

2022 – 2023 CATALOGUE

Economics • Politics • Social Issues

Bringing Southeast Asia to the World



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- Printed books are in soft cover edition only, unless otherwise stated.
 - All ISEAS books and journals are available as e-books, and also as individual e-chapters and articles.

The ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) is an autonomous organization established in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security, and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are grouped under Regional Economic Studies (RES), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS). The Institute is also home to the ASEAN Studies Centre (ASC), the Temasek History Research Centre (THRC), and the Singapore APEC Study Centre.

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

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The *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies* (JSEAE) is a peer-reviewed multi-disciplinary journal focusing on economic issues in Southeast Asia.

JSEAE features articles based on original research, research notes, review articles and book reviews, and welcomes submissions of conceptual, theoretical and empirical articles preferably with substantive policy discussions. Original research articles and research notes can be country studies or cross-country comparative studies.

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Contemporary Southeast Asia (CSEA) is an internationally refereed journal on the politics, international relations and security-related issues of Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic environment. Serving as a reliable and up-to-date source of information on events and trends in international relations and security affecting Southeast Asia, CSEA publishes the results of original research.



- CSEA is included in the prestigious Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and SCOPUS.
- Attained SCOPUS CiteScore of 1.9 (2020); JCR Journal Impact Factor of 1.3 (2020); and ranked 13th by Google Scholar Metrics 2021 in the Asian Studies and History category.
- CSEA is published three times a year in April, August and December.
- The annual subscription rates include electronic delivery as well as the printed copy by air.

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SOJOURN is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of social and cultural issues in Southeast Asia. It publishes empirical and theoretical research articles with a view to promoting and disseminating scholarship in and on the region. Areas of special concern include ethnicity, religion, tourism, urbanization, migration, popular culture, social and cultural change, and development. Fields most often represented in the journal are anthropology, sociology, and history.

SOJOURN is indexed in SCOPUS.

SOJOURN is published three times a year—in March, July, and November. The annual subscription rates include electronic delivery as well as the printed copy by air.

SOJOURN is on the list of the 100+ most important periodicals in Asian studies selected by the Association for Asian Studies for priority indexing.

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Southeast Asian Affairs 2022

Daljit Singh, editor

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

Hoang Thi Ha, editor

Fellow and Co-coordinator, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

forthcoming

"*Southeast Asian Affairs* is the only one of its kind: a comprehensive annual review devoted to the international relations, politics, and economies of the region and its nation-states. The collected volumes of *Southeast Asian Affairs* have become a compendium documenting the dynamic evolution of regional and national developments in Southeast Asia from the end of the 'second' Vietnam War to the alarms and struggles of today. Over the years, the editors have drawn on the talents and expertise not only of ISEAS' own professional research staff and visiting fellows, but have also reached out to tap leading scholars and analysts elsewhere in Southeast and East Asia, Australia and New Zealand, North America, and Europe. A full list of contributors over forty years reads like a kind of who's who in Southeast Asian Studies.

"*Southeast Asian Affairs*, first published in 1974, continues today to be required reading for not only scholars but the general public interested in in-depth analysis of critical cultural, economic and political issues in Southeast Asia. In this annual review of the region, renowned academics provide comprehensive and stimulating commentary that furthers understanding of not only the region's dynamism but also of its tensions and conflicts. It is a must read."

*Suchit Bunbongkarn
Emeritus Professor
Chulalongkorn University*

"Now in its forty-ninth edition, *Southeast Asian Affairs* offers an indispensable guide to this fascinating region. Lively, analytical, authoritative, and accessible, there is nothing comparable in quality or range to this series. It is a must read for academics, government officials, the business community, the media, and anybody with an interest in contemporary Southeast Asia. Drawing on its unparalleled network of researchers and commentators, ISEAS is to be congratulated for producing this major contribution to our understanding of this diverse and fast-changing region, to a consistently high standard and in a timely manner."

*Hal Hill,
H.W. Arndt Professor of Southeast Asian Economies,
Australian National University*

Regardless of specific events and outcomes in political, economic, and social developments in Southeast Asia's future, we can expect future editions of *Southeast Asian Affairs* to continue to provide the expert analysis that has marked the publication since its founding. It has become an important contributor to the knowledge base of contemporary Southeast Asia."

*Donald E. Weatherbee,
Russell Distinguished Professor Emeritus,
University of South Carolina*

2022 : SEAA22

ISBN 978-981-5011-02-9 (HC)

ISBN 978-981-5011-03-6 (EBK)

Southeast Asian Affairs 2021

Daljit Singh, editor

Senior Research Fellow and Coordinator of the Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Malcolm Cook, editor

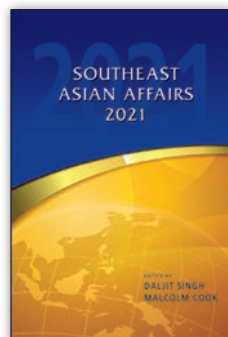
Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

2021 : 427 pp : SEAA21

ISBN 978-981-4951-18-0 (HC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$42.90**

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Southeast Asian Affairs 2020

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Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

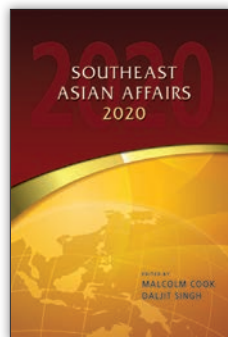
Daljit Singh, editor

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

2020 : 426 pp : SEAA20

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The Riau Islands: Setting Sail

Francis E Hutchinson, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme,
ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Siwage Dharma Negara, editor

Senior Fellow, Regional Economic Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof
Ishak Institute, Singapore.

To Singapore's immediate south, Indonesia's Riau Islands has a population of 2 million and a land area of 8,200 sq. km scattered across some 2,000 islands. The better-known islands include: Batam, the province's economic motor; Bintan, the area's cultural heartland and site of the provincial capital, Tanjungpinang; and Karimun, a ship-building hub strategically located near the Straits of Malacca.

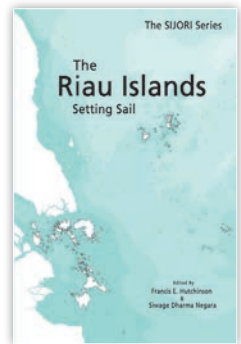
Building on earlier work by the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute on the SIJORI Cross-Border Region, spanning Singapore, the Malaysian state of Johor, and the Riau Islands, and a second volume looking specifically at Johor, the third volume in this series explores the key challenges facing this fledgling Indonesian province.

2021 : 466 pp : PIC281

ISBN 978-981-4951-05-0 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-06-7 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**

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Economic Dimensions of COVID-19 in Indonesia: Responding to the Crisis

Blane D. Lewis, editor

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

Firman Witoelar, editor

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

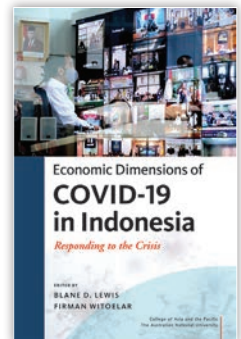
Beginning in December 2019, the coronavirus swept quickly through all regions of the world. COVID-19 has wreaked social, political and economic havoc everywhere and has shown few signs of entirely abating. The recent development and approval of new vaccines against the virus, however, now provides some hope that we may be coming to the beginning of the end of the pandemic. This volume collects papers from a conference titled Economic Dimensions of COVID-19 in Indonesia: Responding to the Crisis, organised by the Australian National University's Indonesia Project and held online, 7–10 September 2020. Collectively, the chapters in this volume focus for the most part on the economic elements of COVID-19 in Indonesia. The volume considers both macro- and micro-economic effects across a variety of dimensions, and short- and long-term impacts as well. It constitutes the first comprehensive analysis of Indonesia's initial response to the crisis from an economic perspective.

2021 : 219 pp : PIC285

ISBN 978-981-4951-45-6 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

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

Cassey Lee, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Economic Studies programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Pritish Bhattacharya, editor

Research Officer, Regional Economic Studies programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

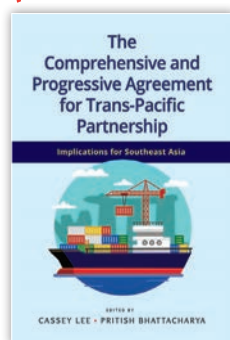
This volume offers multi-dimensional insights into the CPTPP and its impact on Southeast Asia. It begins with broad analyses covering the historical, economic and geopolitical aspects of the CPTPP. Subsequent chapters focus on the nature and implications of three key path-breaking provisions in the trade agreement, namely investor-state dispute settlement, intellectual property rights and state-owned enterprises. The effect of the CPTPP on Southeast Asia in terms of regional production networks is also examined from the perspective of Japanese multinational enterprises. The potential economic impact of the agreement is analysed for member countries (Vietnam and Malaysia) as well as countries that aspire to join the CPTPP in the future (Indonesia and Thailand).

2021 : 318 pp : PIC274

ISBN 978-981-4818-87-2 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4818-88-9 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**

new



Inequality and Exclusion In Southeast Asia: Old Fractures, New Frontiers

Lee Hwok Aun, editor

Senior Fellow and Co-coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Christopher Choong, editor

Deputy Director of Research, Khazanah Research Institute (KRI) and an Atlantic Fellow for Social and Economic Equity, International Inequalities Institute, London School of Economics.

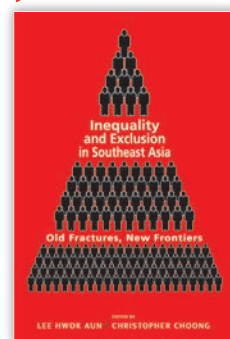
Inequality is a defining global issue of our times. Southeast Asia stands out in some ways; the 2010s have seen most countries in the region reduce income gaps. Nonetheless, inequality levels remain high, especially in the middle-income to high-income countries, and popular disaffection and economic anxiety prevail, even while official statistics may paint more buoyant scenarios. The age-old problem of group-based exclusion in the development process manifests in new ways. This book provides up-to-date overviews of inequality levels and trends, primarily related to income, but also wealth and other socio-economic variables pertaining to education and health.

2021 : 344 pp : PIC284

ISBN 978-981-4951-20-3 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$25.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-21-0 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$25.68)/US\$21.00**

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COVID-19 and the Structural Crises of Our Time

Lim Mah-Hui

Dr Lim's professional background spans thirty years as an international banker and academician. He has a multi-disciplinary background in economics, sociology and finance.

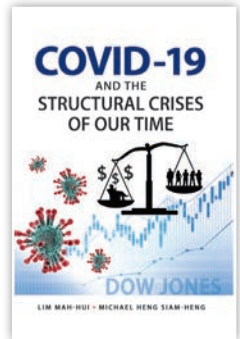
Michael Heng Siam-Heng

A retired professor of management studies. He has academic background in Physics, Computer Science and a PhD in Management Studies.

"We live in paradoxical times. Traditionally, the West has led the world in theory and practice. Yet, recent developments, from COVID-19 to the storming of the US Capitol, show how lost the West has become. This loss of direction has deep roots. In their usual thoughtful and incisive fashion, Lim Mah-Hui and Michael Heng Siam-Heng draw out the deeper origins of our current crises and show us a new way forward. A must-read for anyone who wants to understand our strange times."

Kishore Mahbubani, founding Dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, is the author of Has China Won?

new



2022 : 199 pp : BM614

ISBN 978-981-4951-80-7 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-81-4 (EBK) **S\$26.00 (S\$27.82)/US\$24.00**

Asia's Transformation: From Economic Globalization to Regionalization

Joergen Oerstroem Moeller

Seasoned diplomat who served as State-Secretary from 1989 to 1997 in the Royal Danish Foreign Ministry and from 1997 to 2005 as Denmark's Ambassador in Asia.

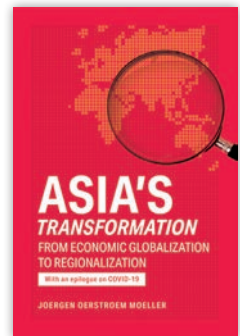
Moeller's book *The Veil of Circumstance*, published in 2016, discussed the impact of technology, dehumanization and values on politics and economics. In this book, he takes the analysis one step further.

The cocktail of capitalism, globalization and technology has turned toxic, causing disruptions and cracks in the global economy and societal structures. Economic globalization is being replaced by a mixture of globalization, regionalization and economic nationalism. Neither the United States nor China will in the mid-2030s possess the strength to be a global leader. Power will mainly rotate around a regional axis instead of globally. The existing political systems and institutions governing the global system see their primogeniture challenged. Social networks open the door to communication for literally everybody; while they link the world to a degree never seen before, they also divide people according to cultural norms and values. The large data companies possess enormous power that threatens both national governments and the global political and economic infrastructure.

2020 : 195 pp : BM586

ISBN 978-981-4881-22-7 (SC) **S\$25.90 (S\$27.71)/US\$19.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-23-4 (EBK) **S\$21.00 (S\$22.47)/US\$16.00**



Environmental Movements and Politics of the Asian Anthropocene

Paul Jobin, editor

Associate Research Fellow and convener of the Asian Social Transformation Thematic Research Team, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

Ming-sho Ho, editor

Professor, Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University, and Director of the Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Ministry of Science and Technology (Taiwan).

Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, editor

Chairman, Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation and Executive Committee, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, National Cheng-Chi University, and Chair Professor, Hakka Studies, National Central University.

"This collection provides a powerful and sophisticated analysis of how environmental movements influence politics in Asia, and how politics influences movements."

John S. Dryzek, Centenary Professor, University of Canberra

new



2021 : 374 pp : PIC282

ISBN 978-981-4951-08-1 (SC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$39.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-79-9 (EBK) **S\$40.00 (S\$42.80)/US\$32.00**

The Forests for the Palms: Essays on the Politics of Haze and the Environment in Southeast Asia

Helena Varkkey

Political Scientist based in Kuala Lumpur. Her area of specialization is political geography and environmental politics in Southeast Asia, especially the global politics of palm oil and haze in the region.

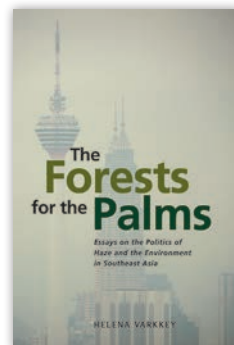
Transboundary haze has been a recurring problem in the Southeast Asian region since at least 1982. Why does this toxic form of air pollution still persist? Helena Varkkey, a Malaysian political scientist, has been studying this multifaceted problem for more than fifteen years. This book provides an ideal collection for those who want a clear but concise introduction to this complex issue. Its commentaries explore how often sensitive matters of ASEAN diplomacy, national interest or political patronage continue to stand in the way of clear skies in the region.

2021 : 117 pp : BM599

ISBN 978-981-4881-86-9 (SC) **S\$19.90 (S\$21.30)/US\$16.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-87-6 (EBK) **S\$16.00 (S\$17.12)/US\$14.00**

new



Flying Blind: Vietnam's Decision to Join ASEAN

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Nguyen Vu Tung

Professor, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. He gained a PhD degree in Political Science from Columbia University (New York, USA) and serves as Vietnamese diplomat in the United States of America and the Republic of Korea.

This book discusses Vietnam's relations with ASEAN in the period from the early 1970s to mid-1990s. It focuses on the evolution of Hanoi's view on ASEAN, from denial to integration in the organization. Further, it reveals the reasons behind Hanoi's decision to join ASEAN in 1995 in the context of the transformation of the overall Vietnam's foreign policy when the Cold War ended. Relaxation of the Cold War conditions allowed Hanoi to improve understanding of ASEAN that resulted in better Vietnam-ASEAN relations and subsequent Vietnam's membership in ASEAN.

The author has had access to documents and interviewees that few other researchers can rival. And the richness of the empirical evidence of this book makes a significant contribution to the studies of Vietnam foreign relations in specific and Southeast Asian international relations in general.

2021 : 236 pp : BM600

ISBN 978-981-4881-95-1 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-96-8 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.03)/US\$24.00**



Young Soeharto: The Making of a Soldier, 1921–1945

new

David Jenkins

He was a foreign correspondent in Southeast Asia for many years. He was a co-winner of a Walkley Award for his contribution to the Herald's coverage from Jakarta and East Timor during the violent 1999 referendum on independence.

When a reluctant President Sukarno gave Lt Gen Soeharto full executive authority in March 1966, Indonesia was a broken-back state, fractured along class, religious and ethnic lines. Soeharto took a nation in chaos, the largest in Southeast Asia, and transformed it into one of the "Asian miracle" economies—only to leave it back on the brink of ruin when he was forced from office thirty-two years later.

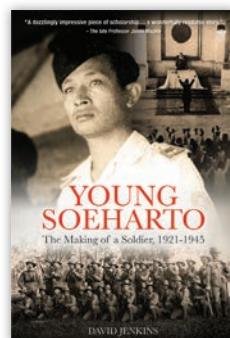
Soeharto was one of Asia's most brutal, most durable, most avaricious and most successful dictators. In the course of examining those aspects of his character, this book provides an accessible, highly readable introduction to the complex, but dramatic and utterly absorbing, social, political, religious, economic and military factors that have shaped, and which continue to shape, Indonesia.

2021 : 503 pp : BM588

ISBN 978-981-4881-00-5 (SC) **S\$65.90 (S\$70.51)/US\$55.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-01-2 (EBK) **S\$53.00 (S\$56.71)/US\$45.00**

(ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute / Melbourne University Press)



Indonesian Pluralities: Islam, Citizenship, and Democracy

Robert W Hefner, editor

Professor, Anthropology and Global Affairs and Senior Research Associate, Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs, Pardee School of Global Affairs, Boston University.

Zainal Abidin Bagir, editor

Teaches, Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies, Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University and Director, Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies, a consortium of Gadjah Mada University, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University and Duta Wacana Christian University, all in Yogyakarta.

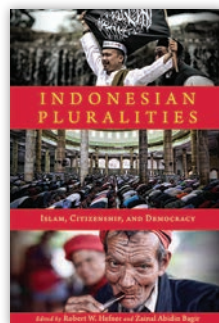
Based on a twenty-month project carried out in several regions of Indonesia, *Indonesian Pluralities* shows that when assessing democracy and citizenship in Indonesia today, we must examine not only elections and official politics but also the less formal yet more pervasive processes of social recognition at work. The contributors demonstrate that in fact citizen ethics are not static discourses but living traditions that co-evolve in relation to broader patterns of politics, gender, religious resurgence and ethnicity in society.

2021 : 268 pp : BM603

ISBN 978-981-4951-10-4 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$25.90**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / University of Notre Dame Press)

new



Infiltrating Society: The Thai Military's Internal Security Affairs

Puangthong Pawakapan

Associate Professor, International Relations Department, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.

"A truly monumental work about Thailand's military from the 1960s until today, this solid study focuses upon the armed forces' internal security role across Thai society, how the military has succeeded in legitimizing itself and boosting its power as a counterinsurgency force, guardian of monarchy and engine of development. The book also valuably looks at the military's establishment of mass organizations beginning during the Cold War and mobilization of royalists since 2006. The book thus illustrates how the military has been able to enhance and sustain its overwhelming influence and is thus a valuable study for anyone wanting to understand key power-brokers in Thailand."

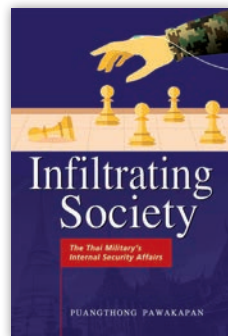
Dr Paul Chambers, Center of ASEAN Community Studies, Naresuan University, Thailand

2021 : 182 pp : BM596

ISBN 978-981-4881-71-5 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$24.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-72-2 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$25.68)/US\$20.00**

new



Sabah from the Ground: The 2020 Elections and the Politics of Survival

Bridget Welsh, editor

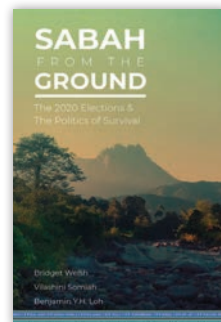
Honorary Research Associate, University of Nottingham Asia Research Institute Malaysia (UoNARI-M), a Senior Research Associate, Hu Feng Center for East Asia Democratic Studies of National Taiwan University and a Senior Associate Fellow, Habibie Center.

Vilashini Somiah, editor

Senior Lecturer, Gender Studies Programme at the University of Malaya.

Benjamin Y H Loh, editor

Senior Lecturer, School of Media and Communication, Taylor's University.



Sabah's 2020 election was Malaysia's pandemic election. While attention has centred on the impact the election had on the increase of COVID-19, this collection brings together scholars, journalists and social scientists who were on the ground on Sabah to analyse what happened, why, and the broader implications of the outcome for Sabah and Malaysian politics. The book is the first in-depth study of a Sabah election. It is multidisciplinary, with authors from different perspectives, and the majority of the authors are from Sabah.

2020 : 366 pp : BM612

ISBN 978-981-4951-68-5 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-69-2 (EBK) S\$26.00 (S\$27.82)/US\$24.00

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Strategic Information & Research Development Centre)

Praetorians, Profiteers or Professionals? Studies on the Militaries of Myanmar and Thailand

Michael J Montesano, editor

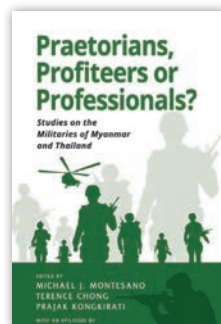
Coordinator, Thailand and Myanmar Studies Programmes, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Terence Chong, editor

Deputy Chief Executive Officer; Director, Research Division; Head, ISEAS's Temasek History Research Centre; Head, Archaeology Unit and Senior Fellow, Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme, ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Prajak Kongkirati, editor

Director, Direk Jayanama Research Center and Deputy Dean, Research and Academic Service, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand



Praetorians, Profiteers or Professionals? contributes to the ongoing renaissance in scholarship on Southeast Asia's armed forces and their political, social and economic roles. This renaissance comes in an era in which the states of the region, and the societies and economies that they govern, have grown complex beyond all recognition. Nevertheless, understanding those states' armies remains crucial.

2020 : 177 pp : BM597

ISBN 978-981-4881-75-3 (SC) **S\$25.90 (S\$27.71)/US\$19.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-76-0 (EBK) S\$21.00 (S\$22.47)/US\$16.00

Living with Myanmar

Justine Chambers, editor

Sessional Lecturer and Research Fellow in the School of Culture, History and Languages, Australian National University, Canberra.

Charlotte Galloway, editor

Director, Myanmar Research Centre, and Senior Lecturer, School of Art and Design, Australian National University, Canberra.

Jonathan Liljeblad, editor

Senior Lecturer, Law School at Australian National University, Canberra.

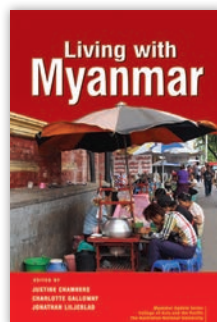
The book is divided into six sections and covers critical issues ranging from gender equality and identity politics, to agrarian reform and the representative role of parliament. Collectively, these voices raise key questions concerning the institutional legacies of military rule and their ongoing role in subverting the country's reform process. However, they also offer insights into the creative and productive ways that Myanmar's activists, civil society, parliamentarians, bureaucrats and everyday people attempt to engage with and reform those legacies.

2020 : 386 pp : PIC273

ISBN 978-981-4881-04-3 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-07-4 (HC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$39.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-05-0 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**



Non-Traditional Security Issues in ASEAN: Agendas for Action

Mely Caballero-Anthony, editor

Professor, International Relations and Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore.

Lina Gong, editor

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

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.

2020 : 353 pp : BM589

ISBN 978-981-4881-08-1 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-09-8 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**



Steering a Middle Course: From Activist to Secretary General of Golkar

Sarwono Kusumaatmadja

Former Indonesian Minister of Fishery and Maritime Affairs, Minister of Environment, and Minister of State for Administrative Reform.

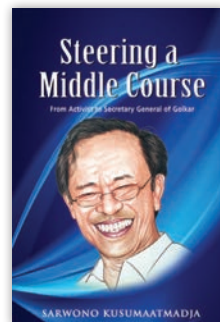
Born with motor impairment, Sarwono Kusumaatmadja grew up with low self-esteem. Yet, within this awkward, shy boy lay a steely resolve to overcome his weaknesses. It was this same resolve that propelled him to study at high school in the United Kingdom, thousands of miles from his native land. Navigating life on his own in the UK forged Sarwono into an independent and resilient individual; one who never flinched in the face of challenges, but also one who never wanted to play the hero either.

His unique character and integrity acted like a magnet for opportunities back home in Indonesia. He was chosen to be Chairman of the University Student Council of the Bandung Institute of Technology even though he did not campaign for it. And when he made it into the national parliament, it was at the behest of the military. He then became Secretary General of Golkar, the country's ruling party, without having to pull any strings. In taking on all the opportunities that came his way, Sarwono remained true to himself, which later meant saying no to President Soeharto when the latter tried to recruit him to be part of his inner circle.

2020 : 260 pp : BM595

ISBN 978-981-4881-65-4 (HC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$24.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-66-1 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$25.68)/US\$20.00**



As Empires Fell: The Life and Times of Lee Hau-Shik, the First Finance Minister of Malaya

Ooi Kee Beng

Executive Director, Penang Institute.

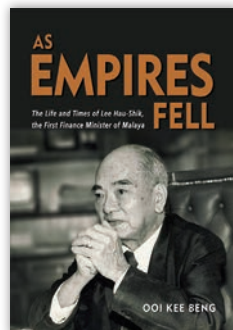
To understand how independence was gained for a politically complex country such as Malaysia, and how its structure took form requires familiarity with the key players involved. More importantly, only by locating these actors within the changing socio-political context in which they specifically lived does their influence both before and after the birth of the country become clear.

Born in Hong Kong to a highly prominent family at a time when the Qing Dynasty was falling, Hau-Shik received degrees in Law and Economics in Cambridge and became a successful tin miner in British Malaya and an influential member of Kuala Lumpur's colonial society. After the Second World War, his influence in elite circles in China, Britain and Malaya allowed him to play a key role in the gaining of independence for Malaysia. He was one of the founders of the Malayan Chinese Association, and served as the country's first Minister of Finance.

2020 : 236 pp : LH28

ISBN 978-981-4881-44-9 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$21.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-45-6 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$23.68)/US\$18.00**



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

Leo Suryadinata

*Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS –Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and
Professor (Adj.), S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang
Technological University, Singapore.*

The book, which was first published in 1996, examines Indonesia's foreign policy under Suharto. It not only details Indonesia's foreign policy behaviour vis-à-vis Indonesia's neighbours and major powers, but also places it in the context of foreign policy analysis. Today, the book remains as the only full-length study on Indonesia's foreign policy under Suharto. It is now reprinted with a new postscript which discusses the post-Suharto era from B.J. Habibie to Joko Widodo.

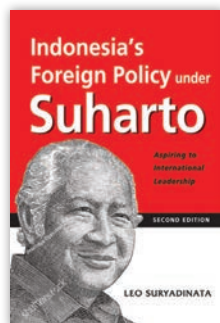
Indonesia under Suharto had attempted to become a regional power to lead Southeast Asian states and beyond. As the largest country and also the richest in terms of natural resources, Suharto's Indonesia was held in deference by the ASEAN states. However, due to its limited capabilities, its lack of military strength, advanced technology and economic strength, the political influence of Jakarta was in fact quite limited.

2022 : BM611

ISBN 978-981-4951-61-6 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-62-3 (EBK)

forthcoming



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

Supalak Ganjanakhundee

*Visiting Fellow, Thailand Studies Programme at the ISEAS –Yusof
Ishak Institute, Singapore. He was the 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 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 form 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."

forthcoming



*Charnvit Kasetsiri,
Thammasat University, Bangkok*

2022 : BM610

ISBN 978-981-4951-54-8 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-55-5 (EBK)

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

forthcoming

Andrew Selth

Adjunct Professor at the Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, Queensland, Australia.

Updated by popular demand, this is the fourth edition of this important bibliography on Myanmar. It lists a selection of works on or about Myanmar published in English and in hard copy since the 1988 uprising, which marked the beginning of a new era in Myanmar history. There are now 2727 works listed. They have been written, edited, translated or compiled by over 2000 people, whose names are listed in an index at the end of the book. These works have been organised into thirty-five chapters containing ninety-five discrete sections. There are now four appendices, the latest addition being a list of 184 musical works produced during the colonial era (1824–1948) which reference Myanmar in some way.

2021 : BM613

ISBN 978-981-4951-77-7 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-78-4 (EBK)

Reaching for the Crescent: Aspirations of Singapore Islamic Studies Graduates and the Challenges

Norshahril Saat

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

Azhar Ibrahim

Lecturer, Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore (NUS).

Noor Aisha Abdul Rahman

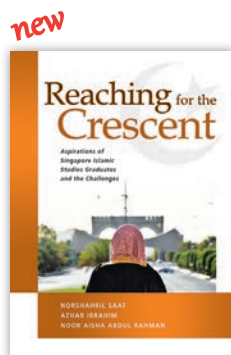
Associate Professor, Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore (NUS).

Reaching for the Crescent examines a growing segment within the group, namely Islamic studies graduates, who obtained their degrees from universities in the Middle East and neighbouring Malaysia and Indonesia. It identifies factors that condition the proliferation of Islamic studies graduates in Singapore, examine the dominant religious institutions they attend, the nature of Islamic education they received, and their challenges. It tackles the impact of their religious education on the spiritual life and well-being of the community. Based on qualitative and quantitative data collected, the book calls for a rethinking of a prevailing discourse of Arabization of Singapore Muslims and academic approaches that focus on *madrasah* education and Islam through the security lens.

2021 : 224 pp : BM607

ISBN 978-981-4951-37-1 (HC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-38-8 (EBK) **S\$28.80 (S\$30.82)/US\$24.00**



1819 & Before: Singapore's Pasts

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.

The essays published here began as a series of lectures commemorating the bicentennial of Thomas Stamford Raffles's establishment of a British Station in 1819. The essays draw on thirty-five years of archaeological investigations on and around Fort Canning, new readings of the Malay Annals, early Chinese records reporting Singapore, and the Portuguese and Dutch records to probe and challenge our understanding of Singapore's history before Raffles. Altogether, these essays suggest that Singapore had a pre-1819 past that was deeply connected to the millennium-long maritime history of the Straits of Melaka and its links to the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean.

2021 : 127 pp : PIC283

ISBN 978-981-4951-11-1 (HC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$25.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-42-5 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$25.68)/US\$21.00**



Patterned Splendour: Textiles Presented on Javanese Metal and Stone Sculptures; Eighth to Fifteenth Century

Lesley Pullen

SOAS Post-Doctoral Research Associate and tutor of the Southeast Asian Art module for the Victoria & Albert Museum Arts of Asia year course.

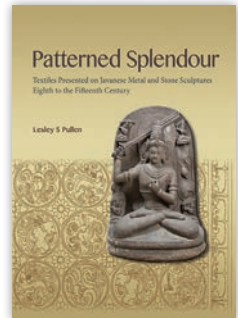
There exist numerous free-standing figurative sculptures produced in Java between the eighth and fifteenth centuries whose dress display detailed textile patterns. This surviving body of sculpture, carved in stone and cast in metal, varying in both size and condition, remains in archaeological sites and museums in Indonesia and worldwide. The equatorial climate of Java has precluded any textiles from this period surviving. This book argues the textiles represented on these sculptures offer a unique insight into the patterned splendour of the textiles in circulation during this period. This volume contributes to our knowledge of the textiles in circulation at that time by including the first comprehensive record of this body of sculpture, together with the textile patterns classified into a typology of styles within each chapter.

2021 : 308 pp : BM598

ISBN 978-981-4881-84-5 (SC) **S\$45.90 (S\$49.11)/US\$38.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-85-2 (EBK) **S\$43.00 (S\$46.01)/US\$34.00**

new



Islam and Religious Expression in Malaysia

Azizuddin Mohd Sani

Professor of Politics and International Relations from School of International Studies (SolS), Universiti Utara Malaysia.

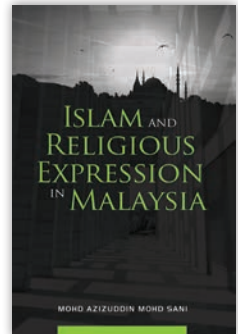
"Prof. Azizuddin makes an eloquent case for robust freedom of expression that is consistent with Malaysian conditions. This is a most welcome and important book that could and should have a major impact. It is a timely and thoughtful examination of the complex and serious issue of Islam vis-à-vis religious expression in Malaysia. It also illustrates the transition from the restrictive-stability approach of the past Barisan Nasional administration to an open-freedom approach of the current Pakatan Harapan administration."

*Dato' Saifuddin Abdullah
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia*

2020 : 225 : BM593

ISBN 978-981-4881-35-7 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-36-4 (EBK) **S\$26.00 (S\$27.82)/US\$24.00**



From Grassroots Activism to Disinformation: Social Media in Southeast Asia

Aim Sinpeng, editor

Lecturer, Government and International Relations, University of Sydney, Australia.

Ross Tapsell, editor

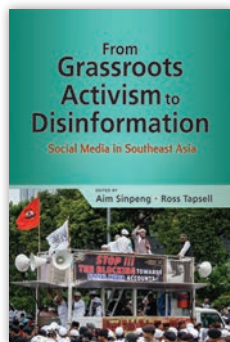
Senior Lecturer, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

This book reflects on the role of social media in the past two decades in Southeast Asia. It traces the emergence of social media discourse in Southeast Asia, and its potential as a “liberation technology” in both democratizing and authoritarian states. It explains the growing decline in internet freedom and increasingly repressive and manipulative use of social media tools by governments, and argues that social media is now an essential platform for control. The contributors detail the increasing role of “disinformation” and “fake news” production in Southeast Asia, and how national governments are creating laws which attempt to address this trend, but which often exacerbate the situation of state control.

2020 : 225 pp : PIC280

ISBN 978-981-4951-02-9 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-03-6 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.03)/US\$26.00**



The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesia

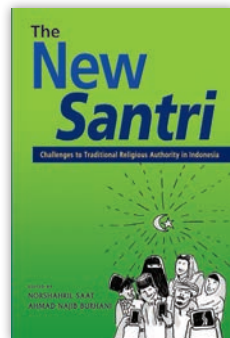
Norshahril Saat, editor

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

Ahmad Najib Burhani, editor

Senior Researcher, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Jakarta.

“Just like the Gutenberg revolution in the fifteenth century, which led to the emergence of non-conventional religious authority in the Christian world, the current information technology revolution, particularly through mediums such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Twitter, has triggered the reconstruction and decentralization of religious authority in Islam. New *santri* (pious individuals) and preachers emerged from the non-conventional religious educational system. They not only challenged the traditional authorities, but also redefine and re-conceptualize old religious terminologies, such as *hijra* and *wasatiyya*. This book explores the dynamics of religious authority in Indonesia with special attention to the challenges from the ‘new santri’. It is a rich and important book on religion. I recommend students of religion in Indonesia and other countries to read it.”



Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif

Professor Emeritus of History at Yogyakarta State University

2020 : 369 pp : PIC278

ISBN 978-981-4881-47-0 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-48-7 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.03)/US\$24.00**

Marrying Young in Indonesia: Voices, Laws and Practices

Mies Grijns, editor

Doctoral candidate, Van Vollenhoven Institute (Leiden Law School).

Hoko Horii, editor

Doctoral candidate, Van Vollenhoven Institute (Leiden Law School).

Sulistiyowati Irianto, editor

Professor and Head, Department of the Study of Law, Society and Development, Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia.

Pinky Saptandari, editor

Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Airlangga University.



"Stop Child Marriage" has been a growing movement in Indonesia since the early 2010s. Women's rights and child rights are at the centre of this movement. This book is the outcome of a recent research project into child marriage across Indonesia. It offers a new perspective on the topic by presenting everyday practices rather than focusing on stereotypical and sensational cases. In-depth research enables micro-level analysis of the socio-economic contexts that affect child marriage practices in different regions. It reveals how local actors such as regional bureaucrats, judges, religious leaders, parents and young people themselves play dynamic roles in changing or sustaining the practice. This collection of interdisciplinary research provides an excellent background for debate and discourse on child marriage at the national and international level.

2020 : 336 pp : BM591

ISBN 978-981-4881-25-8 (SC) **S\$25.90 (S\$27.71)/US\$19.90**

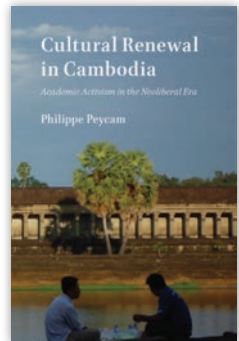
(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Obor)

Cultural Renewal in Cambodia: Academic Activism in the Neoliberal Era

Philippe Peycam

Director, International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden.

This book is about cultural work in torn-up societies. It narrates the establishment of an academic project in contemporary post-war Cambodia, when the country became the largest recipient of international aid. It depicts a Southeast Asian country at the crossroads of conflicting imaginaries of development through the lens of an independent organization that emerged out of the turmoil. It shows how the relations of domination of institutions from the "north" effectively constrain alternative visions of action in the "south" that fall outside the neo-liberal framework.



2020 : 297 pp : IU39

ISBN 978-981-4459-94-5 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Brill)

Navigating Differences: Integration in Singapore

Terence Chong, editor

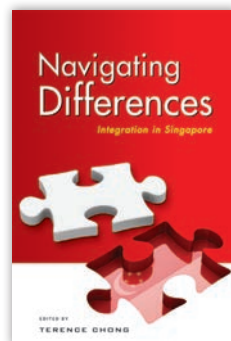
*Deputy Chief Executive Officer and Director, Research Division,
ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.*

Ethnic and religious differences, a widening socio-economic divide, tension between foreigners and locals. These are some of the contemporary challenges to integration in Singapore. How we navigate them will determine the type of society we become. This book gathers the best social scientists in Singapore to examine issues of ethnicity, religion, class, and culture in order to understand the many different fault lines that run across the multicultural city-state. These essays are written in an engaging manner and are designed to present the authors' expertise to a wider audience.

2020 : 272 pp : BM592

ISBN 978-981-4881-26-5 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-61-6 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.03)/US\$24.00**



Heritage as Aid and Diplomacy in Asia

Philippe Peycam, editor

Director, International Institute for Asian Studies, The Netherlands.

Shu-Li Wang, editor

Assistant Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

Hui Yew-Foong, editor

Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Hong Kong Shue Yan University and Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, editor

Chairman, Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation, Chairman, Executive Committee, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, National Cheng-Chi University, and Chair Professor of Hakka Studies, National Central University.

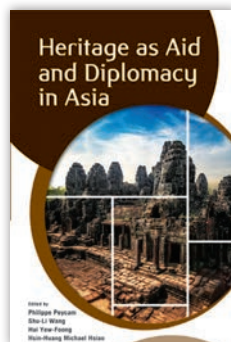
Heritage as Aid and Diplomacy in Asia explores the following questions: Under the current international heritage regime, what are the mechanisms of—and the manipulations that take place within—ideological, political and cultural transmissions? What is heritage diplomacy and how can we conceptualize it? How do the complicated history and colonial past of Asia constitute the current practices of heritage diplomacy and shape heritage discourse in Asia? How do international organizations, nation-states, NGOs, heritage brokers and experts contribute to the history of the global heritage discourse? How has the flow of global knowledge been transferred and transformed? And how does the global hierarchy of cultural values function?

2020 : 347 pp : PIC275

ISBN 978-981-4881-15-9 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$41.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-16-6 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / International Institute for Asian Studies / Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica)



Threads of the Unfolding Web: The Old Javanese Tantu Panggölaran

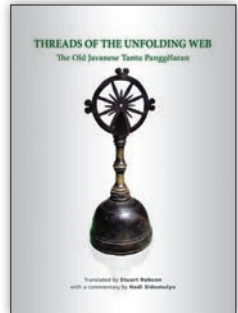
Stuart Robson

Adjunct Professor of Indonesian Studies, School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University.

Hadi Sidomulyo

An independent writer and historian, focusing on Javanese history of the pre-colonial period.

Threads of the Unfolding Web is essential reading for scholars, students and the general reader interested in Javanese history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Little is known about the history of Java in this period, which witnessed the beginnings of major global economic, political, cultural and religious change. It was a time when Java saw the decline of the once powerful eastern Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, the rise of Muslim kingdoms on Java's northern coast and the arrival of the first Europeans in the person of the Portuguese Tomé Pires in Java's cosmopolitan ports.



2020 : 325 pp : BM601

ISBN 978-981-48-8199-9 (HC) **S\$59.90 (S\$64.09)/US\$46.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-00-5 (EBK) **S\$48.00 (S\$51.36)/US\$38.00**

Capitalism Magic Thailand: Modernity with Enchantment

forthcoming

Peter A Jackson

Emeritus Professor in the School of Culture, History & Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

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—this book 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. It is argued that, 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 bring about a sacralization of 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. New theoretical frameworks are presented in analyses that challenge the view that magic is a residue of premodernity, placing the dramatic transformations of cultic ritual centre stage in modern Thai history. It is concluded that modern enchantment arises at the confluence of three processes: neoliberal capitalism's production of occult economies, the auraticizing effects of technologies of mass mediatization, and the performative force of ritual operating in religious fields where practice takes precedence over doctrine and belief.

2021 : BM602

ISBN 978-981-4951-09-8 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-97-5 (EBK)

Wider Bagan: Ancient and Living Buddhist Traditions

Elizabeth H. Moore

*Emeritus Professor in the Department of Art and Archaeology, School of Arts,
School of Oriental and African Studies, London.*

forthcoming

Wider Bagan is the area outside the renowned Buddhist capital—places with vestiges of the cultural tradition of Bagan from the eleventh to the thirteenth century CE. Tangible factors or attributes of the Bagan era in these places are found in the major river valleys of Myanmar: inscriptions, walls, water management features, temples and images. Collectively, these attributes record the spread of Buddhist properties and features supporting their associated lay communities. Many connect to earlier remains, and some have sustained their Bagan-period heritage to the present. From nearly six hundred attributes inventoried in Wider Bagan, nine nodal places are identified: places of interchange with each other, with the capital and with neighbouring regions. In assessing the evidence, an interdisciplinary approach is applied to incorporate field survey and local knowledge as well as published literature on archaeology, art history, geography and anthropology.

2021 : BM606

ISBN 978-981-4951-19-7 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-99-9 (EBK)

Peranakan Chinese Identities in the Globalizing Malay Archipelago

Leo Suryadinata

*Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and Professor (Adj.), S.
Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.*

forthcoming

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Part I: Regional Dimensions: Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore (IMS)

1. Peranakan and Other Related Terms
2. Peranakan Chinese Identities in IMS (1) Indonesia
3. Peranakan Chinese Identities in IMS (2) Malaysia and Singapore
4. Peranakan Chinese Identities in IMS (3) Peranakan Associations and Identities
5. Peranakan Chinese in IMS: Socio-Political Dimensions
6. Malay and Indonesian Translations of Chinese Literature
7. Peranakan Chinese Literature and Publications in IMS
8. Political and National Identities of Peranakan Chinese Leaders in IMS
9. The Prospects of Peranakan Chinese Communities and Globalization

Part II: Focusing on Indonesia

10. Peranakan Chinese and the Indonesian Press, Language and Literature
11. Chinese Muslims in Indonesia
12. State and “Chinese Religions” in Indonesia: Confucianism, Tridharma and Buddhism during Suharto rule and After
13. Peranakan Politics and Decolonization
14. Integration of Indonesian Chinese

Appendix: Tan Ta Sen: The Prospects of the Peranakan Chinese and Globalization

2022 : BM615

ISBN 978-981-4951-67-8 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-70-8 (EBK)

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

forthcoming

Andrea Acri, editor

Assistant Professor in Tantric Studies, École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE, PSL University), Paris.

Peter D. Sharrock, editor

Lecturer at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

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 medieval 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 : BM608

ISBN 978-981-4951-48-7 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-49-4 (EBK)

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

forthcoming

Andrea Acri, editor

Assistant Professor in Tantric Studies, École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE, PSL University), Paris.

Peter D. Sharrock, editor

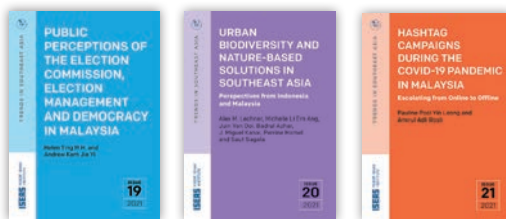
Lecturer at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

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2022 : BM609

ISBN 978-981-4951-51-7 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4951-52-4 (EBK)



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.

ISSN 0219-3213

Non-State Chinese Actors and Their Impact on Relations between China and Mainland Southeast Asia

Enze Han

*Associate Professor, Department of Politics and Public Administration,
University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR.*

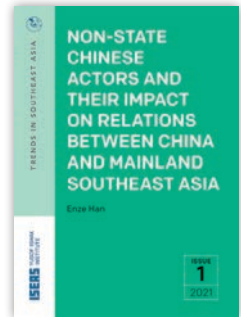
International relations scholarship and the popular media tend to portray China as a great power with hegemonic designs for Southeast Asia. Moreover, studies on Chinese influence in Southeast Asia predominantly focus on the Chinese state. This paper argues that Chinese non-state actors and their daily encounters with local communities in Southeast Asia deserve equal attention as these interactions evidently produce friction at both the society-to-state and state-to-state levels.

The influence of Chinese non-state actors in Southeast Asia can be illustrated with three examples, namely, Chinese tourism operations in Thailand, Chinese market demand and agricultural transformations in Myanmar, and Chinese gangs within the casino economy in Cambodia.

The COVID-19 pandemic has temporarily halted cross-border trade between China and mainland Southeast Asia. This has negatively affected local farmers who are dependent on the Chinese market.

2021 : 19 pp : TRS1/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-33-3 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Urban Transition in Hanoi: Huge Challenges Ahead

Danielle Labbé

Professor of Urban Planning, Université de Montréal where she also holds the Canada Research Chair in Sustainable Urbanization in the Global South.

Vietnam is in the midst of one of the world's most rapid and intensive rural-to-urban transitions.

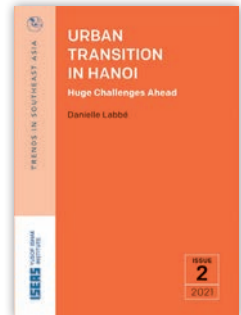
In Hanoi, heritage preservation has gained significant policy attention over the last decades, but efforts continue to focus on the Old Quarter and Colonial City to the exclusion of collective socialist housing complexes and former village areas, and natural features such as canals and urban lakes.

Investments in new housing estates have fuelled a speculative real estate market but failed to address adequately the needs of the vulnerable segments of the population.

Regional integration is a challenge as the city expands and swallows the peri-urban areas around the city.

2021 : 26 pp : TRS2/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-35-7 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Will Pakatan Harapan's Hold on Selangor Continue?

Tricia Yeoh

Former Visiting Research Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, Chief Executive Officer, Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS), Kuala Lumpur, and PhD candidate, School of Politics, History and International Relations, University of Nottingham Malaysia.

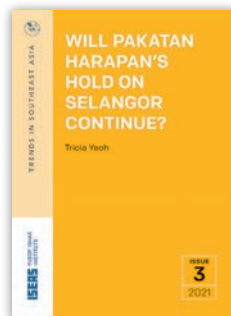
When the Pakatan Harapan (PH) federal government fell in February 2020, PH also lost control over the states of Johor, Malacca, Perak and Kedah. In Sabah, PH-aligned Warisan was replaced by the PN-aligned United Alliance of Sabah.

PH maintained its hold on three states—Selangor, Penang and Negeri Sembilan. Selangor's position is of unique interest, given the largest share of PH assemblypersons comprising members from the People's Justice Party (Parti Keadilan Rakyat, or PKR), the party which has faced significant elite splits in 2020.

The political fragmentation that continues to unfold will see further party and coalitional realignment, which will invariably impact PH's strength in Selangor.

2021 : 47 pp : TRS3/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-43-2 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Vietnam-China Agricultural Trade: Huge Growth and Challenges

Le Hai Binh

Former Vice President, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Lam Thanh Ha

Vice Dean, Faculty of International Economic, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Agricultural products are one of Vietnam's most important exports, contributing considerably to the overall export turnover of the country.

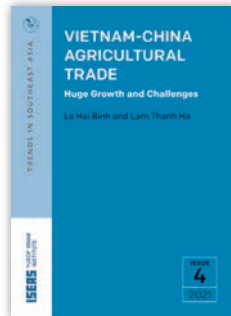
Vietnam's agricultural exports are easily affected by external factors. It is overly dependent on the Chinese market, and its agricultural products do not as yet meet strict global standards.

Challenges facing Vietnam's export of fruits and vegetables to the Chinese market include technical barriers, long risk assessment periods, restrictions on products exported through official quotas to the Chinese market, and frequent changes in China's policy on border crossings.

Vietnam's participation in international organizations such as ASEAN, APEC, WTO, and AEC exemplifies its increasingly active efforts at seeking new development opportunities. The seventeen bilateral and multilateral free trade agreements which have been signed by Vietnam partly demonstrates efforts at achieving market diversification.

2021 : 34 pp : TRS4/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-57-9 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Gaps and Opportunities in ASEAN's Climate Governance

Sharon Seah

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

Melinda Martinus

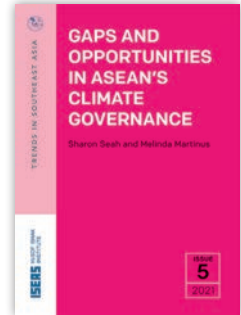
Lead Researcher (Socio-Cultural), ASEAN Studies Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Although climate-linked impacts on ASEAN's economy, increasing vulnerability to severe weather, and interlinkages to transboundary haze, health, security and marine pollution are evident, a recent survey by the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute reveals that Southeast Asians are ambivalent about ASEAN's effectiveness in tackling climate change.

ASEAN needs to establish a super coordinating body on climate change that can ensure information sharing across ASEAN bodies, convene support from dialogue partners, and engage with civil society organizations. The ASEAN Coordinating Council Working Group on Public Health Emergencies (ACCWG-PHE) model established during the COVID-19 crisis can serve as a precedent.

2021 : 29 pp : TRS5/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-59-3 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Military in Burma/Myanmar: On the Longevity of Tatmadaw Rule and Influence

David I Steinberg

Distinguished Professor of Asian Studies Emeritus, Georgetown University.

The Myanmar military has dominated that complex country for most of the period since independence in 1948. The fourth coup of 1 February 2021 was the latest by the military to control those aspects of society it deemed essential to its own interests, and its perception of state interests.

The military's institutional power was variously maintained by rule by decree, through political parties it founded and controlled, and through constitutional provisions it wrote that could not be amended without its approval.

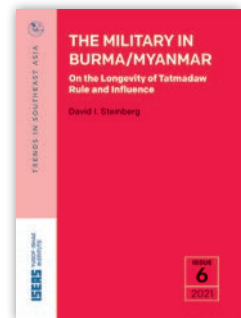
This fourth coup seems a product of personal demands for power between Senior General Min Aung Hlaing and Aung San Suu Kyi, and the especially humiliating defeat of the military-backed party at the hands of the National League for Democracy in the November 2020 elections.

The violent and bloody suppression of widespread demonstrations continues, compromise seems unlikely, and the previous diarchic governance will not return.

Myanmar's political and economic future is endangered and suppression will only result in future outbreaks of political frustration.

2021 : 37 pp : TRS6/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-71-5 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Trends in Southeast Asia Series

How Generation Z Galvanized a Revolutionary Movement against Myanmar's 2021 Military Coup

Ingrid Jordt

Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, USA.

Tharaphi Than

Associate Professor of Burmese, Northern Illinois University, USA.

Sue Ye Lin

Works in civil society in Myanmar.

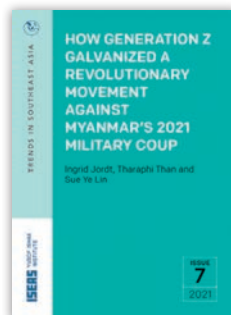
On 1 February 2021, under the command of General Min Aung Hlaing, Myanmar's military initiated a coup, apparently drawing to a close Myanmar's ten-year experiment with democratic rule. State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi and President Win Myint were arrested along with other elected officials.

Mass protests against the coup ensued, led by Gen Z youths who shaped a values-based democratic revolutionary movement that in character is anti-military regime, anti-China influence, anti-authoritarian, anti-racist, and anti-sexist. Women and minorities have been at the forefront, organizing protests, shaping campaigns, and engaging sectors of society that in the past had been relegated to the periphery of national politics. The protests were broadcast to local and international audiences through social media.

Gen Z's protests have accomplished what has been elusive to prior generations of anti-regime movements and uprisings. They have severed the Bamar Buddhist nationalist narrative that has gripped state society relations and the military's ideological control over the political landscape, substituting for it an inclusive democratic ideology.

2021 : 33 pp : TRS7/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-73-9 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Serious Social Impact of Non-violent Extremism in Indonesia

A'an Suryana

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Nur Syafiqah Mohd Taufek

Research Officer, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The rise of religious extremism in public discourses is a cause for concern for government officials and moderate Muslims. While a substantial body of research on violent extremism is available, the issue of non-violent extremism remains neglected by scholars.

Although exposure and subscription to non-violent extremism do not automatically lead to violence, it still needs to be curbed because it can fan hatred that in turn can lead to physical violence and repression of human rights. Non-violent extremism also boosts polarization in the community. Given this potential impact, the government needs to pay more attention to the dissemination of non-violent extremist public discourses, especially on social media. It could work together with influential religious organizations which possess immense religious authority and legitimacy.

2021 : 65 pp : TRS8/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-83-8 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Centre-Periphery Relations in Myanmar: Leverage and Solidarity after the 1 February Coup

Shona Loong

She recently received her DPhil in geography from the University of Oxford, where she conducted research on civil society and post-conflict development in Karen State, Myanmar.

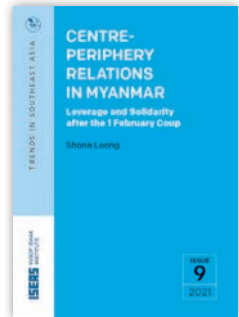
Building interethnic solidarity is crucial for the movement opposing the regime that took power in Myanmar's 1 February 2021 coup.

Analysing the coup as primarily a crisis of democracy underestimates the centrality of ethnic conflict to the Tatmadaw's role in Myanmar's national politics.

In the context of Myanmar's ethnic diversity, ethnic armed organizations may play a key role in harmonizing responses to the coup. Successive Myanmar governments have failed to meaningfully address ethnic conflict, thereby entrenching the Tatmadaw's dominance.

2021 : 40 pp : TRS9/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-85-2 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Digital Mediatization and the Sharpening of Malaysian Political Contests

Pauline Pooi Yin Leong

Associate Professor, Department of Communication, School of Arts, Sunway University, Malaysia.

The introduction of the Multimedia Super Corridor in 1996 was due to the Malaysian government's initiative to tap into the ICT sector. While this move spearheaded Malaysia into the knowledge economy, digital media enabled the opposition and civil society to compete and break the government's monopoly over information flows.

Digital mediatization of politics in Malaysia encouraged cyberattacks such as DDoS attacks, hacking and spamming. Cyberbullying on social media is also on the rise.

Information warfare is being perpetuated by organized teams of cybertroopers who disseminate propaganda, fake news, and disinformation in order to influence public opinion.

Digital mediatization of politics has opened up the public sphere and given ordinary citizens, especially youths, the opportunity to voice their opinions on the issues of the day. Social media campaigns, especially on Twitter, discuss the trending issues through the use of hashtags.

2021 : 30 pp : TRS10/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-87-6 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Growing Salience of Online Vietnamese Nationalism

Dien Nguyen An Luong

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

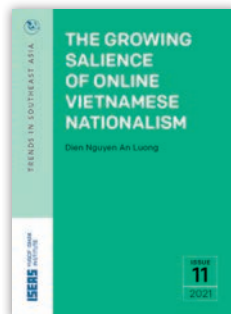
Vietnamese nationalism has a strong undercurrent of anti-China sentiments, and Vietnam's leaders have regularly tapped into such sentiments to shore up their legitimacy and boost Vietnamese nationalism.

Over the last decade, the helter-skelter growth of social media has bred new popular actors in Vietnamese cybersphere, who are deeply nationalistic but who pursue entirely different political and social agendas. In sum, they give rise to a new nationalistic narrative, one that paints the Vietnam Communist Party as being often too meek and subservient to China, and calls for drastic reforms to the political system—regime change not excluded—to deal with Chinese threats.

The growing salience of online Vietnamese nationalism has posed serious challenges and dilemmas for the regime. The authorities have had to encourage nationalistic patriotism without letting Sinophobia spiral out of control or turn against the regime.

2021 : 41 pp : TRS11/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-89-0 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



From Pakatan Harapan to Perikatan Nasional: A Missed Opportunity for Reforms for East Malaysia?

Anantha Raman Govindasamy

*Associate Professor, Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge and Language Learning (CPKLL), Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) and
Visiting Research Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.*

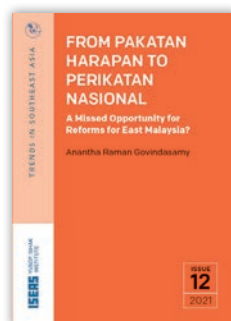
The Malaysia Agreement 1963 (MA63) brought together Peninsular Malaya with the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak. This Agreement afforded certain rights and obligations to these two states, notably in areas such as religion and language, financial autonomy, immigration, judicial autonomy, and finance and tax issues.

However, since the signing of this foundational treaty, East Malaysians have become discontented. Key frustrations include a gradual erosion of the stipulated privileges by the federal government, persistent underdevelopment, as well as the perceived unequal distribution of petroleum revenue earned from these states.

Since the advent of the Perikatan Nasional administration, the broader issue of East Malaysian rights has received little attention. It is likely that, rather than seeking to address the fundamental tensions between the Peninsula and East Malaysia, the current administration will seek to offer targeted benefits to elites from the region.

2021 : 30 pp : TRS12/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-92-0 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Widodo's Employment Creation Law, 2020: What Its Journey Tells Us about Indonesian Politics

Max Lane

Visiting Senior Fellow, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

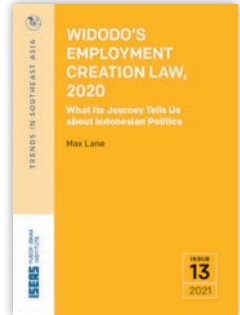
During 2020, the Widodo government introduced a new Bill for parliamentary consideration. This was the Employment Creation Law. It was also known as the Omnibus Law as it introduced amendments to seventy-four other existing laws on a wide range of matters.

The Bill provoked considerable controversy, especially provisions reducing protection of labour rights and weakening environmental protection laws. Several provisions introducing further deregulation of a range of activities also attracted criticism. The labour and environmental issues were the basis for a series of street protest mobilizations during the year. These also involved mobilizations where university students participated.

Despite the protests and criticism, the law was passed by a big majority in Parliament on 5 October 2020. All member parties of the governing coalition voted for the Bill, and it was signed into law by President Joko Widodo on 2 November 2020.

2021 : 23 pp : TRS13/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-91-3 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



30 Years On: A Reflection on Southeast Asia's Fight Against Communism During the Cold War Years

Daljit Singh

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

Lye Liang Fook

Senior Fellow and Co-ordinator, Vietnam Studies Programme and Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

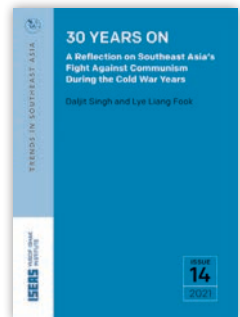
The year 2021 marks the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Cambodian Peace Agreements which ended the Cambodian conflict and the Cold War in Southeast Asia.

Communism was a perennial concern in Singapore and Malaya (later Malaysia) from 1948 into the 1980s — a concern which younger generations may not appreciate. The threat came largely from the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) supported by China, and from Vietnam.

ASEAN states strongly opposed Vietnam's action on the grounds that the invasion and occupation of a sovereign country violated a fundamental principle of international law. Successive UN General Assembly resolutions supported the ASEAN position with significant majorities

2021 : 16 pp : TRS14/21

ISBN 978-981-4951-95-1 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Unrealized Mahathir-Anwar Transitions: Social Divides and Political Consequences

Khoo Boo Teik

Professor Emeritus, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Tokyo; Research Fellow Emeritus, Institute of Developing Economies, Chiba, Japan; and Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore (April to September 2021).

The failure of two expected transitions of leadership from Dr Mahathir Mohamad to Anwar Ibrahim (in 1998 and 2020) are traceable beyond their personal entanglements to the social divides and political currents of their time.

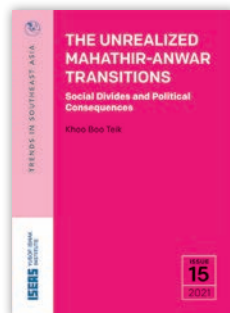
The unrealized transitions are symptomatic of UMNO's dynamic of "dysfunctional succession". Under Mahathir, the party split. Under Najib, it was defeated. The condition persists as Muhyiddin Yassin has not even appointed a deputy prime minister after being in power for fifteen months.

The unrealized transitions were a setback for a "reform agenda", which Anwar Ibrahim articulated, but which emerged from dissident movements for diverse reforms. These movements helped the multiethnic, socially inclusive, opposition to win the 14th General Election. They are only seemingly dormant because of the pandemic.

Anwar Ibrahim's opponents mock him for being obsessed with wanting to be prime minister. Yet they obsessively fear his becoming prime minister. Anwar may be twice loser in political succession but "the spectre of Anwar" still haunts Malaysian political consciousness.

2021 : 36 pp : TRS15/21

ISBN 978-981-5011-00-5 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Naquib Al-Attas' Islamization of Knowledge: Its Impact on Malay Religious Life, Literature, Language and Culture

Mohd Faizal Musa

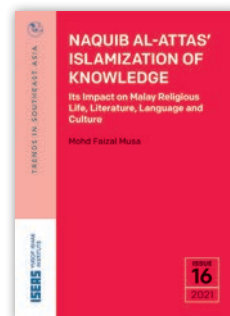
Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and Research Fellow, Institute of the Malay World and Civilization, National University of Malaysia (UKM).

The concept of the Islamization of knowledge was introduced by Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas in the late 1970s. It aimed to detach knowledge from Western culture and civilization in order to replace it with Islamic concepts, frameworks and values.

The concept has also evolved and arguably led to the strengthening of Islamic conservatism among Malaysian intellectual and cultural elites. More specifically, its exclusivist thinking does not augur well for intra- and intercommunal relations in the country.

2021 : 32 pp : TRS16/21

ISBN 978-981-5011-08-1 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Democratic Action Party in Johor: Assailing the Barisan Nasional Fortress

Zhang Kevin

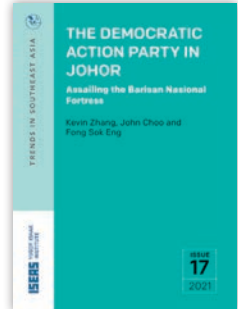
Research Officer, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

John Choo

Former Research Officer, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Fong Sok Eng

Research Officer, Archaeology Unit, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.



Until approximately two decades ago, the Democratic Action Party (DAP) struggled to make inroads in Johor due to: (1) the unique historical developments in the state, which benefited its primary opponent Barisan Nasional (BN), and (2) the decentralized party structure in Johor with party branches serving as the main player responsible for grassroots mobilization and campaigning, which resulted in an underdeveloped and less cohesive state party structure.

2021 : 51 pp : TRS17/21

ISBN 978-981-5011-10-4 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**

The National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN): A New Arrangement for Research in Indonesia

Ahmad Najib Burhani

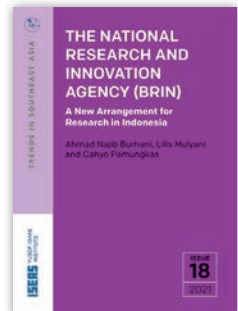
Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and Research Professor, National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Jakarta.

Lilis Mulyani

Senior Researcher, Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities (ISSH), National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Jakarta.

Cahyo Pamungkas

Senior Researcher, Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities (ISSH), National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Jakarta.



On 28 April 2021, the Indonesian government, under President Joko Widodo, dissolved the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (Kemenristek-Dikti). Since then, the management of higher education has been taken over by the Ministry of Education and Culture, while research and innovation are now the responsibility of the National Research and Innovation Agency (Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional, or BRIN).

Based on Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Nos. 33 and 78 of 2021, various research institutes, such as LIPI, BATAN, LAPAN and BPPT, and research agencies in some ministries have been or will be merged into BRIN, making it a “super-government agency” with an “overarching” role.

2021 : 28 pp : TRS18/21

ISBN 978-981-5011-15-9 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**

Public Perceptions of the Election Commission, Election Management and Democracy in Malaysia

Helen Ting Mu Hung

Associate Professor and Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM).

Andrew Kam Jia Yi

Associate Professor and Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM).

This report presents findings from a nationwide face-to-face survey of 2,627 Malaysians between March and April 2021 regarding public perceptions on the Election Commission (EC) and on election management.

Malaysians by and large hold a cautious, moderate affirmation of the state of democracy in Malaysia, and of it having made notable progress over the past decade.

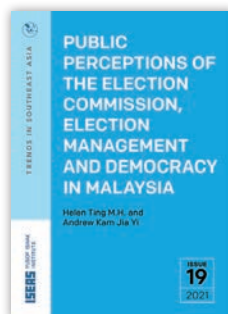
A quarter of respondents regard the 2018 general election to be very free or/and fair, while 43 per cent think that it was free/fair though not without problems. This perception appears to have been influenced by the fact that there was a change of federal government.

Public confidence in the integrity and impartiality of the election management process and the EC is weakly affirmative, as revealed by a majority expressing a lack of confidence in an eventual online voting system being handled transparently.

Urban residents generally have greater distrust in state institutions.

2021 : 61 pp : TRS19/21

ISBN 978-981-5011-17-3 (SC) **\$S\$9.00 (\$S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Urban Biodiversity and Nature-Based Solutions in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Indonesia and Malaysia

Alex M. Lechner et al.

Associate Professor, Landscape Ecology, Urban Transformations Hub Monash University, Monash University Indonesia, Jakarta.

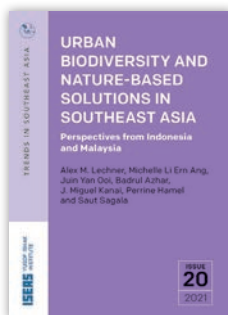
Rapid urbanization and development in Southeast Asia have impacted its high biodiversity and unique ecosystems directly through the use of forest lands for infrastructure building, and indirectly through increasing ecological footprints.

In Greater Bandung, Indonesia and Greater Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, rapid urbanization over the last thirty years has resulted in an increase in built infrastructure of approximately two and three times respectively.

A Nature-Based Solutions approach can potentially underpin urban design and planning strategies in Greater Bandung and Greater Kuala Lumpur, as well as other cities in Southeast Asia, to address biodiversity conservation and also global environmental challenges such as climate change adaption and mitigation, while supporting well-being.

2021 : 42 pp : TRS20/21

ISBN 978-981-5011-20-3 (SC) **\$S\$9.00 (\$S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



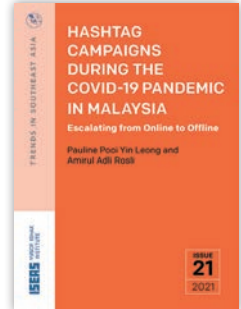
Hashtag Campaigns during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Malaysia: Escalating from Online to Offline

Pauline Pooi Yin Leong

Associate Professor, Department of Communication, School of Arts, Sunway University, Malaysia, and Visiting Fellow, Media, Technology and Society Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Amirul Adli Rosli

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



Hashtag campaigns on social media enable users to express their sentiments on various issues and mobilize people to be part of a movement or cause; they have been used effectively by disenfranchised members of society against powerful elites.

While some are of the opinion that online campaigns are ineffective due to “slacktivism”, such campaigns can spill over to offline protests, especially if there are strong emotions such as anger, or a sense of injustice or social deprivation, spurring people on.

A key conclusion of this study is that online hashtag campaigns have served as early warning of trending public sentiment. They also have the potential to hype up emotions online and subsequently galvanize support for offline campaigns and protests. As #Lawan and #BenderaHitam showed, these can have direct political outcomes.

2021 : 42 pp : TRS21/21

ISBN 978-981-5011-22-7 (SC) **\$S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The ASEAN Studies Centre is devoted to research on issues that pertain to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an institution and a process. Through research, conferences, consultations, and publications, the Centre seeks to illuminate ways of promoting ASEAN's purposes of political solidarity, economic integration and regional cooperation, and finding pragmatic solutions to the challenges on the path to achieving this. The Centre conducts studies and provides inputs and ideas to ASEAN member states and the ASEAN Secretariat on issues and events that call for collective ASEAN actions and responses, especially those pertinent to building the ASEAN Community.

ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat

Elizabeth P. 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

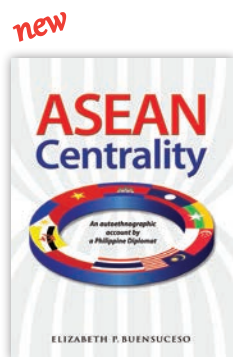
"Ambassador Elizabeth P. Buensuceso's book *ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat* is a rare insider's view into ASEAN diplomacy as we practise it here in Jakarta. The dynamics in the ASEAN-led mechanisms that she describes provide an interesting insight into national 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."

Dato Lim Jock Hoi, Secretary General of ASEAN

2021 : 204 pp : ASC16

ISBN 978-981-4951-64-7 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$25.90**

ISBN 978-981-4951-65-4 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$25.68)/US\$21.00**



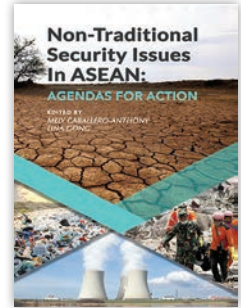
Non-Traditional Security Issues in ASEAN: Agendas for Action

Mely Caballero-Anthony, editor

Professor of International Relations and Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Lina Gong, editor

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



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 securitization and focuses on capacity-building, regional cooperation and institutions for dealing with non-traditional security challenges in the region. Through the development of a comprehensive analytical framework that examines the processes of governing non-traditional security problems, the editors put together chapters that identify some of the major gaps and challenges in managing many of the pressing security issues in Southeast Asia. *Non-Traditional Security Issues in ASEAN* provides a systemic assessment of the state of 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 national action and promoting and deepening regional cooperation in governing non-traditional security.

"A timely publication. Climate change, food security, health security, disaster response are key issues affecting the shared vulnerability of ASEAN and its people. This book shows why these and similar non-traditional threats are urgent agendas for Southeast Asia and best addressed through regional cooperation."

Dr Noeleen Heyzer,

United Nations Under-Secretary-General (2007–15)

2020 : 353 pp : BM589

ISBN 978-981-4881-08-1 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-09-8 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**



The Centre undertakes research, disseminates information, facilitates discussions on APEC-related issues, and promotes linkages with other APEC Study Centres. The Centre also liaises with the APEC Secretariat, the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and other organizations working on APEC. The Centre analyses developments in the APEC process and its main areas of interest include: international economics; production networks; trade arrangements; connectivity; regionalism; and Southeast Asian economies. Besides regular publications, the Centre manages seminars and symposia on issues related to APEC.

The Centre is part of a consortium of around a hundred APEC Study Centres based in academic and research institutions in the 21 member economies of APEC. The consortium's major activity is an annual conference held in the APEC host economy for the year. The first APEC Study Centre Consortium (ASCC) Conference was held in Manila in 1996. In July 2009, the Singapore APEC Study Centre hosted the ASCC Conference as part of APEC Singapore 2009.

Competition Law, Regulation and SMEs in the Asia-Pacific: Understanding the Small Business Perspective

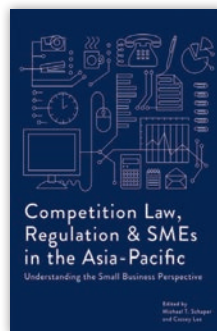
Michael T. Schaper, editor

Deputy Chariman, Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC).

Cassey Lee, editor

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

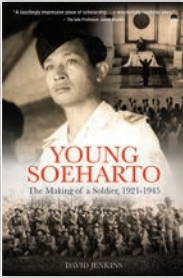
Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) account for more than 90 per cent of all businesses in the Asia-Pacific region — an area which is rapidly updating its competition laws and regulations to encourage greater entrepreneurship and open, dynamic economies. This book seeks to rectify the relative neglect in research and policy discussions on the role of the SME sector in competition policy and law. Drawing on contributions from a wide range of competition regulators, lawyers, academics, consultants and advisers to the SME sector, it addresses such important issues as: perceptions and views of small businesses about competition law; regulator engagement and education of the SME sector; the link between competition law and economic growth; franchising, SMEs and competition law; issues in enforcing competition law against SMEs; the role of Chinese family firms; trade, professional and industry associations; country case studies from Vietnam, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, South Korea, Hong Kong SAR, Japan and the Pacific Islands.



2016 : 395 pp : PIC243

ISBN 978-981-4695-80-0 (SC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$39.90**

ISBN 978-981-4695-81-7 (EBK) **S\$40.00 (S\$42.80)/US\$32.00**

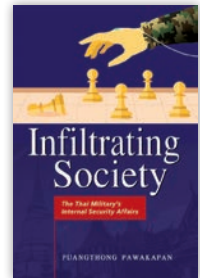


"The first volume of David Jenkins' long-awaited biography of the architect of modern Indonesia is now available from Singapore's ISEAS Publishing. Released on June 30, 2021, *Young Soeharto: The Making of a Soldier, 1921-1945* is a masterpiece. At once comprehensive and compelling, the biography will be a delight to serious scholars and armchair historians alike. While the massive volume runs 503 pages comprising 300 pages of text and over 150 pages of footnotes, bibliography and glossary, it also contains nearly 20 pages of photographs and is beautifully printed. The reader is carried easily on the Jenkins' smooth prose, sharpened by the Australian journalist's decades as a reporter and editor of note. As in the rest of the book, Jenkins is masterly in his treatment of the behavior of both Japanese and Indonesians as defeat loomed for the former, and includes information from interviews with former Japanese soldiers who

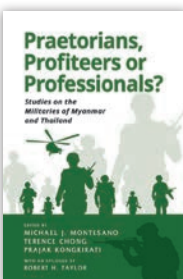
were Soeharto's superiors and remembered him well. Indeed, another one of the book's strengths is the knowledge gleaned from Japanese sources. And here the book concludes, leaving the reader hungry for the promised volumes two and three that will take us through the early years of independent Indonesia, the deadly turmoil of the 1960s and Indonesia's economic rise to middle income status under Soeharto until he resigned in May 1998, amid the pressure and instability generated by the Asian financial crisis."

James Castle, *The Jakarta Post*, 2021

"In *Infiltrating Society: The Thai Military's Internal Security Affairs*, Puangthong Pawakapan argues that the Thai military has used infiltration tactics to indoctrinate Thai civilians to adopt military ideologies and secure its preferred political order. Puangthong starts by discussing the main function of the Thai military. She argues that ever since the Thai military was modernised by King Rama V, the military has had little experience fighting inter-state wars but much experience in suppressing its own citizens. Historically, the military has used armed suppression to quell civilian resistance, whether millenarian rebels during the reign of King Rama V, Muslims in the deep south or the Communist Party of Thailand during the Cold War. There are a number of works studying individual mass organisations, which are a part of the military's infiltrations (e.g. Bowie 1997, Hyun 2014 and 2017, Ball 2004, Ball and Mathieson 2007). But while these works are very insightful, they require a broader work to link their contributions together and offer a holistic view of how the infiltrations affect Thai politics. *Infiltrating Society* is that missing work. The book illustrates how deeply the military has infiltrated civilian society and the impacts on Thailand's civil-military relations."



Pasit Wongnamdee, *New Mandala*, 2021



"*Praetorians, Profiteers or Professionals? – Studies on the Militaries of Myanmar and Thailand*, a collection of essays by various authors, sheds further light on the role of the armed forces outside the traditional limits of defense. The chapter by Paul Chambers, an academic expert on the Thai military, states that two conditions have enabled the generals to dominate Thailand. The first is the military's close association with the monarchy, which the generals have pledged to defend. In return they have gained legitimacy for their political forays. The second is an ideology they have evolved over more than a century to 'rationalize the legitimacy of interventionism to rescue, defend and develop the nation'."

Marwaan Macan-Markar, *Nikkei Asia*, 2021

Book Reviews



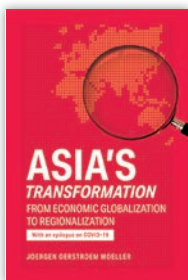
"Marrying Young in Indonesia features empirical chapters on the diversity of everyday practices around child marriage, and the complex causes and consequences associated with it. The edited collection is the outcome of an academic workshop held at the University of Indonesia in 2017. Much of the book's content was written prior to the revision of the Marriage Law in 2019, but such a temporal aspect behind the book's production makes it an even more timely and engaging read. The book serves as a critical reading to better understand the contestations behind efforts to regulate marriage timing and to end child marriage in Indonesia. In interrogating the complex terrain of child marriage research, the book effectively displays a variety of research methods, from survey through life history and legal archival analysis. Scholars working on marriage and family change in the region will particularly appreciate the detailed methods section in each of the empirical chapters. The description of case studies and field site selection seem to indicate patterns of geographic clustering. The nuanced perspectives and wide-ranging geographical insights on child marriage presented in this book will be of interest to policymakers, activists and scholars working in this field."

Ariane Utomo, *South East Asia Research*, 2020

"How far has Indonesian democracy regressed during the administration of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), 2014–present, after stagnating during the two terms (2004–2014) of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)? This is the central question of this book, based on papers presented at the 2019 annual Indonesia Update at the Australian National University. Answering it requires us to accept many premises, some or all of which may be false. Comparative and historical introductory chapters by Allen Hicken and Dan Slater are a helpful start. Hicken assesses Indonesia's democracy as 'generally healthy', but warns of two vulnerabilities: 'weak political parties and high levels of electoral clientelism' and, most troubling, 'the increasingly polarized political and social environment' (p. 43). Slater reminds us of 'the egalitarian version of the nation that the country's revolutionary generation first defined ... which takes a long time to build.' Slater's case is powerfully made by Power in his signature chapter 'Assailing accountability'."

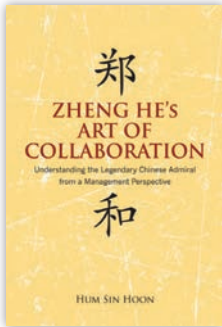


R. William Liddle, *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, 2021

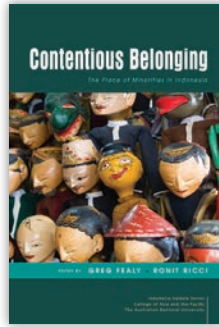


"Written by Joergen Oerstroem Moeller, a leading economic expert from the EU with deep knowledge of Asian geopolitics and macroeconomics, this book provides a wide range of insights into the key strategic trends shaping the future of the region. The book discusses many critical issues transforming the Asia-Pacific region, including global competition among the leading global powers. An important theme discussed in the book is the impact of the rise of Chinese multinationals in leading areas of technology such as big data, as well as drivers of regional economic integration centered on China's rapid ascendancy as a global economic power. With Asia playing an increasingly important role in world trade and investment, the book provides an important contribution to understanding the key dynamics reshaping Asia's role in the world economy."

Rajiv Biswas, Author and international economist formerly with The Economist Group, UBS and the Commonwealth Secretariat



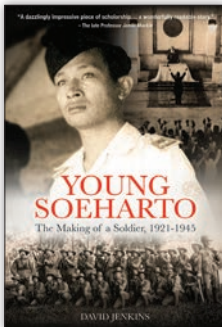
2011 : 293 pp : BM452
ISBN 978-981-4379-66-3 (SC)
ISBN 978-981-4379-67-0 (EBK)



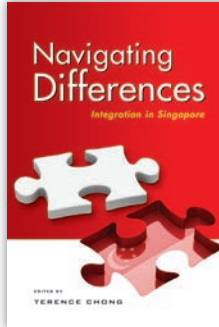
2019 : 282 pp : BM578
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ISBN 978-981-4843-47-8 (EBK)



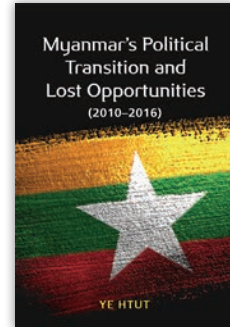
2019 : 452 pp : BM574
ISBN 978-981-4843-06-5 (SC)
ISBN 978-981-4843-10-2 (EBK)



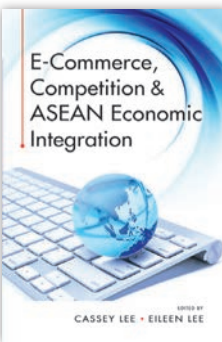
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ISBN 987-981-4881-01-2 (EBK)



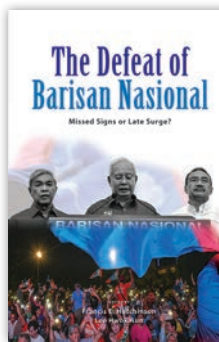
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ISBN 978-981-4881-61-6 (EBK)



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2019 : 509 pp : PIC271
ISBN 978-981-4843-89-8 (SC)
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2019 : pp 411 : SEAA19
ISBN 978-981-4843-15-7 (HC)
ISBN 978-981-4843-16-4 (EBK)

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