

powerful elite women were blamed for the Vietnamese encroachment upon Cambodian territory. Didactic literature on the "correct" behaviour for women and legal reforms started to inferiorize women in this period. According to Jacobsen, the image of the powerless woman was constructed as part of an idealized "traditional Cambodia" which was associated to the texts produced in this time. This (mis)reading was reinforced by the French who enshrined Cambodian "traditional" practices in their Orientalist scholarship. Overall, the status of women started to decline in the 19th century. After gaining independence, Cambodian leaders sought to construct a national identity based on what was perceived as the "traditional" and glorious past. Therefore, people turned to the conservative literature compiled during the 19th century for guidance which constrained the access to power for women. Male attitudes persisted during subsequent regimes despite claims of revolutionary, socialist or democratic equality. Until today, women in Cambodia continue to have restricted access to education, socio-economic resources and political influence compared to men.

Trudy Jacobsen's book is based on her doctoral dissertation conducted at the University of Queensland. The author incorporated primary sources like epigraphic inscriptions, court chronicles, Khmer newspaper and magazine articles, popular literature, biographical and autobiographical records and archival material. Jacobsen furthermore conducted ethnographic field research in Cambodia. Benefitting from her knowledge of Khmer, Old Khmer and Sanskrit the author re-read original sources from a gender perspective. The result is a comprehensive history of the role of women in Cambodian politics and society. Theoretically, Trudy Jacobsen's book can be situated at an interesting intersection between post-structuralist gender studies and Cambodian history. Bringing in a feminist perspective on the politics of gender relations in Cambodian history, *Lost Goddesses* closes a gap in social science research on this issue. What

puzzled me was that Jacobsen seems to distinguish between "true" Cambodian traditions which can and need to be revealed and "false" constructs of tradition which had been asserted in the past to legitimize the denial of female power. However, the "traditional" view of what is considered as "appropriate behaviour" for women in Cambodian society is highly contested. In a context of ongoing struggles for female empowerment, *Lost Goddesses* is of high political relevance. What makes Jacobsen's book an interesting and important scholarly contribution is its emphasis on the intimate connections between narratives on gender, culture and national identity which are still prevalent in contemporary Cambodia.

Stephan Engelkamp

**Marco Bunte, Andreas Ufen (eds.):
Democratization in Post-Suharto
Indonesia**

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This volume is a collection of articles written by 12 young scholars, focussing on various aspects of the political development in Indonesia after the resignation of Suharto in 1998. They are based on field work in Indonesia in the crucial period after Suharto's successors had started to change the hitherto rather strict authoritarian regime by allowing free and fair elections, by tolerating a critical press, by starting their fight against wide-spread corruption and by issuing laws, leading to a gradual decentralisation. Thus, there are issues enough to be thoroughly examined!

But what is democratization, and what does it mean in the Indonesian context after 1998? This question is addressed in an introductory chapter (The New Order and its Legacy) by the two editors, both of them senior research fellows at the Institute of Asian Affairs in the German Institute of Global Affairs,

based in Hamburg. They see Indonesian developments in the perspective of various types of democracy in the third world, emerging in the process of the so-called "third wave of democratization" (Huntington). They distinguish between electoral and liberal democracy and point to the big grey zone between the two with a multitude of hybrid regimes, combining both, democratic and authoritarian elements. In a brief summary of the various contributions to the book they show that this is also visible in the Indonesian case, which is described as a protracted transition from authoritarian to democratic rule. Many leftovers deeply rooted in the New Order regime (1966 - 1968) cannot so easily be discarded with and the process of democratic deepening is perhaps still in its infancy, with shortcomings and setbacks. But the contributions show it is on its way, proved by such achievements as the freedom to found parties, freedom of the press, free and fair elections (nationally as well as in the regions), the direct election also of the president, the enshrinement of civil liberties and political rights in the constitution. These are all fundamental changes indeed, and the authors can be congratulated, to have analyzed them in an adequate manner.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with the "*Restructuring of Core State Institutions*". Under this heading we find six contributions with discussions of the Indonesian legislature and its impact on democratic consolidation by Patrick Ziegenhain (University of Trier). He sees still weaknesses in the parliamentary system: the representation function of the Indonesian parliament (DPR) is not yet sufficiently fulfilled, because the selection of the legislators is as yet in the hands of a small party elite; the legislative function of the DPR suffers under insufficient expertise among most of the legislators etc. But he sees also a remarkable progress if compared to the powerless façade parliament of the Suharto era.

The next two contributions address rather decisive aspects with regard to the future of Indonesian democracy: Petra Stockmann, (Watch Indonesia, Berlin), discusses the struggle for the rule of law. She finds, that although Indonesia calls itself a *negara hukum* (or Rechtsstaat) there are forces in the state and non-state sectors, fighting against the introduction of the rule of law and human rights protection. She criticizes that there is still impunity for perpetrators of serious crimes and demands that those who work to promote democracy, should get more support from the international community in their efforts to make the promised "Rechtsstaat" a reality. Sofie Arjon Schütte, already an expert on Indonesia's policy against corruption, argues that the fight suffers under the fact that the New Order has left behind a state apparatus unable and/ or unwilling to tackle the problem thoroughly. She highlights not only the attempts to cope with the problem by enacting and amending legislation, by creating Anti-Corruption Commissions and, under President S.B Yudohyono, a National Action Plan. But she does not only deal with state policy, she also pays attention to civil society initiatives and public participation in the fight against corruption.

An important aspect of post-Suharto politics is the initiation of decentralization, promulgated by his successor Habibie immediately after the resignation of Suharto. Marco Bünte, one of the editors of the book, deals with this process of "protracted decentralization". He recalls administrative and political centralism as the backbone of Suharto's neopatrimonial regime, discusses the new legislation, its bypassing of the provinces and strengthening of the districts and its later revisions. However, he deals also with its unintended consequences, pointing to the consolidation of local oligarchies, to fragmentation of the administration and to the rise of primordialism in some of the provinces. Marcus Mietzner, (ANU), analyzes the gubernatorial elections in North Sulawesi in the context of the policy of decentraliza-

tion. It is a case study of one of the first direct provincial elections in Indonesia which gives a vivid impression of local machinations, of promises and pressures, leading to the defeat of the incumbent governor and showing the potential of the new laws. Mietzner (who calls his contribution "The pitfalls of low quality democracy") notes: Nationwide 40% of all office holders standing for re-election lost their job in the direct polls...

Part II of the book deals with "*Political Parties*": Andreas Ufen, the second of the two editors, discusses the reasons for the decline of old and the rise of new parties after 1998. His evaluation of their achievements is balanced, even if negative aspects seem to prevail. He finds that most of the parties have weak organizations and are often dominated by personalistic leaders; they are alienated from the electorate and their ideas are ill-defined or almost non-existent. They are capable of forming coalition governments, but in general they do as yet not provide citizens with a clear set of ideas and goal. Critical is also the discussion of the "remarkable resilience" of Golkar, the dominant organisation during the time of the New Order after 1998 by Dirk Tomsa (University of Tasmania). He does not attribute the enduring dominance of Golkar in Indonesian party politics to the quality of the party's organizational apparatus or of its political programme. The reason is for him rather the weakness of the other parties and its infrastructure, spread throughout the archipelago. But this former advantage does now, after the weakening of the political role of the military, lose its meaning. The process of de-institutionalization has begun and numerous local officials, formerly the key pillars of Golkar, have already left the organisation.

Part III brings two contributions regarding the "*Resistance of New Order stalwarts*". Christian Chua, holding a Ph.D. in Sociology from the National University in Singapore discusses "Indonesia's conglomerates

between authoritarianism and democracy". Severely hit by the Asian economic crisis in 1997, the economic power holders of the New Order were soon able to readjust themselves to the new conditions. Chua argues that the crisis ended up triggering a series of processes and mechanisms, which yielded new opportunities for growth and consolidation of the conglomerates. Thus, the reformasi-movement failed to provide a fundamental break with the past. Many politicians could not successfully run election campaigns without financial support and therefore, in turn, blocked reform measures, that might have hurt the interests of the capitalists. In the end, Chua concludes, the post-Suharto environment provided conditions that not only let them survive but proved particularly beneficial to Indonesia's Chinese conglomerates.- Jun Honna, (Ritsumeikan-University, Japan), reviews the role of the Indonesian military under Suharto and after his downfall. According to him, the former regime-builders became tools of Suharto in the last decade of his rule. His dictatorship, however, was not tolerated by all officers in the higher ranks. The dissenters helped to prevent the bloody suppression of the reformasi-movement. But the wish of the majority of the Indonesian society that the military withdraws completely from the field of politics was ignored after the loss of East-Timor in 1999. The armed forces saw instead a new task in the prevention of a further breakdown of the unity of the state.

The concluding Part IV has three contributions on the topic "*Civil and 'Uncivil' Society*". Mikaela Nyman (Immigration New Zealand), while addressing civil society and the challenges of the post-Suharto era, brings a follow up of her book on Democratizing Indonesia (2006), also mainly concerned with the development of civil society. There is progress, compared to the early years, but in order to counterbalance the state in a meaningful manner, civil society will have to organize itself more efficiently and overcome its present fragmentation into diverse issue-based groupings.

Bob Sugeng Hadiwinata (Parahyangan-University, Bandung) discusses heroes and troublemakers in the process of democratization. In this context he deals with the activities of the Islamist *Laskar Jihad* and the ethnic conflict caused by the radical Dayak-organization LMMDD of Central Kalimantan. Both of them were making use of the instability in the transition period to increase their own power to the extent of threatening a de-consolidation of the democratic process. There were more radicals in this period, but these two examples are well chosen and representative of radicalism in this time of transition in Indonesia. Felix Heiduk (research associate at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin), deals in the final contribution to the volume with separatism as a possible consequence of democratization. After the loss of East Timor (which is not discussed in the book) the focus is on Aceh and on Papua, the former West Irian. It is shown that the independence-movements in those regions, far away from the center, had their own history of dissent. After the secession of East Timor they gained momentum. Their leaders claimed the same rights as were given to the former Portuguese colony. The article discusses Jakarta's reactions to those demands. Heiduk's conclusion is: Special autonomy for the two provinces might not suffice. A solution of the problem is seen only, if local economic and social grievances, forming the roots of the conflict, are satisfactorily addressed.

The book, no doubt, covers the most important issues of the transition-period. It really helps to understand the problems of the process of democratization in Indonesia. The articles dealing with the well-chosen topics are all based on field work of capable young scientists from many parts of the world. The editors have done a good job in bringing them together. A further asset of the book are the extensive bibliographies at the end of each contribution. In the form of a less

expensive paperback edition, the book could soon become a reliable reader for students.

Bernhard Dahm

Jutta Berninghausen, Birgit Kerstan, Nena Soeprapto-Jansen: Schleier, Sarong, Minirock – Frauen im kulturellen Wandel Indonesiens

Bremen: Kellner-Verlag, 2009, 383 S., EUR 19,90

Wie haben sich in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten die Lebensbedingungen indonesischer Frauen verändert, welche Wege wählen sie und haben sie überhaupt die Freiheit, zwischen unterschiedlichen Lebensformen zu wählen? Diesen Fragen gehen drei Autorinnen nach: Die in Deutschland ausgebildete aber nun wieder in Indonesien lebende Beraterin für Interkulturelles Management Soeprapto-Jansen, sowie die Indonesienexpertinnen Berninghausen und Kerstan, die sich seit den 1980er Jahren mit den Lebenssituationen von Frauen in Indonesien befassen. Berninghausen und Kerstan erforschten bereits vor 20 Jahren in dem zentraljavanschen Dorf Gentuk, welchen Handlungsspielraum Frauen innerhalb der Familie und innerhalb der Dorfgemeinschaft haben und dokumentierten ihre Beobachtungen in zwei umfangreichen und lesenswerten Werken. Die von ihnen heute konstatierten Veränderungen vor dem Hintergrund der Demokratisierung, Globalisierung sowie der zunehmenden Islamisierung versprechen eine spannende Lektüre.

Die Autorinnen porträtieren sehr unterschiedliche Frauenleben in sehr verschiedenen Regionen des Archipels und berichten anschaulich über ihre direkten Begegnungen mit Frauen. Dies eröffnet interessante Einblicke in deren Lebenssituationen in den unterschiedlichsten Landesteilen. Angereichert mit Hintergrundinformation über die spezifischen Traditionen der jeweiligen Regionen erhält der Leser einen Eindruck