

And finally, if these axes were to intertwine, with vigorously competing parties now hardening along the secular-Islamist divide, multipolar fluidity might congeal in a deadly bipolar faceoff.

In sum, Horowitz offers a sumptuous and thoughtful account. His book will hold obvious appeal for the legions of dedicated Indonesianists. But it might profit the generalists even more, confronting at many turns their long-held tenets about democratic stability. Even so, a few queries might be raised. At what point is democracy's quality so compromised, with the freeness and fairness of elections disfigured by corrupt financing, for example, that democracy slips into some authoritarian category? On this score, we might ask how analytically separable and sequential democracy's stability and quality really are.

Further, Horowitz places great store on originating conditions, prodding legislators down a pathway on which they are partly predestined. But this is to muddle legacy and agency, making it difficult to disentangle their respective contributions to institutional change in even the single case of Indonesia, much more in any theoretical way across other divided societies. The direction of causality between institutions and legislators is also unclear, with rules changed regularly by legislators who are then bound by them, but only until they are changed again. As Horowitz observes, electoral laws have been altered in Indonesia prior to every election.

Finally, however institutions took shape in Indonesia, if just a couple of presidential slates, by issuing overarching appeals, help to promote multipolar fluidity, why couldn't a limited number of big parties, in establishing themselves as catch-all vehicles, do the same? Would the shared preeminence of, say, Golkar and PDI-P, necessarily do more to polarize *aliran* than to dilute them? The two-party system that preceded Marcos in the Philippines indicates that they might not, intimating that Indonesia's (re) framers, in their wariness over small parties, may have a point.

City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR, China

WILLIAM CASE

**FAITH AND THE STATE: A History of Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia.** *Brill's Southeast Asian Library, v. 1.* By Amelia Fauzia. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013. xxx, 346 pp. (Tables, figures.) US\$156.00, cloth. ISBN 978-90-04-23397-3.

For the past few decades, an enthusiasm to revitalize philanthropic practices has had far-reaching consequences to the increasing visibility of Islam in the Indonesian public space. Questions about how and why the culture of giving is being rejuvenated within the religious communities are always interesting to pose, partly because the practice of giving, or philanthropy so to speak, is not only about altruistic behaviour. In a nation-state era, philanthropic practices

are also constructed by different social, cultural, economic and political factors. This book concerns the historical development and institutional transformation of charitable activities in Indonesian Islam, and examines the political dynamism behind a rapid development of Islamic philanthropic organizations.

The author, Amelia Fauzia, focuses on the state's role in providing welfare schemes for communities and its consequences to the institutional transformation of philanthropic organizations. According to Fauzia, philanthropy is primarily embedded in civil society, and philanthropic activism is heavily dependent on the state's welfare policies. She argues that the major factor energizing philanthropic activism among civil society is the state's weakness in providing an adequate welfare plan. The author also comes to the conclusion that a "weak state" will lead to "strong philanthropy" and a strong state will be characterized by weak philanthropy.

The book consists of four sections divided into seven chapters. In the first section, "From Early Islamization to Islamic Kingdom," Fauzia provides an overview of the historical development of the religiously motivated giving in Muslim societies. The author highlights the views of *ulama* (Islamic scholars) and the Muslim interpretation of the normative concept of Islamic philanthropy, such as *zakat* (almsgiving) and *waqf* (pious endowment). It is mentioned that, in the past, Muslims in the Indonesian archipelago channeled their *zakat* to local religious leaders or directly to the poor. *Zakat*, therefore, functioned as a community-based social security system, as it was fully managed in the hands of society. The absence of any record pointing to the direct engagement of kings or sultans in mobilizing the religiously inspired philanthropic in Indonesian kingdoms indicates that *zakat* was considered a private matter, instead of a public affair. Nevertheless, she notes that the rise of the nation state has influenced the pattern of the relationship between religion and the state and has changed Muslim views about Islamic philanthropy. Consequently, there are at least two competing streams of opinion among Muslims about how *zakat* (almsgiving) should be practiced and organized. The first stream is concerned with the revitalization of *zakat* as a part of the state's fiscal system; the second stream puts emphasis on the function of *zakat* as a grassroots social security system.

The second part, "Islamic Philanthropy under Non-Muslim Rule," discusses the development of Islamic philanthropy from the Dutch colonial period until after Indonesian independence. The author's detailed exposition of Dutch colonial policies on Muslim philanthropy suggests that *zakat* was perceived by the Dutch government as a Muslim private matter, and the Dutch colonial government clearly distinguished between the public and private spheres. This type of Dutch policy provided an opportunity for Islamic associations founded in the early twentieth century, such as Muhammadiyah (the modernist Muslim organization) and the Nahdlatul Ulama (the traditionalist Islam), to govern philanthropic funds independently. Active

participation of Islamic organizations in philanthropic practices before the Indonesian independence can be seen in the role of Muhammadiyah and the Nahdlatul Ulama in financing a wide array of social enterprises, including the operation of schools, orphanages, clinics, disaster relief agencies and other welfare-oriented social activities. Before the independence era, Muslim concern about *zakat* was still restricted to Islamic jurisprudential issues.

The next part, "Islamic Philanthropy in the Independent Indonesian State," examines the process of the bureaucratization of Islamic philanthropy in post-Independence Indonesia, marked by the modernization of *waqf* during the Old Order era, and the increase of the state interest in *zakat* organizing in the New Order era. The author critically examines the New Order's ambiguous policy on Islam. According to the author, on the one hand, the New Order regime firmly asserted Pancasila as the state ideology in order to celebrate the religious and cultural diversity among Indonesian citizens. On the other hand, the New Order also intensified its Islamic policy to accommodate Muslim interest, such as the issuance of regulation on *waqf* and *zakat*, as well as the state involvement in sponsoring state-sponsored Islamic philanthropic agencies. This part also presents a contemporary development of Islamic philanthropy. The author draws particular attention to the formation of Indonesian *zakat* regulation such as the issuance of *zakat* law and debates on *zakat* organizing between the supporters of government-sponsored *zakat* agencies and the advocates of civil-society-based *zakat* organizations in post-New Order era.

The last section is the conclusion, in which the author discusses two main issues. The author suggests that there have been two competing trends among Indonesian Muslims on how to manage Islamic philanthropy: 1) a strong inclination to privatize Islamic philanthropy; and 2) the state's enthusiasm to institutionalize (or bureaucratize) Islamic philanthropy. Secondly, the author is concerned with the notions of voluntarism within the communities which have strengthened philanthropic activism in Indonesian Islam. In her reflection, she underlines the necessity to reinforce the institutional capacity of Islamic philanthropic organizations among civil society in order to promote social justice effectively.

This book is a valuable contribution to the literature on Islamic social-political history and should become an important part of studies of Indonesian Islam. It has presented very rich information about the dynamics of encounters between the state and civil society in Indonesian Islam. While the book is, no doubt, very worthwhile for observers in Islamic studies, political Islam and the history of Islam in the Southeast, it has not sufficiently included ethnographic findings of grassroots practices of philanthropy in contemporary Indonesian Islam.

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