Reproduced from Singapore Women's Charter: Roles, Responsibilities and Rights in Marriage, edited by Theresa W. Devasahayam (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

\mathbf{A}	Association of Women Lawyers,
Abdul Hamid Mohamed, Judge	Malaysia, 13
of Court of Appeal, 110	Association of Women Lawyers,
Abdul Rahman Yaacob (Justice	Singapore, xviii
Dato Haji), 13	
Administration of Muslim Law	В
Act, 74, 87, 88, 117	Baitulmal, 24, 38
Syariah Court, 14, 72, 74, 88,	definition, 38
89, 117–18, 172	Bhupalan, F.R., 13, 25
adultery, 19, 22, 23, 51, 114,	Braddell, Roland St. John (Sir),
120–23, 126, 138	49, 50, 75
effect on divorce proceedings	British citizens
and ancillary matters, 122	voting, 70
grounds for divorce,	Byrne, K.M., xiv, 44, 54, 55,
Thailand, 22–23	71, 107
proof of, 121, 122	
high cost, 122	C
report of private investigator,	care and control, 35, 128-29,
121, 122	129–33, 130, 131, 132,
All Action Women's Society	133, 135, 136, 143,
Malaysia (AWAM), 15	172
Association of Women for	children from a previous
Action and Research	marriage,
(AWARE), xvi, 69, 183	135
polygamy, 69	Centre for Family Harmony,
representations, xviii	150
•	

Centre for Promoting	Chinese marriages, customary
Alternatives to Violence	celebrations, 45
(PAVe), 149, 150	Chinese polygamy, recognition,
mandatory and voluntary	45
cases, 151	Christian Marriage Ordinance,
Chan Choy Siong, 44	45
child abuse, child in pertual	Civil Code, Republic of China,
state of hypervigilance, 163	47
childcare, need for	Civil Marriage Ordinance, 45,
improvement, 81	53, 55
children	middle class couples, use by,
affected by divorce, 154	55
illegitimate, maintenance, 135	closed institutions, 165, 172
impact of family violence,	community of property, 100,
158–60	101, 109
maintenance, xv, 14, 22, 24,	Compilation of Islamic Law,
35, 85, 86, 116, 118,	Indonesia, 7, 9
122, 128, 133–35, 143	Constitution of the Republic of
protection services, 164	Singapore, Article 12(1),
removal from home, 164–66	xxiv
victim, violence, 161, 162,	Convention of the Rights of the
163, 164–66	Child (1989), 97, 162
welfare, 135, 143, 152, 182,	Article 12, 162
183	Article 18, 97
witnesses, violence, 149, 159,	counselling, xi, xix, 14, 95,
161, 164	150, 161, 162, 163, 180,
Children and Young Persons Act	182, 183
(CYPA), xviii, 60, 97, 164	Counselling and Psychological
Children's Development	Services Division (CAPS),
Accounts, 183	115
Chinese family law, 47	Counter Legal Daft (CLD), 8, 9
Chinese Ladies Association, 50,	criminal law, marital rape, 93
61	Criminal Procedure Code,
Chinese Lawn Tennis Club, 48	Malaysia, 29, 30
Chinese Marriage Committee	custody
(CMC), 48, 49–52, 75	abusive father, 160

children	discrimination
violence, 160, 163, 164	non-Muslim women,
definition, 130	Malaysia, 21
guardian, 134	removing, xx-xxiii
joint, see joint custody	divorce
joint-parental responsibility, 163	access to children, 129-33,
sole, 131, 143	141, 143
split, 132	ancillary matters, 36, 128,
custody orders, 88, 130, 131,	129, 136, 143
160–64	children, access prior to
Muslim divorces, 88	custody orders, 160–64
customary law, Chinese, 50	custody of children, 65,
customary laws	129–33, 163, 180
Indonesia, 17	division of matrimonial
customary marriage(s), 33, 45,	assets, xv, 35, 88, 89,
46, 48, 49, 56, 57, 65, 68	100, 102–3, 103–4, 104,
clan hall celebrations, 49	105, 116, 139–41, 183
legitimate, 49	benefit of homemaker
marriage certificates, 48	spouse, 140
Singapore and Straits	escape clause, 119
Settlements, 48	expatriates, married, 118
validity, 46	financial reorganization after,
•	86
D	increasing rates, 113
deferred community of property,	Indonesia, 6, 7
100–2	jurisdiction, 117–20
definitions	living apart, 124, 125
care and control, 130	maintenance for children,
custody, 130	133–35
Department of Religious	maintenance for wives,
Affairs, Indonesia, 8	135–39
Department of Social Welfare,	Malaysia, 20–22
48, 71, 73	marriage, grounds for
Counselling and Advice	irretrievable breakdown
Section (CAS), 71	of, 94, 114, 122, 124,
desertion, 14, 125, 138	136, 138
, , -,	, -

Muslim applicants, 117–18	equal cooperative partnership,
Muslim Singaporeans, 87–89	xiv, xxi, 34, 83, 89, 92, 96,
process, 116, 126–28	100, 102, 108
counterclaims, 128	exceptional depravity, 119, 120
defence to counterclaim,	exceptional hardship, 119, 120
128	
memorandum of	\mathbf{F}
appearance, 127	Family and Child Care Court,
service of writ, 126-28	160
remarriage of ex-wives,	family charter, need for, xiv-xv
cessation of	Family Court, 84, 86, 88, 89,
maintenance, 136	117, 118, 125, 127, 149,
requirements, 118-19	150, 153, 154, 158, 162,
minimum period of	164
marriage, 119	children's wishes, system to
separation, 123-25	hear, 162
Thailand, 19, 22–23	Muslim divorced couple, 89
unilateral right to divorce,	procedures for divorces, 84,
Islamic law, 37	117, 128
Djamour, Judith, 72, 74	reorganization of finances, 86
domestic abuse, effect on	setting up of, 149
children, 165-66	study, caseload involving
domestic violence, xi, xvi, xviii,	children, 158
2, 4, 8, 11, 15, 16, 26–32,	family law, Chinese, 47
36, 39, 147–77, 159, 170	Family Planning Association, 61
laws, 2	Family Service Centres (FSCs),
dysfunctionality, families, 157	150
	family violence, xiv, xvi-xvii,
E	xvii-xix, 35, 36, 71, 72,
earnings order, attaching of,	117, 118, 120, 136,
138, 172	141–43, 147, 148, 149,
economic abuse, definition, 156	150, 152, 153–58, 158–60,
English-educated, Singapore,	162, 163, 164, 168, 180
lack of political activism,	amendments to Women's
61	Charter, xiv, xv, 148,
entitlement to property, 85	149–52, 181, 182

connection to child Hindu marriages, customary maltreatment, 152 celebrations, 45 impact on children, 158-60 Hoalim, Phillip, 76 protection from, xvi-xvii, Hock Lee Bus Company, 66 husband, maintenance of, social workers' role, 149 xx-xxiii Family Violence Bill husband-wife relationship, 85 incorporation into Women's Charter, xvi, xvii-xix Fatimah bte Haji Hashim (Tan illegitimate children Sri), 13 duty to maintain, 135 Federated Malay States, India, monogamous marriage legislation, 74 marriage and family Indian Christian Marriage Act, regulations, Chinese customary law on, 50 xxiii Fozdar, Shirin, 62, 63, 64, 65, Individuals 69, 70, 76 protecting rights of, 170 Indonesia G adat (custom/tradition), 7, 18 gender inequality, 3, 4, 16, 17, Commission to Investigate 27, 32, 33 Marriage Law, 5 divorce, Thailand, 22 Compilation of Islamic Law, polygamy, Thailand, 19 7, 9 Goh Keng Swee, 43 Constitution, 6 Goh, Miki, 68, 76 corruption in courts, 19 guardianship of children, Counter Legal Draft (CLD), divorce, Malaysia, 21 8, 9 Guardianship of Infants Act customary law, prevalence 1961, Malaysia, 22 of, 17 Guardianship of Infants Act Department of Religious 1961, Singapore, 97 Affairs, 8 divorce, 6, 7 H domestic violence, 31-32 health services, need for inheritance practices, 23-24 improvement, 81 Islamic law, matrimonial Hindu Marriage Act, xxiii issues, 6, 20

Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 Law Concerning Registration of Marriages, Reconciliation and Divorce, 6 Law regarding Elimination of Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, 24, 37–38, Integrated Management of Family Violence system, 152 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilderal right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilderal right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law govering matrimonial issues, 20 Unilateral right t	Kongres Perempuan	Malaysia, 24, 25
Law Concerning Registration of Marriages, Reconciliation and Divorce, 6 Law regarding Elimination of Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 K Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody, 130 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Indonesia (Indonesian	Thailand, 25
of Marriages, Reconciliation and Divorce, 6 Law regarding Elimination of Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic Law governing matrimonial issues, 20 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Women's Congress), 5	Integrated Management of
Reconciliation and Divorce, 6 Law regarding Elimination of Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Law Concerning Registration	Family Violence system, 152
Divorce, 6 Law regarding Elimination of Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	of Marriages,	Islamic Law
Divorce, 6 Law regarding Elimination of Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Unilateral right to divorce, 37 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Wiolence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Reconciliation and	governing matrimonial issues,
Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Divorce, 6	= =
Violence in Household, 31 Law on Religious Justice (No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic marriage law, Indonesia, 6 Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Law regarding Elimination of	unilateral right to divorce, 37
(No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Matrimonial Bill, 6 Joint Action Group against Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody, 130 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and		_
(No. 7 of 1989), 7 mahkamah agung (Supreme Court), 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Matrimonial Bill, 6 Joint Action Group against Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody, 130 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Law on Religious Justice	6
Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Joint Action Group against Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	_	
Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody, 130 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K Kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and		J
Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18 Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Violence Against Women (JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15 joint custody orders, 131 Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Court), 18	Joint Action Group against
Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Matrimonial Bill, 6 joint custody, 130 joint custody, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Marriage Law, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17,	Violence Against Women
Matrimonial Bill, 6 polygamy, 17, 18 complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, joint custody, 130 joint custody orders, 131 K K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and		(JAG-VAW), Malaysia, 15
complicated bureaucratic procedures, 18 juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Juvenile Court, 115, 164 juvenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Matrimonial Bill, 6	
procedures, 18 corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Jevenile facility, 172 K kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	polygamy, 17, 18	joint custody orders, 131
corruption in courts, 19 custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	complicated bureaucratic	Juvenile Court, 115, 164
custom/tradition, 18 divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Kaddi, 14, 37, 73, 74 limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	procedures, 18	juvenile facility, 172
divorce, 8 fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of	corruption in courts, 19	
fines for, 18 Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, limitation of power, divorces, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	custom/tradition, 18	K
Religious Court Law of (1989), 18 resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, 74 Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	divorce, 8	kadi, 14, 37, 73, 74
resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Kamala Club, 61 Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	fines for, 18	limitation of power, divorces,
resistance movements, 6 women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Keynes, Maynard, xxiii Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	Religious Court Law of	74
women activists, 7, 8 women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Kongress Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	(1989), 18	Kamala Club, 61
women's groups, 5, 6, 32 women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, (Indonesian Women's Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	resistance movements, 6	Keynes, Maynard, xxiii
women's organizations, 5, 6 women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Congress), 5 L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	women activists, 7, 8	Kongress Perempuan Indonesia
women's rights, 8 infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, L L L L aw of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	women's groups, 5, 6, 32	(Indonesian Women's
infidelity, views by CMC, 51 inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Islamic law, Shafii approach, L law of intestacy, British, application of, 47 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Law Reform (Marriage and	women's organizations, 5, 6	Congress), 5
inheritance, 9, 16, 23–25, 32, law of intestacy, British, 37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 Islam, 23 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Law Reform (Marriage and	women's rights, 8	
37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179 application of, 47 Islam, 23 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Law Reform (Marriage and	infidelity, views by CMC, 51	\mathbf{L}
Islam, 23 Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22 Islamic law, Shafii approach, Law Reform (Marriage and	inheritance, 9, 16, 23-25, 32,	law of intestacy, British,
Islamic law, Shafii approach, Law Reform (Marriage and	37, 46, 47, 55, 65, 73, 179	application of, 47
	Islam, 23	Law Reform Act, Malaysia, 22
24, 37–38, Divorce) Bill, Malaysia, 12	Islamic law, Shafii approach,	Law Reform (Marriage and
	24, 37–38,	Divorce) Bill, Malaysia, 12

Law regarding Elimination of duty to pay, duration, 136 Violence in Household. failure to pay, penalty, 138 Indonesia, 31 for children, 133-35 League of Nations, 60 Thailand, 23 for wives, 135-39 Lee Cheng Hiong, 65 Lee Kuan Yew, 62 Muslim divorces, 88 anxiety over social trends, 69 reluctance to pay, 138 elections, Chinese-educated, unilateral character, xxi maintenance of husband, xx-xxiii Maintenance of Parents Act of The Singapore Story, 66 Lee Kuan Yew (Mrs), 62, 68 1996, xiv, 71 maintenance orders Lee Siew Choh, 44, 52 Legal Aid Institute of Justice cessation of, 134, 136 for Indonesia Women, 8 enforcement of, xv, 117, 134, Legislative assembly 153–58, 171, 180, 182 First Legislative Assembly of high cost of pursuing, 156 the State of Singapore, 80 impact on parental Legislative Assembly responsibility, 171 Debate(s), Women's low income group, impact Charter, 53-57, 59 on, 153 Leong Wai Kum, x, xx, xxiv, 34 Malaysia, 4, 11-16, 17, 20-22, Lim Beng Hong, 76 24-25, 28-31, 32, 37, 55, Lim Yew Hock (Tun), 54, 59 100 - 2adoption of deferred M community of property, Magnus, Richard (District 101 Judge), view on family All Action Women's Society, violence, 147 Malaysia (AWAM), 15 maintenance, xi, xv, xvi, xxiv, Association of Women 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, Lawyers, 13 24, 35, 36, 47, 59, 74, 85, courts, persistence of 86, 88, 89, 116, 117, 118, patriarchy, 21 122, 128, 143, 149, 153, Criminal Procedure Code, 29, 30 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, Distribution Act 1958, 24, 25 172, 180, 181, 182, 183 amendments, 25 definition, 134 divorces, 20-22

domestic violence, 28-31	Royal Commission for
Domestic Violence Act, 29,	Marriage and Divorce
30	for Non-Muslims, 12
disadvantages to women,	Sisters in Islam, 13, 15, 16
29, 30	women activists, 13, 15, 16
guardianship of children, 21	Women's Aid Organisation
Guardianship of Infants Act	(WAO), 15, 28, 30
1961, 22	Women's Crisis Centre
inheritance practices, 24-25	(Women's Centre for
Islamic Family Law	Change), 15
(Federal Territory) Act,	Women's Development
amendment, 14	Collective (WDC), 15
Islamic law, matrimonial	Mandatory Counselling
issues, 20	Programme, 148
Joint Action Group against	marital rape
Violence Against Women	criminal law, 93
(JAG-VAW), 15	issues, 94, 95
Law Reform Act, 22	Malaysia, 28
Law Reform (Marriage and	Thailand, 27–28
Divorce) Bill, 12	Marriage Law
Mahathir Mohamad, 14	Indonesia, 5, 6, 7, 17
marital rape, 11, 16, 26-32,	application in polygamy
38	cases, 18
Married Women and Children	marriages
(Maintenance) Act, 13	equal cooperative partnership,
mut'ah, 14	xiv, xxi, 34, 83, 89–96,
National Council of Women's	100, 102, 108
Organisations (NCWO),	exceptional depravity, 119,
11–13, 15, 25	120
non-Muslim women,	exceptional hardship, 119,
discrimination, 21-22	120
nusyuz, 14–15	Muslim, solemnisation, 37
Penal Code	serial, 157
domestic violence cases, 29	married persons
marital rape, 28	ideal formulation of
polygamy, 13, 14	expectations, 91-92

Married Women and Children	Muslim women, Singapore,
(Enforcement of	72–74
Maintenance) Act (1968),	Muslims
Malaysia, 13	division of matrimonial
Married Women and Children	assets, 88
(Maintenance) Act (1950),	divorced couples, choice of
Malaysia, 13	law, 89
matrimonial assets	divorces, 37, 88
division of, xv, 35, 88, 89,	maintenance arrears, 182
99, 100, 102–3, 104,	marriage, 37, 72, 73, 107
105, 116, 139–41, 183	Muslims Ordinance, 44, 72, 74
effect of divorce, 86	mut'ah
just and equitable division of,	Malaysia, 14
88, 102	-
remarkable court decisions,	N
103–4	Namazie, M.J., 77
Matrimonial Bill, Indonesia, 6	National Council of Women in
Matrimonial Proceeding Rules	India, 63
(MPR), 126	National Council of Women's
rule (11), 126	Organisations (NCWO),
rule (12), 127	Malaysia, 11-13, 15, 25
Maxwell, Benson (Sir), 45	amendments for Distribution
memorandum of appearance, 127	Act, 25
Ministry of Community	nusyuz, Indonesia, 9
Development, Youth and	nusyuz, Malaysia, 14-15
Sports (MCYS), x, 115,	
148, 183	O
Mohammad Maliki Osman (Dr),	offences against women, 86-87
154	
Mohammedan Marriage	P
Ordinance, 45, 72	Pan Pacific South East Asian
Monogamy Act, Thailand, 10,	Women's Association, 64
11	parent-child relationship, 85
Muslim Advisory Board, 72	parental responsibility, 97-98
Muslim law, 74, 87, 88, 107	adoptive parents, 98, 99
Muslim Personal Law, xxiii	children, 86

custody, 160	breaches, 152, 166-68
international acceptance,	cross applications, 142
97–98	demanding for sole custody, 143
joint, 163	dissolution of marriage, 143
mutual, 160	obstruct ex-spouses' access to
parenthood, moral view, 96-97	children, 142, 143
partner relationships, 168–70	partner relationships, 168-70
patrilineal system, 24	proportion of women
Penal Code	applicants, 153
Malaysia, 28, 29, 30	requirements, 142
Singapore, xv, xviii, xix, 60,	victim's safety, Malaysia, 31
152, 166	polygamy, x, xiv, 5, 6, 8, 9,
Thailand, 28, 38	10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16,
Penang Chinese Ladies Chin	17–19, 32, 34, 37, 45, 51,
Woo (Athletic) Association,	55, 69, 75, 143
50	banning of, 51
People's Action Party (PAP)	Chinese, recognition, 45
election manifesto, 43, 79,	corruption, courts in
107	Indonesia, 19
First Legislative Assembly of	Indonesia, 5-6, 8, 17-19
the State of Singapore,	application of Marriage
80	Law, 18
General Election, 34, 62, 64	Islam, 5
leadership, 67, 68, 70	Malaysia, 11-14, 15-16
promise of monogomous	second wife, 58
marriage legislation, 43	Thailand, 10–11, 19
Women's Charter, xiii, 67,	PP v Luan Yuanxin, 158
80	Prevention of Bigamous
Personal Protection Orders	Marriages Bill, 63
(PPOs)	property
application via video-linked	entitlement to, 85
services, 150	just and equitable division
asking for higher	of, 86
maintenance, larger share	maintenance, 85
of matrimonial assets,	protection order, xviii, xix, 35,
143	142, 180

R	Shafii customary law, 24, 37-38
registry marriage	Singapore
legally binding engagement,	customary marriages, 33, 45,
58	46, 47, 48, 49, 56, 57,
Registry of Muslim marriages,	65, 68
Singapore, 182	English-educated women,
Religious Court Law of 1989,	movement seeking
Indonesia, 18	change, 33
Remarriage	general election (1959), 62
declaring existing	Singapore Children's Society,
maintenance arrears, 182	61
effect on maintenance, 136	Singapore Council of Women
Report on the Census of	(SCW), 63, 65, 70
Population (1957), 45	Singapore Democratic Party, 64
Republic of China, Civil Code,	Singapore Department of
47	Statistics, 115
residential institution, 165, 172	Singapore law
Royal Commission for Marriage	lessons from, 104–5
and Divorce for Non-	Singapore Women's Association
Muslims, Malaysia, 12	(SWA), 64
-	Singapore Women's Council, 65
S	Sisters in Islam, Malaysia, 13,
SAFE@TRANS, 150	15, 16
School Pocket Money Fund, 154	social services, married persons, 84
secondary unions	social workers
socially recognized, 58	family violence cases, 149
Select Committees, Women's	society
Charter, xvi, xviii, xxii,	changing trends, 170
53–57, 64, 65, 66, 71, 72	Soin, Kanwaljit, x, xiii–xxiv, 71
Seow Peck Leng, 54, 62, 64	split custody, 132
view on Shirin Fozdar, 62	spouses
separation, 20, 21, 23, 35,	death, 9, 51, 84, 136
123–25, 136, 138, 148	legal regulation,
at least three years, 124	characteristics, 92–95
serial marriages, 157	Stanley, Edmund (Sir), 47
	- 27

Straits Settlements, customary	National Legislative
marriages, 46, 47, 48	Assembly, 23, 27–28
supervised access, 159, 161, 172	normative view of women,
Sutan Shahrir, visit to	26
Singapore, 63	polygamy, 10, 11, 19
Swiss Civil Code	transfer of property upon
Article, 108	marriage, 25
moral content of law, 90-91	women activists, 27
Syariah Court, Muslim divorces,	women's groups, 27
88, 89	Toh Chin Chye, 54, 107
	women's rights, 11
T	
talaq, 7, 37	\mathbf{U}
ta'liq, 14, 37	UK Children Act (1989), 98
Thailand, 4, 10–11, 16, 17, 19,	UN Convention on the
22–23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32	Elimination of All Forms
adultery as grounds for	of Discrimination Against
divorce, 19, 22	Women (CEDAW), ix, 1–2
bigamy, 22	United Nations Convention on
central marriage registration	Human Rights, 12
system, 19	unreasonable behaviour, 120–23,
civil servants, male, 23	138, 141
divorce, 22–23	X 7
polygamy, 19	V
divorced women, social	violence, see also family
stigma, 19	violence
domestic duties, 26	definition broadened, 181
Domestic Violence Victim	victims, 27, 28, 71, 119, 152,
Protection Act, 27	153, 156, 161, 170, 180,
gender inequality, 22	181
inheritance practices, 25	W
legal and economic	• •
protection, 23	White v. White, 109
maintenance for children, 23	wives, maintenance for, 135–39
marital rape, 27–28	women, same rights and
Monogamy Act, 10, 11	protection, 81

women activists, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, financial and non-financial 15, 16, 27, 29, 184 contributions, 99-104 Women and Girls' Protection financial reorganization after Ordinance, 60, 67 divorce, 86 Women's Aid Organisation gender biased, perception, Malaysia, 15, 28 Guardianship of Infants Act views on Domestic Violence Act, 29–30 1961, Singapore, 97 Women's Charter husband-wife relationship, 85 acknowledgement of legal regulation supplemented imperfections, 180 by other statutes, 95 amendments, xiv, xv, xvi, 57, legislative assembly debates, 53-57 100, 143, 148, 149–52, 181, 182, 183 maintenance, xv, 85 as anti-vice legislation, children, 133-35 wives, 135-39 59-61 application to Muslim marriage, 84, 85 Singaporeans, 87–89, moral content, 90, 105 117-18 significance, 106 application to non-Muslims, view, 96, 102 52, 57, 79, 83, 114, 117 offences against women and before the charter, 44-49 girls, 86–87 call for periodical review, parent-child relationship, 85 144 registration of marriages, protecting property change in name considered, xiv-xv, 59-60, 81-82 interests of women, 56 comparison with Family responsibility towards child, Violence Bill, xvii-xix 96-99 desertion, 125 salary schemes discrimination towards development of Singapore as a nation, 106 women, 54 divorce, time requirement, 119 Section 3(2), 107 divorcees' view, 113-44 Section 46, x, xx enactment, PAP, xiii-xiv, 79, Section 46(1), 89, 90, 91, 92, 96-99, 100, 102, 104, entitlement to property, 85 105, 109, 133

Section 64, 36	spousal family obligations,
Section 68, 134	82–83, 180
Section 69, xx, 137	taking shape, 52–53
Section 69(4), 137	tool in national
Section 69(4)(f), 137	reconstruction, 79-82,
Section 70(1), 135	106
Section 71(1), 138	Women's Charter Bill, xiv, 43,
Section 93, 118	64
Section 94(1), 119	women's rights, 1-39, 171,
Section 94(2), 119	179–85
Section 95(3)(c), 125	fight for, Indonesia, Malaysia,
Section 95(3)(d), 124	Thailand, 4–16
Section 95(3)(e), 124	Islam, 13, 15
Section 95(5)(b), 121, 122	legal mechanisms, 1-39
Section 95(6), 123	Wong Kan Seng, xvi
Section 106, 100, 101	writs, service of, 126-28
Section 112, 101, 102, 105,	
109, 139	Y
Section 112(1), 99–100, 102	Yaacob bin Mohd (Hj), 54
Section 112(2), 141	Yeh Hwa-Kuo, 57
Section 113, 136	Yong Pung How, Chief Justice,
Section 126, 130	98, 158
social services, amendments,	Young Women's Christian
149–52	Association (YWCA), 61
spirit and intent, importance	Young Women's Muslim
of, 144	Association, 61