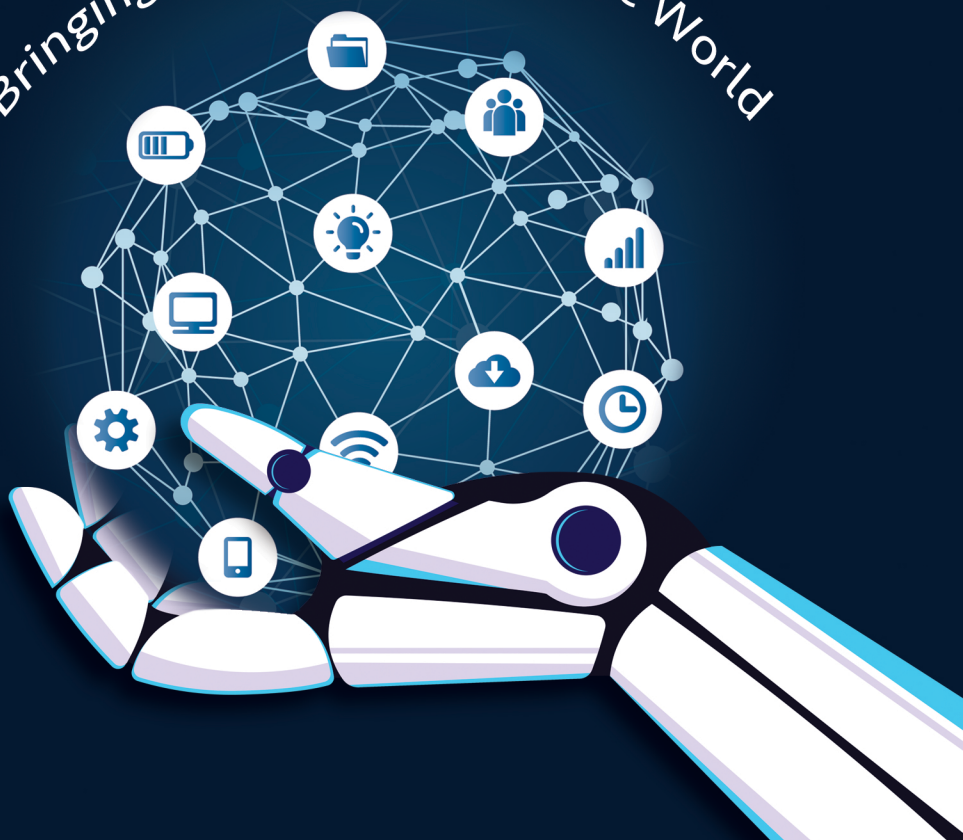


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Visiting Senior Fellow, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

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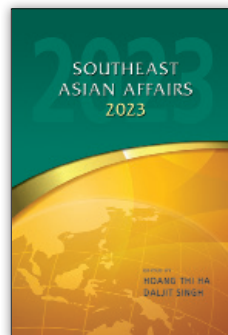
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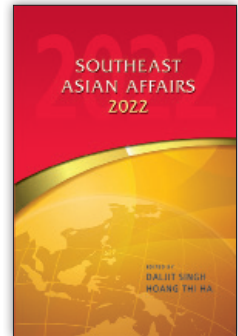
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Nhu Truong, editor

Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and Public Affairs at Denison University, a Mansfield-Luce Asia Scholars Network Fellow, a Rosenberg Institute Scholar, and a Center For Khmer Studies Senior Research Fellow.

Tuong Vu, editor

Professor and Head, Political Science Department, University of Oregon.

This book shows why Vietnam has not become the dragon it is often touted to be. The team of authors include both long-time observers and junior scholars who present cutting-edge research on the latest trends as well as major challenges facing the country's economy and political system. As Vietnam seeks to escape from poverty and the legacies of mistaken socialist policies, its economy has become fully integrated into the global economy. Yet, without an effective and far-sighted leadership, it is still occupying a low position in the global value chains and becoming increasingly dependent on China.

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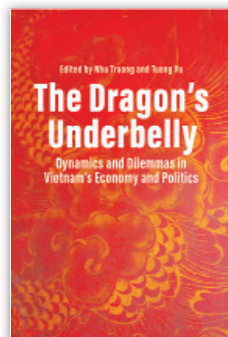
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Stability, Growth and Sustainability: Catalysts for Socio-economic Development in Brunei Darussalam

Aris Ananta, editor

An economist-demographer, currently Professor, Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Indonesia and Visiting Professor, Centre for Advanced Research (CARE), Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

Chang-Yau Hoon, editor

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Mahani Hamdan, editor

Assistant Professor, UBD School of Business and Economics, and Director for the Institute of Policy Studies and Simpur Herbal Café Sdn Bhd in Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

As in many other oil and gas dependent countries, Brunei Darussalam—a country with a small population but the second highest income per capita in Southeast Asia—has been diversifying its economy in three sectors: from oil and gas to other sectors of export/economic growth; from the dominance of public sector employment to a more balanced public and private sectors employment; and from heavy dependence on foreign labours to development of local talents. This book examines the current socio-economic development in the journey toward a diversified social economy, as targeted in Brunei Vision 2035.

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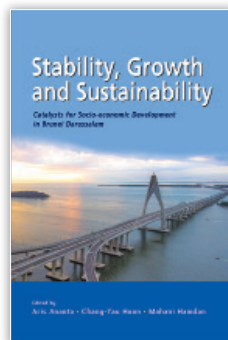
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Agricultural Trade between China and the Greater Mekong Subregion Countries: A Value Chain Analysis

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“The Greater Mekong Subregion encompasses several open, dynamic, latecomer economies. Over the past thirty years, they have benefited immensely from the restoration of peace, their re-engagement with the regional and global economies, and the rise of China. The region as a whole is a net food exporter with a strong comparative advantage in agriculture. How they manage their international commercial relations, with China in particular, will significantly influence their future socio-economic dynamics. The authors and contributors, all leading researchers in the field, are to be congratulated for this timely and authoritative volume that comprehensively examines the issues and charts a productive way forward. A must-read for anybody interested in these important issues and countries.”

Professor Hal Hill, H.W. Arndt Professor Emeritus of the Southeast Asian Economies, ANU

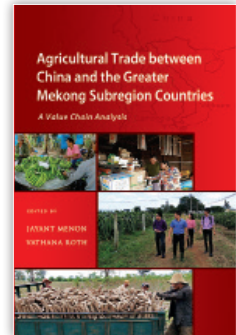
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Adviser for International Trade and Industry for the Minister of Finance, Republic of Indonesia.

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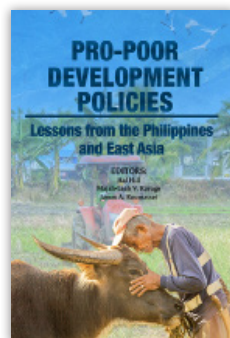
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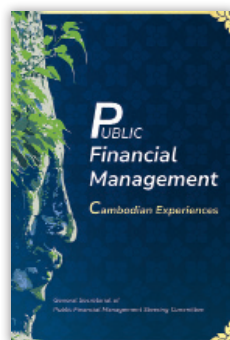
Public Financial Management: Cambodian Experiences is prepared by the General Secretariat of Public Financial Management Reform Steering Committee (GSC) to promote general understanding and knowledge of Public Financial Management (PFM) among government officials and the general public. The book starts with an overview of PFM in Cambodia, with a brief introduction to the discipline of public financial management. It then discusses Cambodia's experience in implementing PFM reform and its impact on public finance in general. After that, it also shows how PFM has reformed government budgeting process and the challenges in its implementation. Finally, case studies of Cambodian reform efforts and selected ASEAN and OECD countries' experiences with PFM reform are presented. We, GSC hope that this book can be a good resource for those who are interested in PFM reform in Cambodia and lessons learnt for other developing countries.

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The Road to Nusantara: Process, Challenges and Opportunities

new

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Senior Fellow and Co-Coordinator, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and editor of ISEAS's commentary and analysis website, fulcrum.sg

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Visiting Fellow in the Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, Senior Lecturer at Driyarkara School of Philosophy, Jakarta, and Honorary Research Fellow with the University of Manchester's Institute of Innovation Research, UK.

The collective research effort of senior and junior scholars from Indonesia and beyond, *The Road to Nusantara: Process, Challenges and Opportunities* examines the political, economic, socio-cultural, security and environmental implications of President Joko Widodo's historic plan to move Indonesia's national capital from Jakarta to Nusantara, East Kalimantan. This volume will be of interest to policymakers, Indonesia's neighbours near and far, prospective investors, and students of Indonesia who wish to understand the complex challenges underlying this megaproject.

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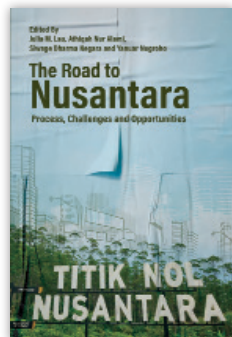
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He Who is Made Lord: Empire, Class and Race in Postwar Singapore

new

Muhammad Suhail bin Mohamed Yazid

PhD Candidate in World History from Trinity College, University of Cambridge, UK.

In June 1959, the British established the office of Yang di-Pertuan Negara (He Who is Made Lord) to replace the colonial governorship and represent Queen Elizabeth II in Singapore. Muhammad Suhail explores the divergent attempts to invest meaning in the Yang di-Pertuan Negara. In doing so, he weaves a rich story about the contesting ideas of sovereignty during the global age of decolonization. *He Who is Made Lord* is a captivating take on Singapore's emergence as a postcolonial nation, providing a gateway into the island's past as part of the Malay World, the British Empire and the Commonwealth of Nations.

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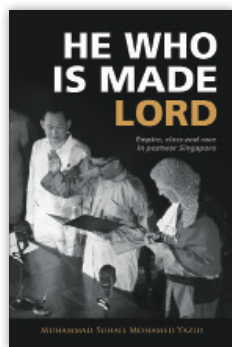
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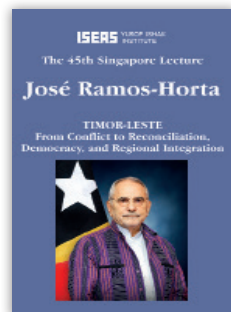
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The Singapore Lecture series was inaugurated in 1980 by the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) with a founding endowment from the Monetary Authority of Singapore (MAS), and augmented by a generous donation in 1983 from ExxonMobil Asia Pacific.

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The Jokowi-Prabowo Elections 2.0

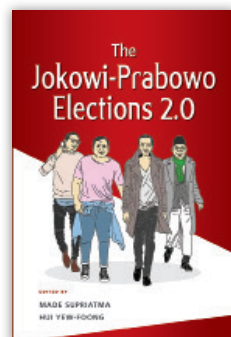
Hui Yew-Foong, editor

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Made Supriatma, editor

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

On 17 April 2019, Indonesians marched to the polls to elect their president and vice president directly for the fourth time since 2004. The main contenders for the presidency—Joko “Jokowi” Widodo and Prabowo Subianto—were the same as when they first clashed in 2014, and the result was the same. Some of the issues raised in 2014 were rehashed in 2019, and the geographical polarization of voters had deepened along the same fault lines. There is a case for arguing that 2019 was a replay of the 2014 elections, hence the title of this book. But “2.0” also signifies progression, since nothing is ever exactly the same. 2019 has seen the intensification of cyber-politics, and the curious outcome where former opponents on the electoral battlefield, as featured on the cover of this book, ended up as colleagues in the same cabinet.



2022 : 293 pp : PIC289

ISBN 9789815011364 (SC)

S\$39.90 (S\$43.09)/US\$32.90

ISBN 9789815011371 (EBK)

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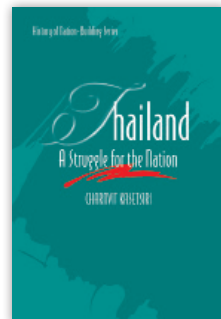
Thailand: A Struggle for the Nation

Charnvit Kasetsiri

Thai historian; Professor Emeritus of Thammasat University, Bangkok and was its rector in 1994–95.

“As a historian, Charnvit Kasetsiri is not satisfied simply to have found an instructive angle from which to explore the mysteries in a modern experimental monarchy. His keen sense of time has filled his narrative with insights that only a few people could have identified. To me, that is a mark of one with a fine sense of what the past can mean. I thank him for the chance to see this mature and thoughtful Charnvit at work and commend this book to everyone who wants to understand Thailand better.”

Wang Gungwu, National University of Singapore



2022 : 264 pp : BM616

ISBN 9789815011241 (SC)

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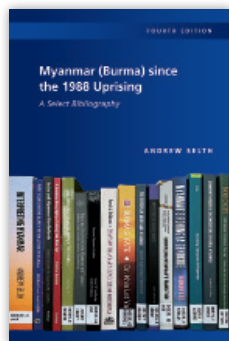
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Myanmar (Burma) since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography, 4th edition

Andrew Selth

Adjunct Professor, Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.

Updated by popular demand, this is the fourth edition of this important bibliography. It lists a wide selection of works on or about Myanmar published in English and in hard copy since the 1988 pro-democracy uprising, which marked the beginning of a new era in Myanmar's modern history. There are now 2,727 titles listed. They have been written, edited, translated or compiled by over 2,000 people, from many different backgrounds. These works have been organized into thirty-five subject chapters containing ninety-five discrete sections. There are also four appendices, including a comprehensive reading guide for those unfamiliar with Myanmar or who may be seeking guidance on particular topics. This book is an invaluable aid to officials, scholars, journalists, armchair travellers and others with an interest in this fascinating but deeply troubled country.



2022 : 370 pp : BM613

ISBN 9789814951777 (SC)

ISBN 9789814951784 (EBK)

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S\$24.00 (S\$25.92)/US\$21.00

Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Suharto: Aspiring to International Leadership (2nd edition)

Leo Suryadinata

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. He was formerly Professor in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore.

Indonesia under Suharto had attempted to become a regional power to lead Southeast Asian states and beyond. As the largest country and also the richest in terms of natural resources, Suharto's Indonesia was held in deference by the ASEAN states. However, due to its limited capabilities, its lack of military strength, advanced technology and economic strength, the political influence of Jakarta was in fact quite limited. During the economic crisis, Suharto was forced to step down. He was succeeded by B.J. Habibie who was largely preoccupied with domestic issues, who in turn was followed by weak presidencies such as Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and Megawati. Only after the ex-general Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono assumed presidency did he manage to stabilize the situation and attained economic growth. He even became known as the "Foreign Policy President".

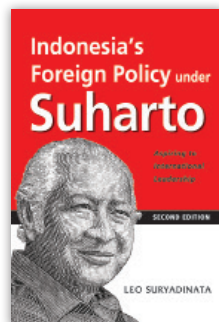
2022 : 239 pp : BM611

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ISBN 9789814951623 (EBK)

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A Soldier King: Monarchy and Military in the Thailand of Rama X

Supalak Ganjanakhundee

Visiting Fellow, Thailand Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and former editor of The Nation newspaper (Bangkok).

"The book is a significant contribution to understanding the important yet shifting patterns of relationship between the monarchy and military in Thailand. It is widely known that the monarchy-military union has played crucial roles in politics throughout modern Thai history. This book: *A Soldier King: Monarchy and Military in the Thailand of Rama X* offers a comprehensive account and sound analysis about the newly formed monarchy-military network, demonstrating clearly how the new king tightens his grip since late 2016 as well as his different style from his late father King Bhumibol."

Charnvit Kasetsiri, Thammasat University, Bangkok

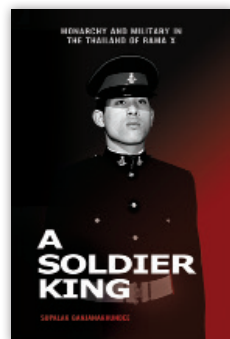
2022 : 216 pp : BM610

ISBN 9789814951548 (SC)

ISBN 9789814951555 (EBK)

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S\$21.00 (S\$22.68)/US\$16.00



Port Security and Preman Organizations in Indonesia

forthcoming

Senia Febrica

Knowledge Exchange Associate at the One Ocean Hub, the University of Strathclyde, Scotland

The global war on terrorism created pressure for Indonesia to improve its security measures for dealing with maritime terrorism. Following the 9/11 attacks and the 2002 Bali bombings, Indonesia has improved the security of its major ports and entered various international agreements to ensure its trading activities are not impeded. At the same time, in a bid to secure small ports and coastal areas in various parts of the country, *preman*—self-supporting, autonomous paramilitary—organizations began to play a greater role. This book explores the involvement of *preman* organizations in securing ports and coastlines in Jakarta, North Sulawesi and the Riau Islands. The security of ports and coastal areas in the three provinces is of international importance because of their proximity to major sea lanes of communication. This book carefully maps out the tensions, contradictions and implications of the use of *preman* organizations in the realization of Indonesia's efforts to be a truly democratic civil society.

2023 : BM621

ISBN 9789815011883 (SC)

ISBN 9789815011890 (EBK)

Praetorian Kingdom: A History of Military Ascendancy in Thailand

forthcoming

Paul Chambers

Lecturer and Special Advisor on International Affairs at the Center of ASEAN Community Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Naresuan University, Thailand.

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2. The Initial "Caesars": Phraya Phahon and Phibun (1932–44)
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5. The Diarchy of Thanom and Praphas (1963–73)
6. Krit Sivara and the October 6 Massacre (1973–76)
7. The Palace's Attempted Coup (1976–77)
8. Consensual Kriangsak (1977–80)
9. Arch-Royalist Prem (1980–88)
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15. Conclusion

2024 : BM623

ISBN 978-981-5104-24-0 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-5104-25-7 (EBK)

Populations and Precarity during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Southeast Asian Perspectives

Kevin S.Y. Tan, editor

Sociologist and Cultural Anthropologist. He is an Instructor at the Chua Thian Poh Community Leadership Centre, National University of Singapore.

Steve K.L. Chan, editor

Assistant Professor of Sociology, Keimyung University, South Korea.

This volume is a collection of articles that examines how the COVID-19 pandemic affected and intersected with various Southeast Asian contexts in the broad areas of migration, education and demographic policy. At the height of the pandemic from 2020 to 2022, the resulting restrictions to international travel, ensuing nationwide lockdowns and eventual economic crises formed part of what many commentators referred to as a “new normal”. Apart from being a global health crisis, the pandemic disrupted and transformed the experience of everyday life at all levels of society, where many of its effects are now likely irreversible. In particular, the impact of the pandemic certainly affected the most vulnerable individuals and communities throughout the region, especially when taking into account the demographic transformations in countries that are experiencing rapid ageing such as Singapore and Thailand. Examples of the most affected include low-wage migrant workers, the disabled and the children of impoverished families.

2023 : 177 pp : PIC292

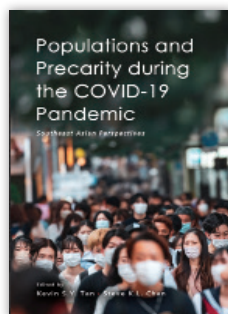
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new



Myanmar in Crisis: Living with the Pandemic and the Coup

Justine Chambers, editor

Postdoctoral Researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) and a Research Fellow at the College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University.

Michael R. Dunford, editor

PhD candidate in anthropology at the Australian National University.

Myanmar in Crisis brings together scholars from across the social sciences to analyse the dual crises of COVID-19 and the 2021 military coup. All of the essays address one of four themes around the concept of crisis: society in crisis, a state in crisis, an economy in crisis, and international relations in crisis. Several authors examine the contested nature of state authority in the post-coup revolutionary context, including the emergence of new governance dynamics; others discuss heterogeneous forms of resistance and the potential for building a more inclusive, just, and tolerant society in the future of Myanmar. The volume also explores the economic crisis caused by the pandemic and the coup and its devastating effects on people's lives and livelihoods: the authors provide a deep dive into the impacts of restrictive COVID-19 prevention measures on local communities, the growing livelihoods crisis since the coup, and the impacts of both crises on foreign trade and investment.

2023 : 345 pp : PIC297

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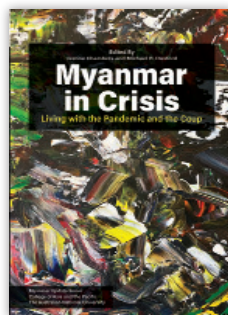
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new



Just Another Crisis? The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Southeast Asia's Rice Sector

Jamie S. Davidson, editor

Associate Professor of Political Science, National University of Singapore, and head of the Food Politics and Society cluster at the Asia Research Institute of the same university.

"This timely volume chronicles and analyses the intersection of rice policies and the pandemic through case studies of a diverse range of Southeast Asian countries: rice exporters, rice importers and city-states. There is no group of eminent researchers better suited to carrying out this work, and they conduct the analysis by illuminating the historical context that is essential to an understanding of rice policies in the region. This volume is a must-read for anyone interested in rice policies and politics in contemporary Southeast Asia."

David Dawe, Former Senior Economist with the International Rice Research Institute and the Food and Agricultural Organization

2023 : 200 pp : BM622

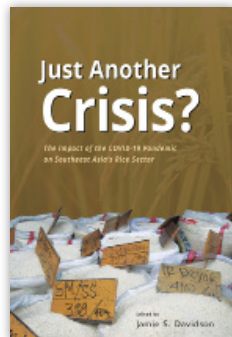
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new



Transforming Borneo: From Land Exploitation to Sustainable Development

Goh Chun Sheng

Research Fellow at Sunway University, Kuala Lumpur and an Associate at Harvard University Asia Center.

Lesley Potter

Visiting Fellow in Resource Management in Asia-Pacific, Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University, Canberra.

"There is an energizing boldness in this synthesis: the right big-picture questions aligning all the way down to the right complexities on the ground, and across the diverse territories that comprise contemporary Borneo. A manifesto for the kinds of cross-sectoral and applied research that can make the difference to the future of Borneo."

Cynthia Ong, Chief Executive Facilitator, Forever Sabah

2023 : 358 pp : BM618

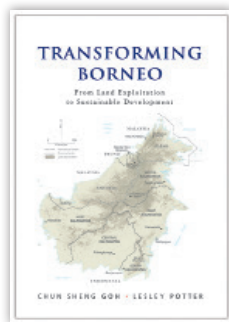
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ISBN 9789815011654 (EBK)

S\$39.90 (S\$43.09)/US\$32.90

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new



Wider Bagan: Ancient and Living Buddhist Traditions

Elizabeth Moore

Emeritus Professor of South East Asian Art and Archaeology, SOAS (London) and In-Region Liaison for the SOAS Alphawood Programme (SAAAP)

Wider Bagan: Ancient and Living Buddhist Traditions is the first book to define the area outside the renowned Buddhist capital where vestiges of Bagan era cultural traditions can be found. From nearly six hundred attributes inventoried in Wider Bagan, thematic and geographical analysis of the Wider Bagan data reveals a related but different trajectory from that of the capital. The Sasana of the court was honoured, and though its economy profited many places across Wider Bagan, local resilience was foremost. While the capital and Wider Bagan existed in relation to each other, their aims and narratives differed. Much has been written about Bagan, but little attention on the ground has been devoted to areas beyond the capital. These places have stories to tell—ones of the past and of the present—that are narrated in this book.

2023 : 456 pp : BM606

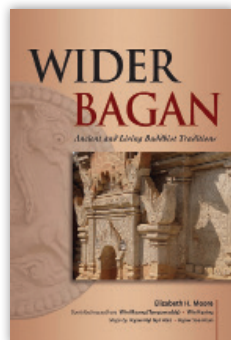
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new



The Straits Philosophical Society & Colonial Elites in Malaya: Selected Papers on Race, Identity and Social Order 1893-1915

Lim Teck Ghee, editor

Social Science Chair, University of Malaya and a Visiting Fellow and Professor at various universities.

Charles Brophy, editor

An independent scholar with a focus on the political and intellectual history of modern Malaysia and Singapore.

Founded in Singapore in 1893, the Straits Philosophical Society was a society for the “critical discussion of questions in Philosophy, History, Theology, Literature, Science and Art”. Its membership was restricted to graduates of British and European universities, fellows of British or European learned societies and those with “distinguished merit in the opinion of the Society in any branch of knowledge”. Its closed-door meetings were an important gathering place for the educated elite of the colony, comprising colonial civil servants, soldiers, missionaries, businessmen, as well as prominent Straits Chinese members. Notable members included the botanist Henry Ridley, the missionary W.G. Shellabear and Straits Chinese reformers like Lim Boon Keng and Tan Teck Soon.

2023 : 462 pp : LH29

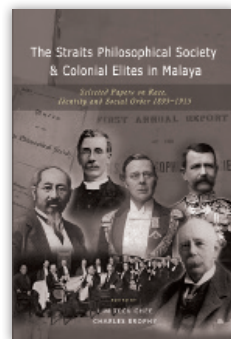
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new



The Creative South: Buddhist and Hindu Art in Mediaeval Maritime Asia, volume 1

Andrea Acri, editor

Maître de conférences/Assistant Professor in Tantric Studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE, PSL University) in Paris.

Peter D. Sharrock, editor

Lecturer, SOAS University of London (the School of Oriental and African Studies).

This edited volume programmatically reconsiders the creative contribution of the littoral and insular regions of Maritime Asia to shaping new paradigms in the Buddhist and Hindu art and architecture of the mediaeval Asian world. Far from being a mere southern conduit for the maritime circulation of Indic religions, in the period from ca. the 7th to the 14th century those regions transformed across mainland and island polities the rituals, icons, and architecture that embodied these religious insights with a dynamism that often eclipsed the established cultural centres in Northern India, Central Asia, and mainland China. This collective body of work brings together new research aiming to recalibrate the importance of these innovations in art and architecture, thereby highlighting the cultural creativity of the monsoon-influenced Southern rim of the Asian landmass.

2022 : 375 pp : BM608

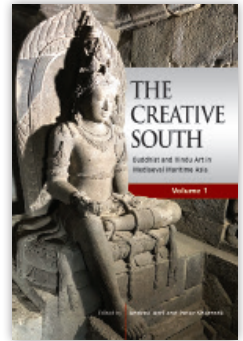
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(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute/SOAS, University of London/AlphaWood Foundation Chicago)



The Creative South: Buddhist and Hindu Art in Mediaeval Maritime Asia, volume 2

Andrea Acri, editor

Maître de conférences/Assistant Professor in Tantric Studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE, PSL University) in Paris.

Peter D. Sharrock, editor

Lecturer, SOAS University of London (the School of Oriental and African Studies).

This edited volume programmatically reconsiders the creative contribution of the littoral and insular regions of Maritime Asia to shaping new paradigms in the Buddhist and Hindu art and architecture of the mediaeval Asian world. Far from being a mere southern conduit for the maritime circulation of Indic religions, in the period from ca. the 7th to the 14th century those regions transformed across mainland and island polities the rituals, icons, and architecture that embodied these religious insights with a dynamism that often eclipsed the established cultural centres in Northern India, Central Asia, and mainland China. This collective body of work brings together new research aiming to recalibrate the importance of these innovations in art and architecture, thereby highlighting the cultural creativity of the monsoon-influenced Southern rim of the Asian landmass.

2022 : 257 pp : BM609

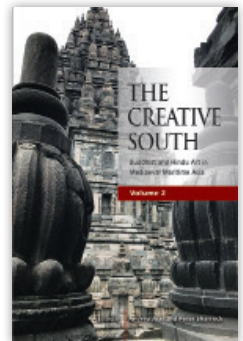
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(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute/SOAS, University of London/AlphaWood Foundation Chicago)



Peranakan Chinese Identities in the Globalizing Malay Archipelago

Leo Suryadinata

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

Peranakan Chinese communities and their “hybrid” culture have fascinated many observers. This book, comprising fourteen chapters, was mainly based on papers written by the author in the last two decades. The chapters address Peranakan Chinese cultural, national and political identities in the Malay Archipelago, i.e., Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore (IMS). This book is divided into two parts. Part I which is on the regional dimension, contains nine chapters that discuss the three countries and beyond. Part II consists of five chapters which focus on one country, i.e., Indonesia. This book not only discusses the past and the present, but also the future of the Peranakan Chinese.

2022 : 289 pp : BM615

ISBN 9789814951678 (SC)

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Rising China and New Chinese Migrants in Southeast Asia

Leo Suryadinata, editor

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. He was formerly Professor in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore.

Benjamin Loh, editor

Head of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Monitoring Division at the ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta.

New Chinese migration is a recent development that has just entered an initial phase. An overarching theme and conclusion across the sixteen chapters in this volume is that China's policy towards Chinese migrants has changed from period to period, and it is still too early for us to determine if Beijing will continue to pursue the policy of *luoye guigen* (return to original roots) or will revert to one of *luodi shenggen* (sink into local roots). The various chapters also show that the profile, motivations and outlooks of *xin yimin* (new Chinese migrants) have become more diverse, while local reactions to these new migrants have become less accommodating with increasing nationalism.

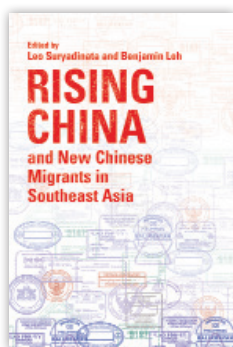
2022 : 355 pp : PIC291

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In Sickness and In Health: Diagnosing Indonesia

Firman Witoelar, editor

Fellow, Indonesia Project, Crawford School of Public Policy, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra.

Ariane Utomo, editor

Lecturer in Demography, Geography, Earth and Atmospheric Sciences, University of Melbourne.

Despite significant improvements in many health outcomes over the past 60 years, many chronic problems in Indonesia's health system including financial sustainability, governance and inequities in accessing health care have long been apparent, even before the COVID-19 pandemic. The epidemiological transition associated with demographic and socio-economic change in recent decades makes Indonesia one of many countries that still struggle to address the issues of communicable, maternal and nutritional diseases while facing an increasing burden of non-communicable diseases.

2022 : 255 pp : BM620

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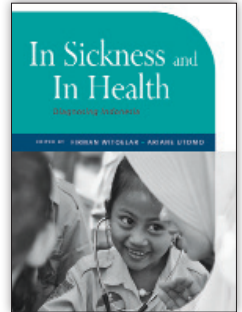
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S\$35.90 (S\$38.77)/US\$29.90

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Extracting Development: Contested Resource Frontiers in Mainland Southeast Asia

Oliver Tappe, editor

Senior Researcher, Institute of Anthropology, University of Heidelberg (Germany), and Associate Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Simon Rowedder, editor

Assistant Professor, Chair of Development Politics, University of Passau, and affiliate member, Max Weber Foundation Research Group on Borders, Mobility and New Infrastructures, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore.

Resource extraction is currently shaping Southeast Asian landscapes and people's lives to an unprecedented degree. This volume explores old and new resource frontiers, their effect on local economies and social relations, and questions of (contested) resource control and governance. Case studies from Laos, Thailand, Myanmar, and Cambodia, illustrate the predicament of globalized extractivism processes in the region, particularly (but not only) with regard to China's rising geopolitical and -economic influence, most prominently expressed by the Belt and Road Initiative.

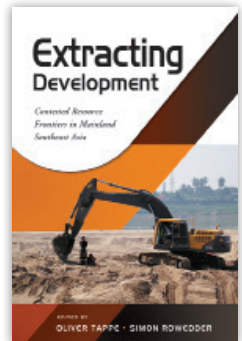
2022 : 271 pp : PIC288

ISBN 9789815011197 (SC)

ISBN 9789815011463 (EBK)

S\$39.90 (S\$43.09)/US\$32.90

S\$32.00 (S\$34.56)/US\$26.00



Capitalism Magic Thailand: Modernity with Enchantment

Peter A. Jackson

Emeritus Professor in Thai cultural history in the Australian National University's College of Asia and the Pacific.

By studying intersections among new cults of wealth, ritually empowered amulets and professional spirit mediumship—which have emerged together in Thailand's dynamic religious field in recent decades—*Capitalism Magic Thailand* explores the conditions under which global modernity produces new varieties of enchantment. Bruno Latour's account of modernity as a condition fractured between rationalizing ideology and hybridizing practice is expanded to explain the apparent paradox of new forms of magical ritual emerging alongside religious fundamentalism across a wide range of Asian societies.

In Thailand, novel and increasingly popular varieties of ritual now form a symbolic complex in which originally distinct cults centred on Indian deities, Chinese gods and Thai religious and royal figures have merged in commercial spaces and media sites to sacralize the market and wealth production. Emerging within popular culture, this complex of cults of wealth, amulets and spirit mediumship is supported by all levels of Thai society, including those at the acme of economic and political power.



2022 : 381 pp : BM602

ISBN 9789814951098 (SC)

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S\$32.90 (S\$35.53)/US\$29.90

S\$26.00 (S\$28.08)/US\$24.00

Putting Women Up: Gender Equality and Politics in Myanmar

Netina Tan, editor

University Fellow and Associate Professor of Political Science at McMaster University, Canada.

Meredith Weiss, editor

Professor and Chair of Political Science in the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy at the University at Albany, State University of New York, U.S.A.

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3. Ethnic Parties, Representation and Female Candidate Recruitment in Myanmar by *Jangai Jap and Cassandra Preece*
4. Women and Political Leadership by *Anor Mu, Paul Minoletti, Guillem Riambau and Michelle Dion*
5. Violence, Gender, and Politics by *Elin Bjarnegård (and anonymous co-author)*
6. Navigating Local Politics and Gender by *Cassandra Preece, La Ring Pausa and Paul Minoletti*

2023 : PIC298

ISBN 9789815104417 (SC)

ISBN 9789815104424 (EBK)

forthcoming

Shipwrecks and the Maritime History of Singapore

forthcoming

Kwa Chong Guan, editor

Senior Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Associate Fellow, Temasek History Research Centre, and Adjunct (Hon.) Associate Professor, History Department, National University of Singapore

On 16 June 2021 the National Heritage Board announced the successful conclusion of the archaeological excavation of two shipwrecks at the eastern approach to Singapore. This maritime excavation, the largest in Singapore's waters, was conducted by the Archaeology Unit of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute over a six-year period. This book documents the two shipwrecks and their findings, complemented by essays on Singapore's larger maritime history through time, from Temasek in the 14th century through the emergence of country trade to the late 18th century. Beyond the finds recovered from the bosom of the sea, the positioning of the shipwreck in the contexts of the past challenges us to rethink Singapore's history as a globally entangled one, determined by what was happening on the seas in and around the island.

2023 : PIC295

ISBN 9789815104271 (HC)

Trending Islam: Cases from Southeast Asia

forthcoming

Norshahril Saat, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

A'an Suryana, editor

Visiting Fellow in the Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Mohd Faizal Musa, editor

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore and Research Fellow, Institute of the Malay World and Civilization (ATMA), National University of Malaysia (UKM).

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Gender Equality and Diversity in Indonesia: Identifying Progress and Challenges

forthcoming

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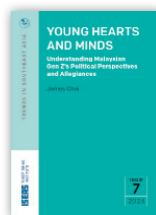
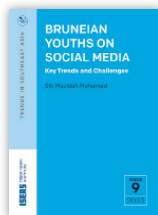
Over the past 20 years, gender relations and the expression of power and authority between men and women in Indonesia have been shaped by the forces of reformasi, decentralisation, a reassertion of central power, and economic transitions. These changes have given rise to policy reform, an increase in women's political representation, and new expressions of diverse gender identities. But to what extent has the "gender order" of the New Order, where women's role as a mother was the basis of citizenship, been challenged or just found new articulations? What shape do contemporary contestations to gendered power take? The chapters in this volume bring gender to the centre stage and provide reflections on the political, economic, social, and cultural progress and barriers in achieving gender equality and diversity in Indonesia.

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Trends in Southeast Asia

The economic, political, strategic and cultural dynamism in Southeast Asia has gained added relevance in recent years with the spectacular rise of giant economies in East and South Asia. This has drawn greater attention to the region and to the enhanced role it now plays in international relations and global economics.

The sustained effort made by Southeast Asian nations since 1967 towards a peaceful and gradual integration of their economies has had indubitable success, and perhaps as a consequence of this, most of these countries are undergoing deep political and social changes domestically and are constructing innovative solutions to meet new international challenges. Big Power tensions continue to be played out in the neighbourhood despite the tradition of neutrality exercised by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The **Trends in Southeast Asia** series acts as a platform for serious analyses by authors who are experts in their fields. It is aimed at encouraging policymakers, scholars and interested readers to contemplate the diversity and dynamism of this exciting region.

The **Trends in Southeast Asia** series serves as in-depth analysis of contemporary geopolitical and socio-economic forces in the region. The series is written for policymakers, diplomats, scholars and students of the region with emphasis on empirical and observable trends, and less on theory-building or historical accounts of events.

The aim of Trends is to offer concrete accounts of the dynamism in the region as transnational processes impact local communities, national governments as well as bilateral and foreign relations. Subjects that are of interest to the series are national elections; economic patterns and growth; demographic changes and their social implications; migratory patterns; religious and ethnic trends; bilateral relations and geopolitics in the region in relation to the larger powers of Japan, China and the US.

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The EU's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM): Implications for ASEAN-EU Relations

Melinda Martinus

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There is a growing policy trend that in addressing climate change, various trade measures must be implemented to enhance the sustainable practices of global stakeholders.

As a response to level up the playing field of global trade partners in enhancing sustainability, the EU recently introduced the European Union (EU) Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM), which will impose a carbon price on certain imports, namely, electricity, aluminium, cement, iron and steel, and fertilizer, to the EU.

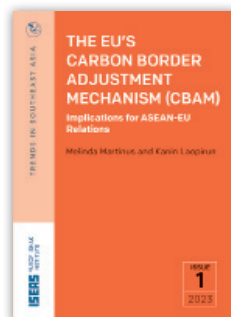
The EU CBAM may, however, cause trade disputes among World Trade Organization (WTO) members.

EU and ASEAN trade relations are currently on an upswing trajectory, and there are therefore some risks involved in implementing the EU CBAM in the ASEAN region.

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Can Malaysia Eliminate Forced Labour by 2030?

Lee Hwok Aun

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Executive Director at the North-South Initiative.

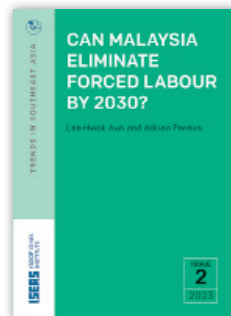
Forced labour, encompassing various types of coercive practices and rights violations, is an entrenched problem in Malaysia. Recent years have seen more decisive and concerted efforts to resolve the problem and repair Malaysia's damaged reputation, but the country's forced labour woes escalated amid COVID-19, with exposés and trade embargoes in 2020–21.

Most consequentially, the US has imposed withhold release orders (WROs) on major rubber glove manufacturers and palm oil producers. For two consecutive years, 2021–22, Malaysia has occupied the lowest Tier 3 in the US Trafficking in Persons report. In November 2021, the country's National Action Plan on Forced Labour (NAPFL), formulated through tripartite engagements with the participation of the International Labour Organization, was launched, with the third National Action Plan on Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP 3.0) operating in tandem.

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The Indonesia National Survey Project 2022: Engaging with Developments in the Political, Economic and Social Spheres

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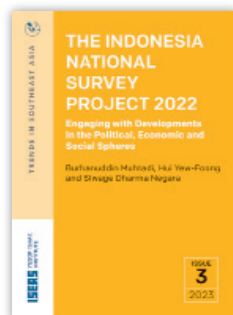
ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute has commissioned a second nationwide survey in Indonesia as a follow-up to the first similar project in 2017 called the Indonesia National Survey Project (INSP). Its broad aim is to enhance understanding of political, economic, and social developments in Indonesia. Its key findings are as follows:

- The approval rating of President Joko Widodo hovers around 71.8 per cent, at least before the September 2022 announcement on the fuel subsidy cut. His major infrastructure push as his flagship development programme still garners the most positive assessment. However, poverty, unemployment and cost of living remain key flashpoints that the government should be concerned with.
- While respondents are generally aware of the plan to relocate the national capital and are more likely to agree rather than disagree with it, most have reservations about its urgency and the financial burden that such an undertaking implies.

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GVC Reconfiguration: Risks and Opportunities for ASEAN Members

Sithanonxay Suvannaphakdy

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Pham Thi Phuong Thao

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The COVID-19 pandemic, geopolitical tensions and US-China trade disputes, and the Russia-Ukraine war have increased the risk of global value chain (GVC) disruptions and forced firms to strengthen resilience in their supply chains and operations.

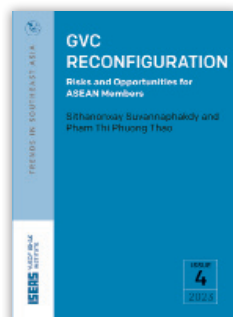
MNCs have diversified suppliers, established new production sites, and shifted production closer to consumers. ASEAN countries are becoming increasingly attractive destinations for foreign investors.

This paper gauges the position of ASEAN in GVCs and assesses the risks and opportunities of GVC reconfiguration for ASEAN countries. ASEAN countries are increasing their participation in GVCs and raising domestic value-added. The relocation of production sites from China to ASEAN countries could enhance their participation in GVCs. Should MNCs increase the concentration of supplier and buyer markets, ASEAN countries could become more vulnerable to external shocks.

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Tides of Insecurity: Vietnam and the Growing Challenge from Non-traditional Maritime Threats

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While the South China Sea dispute remains Vietnam's top security concern, the country also confronts a variety of growing non-traditional threats, such as illegal fishing, maritime violence, smuggling, ecological degradation and climate change.

These issues adversely affect Vietnam's external relations, socio-economic development, marine ecosystems and political stability, while engendering and exacerbating regional tensions.

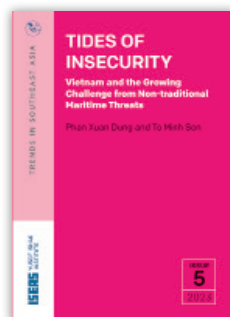
In response, at the national level, Vietnam has focused on building a blue economy and strengthening its law enforcement capacity.

At the international level, Vietnam has participated in a variety of bilateral and multilateral cooperative mechanisms. However, these efforts have been impeded by internal and external factors, such as corruption, inadequate capacity and lack of budget, as well as ASEAN's institutional limitations and sovereignty sensitivities.

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Rhizome vs Regime: Southeast Asia's Digitally Mediated Youth Movements

Yatun Sastramidjaja

Assistant Professor in Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, and is currently an Associate Fellow in the Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

In Indonesia, Thailand and Myanmar, democratic regression and the reconsolidation of authoritarian regimes have triggered the rise of social media-driven protest movements. These are pioneered by a new generation of activist youth, distinguishing themselves from previous student and youth movements by the digitally mediated, decentralized and diverse nature of their protest.

While experimenting with digitally mediated repertoires of action adopted and adapted from similar struggles elsewhere, these protesters forge transnational links that give rise to new protest assemblages across and beyond the region. This is exemplified by the social media-based #MilkTeaAlliance, in which the distinct protests in Indonesia, Thailand, Myanmar and other countries are conjoined through extended solidarity and affinity ties in a common "generational" struggle against entrenched authoritarianism. The youth resistance in Hong Kong was instrumental in driving this trend.

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Young Hearts and Minds: Understanding Malaysian Gen Z's Political Perspectives and Allegiances

James Chai

Visiting Fellow in the Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The 15th general election (GE15) in Malaysia produced surprising results. The conservative coalition of PN emerged as the dark horse of the election, overtaking the longest-ruling coalition, BN, by a significant margin. The two largest coalitions post-GE15, PH and PN, represent ideological opposites, which may spell a polarized future for Malaysian youths. This paper intends to understand what happened to the youth votes and provide possible hypotheses for future trends.

In West Malaysia, constituencies with a larger share of young voters (under 30 years old) registered a higher voter turnout rate. A majority of seats with 30 per cent or more of voters under 30 years old (considered “young” seats) were won by PN, followed by PH, and thirdly BN. This demonstrated PN’s relatively stronger hold on young seats in GE15. Discrepancies between pre-GE15 survey findings and actual results could be explained by the Shy PN factor—or PN-leaning voters’ reticence towards revealing their preference—and a swing from BN to PN.

2023 : 41 pp : TRS7/23

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The Orientation of Chinese Newspapers in Indonesia as China Rises

Leo Suryadinata

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This paper examines the impact of globalization and a rising China, among other factors, on the political orientation of Chinese-language newspapers in Indonesia.

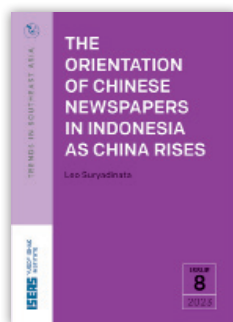
Chinese newspapers in Indonesia have had a long trajectory, moving from a China-oriented focus to an Indonesia-oriented one over the course of Indonesian history. Their content has grown beyond the local to become regional in its outlook.

The recent rise of China has been having a profound impact on Chinese newspapers in Indonesia. Many of their articles are pro-China while attempting to maintain the delicate balance and being Indonesia-oriented at the same time.

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Bruneian Youths on Social Media: Key Trends and Challenges

Siti Mazidah Mohamad

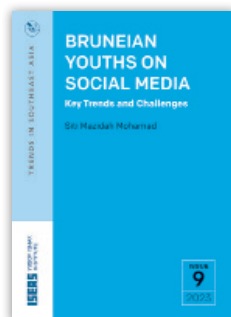
Formerly Visiting Fellow in the Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. She is an Assistant Professor and Director for the Centre for Advanced Research (CARE) at Universiti Brunei Darussalam, where she does research on Muslim youth culture and youth engagements with popular culture and new media in Southeast Asia.

In the past five years, Brunei Darussalam's socio-cultural landscape has witnessed a significant transformation, creating social and economic opportunities for Bruneians. Social media sites such as Instagram, Twitter and TikTok have become spaces and sites for racial, political and religious engagements in Bruneian society.

Digitally connected young people and their engagements on various social media platforms are major catalysts in this transformation. They actively share their social and religious practices and, in the process, create new discourses that are effectively reshaping the nation's socio-cultural, religious and political landscape.

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Assessing the Benefits of the ASEAN+6 Single Window for ASEAN Members

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Neo Guo Wei Kevin

Research Assistant, ASEAN Studies Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

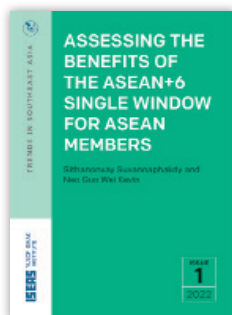
The ASEAN+6 Single Window (ASW+6) in this study refers to the geographic expansion of the ASEAN Single Window (ASW) to enable cross-border electronic exchange of trade-related data and documents among ASEAN member states and six FTA partners, namely, Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea. The ASW is part of ASEAN's trade facilitation reform to reduce intraregional trade costs and time.

This study considers cross-border paperless trade measures to represent the implementation of ASW+6, using data from the UN Global Survey on Digital and Sustainable Trade Facilitation in 2019. The simulation analyses reveal that the ASW+6 has significant potential to reduce times required to export and import, and to boost trade in ASEAN and its FTA partners.

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SME Responses to Climate Change in Southeast Asia

Michael T. Schaper

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Micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) account for approximately 97 per cent of all active business entities within the ASEAN region. They are an important contributor to both emissions generation and future reduction.

A recent large-scale, multi-country quantitative assessment was undertaken into how SMEs are dealing with climate change in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Vietnam. Most respondents reported a high level of concern about climate change.

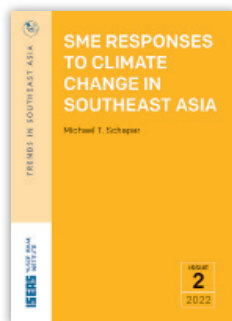
Over 90 per cent of firms are currently undertaking measures to reduce emissions, albeit that they are typically simple steps such as reducing air conditioning and electricity, recycling or installing low-energy lighting.

Common intentions to deal with future extreme weather events include reducing emissions, developing a disaster plan, or reviewing business insurance policies.

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Communicating COVID-19 Effectively in Malaysia: Challenges and Recommendations

Serina Rahman

Visiting Fellow in the Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Malaysia was initially lauded for its ability to combat the first few waves of COVID-19 but infection spikes since the Sabah state elections in September 2020 and subsequent exponential increases in both infections and deaths in 2021 left the nation reeling. Nationwide vaccination is seen as the only way out of the pandemic.

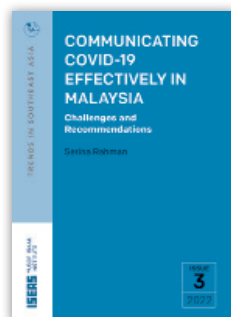
Malaysia's COVID-19 communication strategy was hampered by political machinations and myriad changes in government. The need to shore up favour among the electorate resulted in inconsistent messaging and regular U-turns whenever there was public outrage at arbitrary restrictions. This resulted in confusion on the ground, preventing successful COVID-19 management and containment.

Under the current regime, claims to more accessible data have been disputed and doubts have surfaced over data transparency and accuracy. There is an urgent need to ensure convincingly reliable information, as well as to use more engaging messaging on more suitable media.

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“Building a Sailboat in a Storm”: The Evolution of COVAX in 2021 and Its Impact on Supplies to Southeast Asia’s Six Lower-Income Economies

Khairulanwar Zaini

Research Officer, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

In the first half of 2021, COVID-19 vaccine doses from the COVAX Facility were in short supply, and the plan to mass produce COVAX vaccines through the Serum Institute of India (SII) faltered as the pandemic surged in India in March 2021.

Due to COVAX's shift in approach towards convincing richer nations to redistribute their excess doses, the second half of 2021 saw increases in the frequency and volume of its shipments. Donors were however able to “ earmark ” their dose donations and identify their intended recipients.

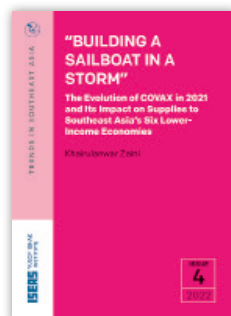
The six Southeast Asian countries which qualified for free COVAX shots—Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, the Philippines, Timor-Leste and Vietnam (the AMC6)—received 16 million doses in the first half of 2021. In the second half, they received 128 million doses from COVAX, 80.9 per cent of which were earmarked donations.

Despite making up 7 per cent of the world population, the AMC6 collectively accounted for 24.3 per cent of all earmarked dose donations (and 25 per cent of the United States’ total dose donations) to COVAX in 2021.

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A Study of Vietnam's Control over Online Anti-state Content

Dien Nguyen An Luong

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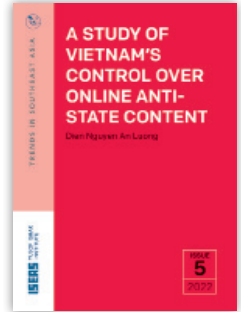
Over the past two decades, the fixation on anti-state content has shaped the way Vietnamese authorities deployed various censorship strategies to achieve the dual goals of creating a superficial openness while maintaining a tight grip on online discourses. These considerations dictated how several regulations on Internet controls were formulated and enforced.

Vietnamese censors also selectively borrowed from China's online censorship playbook, a key tenet of which is the fear-based approach. The modus operandi for the authorities is to first harp on what they perceive as online foreign and domestic threats to Vietnam's social stability. Then those threats are exhaustively used to enforce tougher measures that are akin to those implemented in China.

But unlike China, Vietnam has not afforded to ban Western social media platforms altogether. Realizing that they would be better off exploiting social media for their own gains, Vietnamese authorities have sought to co-opt and utilize it to curb anti-state content on the Internet. The lure of the Vietnamese market has also emboldened Facebook and Google's YouTube to consider it fit to acquiesce to state censorship demands.

2022 : 27 pp : TRS5/22
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Religious Extremism in Major Campuses in Indonesia

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Religious extremism among students in major campuses in Indonesia remains a problem for the Indonesian government, campus authorities and moderate Muslims.

A substantial number of studies on Islam and religious extremism in Indonesia have focused on security and cultural paradigms. In contrast, this article discusses the factors that cause the rise of religious extremism among university students through an organizational and institutional lens.

The dissemination and internalization of religious extremist narratives contribute to the rise of religious extremism among university students in Indonesia.

Counter-extremism policies by the government and campus authorities have not been effective due to the absence of an integrative approach. All stakeholders—the government, campus authorities, parents of university students, communities and student organizations—need to establish a concerted and integrative effort to uproot religious extremism from among university students.

2022 : 25 pp : TRS6/22
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Cyber Troops, Online Manipulation of Public Opinion and Co-optation of Indonesia's Cybersphere

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Wijayanto

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Organized propaganda and public opinion manipulation are increasing in Indonesia's cybersphere. Specifically, since 2019, there has been a marked rise of cyber troop campaigns that serve to mobilize public consensus for controversial government policies.

Cyber troop operations played a crucial role in three controversial events in which public opinion had been initially critical of the government policy at issue. These were, first, the revision of the Law on the Corruption Eradication Commission in September 2019; second, the launch of the New Normal policy during the COVID-19 pandemic in May 2020; and third, the passing of the Omnibus Law for Job Creation in October 2020. In all three cases, there is clear evidence of cyber troops manipulating public opinion in support of government policy.

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Understanding and Reducing Methane Emissions in Southeast Asia

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A few ASEAN countries have signed the Global Methane Pledge, but methane should receive a broader and higher priority from the entire region, given its significant contribution to climate change, and the availability of solutions.

The agriculture sector contributes the most amount of methane emissions with a steadily rising share over the past decade.

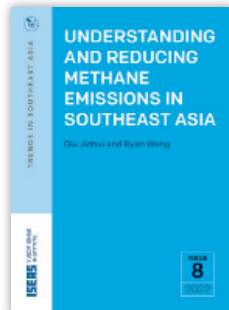
Several Southeast Asian countries face similar methane abatement challenges (i.e., agricultural productivity in Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar and the Philippines; gas leakage in Malaysia and Brunei; and waste management in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore), warranting closer collaboration at the subregional level.

While it is true that countries have been participating in international initiatives and implementing national policies related to rice cultivation and oil and gas processing, their impacts have not been thoroughly evaluated.

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Financial Technology Adoption in Greater Jakarta: Patterns, Constraints and Enablers

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This article reports the findings of an online survey conducted in November–December 2021 on Indonesians' experience and perception of fintech tools, focusing on fintech adoption in the Greater Jakarta region, which besides Jakarta, includes Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi.

One key finding is that, in the Greater Jakarta region, socio-economic status as measured by income is not a key determinant of fintech adoption. This is likely due to the more developed and mature ICT infrastructure in the Greater Jakarta region, which makes fintech tools readily accessible.

However, the kinds of fintech tools that are more likely to be used—M-banking, E-wallet, Online Lending, Investment, Donations, and so on—are influenced by factors such as income, education, gender, age and occupation, suggesting that different fintech tools appeal to different groups in society according to their needs and resources.

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Muslim Sectarianism versus the De-escalation of Sectarianism in Malaysia

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In 1992, a group of academics at the National University of Malaysia (UKM) organized a seminar titled “Seminar Ahli Sunnah dan Syiah Imamiyyah” (“Seminar on Ahl al-Sunnah and Imami Shi’ism”) in Kuala Lumpur. It aimed to demonize Shi’a Muslims and ban Shi’ism, effectively escalating sectarianism in Muslim society.

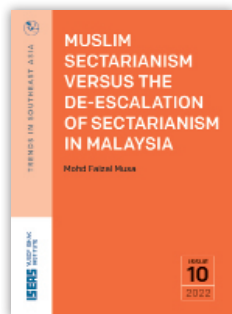
A Deobandi presenter at the seminar by the name of Muhammad Asri Yusoff put forth arguments about Shi’ism, which later became the “intellectual base” for the discrimination and repression of Shi’a Muslims by Islamic authorities in Malaysia. This repression continues till the present day, and other religious leaders—particularly those with a Salafi orientation—take part in this.

While much attention has been given to those who have escalated sectarianism, there have also been efforts to de-escalate sectarianism. These efforts come from groups such as Persatuan Ulama Malaysia, and individuals such as Abdul Hadi Awang of PAS, former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, the leader of International Movement for a Just World, Chandra Muzaffar, as well as Malaysian academic, Syed Farid Alatas.

2022 : 64 pp : TRS10/22

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Justifying Digital Repression via “Fighting Fake News”: A Study of Four Southeast Asian Autocracies

Janjira Sombatpoonsiri

Visiting Fellow in the Media, Technology and Society Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and Assistant Professor and Project Leader, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.

Dien Nguyen An Luong

Visiting Fellow in the Media, Technology and Society Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Southeast Asian autocracies of Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam have politicized vague definitions of “fake news” to justify diverse tactics of digital repression.

In these countries, what constitutes falseness in “fake news” has hardly been clearly articulated. The governments instead focus on the grave threats the dissemination of “fake news” could pose to national security, public disorder or national prestige.

As the governments are vested with the power to bend the labelling of “fake news” to their will, they can criminalize those accused of circulating such information to safeguard public interests.

2022 : 38 pp : TRS11/22

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S\$9.00 (S\$9.72)/US\$7.00



The Halal Project in Indonesia: Shariatization, Minority Rights and Commodification

Syafiq Hasyim

Visiting Fellow in the Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. He is also a Lecturer and Director of Library and Culture at the Indonesian International Islamic University (UIII) and adjunct lecturer at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

The government of Indonesia in the second term of the Jokowi presidency has fully endorsed the concept of halal to become not only a sharia-driven state law but also an incentive for the advancement of the national economy and market. In addition, Jokowi wants Indonesia to become the centre of the global halal industry.

In the history of Indonesian Islam, although the issue of halalness, being an unseparated part of Islamic doctrine, is not new, it had never been the role of the state to formalize it into state law prior to the legislation of State Law No. 33/2014 on Halal Legal Assurance.

From the 1990s to 2014, halal matters including halal certification had been unofficially handled by the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI). Then, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) proposed that halal certification be officially handled by the government of Indonesia, not by Muslim organizations. The legislation of State Law No. 33/2014 reflects contestation between MUI and MORA regarding which institution should serve as the authority in certifying halal products.

2022 : 21 pp : TRS12/22

ISBN 9789815011760 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.72)/US\$7.00



Health Security in Indonesia and the Normalization of the Military's Non-Defence Role

Jun Honna

Professor, College of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, Japan.

Like many countries, Indonesia's armed forces (TNI) have been engaging in health security activities since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020. The pandemic has made TNI popular in society owing to its visible dedication to crisis response at the grassroots level. It is important to clarify how this became possible and the impact it has had from the perspective of civil-military relations.

TNI's widening and deepening involvement in health security is the product of the normalization of "military operations other than war" (MOOTW). The 2004 TNI law restricted non-defence missions and required that ad hoc arrangements to undertake such non-war emergency missions gain parliamentary approval. TNI has skilfully used patriotic propaganda to justify its COVID-19-linked activities by invoking the spirit of the war of independence. In doing so, military elites have stoked nationalist sentiments to blunt military reform measures and normalize their role expansion. This is a new development in the history of TNI's MOOTW; operations related to counter-terrorism and disaster relief in the past—for example, the 2018 natural disasters in Lombok and Palu—were limited in time and space. In this sense, the COVID-19 crisis should be understood as an important game changer in the country's post-authoritarian civil-military relations.

2022 : 25 pp : TRS13/22
ISBN 9789815011821 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.72)/US\$7.00



Thailand's Economic Dilemmas in Post-Pandemic Asia

Richard Yarrow

Fellow in the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, Harvard Kennedy School, and Visiting Research Fellow in the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

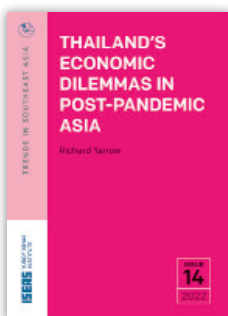
While Thailand's health system has fared relatively well through the COVID-19 pandemic, the country's economy faced significant strains and likely a harsher downturn than other economies in Southeast Asia. In particular, the services sector—heavily reliant on international tourism—suffered, and debt levels worsened substantially during the pandemic.

Thailand's economy has steadily recovered following the peak of the pandemic in 2020, with greater optimism coming from the growing trade in goods and growing investments from China and Japan. The tourism sector has also steadily regained strength since the worst points of the pandemic.

Despite these recent positive turns, Thailand still faces daunting long-term economic and societal challenges, many of which were exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Household finances appear increasingly stressed and debt levels have risen sharply across the economy. It is unlikely that Thailand will be able to return its tourism industry to 2019 conditions for the next several years.

2022 : 51 pp : TRS14/22
ISBN 9789815011784 (SC)

S\$9.00 (S\$9.72)/US\$7.00



Concepts and Patterns of Chinese Migration, with Reference to Southeast Asia

Leo Suryadinata

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Dorcas Gan

Research Officer in the Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Concepts and patterns of Chinese migration are often described with terms such as *guigen* (return to one's original roots), *shenggen* (sprout local roots), *shigen* (lose original roots), *wugen* (without roots), and *duogen* (many roots). These terms, linked to the Mandarin word *gen* (roots), carry various meanings including home, citizenship, ethnicity, as well as local language, culture and society.

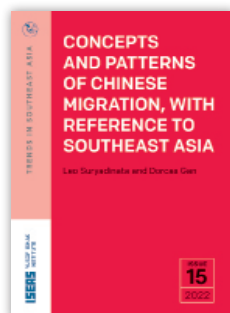
In Southeast Asia, the predominant patterns of migration are *shenggen/shigen*, *guigen*, *shenggen/shigen*, *wugen* and/or *duogen*. These concepts represent the mainstream patterns during various periods, which may admittedly exist concurrently.

The pattern in each particular period is influenced by an array of internal and external factors, such as colonial and subsequently government policies directed at migrants, as well as forces and opportunities afforded by globalization.

2022 : 21 pp : TRS15/22

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Freedom of Religion in Malaysia: The Situation and Attitudes of “Deviant” Muslim Groups

Mohd Faizal Musa

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and Research Fellow, Institute of the Malay World and Civilization (ATMA), National University of Malaysia (UKM). He also contributes to the Global Shi’a Diaspora, Project on Shi’ism and Global Affairs at Harvard Divinity School.

Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), published by the United Nations in 1948, states that “everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.”

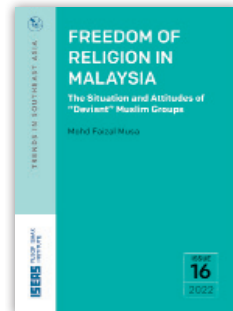
Malaysia recently won its bid to sit on the United Nations Human Rights Council from 2022 to 2024. However, while the country’s constitution is progressive in underlining the rights of religious minorities, this is severely lacking in practice as it exercises heavy regulation on religion, combined with restrictions on the practices of certain faiths.

Based on interviews and focus group discussions conducted in Malaysia, this paper uncovers the challenges faced by religious minorities in the country, and how treatment of them at the hands of religious authorities is illustrative of encroachments on their right to the freedom of religion. The groups that will be focused on are the Millah Ibrahim (Abrahamic Faith), the Baha’i faith, and the Ahmadiyah faith, all of which have been banned by the religious authorities.

2022 : 37 pp : TRS16/22

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S\$9.00 (S\$9.72)/US\$7.00



Explaining PAS's Dominance in Kelantan

Azmil Tayeb

Visiting Research Fellow, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The Islamic political party Pan-Malaysia Islamic Party (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia, PAS) has governed the state of Kelantan on the northeastern coast of peninsular Malaysia for most of Malaysia's post-independence history.

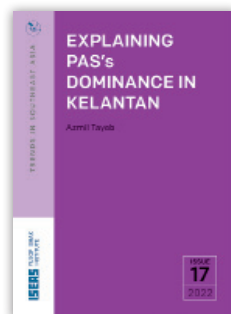
Until 2020, PAS functioned as an opposition party at the federal level, going against the government led by its long-time nemesis the politically stronger and better resourced United Malays National Organisation (UMNO). The David-versus-Goliath story has made PAS's longevity and durability in Kelantan all the more impressive for having endured decades of marginalization by the federal government. This has to an extent led to the state's laggard developmental growth and poor socio-economic indicators.

PAS has often been portrayed by the mainstream media as an anachronistic and extremist party ill-equipped to cope with, much less solve, the myriad challenges faced by modern society.

Notwithstanding PAS's shortcomings, this article provides an analysis of the factors that have allowed the party to remain in power in Kelantan for so long. It argues that after winning back Kelantan from UMNO in 1990, PAS transformed itself into a modern, well-oiled political machine, particularly when it comes to socializing its agenda to the people of Kelantan and reaching out to many out-of-state Kelantan voters.

2022 : 28 pp : TRS17/22
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“Stanning” Najib: Fanning a Personality Cult in Malaysian Politics

Clarissa Lee Ai Ling

Fellow with the Käte Hamburger Kolleg Aachen: Cultures of Research at RWTH-Aachen University. She was Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and also Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Creative Arts, Universiti Malaya.

Amirul Adli Rosli

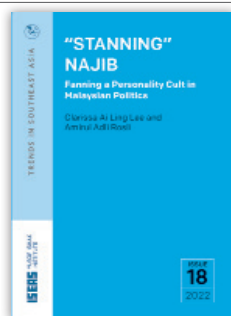
Research Officer, Media, Technology and Society Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The concept of fandom, which contributes to the construction of fan fiction, provides fresh insights into the seemingly inexplicable and irrational popularity of disgraced political celebrities. Political fandom provides the critical framework for contextualizing the continuing popularity of political social media influencers such as Najib Razak within an environment of populist politics.

Political fandom comprises fans and anti-fans, each of whom is capable of critical reasoning regardless of conclusions drawn. The presence of anti-fans of an influential figure speaks not to the waning of popularity, but rather, the continuing relevance of that figure within socio-political spaces.

2022 : 32 pp : TRS18/22
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S\$9.00 (S\$9.72)/US\$7.00



The Indonesian Military Enjoys Strong Public Trust and Support: Reasons and Implications

Burhanuddin Muhtadi

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore; Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, State Islamic University, Jakarta; and Executive Director of Indikator Politik Indonesia.

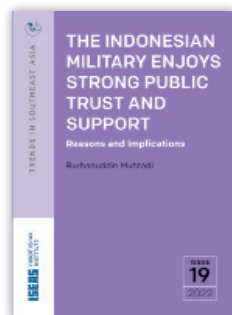
Opinion polls in Indonesia have repeatedly shown that the Indonesian National Army (TNI) is the state institution that enjoys the highest level of public trust. This is not something that is exclusive to Indonesia, however; according to several studies, people around the world place a higher level of trust in their military than they do in other institutions.

Even though there has been a surge of writing, both scholarly and non-scholarly, on this subject, there is a lack of information regarding the reasons why people put more faith in the military than in other institutions. Moreover, in Indonesia, public trust in the military has not been shaken despite the extensive anti-military campaigns that have been waged by the media and activists.

Consistent with previous works, the findings of my September 2021 survey indicate that the TNI has continued to enjoy the highest level of public trust among state institutions when compared to other political and social institutions. The respondents are also of the opinion that the military has been acting in the public's best interests.

2022 : 27 pp : TRS19/22
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Cities and Climate Challenges in Southeast Asia Vol. 1

Melinda Martinus

Lead Researcher, ASEAN Studies Centre and the Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Qiu Jiahui

Research Officer, Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Sharon Seah

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, ASEAN Studies Centre and the Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The Climate Change in Southeast Asia Workshop and Compendium Series is a platform to facilitate and promote research on climate-related issues in the Southeast Asian region. Organized by the Climate Change in Southeast Asia Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, the objective of this platform is to facilitate knowledge exchange and share best practices to deepen understanding of the complex and multidimensional nature of climate change. This inaugural publication sheds light on varied and contextual experiences of Southeast Asian urban communities in addressing climate challenges and scenarios for future policy making.

2023 : 201 pp : ASC17

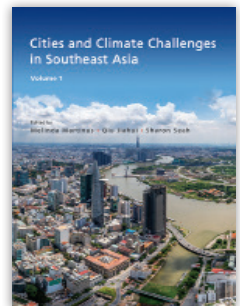
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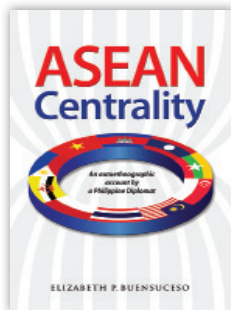


ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat

Elizabeth Buensuceso

Acting Undersecretary (Vice Minister) in the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs and Philippine ASEAN SOM Leader.

"ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat guides us to a deeper understanding of the concept of ASEAN Centrality, through the eyes of one of the Philippines' most reputable diplomats. Outlining both a personal recollection of her extensive experience and adherence to academic discipline, Ambassador Buensuceso puts forth her analysis of ASEAN Centrality as a core element of diplomacy within ASEAN. She then goes further to articulate ASEAN's aspiration for the future of a region that is constantly evolving. This book is a must-read to understand Southeast Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific regional dynamics, as it offers an insight into ASEAN Centrality like no other."



*Retno L.P. Marsudi,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia*

"Ambassador Elizabeth P. Buensuceso's book ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat is a rare insider's view into ASEAN diplomacy as we practise it here in Jakarta. The dynamics in the ASEAN-led mechanisms that she describes provide an interesting insight into national interests, unique personal traits of diplomats based here in Jakarta both from member states and external partners and their interactions with the ASEAN Secretariat. The ASEAN Secretariat together with the officers and staff are also part of this important community of diplomats.

Her valuable contribution to ASEAN literature is this practical definition of ASEAN Centrality. Her insights, expertise on ASEAN affairs, and straightforward but engaging writing style make for an interesting read."

*Dr Noeleen Heyzer,
United Nations Under-Secretary-General (2007–15)*

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The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership: Implications for Southeast Asia

Cassey Lee, editor

Coordinator of the Regional Economic Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

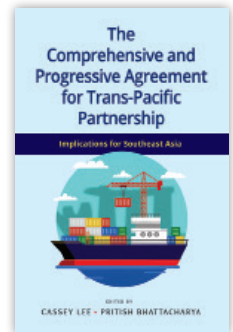
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“The world trading system is in disarray: the World Trade Organization has been weakened, perhaps terminally; the world’s two economic superpowers are locked in deep, politicized disputes; the forces of populism and nationalism are everywhere complicating the return to a more liberal, rules-based order. These trends are challenging one of the building blocks of ASEAN economic development, namely these countries’ outward-looking trade and investment policies. With impeccable timing this important volume by a group of eminent authors assesses these issues with reference to the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. The CPTPP excludes the three largest traders—China, the EU and the US—but it is a welcome second-best initiative that may have broader, positive ripple effects.

This is the volume to read to gain a deeper understanding of the many complex issues at play.”

*Hal Hill, H.W. Arndt Professor Emeritus of Southeast Asian Economies,
College of Asia & the Pacific,
Australian National University*



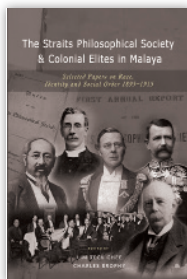
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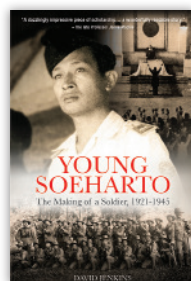
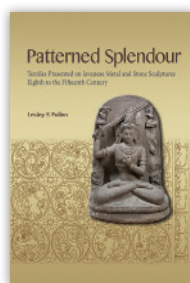


“Lim Teck Ghee and Charles Brophy’s must-read work in commenting on the primary sources of political philosophical ideas pertaining to race, identity, and governing the Malay colony is both valuable as an analysis and a classroom text to teach about colonialism and the construction of colonial identity. *The Straits Philosophical Society and Colonial Elites in Malaya* is an elegant work in its own class of originality given the fact that these papers were about to be discarded. The value of the collection of excellent essays, written circa 1895 to 1915, lies in its nature as the primary source, which historians and teachers of Colonial History especially would appreciate using in class. Even more valuable is the nature of philosophical arguments crafted and debated in the style of Marxist dialectics concerning how the colonies, especially Malaya and Java, are to be governed.”

Azly Rahman,
Eurasia Review: A Journal of Analysis and News,
28 February 2023

“Lesley Pullen’s remarkable *Patterned Splendour* is a landmark contribution to deepening our appreciation of the rich heritage of early Javanese textile art documented in Hindu and Buddhist sculptures from the 8th to 15th century. The study is a wide-ranging survey of the varieties of designs depicted on the garments worn by gods, goddesses and deified royalty in religious images. The significance of Pullen’s research is underscored by the recognition that no other visual media - whether paintings or illuminated manuscripts - illustrating textile patterns survive from the period.”

James Bennett,
Textiles Asia,
September 2022



“Jenkins writes with an engaging and theoretically unpretentious prose. He manages to strike a deft narrative balance between the personal details of Soeharto life and the broad sweep of developments in Indonesian politics, society, and culture. This is, certainly, a long book. But it is a masterful study that deserves to be read by any and all readers with an interest in Soeharto and the bittersweet project of Indonesian nationhood.”

Robert W. Hefner,
Journal of Asian Studies,
10 August 2022

“The book is carefully structured and has a clear and incisive editors’ introduction by Hutchinson and Negara. It gives a concise overview of the Riau Islands province and the key themes running through the edited collection.

Overall, this is an extremely useful and highly detailed source. It will be an invaluable reference for undergraduate final year dissertations, Masters and PhD students studying tourism planning or international development, as well as for academics and consultants working on development issues in Indonesia, Singapore and the wider region.”

Mark P. Hampton,
Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography,
15 July 2022



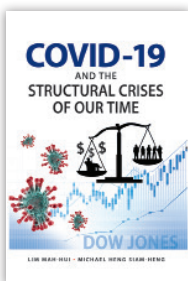
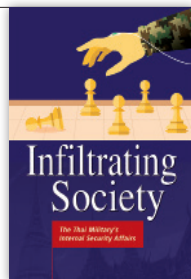


"As a whole, *Spirits and Ships* is a very important revisionist collected work which provides an updated multi- and counter-vision approach that will lead to a better understanding of early Monsoon Asia for its readers."

Kenneth R. Hall,
Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,
6 April 2022

"The book revives critical scholarship of the military and should be of interest to anyone who wants to know more about the military's political dominance. Hopefully, the book encourages other scholars to further probe the organisations and ideology of the military's mission and its conservative twinning with the monarchy."

Kevin Hewison,
Journal of Contemporary Asia,
17 March 2022



"Many observers agree that the COVID-19 crisis has laid bare the gravest problems facing humankind: environmental destruction and climate change, rampant polarisation and extremism, inequalities in opportunity and health care provision, and growing financial instability. These problems have increased our vulnerability to a global pandemic, and hindered our response to it."

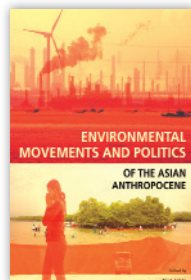
"Yet most analyses of the COVID-19 crisis have been piecemeal and parochial, reflecting their authors' nationality or professional background. Or they are little more than potted histories or discussions exploiting the public's anxieties."

"In contrast, a new book I recently came across, *COVID-19 and the Structural Crises of Our Time*, offers a comprehensive and cosmopolitan critique of the global economy and society amid the COVID-19 crisis."

Howard Sereda,
South China Morning Post,
16 February 2022

"In an era recognized as that of the Anthropocene, political leaders and citizens are increasingly engaging with environmental politics and advancing different practices and approaches to respond to the earth's geophysical conditions. While there have been lively debates over the need to bypass the dominant onto-epistemological categories of Western modernity (e.g. human-nature divide), scholarship exploring the plurality of ways of thinking and knowing the meaning of the Anthropocene is lacking in the literature. Because it brings hitherto under-explored Asian contexts into the conversation, *Environmental Movements and Politics of the Asian Anthropocene* is a significant contribution to this debate."

"Rich in ethnographic detail, it will find an audience among scholars, students, practitioners, and analysts interested in a broad range of issues ranging from environmental politics to political regimes."

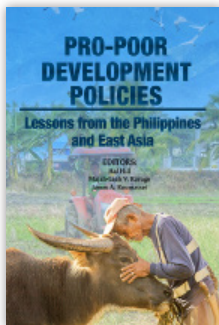


Virginie Arantes,
Environmental Politics,
7 December 2021

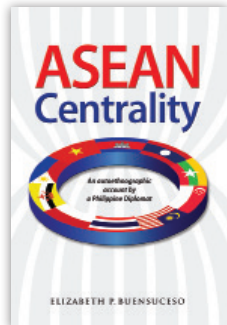
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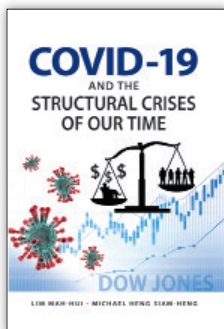
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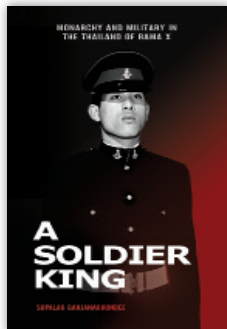
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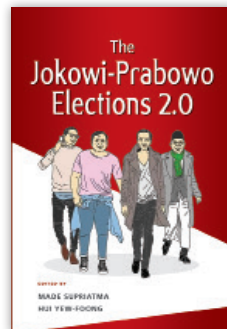
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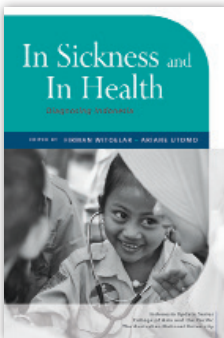
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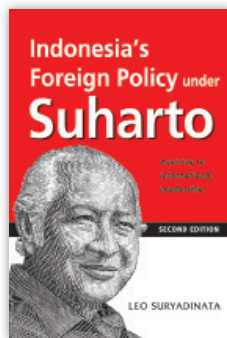
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