

Multiracialism and Politics of Regulating Ethnic Relations in Singapore

Netina Tan¹

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, McMaster University
Kenneth Taylor Hall Room 541- 1280 Main Street West
Hamilton, ON Canada L8S 4M4
1-905-525-9140 (Ext. 21271)

netina@mcmaster.ca

<http://www.politicalscience.mcmaster.ca/people/netina>

*Paper prepared for presentation at "Politics of Identity and Nationalism" Panel, CPSA 4-6 Jun 2013.
Work-in-progress, do not cite without permission. All comments welcomed.*

Abstract

This paper examines the implications of regulating ethnic relations through a race-based approach in Singapore. Primarily, the key strategy has been to devise innovative institutions and legal means to repress ethnic politics. Based on 2011 general elections and 2010 Singapore Census Report, it is argued that two ethnic quota policies specific to elections and public housing, used in conjunction with gerrymandering have dispersed ethnic enclaves, decimated ethnic parties and changed the spatial representation of ethnic minority voters. Now, with all electoral constituencies consisting of a majority 75 percent Chinese population, Malay and Indian voters are permanently relegated a minority position, both in numbers and in electoral strength.

Key Words: Singapore, ethnic relations, cleavages, elections, immigration and People's Action Party,

Word Count: 8170 (including abstract, notes and references)

¹ I would like to thank Bernie Grofman and Daniel Bochsler for their detailed comments and suggestions on an earlier longer version of this paper presented at *Constitutional Design and Ethnic Conflict* Conference, New York University, 17 Nov 2012.

Introduction

This paper examines the strategies and effects of regulating ethnic politics in Singapore. Specifically, it considers how multiracialism² or a “race-based approach” towards politics, used in conjunction with gerrymandering changed the spatial representation of ethnic minority voters and repressed ethnic politics. In contrary to Lipset and Rokkan’s “freezing hypothesis”, Singapore’s early socio-ethnic³ cleavages did not determine its party system (1967). In fact, the small island-state is dominated by one party after five decades and has one of the lowest electoral volatility in the region (Hicken and Kuhonta 2011). Instead of being plagued by divisive ethnic politics, the ruling People’s Action Party’s (PAP) government has taken active steps to dismantle the cleavages and embarked on a nation-building exercise based on multiracialism for administrative and political purposes (Siddique 1990; Chua 2003). Since 1970s, the concept of multiracialism has become an ideological basis for rationalizing policies and administrative practices governing race, language, public housing, use of public space and funds (Chua 2003, 76).

Inter-ethnic peace has been established in Singapore for over forty years. Yet, fears of racial riots resurging and conflicts with its Muslim neighbours continue to dominate national discourse. Preserving social cohesion remains central to state survivability while inter-ethnic relations are managed with a “soft-authoritarian form of corporatist democracy” (Thio 2005). To date, public discussions regarding race, language or religion are taboo and prohibited by a wide range of legislations. As the self-declared guardian of the nation’s “fragile” peace, the PAP government actively polices the boundaries of racial and religious discourse and does not hesitate to prosecute those deemed to have caused ill-will, hostility or hatred between races or religions. However, the strict enforcement of rules also infringe on the civil rights and liberties of Singaporeans (Rajah 2012; Thio 2002; Barr and Low 2005) while ad-hoc constitutional reforms that ostensibly protect ethnic minority rights often lack ethical or political consistency (Chua 2003).

This study focuses on the effects of two key policies designed to manage ethnic relations in Singapore, namely, the Group Representative Constituency (GRC) scheme and the Ethnic Integrated Housing Policy (EIP) – ethnic quota policies that ensure a minimum ethnic minority representation in Parliament and in the electoral constituencies. To examine its effects, the first section outlines the historical background to the racial riots and rationale behind the resettlement of ethnic enclaves in the country. The second section then considers the effects of the ethnic quota policies on ethnic minority candidates, voters and their voting behaviour. Based on the 2011 election results, this article shows how ethnic politics have been successfully repressed through eliminating ethnic based parties and marginalizing the ethnic minority voters by ensuring that they permanently retain a minority position in all electoral constituencies.

Singapore is one of Asia’s most culturally diverse and ethnically fractionalized countries (Fearon 2003). After gaining self-government from its British colonial rulers, the country had three difficult years of merger with the Malaysian Federation before separating to become an island-nation in 1965.

² Multiracialism is a concept that acknowledges social heterogeneity and that the population is composed of separate, distinct “races”. For more, see (Siddique 1990; Chua 2003)

³ The term “ethnic/ethnicity” broadly refers to a collective group of individuals who share a common purpose, descriptive labels, common ancestry, place of origin, religion, language or culture (Chandra 2005; Varshney 2012). The term “race/racial” is used where appropriate to reflect the specific Singaporean context and usage as preferred by the Singapore government.

Then, the young nation of about three million had an immigrant stock of 75 percent Chinese, 15 percent Malay, 9 percent Indian and a small percent of other minorities. From late 1950s to 1960s, the immigrant ethnic groups were spatially segregated and concentrated in various parts of Singapore, forming enclaves. Due to legacy of British town planning, the ethnic groups were allocated in different geographical locations that reflected the roles each group played in the economy (Sim, Yu, and Han 2003). The Chinese group was prominent in the congested city core that developed into Chinatown, while the Malays gathered on the eastern fringes of the city, known as Geylang Serai. And another Malay group was prevalent in the extreme west of the city, a former fishing village, as fishing was the main livelihood of the indigenous Malays. On the other hand, Indians were found in four small groupings; the fourth of these was along Serangoon Road, known today as Little India. See Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 here

Weak social fabric and tense relations with Indonesia⁴ and Malaysia led to inter-racial misunderstandings. Consequently, three racial riots broke out in 1950⁵, 1964 and 1969, near the Malay enclaves. See Figure 1. The first that occurred in 1950, known as the Maria Hertogh riot, was triggered by a custody battle between Maria's adoptive Malay family and her Eurasian parents resulting in clashes between Malays and the European and Eurasian communities. In 1964, riots between Chinese and Malays broke out in Geylang Serai, Joo Chiat and Siglap in two periods.⁶ And in 1969, a spill-over from Sino-Malay riots in Malaysia after its general elections also led to seven days of rioting in Singapore around Jalan Eunos (Reynolds 2006). In total, the riots killed 36 people and injured 556.

Multiracialism and Race-Based Equality

In the post-independence period, the government's key strategy to prevent the reoccurrence of racial riots was to eliminate ethnic enclaves by resettling the Malays from villages to highrise buildings. In 1989, the Housing and Development Board – the largest provider of housing in Singapore also imposed a racial quota of allocating public flats to ensure that each race would be represented in approximate proportion to its share of the total population in each housing estate (Chua 1991, 1997). Another distinctive feature of Singapore's nation-building project was to promote multiracialism that de-emphasize the heterogeneous character of each race in favour of a simplified, multiracial CMO (Chinese, Malay, Indian and Others) quadratology. Singapore's model of multiracialism could be described as interactionist, rather than integrationist or assimilationist that acknowledges social heterogeneity and views the population to be composed of separate, distinct "races" (Siddique 1990). Education, employment, housing, immigration and national security policies are designed to ensure that each race retains and perpetuates its distinctiveness within a general framework of national interest. Unlike Malaysia's "consociationalist" (Lijphart 1977) elite-power sharing model that promotes Malay nationalism and recognizes Malay "special position" through the *bumiputra* (son of the soil) policy, Singapore's constitution formally recognizes and ensures the equality of races.

⁴ During Singapore's merger with Malaysia, Indonesia saboteurs planted a total of 29 bombs in Singapore. In 1965 killed three people during Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation which lasted from 1962 to 1966.

⁵ A racial riot between ethnic Malays and the European and Eurasian communities was sparked by the custody battle as the Singapore court ruled that the adopted girl, Maria Hertogh was to be returned to her Catholic biological parents, after being raised a Muslim girl.

⁶ The first incident occurred in July during a Malay procession marking the Birthday of Islamic prophet Muhammad. The second incident was triggered in September when a Malay Trishaw rider was believed to be murdered by a group of Chinese in Geylang Serai. See http://infopedia.nl.sg/articles/SIP_45_2005-01-06.html.

The government's race-based interactionist approach permeates Singaporeans' everyday lives. For example, Singaporeans have to carry identity cards to declare their racial group based on a simplified CMIO racial categories. Official procedures of form-filling or government data collection require individuals to declare their "race", while state sponsored self-help groups are organized along racial lines.⁷ Despite the official declaration to promote racial equality, Malays are treated differently. As a result of Singapore's past rocky relationships with its Muslim neighbours and experience of racial riots, the PAP government is deeply suspicious of the loyalty of its indigenous Malays as it fears that in the event of war with neighbouring states, the Muslim soldiers will put their religion above their country. As PM Lee Hsien Loong once said: "If there is a conflict, we don't want to put anybody in that position where he feels he is not fighting a just cause, and perhaps worse, maybe his side is not the right side" (Peled 1998, 123). Consequently, Malays were excluded from compulsory military conscription for a decade after the scheme was institutionalised. To date, Malays are still absent from sensitive combat and high-ranking positions.⁸

There are inherent tensions in Singapore's race-based approach to manage ethnic relations. As one former Nominated Member of Parliament said, the "apparent contradictions and mixed signals" sent by the government emphasized rather than downplay racial differences (Oon 2009). Racially discriminatory practices also contradict Article 12 of the Singapore Constitution⁹ that guarantees all persons equality before the law and are also inconsistent with "regardless of race, language and religion" tenet enshrined in the National Pledge. In 2002, the Education Ministry's suspension of four Muslim girls for wearing tudung (Islamic headscarf) to schools also violated the girls' freedom of religion guaranteed under Article 15(1) of the Constitution. The racial discriminations are best summarized in a 2010 United Nations Fact Finding Report that found Singapore's practices of ethnic marginalisation and entrenchment of minority status through ethnic categorisations, electoral ethnic quota system, academic under-performance of Malay students and under-representation of minorities in the military, police and intelligence services and judiciary to be pervasive (Gomez 2011).

In response, the PAP leaders have dismissed the legal contradictions and rejected the notion of racial equality for Singaporeans. For example, former PM Lee Kuan Yew insists on the necessity of a racial discriminatory framework as the National Pledge to uphold equality of race, language and religion was "an aspiration" and "not reality" (Oon 2009). Consequently, recommendations by the UN were rejected as the government insists that: "Race, language and religion will always be sensitive issues in Singapore... This balance is only for the Singapore Government to determine because only the Singapore Government bears the responsibility should things go wrong. The UN bears no such responsibility and we see no reason to take risks for the sake of an abstract principle." (Lin 2010).

Legal Controls Governing Race and Religion

Aside from adopting a racially discriminatory framework to manage ethnic relations, the PAP government also relies on innovative laws to prevent ethnic conflicts. With a "flexible" constitution and more than 90 percent of seat shares in Parliament, the PAP government has no difficulty passing

⁷ Mendaki was set up for Malays while three other self-help groups are the Eurasian Association, the Singapore Indian Development Association and the Chinese Development Assistance Council.

⁸ All eligible Malays were only called for to serve National service in 1985. More Malay participation in the Singapore Armed Forces were only permitted in the 1990s. Few are admitted to the Air Force. For more, see (Huxley 2000; Walsh 2007; Petir 1987).

⁹ Article 12 (1) states that "All persons are equal before the law and entitled to the equal protection of the law." See Singapore Constitution in http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/sn00000_.html

draconian laws (Thio and Tan 2009; Thio 2008). Over the years, many laws have been enacted to empower the government to police race and religion in the public arena. Some of these include the Presidential Council for Minority Rights that prevent new laws from discriminating any race, religion or community; the powerful Internal Security Act that allows the government the right to arrest and detain individuals without trial¹⁰; the Singapore Societies Act that forbid political associations from receiving foreign donations; the Public Entertainments Meeting Act¹¹ that requires all outdoor protests to be licensed; the Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act¹² and the Seditious Act¹³ that prohibit expressions that promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different races and Newspaper and Printing Presses Bill that prevents foreign interference in local politics. Of all, the Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act is the most unique invention that gives the government extra jurisdiction to restrain individuals from carrying out activities that excite disaffection against the government or create ill-will between religious groups (Rajah 2012, 219–254).¹⁴

While designed to maintain ethnic peace, the arsenal of rules also have the effect of constraining freedom of expression and muffling dissent (IBA Report 2008; IBA 2011). The government's insistence to have the sole jurisdiction to dictate the parameters for public discourse has given it a distinct advantage over its challengers (Gomez 2011; Rajah 2012). The mainstream media is confined by what is known as "OB markers" – a golfing term to mean "out-of bounds marker" – to denote topics permissible for public discussion. The demarcation of parameters permissible for debate thus reify racial stereotypes and stifle the understanding of social problems facing Singaporeans (Gomez 2011). Over the years, journalists and opposition leaders have learnt to self-censor and skirt around problems concerning race and religion to avoid prosecution or being accused of stoking communal sentiments (George 2012; Gomez 2000). Singaporeans are expected to keep race and religion separate from politics. Individuals who defy these rules are swiftly sanctioned. The prosecution of opposition candidate Tang Liang Hong in 1997 is the best case in point on how campaigning on racial issues could lead to legal tussles.¹⁵ Yet, there is a fine line between the separating religion from politics and use of legal powers to suppress dissent. Government pressures on the Catholic Archbishop to withdraw his letter of support by for an anti-Internal Security Act rally, barring of an Australian clergyman James Minchin and lawyer Robert Amsterdam for the opposition Singapore Democratic Party (SDP) from entering Singapore seemed more political motivated than acts to safeguard "inter-religious and social harmony" (Heng 2012; Au 2012; Lim 2012; SDP 2012).

Subsumed under nation-building rationale, the tight grip has extended to the Internet. In 2005, the Sedition Act was first used when three men were jailed for making inflammatory racist comments on their blogs. Later, a man was warned by the police for putting up offensive cartoons of Jesus Christ on his blog while three teenagers were arrested for racially insensitive remarks on Facebook. In 2010, a

¹⁰ In 1987, the ISA was used to detain 22 Roman Catholic church activists and professionals accused of a Marxist conspiracy bent on subverting the government.

¹¹ The only outdoor place that does not require a permit is the Speaker's Corner created in 2000. See Chapter 257 of Singapore Statutes Online at: <http://statutes.agc.gov.sg>

¹² See Chapter 167A at Singapore Statutes Online at: <http://statutes.agc.gov.sg>.

¹³ The Act was first used in 2005. See Subsection 3 of Sedition Act, 1985 and Chapter 290 of the Singapore Constitution at: <http://statutes.agc.gov.sg>.

¹⁴ This Act empowers the government to detain, fine and jail individuals whose conduct or speech that breach the orders (Jayakumar 2009). See Chapter 167A in the Singapore Constitution.

¹⁵ Tang was accused of being a "Chinese chauvinist" and "anti-Christian" for suggesting that the PAP government was stacked with English-educated, Chinese Christians (Mauzy and Milne 2002, 134–5). After his team's narrow defeat with 45.2 percent vote shares, he was sued by Lee Kuan Yew and others for defamation.

Pastor was investigated for disparaging Buddhism and Taoism in a sermon posted on YouTube (Yen 2012). Recently, a Trade Union employee was sacked for posting a racist rant on her Facebook page on a noisy Malay wedding while a local satirical film “Sex, Violence and Family” was later banned for racist stereotyping (Lim 2012). More worryingly, was the arrest of a cartoonist for sedition for positing satirical comic strip on his Facebook page on the government’s racism (AFP 2013).

In practice, the inconsistent interpretation of multiracialism also invites criticisms. For example, the government oscillates between giving preferential treatment to ethnic minorities¹⁶ and insisting on meritocracy and equal treatment to all by withdrawing free education to all Malay students. The exemption of all Malay students from paying tuition fees was stopped in 1991 (Mutalib 2004; Rahim 2008).¹⁷ Besides, immigration policies also seek to maintain a 75 percent Chinese majority in the national racial distribution by importing overseas Chinese to the country. In 1989, permanent residency was offered to 25,000 Hong Kong Chinese before its handover to China in 1997 (Chua 2003, 69). Recently, Singapore liberalized its immigration policies by inviting more Chinese from China to work, study or live in Singapore. The sudden influx of immigrants has led to social integration problems. As overseas Chinese become the largest group of foreign property buyers in the country, Singaporeans have to cope with rising housing prices, depressed wages and increased competition for jobs and schools (Ong 2012). Unavoidably, the preferential treatment for Chinese has raised dissatisfactions amongst the Malays and Indians.

The inconsistent regulation of ethnic relations is evident not only in the socio-economic spheres but also in the electoral arena. The following sections will focus on two controversial policies, namely, the Group Representative Constituencies (GRC) and Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP) that were overtly introduced to protect ethnic minority rights but instead, extended partisan interests and marginalized minorities. Studies elsewhere show that the GRC and EIP schemes have strengthened the PAP’s hegemonic rule by concentrating the party system, raising the electoral disproportionality of electoral outcome and reducing representativeness of the electoral system (N. Tan, under review). Here, the focus is on the effects of policies on ethnic minorities candidates, parties and voters.

Group Representative Constituency Scheme and Ethnic Integrated Policy

From 1965 to 1987, Singapore was spatially divided into single-member constituencies (SMC) based on simple plurality electoral system. In 1988, an ethnic quota policy was introduced to include at least one ethnic minority candidate in each multi-member or Group Representative Constituency (GRC). Each party contesting in a GRC has to field a multi-member team with at least one ethnic minority of Indian, Malay or mixed ethnicity. To ensure adequate Malay parliamentary representation, three-fifths of the total number of GRCs, are required to have a Malay candidate in each team, while the rest may be from other ethnic minorities. In the following year, the Housing Development Board (HDB) introduced the Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP) to ensure each race would be represented in approximate proportion to its share of the total population in each housing flat and estate. The aim of this ethnic housing quota is to prevent the formation of ethnic enclaves and to integrate the minority groups in the housing estates. As the HDB is the Singapore’s biggest housing provider that built more than 870,000 flats for 85 percent of the population; the EIP thus effectively affects nearly all

¹⁶ Article 152 of Constitution makes it the responsibility of the government to recognize and care for the “special position of the Malays as the indigenous people of Singapore”.

¹⁷ A new tuition arrangement was set up by giving an advance of \$10 million to Mendaki – a Malay self-help group to subsidize the tuition fees of poor Malay students. Malay students whose family household exceeds the ceiling, as decided by the government have to pay tuition (Mutalib 2004, 210–1)

Singaporeans. Presently, each housing estate is curbed at 84 percent for Chinese, 22 percent for Malays and 10 percent for Indians or others, and three percent higher for each housing block¹⁸ (Chih 2002; Saad 2010; Sim, Yu, and Han 2003).

1. Electability of Ethnic Minority Candidates

The official reason for introducing the GRC was because of the government's concern with ethnic voting and not returning ethnic minority candidates in Chinese dominant constituencies. However, there is little basis to this claim. To begin with ethnic minority candidates, especially from the opposition parties were increasingly popular in the 1980s. Amongst the opposition parties, the Workers' Party (WP) was performing the best, earning more than 35 percent of vote shares in 1972, 1976, 1980 and 1984 elections. Both the PAP and opposition parties have little difficulty fielding ethnic minority candidates and winning in single member constituency (SMC) before 1988.¹⁹ On average, Indian candidates tend to perform better than Malay candidates. In fact, in 1984 election, the election before the launch of GRC, ethnic minority candidates were competitive as more than nine minority candidates (from the WP and the PKMS) earned more than 35 percent vote shares. The success of opposition WP ethnic minority candidate J.B. Jeyaratnam in the 1981 Anson by-election also negates the claim that minority candidates are unelectable in Chinese dominant constituency. Indeed, this landmark by-election that broke the PAP's legislative hegemony offers clear evidence that Singaporean voters were more concerned with issues such as housing prices rather than the candidate's ethnicity. Besides, the victory of Eurasian PAP candidate, Michael Palmer in Punggol East 2011 election lends further proof that performance rather than ethnicity matter in elections.

The GRC scheme was introduced despite opposition from the ethnic minority communities. In part, the resistance had stemmed from scepticism with the PAP's history with political self-preservation rather than concern with safeguarding the special position of minorities (Kassim 1974; Mutalib 2004; Mutalib 2012; Rahim 2008). Singaporean Malays were earlier resentful of the PAP government for not extending special rights to them as enshrined in the 1957 Malaysian Constitution after separation.²⁰ They also felt used as a group, as it is observed that when the PAP's minority support was weak, the PAP was quick to co-opt Malay leaders into the party, grassroots and governmental positions. But once the support of minority voters was less critical, less concern was shown to promote Malays' rights. As Rahim says:

¹⁸ When Chinese quotas are reached, non-Chinese sellers cannot sell to Chinese buyers because the transaction increases the Chinese proportion above the Chinese quota. Another similar quota is also imposed on immigrants to prevent the congregation of permanent residents and foreigners living in one area.

¹⁹ The PAP's minority candidates typically earned an average of 76 per cent of vote shares. Many PAP minority candidates had won seats without having to face contests in 1968, 1972, 1976 and 1980 GEs. However, this phenomenon has abated in recent years.

²⁰ After Singapore's separation from Malaysia, Singaporean Malays expected to benefit from the special rights for Malays enshrined in the 1957 Federation of Malaya Constitution. However, they realized that it was not part of the agreement and resented the PAP government (Rahim 2008). In 1972 GE, the PAP Malay candidates had a tough time winning votes against candidates from Malay parties such as the Pertubohan Kebangsaan Melayu (PKMS) in Malay dominant constituencies in Kampong Kembangan and Geyland Serai.

“Malay support was crucial to the political ambitions of the PAP during the tumultuous pre-merger and merger period, when its own political fortunes hang precariously in the balance. Expediently, the Malay was offered cultural goods, constitutional guarantees on the special position and rights of the Malays and promises to strengthen their relative socio-economic status. However, when the Malays were no longer as politically important to the political calculations of the PAP leadership after separation, they become less sensitive to the concerns of the community. In the event, the PAP government’s obligations under Section 152 of the Singapore Constitution have been disregarded in the rhetorical fanfare of building multi-racial and meritocratic society.” (2008, 111)

The PAP’s co-optation of Malay leaders undermined the credibility and standing of PAP minority leaders amongst the ethnic minority community. PAP Malay MPs are mistrusted by the Malay community as they are seen to promote party policies, rather than advance the interest of Malay community (Mutalib 2004, 219; Peled 1998, 120). For example, former PAP Malay MP Othman Wok and Yaacob Mohammed were branded by Malays as ‘infidels’ and had difficulties forming relations with Malays at the grassroots level (Mutalib 2012, 81–2). By the 1980s, the vote shares of the PAP ethnic minority candidates were fast declining, from a high of 83 per cent in 1968 to a low of 66 per cent by 1988. The fall in the popularity of the PAP minority candidates could better explain the invention of the GRC scheme to ensure their electability. Concerns with their electability thus account for their absence in SMCs for 15 years. As Figure 2 shows, PAP stopped fielding minority candidates in SMCs after 1988 and the opposition parties followed suit after 1997.

Insert Figure 2 here.

Since 1988, ethnic minority candidates have all fielded in GRCs. Legally, the ethnic quota imposed on all the GRCs guarantees about 17 percent of legislative seats for ethnic minorities. However, as the PAP sends more than one minority candidate in the GRC, the actual ethnic minority legislative representation has risen to 27.6 percent in 2011, exceeding the total national ethnic minority population of 25 percent. See Figure 2.

2. Changing the Representative Role of Ethnic Minority MPs and Parties

The GRC scheme not only changed the way parties select their candidates, it also changed the representative role of the ethnic minority MP and his relationship with his ethnic constituents. Ethnic minority candidates are required to stand in the GRC as part of a multi-member team. What this means is that an ethnic minority MP in a GRC can no longer claim to represent just the minority interests in a multi-member constituency. Rather, he has to represent the interests of all the constituents of different race, language or religions. As PM Lee Hsien Loong said in response to the election of first opposition Malay MP: “The Malay MPs all play a dual role. They’re leaders of the Malay community, but they also represent all constituents of all races”(Chan 2011).

There are inherent problems with the dual role of elected ethnic minority MPs in the GRCs. First, ethnic minority candidates are not nominated or selected by the ethnic minority groups but directly by party leaders. In Singapore, parties do not hold primaries and party leaders choose their candidates. Hence, whether the selected minority candidates are leaders of their community and can claim as representatives of group interests by virtue of their descriptive traits is questionable. For example, the PAP Malay MPs are often from the educated or middle-class background. They suffer from credibility problem as they are seen to be promoters of party policies and do not connect well with the working class Malay voters on the ground (Mutalib 2012; Rahim 2008). Ironically, even when the GRC scheme

ensures the qualitative representation of minorities, it does not necessarily guarantee their substantive representation.

Second, standing as part of a multi-member team could also dilute the direct relationship the ethnic minority MP has with its minority constituents. The multi-member, party bloc vote plurality system implies that voter has no choice of individual candidate but has to vote for the whole slate of candidates based on their party affiliation. This party-centric electoral system does not offer voter the choice of candidate but choice based on party platform. Hence, there is no direct link between the ethnic minority leader and his minority constituent. Besides, each MP in the GRC is allocated a specific geographical area of responsibilities. The assigned MP, regardless of ethnicity, is expected to serve everyone, regardless of race or language in the assigned area. With a limited geographical job scope, the representative role of an ethnic minority MP for his community is thus constrained.

Third, the GRC scheme ensures that all the political parties are inclusive, broad based and focused on national issues to stand any chance of winning. To be electable, ethnic parties such as the Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu (PKMS)²¹ has to work in an alliance with other parties to field a multi-ethnic team to contest in the GRCs. As part of a team, it is then more difficult for parties such as the PKMS to focus only on promoting Malay rights and interests. While they could still contest in SMCs, but the number of SMCs has been cut from 42 in 1988 to 12 by 2011. Hence, through the GRC scheme, ethnic parties are “forced” to collaborate and focus on national, cross-cutting issues.

3. Changing Electoral Boundaries

In Singapore, the Election Commission is a branch under the PM’s office.²² Unsurprisingly, the failure to establish an independent Election Commission invites criticism of gerrymandering and malapportionment to the ruling party’ advantage (Kor 2011). Indeed, changes made to electoral boundaries are shrouded in secrecy. No explanation is given to why certain constituency was dissolved or new ones were created. While the rationale behind the redrawing boundaries was spelled out in a 42-page report in 1958, this has since changed. Now, the report only contains seven pages, with explanations reduced to one paragraph that states that the changes are reflections of “population changes since the last boundary delineation exercise”(Li 2010). Yet, no demographic data on the constituencies is available to corroborate the claims. Singapore’s opaque boundary redrawing process differs sharply from other Westminster Parliamentary systems such as in the U.K. where the Boundary Commissions are non-departmental and electoral redistribution proposals are published with the allowance of public inquiries if critiques are received before submission to the Parliament (Johnston 1986, 280–1).

The GRC and EIP, used in conjunction with gerrymandering and malapportionment have changed the spatial representation of ethnic voters and benefitted the ruling party.²³ The sizes of constituencies have changed every election since 1988. The sizes of the GRCs increased from three members per team to a high of five and six by 1997. Now, about 90 percent of 87 constituencies are

²¹ The PKMS is a spent force. Apart from being handicapped by the new electoral system, the party has been weakened by constant leadership struggles and poor party organization.

²² Singapore’s Elections Department is under the PM’s office and responsible for managing the elections. Boundary changes do not require constitutional changes but are proposed by the Electoral Boundaries Committee, comprising of five senior civil servants.

²³ Studies show that gerrymandering and re-apportionment begun as far back in 1960s. Rahim observes that Malay enclaves were re-apportioned to reduce the electability of candidates from Malay parties (2008).

composed of GRCs while the total number of SMCs has been reduced from 79 in 1984 to just 9 in 2006. In the latest 2011 election, eight of out 12 SMCs were created, boosting the number of SMCs to 12. Some SMCs are oddly shaped and have disproportionate sizes while others are located in the middle of GRCs such as Bukit Panjang, Hong Kah North and Radin Mas SMCs. The arbitrary boundary changes and creation of new constituencies thus reinforce the view that partisan gerrymandering is occurring.

On average, the PAP benefitted from the boundary changes as its total vote shares increased for both GRCs and SMCs after the redrawing exercises.²⁴ A comparative study of the average total vote shares of the PAP and the opposition in the dissolved and newly created constituencies from 1988 to 2011 elections show that on average, the PAP gained 5.5 percentage points in the newly created GRCs and 2.5 percentage points in newly created SMCs. Besides, increase in the sizes of the GRCs has also improved the PAP's vote share from 57.8 percent (1988-1997) to 63.5 percent (1988-2011). Comparatively, dissolving and merging SMCs only boosted the PAP's vote share slightly from 65.3 to 67.7 percent. See Table 1.

Insert Table 1 here.

What is perhaps significant is that since 1988, the SMCs with strong support for opposition ethnic minority candidates have been merged with larger Chinese majority constituencies or split to be part of PAP strongholds. See Table 4. The changes have served to dilute the strength of opposition ethnic voters. For example, SMCs with more 35 percent vote share for opposition minority candidates in Anson (56%), Jalan Kayu (48.8%), Kampung Kembangan (44%), Kolam Ayer (42%), Kampong Ubi (36.3%) and Jalan Besar (35.6%) have been dissolved or merged with other GRCs in Aljunied, Marine Parade, Cheng San (now defunct). Anson constituency is perhaps the best example to show gerrymandering. Won by the WP in 1981 and 1984 elections, the SMC was split and divided between Tanjong Pagar and Kreta Ayer GRCs, two PAP strongholds with one held by former PM Lee Kuan Yew. See Table 2.

Insert Table 2 here.

4. Changing Spatial Representation of Ethnic Voters

A key aim of the EIP is to eliminate ethnic enclaves and disperse populations with too many Malays or Indians. Regular malapportionment before each election also helps to achieve this aim. While there are no official statistics on the ethnic demography of each constituency, estimates based on 2010 Singapore Census Report and media reports show that ethnic minorities have been successfully distributed in all 27 electoral constituencies. Presently, there is no constituency with a majority of Malays or Indians in any SMC or GRC. Most constituencies throughout the island have less than 20 percent of Malay residents, except in Tampines, which has about 23 per cent, above the national average of 14 per cent. See Figure 3 with locations of the different ethnic groups with higher than HDB allowable quotas of ethnic resident population.

²⁴ Pro-opposition GRCs have been regularly been split into other pro-PAP GRCs (e.g. Cheng San GRC was split into three parts in 1997). GRCs with more than 40 percent of opposition support have experienced redistribution. For example, hotly contested GRCs such as Cheng San, Eunos, Bedok and Tiong Bahru have been eliminated over the years. Likewise, closely fought SMCs such as Braddell Heights, Bukit Batok, Changi, Nee Soon South and Paya Lebar (with more than 45 percent opposition vote share) have all mysteriously disappeared.

Insert Figure 3 here.

There are many implications to the new spatial distribution of ethnic voters. First, the EIP ensures that the ethnic minority groups will always retain their minority status in each electoral constituency, both in numbers and in electoral strength. Hence, no minority candidate can expect to win the election by mobilizing ethnic minority issues, as the majority of the constituencies will always be Chinese. Nationally, the total Malay voting population is less than 17 percent of the total Singapore electorate. By ensuring ethnic minorities remain a minority group in each constituency deprives ethnic parties and candidates of their support bases. In the past, the PKMS that enjoyed Malay support could have won in Malay enclaves such as Geylang Serai or Kampong Kembangan with about 40 percent of Malays before the EIP. For example, in 1989, the Parliament was told that if no ethnic housing quota was introduced, Malays would have constituted 43 percent in Bedok while Chinese will comprise 93.1 percent in Bukit Merah (Mutalib 2004, 213). Without the EIP, former Malay enclaves with more than 40 percent of Malay voters could have supported opposition ethnic minority candidate and become an electoral threat to the PAP.

Based on 2006 election results, a study by Joel Fetzer (2008) has found that ethnic minority voters, especially the Malays, to have withdrawn support from the PAP. By comparing the PAP's vote shares in Malay designated and Indian designated GRCs in the 2006 election, he found the PAP to be losing support from the Malay more than the Indian voters. However, by expanding the study to include SMCs here, the 2011 elections shows that Malay voters are still supportive of the PAP.²⁵ Comparatively, the PAP is in fact less popular in areas with more Chinese working class voters, from the Northeast and Eastern region. Based on 2011 election results and demographic data drawn from the 2010 Census Report, estimates show that constituencies with higher Malay population in Sembawang, Pioneer and Hong Kah North (except Tampines, geographically located near opposition strongholds in the North Eastern region) display strong support for the PAP in 2011 elections. On the other hand, constituencies with higher Chinese populations such as in Aljunied, Hougang and Potong Pasir have enjoyed higher opposition support. See Table 3.

Insert Table 3 here.

For 2011 election, the results show that the districts with more than 80 percent large Chinese working class majority, located in the Northeastern part of Singapore are more pro-opposition. In fact, there seems to be some spillover effect as the opposition Workers' Party has enjoyed a winning streak in the Northeastern region after winning the Aljunied GRC with a 54.7 per cent vote share and bringing five opposition MPs to the house for the first time since the GRC was introduced. The Workers' Party also retained its Hougang seat in a by-election in 2012 and hit another landslide victory with another by-election win in Punggol East in 2013. Overall, despite the opposition's loss of Potong Pasir to the PAP by a very narrow margin (49.6 percent) in 2011 election, the support for the opposition remains strong in the Northeast region – an area with higher Chinese working class voters. What this implies is that with a widening income inequality and social integration problems from a fast changing demography in Singapore, more attention ought to be placed on addressing a class cleavage rather than an ethnic one.

Ethnic voters are no longer posing a threat to the PAP government. Aside from the Malays, the constituencies with above average Indian population also show mixed results. For example, while

²⁵ Even after former PM Lee Kuan Yew's insensitive complaint about Malay's non-integration, the PAP leaders were still confident of their Malay support base (Chan 2011).

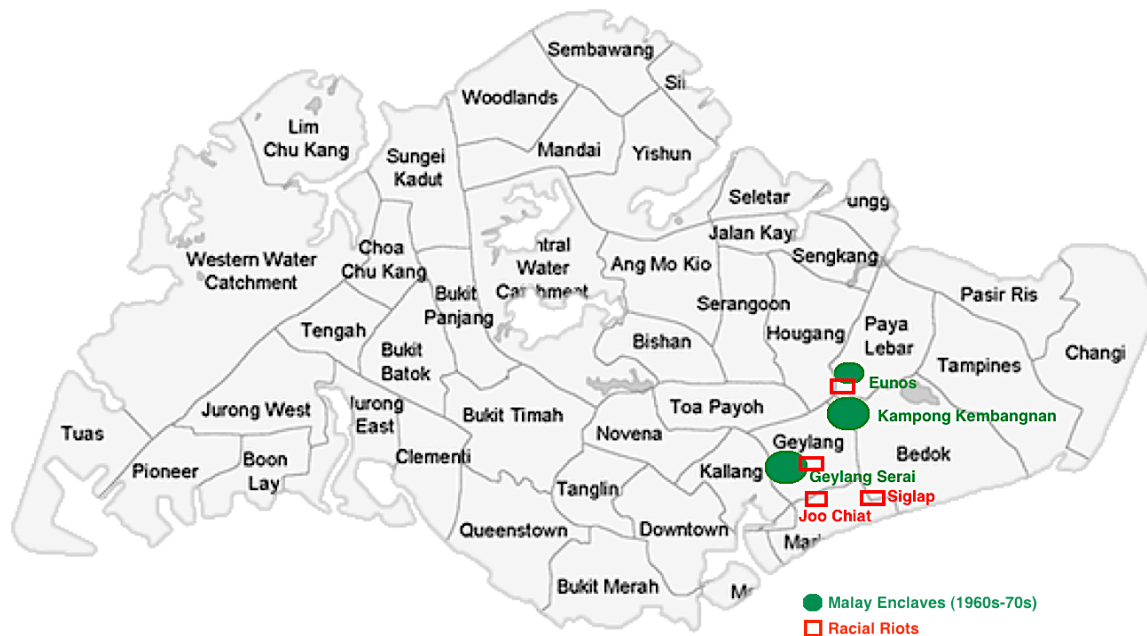
Moulmein-Kallang GRC (41.5 percent) and Mountbatten SMC (41.4 percent) in the Eastern part of Singapore show strong support for the opposition, Whampoa (33.9 percent) and Yuhua (33.1 percent) SMCs remain supportive of the PAP. Overall, it appears that despite the government's racially discriminatory policies and early strained relationship between the PAP and the Malay, the ruling party retains the support of the Malay constituents. As PM Lee Hsien Loong proudly declared after the 2011 election: "I believe that the Malay voters were with us in this general election...the Malay votes were strong." (Chan 2011)

Conclusion

There are useful lessons to be drawn from Singapore's race-based approach to regulate inter-ethnic relations. First, Singapore's success in regulating ethnic politics offers evidence that polarizing politics need not plague multi-ethnic societies. Ironically, the PAP government's racially discriminatory framework has had the positive effect of repressing ethnic politics and eliminating conflicts. This, in a large part, has been facilitated by the use of draconian laws to prevent the politicization of ethnic or religious issues. However, Singapore's ethnic peace has been achieved in the expense of sacrifices to individual rights and freedom. The legal constraints designed to empower the government to police racial and religious discourse have muffled dissent and stifled civil society. At times, the government's clamp down appears more self-serving than for the preservation of social and ethnic harmony. Indeed, the use of the rule of law for partisan gains is typical of regimes that rely on law for stability. As Dobson reminds us: "Today's twenty-first century authoritarianism crave the type of legitimacy that only the law can provide. For regimes that seek to mask their true nature behind a façade, the law is one of the most powerful weapons they can wield. It offers the government the pretense it requires to accomplish its aims, all without stepping out of the shadows." (2013)

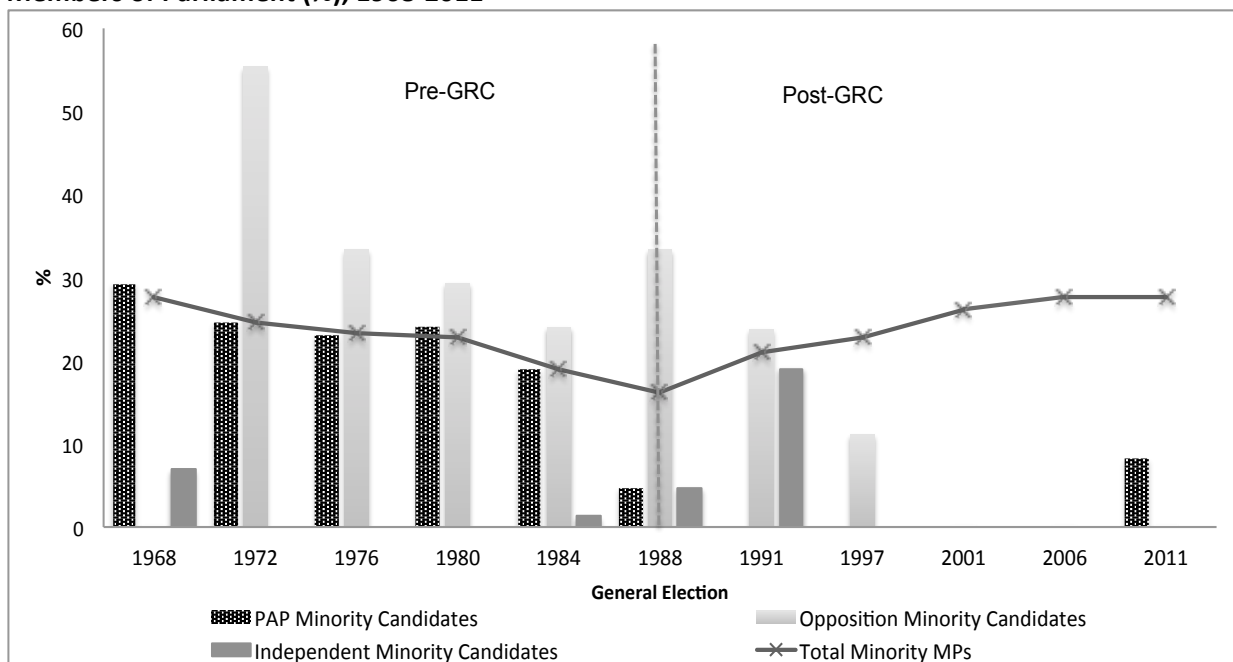
The study of Singapore's ethnic policies for elections and public housing demonstrate the redistributive power of institutions. Based on limited demographic data, it is argued that the policies combined with gerrymandering have successfully altered ethnic politics and voting behaviour. As this paper attempts to show, the ethnic quota policies have changed the selection of ethnic minorities candidates, boosted their legislative representation, dispersed enclaves and changed the spatial representation of ethnic voters to ensure they remain a minority in every constituency. All these combined have the effect of repressing ethnic politics and raised support for the ruling party. Despite the government's racially discriminatory policies and approach, Malay voters have turned from being anti-PAP in the early years to being supporters of PAP. The snap shot view of the 2011 election results and estimates from the demography of the electoral constituencies show that areas with higher Malay populations are pro-PAP while the Chinese working class constituencies in the Northeastern region are pro-opposition. In sum, while ethnic policies in Singapore altered voting behaviour and brought ethnic peace, but whether they also improve the interests and welfare of ethnic minorities remains to be seen. With the influx of new immigrants and widening inequality in the country, more attention needs to be placed on the problems of an emerging class cleavage rather than ethnic politics in future.

Figure 1: Locations of Malay Enclaves and Racial Riots in the 1960s



Source: Compiled by author

Figure 2: Ethnic Minority Candidates in Single Member Constituencies and Elected Minority Members of Parliament (%), 1968-2011



Source: Compiled based on data from Singapore Elections.

Table 1: Average Vote Shares of the PAP and Opposition Parties in All Newly Created Constituencies and Dissolved Constituencies, 1988 - 2011

| | Dissolved GRCs (%) | New GRCs (%) | Vote Difference | Dissolved SMCs (%) | New SMCs (%) | Vote Difference |
|--|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Average Total PAP Vote Share | 57.8 | 63.3 | +5.5 | 65.3 | 67.7 | +2.4 |
| Average Total Opposition Vote Share | 42.3 | 36.7 | -5.6 | 34.4 | 32.0 | -2.4 |

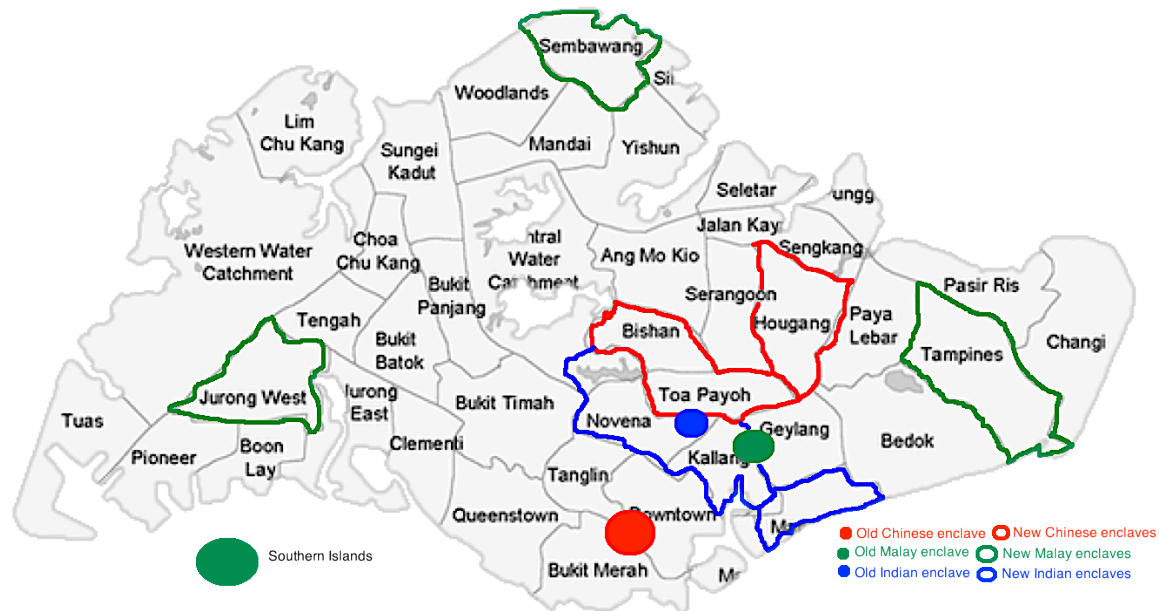
Source: Data from Singapore Elections.

Table 2: Ethnic Minority Opposition Candidates and Changes to Single Member Constituencies After 1984

| Party | Race | Vote Share % | SMC in 1984 | Changes after 1988 GE |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|
| WP | Eurasian | 33.2 | Alexandra | Remained |
| WP | Indian | 56.8 | Anson | Split between Tanjong Pagar, Kreta Ayer GRCs |
| JPS | Malay | 24.6 | Ayer Rajah | Remained |
| UPF | Malay | 25.3 | Bo Wen | Disappeared |
| SUF | Indian | 30.4 | Boon Lay | Remained |
| WP | Malay | 33.7 | Brickworks | Brickworks GRC |
| SUF | Malay | 34.4 | Geylang Serai | Marine Parade GRC |
| WP | Indian | 48.8 | Jalan Kayu | Cheng San GRC |
| WP | Indian | 35.6 | Jalan Besar | Jalan Besar GRC |
| WP | Indian | 35.1 | Kallang | Remained |
| WP | Malay | 44.3 | Kampong Kembangan | Aljunied GRC |
| PKMS | Malay | 36.3 | Kampong Ubi | Aljunied GRC |
| UPF | Indian | 24.2 | Kebun Baru | Remained |
| WP | Eurasian | 42.1 | Kolam Ayer | Jalan Besar GRC |
| WP | Eurasian | 33.2 | Leng Kee | Remained |
| SUF | Eurasian | 29.1 | Marine Parade | Marine Parade GRC |
| Ind | Indian | 22.6 | Sembawang | Sembawang GRC |
| UPF | Malay | 27.7 | Tampines | Tampines GRC |
| WP | Indian | 45.0 | Telok Blangah | Remained |
| UPF | Indian | 23.3 | Yio Chu Kang | Remained |

Source: Data from Singapore Elections. *Bold: Candidates with more than 35 percent vote share.

Figure 3: Locations of New and Old Ethnic Enclaves, 1960s and 2011.



Source: Based on data from Singapore Census Report 2010 and Straits Times constituency reports.

Table 3: New Ethnic “Enclaves” and Opposition Support in 2011 General Election

| Chinese Dominant Districts | Estimated Ethnic Group Population % | Opposition Vote Share (%) |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Aljunied | 84.2 | 54.7 |
| Bishan Toa-Payoh | 83 | 43.07 |
| Hougang | 83.1 | 64.8 |
| Potong Pasir | 84 | 49.6 |
| Malay Dominant Districts | Estimated Ethnic Group Population % | Opposition Vote Share (%) |
| Tampines | 23.4 | 42.8 |
| Sembawang | 21 | 36.1 |
| Pioneer | 19.5 | 39.3 |
| Hong Kah North | 18.9 | 29.3 |
| Indian Dominant Districts | Estimated Ethnic Group Population % | Opposition Vote Share (%) |
| Moulmein-Kallang | 13.7 | 41.5 |
| Mountbatten | 22 | 41.4 |
| Whampoa | 13.4 | 33.9 |
| Yuhua | 13.4 | 33.1 |

Source: Compiled based on data from Singapore Elections and various media reports.

References

- AFP. 2013. "Singapore Cartoonist Arrested for Sedition: Lawyer", April 24.
<http://dawn.com/2013/04/24/singapore-cartoonist-arrested-for-sedition-lawyer/>.
- Barr, Michael D., and Jevon Low. 2005. "Assimilation as Multiracialism: The Case of Singapore's Malays." *Asian Ethnicity* 6 (October): 161–182. doi:10.1080/14631360500226606.
- Chan, Robin. 2011. "'Strong Malay Support' for PAP." *Straits Times*, May 9. <http://www.google.ca/ig?hl=en>.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (02): 235–252. doi:10.1017/S1537592705050188.
- Chih, Hoong Sin. 2002. "The Quest for a Balanced Ethnic Mix: Singapore's Ethnic Quota Policy Examined." *Urban Studies* 39 (8) (July): 1347–1374.
- Chua, Beng Huat. 1991. "Race Relations and Public Housing Policy in Singapore." *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 8 (4): 343–354.
- . 1997. *Political Legitimacy and Housing: Singapore's Stakeholder Society*. Routledge.
- . 2003. "Multiculturalism in Singapore: An Instrument of Social Control." *Race and Class* 44 (3): 58–77.
- Dobson, William J. 2013. *The Dictator's Learning Curve: Inside the Global Battle for Democracy*. Anchor.
- Fearon, J. D. 2003. "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8 (2): 195–222.
- Fetzer, Joel. 2008. "Election Strategy and Ethnic Politics in Singapore." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 4 (1): 135–153.
- George, Cherian. 2012. *Freedom from the Press: Journalism and State Power in Singapore*. Singapore: NUS Press. <http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/p-8808-9789971695941.aspx>.
- Gomez, James. 2000. *Self-Censorship: Singapore's Shame*. Think Centre.
- . 2011. "Politics and Ethnicity: Framing Racial Discrimination in Singapore." *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 28 (2): 103–117.
- Heng, Janice. 2012. "Australian Clergyman Barred From Entering Singapore." *Straits Times*, November 11. <http://www.straitstimes.com/breaking-news/singapore/story/australian-clergyman-barred-entering-singapore-20121111>.
- Hicken, A., and E. M. Kuhonta. 2011. "Shadows From the Past: Party System Institutionalization in Asia." *Comparative Political Studies* (February).
- Huxley, T. 2000. *Defending the Lion City: The Armed Forces of Singapore*. Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, NSW.
- IBA. 2011. "IBA: Systematic Repression of Freedom in Singapore." February 9. http://yoursdp.org/news/iba_systematic_repression_of_freedom_in_singapore/2011-02-09-3246.
- IBA Report. 2008. "Prosperity Versus Individual Rights? Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law in Singapore". International Bar Association (IBA).
- Jayakumar, S. 2009. "Don't Take Harmony for Granted." *Straits Times*, July 27. <http://www.pap.org.sg/articleview.php?id=5240&cid=23>.
- Johnston, R.J. 1986. "Constituency Redistribution in Britain: Recent Issues." In *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*, 277–288. New York: Agathon Press. http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/bd/bdz/mobile_browsing.
- Kassim, Ismail. 1974. *Problems of Elite Cohesion: a Perspective from a Minority Community*. Singapore University Press.
- Kor, Kian Beng. 2011. "Opposition Accuses PAP of Gerrymandering." *Straits Times*. February 25. http://www.straitstimes.com/PrimeNews/Story/STIStory_638650.html.
- Li, Xueying. 2010. "Making Sense of Electoral Boundaries." *Straits Times*, September 18. <http://www.preshigh.edu.sg/teachers/laick/Singapore/Political%20Parties/Making%20sense%20of%20electoral%20boundaries.aspx>.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lim, Z.W. 2012. "3 Possible Outcomes to Amy Cheong's Case", October 13. <http://www.asiaone.com/print/News/Latest%2BNews/Singapore/Story/A1Story20121011-377046.html>.
- Lin, Rachel. 2010. "MFA Responds to UN Expert on Race Issues." *AsiaOne*, April 29. <http://www.asiaone.com/News/AsiaOne+News/Singapore/Story/A1Story20100429-213050.html>.

- Lipset, S. M., and S. Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments." In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspective*, edited by S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, 1–64. N.Y.: The Free Press.
- Mauzy, D. K., and R. S. Milne. 2002. *Singapore Politics Under the People's Action Party*. Routledge.
- Mutalib, Hussin. 2004. *Parties And Politics: A Study Of Opposition Parties And The Pap In Singapore*. Marshall Cavendish Academic.
- . 2012. *Singapore Malays: Being Ethnic Minority and Muslim in a Global City-State*. Routledge.
- Ong, C. 2012. "Why Singaporeans' Fear of New Immigrants Is Not 'irrational'." *Straits Times*, April 5. <http://kentrledgecommon.com/?p=6801>.
- Oon, Clarissa. 2009. "Minister Mentor Rebuts NMP's Notion of Race Rquality." *Straits Times*, August 20. <http://wanderingchina.blogspot.ca/2009/08/minister-mentor-lee-kwan-yew-rebuts.html>.
- Peled, Alon. 1998. *A Question of Loyalty: Military Manpower Policy in Multiethnic States*. Cornell University Press.
- Petir. 1987. "Responding to the Observations of the MPs", April. <http://www.google.ca/ig?hl=en>.
- Rahim, Lily Zubaidah. 2008. "Winning and Losing Malay Support: PAP-Malay Community Relations, 1950s-1960s." In *Paths Not Taken: Political Pluralism in Post-War Singapore*, 95–115. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Rajah, Jothie. 2012. *Authoritarian Rule of Law: Legislation, Discourse and Legitimacy in Singapore*. Cambridge University Press.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2006. "Electoral Systems and the Protection and Participation of Minorities." Minority Rights Groups (MRG). UK: Minority Rights Groups (MRG). <http://www.minorityrights.org/1075/reports/electoral-systems-and-the-protection-and-participation-of-minorities.html>.
- Saad, Imelda. 2010. "PRs May Be Subjected to Ethnic Integration Policy in Buying Flats." *Channelnewsasia.com*, January 29. <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/singaporelocalnews/view/1033813/1/.html>.
- SDP. 2012. "James Minchin Refused Entry to Singapore." *Singapore Democratic Party*. November 9. <http://yoursdp.org/news/2012-11-09-5440>.
- Siddique, Sharon. 1990. "The Phenomenology of Ethnicity: A Singapore Case-Study." *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 5 (1) (February 1): 35–62.
- Sim, Loo Lee, Shi Ming Yu, and Sun Sheng Han. 2003. "Public Housing and Ethnic Integration in Singapore." *Habitat International* 27 (2) (June): 293–307. doi:10.1016/S0197-3975(02)00050-4.
- Tan, Netina. Forthcoming. "Manipulating Electoral Laws in One-Party Hegemonic States: The Case of Singapore." *Electoral Studies*.
- Thio, Li-Ann. 2002. "Lex Rex or Rex Lex? Competing Conceptions of the Rule of Law in Singapore." *UCLA PAC.BASIN LJ* 20: 1–329.
- . 2005. "Control, Co-optation and Co-Operation: Managing Religious Harmony in Singapore's Multi-Ethnic, Quasi-Secular State." *Hastings Constitutional Law Quaterly* 33 (2): 197–254.
- . 2008. "Developing a Peace and Security Approach Towards Minorities' Problems." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 52 (01): 115–150.
- Thio, Li-Ann, and Kevin Tan. 2009. *Evolution of a Revolution: Forty Years of the Singapore Constitution*. N.Y.: Routledge.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2012. "12. Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, 1st ed., 1:274–295. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press. Accessed December 2. <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566020.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199566020-e-12>.
- Walsh, S. P. 2007. "The Roar of the Lion City: Ethnicity, Gender, and Culture in the Singapore Armed Forces." *Armed Forces & Society* 33 (2): 265.
- Yen, Feng. 2012. "ISD Calls Up Pastor for Insensitive Comments." *AsiaOne*, February 9. <http://news.asiaone.com/News/the+Straitstimes/Story/A1Story20100209-197516.html>.