Reproduced from *Indonesia in the New World: Globalisation, Nationalism and Sovereignty,* edited by Arianto Patunru, Mari Pangestu and M. Chatib Basri (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2018). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

Individual chapters are available at <a href="http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg">http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg</a>.

## Index

A	Anglo-Dutch Treaty, 21-2, 22-3, 27
Aceh, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25	ANÏ
Aceh-Dutch war, 23-5	see Indonesian Nickel Association
ADB, 4	Antam
AFAS	see PT Aneka Tambang
see ASEAN Agreement on Services	anti-globalisation
Africa, 46, 193, 310	see globalisation, unpopularity/
agriculture	action against
banks, 191	Anti-Trafficking Taskforce, 250
cash crops, 19, 93	ANZ, 185
employment, 162, 163, 164, 167,	Apkasi
203, 204, 206, 226, 251	see Association of Indonesian
food crops, 81, 83, 139, 143, 206,	District Governments
277	APEC
import ban, 5, 40, 46	see Asia-Pacific Economic
industrial, 83	Cooperation
mono-crops, 83	army
productivity, 226	see military; see also Indonesian
protectionism, 4, 5, 40, 110, 139,	National Army (TNI)
143, 277, 309, 310	Asahi, 194
subsidies, 80	ASEAN, 3, 7, 12, 53, 54, 57, 58, 64–5,
technology, 259	220, 243, 248, 271, 277, 294, 296, 311
Widodo policy, 81	communique on South China Sea
see also corn; rice	dispute, 60-61
AIIB	criticism of effectiveness, 62, 64
see Asian Infrastructure	Charter, 60
Investment Bank	formation, 32, 60
AKAN	Free Trade Area (FTA), 32, 300–301
see International Labour Placement	GDP, 311
Program	indicators of openness, 113
Alibaba, 212	Indonesia cautious approach, 280
Alliance Against Human Trafficking	Information Technology
(Ampera), 244, 250, 258	Agreement (ITA II), 280, 287
Ambon, 182	Ministerial Meeting on
Ampera	Transnational Crime, 247
see Alliance Against Human	rules of origin, 302–5
Trafficking	14100 01 011611, 002 0

Single Window for customs	Bangladesh, 283, 285, 287
clearance, 307-8	bangsa (nation), 8, 73, 77-81, 85, 86
tariffs, 300	Bank Bali, 185
trade agreements, 280, 300-306	Bank Buana, 191
visa-free travel, 308-9	Bank Bumi Daya, 183, 185, 191
ASEAN Agreement on Services	Bank Bumiputera (Asuransi
(AFAS), 300–301	Bumiputera Group), 186
ASEAN Economic Community, 300,	Bank Central Asia, 185, 186, 190, 192
301	Bank Dagang Negara, 183, 185, 191
ASEAN Political–Security	Bank Danamon, 185, 191, 192
Community, 300	Bank Duta, 185
ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, 300	Bank Ekspor Impor Indonesia, 183, 185, 191
ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement	Bank for International Settlements,
(ATIGA), 300, 302	187
ASEAN+1 free trade agreements, 301-6	Bank Indonesia, 183, 185, 187, 188, 191, 192–3, 276
Asian financial crisis, 3, 9, 11, 35, 40,	Bank Indonesia Regulation No. 14/8/
104, 133, 134, 135, 152, 153, 176,	PBI/2012 on the Ownership of
181, 187, 188, 189, 190, 196, 201,	Shares in Commercial Banks, 191
203, 204, 212, 221, 253, 269, 286,	Bank Internasional Indonesia (Sinar
295, 299	Mas Group), 186, 191
Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank	Bank Mandiri, 101, 191, 192
(AIIB), 4	Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI), 101,
Asian–African Summit, 4	183, 185, 191, 192
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation	Bank Niaga, 182, 185, 186, 191
(APEC), 12, 294, 299–300, 311	Bank NISP, 191
CEO Summit, 3	Bank Nusa Nasional (Bakrie Group),
Indonesia as chair, 299, 311	186
Bogor Goals, 280, 299–300	Bank of Tokyo, 185
Association of Indonesian District	Bank Permata, 191
Governments (Apkasi), 95	Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI), 101, 183
Astra, 184, 190	185, 191, 192
Asuransi Bintang, 182	Bank Summa (Soeryadjaya family),
ATIGA	186 Paul Tahungan Magara 182 185 101
see ASEAN Trade in Goods	Bank Tabungan Negara, 183, 185, 191
Agreement Australia, 35, 39, 47, 48, 52, 64, 310	Bank Tabungan Pensiunan Nasional, 191, 192
ASEAN Special Summit, 312	Bank Tunggal, 183, 185
ban on export of live cattle, 80	Bank Umum Nasional, 185
and New Zealand ASEAN Free	banks and banking sector, 185–8, 190,
Trade Agreement (AANZFTA),	191-3, 196
301, 302, 303, 304, 311	automation and digital technology
policy on turning back boats	186, 193
carrying refugees, 57n	banking crisis, 188, 191, 192
statement on freedom of	banking licences, 185, 186, 190
navigation, 63	commercial, 186, 191-2
visit of President Widodo, 63	competition, 192, 196
autarchy theories, 6, 27	e-commerce, 190, 193
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	electronic banking, 186
В	electronic payments, 193, 194
Bangkok Bank, 185	foreign, 185, 186, 188, 190, 191

Go-Pay, 194	Chase Manhattan Bank, 185
government guarantee for	Chen-hsun, Chang, 24
deposits, 188	children and youth
improved strength, 193	cost of raising, 160, 168
loan currency, 188, 192	education, 8, 251, 252
mergers, 191	human trafficking, 244, 249, 252,
nationalisation, 183	254
National Payments Gateway, 193	labour, 161
non-performing loans, 192	marriage, 227
number of branches, 186, 192, 193	malnutrition, 74
private, 185, 186, 188, 191	Chile, 310
regulation, 186-7, 191, 192-3	China, 2, 4, 7, 37, 48, 64, 182, 194, 205,
state-owned, 183, 185, 188, 191-2	259, 269, 270, 271, 289, 290
see also Asian financial crisis;	anti-Chinese sentiment, 30, 273
global financial crisis; name of	attitude towards globalisation, 273
bank	ASEAN-China Joint Working
Banser, 43	Group, 61
Banten, 19–20	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
Bapindo, 183, 185, 191	(ACFTA), 280n, 301–4, 311
Bappenas	business-to-business e-commerce,
see National Development	212
Planning Agency	demand for resources, 90, 92, 190
Basri, Chatib, 95	exports, 283, 284, 285
Batam Island, 287	fishing vessels in Natuna waters,
Batavia, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 251	7, 53, 55–7, 63
bauxite, 92, 94n, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 139	growth, 190, 290
beef, 80, 83, 84, 298	hangar space on artificial islands
Belgium, 22	in South China Sea, 62
bird's nest enterprises, 245, 246, 255,	illegal workers in Indonesia, 123
256, 257	investment in Indonesia, 60, 97
Bishop, Julie, 63	labour market, state intervention,
BNP2TKI	246–7
see National Agency for the	reaction to naming of North
Placement and Protection of	Natuna Sea, 59
Indonesia Migrant Workers	territorial claims in South China
BPS, 141, 142, 209, 226, 227, 251, 282	Sea, 54, 58
Brazil, 103, 160, 194	trade deficit with United States,
Bretton Woods, 269	109
Brexit, 1-2, 109	UN arbitration ruling on
Britain, Great, 21–5	South China Sea dispute with
Brunei, 53	Philippines, 56, 60
Bukit Asam, 99	China Minzhong Food Corporation,
Bulog, 79	194
bulog, 19	Chinatrust Bank, 185
C	Christianity, 182, 251
Cambodia, 60, 248, 283, 285, 287	CIMB, 191
Carrefour, 209	Citibank, 185, 186, 192
Central Java, 225, 234, 238	civil society organisations, 11, 237,
Central Java, 225, 254, 256  Centre for Strategic and International	246, 250, 257–60
Studies (CSIS), survey, 111, 114–29	coal, 92, 99, 203, 206
CGE model, 140, 141-2	Coen, Jan Pieterszoon, 20
see also INDONESIA-E3 model	

colonialism, 5, 6, 25, 26, 27, 40, 41, 42, Criminal Investigation Agency 77, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 195, 251, (Bareskrim), 248 252, 260, 269, 270-271 **CSIS** see Centre for Strategic and commodities booms, 3, 5, 7, 40, 90, 91, 92, 190, International Studies 201, 203 currency prices, 90, 91, 98, 113, 190, 269, 271, exchange rate, 5, 186, 203, 205, 272, 272 274, 286, 310 loans funded in rupiah, 188, 192 Commonwealth Bank, 185 Companhia Mineira de Açúcar e rupiah appreciation, 5 Álcool Participações, 194 rupiah devaluation, 3, 188 compensation mechanisms, 2, 13, 111 Thai baht, 188 competition/competitiveness, 5, 10, 40, 84, 92, 121n, 157-61, 176, 180, 192, 194, 196, 202, 274, 282, 286, Darul Islam Islamic-state movement, 182 288, 290, 295, 298, 300, 306, 312 rankings on Ease of Doing DBS Bank, 185 Business Index and Logistics decentralisation, 133, 189, 233, 234, Performance Index, 289 241, 254 democratisation, 36, 47, 48, 104, 133, Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific 188, 276, 277, 278, 291 Partnership (CPTPP), 306, 310 Desbumi see also Trans-Pacific Partnership see Village of Care for Migrant conglomerates, 190, 192 Workers Constitution of the Republic of developing countries, 142, 181, 201, 212, 213, 219n, 272, 274, 275, 283, Indonesia, 94, 226, 272 construction sector, 114, 164, 166, 179, 286, 295 developmentalism, 8, 13, 91, 92, 93, 204n, 216, 228 102 - 3Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Dharmala, 182 Women, 27 Directorate General of Labour Force copper, 92, 94n, 95, 96, 97, 101, 139 Placement and Expansion of copra, 29 Employment Opportunities corn, 80, 81 (Binapenta), 226 corruption, 2, 4, 84, 245, 246, 248, Djarum, 184, 190 248-9, 252, 254, 258, 281 Djohan, Robby, 186 Transparency International's Domestic Workers Convention, 229 Corruption Perceptions Index, 289, ratifying countries, 229n Corruption Eradication Commission see Regional Representative (KPK), 4, 47 Council **CPTPP** DPR see Comprehensive and see parliament Progressive Agreement for Trans-Dutch East India Company, 202, 251 Pacific Partnership see also United East India Company financial and banking fraud, 2 Duterte, Rodrigo, 1 narcotics, 38, 44, 46 E organised, 11, 260 see also corruption; human East Java, 225, 234, 238 trafficking East Nusa Tenggara, 11, 225, 232, 234, 238, 244

corruption, 254	male, 9, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164,
decentralisation, 54	167, 169, 176, 177, 227, 228
El Tari Airport, 250, 157, 258	manufacturing, 163, 203-5, 212,
human trafficking, 244, 250, 251-9	219n, 221
Kupang, 244, 250–53, 257, 258	retrenchments, opposed by
migration, 251-6	Ministry of Manpower, 287
police, 245, 249, 254, 255, 257, 259	services sector, 163, 203, 204,
Sumba, 251, 252 Timor, 251, 252, 253	206–9, 221 atmeture 158, 150, 160, 203, 204
Timor, 251, 252, 253	structure, 158, 159, 160, 203, 204
underdevelopment, 251, 259–60	temporary, 218, 219, 221
East Timor, 39	see also labour; labour markets;
e-commerce, 190, 193, 201–2, 212, 214,	women
305	English East India Company, 21
economy	environmental issues, 82–3, 187, 190
deregulation, 3, 273, 287, 310	deforestation, 181, 187, 190
development, 53, 60, 63, 82, 104,	pollution, 181, 190
237	Erdoğan (President), 2
growth, 35, 98, 104, 135, 189, 192,	ethnic minorities, 36, 47, 182, 189
194, 203, 229, 258, 274, 276, 295,	Europe, 18, 214
297, 307	European Asian Bank, 185
inflation, 83, 183, 274, 286	European Union, 109, 189, 311
see also GDP	
	exclusive economic zone, 4, 7, 53, 54,
education, 8, 119–20, 123, 126, 160,	55, 56, 58
162, 179, 181, 195, 207, 207n, 209n,	export orientation, 12, 281
209–10, 254, 259, 270	export-oriented firms, 169, 203,
children, 251, 252	204, 209, 211, 221, 275, 297
comparative performance on PISA	export performance, 12
mathematics and science tests, 288,	case study, 281–90
289	exports, 5, 7, 19, 29, 31, 77, 113, 190,
low levels, 49, 160, 225, 252, 253-4,	203–6, 221
260	FTA concession, 302, 303, 304, 304n
sector, 208, 208n	manufacturing, case study, 281-91
elections	refunds on duties paid on inputs,
see politics	298
electronics industry	sectors, 169, 179
case study, 280, 281–2, 283–91	see also mineral export ban
	see uiso ilillerai export balt
global market shares by country, 283, 284	F
multinationals, 287	Fairchild, 287
employment	Financial Services Authority (OJK),
agriculture, 162, 163, 164, 167, 203,	192
204, 206, 226, 251	food, 73-86
effect of new technology, 216–19,	accessibility, 8, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79,
221, 287	80, 81, 84, 86
female, 165–77	corporatisation of global regime,
future, 10, 202	77
industry, 203-9	estates, 82–3
informal, 206, 206n, 207, 208, 221	Food Law of 2012, 79, 80
labour force participation by	global crisis, 79, 80, 83, 84
sector, 163	malnutrition, 8, 74–5, 79, 86
labour-intensive, 203, 205, 209, 214,	prices, 80, 84, 298
215–16, 268, 275, 281–3, 287	protectionism, 139, 149–50, 298
210 10, 200, 210, 201-0, 201	Protectioning 107, 117-00, 270

security, 5, 8, 73, 74, 75-6, 77, 83	impact of commodity boom, 92
self-sufficiency, 5, 8, 12, 19, 38, 75,	net inflows of FDI, 113
77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 110, 270, 277	trade, 112, 113
sovereignty, 6, 7–8, 73–86	world, 1, 137–8, 189, 295, 310, 311
state control over system, 8, 81	General Agreement on Trade and
World Food Summit, 75	Tariffs (GATT), 294, 298
see also agriculture; kedaulatan	GATT Code on Subsidies and
pangan (food sovereignty)	Countervailing Duties, 298
footwear industry	geography of Indonesia, 12, 17–32, 271
case study, 281–3, 284–91	Germany, 23
global market shares, 284, 285	global financial crisis of 2007–08, 1, 3,
see also textiles, clothing and	10, 109, 137, 189, 192, 201, 277, 305
footwear industry	Global Slavery Index, 229
foreign aid, 48, 182, 269	globalisation, 133–56, 180–96
foreign direct investment (FDI), 113,	attitude towards, in selected
114, 279, 287, 288, 295	countries, 273
negative investment list, 114	benefits, 1, 10, 181, 187, 194, 202, 211, 221, 295, 312
net inflows, 113 foreign interference/influence, 2, 7,	costs, 10, 181, 221
30, 35, 39, 44–5, 45–6, 47, 100	driver of technology innovation,
foreign investment, 3–4, 6, 8, 26, 27,	212
40, 42, 60, 114, 121, 184–5, 194, 201,	response of Indonesian companies,
202, 205, 209, 269, 270, 279	10, 193-4
Chinese, 30, 182	impact on labour markets, 201–22
Japanese, 184	impact on openness, 112–14, 195,
public opinion on, 112-29	267-91
foreign policy, 7, 52-3, 60, 62, 64, 112	public opinion surveys, 8, 114-29,
Archipelagic Outlook, 52	273
France, 23, 26	unpopularity/action against, 1-2, 8, 9, 76, 109, 117, 133-4, 153
G	see also human trafficking; welfare
G20 countries, 109	of households, study using
trade restrictions, 138	INDONESIA-E3 model
G20 Summit, 3-4	Gobel, Rachmat, 4
garment industry, case study, 281-2,	Go-Jek, 194, 202, 212, 214, 215, 219–20,
283-91	221
global market shares, 283, 285	gold, 95, 96, 99, 101, 102
MFA quotas, 286	Golkar, 183
see also textiles, clothing and	Go-Pay, 194
footwear industry	Government Regulation No.
gas, 101-2	1/2017 on the Fourth Change
gas, and oil sector, 59, 99, 101, 103, 114	to Government Regulation No.
GATT	23/2010 on the Implementation
see General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs	of Mining Company Activities for Mineral and Coal Mining, 97
GDP	
agricultural, 81	Grab, 194, 220 Green Revolution, 226
country group, 311	Grotius doctrine of free trade, 18–19
current account, 113	Guided Democracy, 30, 41
growth, 189	Gunung Sewu, 182
growth per capita, 9, 26, 133, 135,	Gusman, Irman, 84
152	

H	Hungary, 37
Habibie, B.J., 188, 231	Husin, Saleh, 5
Hartarto, Airlangga, 5	_
Heckscher-Ohlin model of	I
comparative advantage, 111	IMF, 4, 40, 188, 269, 296
HeidelbergCement, 190	Letter of Intent, 188, 274, 295
Hock, Chin, 29	import licences/licensing, 4, 30, 79, 84,
Holland	182, 298
see Netherlands	import restrictions, 3, 4, 38, 40, 46, 79,
Hong Kong, 21, 185, 190, 246, 247, 255	84–5, 110, 113, 149
hotels and restaurants sector, 144, 146,	agriculture, 5, 40
166, 179, 206, 207, 208, 215, 216	import substitution, 3, 182, 184, 297
HSBC, 185	imports, 19, 77, 296-7
Human Development Index, 251	anti-foreign sentiment, 8, 112–29
human rights, 39, 240, 245, 250	food, 83, 84, 139, 298
violations of migrant workers, 225,	FTA concession, 302, 304
227, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 250	income disparity, 10, 195
human trafficking, 2, 10, 11, 225, 227,	see also inequality
232, 243–60	India, 21, 37, 64, 182, 269, 270, 271,
civil society organisations, role in	273, 288, 289, 290, 295
prevention, 257–9	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
corruption, 245, 246, 248, 252, 253,	(AIFTA), 301, 303, 304, 304n, 311
257 <i>,</i> 258	call centres, 213
criminal networks, 43, 244, 246,	demand for resources, 92
252, 258, 259, 260	exports, 285
deaths, 250, 255, 257, 258, 259	openness/globalisation view, 273,
definition, 244	279
East Nusa Tenggara, 251-9	textile imports, 19, 20
global report, 245	Indian Ocean Rim Association, 63
human trafficking/migrant	Indocement, 190
worker laws disconnection, 250	Indofood, 190, 193–4
involvement of state institutions,	Indomart, 209
245, 260	INDONESIA-E3 model
lack of database, 250	analysis of welfare of households,
lack of penalties/enforcement, 257	140-53
law, 249–50	definition, 140
mechanisms for controlling, 250,	description of SAM database,
260	141-2
minors, 244, 249, 252, 254	Indonesian Communist Party, 42
number of cases investigated and	Indonesian Democracy Party (PDI),
reported, 249	183
number of victims, East Nusa	Indonesian Democratic Party of
Tenggara, 250	Struggle (PDIP), 101
palm oil industry, 254–5	Indonesian National Army (TNI), 43, 47
perpetrators, 246, 256	
prosecutions, 248	Indonesian Nickel Association (ANI), 95
Sumba, 251	
Timor, 51	Indonesian Peasants Union (SPI), 76, 85
transport services, 253–4	Indonesian Smelter and Minerals
vulnerability, 254, 257, 259–60	Processing Association, 97
within Indonesia, 249–51	Indosat, 190
see miso illigialli workers, slavery	11100000, 170

industry capital-intensive, 83, 110, 184, 205 employment, 203–9 labour-intensive, 203, 205, 209, 214, 215–16, 268, 275, 281–3, 287 policy, 280–81 inequality, 1, 9, 10, 48, 86, 92	student protests against Japanese investment, 184 TPP membership, 306 visit of prime minister Kakuei Tanaka to Indonesia, 184 war-time, 27, 28 Jardines, 190 Java 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 181
gender, 158-60 Gini coefficient, 1976-2016, 136 globalisation effect, 201, 202, 274-5 income, 10, 195 see also welfare of households, study using INDONESIA-E3 model	Java, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 181  K  Kalimantan, 8, 90, 96n, 187, 54 forest fires, 82 west, 21, 26  Karimun Island, 27–8, 31
infrastructure, 123, 184, 190–91, 205, 219, 232, 268, 281, 286, 288, 308 energy, 96n, 222 investment, 60 irrigation, 81 mobile phone, 193 rural, 79 transport, 253–4, 260	kedaulatan pangan (food sovereignty), 7–8, 12, 73–86 definition, 76 co-optation as political construct, 85–6 policy interventions contributing to poverty, 82–3 ketahanan pangan (food security), 73,
INPEX, 101 Institute of Resource Governance and Social Change (IRGSC), 244, 250, 251, 256	80–81 Kenya, 310 Khazanah Nasional, 191 Komnas Perempuan, 227
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 233, 241 International Court of Justice, 39 International Labour Office, 229 International Labour Placement Program (AKAN), 226	Konfrontasi, 31, 42 Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM), 25–6, 28 seizure of offices, 28–9 Korea, 268, 270, 295, 298 ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AKFTA), 301, 303, 304, 311 banks, 185
IRGSC  see Institute of Resource Governance and Social Change Ishaaq, Luthfi Hasan, 84 Islam, 18, 36, 42, 43, 45, 182, 251 political parties, 183	exports, 283, 284, 285 Korea Exchange Bank, 185 Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (KORUS), 109 KPK see Corruption Eradication Commission
J Japan, 194, 270 ASEAN Free Trade Agreement	KPM see Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij
(AJFTA), 301, 311 banks, 185–6, 191 exports, 283, 284, 285 Indonesia–Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA), 301, 302, 304 joint venture companies in Indonesia, 190	L La Via Campesina, 76, 85 labour child, 161 exploitation, 11, 48, 225, 226, 227-41, 243, 244, 245-6, 254, 255, 257-8, 259

female intensity of labour force, 10, 165–79 foreign, 8, 13, 112–29, 220, 247 internal migrant, 246 migrant, 10–11, 13, 227–41, 247–9, 251–9	Leaders Summit of the Indian Ocean Rim Association, 3 Lembong, Thomas, 4 Lippo Bank (Lippo Group), 186, 191 Lukita, Enggartiasto, 4
outflows, 46, 48 unskilled, 10, 148, 202, 213, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 225, 254, 260 see also employment; women labour markets, 92, 157–79, 258 digital technology effect, 212–20 exporting firms, 209–10 flexibility, 13, 219, 249, 258 gender segregation, 158–60, 161, 164 globalisation impacts, 201–22, 260 labour force participation rate, 162 recruitment agencies, 45, 226, 231, 235, 240, 245, 247, 248, 249, 252, 254, 256, 256–7, 258 trade liberalisation effect on female participation, 157–79 wages, 209–11, 213, 252, 286 see also employment; migrant	M Macau, 247 Mahakam, 101, 102 Malari affair, 184 Malaya, 24, 27, 28 Malayan Banking Berhad (Maybank), 185, 191 Malaysia, 6, 31, 32, 39, 42, 45, 46, 48, 52, 53, 187, 190, 191, 221, 270, 271, 279, 287, 288, 289, 290 banks, 185, 191 'Crush Malaysia' campaign, 39, 41, 43 cultural dispute, 40–41, 49 exports, 283, 284, 285 human trafficking, 247, 248, 249, 254–5 multinational oil palm companies, 246
workers Laos, 103, 245, 248 Latin America, 194	territorial dispute, 39, 41 TPP membership, 306 trade ban, 31
Law No. 17/2003 on State Finances, 276	Maluku, 19, 74, 182, 245 Manila, 21, 61
Law No. 39/2004 on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, 225, 233, 231, 249	manufacturing sector, 110–11, 184, 185, 187, 190, 295 Asia-centred global production networks, 282, 288
Law No. 25/2007 on Capital Investment, 114	automation and technology, 212, 214–16, 221, 287
Law No. 4/2009 on Mineral and Coal Mining, 90, 92	employment, 163, 203–4, 204–5, 212, 219n, 221
Law No. 6/2012 on the Ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 231, 233 Law No. 18/2012 on Food, 79	wages, 210–11, 221 Marsudi, Retno, 53 Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Econom- ic Development (MP3EI), 82, 83 Mastercard, 93
Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, 226, 228, 235	Mecca, 24 Medan, 24, 25, 29, 245, 252, 255, 256,
Law No. 18/2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, 233, 240, 241	257, 259 media and media reports, 35, 41, 44, 49, 55, 63, 84, 94, 97, 100, 101, 102,
Law No. 21/2007, 249 on the Elimination of Human Trafficking, 249	111, 250, 255, 256, 257 impact on public attitude towards openness, 9, 119, 121–5

reporting of human trafficking, selective application of ban on 244 - 5export of minerals, 95-6 Melaka, 18, 22 value adding prior to export, 8, 90, Merauke Integrated Food and Energy 92 - 4Estate (MIFEE), 82, 83 mining, 9, 90-105, 187 metals and machinery sector, 169, 205 contribution to total export Mexico, 159, 160, 285 revenue, 97 Middle East, 17, 193, 194, 221, 229, divestment obligations, 99-100, 230, 231, 247, 272 104, 105, 114 MIFEE employment, 9, 164, 206 see Merauke Integrated Food and foreign-owned companies, 99, 100, Energy Estate 102 Migrant CARE, 11, 225, 228, 230 global boom, 8, 90 migrant workers, 2, 10-11, 225-41 Mining Law of 2009, 90, 92-3, 94, brokers, 11, 227, 230, 232, 235, 239, 240, 246, 254, 259 see also commodities; mineral domestic workers, 226, 228, 229, export ban; resources sector 247, 251, 252 Minister of Energy and Mineral East Nusa Tenggara, 251–9 Resources Regulation No. 1/2014, false identities, 248-9, 252, 257 government protection programs, 230-32 Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 290/2010 on Guidelines for human trafficking, 232, 245-9, 258 the Monitoring of Foreigners human trafficking/migrant and Foreign Organisations in the worker laws disconnection, 250 Regions, 45 human rights violations, 225, 227, Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 250 4/1970, 226 identity check for applicants, Ministerial Regulation No. 1/2014 248 - 9on Improving the Value-added number, 228 of Minerals through Mineral share by gender, 228 Processing and Purification villages, 230-33 Activities, 95 vulnerability, 229-30, 253-4, 259 Ministerial Regulation No. 7/2012 wages, 247, 252 on Improving the Value-added see also Village of Care for Migrant of Minerals through Mineral Workers (Desbumi); slavery Processing and Purification migration, international, 10, 11, 201, Activities, 95 221, 243 Ministerial Regulation No. 11/2012, migration policies, 229, 231 military, 6, 27, 29, 30, 31, 42, 45, 47, 48, Ministry of Agriculture, 4 58, 59, 257 Ministry of Energy and Mineral exercises in Natuna waters, 7, 63 Resources, 59, 93, 95, 97, 98-9 memorandum of understanding Ministry of Finance, 96, 193, 276, 277 with Ministry of Energy and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 57 Mineral Resources, 59 Ministry of Home Affairs, 45, 189 occupation of East Timor, 39 Ministry of Industry, 4, 277, 280-81 Suharto era, 183-4 Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, village level, 81 mineral export ban, 8, 90–105, 114, 309 Ministry of Manpower, 222, 226, 250, downstream mineral-processing 256, 257, 287 facilities, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96 Ministry of Marine Affairs and export permits, 97, 98 Fisheries, 55, 56

Ministry of Maritime Affairs,	increased defences, 58, 63
Coordinating, 58, 59	renaming of sea to the north, 59,
Ministry of Social Affairs, 245, 250	62, 64
Ministry of Trade, 4, 113, 277	territorial dispute, 57-8
Ministry of Women's Empowerment	natural resources
and Child Protection, 245, 250	see resources sector; see also mining
Mizuho Bank, 185	Nederlandsch-Indisch Stoomvaart
Modern Bank (Modern Group), 186	Maatschappij (NISM), 23, 24, 25
Moeldoko, General, 43, 57	Netherlands, The, 18–26, 64
motor vehicle services sector, 214, 216	Amsterdam, 20
MP3EI	decline of naval power, 21
see Master Plan for the	
	Netherlands Trading Society
Acceleration and Expansion	(NHM), 23
of Indonesia's Economic	trade balance with Indonesia, 26
Development	see also United East India
Mulyani, Sri, 99	Company
Muslims, 26, 122, 182, 202, 247, 251	New Emerging Forces (NEFOs), 42,
Myanmar, 248, 308	43, 269
N	New Order, 2, 3, 38, 42, 101, 103, 104,
	180, 184, 185, 187, 202, 205, 253
Nahdlatul Ulama, 43	New Zealand, 298
National Agency for the Placement	Australia and, ASEAN Free Trade
and Protection of Indonesia	Agreement (AANZFTA), 301, 302,
Migrant Workers (BNP2TKI), 228,	303, 304, 311
247, 250	Newmont, 96
national car policy, 298	Batu Hijau mine, 101, 102, 103
National Development Planning	nickel, 92, 94n, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 139
Agency (Bappenas), 60	smelting capacity, 96-7
National Medium-Term Development	Nigeria, 310
Plan for 2015–19, 241	NISM
National Police, 184, 248, 249	see Nederlandsch-Indisch
National Semiconductor, 287	Stoomvaart Maatschappij
National Socio-Economic Survey	Nitisastro, Widjojo, 3
(Susenas), 74n, 141, 164, 227	non-government organisations
nationalism, 2, 3, 35–49, 85–6, 90–105,	see civil society organisations
110	North American Free Trade
cultural, 40–41	Agreement (NAFTA), 109, 159,
economic, 2-6, 40, 104, 269, 272,	160, 189
280	North Natuna Sea, 59, 64
global trend, 37	see also South China Sea dispute
history, 41–4	Nurmantyo, General Gatot, 44
Jokowi policy, 3, 6, 38-41	·
national dignity, 7, 36, 45-6	0
national identity, 36-7, 182	OCBC Bank, 191
resource, 8, 13, 40, 90–91, 97, 102–3,	oil booms, 3, 269, 272, 286
104, 114	oil price, 3, 276, 291, 300
territorial, 39, 80	oil sector, 59, 99, 101, 103, 114, 185
Natuna Islands, 4, 7, 53, 54	OJK
Chinese acknowledgement of	see Financial Services Authority
Indonesian sovereignty, 55	Old Established Forces (OLDEFOs),
Chinese fishing vessels' illegal	43
operations, 55–7	Ooredoo, 190
r	<b>/</b>

openness, 3, 9, 21, 195, 305, 310, 312 comparative indicators, 279	pilgrims, 24, 25 piracy, 18, 26 PKS
need in globalised economy, 267, 295	see Prosperous Justice Party
public opinion survey, 114–29	Poland, 295
openness, study of public perceptions, 114-29	police, 184, 245, 249, 254, 255, 257, 259 politics, 276–8
demographic characteristics	elections, 2, 9, 80, 100, 189, 312
and political perceptions of	political economy, 86, 122, 276-8,
participants, 118–19	280n
estimation results, 119–22	political parties, 183, 188, 189
independent variables and	populist, 1, 2, 5–6, 109
expected signs, 120	population, 73
robustness test of study, 122, 126–9 selected indicators (% of GDP), 113	middle class proportion, 192 world, 75
statistically significant variables,	Portugal, 18, 19
121	poverty, 1, 5, 7, 11, 46, 82, 83, 226
summary, 122–5	incidence, 48, 74n, 84, 134–5, 142,
opium, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24 ORANI-G model, 141	145, 149, 151, 153, 155–6, 310 rate of reduction/alleviation, 9, 40,
Old II VI-G model, 141	79, 92, 133, 152, 153, 161, 275, 295
P	rural, 135, 143, 226, 243, 252, 254,
palm oil, 82, 83, 184, 187, 206	259
daily workers, 247	rural vs urban comparison, 141–52 urban, 84, 135
human trafficking, 254–5 migrant workers, 251	women, 225, 226
Pancasila ideology, 44	see also inequality; welfare
Panigoro, Arifin, 101	of households, study using
Panin Bank, 185	INDONESIA-E3 model
Panjaitan, Luhut, 59	PPP
Papua, 39, 41, 250, 251, 254	see United Development Party
Grasberg mine, 99-100, 102	Presidential Decree No. 10/1959, 30
West, 82, 250, 251	Presidential Instruction No. 10/2016
parliament (DPR), 249, 276	on the Prevention and Eradication
PDI	of Corruption, 4
see Indonesian Democracy Party	Presidential Regulation No. 69/2008
PDIP	on the Anti-Trafficking Taskforce, 250
see Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	pribumi (indigenous) businesses, 30,
Pelni, 29	182, 273
Penang, 22, 23, 24, 25	primary industries, 205–6
people smuggling, 244	private sector, 94, 99, 102, 103, 104,
Pertamina, 101, 185	104n, 180-96, 203, 226
Peru, 310	productivity, 1, 10, 124, 194, 209-14,
Philippines, 1, 21, 32, 53, 60, 112, 229n, 273, 279, 288, 289, 290	277, 287, 295 improvement through digital
call centres, 213	technology, 213, 221
exports, 284, 285	Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), 84
openness/globalisation view, 273, 279	protectionism, 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 80, 83, 104, 110, 189, 195, 269, 271, 298,
South China Sea dispute arbitration, 56	309–12

slavery, 227, 227n, 229, 243, 247, 251,	reopening to globalisation, 183-8,
251–2, 255, 258	195, 202, 299
smuggling, 18, 26, 27–8, 29, 31, 271, 276n, 277	Sukarno, President, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 31, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 52, 77–8, 79, 86,
military, 29	180, 184, 202, 231, 269
social media, 2, 40, 43, 189	economic openness, 181–3, 184,
Soemarno, Rini, 98, 99	195
Soik, Rudy, 245, 249, 259	fall, 183
South China Sea dispute, 4, 7, 52–65	Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 231
ASEAN-China hotline, 61	Sulaiman, Amran, 5
China's nine-dash line, 54, 58	Sulawesi, 8, 29, 43, 90, 254
Declaration on the Conduct of	north, 26, 29
Parties in the South China Sea, 54,	Permesta rebellion 1958, 29, 182
61, 62	south, 26
informal workshops to manage	Sumatra, 8, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 90, 181,
conflicts, 53–4	187, 254
naming of North Natuna Sea, 59,	east, 21
62, 64	north, 21, 24, 246, 252
role of ASEAN, 60–63	PRRI rebellion 1958, 29, 31, 182
sovereignty, 45	Sumitomo Mitsui Banking
early Indonesian government years, 28, 29, 30	Corporation, 185–6, 191 surveys
economic, 94, 121n	countries most admired, 49
food, 12-13, 73-86	private sector perceptions of
geographic, 24, 25, 52-65	customs procedures in ASEAN,
Widodo policy, 38	307
Soviet Union collapse, 42 SPI	public opinion, on economic openness, 8, 111, 114-29
see Indonesian Peasants Union	World Values Survey, 37
Spice Islands, 19	Susenas
spices, 17, 19, 20, 21	see National Socio-Economic
Sri Lanka, 285	Survey
Standard Chartered Bank, 185, 191	Sustainable Development Goals, 229,
state-owned enterprises (SOEs), 91,	233
98-9, 100, 101, 102, 103, 182, 184,	
190, 270, 273	T
banks, 183, 185, 191-2	Taiwan, 185, 247
Stolper-Samuelson theorem, 111, 112	technology
Straits Settlements, 22, 23, 24, 26	advanced, 10, 159, 194, 195, 209
students	ASEAN National Single Windows
demonstrations against Suharto,	307
188	automation, 186, 212, 214
protests against Japanese	banking sector, 186, 196
investment, 184	computer use, 212, 213–14
Subianto, General Prabowo, 4, 38, 40, 44, 82, 100	digital, 189–90, 193, 195, 202, 203, 212–13
Suharto, President, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 31, 36,	e-commerce, 190, 201–2, 212, 214
38, 39, 42, 47, 52, 79, 86, 104, 104,	e-KTP ('smart' card), 249
180, 182, 231, 245, 254, 259, 269,	effect on labour market, 10, 159,
276, 277, 277n, 281n	201–22, 287
fall, 188	Information Technology Agree-
	ment (ITA II) (ASEAN), 280, 287

internet use by firms, 214–15 spillovers, 295	openness, 3, 9, 10, 11, 21, 109-29, 160, 195, 279, 295
use by criminals, 2 telecommunications, 190	reforms and gendered labour market effects, 158-60
mobile phones, 190, 193, 194, 203,	restrictions, 79, 84, 110, 133, 138,
212, 213, 219 Talakam Malaysia, 100	139, 310
Telekom Malaysia, 190	tariffs, 3, 4, 9, 22–3, 109, 143, 159,
Telkomsel, 190 Temasek Holdings, 190, 194	160–61, 165, 167, 176, 177, 189, 271 279, 295, 296, 297, 311
textiles	total value, 297
British cloth, 21, 22	trade-to-GDP ratio, 138
imported, 3	value with RCEP countries, 311
Indian, 19, 20	world growth, 1, 109, 113, 136-8,
textiles, clothing and footwear	201, 307
industry, 146, 203, 204, 205, 210,	see also globalisation; imports;
214, 215, 216	exports; protectionism
female employment, 158, 159	trade agreements, 294–312
see also footwear industry, case	ASEAN, 280, 300–306
study; garment industry, case	bilateral, 12, 13, 299, 310
study	Japan, 280
	* *
Thailand, 32, 246, 248, 270, 279, 288, 289, 290, 295	multilateral, 298-9 regional, 13, 301, 305, 310
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
exports, 284, 285	'spaghetti bowl', 305, 312
Timah, 99	trade restricting rules of origin, 304–5
tin, 31, 95, 96, 99, 139	
TNI	trade policy, 1, 3, 4, 5, 110, 111–12,
see Indonesian National Army	122–4, 270, 272, 278–9
tourism, 8, 116, 308–9	international, 279–80
number of visitor arrivals, 309	international cooperation, 294–312
public perception of foreign	trade unions, 28, 202
visitors, 8, 116, 123, 309	Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), 4,
TPP	109, 306, 310
see Trans-Pacific Partnership	Comprehensive and Progressive
trade	Agreement for Trans-Pacific
certificates of origin (SKA), 302-3	Partnership (CPTPP), 306, 310
comparative advantage, 111–12,	membership, 306
159, 161, 275, 282	withdrawal of United States, 12,
development of state monopoly,	306
6, 17–18	transport sector, 139, 144, 146, 164,
factors of production, 111–12, 140, 144, 145, 147, 148, 150	166, 179, 194, 202, 206, 207, 208, 214, 215, 216, 219–20
free, 3, 21-2, 111-12	Trump, Donald, 2, 5, 109, 189, 201
historical trade routes, 17-18	Turkey, 2, 194
liberalisation, 3, 9, 104, 157–79,	<i>y,</i> ,
212, 269, 271, 273, 279, 297	U
Logistics Performance Index, 307,	Uber, 194, 215, 219
308	unemployment, 204, 206, 226, 247, 251
most favoured nation (MFN)	Unicef, 227
tariffs, 296, 298, 301, 302, 305, 310,	United Development Party (PPP), 183
312	United East India Company (VOC), 6,
non-tariff barriers (NTBs), 4, 5, 113,	18–20, 21, 23
113n, 177, 276, 277	bankruptcy, 21
,,,,,,	- min ap 10, -1

governor-general, 20	visitors, foreign
spice monopolies, 19, 20	see tourism
United Kingdom, 64, 190, 191	VOC
Brexit, 1-2, 109, 189	see United East India Company
United Nations, 39, 227, 229, 269	¥47
Food and Agriculture	W
Organization, 75	Wacik, Jero, 95
South China Sea dispute, 54–5, 59	Wahid, Abdurrahman, 231
United Nations Convention on the	welfare of households, study using
Law of the Sea, 52, 54, 57	INDONESIA-E3 model, 140–53
arbitral tribunal constituted under	impact of global protectionism on
Annex VII, 56	real expenditure per capita, 144
United Nations Protocol to Prevent,	impact of global protectionism on real return to factors of
Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and	production, 145
Children, 244, 249	impact of global protectionism on
United Overseas Bank (UOB), 185, 191	output by sector, 146
United States of America, 2, 4, 37, 42,	impact of Indonesia's
48, 109, 110, 112, 159, 214, 298	protectionism in the food
attitude towards globalisation, 273	and mineral sectors on real
election of Donald Trump, 2, 109	expenditure per capita, 152
historical naval trade, 21, 23	impact of Indonesia's
manufacturing, 213	protectionism in the food sector on
ties with Indonesia, 63-4	real expenditure per capita, 148
trade restrictions, 109, 201	impact of Indonesia's
withdrawal from TPP, 12, 109	protectionism in the mineral sector
<b>3</b> 7	on real expenditure per capita, 151
V	impact of Indonesia's
van Heutsz, J.B., 25	protectionism on inequality, 150
Vietnam, 53, 60, 205, 269, 270, 279, 288,	impact of Indonesia's
289, 290 exports 283, 284, 285, 286	protectionism on nominal return
exports, 283, 284, 285, 286 TPP membership, 306	to factors of production, 148 impact of Indonesia's
Village of Care for Migrant Workers	protectionism on poverty
(Desbumi), 10–11, 225, 228, 234–41	incidence, 149
challenges, 235	measurement of inequality (Gini
funding, 235	coefficient), 155–6
programs operating, 235–7	measurement of poverty
progress summary of projects,	incidence, 155
239–40	model structure, 141-3
project location and funding, 238	summary, 152–3
role, 234	urban v. rural comparison, 143,
three pillars, 235, 236-7	144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152
see also human trafficking; migrant	West Java, 225, 234, 238
workers	West Nusa Tenggara, 225, 231, 234,
violence	238
against women, 227	Widodo, Joko, 3–4, 6, 60, 221, 229, 306
clashes between different religious	deregulation, 310
and ethnic groups, 189	economic openness, 120, 122, 124,
student protests against Japanese investment, 184	278 election (2014), 9, 38, 58, 100, 119,
Visa, 193	124, 189
1104, 170	121/107

food policy, 78, 81, 82 infrastructure, 190–91 maritime issues, 60, 63 migration policies, 229 mining policy, 91, 97, 98, 99–100, 101, 102 nationalism, 3, 6, 8, 100–102, 103 Natuna Islands cabinet meeting on warship, 4, 7, 58 Natuna Islands development and defences, 63 Nawacita, 81, 84, 233, 241 protectionism, 4, 5, 110n RCEP support, 311 South China Sea dispute, 58, 63 visit to Australia, 63 visit to United States, 306 women abuse of domestic workers, 2, 221, 228–9, 252 child marriage, 227 discrimination against, 158, 159, 227 effect of international trade on female employment, 165–77 employment in export-oriented sectors, 169–71, 179, 275 employment in import-oriented sectors, 172–6 employment opportunities, 9–10, 157–79, 204, 209, 213, 214, 221 female intensity of labour force, 10, 165–79 labour force participation, 157, 161–7 labour force participation by age, 163 labour force participation by sector, 163 migrant workers, 11, 221, 225–41, 247, 255 poor, 11, 225, 226, 247, 254 trade reform effects on employment, 160–61 violence against, 227 wages, 158, 159, 160, 221	manufacturing, 281–1 participation rates, 162 retrenchments opposed by Ministry of Manpower, 287 see also employment; labour; labour markets World Bank, 4, 81 Logistics Performance Index, 307 World Trade Organization (WTO), 12, 13, 109, 113, 277, 280, 294, 295, 296, 298–9, 299, 311 appeal by United States and New Zealand on import licensing, 298 Dispute Settlement Panel, 298 Doha Round, 5, 298–9 General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), 294, 298 General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), 300–301 Trade Facilitation Agreement, 299, 307 Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs) Agreement, 298 Uruguay Round, 299 World Values Survey, 37  X Xi (President), 2 XL, 190  Y Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 3, 8, 40, 80, 82, 83, 90, 94, 96, 98, 99, 201, 231, 278, 306  Z Zaini, Air Commodore Fahru, 57
146, 179, 184, 205, 209, 210, 215, 216	
Woori Bank, 185 workforce, 206, 222, 281, 288	