

# Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia

Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia

Edited by Ariel Heryanto and Sumit K. Mandal

POLITICS IN ASIA



## **Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia**

*Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia* is one of the first substantial comparative studies of contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia, homes to the world's largest Muslim populations. Following the collapse of New Order rule in Indonesia in 1998, this book provides an in-depth examination of anti-authoritarian forces in contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia, assessing their problems and prospects.

The authors discuss the roles played by women, public intellectuals, arts workers, industrial workers as well as environmental and Islamic activists. They explore how different forms of authoritarianism in the two countries affect the prospects of democratization, and examine the impact and legacy of the diverse social and political protests in Indonesia and Malaysia in the late 1990s.

This book responds to the impasse of the 'transition from authoritarian to democracy' paradigm by studying social agents and practices that lie beyond formal political institutions and measures of economic performance. It adopts a broader sense of politics, power and authoritarianism while challenging familiar understandings of gender, Islam, ethnicity and social classes. It will interest students and researchers of Asian Studies, Political Science, Sociology and Cultural Studies.

**Ariel Heryanto** is Lecturer at the Melbourne Institute of Asian Languages and Societies, The University of Melbourne.

**Sumit K. Mandal** is Research Fellow at the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

# Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia

Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia

Edited by Ariel Heryanto  
and Sumit K. Mandal



**RoutledgeCurzon**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2003  
by RoutledgeCurzon  
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

*RoutledgeCurzon is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group*

© 2003 Ariel Heryanto and Sumit K. Mandal for selection and editorial material; individual chapters, the contributors

Typeset in Times by Taylor & Francis Books Ltd  
Printed and bound in Great Britain by Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia / edited by Ariel Heryanto and Sumit K. Mandal.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Indonesia - Politics and government - 1966-1998.
  2. Indonesia - Politics and government - 1998 - .3.
  3. Authoritarianism - Indonesia.
  4. Protest movements - Indonesia.
  5. Democracy - Indonesia.
  6. Malaysia - Politics and government.
  7. Authoritarianism - Malaysia.
  8. Protest movements - Malaysia.
  9. Democracy - Malaysia.
- I. Heryanto, Ariel.  
II. Mandal, Sumit Kumar.

JQ776 .C47 2003  
320.53'09595-dc21 2002151228

ISBN 0-415-30941-7



# Contents

*Notes on contributors*

vi

*Acknowledgements*

ix

- 1 **Challenges to authoritarianism in Indonesia and Malaysia** 1  
ARIEL HERYANTO AND SUMIT K. MANDAL
- 2 **Public intellectuals, media and democratization:  
cultural politics of the middle classes in Indonesia** 24  
ARIEL HERYANTO
- 3 **Developing dissent in industrializing localities:  
civil society in Penang and Batam** 60  
PHILIP F. KELLY
- 4 **Changing state-labour relations in Indonesia and  
Malaysia and the 1997 crisis** 90  
VEDI R. HADIZ
- 5 **Islamization and democratization in Malaysia  
in regional and global contexts** 117  
NORANI OTHMAN
- 6 **The blessed tragedy: the making of women's  
activism during the *Reformasi* years** 145  
MELANI BUDIANTA

<b>7 Creativity in protest: arts workers and the recasting of politics and society in Indonesia and Malaysia</b>	<b>178</b>
SUMIT K. MANDAL	
<i>Appendix I</i>	211
<i>Appendix II</i>	212
<i>Glossary</i>	219
<i>References</i>	223
<i>Index</i>	239

