysia,”* Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications (2002).

Queering Narratives of Becoming Sharon Bong

This paper aims to explore the ways in which GLBTIQ (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, intersex and queer) persons negotiate the tension between living out their sexuality and spirituality through a qualitative analysis of narratives of same-sex partners (based on interviews with 30 persons). These are bodies that are marked by differences that matter—sex, ethnicity, religion, class, sexuality—within the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious contexts of Malaysia and Singapore. What then does becoming a citizen mean for these GLBTIQ persons within political, legal, religious and cultural discourses that inhibit or prohibit that? Do their lived experiences merely challenge traditional and doctrinal prescriptions of heterosexuality and chastity in exemplifying 'deviant' life choices or do they potentially offer transformative ways of being and becoming in reclaiming inclusivity and full citizenship? Their embodied narratives account for fissures in the hegemonic nation-building trajectory of a post-colonial State that is largely premised on exclusionary ethos and practices in managing its plural societies. In negotiating the tension between sexuality and spirituality at homes, workplaces, faith communities, these persons interrogate the meaning of sameness/ difference and heterogeneity/ homogeneity within the fluidity of their identities. In doing so, their narratives of becoming that traverse time and space problematise the narrative of becoming of a nation-state that insists on these divisions and is almost intolerant of differences that matter. GLBTIQs, in living out their hyphenated identities potentially afford not only a re-visioning of sexuality in spirituality

but also spirituality in sexuality within the meta-narrative of revisiting pluralism in Malaysia.

SHARON A BONG is Senior Lecturer in Gender Studies and Creative Writing at the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Monash University, Malaysia. She is author of *The Tension Between Women's Rights and Religions: The Case of Malaysia* (2006, Edwin Mellen press) and Coordinator of the Ecclesia of Women in Asia, an academic forum of Catholic women theologizing in Asia.

Entitlement and Obligation: Orang Asli and the Malaysian State in the Legal Arena **Rusaslina Idrus**

British colonial administrators wrote the Aboriginal Act of 1939 with the stated aim to “protect” Orang Asli, the aboriginal people of Peninsular Malaysia, from exploitation by other groups and from losing their land. The flip side of this “protection”, however, was that the Act legally declared them as wards of the state, with limited rights to self-determination and land security. In the postcolonial era, government policy shifted in emphasis from one of “protection” to “development,” positioning the Orang Asli as “failed subjects” not participating in the nation’s aspirations of modernity. The state often argued that Orang Asli protests against dispossession of their land merely reflected their rejection of development and progress, and their failure as contributing citizens. In recent years, the use of the legal arena (through lawsuits) has emerged as a new strategy for indigenous peoples in Malaysia in claiming property rights. I suggest here, even more significantly, it marks an important turning point in the Orang Asli-state relationship: the legal arena reframes the narrative of struggle from one of “development failure” to one of rights and entitlement. Here, I explore how in *Sagong Tasi v State of Selangor* (2002), the Orang Asli plaintiffs argued for their rights based on their position as wards of the state, as citizens of the nation, and as indigenous people with worldwide recognition. By drawing on their multiple positioning in asserting their rights and demanding the State’s obligation towards them, the Orang Asli plaintiffs are reconfiguring and redefining a new relationship vis-à-vis the Malaysian State.

RUSASLINA IDRUS is a postdoctoral fellow based in the Malay Studies Department at NUS. She received her PhD degree in Social Anthropology from Harvard University. Her research focuses on indigenous rights and resource rights in Malaysia.

Making Muhibbah: State Propaganda and the Meaning of Citizenship from Merdeka to May 13

Gan Cheong Soon

The current re-interrogation of the meaning of plural society has been given fresh impetus by the March 8, 2008 General Elections, but has roots that go deeper, specifically, to the immediate post-Merdeka period. Then, the challenge for an independent Malaya in 1957 was to forge, out of a colonial plural society, new citizens with rights, duties, responsibilities and loyalties in and for a new nation. This process was complicated by the inherent contradiction in the state's conception of an independent Malaya, an ideology that encompassed both equal access to opportunity for all groups, as well as the privileged position of one; a contradiction that reached a violent climax with the riots of 1969.

This paper examines the mechanics with which the state sought to promote its definition of citizenship and independent Malaya/Malaysia from 1957 to 1969. It looks at the work of the Ministry of Information, specifically the men and women on the ground charged with the everyday promotion of state policies, and who were often the only visible and direct face of the state with which citizens outside the main cities interacted with. One key task was to promote the concept of a common purpose for and loyalty to a new nation, a concept expressed in terms like unity, solidarity and eventually *muhibbah*. The paper examines the difficulties in spreading the ideology of a new muhibbah nation, in terms of internal operations (the messy governmentality of propaganda), content (the inherent contradictions of state ideology) and reception (the citizens' response to propaganda efforts, including, their idiosyncratic definition of 'information').

GAN CHEONG SOON is a Doctoral Candidate in History at the University of California, Berkeley. He is currently researching the social and cultural history of ethnic relations and nation building in the Tunku Abdul Rahman period. He was a journalist and editor with Singapore Press Holdings; a Jefferson Fellow at the East-West Center (1996); a Visiting Scholar at the Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley (2001-02); and a Visiting Researcher at the Asia Research Institute, NUS (2007-08).

Notions of Communal and Multicultural Citizenship in Malaysia

Johan Saravanamuttu

The paper explores the notions of citizenship at an important juncture in Malaysian political history which has led to deep questionings and debates about the character of nationhood. The discourse of communalism, implicit in notions such as 'the social contract' and 'ketuanan Melayu', has been in contention with concepts such as 'Malaysian Malaysia' and 'Bangsa Malaysia' which imply a more non-communal discourse. A more recent notion is that of 'Islamic state' which also imply a certain character of citizenship. All of these notions clearly carry historical and political biases often seen in contradistinction to the more universal discourse of multicultural

citizenship, stressing the equal worth of citizens. The mainstreaming of the latter discourse could be said to be at the stage of structuration at two levels. First, the emergence of a civil society, essentially middle class, that ruptures hitherto hegemonic political discourses embedded in the Malaysian social fabric, and second, the surfacing of new multi-ethnic political alliances which provide the agency for progressive change towards multiculturalism. Malaysian society appears to be at such a crossroad after the March 8, 2008 general election. The paper explores these tendencies.

JOHAN SARAVANAMUTTU is currently a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. He formerly was professor of political science at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) in Penang where he served as Dean of the School of Social Sciences (1994-1996) and as Dean of the Research Platform on Social Transformation (2003-2006). In 1997, he was the Visiting Chair in ASEAN and International Studies at the University of Toronto. His published works include the first major study of Malaysia's foreign policy (1983), ASEAN regional non-governmental organizations (1986) and the nexus between industrialization and the institutionalization of authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia (1991). More recent publications include *New Politics in Malaysia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003 (edited with Francis Loh), *Political Islam in Southeast Asia*, Special Issue (Guest Editor), *Global Change Peace & Security* (Vol. 16, No.2, June 2004), and *March 8: Eclipsing May 13*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008 (with Ooi Kee Beng and Lee Hock Guan). He is currently completing an edited volume on Majority and Minority Muslim Politics in Southeast Asia for Routledge.

PARTICIPANT CONTACT LIST

Name	Email
Cheah Boon Kheng	hiscbk@nus.edu.sg
Ariffin Bin S.M. Omar	dr.ariffin@uum.edu.my
Madeline Berma	mac@ukm.my
Tunku Abidin Muhriz	abidin@malaysiathinktank.org
Ooi Kee Beng	keebeng@iseas.edu.sg
Azmi Sharom	asharom@um.edu.my
Maznah Mohamad	arimm@nus.edu.sg
Goh Beng Lan	seagohbl@nus.edu.sg
Sharon Bong	sharon.bong@sass.monash.edu.my
Rusaslina Idrus	rusaslina.idrus@gmail.com
Gan Cheong Soon	csgan@berkeley.edu
Johan Saravanamuttu	johan@iseas.edu.sg

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

Organisers

Name	Department	Tel. & E-mail
Goh Beng Lan	Southeast Asian Studies Programme	seagohbl@nus.edu.sg
Maznah Binti Mohamed	Department of Malay Studies	arimm@nus.edu.sg
Cheah Boon Kheng	Department of History	hiscbk@nus.edu.sg
Nicola-Anne Singh, Student Assistant	Southeast Asian Studies Programme	9152 9730 singh.nicola@gmail.com
Alexander Yang Student Assistant	Southeast Asian Studies Programme	9632 6140 alexalexyang@gmail.com

Inquiries:

Southeast Asian Studies Programme

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
National University of Singapore
3 Arts Link, Blk AS3 #06-18
Singapore 117570

Tel: 6516 6338

Fax: 6777 6608

Email: seagohbl@nus.edu.sg