

ressen und Forderungen von Frauen des Südens mit der Messlatte des Universalismus nivelliert werden.

Konsequenterweise befasst sich daher ein beachtlicher Teil des Buches sowohl mit den historischen und inhaltlichen Entwicklungen der internationalen Frauenpolitik als auch mit denen der indonesischen Frauenorganisationen. Dass und wie deren Aktionsansätze und Gleichstellungsstrategien in vielfacher Weise nicht nur miteinander, sondern auch mit staatlichen Diskursen in Beziehung stehen, belegt die Autorin anhand einer umfassenden Darstellung beider Elemente. Dabei werden auch die staatlichen geschlechterpolitischen Entwürfe seit der Neuen Ordnung sowie die multiplen Gestaltungsvorschläge und Ansätze der indonesischen Frauenorganisationen beleuchtet.

Entlang der Übertragung der international entwickelten Konzepte auf die nationale Ebene arbeitet die Studie zudem zweierlei heraus: Einerseits bestimmen internationale Einflussfaktoren der Entwicklungspolitik den lokalen Diskurs um die Geschlechterdemokratisierung. Andererseits wirken innenpolitische Prozesse der Regionalisierung sowie die zunehmende Betonung islamischer und traditioneller Werte auf die Debatte ein.

Eine Analyse des Demokratisierungsprozesses in Indonesien unter Blickwinkel der Geschlechtergerechtigkeit kommt nicht ohne eine Untersuchung realer Partizipationsmöglichkeiten aus. Deshalb widmet sich die Studie ebenso der Frage wie die Interessenvertretung von Frauen auf der parlamentarischen Ebene realisiert wird. Unter der Prämisse, dass alle politischen Entscheidungen und Gesetze geschlechtsspezifische Auswirkungen zeitigen, steht dabei insbesondere der Prozess der Erneuerung des Wahl- und Parteiengesetzes im Mittelpunkt. Welchen Einfluss konnte die Frauenbewegung auf die Gestaltung der Gesetze nehmen? Wer unterstützte ihre Forderungen und welche Kräfte arbeiteten gegen eine Erhöhung der Frauenpartizipation?

Jenseits parlamentarischer Partizipation lässt sich die Verwirklichung der Geschlechtergleichheit in den Bereichen Arbeit und Beschäftigung sowie Ehe und Familie messen. Schließlich spielen sich in beiden Feldern bezüglich der Geschlechterzuordnung weltweit ideologische Grabenkämpfe ab. Umso mehr in politischen, wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Umbruchsituationen, wie sie auch in Indonesien seit Beginn der *Reformasi* – Ära anzutreffen sind. Und so wagt sich die Autorin ebenfalls an diese Themen. Sie tut dies, indem sie die Veränderungen der betreffenden rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen nach dem Systemwechsel untersucht und überprüft, inwiefern diese dem Anspruch an internationale Standards gerecht werden können. Auf diese Weise zeichnet sie nicht nur ein detailliertes Bild der diesbezüglichen diskursiven Spannungsfelder, sondern veranschaulicht auch konkrete Diskriminierungspraktiken sowie die Entwicklungen und Begleitumstände der relevanten normativen Gesetzgebung.

Die Auswertung der Zeit nach 1998 basiert überwiegend auf indonesischsprachige Presseberichte sowie Interviews mit Repräsentantinnen von Frauenorganisationen, Politikerinnen und Sozialwissenschaftlerinnen. Dies stellt insbesondere den zweiten Teil der Studie auf ein solides Fundament.

Diese umfassende, faktenreiche Studie, die obendrein über einen hervorragenden Index verfügt, ermöglichen es allen interessierten Leserinnen und Lesern, die Untiefen der Geschlechterdemokratisierung in Indonesien eingehend zu explorieren.

(Christine Holike)

**Bob S. Hadiwinata, Christoph Schuck (eds.): Democracy in Indonesia. The Challenge of Consolidation**

Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007, 413 S., EUR 69,00

Indonesia's transition from autocracy has led to a defective democracy. Although substan-

tial progress in democratization has been achieved since the overthrow of Suharto in 1998, weaknesses of the young democracy are visible „with patrimonial ties and nepotism encroaching on democratic institutions, extremism and chauvinism hampering civil social organizations, militarism and ethno-religious ties undermining civil supremacy in domestic and external politics, and corruption running rampant“ (13). Consolidation, meaning the internalization of the rules of democracy, has not taken place to a sufficient degree. The authors state in the introduction that although it is unlikely that Indonesia will relapse into autocracy again, it is unclear whether Indonesia's democracy will become consolidated (19).

The objectives of this edited volume are twofold. First, the process of transition to democracy is recapitulated, current problems of consolidation are discussed and evaluated and existing successes and failures are described. Second, the chapters of this volume should also contribute to a better theoretical understanding of how to achieve a consolidated democracy. Thus, the book aims to shed light on the theoretical and practical understanding of transition and consolidation processes in general and in Indonesia in particular (12).

The book is the result of a binational research project between the Parahyangan Catholic University Bandung, Indonesia and the Indonesia Research Unit at the Justus-Liebig-University of Giessen, Germany. The incorporation of insights from Indonesian and German researchers makes this book unique and enriches the analyses immensely.

One of the book's biggest strengths is the theoretical framework. Six whole chapters are altogether dedicated to introduce theoretical considerations necessary for the further analysis. Merkel's definitions of "defective and embedded democracies" (chapter 2, 34ff) are taken as the underlying groundwork. According to Merkel, embedded democracies consist of five internal regimes: electoral regime, effective power to

rule, horizontal accountability and civil and political rights. Additionally, embedded democracies necessitate social and economic prerequisites, a well-developed civil society and a certain degree of successful nation building and cohesion. Dieter Eissel and Alexander Grasse deliver a very insightful model of the vertical dimension of democracy (chapter 4). Drawing strongly from the experiences in Europe they discuss the possibilities of federalism, regionalization and local autonomy for strengthening democracy in a diverse society.

After the theoretical section (Part I) four chapters describe features of Indonesia's political system and of governance challenges (Part II). These chapters sketch the historical development of the country's constitution, of the party system, of decentralization and of the tradition of corruption in Indonesia. Part III is the first of two empirical sections of the book. In Part III the reform of the security sector is discussed. The successful integration of Indonesia's armed forces into the democratic system is a big challenge. Also, the efforts of counterterrorism represent a challenge to civil liberties. The second empirical part (Part IV) discusses problems of identity and nation building. These chapters on the politics of identity are probably the most interesting of the book. At its core are excellent analysis of cultural and linguistic features in the creation of new provinces (chapter 15), Islamic extremism (chapter 16), inter-faith dialogue (chapter 17), and of symbolic politics in foreign relations (chapter 18).

At the end of the volume (Part V), the editors undertake the challenge to evaluate Indonesia's democracy according to Merkel's dimensions of embedded democracies (395-407). They rank Indonesia on a scale from "stable", "increasingly stable", "conditionally unstable" to "unstable". According to the editors' ratings successful consolidation has taken place in the more formal aspects of democracy like election procedures and the manifestation of political

liberties. In all of the other dimensions, Indonesia shows clear weaknesses.

The book represents the richest analysis of Indonesia's current transition processes available on the market. It offers insights into a multitude of challenges for the consolidation of democracy. Its two main strengths are the combination of German and Indonesian perspectives and the strong theoretical foundation. It is thus a book that is most recommendable for people interested in Indonesia as well as in the theoretical analysis of democratic transition and consolidation.

(Henriette Litta)

**Anak Agung Banyu Perwita:  
Indonesia and the Muslim World.  
Between Islam and Secularism in the  
Foreign Policy of Suharto and  
Beyond**

Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007, 222 S.,  
EUR 18,99

Almost since independence, Indonesia has claimed to follow a *Bebas-Aktif* (independent and active) foreign policy which has its roots in the 1945 Constitution and its ideological foundation of *Pancasila*, the five principles originally formulated by Sukarno in 1945.

It is, of course, difficult to identify the factors that determine foreign policy-making and the present study explores Islam as one of many societal factors in influencing Indonesia's foreign policy toward the Muslim world. The Indonesian scholar Anak Agung shows that the degree to which Islam influences Indonesia's foreign policy is subject to debate. While some scholars find that the government of the country with the largest Muslim population in the world consistently plays down the religious factor in its foreign policy (e.g. Azra, Suryadinata), others emphasise that the "Islamic factor" is visible in Jakarta's relations, especially with its atti-

tude towards issues in and concerning the Middle East (Sihbudi).

Anak Agung's study focuses on Indonesia's New Order foreign policy under Soeharto with special emphasis on Indonesia's relations with the Muslim world, and the role and influence of Islam as articulated by the Muslim community on government policies (state-society perspective). The major hypotheses of the book are that "foreign policy begins at home" and that "foreign policies are also influenced by the religious views and beliefs of policymakers and their constituents".

After a brief overview of the roots, nature and evolution of Indonesian foreign policy and developments in the Muslim world in a changing global environment (chapter 2), Anak Agung investigates the nature and characteristics of Indonesia's foreign policy toward the Muslim world with the use of four case studies: Indonesia's involvement in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (chapter 3), Indonesia's responses to the Middle East conflict, namely the Palestinian Issue, domestic resistance to establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, and the 1991 Gulf War (chapter 4), Indonesia's reaction towards the Moro problem between the government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) (chapter 5) as well as its stance on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (chapter 6). He also briefly looks at the role of Islam in Indonesia's foreign policy since the fall of Soeharto in 1998 (chapter 7), before he presents the main findings of his case studies (chapter 8). A short appendix finally briefly explains the theoretical framework, the data collection methods (mainly interviews and newspaper articles) and refers to numerous other studies of state-society relations in foreign policy analysis.

The *Bebas-Aktif* foreign policy has always been defined without the inclusion of religious sentiments. For instance, Indonesia did not base its participation in the OIC on Islamic principles, but even declared that it