

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Abdul Kadir Sulaiman. "Md Hakim Lee v Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah Persekutuan, Kuala Lumpur". *Malaysian Law Journal*, no. 1 (1998): 681–89.
- Abdullah Badawi. "Moving Forward — Towards Excellence". *New Straits Times*, 24 September 2004, p. 12.
- Abraham, Collin E.R. *The Naked Social Order: The Roots of Racial Polarisation in Malaysia*. Subang Jaya: Pelanduk, 2005.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women". *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 1 (1990): 41–55.
- Adabi, Al-Mansor. "Ahmad Ibrahim in the Service of Islam". In *Malaysian Legal Essays: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Professor Emeritus Datuk Ahmad Ibrahim*, edited by M. B. Hooker. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Law Journal, 1986.
- Ahmad Ibrahim. *The Administration of Islamic Law in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Understanding, 2000.
- Albrecht, Holger. "How Can Opposition Support Authoritarianism? Lessons from Egypt". *Democratization* 12, no. 3 (2005): 378–97.
- Allport, Gordon Willard. "The Functional Autonomy of Motives". *The American Journal of Psychology* 15, no. 1/4 (1937): 141–56.
- Anuar, Mustapha K. "Defining Democratic Discourses: The Mainstream Press". In *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices*, edited by Francis Loh Kok Wah and Khoo Boo Teik. Richmond: Curzon, 2002.
- Arfa'eza A. Aziz and Nurul Nazirin. "Jawi raid 'un-Islamic', says Sisters in Islam". *Malaysiakini.com*, 2 February 2005. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/33341>>. Accessed 2 February, 2005.
- Armstrong, Karen. *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*. New York: Harper Collins, 1993.
- . *Islam: A Short Introduction*. New York: Modern Library, 2002.
- . "Contesting what is Sacred". *The Age*, 20 March 2006. <<http://www.theage.com.au/news/opinion/contesting-what-is-sacred/2006/03/19/1142703211883.html?page=fullpage>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- Asad, Talal. "Ethnography, Literature, and Politics: Some Readings and Uses of Salman Rushdie's The Satanic Verses". *Cultural Anthropology* 5, no. 3 (1990): 239–69.

- Associated Press. "Fatwa on Yoga: Malay royal questions ban on yoga for Muslims". *Jakarta Post*, 24 November 2008. <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/11/24/malay-royal-questions-ban-yoga-muslims.html>>. Accessed 3 April 2009.
- Bari, Abdul Aziz. "Issues in Islamisation of Law in Malaysia". Paper presented at the International Conference on Harmonisation of Shariah and Civil Law, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 20–21 October 2003.
- Bari, Abdul Aziz and Farid Sufian Shuaib. *Constitution of Malaysia: Text and Commentary*. Petaling Jaya: Prentice Hall, 2004.
- Beh Lih Yi and Rahman Ghazali. "No evidence of indelible ink smugglers". *Malaysiakini.com*, 6 May 2008. <<http://malaysiakini.com/news/82394>>. Accessed 3 April 2009.
- Bell, Daniel A. "Which Rights are Universal?". *Political Theory* 27, no. 6 (1999): 849–56.
- Blais, Andre. "The Debate over Electoral Systems". *International Political Science Review* 12, no. 3 (1991): 239–60.
- Bon, Edmund. "Bersih gathering: Of facts and violations". In *The Malaysian Bar*, November 2007. <[http://www.malaysianbar.org.my/human\\_rights/bersih\\_gathering\\_of\\_facts\\_and\\_violations.html](http://www.malaysianbar.org.my/human_rights/bersih_gathering_of_facts_and_violations.html)>. Accessed 1 April 2009.
- Bougarel, Xavier. "The Role of Balkan Muslims in Building a European Islam. EPC Issue". *European Policy Centre (EPC) Issue Paper*, no. 43 (2005).
- Boyer, Pascal. *Religion Explained: The Human Instincts that Fashion Gods, Spirits and Ancestors*. London: Vintage, 2002.
- Brown, Gordon K. "The Enemy of My Enemy? Opposition Parties during the Mahathir Years". In *Reflections: The Mahathir Years*, edited by Bridget Welsh. Washington: Southeast Asia Studies, Johns Hopkins University-SAIS, 2004.
- . "Playing the (Non)Ethnic Card: The Electoral System and Ethnic Voting Patterns in Malaysia". *Ethnopolitics* 44, no. 4 (2005): 429–45.
- Bunce, Valerie. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience". *World Politics* 55, no. 2 (2003): 167–94.
- Butt, Riazat and John Hooper. "Vatican intervenes to calm escalating storm over Pope's comments on HIV and condoms". *The Guardian*, 19 March 2009, p. 18.
- Carr, John E. and Tan Eng Kong. "In Search of the True Amok: Amok as Viewed Within the Malay Culture". *American Journal of Psychiatry* 133, no. 11 (1976): 1295–99.
- Case, William. "Malaysia's Resilient Pseudodemocracy". *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 1 (2001): 43–57.
- . "Southeast Asia's Hybrid Regimes: When Do Voters Change Them?". *Journal of East Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2005): 215–37.
- Castoriadis, Cornelius. *World in Fragments: Writings on Politics, Society, Psychoanalysis, and the Imagination*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997a.
- . *The Castoriadis Reader*. Translated and edited by David Ames Curtis. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997b.

- Cheah Boon Keng. "Politics". In *The Shaping of Malaysia*, edited by Amarjit Kaur and Ian Metcalfe. London: Macmillan Press, 1999.
- . *Malaysia: The Making of a Nation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
- Christian Federation of Malaysia. "Govt: M'sia is an Islamic State". *Catholic Asian News* (March 2002), pp. 10–11.
- Colas, Dominique. *Civil Society and Fanaticism: Conjoined Histories*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff. "Introduction". In *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa*, edited by John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Darshini, Shamini. "Religious snoop squad comes under fire". *The New Straits Times*, 18 January 2006, p. 4.
- Davidson, Ryan. "Jawi affair a Muslim issue". *Malaysiakini.com*, 7 February 2005. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/letters/33462>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- Dorraj, Manochehr. "The Crisis of Modernity and Religious Revivalism: A Comparative Study of Islamic Fundamentalism, Jewish Fundamentalism and Liberation Theology". *Social Compass* 46, no. 2 (1999): 225–40.
- Edwards, Audrey. "Huge turnout at ISA debate as Nazri and Lim battle it out". *The Star*, 27 July 2004. <<http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2004/7/27/nation/8530116&sec=nation>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- El-Affendi, Abdelwahab. *Who Needs An Islamic State?* 2nd ed. London: Malaysia Think Tank, 2008.
- el-Gaili, Ahmad T. "Federalism and the Tyranny of Religious Majorities: Challenges to Islamic Fundamentalism in Sudan". *Harvard International Law Journal* 45, no. 2 (2004): 503–46.
- Esman, Milton. J. *Ethnic Politics*. Ithaca: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Faaland, Just, Jack Parkinson, and Rais Saniman. *Growth and Ethnic Inequality: Malaysia's New Economic Policy*. London: Hurst and Company, 1990.
- Faiza Tamby Chik J. "Majlis Ugama Islam Pulau Pinang dan Seberang Perai lwn Shaik Zolkaffily bin Shaik Natar dan lain-lain". *Malaysian Law Journal*, no. 4 (2002): 130–38.
- . "Lina Joy v Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah & Anor". *Malaysian Law Journal*, no. 2 (2004): 119–44.
- Farmer, Paul. "Sidney W. Mintz Lecture for 2001: An Anthropology of Structural Violence". *Current Anthropology* 45, no. 3 (2004): 305–25.
- Fauwaz Abdul Aziz. "Don't stir the hornet's nest called Malay rights". *Malaysiakini.com*, 24 September 2004. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/30305>>. Accessed 13 June 2006.
- . "Groups want commission to review all civil, Islamic laws". *Malaysiakini.com*, 22 March 2005. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/34647>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.

- . “Muslim coalition submits 700,000 signatures”. *Malaysiakini.com*, 29 September 2006. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/57511>>. Accessed 30 September 2006.
- Fenton, Steve. “Malaysia and Capitalist Modernisation: Plural and Multicultural Models”. *International Journal of Multicultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2003): 137–49.
- Fernando, Joseph M. *The Making of the Malayan Constitution*. Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2002.
- Firth, Raymond. *Religion: A Humanist Interpretation*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Foley, Rebecca A. “Muslim Women’s Challenges to Islamic Law: The Case of Malaysia”. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6, no. 1 (2004): 53–84.
- Fraser, Nancy. “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy”. *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (1990): 56–80.
- Fritz, Nicole and Martin Flaherty. “Unjust Order: Malaysia’s Internal Security Act”. *Fordham International Law Journal* 26, no. 5 (2003): 1345–437.
- Funston, John. *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of the United Malays National Organisation and Party Islam*. Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia), 1980.
- Gardiner, Michael E. “Wild publics and grotesque symposiums: Habermas and Bakhtin on dialogue, everyday life and the public sphere”. *The Sociological Review* 52, no. 1 (2004): 28–48.
- Gatsiounis, Ioannis. “Malaysia, ‘too sensitive’ for debate”. *Asia Times Online*, 4 August 2006. <[http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast\\_Asia/HH04Ae01.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/HH04Ae01.html)>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gilner, Salvador. “Civil Society and its Future”. In *Civil Society: Theory, History and Comparison*, edited by John A. Hall. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Gilsenan, Michael. *Recognizing Islam: Religion and Society in the Modern Middle East*. Rev. ed. London: I.B. Taurus, 2000.
- Gomes, Alberto. “Peoples and Cultures”. In *The Shaping of Malaysia*, edited by Amarjit Kaur and Ian Metcalfe. London: Macmillan Press, 1999.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992.
- Hall, John A. “In Search of Civil Society”. In *Civil Society: Theory, History and Comparison*, edited by John A. Hall. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Hann, Chris. “Introduction: Political society and civil anthropology”. In *Civil society: Challenging western models*, edited by Chris Hann and Elizabeth Dunn. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Hatta, S. Mohamed. “A Malay crosscultural worldview and forensic review of amok”. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 30, no. 4 (1996): 505–10.
- Hefner, Robert W. “Introduction: Multiculturalism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia”. In *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and*

- Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*, edited by Robert W. Hefner. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.
- . "Introduction: Modernity and the Remaking of Muslim Politics". In *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democracy*, edited by Robert W. Hefner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Political Writings*, edited by Laurence Dickey and H.B. Nisbet, translated by H.B. Nisbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Hibbard, Scott W. and David Little. *Islamic Activism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997.
- Hitchens, Christopher. "Giving up on Freedom". *The Age*, 16 February 2006. <<http://www.theage.com.au/news/opinion/giving-up-on-freedom/2006/02/15/1139890803075.html>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- Hooker, M.B. "Introduction — Islamic and Malaysian Law: The Contribution of Professor Ahmad Ibrahim". In *Malaysian Legal Essays: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Professor Emeritus Datuk Ahmad Ibrahim*, edited by M.B. Hooker. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Law Journal, 1986.
- Hooker, Virginia Matheson. *Writing a New Society: Social Change Through the Novel in Malay*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2000.
- Hudson, Wayne. "Problematizing European Theories of Civil Society". In *Civil Society in Asia*, edited by David C. Schak and Wayne Hudson. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003.
- Hughes, Tom Eames. *Tangled Worlds: The Story of Maria Hertogh*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1980.
- Husna Yusop. "Social science scholars in a quandary". *The Sun*, 8 August 2006. <<http://www.sun2surf.com/article.cfm?id=15037>>. Accessed 10 September 2006.
- Huzir Sulaiman. *Eight Plays*. Kuala Lumpur: Silverfish Books, 2002.
- Jackson, Michael D. "Thinking Through the Body: An Essay on Understanding Metaphor". *Social Analysis* X, no. 14 (1983): 127–48.
- . *The Politics of Storytelling: Violence, Transgression and Intersubjectivity*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002.
- Jomo Kwame Sundaram. *Growth and Structural Change in the Malaysian Economy*. London: Macmillan, 1990a.
- . "Whither Malaysia's New Economic Policy?". *Pacific Affairs* 63, no. 4 (1990b): 469–99.
- Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. *Punishment in Islamic Law: An Enquiry into the Hudud Bill of Kelantan*. Kuala Lumpur: Ilmiah Publishers, 1995.
- . "Harmonisation of *Shari'ah* and Civil Laws: The Framework and *Modus Operandi*". *IIUM Law Journal* 11, no. 2 (2003a): 149–68.
- . "*Shariah* and Civil Law: Towards a Methodology of Harmonisation". Paper presented at the International Conference on Harmonisation of *Shariah* and Civil Law, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 20–21 October 2003b.

- Kamarulnizam Abdullah. *The Politics of Islam in Contemporary Malaysia*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2003.
- Kairos. *Doing the Right Thing: A Practical Guide on Legal Matters for Churches in Malaysia*. Petaling Jaya: Kairos Research Centre, 2004.
- Kent, Jonathan. "Marital rape law provokes storm". In *BBC News*, 23 August 2004. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/3592740.stm>>. Accessed 3 April 2009.
- . "Malaysia club raid sparks row". *BBC News*, 18 February 2005. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4276077.stm>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- Khan, Shahnaz. "Zina and the moral regulation of Pakistani women". *Feminist Review*, no. 75 (2003): 75–100.
- Kon, Yan. "Amok". *British Journal of Psychiatry* 165, no. 5 (1994): 685–89.
- Kua Kia Soong. *The Malaysian Civil Rights Movement*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information Research Development, 2005.
- . "Racial conflict in Malaysia: Against the official history". *Race & Class* 49, no. 3 (2008): 33–53.
- Lane, David. *Leninism: A Sociological Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Langman, Lauren. "The Dialectic of Unenlightenment: Toward a Critical Theory of Islamic Fundamentalism". *Critical Sociology* 31, no. 1–2 (2005): 243–79.
- Latheefa Koya. "Bar Council being retrogressive". *Malaysiakini.com*, 30 August 2001. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/letter/2001/08/2001083008.php>>. Accessed 30 August 2001.
- Layish, Aharon. "The Transformation of the *Shari'a* from Jurists' Law to Statutory Law in the Contemporary Muslim World". *Die Welt des Islams* 44, no. 1 (2004): 85–113.
- Lee, Julian C.H. 2005. "The Narrative Imperative". *Anthropological Forum* 15, no. 2 (2005): 115–30.
- . "Barisan Nasional — Political Dominance and the General Elections of 2004 in Malaysia". *Südostasien Aktuell* 2 (2007): 38–65.
- . "The Fruits of Weeds: Taking Justice at the Commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of *Operasi Lalang* in Malaysia". *The Round Table* 97, no. 397 (2008a): 605–15.
- . "Batman, Gandhi and Democracy: A Closer Look into the Bar Council Conversion Forum". *Project Malaysia* 1, 2008b. <<http://www.projectmalaysia.org/2008/09/batman-gandhi-and-democracy-a-closer-look-into-the-bar-council-conversion-forum/>>. Accessed 2 April 2009.
- . "Zaitun Kasim, 1967–2008: Malaysian activist". *Off The Edge* 43 (2008c): 10–11.
- Lim Kit Siang. "EC Chairman Rashid should implement 'caretaker gov't concept to ensure free, fair, clean election". In *Lim Kit Siang for Malaysia*, January 2008. <<http://blog.limkitsiang.com/2008/01/06/media-statement-by-parliamentary->

- opposition-leader-and-dap-mp-for-ipoh-timur-lim-kit-siang-in-ipoh-on-sunday-6th-january-2008/>. Accessed 3 April 2009.
- Linde-Laursen, Anders. "Is something rotten in the state of Denmark? The Muhammad cartoons and Danish political culture". *Contemporary Islam* 1, no. 3 (2007): 265–74.
- Lopez, Leslie. "Takeover of newspaper not political, says Berjaya boss". *AsiaMedia: Media News Daily*, 30 January 2008. <<http://www.asiamedia.ucla.edu/article-southeastasia.asp?parentid=86397>>. Accessed 13 March 2008.
- Lunsing, Wim. "Islam versus homosexuality? Some reflections on the assassination of Pim Fortuyn". *Anthropology Today* 19, no. 2 (2003): 19–21.
- Luther, Peter. "Review of The literature of the law: A thoughtful entertainment for lawyers and others". *Web Journal of Current Legal Issues*, no. 5 (1998). <<http://webjcli.ncl.ac.uk/1998/issue5/luther5.html>>. Accessed 13 October 2006.
- Mahathir bin Mohamad. *A New Deal for Asia*. Subang Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1999.
- Malaysiakini.com. "FT PAS Youth defends 'bold' Jawi". *Malaysiakini.com*, 1 February 2005a. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/33306>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- . "Tussle over religion of deceased Everest hero". *Malaysiakini.com*, 22 December 2005b. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/44889>>. Accessed 16 April 2006.
- . "Everest hero: High Court has no jurisdiction". *Malaysiakini.com*, 28 December 2005c. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/45050>>. Accessed 16 April 2006.
- . "PAS 'hypocritical' in demanding ban on SIS". *Malaysiakini.com*, 19 April 2005d. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/35465>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- . "Abim wants religious unit in police force". *Malaysiakini.com*, 17 May 2005e. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/36185>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- . "Brutal end to anti-fuel hike demo". *Malaysiakini.com*, 28 May 2006. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/51684>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- . "Special report: The Hindraf Protest". *Malaysiakini.com*, 27 November 2007. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/75315>>. Accessed 28 November 2007.
- Malaysian Bar. "Walk for Justice: 'When lawyers walk, something must be very wrong'". *Malaysianbar.org.my*, 26 September 2007. <[http://www.malaysianbar.org.my/bar\\_news/berita\\_badan\\_peguam/walk\\_for\\_justice\\_when\\_lawyers\\_walk\\_something\\_must\\_be\\_very\\_wrong\\_.html](http://www.malaysianbar.org.my/bar_news/berita_badan_peguam/walk_for_justice_when_lawyers_walk_something_must_be_very_wrong_.html)>. Accessed 15 March 2008.
- Mandel, Sumit. K. "Boundaries and Beyond: Whither the Cultural Bases of Political Community in Malaysia?". In *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia*, edited by Robert W. Hefner. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

- Mansur, Salim. "Muslims, Democracy, and the American Experience". *Middle East Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (2005): 67–75.
- Marhalim Abas. "Woman Among 14 Detained". *The Malay Mail*, 19 April 2002, p. 2.
- Martinez, Patricia. "Mahathir, Islam, and the New Malay Dilemma". In *Mahathir's Administration: Performance and Crisis in Governance*, edited by Ho Khai Leong and James Chin. Singapore: Times Books International, 2001.
- . "Islam, Constitutional Democracy, and the Islamic State in Malaysia". In *Civil Society in Southeast Asia*, edited by Lee Hock Guan. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004.
- . "Is it always Islam versus civil society?". In *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by K.S. Nathan and M.H. Kamali. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- . *Muslim Identities Public Opinion Survey, Peninsular Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya, 2006.
- Marx, Karl. "The Alleged Split in the International". In *The Thought of Karl Marx: An Introduction*, edited by David McLellan. London: Macmillan, 1971.
- Mauzy, Diane K. and Milne, R.S. "The Mahathir Administration in Malaysia: Discipline through Islam". *Pacific Affairs* 56, no. 4 (1983–1984): 617–48.
- Mazwin Nik Anis. "Fatwa Council deems ancient form of exercise from India 'haram' for Muslims". *The Star*, 23 November 2008. <<http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2008/11/23/nation/2626876&sec=nation>>. Accessed 3 April 2009.
- McLellan, David. *The Thought of Karl Marx: An Introduction*. London: Macmillan, 1971.
- Means, Gordon P. "The Role of Islam in the Political Development of Malaysia". *Comparative Politics* 1, no. 2 (1969): 264–84.
- Mehmet, Ozay. *Islamic identity and development: Studies of the Islamic Periphery*. Kuala Lumpur: Forum, 1990.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Adventures of the Dialectic*. Translated by Joseph Bien. London: Heinemann, 1955.
- . *Humanism and Terror: An Essay on the Communist Problem*. Translated by John O'Neill. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- Mernissi, Fatima. *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam*. Translated by Mary Jo Lakeland. Cambridge: Perseus Books, 1991.
- Miles, William F.S. "Political para-theology: Rethinking religion, politics and democracy". *Third World Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (1996): 525–36.
- Milner, Anthony. "Who Created Malaysia's Plural Society?". *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 72, no. 2 (2003): 1–24.
- Moghissi, Haideh. *Feminism and Islamic Fundamentalism: The Limits of Postmodern Analysis*. London: Zed Books, 2002.

- Mohamad, Maznah. "Women's Engagement with Political Islam in Malaysia". *Global Change, Peace and Security* 16, no. 2 (2004): 133–49.
- Moosa, Ebrahim. "The Dilemma of Islamic Human Rights Schemes". *Journal of Law and Religion* 15, nos. 1–2 (2000–2001): 185–215.
- Moten, Abdul Rashid. "Malaysia as an Islamic State: A Political Analysis". *IKIM Journal of Islam and International Affairs* 1, no. 2 (2003): 1–69.
- . "2008 General Election in Malaysia: Democracy at Work". *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 10, no. 1 (2008): 21–42.
- Munro-Kua, Anne. *Authoritarian populism in Malaysia*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1996.
- Mutalib, Hussin. *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- . *Islam in Malaysia: From Revivalism to Islamic State?* Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1993.
- Muzaffar, Chandra. "Malaysia: Islamic Resurgence and the Question of Development". *Sojourn* 1, no. 1 (1986): 57–75.
- Nagata, Judith. "Islamic Revival and the Problem of Legitimacy among Rural Religious Elites in Malaysia". *Man* 17, no. 1 (1982): 42–57.
- . *The Reflowering of Malaysian Islam: Modern Religious Radicals and Their Roots*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984.
- . "Ethnonationalism versus Religious Transnationalism: Nation-building and Islam in Malaysia". *The Muslim World* LXXXVII, no. 2 (1997): 129–48.
- New Straits Times*. "A controversial plan by the Islamic Development Council (JAKIM) to draw up guidelines for live concerts and other musical performances is off — for now". *New Straits Times*, 28 May 2005. <[http://www.nst.com.my/Current\\_News/NST/Saturday/Frontpage/20050528070647/Article/indexb\\_.htm](http://www.nst.com.my/Current_News/NST/Saturday/Frontpage/20050528070647/Article/indexb_.htm)>. Accessed 28 May 2005.
- Newby, Gordon D. *A Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2002.
- Nmehielle, Vincent Obisienunwo Orlu. "Sharia Law in the Northern States of Nigeria: To Implement or Not to Implement, the Constitutionality is the Question". *Human Rights Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (2004): 730–59.
- Noor, Farish A. "From Majapahit to Putrajaya: The *Kris* as a Symptom of Civilisation Development and Decline (Part 1)". *Kakiseni.com* 14 January 2002. <<http://www.kakiseni.com/articles/columns/MDExMA.html>>. Accessed 15 June 2006.
- . "Blood, Sweat and Jihad: The Radicalization of the Political Discourse of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) from 1982 Onwards". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25, no. 2 (2003): 200–32.
- . *Islam Embedded: The Historical Development of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party PAS (1951–2003)*. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2004.
- . "The Battle for Time and Space in Malaysia's Narrowing Society". *Kakiseni.com*, 28 May 2005. <<http://www.kakiseni.com/articles/features/MDY3Ng.html>>. Accessed 30 May 2005.

- . “‘Amok’ Season Again: How We Perpetuate the Myths of Empire”. *The Other Malaysia*, 18 November 2006. <<http://www.othermalaysia.org/content/view/53/48/>>. Accessed 9 March 2008.
- Norani Othman. “Islamization and democratization in Malaysia in regional and global contexts”. In *Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia*, edited by Ariel Heryanto and Sumit K. Mandal. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Nurul Nazirin. “Controversy over Umno’s ‘racially provocative’ Malays in Peril seminars”. *Malaysiakini.com*, 25 March 2005. <<http://forum.ipoh.com.my/showthread.php?t=1830>>. Accessed 4 April 2009.
- Ong, Kian Ming. “Making sense of the political tsunami”. *Malaysiakini.com*, 11 March 2008. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/79604>>. Accessed 11 March 2008.
- Ooi Kee Beng, Johan Saravanamuttu, and Lee Hock Guan. *March 8: Eclipsing May 13*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.
- Osman Bakar. “Islam and political legitimacy in Malaysia”. In *Islam and Political Legitimacy*, edited by Shahram Akbarzadeh and Abdullah Saeed. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Parti Islam SeMalaysia. *Negara Islam*. Kuala Lumpur: Parti Islam SeMalaysia, 2004. <[www.parti-pas.org/IslamicStateDocument.php](http://www.parti-pas.org/IslamicStateDocument.php)>. Accessed 18 June 2005.
- Peletz, Michael G. “Islam and the Cultural Politics of Legitimacy: Malaysia in the Aftermath of September 11”. In *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democracy*, edited by Robert W. Hefner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Pereira, Brendan. “At the Morality Debate, Winners All”. *New Straits Times*, 1 May 2005, p. 18.
- Phang, L-A. “Don’t write serial numbers on ballot papers, EC staff told”. *The Sun*, 9 March 2008, p. 10.
- Poggi, Gianfranco. *The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Puah, Pauline. “Don’t incite Muslims, warns Nazri”. *Malaysiakini.com*, 20 March 2006. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/48585>>. Accessed 14 April 2006.
- Puthuchery, Mavis. “Malaysia’s Social Contract: Exposing the Myth Behind the Slogan”. *Project Malaysia* 1 (2008). <[www.projectmalaysia.org/2008/09/malaysias-social-contract-exposing-the-myth-behind-the-slogan/](http://www.projectmalaysia.org/2008/09/malaysias-social-contract-exposing-the-myth-behind-the-slogan/)>. Accessed 1 April 2009.
- Rappaport, Roy A. *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Reed, Jean-Pierre, and John Foran. “Political Cultures of Opposition: Exploring Idioms, Ideologies, and Revolutionary Agency in the Case of Nicaragua”. *Critical Sociology* 28, no. 3 (2002): 335–69.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*. Edited by George H. Taylor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

- Roff, William R. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- . “Patterns of Islamization in Malaysia, 1890s–1990s: Exemplars, Institutions, and Vectors”. *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 2 (1998): 210–28.
- Salbiah Ahmad. “The freedom of religion impasse and powers of the High Court”. *The Journal of the Malaysian Bar* XXXII, no. 3 (2003): 60–90.
- . *Critical Thoughts on Islam, Rights and Freedom in Malaysia*. Petaling Jaya: SIRD, 2007.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Literary and Philosophical Essays*. London: Rider and Co., 1955.
- . “Itinerary of a Thought”. *New Left Review* 58, no. 9 (1969): 43–66.
- Schutz, Alfred. *Alfred Schutz: On Phenomenology and Social Relations*. Edited by Helmut R. Wagner. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Scott, James. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- . *Resistance Without Protest: Peasant Opposition to the Zakat in Malaysia and to the Tithe in France. The Fourth James C. Jackson Memorial Lecture, 1986*. Armidale: The University of New England Asia Centre, 1987.
- . “Rituals of Compassion and Social Control”. In *Sociology of ‘Developing Societies’: Southeast Asia*, edited by John G. Taylor and Andrew Turton. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Shahanaaz Habib. “Reject demos and use polls, PM urges public”. *The Star*, 10 November 2007, p. N3.
- Shamsul, Amri Baharuddin. “A Revival in the Study of Islam”. *Man* 18, no. 2 (1983): 399–404.
- Sheridan, L.A. and Groves, Harry E. *The Constitution of Malaysia*. 5th ed. Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Law Journal, 2004.
- Singh, Hari. “Ethnic Conflict in Malaysia Revisited”. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 39, no. 1 (2001): 42–65.
- SIS Forum Asia. “Joint Statement: The State Has No Role in Policing Morality”. Sisters in Islam, 2005. <<http://www.sistersinislam.org.my/MAMP1.htm>>. Accessed 15 December 2005.
- Stewart, Ian. *The Mahathir Legacy: A Nation Divided, A Region at Risk*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2003.
- Syed Ahmad Hussein. “Muslim Politics and the Discourse on Democracy”. In *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices*, edited by Khoo Boo Teik and Francis Loh Kok Wah. Richmond: Curzon, 2002.
- Syed Akbar Ali. *Things in Common*. Kuala Lumpur: Syed Akbar Ali, 2008.
- Syed Husin Ali. “The changing faces of politics and repression in Malaysia”. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (2001): 115–26.
- . “Authoritarian State, Ethnic Violence and Our Tasks”. In *Out of the Tempurung: Critical Essays on Malaysian Society*, edited by Fong Chin Wei and Yin Ee Kiong. Sydney: East West Publishing, 2008a.

- . *The Malays: Their Problems and Future*. Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2008b.
- Syed Naguib Al-Attas. *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1969.
- Tajfel, Henri. "Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination". *Scientific American* 232, no. 2 (1970): 92–102.
- Tan Eng Kong and John E. Carr. "Psychiatric Sequelae of Amok". *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 1, no. 1 (1977): 59–67.
- Tan, Jason. "Law and religious order: The court of Tuan Haji Sulaiman Abdullah". *Off The Edge* 31 (2007): 38–45.
- Teh Yik Koon. "Mak Nyahs (Male Transsexuals) in Malaysia: The Influence of Culture and Religion on their Identity". *The International Journal of Transgenderism* 5, no. 3 (2001). <[http://www.symposion.com/ijt/ijtvo05no03\\_04.htm](http://www.symposion.com/ijt/ijtvo05no03_04.htm)>.
- Theophilus, Claudia. "Orang Asli cry foul over 'forced' conversion". *Malaysiakini.com*, 3 February 2005. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/33358>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- . "Public reminder to uphold constitutional supremacy". *Malaysiakini.com*, 16 March 2006a. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/48253>>. Accessed 14 April 2006.
- . "Police ignored mob, say forum organisers". *Malaysiakini.com*, 15 May 2006b. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/51087>>. Accessed 3 October 2006.
- The Sun*. "14 Islamic NGOs to stage religious forum on Saturday". *The Sun*, 8 August 2006. <<http://www.sun2surf.com/article.cfm?id=15036>>. Accessed 10 September 2006.
- Toth, James. "Local Islam Gone Global: The Roots of Religious Militancy in Egypt and its Transnational Transformation". In *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*, edited by June Nash. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.
- Transparency International. *Global Corruption Report 2008: Corruption in the Water Sector*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Turnbull, Mary C. *A History of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei*. Hong Kong: Allen and Unwin, 1989.
- van Dijk, Kees. "The good, the bad and the ugly: Explaining the unexplainable: amuk massa in Indonesia". In *Roots of Violence in Indonesia*, edited by Freek Colombijn and J. Thomas Lindblad. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
- . "National Pride and Foreign Influences: The Evolution of Mosque Design in Malaysia and Indonesia". In *The Malaysian Way of Life*, edited by Julian C.H. Lee. Shah Alam: Marshall Cavendish, 2010.
- Volpi, Frédéric and Cavatora, Francesco. "Forgetting Democratization? Recasting Power and Authority in a Plural Muslim World". *Democratization* 13, no. 3 (2006): 363–72.

- Waldron, Jeremy. "The Constitutional Conception of Democracy". In *Democracy*, edited by David Estlund. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Watson, C.W. *Of Self and Nation: Autobiography and the Representation of Modern Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.
- Weiss, Meredith L. "The 1999 Malaysian General Elections: Issues, Insults, and Irregularities". *Asian Survey* 40, no. 3 (2000): 413–35.
- . "The Malaysian Human Rights Movement". In *Social Movements in Malaysia: From moral communities to NGOs*, edited by Meredith L. Weiss and Saliha Hassan. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Weiss, Meredith L. and Saliha Hassan. "Introduction: From moral communities to NGOs". In *Social Movements in Malaysia: From moral communities to NGOs*, edited by Meredith L. Weiss and Saliha Hassan. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Welsh, Bridget. "Higher education crisis deepening?". *Malaysiakini.com*, 10 August 2005. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/opinions/features/38832>>. Accessed 15 August 2005.
- Wolf, Eric R. "Facing Power — Old Insights, New Questions". In *The Anthropology of Politics: A Reader in Ethnography, Theory and Critique*, edited by Joan Vincent. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Wong Chin Huat. "The federal and state elections in Malaysia, March 2004". *Electoral Studies* 24, no. 2 (2005): 311–19.
- Wong, Elizabeth. "Officers asked for women's phone numbers". *Malaysiakini.com*, 7 February 2005. <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/letters/33464>>. Accessed 8 February 2005.
- Wu Min Aun. *The Malaysian Legal System*. 2nd ed. Petaling Jaya: Longman, 1999.
- Young, Iris Marion. "Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy". In *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, edited by Seyla Benhabib. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Zainah Anwar. *Islamic revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among the students*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987.
- . "Law-Making in the Name of Islam". In *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by K.S. Nathan and Mohammad Hashim Kamali. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- Zartman, I. William. "Islam, the State, and Democracy: The Contradictions". In *Between the State and Islam*, edited by Charles E. Butterworth and I. William Zartman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.