

compounded by latent resentment over the hostility Mexicans feel over the cession of vast territories in the mid-1800s. Consequently Friedman foresees a growing Mexifornia as the basis for continued divided loyalties of Mexicans living in America and a potentially major clash between an ascending Mexico and the United States. The result of such a clash will unfold in the twenty-second century.

Friedman's book has been well received and it has become a best-seller for the reason, among others, is that the book is American centric and is written from an American perspective. It is opposed to everything Paul Kennedy's meticulously researched *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (New York: Random House, 1987) stands for. Friedman's view is simple and naive. He is a realist preoccupied with power politics and "high politics," disregarding other issues in global politics. With a Jewish background, Friedman may be accused of playing to the gallery so that Israel remains the 51st state of the United States. Alternately, Friedman may be suggesting to the US policy makers the strategy they should follow to remain on top for the rest of the century. The book is written in accessible prose and the argument at each turn is easy to follow. However, it is not at all academic in nature; it is devoid of footnotes and documentation of sources. Serious readers will take the arguments provided in the book with a pinch of salt.

Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada). By Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (eds.). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009, pp. 392. ISBN: 978-981230-840-5.

Reviewer: M. Moniruzzaman, Department of Political Science, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). Email: mmzaman@iiu.edu.my

Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? is an analysis of Indonesia's new electoral system introduced in 2004 to directly elect the heads

of regional governments. Under the 1999 law, the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD) or the council of regional representatives had the power to appoint and dismiss the district heads in the regions. But the inherent problem with the system was that the DPRD exercised such power under heavy influence of the Ministry of Home Affairs at the national level. This induced competitive money politics among the aspirants to “buy” the DPRD members to secure the post of district headship. These and other concerns led to the legislation of the Law No. 32/2004, *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Langsung* (Pilkada), or direct elections for regional heads which allow people to directly elect the heads for 349 districts (kecamatan), 91 mayoralities (kota), and 33 provinces (regency). The process was to continue from June 1, 2005 through 2008. It had three particular objectives: to strengthen the district governments by direct popular legitimacy; to check the power of the local legislatures and eliminate money politics; and to further deepen democracy in Indonesia. *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia?* takes a detailed look at various problems and prospects of Pilkada electoral and democratic decentralisation.

This edited book is divided into three parts preceded by two introductory articles on democratic development in Indonesia in general and Pilkada Langsung in particular. The first part on “Political Parties, Politician Elites and the Voters” contains seven articles that examine how the existing nexus of party-elite is affected or reinforced by the new electoral system, and what new trends are generated. A general observation is that the party system remains centralised, oligarchic and highly elitist, which influences candidate selections at the district level. However, some new trends were also to be noticed in national and regional party systems. For instance, coalitions were formed between parties across ideological divisions such as Islamic-secular (PDI-P-PKS, Golkar-PBB), and various religious parties (PBB-PDB). Secondly, Golkar party remained stronger in many regions whether alone or in coalition.

Thirdly, centralized party hegemony is reduced which is indicated by factors such as intraparty conflicts over candidacy and campaign-politics at the local level. The experience of Batam mayoral election in 2006 (ch. 4) has emphatically claimed that despite parties’ hegemony over legislative recruitment process, their role is overshadowed in campaign politics and election results by

“candidates’ personalities, socio-economic backgrounds and previous accomplishments” which have “paradoxically paralysed political parties at local levels” (p. 93).

A similar conclusion is drawn by Michael Buehler (ch. 5) from his study on the South Sulawesi elections, in which he found that representational politics has become largely localised in a way that the locally-based candidates had a greater chance to win the race. A likewise finding is resonated in Jim Scheller’s analysis of Elite Entrenchment (ch. 7) which argues that the elites apparently can no longer count on traditional paternalistic treatment to the voters, rather they need to regard the voters as rational, even though paternalistic allocation of resources, especially money politics, largely dominates the scenario.

Another aspect that reinforces localisation of politics through Pilkada is good governance and populism that proved to be a strong factor for the incumbents to win the elections. Demonstrated by Tri Ratnawai (ch. 8) and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (ch. 9) that since voters value delivery of public benefits, the populism gained by incumbents Idham Smawai in Bantul and Rastriningsih in Kemumen districts respectively was due to their down-to-earth leadership style, that addressed the issue of good governance and delivered expected services to the people.

In terms of political communication, media and election campaign, the only two chapters in the book (chs. 10 & 11) apparently do not offer any new trend that the Pilkada has been able to set. Interestingly enough, even though Pilkada has brought democracy to the doorsteps of the people, yet a proportionate increase in enthusiasm among the voters to use diverse media for political campaign was not to be found. Reliance on televisions, particularly the local ones, was a common phenomenon in campaign politics besides dull face-to-face campaign drives by the candidates in Yogyakarta and Kutai (Kalimantan). The observation that campaign and media use in semi-urban areas is more widespread compared with remote local areas does not indicate any new impact of making democracy more local through Pilkada.

The last part of the book deals with the most complex aspects of Indonesian politics, namely conflict, ethnicity and political division.

Marcus Mietzner (ch. 12) has shown the contentious dichotomy of state-ethnicity relations in gubernatorial elections in Papua in 2006, arguing that democratic deregulation is important for “containing the centrifugal tendencies of territories at the periphery of heterogeneous nation states” (p. 278). The Pilkada has, on one hand, brought the inter-ethnic tensions in Papua to the surface, and, on the other, reinforced the need for maintaining strategic centralist imposition to prevent the region from breaking apart. Therefore, the argument that “the most effective way for Jakarta’s elite to approach the Papuan problem is to expand democratic liberties and economic opportunities in the province” (p. 279) is pragmatic in central-local relations. A stunning finding in Indonesia’s ethno-politics is that in the Manggarai district elections, ethnicity, kinship ties, marriage alliance, and traditional socio-cultural network relationship were found to be irrelevant as candidates failed to secure victory through these means. Does that mean Indonesia’s democracy has crossed the threshold of rational politics? The finding of this particular district may not be generalised for the entire nation as elements of partimonialism, ethnic and religious politics were found to be highly instrumental in other regions such as in the elections of six Bupati in West Kalimantan (ch. 15). If protest-votes were instrumental to cross the ethnic boundary in the Manggarai district, then it was the same that led to the rise of the Dayak ethnic group in political domination in West Kalimantan.

However, the most interesting aspect of *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia* is the decadence of traditional Sultanates in at least two regions: Bantul district, Jogjakarta (ch. 9) and North Maluku, home of oldest sultanates in Indonesia (ch. 14). In both districts the royal families entered the electoral contests to sustain and strengthen royal legitimacy, but failed in their bid despite their established power, patronage and political machineries. The fact that the royal families were trying to maintain political survival by seeking popular support in competitive elections is itself a defeat to democracy.

Overall, *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia?* is an invaluable addition to examine the democratisation process in Indonesia. A highly localised analysis of the various aspects of Indonesia’s complex politics offers unrivalled insights into its political dynamics. However, as the title suggests, the authors of the book still maintain

a cautious stand as to the deepening impact of Pilkada due to the continuous presence of elitism, party-dominance and rampant money-politics in Indonesia's electoral politics.

Islamic *Da'wah*: Theory and Practice. By Sohirin M. Solihin. Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press, Malaysia, 2008, pp. 260. ISBN: 978-983-3855-44-5.

Reviewer: Munawar Haque, Department of General Studies, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). E-Mail: munawar_haque@hotmail.com

Da'wah (literally means claim, prayer, invocation) refers to calling or inviting people to embrace Islam. Though not an article of the Islamic faith, Muslims are urged to be actively engaged in *da'wah* activities. The book under review explains, as the title indicates, the theory and practice of *da'wah* and is thus addressed mainly to the Muslims. It is a significant addition to books on *da'wah*. The author, while teaching Qur'ān and Sunnah at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), is himself involved in *da'wah* activities including inter-faith dialogues. He has published numerous articles and books, conducted researches and presented papers related to religious understanding and peaceful coexistence at national, regional and international levels.

The author argues that in their capacity as the vicegerents of Allah (SWT), Muslims are responsible to dedicate their lives to Allah's will and work for peace, prosperity and progress of the human civilization. He laments that the work of *da'wah* is mistakenly perceived to be done through mosques only. The *da'wah* activity, to be effective, must be carried out with proper planning and strategy. For Solihin, "*da'wah* and education should go hand in hand" (p. xi) as both represent a single entity. Therefore, he calls upon Muslim leaders to restructure the educational curriculum to make *da'wah* more meaningful and effective.