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THE INDONESIAN ECONOMY IN TRANSITION
Policy Challenges in the Jokowi Era and Beyond

*edited by*

Hal Hill and Siwage Dharma Negara

*About the EDITORS*

Hal Hill is the H.W. Arndt Professor Emeritus of Southeast Asian Economies at the Australian National University.

Siwage Dharma Negara is Senior Fellow in the Regional Economic Studies Programme and Co-coordinator of the Indonesia Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

*About the BOOK*

By any indicator, Indonesia, the fourth most populous nation on earth, is a development success story. Yet 20 years after a deep economic and political crisis, it is still in some respects an economy in transition. The country recovered from the 1997–98 crisis and navigated the path from authoritarian to democratic rule surprisingly quickly and smoothly. It survived the 2008–09 global financial crisis and the end of the China-driven commodity super boom in 2014 with little difficulty. It is now embarking on its fifth round of credible national elections in the democratic era. It can reasonably expect to graduate to the upper middle-income ranks within a decade. But, as the 25 contributors to this comprehensive and compelling volume document, Indonesia also faces many daunting challenges—how to achieve faster economic growth along with more attention to environment sustainability, how to achieve more equitable development outcomes, how to develop and nurture stronger institutional foundations, and much else.

2019

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SMEs AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

edited by Cassey Lee, Dionisius Narjoko and Sothea Oum

About the EDITORS

Cassey Lee is Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Regional Economic Studies programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Dionisius Narjoko is Senior Economist at the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia.

Sothea Oum is Research Fellow, Asia Growth Research Centre, University of Adelaide.

About the BOOK

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) account for about 97–99 per cent of total enterprises and 60–80 per cent of total employment in ASEAN countries. The participation of SMEs is thus crucial for achieving greater regional economic integration amongst ASEAN countries. SMEs are, however, often constrained by many disadvantages that limit their abilities to become importers and exporters. This is well documented in the research literature on trade and firm size. This volume contains selected ASEAN country studies on the participation of SMEs in regional economic integration based on primary microdata. This is supplemented by empirical studies on the role played by East Asian multinational enterprises in the region.

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E-COMMERCE, COMPETITION
AND ASEAN ECONOMIC
INTEGRATION

edited by
Cassey Lee and Eileen Lee

About the EDITORS

Cassey Lee is Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Regional
Economic Studies programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute,
Singapore.

Eileen Lee is a staff member of the Policy and Markets Division at
the Competition and Consumer Commission of Singapore (CCCS).

About the BOOK

The e-commerce market has grown rapidly within the ASEAN region in recent years. This trend
is expected to continue in the future given the region’s large population base, rising middle-class
and improvements in connectivity. This edited volume examines the current state of e-commerce
in ASEAN countries. It highlights some of the key domestic and cross-border challenges faced
by ASEAN member states in developing e-commerce. These challenges include the regulatory
and legal environment in which e-commerce firms operate across ASEAN, and the supporting
infrastructure in ASEAN member states.

“A comprehensive snapshot of the latest emerging regulatory, policy and consumer issues. It’s essential
reading for anyone working in this field. E-commerce is fundamentally altering the way in which businesses
are being conducted, both within and between ASEAN countries. More than just an alternate distribution
channel, online trading offers new opportunities and challenges for consumers, businesses, regulators and
policymakers. How do markets operate in the new paradigm? How should regulators and governments
ensure that dynamic competitive economies evolve, instead of descending into anti-competitive structures?
And how are markets evolving in different parts of Southeast Asia? All of these issues—and much more—
are discussed in here. The editors are to be congratulated for assembling a range of insightful perspectives
from across ASEAN. These are issues that will affect the region for many years to come. The lessons here are
timely and timeless.”

— Michael Schaper Ph.D., Deputy Chairman, Australian Competition and Consumer Commission, 2008–18

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Co-published with Competition and Consumer Commission of Singapore (CCCS).
POLITICS
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
AFTER INDONESIA’S REFORMS
Contributions to an Ongoing Assessment

about the editor
Max Lane is Visiting Senior Fellow at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

About the Book
“This book addresses one of the most crucial questions in Southeast Asia: did the election in Indonesia in 2014 of a seemingly populist-oriented president alter the hegemony of the political and economic elites? Was it the end of the paradox that the basic social contradictions in the country’s substantial capitalist development were not reflected in organized politics by any independent representation of subordinated groups, in spite of democratization? Beyond simplified frameworks, grounded scholars have now come together to discuss whether and how a new Indonesian politics has evolved in a number of crucial fields. Their critical insights are a valuable contribution to the study of this question.”
—Professor Olle Törnquist, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo

“A most valuable book for understanding the underpinnings of Indonesian politics in 2019 and beyond. A great range of themes are included: political parties, ideologies, political Islam, leadership legitimacy, the political middle class, the politics of centre–local relations, corruption, limited foreign policy reform, Papua, and youth activism. The book has eleven chapters, mostly by Indonesia-based analysts, plus a couple of wise old hands. Max Lane’s overview chapter is excellent.”
—Professor David Reeve, School of Humanities and Languages, University of New South Wales

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FROM AQUINO II TO DUTERTE (2010–2018)
Change, Continuity—and Rupture
edited by Imelda Deinla and Björn Dressel

About the EDITORS
Imelda Deinla is Research Fellow at the School of Regulation and Global Governance at the Australian National University (ANU), and Director of the ANU Philippines Project, a policy-engaged research initiative on economics, trade, politics and governance on the Philippines.

Björn Dressel is Associate Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University, and previously holds the 2013–17 Australian Research Council Early Career Researcher Award.

About the BOOK
The Duterte administration is often considered a rupture in Philippines’ politics. Yet, how different is Duterte’s programme of change from the past governments, particularly from its predecessor, the Aquino II administration? Is there a shift in regime orientation and policy preferences from Aquino II to Duterte? What will this mean to the future direction of Philippine democracy, its economic development, peace and security, and relations with other countries?

This volume focuses on four critical areas—politics and governance; economic governance; Mindanao peace process; and international relations—to illustrate continuities or discontinuities in policies and governance of institutions to explain the dynamics of change in the Philippines. It pays particular attention to the crucial period between Aquino II and the early years of Duterte.

The reason is that Aquino II represents an important period for rebuilding and consolidating institutions of governance and accountability after two previous tumultuous administrations. Yet Aquino II also demonstrates the inherent flaws of Philippine democracy and unravels the contradictory forces vying for state power that sets the scene for Duterte’s rise. Reflecting on the crucial transition period between the two presidencies, while also providing a much-needed update on the most noteworthy policy changes since Duterte’s inauguration, the book fills an important scholarly gap in understanding Asia’s oldest and most puzzling democracy.

2019
324 pp.
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S$38.41 (GST inclusive)* / S$35.90 / US$29.90

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE POLITICS OF THE INDONESIAN UNION MOVEMENT

by

Max Lane

About the AUTHOR
Max Lane is Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

About the BOOK
“In this most significant contemporary study of Indonesian trade unions and the broader working class, Max Lane provides a concise and informed examination of the practical and ideological challenges of incipient labour organizations engaged in political and popular struggles in an underdeveloped nation. This detailed and highly informative book evokes similar historical and comparative struggles of exploited workers worldwide and is indispensable for students of labour movements in the Global South.”

—Immanuel Ness, Professor of Political Science, City University of New York
author of Southern Insurgency: The Coming of the Global Working Class

2019
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152 pp.

BM575

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About the AUTHOR
Andrew Selth is an Adjunct Associate Professor at the Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University.

About the BOOK
As Myanmar’s Chief of Intelligence from 1983 until 2004, General Khin Nyunt presided over the development of a powerful apparatus that underpinned military rule and played a major role in the country’s international relations. So influential did it become, however, that it was seen as a threat by other parts of the armed forces, including the ruling State Peace and Development Council. In 2004, Khin Nyunt was arrested and his intelligence empire dismantled. The purge significantly weakened the regime, but was considered necessary to maintain its position as the supreme arbiter of power in Myanmar.

Since the advent of a quasi-civilian government in 2011, and the election of Aung San Suu Kyi’s administration in 2015, there appear to have been few significant changes to Myanmar’s intelligence apparatus. Even as the country faces new external pressures, its focus on internal security remains. Both Aung San Suu Kyi’s government and the armed forces know that the country’s survival—and their own—is threatened more by disunity and domestic instability than by any international developments. Intelligence will thus continue to have a high priority, and effectively remain under military control.

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MYANMAR’S POLITICAL TRANSITION AND LOST OPPORTUNITIES (2010–2016)

by
Ye Htut

About the AUTHOR
Ye Htut was Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore (2016–19). He retired as Lt. Col. from the Myanmar Army in 2005 to transfer to the civil service. During the Thein Sein administration of Myanmar, he served as Presidential Spokesperson (2013–16) and Minister of Information (2014–16).

About the BOOK
This book is about the politics of Myanmar under the reformist president Thein Sein. After taking office in March 2011, Thein Sein initiated the bloodless Myanmar Spring. He was able to transform Myanmar into a more transparent and dynamic society, bring Aung San Suu Kyi and other opposition activists into the political process, initiate a peace process with the ethnic armed organizations, reintegrate Myanmar into the international community after five decades of isolation, and, most importantly, for the first time since the country regained independence in 1948, he was able to enact the peaceful transfer of power from one elected government to another. But Thein Sein also lost opportunities to deliver what the people anticipated, and he failed to bring his USDP party to victory in the 2015 election.

This book is not about the successes of the Thein Sein administration. Rather, it examines the reasons behind the lost opportunities in the transition to democracy. It draws on the author’s experiences as a member of Thein Sein’s cabinet as well as on extensive interviews with other cabinet members and politicians involved in the crucial events that took place between 2010 and 2016. The book is a must-read for anyone interested in this critical period of change for Myanmar.

2019
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Forthcoming Title
REGION, NATION AND HOMELAND
Valorization and Adaptation in the Moro and Cordillera Resistance Discourses
by
Miriam C. Ferrer
Est. pub. date: Late 2019

About the AUTHOR
Miriam Coronel-Ferrer is a Filipino peace negotiator and the former chairperson of the peace panel of the Government of the Philippines during the time of President Simeon Bengino Aquino III (2010–16). On behalf of the government, she signed the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. She is also a political science professor of the University of the Philippines.

About the BOOK
Movement discourses construct an analysis of society, critique the power relations that exist, and offer an alternative vision for the population whom the movement promises to liberate. The book examines the resistance discourses within the Moro and Cordillera armed movements in the Philippines. The Moro and Cordillera identity entrepreneurs’ narratives are basically narratives of difference from the Filipino majority population that have been framed around the “Moro” and “Cordillera” identity markers. However, within and among the movement organizations, they differed in articulating the elements of these identities and the bases of their claims to recover homeland, ancestral domain, and autonomy.

The book traces the evolution of these organizations in the 1970s to 1990s and how they built on their respective resistance discourses over time, manifesting significant intertextuality in the case of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, which broke away from the Moro National Liberation Front; and a drift to heightened ethnonationalism in the case of the Cordillera Peoples’ Liberation Army, compared to its mother organization, the national democratic Cordillera People’s Democratic Front. The book reflects on where these mobilizations are now, and the strands of discourses that have remained salient or reemerged in the current decade.

2019
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THE DEFEAT OF BARISAN NASIONAL
Missed Signs or Late Surge?

edited by
Francis E. Hutchinson and Lee Hwok Aun

Est. pub. date: Late 2019

About the EDITORS
Francis E. Hutchinson is Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Malaysia Studies Programme at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Lee Hwok Aun is Senior Fellow and Co-coordinator of the Malaysia Studies Programme at ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

About the BOOK
The results of Malaysia’s 14th General Elections of May 2018 were unexpected and transformative. Against conventional wisdom, the newly reconfigured opposition grouping Pakatan Harapan (PH) decisively defeated the incumbent Barisan Nasional (BN), ending six decades of uninterrupted dominant one-party rule.

Despite a long-running financial scandal dogging the ruling coalition, pollsters and commentators predicted a solid BN victory or, at least, a narrow parliamentary majority. Yet, on the day, deeply rooted political dynamics and influential actors came together, sweeping aside many prevailing assumptions and reconfiguring the country’s political reality in the process.

In order to understand the elections and their implications, this edited volume brings together contributions from ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute researchers and a group of selected collaborators to examine the elections from three angles: campaign dynamics; important trends among major interest groups; and local-level dynamics and developments in key states. This analytical work is complemented by personal narratives from a selection of GE-14 participants.
Forthcoming Title

THE INDONESIA-MALAYSIA DISPUTE CONCERNING SOVEREIGNTY OVER SIPADAN AND LIGITAN ISLANDS

Historical Antecedents and the International Court of Justice Judgment

by
D.S. Ranjit Singh

Est. pub. date: Late 2019

About the AUTHOR

D.S. Ranjit Singh is currently affiliated to the College of Law, Government and International Studies, University Utara Malaysia, Sintok, Kedah.

About the BOOK

In 2002, ASEAN made history when two of its founder members—Indonesia and Malaysia—amicably settled a dispute over the ownership of the two Bornean islands of Sipadan and Ligitan by accepting the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which ruled in favour of Malaysia. The case at once assumed great significance as a beacon of hope for the region which is plagued by numerous disruptive territorial disputes.

As both the historical evidence and legal milieu are vital considerations for the ICJ to award sovereignty, this book covers in detail the historical roots of the issue as well as the law dimension pertaining to the process of legal proceedings and the ICJ deliberations. The work concludes by offering a set of guidelines on cardinal principles of international law for successfully supporting a claim to disputed territories. These may be usefully utilized by interested parties.
Forthcoming Title

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY ISSUES IN ASEAN
Agendas for Action

edited by
Mely Caballero-Anthony and Lina Gong

Est. pub. date: Early 2020

About the EDITORS

Mely Caballero-Anthony is an Associate Professor and Head of the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Lina Gong is Research Fellow at the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

About the BOOK

Non-traditional Security Issues in ASEAN examines the current state of governance of non-traditional security challenges confronting the ASEAN region. The book takes an issue-specific approach to investigating how ASEAN states and societies govern many of the pressing non-traditional security issues, such as climate change, food security, environmental protection, humanitarian assistance and disaster response, health security, nuclear security, and human trafficking and forced displacement.

With non-traditional security as an established concept in the policy and scholarly communities in ASEAN, this book moves beyond securitisation and focuses on capacity-building, regional cooperation and institution for dealing with non-traditional security challenges in the region. Through the development of a comprehensive analytical framework that establishes the process of governing non-traditional security problems, the editors put together chapters that identify some of the major gaps and challenges in the governance of many pressing challenges in ASEAN.

Non-traditional Security Issues in ASEAN provides a systemic evaluation on the governance of the most pressing challenges in the region. The authors analyse the ways in which particular issues are addressed at national and regional levels and by different stakeholders. In spite of the differences among various non-traditional security issues, the analysis of the chapters converge on three core themes for enhancing governance, which include engagement of multiple actors, effective enforcement of national and regional laws and regulations, and better coordination between different actors. As such, Non-traditional Security Issues in ASEAN contributes to policy making by highlighting the key agendas that call for actions and adds nuances to scholarly discussion on governance by bringing in a non-traditional security perspective.
SOCIAL ISSUES
About the EDITORS

Lisa Brooten is Associate Professor at Southern Illinois University Carbondale, a Fulbright scholar and a member of the roster of Fulbright specialists for Myanmar, Thailand and the Philippines.

Jane Madlyn McElhone is a consultant with extensive experience supporting and building the capacity of media outlets and journalists in closed and transitional societies.

Gayathry Venkiteswaran is Assistant Professor at the University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus, where she is also completing her doctorate.

About the BOOK

Myanmar Media in Transition: Legacies, Challenges and Change is the first volume to overview the country’s contemporary media landscape, providing a critical assessment of the sector during the complex and controversial political transition. Moving beyond the focus on journalism and freedom of the press that characterizes many media-focused volumes, Myanmar Media in Transition also explores developments in fiction, filmmaking, social movement media and social media. Documenting changes from both academic and practitioner perspectives, the twenty-one chapters reinforce the volume’s theoretical arguments by providing on-the-ground, factual and experiential data intended to open useful dialogue between key stakeholders in the media, government and civil society sectors. Providing an overview of media studies in the country, Myanmar Media in Transition addresses current challenges, such as the use of social media in spreading hate speech and the shifting boundaries of free expression, by placing them within Myanmar’s broader historic social, political and economic context.

“Myanmar Media in Transition: Legacies, Challenges and Change is the first and most comprehensive study of the role of media in contemporary Myanmar from a range of perspectives, including scholars, practitioners, journalists, artists, and activists. This edited book is easily accessible, illuminating and timely. This is a welcome addition and a great contribution to Myanmar studies. I highly recommend it.”

—Ardeth Maung Thawnghmung, Professor and Chair, University of Massachusetts Lowell
CONTENTIOUS BELONGING
The Place of Minorities in Indonesia

edited by
Greg Fealy and Ronit Ricci

About the EDITORS

Greg Fealy is Associate Professor and Senior Fellow, Indonesian Politics, Department of Political and Social Change, Bell School of Asia-Pacific Affairs, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University.

Ronit Ricci is Associate Professor at the School of Culture, History & Language, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University.

About the BOOK

Contention has surrounded the status of minorities throughout Indonesian history. Two broad polarities are evident: one inclusive of minorities, regarding them as part of the nation’s rich complexity and a manifestation of its “Unity in Diversity” motto; the other exclusive, viewing with suspicion or disdain those communities or groups that differ from the perceived majority. State and community attitudes towards minorities have fluctuated over time. Some periods have been notable for the acceptance of minorities and protection of their rights, while others have been marked by anti-minority discrimination, marginalisation and sometimes violence.

This book explores the complex historical and contemporary dimensions of Indonesia’s religious, ethnic, LGBT and disability minorities from a range of perspectives, including historical, legal, political, cultural, discursive and social. It addresses fundamental questions about Indonesia’s tolerance and acceptance of difference, and examines the extent to which diversity is embraced or suppressed.

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**IMAGINING ASIA(S)**
Networks, Actors, Sites

*edited by*
Andrea Acri, Kashshaf Ghani, Murari K. Jha and Sraman Mukherjee

**About the EDITORS**
Andrea Acri is Maître de Conférences in Tantric Studies at the École pratique des hautes études in Paris since Fall 2016.
Kashshaf Ghani is Assistant Professor at the School of Historical Studies, Nalanda University.
Murari K. Jha is a postdoctoral research fellow at the History Department, National University of Singapore.
Sraman Mukherjee is Assistant Professor in the School of Historical Studies at Nalanda University (Rajgir, India).

**About the BOOK**
As a continent lying to the east of Europe, Asia has been malleable to different spatial and temporal imaginations and politics. Recent scholarship has highlighted how the seemingly self-contained regional configurations of West and Central Asia, South and Southeast Asia, and East Asia carved by the Area Studies paradigm reflect changing (geo)political and economic interests than historical or cultural roots.

This volume advances the question as to what Asia is, and as to whether there existed one or many Asia(s). It seeks to explore Asian societies as interconnected formations through trajectories/networks of circulation of people, ideas, and objects in the longue durée. Moving beyond the divides of Area Studies scholarship and the arbitrary borders set by late colonial empires and the rise of post-colonial nation-states, this volume maps critically the configuration of contact zones in which mobile bodies, minds, and cultures interact to foster new images, identities, and imaginations of Asia.

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Forthcoming Title

A VIEW FROM HIGHLANDS
Archaeology and Settlement
History of West Sumatra, Indonesia

edited by
Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz

Est. pub. date: Late 2019

About the EDITOR
Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz is Visiting Professor, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.

About the BOOK
The highland of the Minangkabau community in Indonesia was the core area of the realm of Sumatra’s last Buddhist king, Adityavarman (c. 1347–75). An increasing socio-political integration, mentioned in his inscriptions, is marked by ceremonial architecture, changes of land use, and the establishment of an administration. Surveys and excavations have yielded new archaeological evidence that changes in settlement and socio-cultural patterns have occurred. New technology—metallurgy and an irrigation system—has also emerged. From the fourteenth century a territorial consolidation and increasing socio-economic complexity are evidenced, which initiated international trade and an incipient urbanization process in this highland region.

This book analyses the rise of the settlement system in the heartland of the Minangkabau region in the highlands of West Sumatra. It explores the regional settlement pattern arising from Adityavarman’s highland interregnum, and provides the first attempt to place the archaeological remains and the landscape of Tanah Datar, a fertile plain in the highlands of West Sumatra, in a cultural historic synthesis. The core of this research consisted of excavations at Bukit Gombak and Bukit Kincir. Bukit Gombak was a central place in Adityavarman’s kingdom, and provides evidence of the organization and material development of this political entity. Surveys in the Tanah Datar plain provided evidence of other settlements that could be examined in relation to each other and to sites from earlier and later periods, and used to sketch out the settlement history of Tanah Datar from prehistoric times to the precolonial period. The book consists of detailed studies of metal, ceramics and glass finds by laboratory-based specialists as well as careful descriptions of stone, clay and other finds.

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Forthcoming Title
APPROPRIATING KARTINI
Colonial, National and Transnational Memories of an Indonesian Icon

Edited by
Paul Bijl and Grace Chin

Est. pub. date: Late 2019

About the EDITORS
Paul Bijl is assistant professor in Comparative Literature at the Faculty of Humanities of Utrecht University.
Grace Chin is Senior Lecturer in English Language Studies at the Universiti Sains Malaysia.

About the BOOK
A famous Indonesian writer and feminist, Kartini (1879–1904) has been positioned at the forefront of nationalist and feminist movements in post-independence Indonesia, but the story of her struggle for equality has a global, and indeed, timeless reach. Appropriated by both local and international actors and institutions, including Dutch colonials, the Indonesian state, UNESCO and Eleanor Roosevelt, Kartini’s memory has invariably been subjected to the political agendas and contestations occurring at key moments across the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

The eight essays in this volume, written by an interdisciplinary group of historians, literary scholars and anthropologists, trace the many ambiguities, paradoxes, inconsistencies and contradictions in Kartini’s memory and iconicity by paying equal attention to both Western and Asian contexts. By analysing the stunning legacy of this brilliant, passionate and self-consciously aristocratic young woman who tried to write her way out of a world of colonial racism and Javanese sexism, Appropriating Kartini analyses one hundred years of colonial, national and transnational struggles over what it means to be a woman of colour in global modernity.
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