can be strengthened and reinforced. However, as the authors argue, social media can also be highly influential in election campaigns, where political smear campaigns on social media, such as the so-called Ahok case in the gubernatorial election campaign in 2016, are driven by political and economic interests.

The book's greatest strength lies in the detailed up-to-date analysis of state and society in Indonesia. It is informative and precise, enriches existing knowledge, links loose ends and is a real treasure trove of knowledge. Reflecting the broad range of current issues covered in this book, it will be of great interest for academics working in the fields of social sciences, political sciences, economics, development studies, Southeast Asian studies and Asian studies. It should not be missing in any library. As the book is written in an accessible language and style, it could also greatly benefit non-academic practitioners engaged with issues of politics and society in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, such as civil society organisations, journalists, policymakers and interested laypersons.

Kristina Großmann

Azmil Tayeb, *Islamic Education in Indonesia and Malaysia: Shaping Minds, Saving Souls.* (Routledge Contemporary Southeast Asia Series). Abingdon / New York: Routledge, 2018. 250 pages, £100.00. ISBN 978-0-815-36120-6

This book by Azmil Tayeb provides a comparative political study of Islamic education in Indonesia and Malaysia. What is most compelling about the book is its highly processual nature and historically embedded research. Two main questions are at the centre of the work. The first question, as explained by the author, is comprised of three parts: To what extent and under what conditions do the states in Indonesia and Malaysia functionalise Islamic education for their political ends? How do the two countries engage in such functionalisation? To what extent have such efforts of functionalisation been successful? As a second focus the author analyses why the state in Malaysia has been more triumphant in materialising a centralised control over Islamic education than the state in Indonesia.

The main thrust of the argument is that the post-colonial state in Malaysia has been more successful in centralising its control over Islamic education, and more focused on the promotion of a restrictive kind of Islamic orthodoxy, compared to the post-colonial state in Indonesia. The author argues that this is due to three factors. First, there is the control of resources by the central

government that influences centre-periphery relations. Second, patterns of Islamisation in society have evoked different responses from governments. And third, there is the ideological composition of the state organisations that administer Islamic education.

As a sociologist who primarily works on knowledge and health policy, but also on comparative studies, the author does not treat individuals or organisations as the units of analysis, in the strictest sense, in his approach. Instead, the analysis borrows heavily from case studies. The theoretical engagements that shape the overall study are derived from historical institutionalism and Joel Migdal's state-in-society relations. Quite intriguingly, the book has a highly processual nature, which is quite distinctive, owing to historical institutionalism. As alluded to by the author, "historical institutionalism focuses on the role of timing, sequencing and interactions between various socio-political-economic forces (endogenous and exogenous) that lead to the creation of a particular type of institution" (p. 33).

For this theoretical engagement, it is not clear how Migdal's analytical lens takes up the idea of infrastructural power and hierarchy of norms. Infrastructural power is the capacity of a state to enforce its policy throughout its territory – a concept introduced by Michael Mann – whereas hierarchy of norms, a very Kelsenian idea, looks at why and how a *Grundnorm* holds sway compared to an institution, say, at a local level. The state-in-society approach is not responsive to the two notions, and thus it can be limited. This limitation, or any limitation of the state-in-society approach, is not acknowledged in the book. A methodological note regards access to the field of research. According to my own experience as an ethnographer who has published on comparative studies across Asia, religion plays an important role in accessing the field, much more so in Southeast Asia then in e.g. Central Asia. Questions that are not to be ignored in the capacity of the ethnographer are, for example: Does research on the theme of Islamic orthodoxy and Islamic education in a Muslim minority field setting – or, conversely, in a Muslim majority setting – impede access to data collection? Does the author's gender play an inhibiting or neutral role in this regard? The book does not reflect on questions such as these.

Apart from these shortcomings the reader is rewarded with an impressively detailed book, which at times takes on more of a comparative-political historical study. The 250 pages are divided into six chapters, the last of which provides a conclusion. The first chapter serves as an introduction and presents the functionalisation of Islamic education in Indonesia and Malaysia. Here, the author provides justifications for the case studies employed in the study: Aceh, Nusa Tenggara Timur and West Java in Indonesia and Kelantan, Sarawak and Selangor in Malaysia. These justifications cover the issue of Muslims as a social group in a minority vis-à-vis majority setting.

Chapter One starts with a theoretical discussion on why and how states wish to control national education systems – in this case, in particular Islamic education systems. In the first part, the author contrasts states' normative notions of what they expect to achieve versus ideological hegemony in everyday practice. The book gauges, with "everyday practice", the way in which the state imposes its values on a society. "Everyday practice" in political sociology does not always connote an imposition of values. A cultural practice could also be exhibited by state apparatuses even without social consciousness of these apparatuses. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* is a study by Clifford Geertz (1980, Princeton University Press) that showed how symbolism and cultural practices are enacted as an organised spectacle. In the first part of Tayeb's book, the author mentions, amongst others, Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Berstein – although, in my view, for clarity, their views should have been discussed and discerned in particular regarding their conceptualisations of how the hidden curriculum functions as a subtle way to promote dominant cultural and economic values. It is very considerate and timely, however, that the author cites and discusses Henry Giroux's *Theory and Resistance in Education* (South Hadley, M.A.: Bergin and Garvey, 1983).

"Functionalisation" is defined as the functionalisation of Islamic education by several Muslim majority states, orchestrated with the aim of following specific political aims despite the fact that the efforts do not create the intended results. The author does not provide further explanation as to why and how these efforts, subject to the available data, fail to meet the intended results; is this due to the failure to embed a certain degree of centralisation and bureaucratisation of Islam in state institutions? States' normative ideas in Malaysia and Indonesia are contrasted with regard to what they hope to achieve vis-à-vis ideological hegemony over everyday practice, which occurs when a state imposes its values on society, in this case through a national education system. In the next part, Tayeb discusses how and why state institutions may form their own identities and objectives, with the result that the general structure of a state becomes incoherent and fragmented. The last section of this chapter then dives into the theories of state, institutionalism and orthodoxy and how they are well suited to the arguments of the book.

A conceptual lens inspired by comparative historical institutionalism is used extensively in the second chapter. It provides an overview of state functionalisation of national education in Indonesia and Malaysia from the late 1800s to the present. "Functionalisation" of national education in general and Islamic education in particular, as defined by the author, incorporates two inseparable and related aspects, namely nationalisation and standardisation. Nationalisation of education involves efforts by the state to establish more national public schools and incorporate more privately-run schools into the national education system; whereas standardisation refers to the streamlining and homogenising of national education based on one single standard set by

the central government in Indonesia or federal government in Malaysia. The chapter begins by discussing Islamic education in the late colonial period (1880–1945). The author aptly points out that the curriculum in the Dutch public schools for the natives in the Dutch East Indies remained secular and exempted from religious instruction, which led to the schools' deep unpopularity among Muslim society. One direct consequence of this was that the Dutch education system was not influential, and thus had limited capacity as a form of social control in Indonesian society.

When turning to Malaysia, the study pinpoints the high level of centralisation of the Malaysian education system and gives an overview of educational policies during the late colonial years in British Malaya (late 1800s to 1957). Compared to the Dutch in Indonesia, the British included Islamic education in the curriculum for national Malay vernacular schools in the late 1800s as a means to increase student enrolment. The post-colonial governments of both Indonesia and Malaysia have undertaken serious efforts since the 1950s to standardise and nationalise education, including Islamic education, as a way to inculcate the idea of nationhood among the population and to create an educated workforce that is able to satisfy the country's development needs.

The third chapter, "The two verandahs of Mecca: Islamic education in Aceh and Kelantan" looks at the legacy of Islamic learning. Further, it depicts how, despite this shared legacy, Aceh has been able to retain the uniqueness of its traditions in Islamic education, whereas the government in Putrajaya is centralising Islamic education in Kelantan. This is owing to the control of resources by the central government of Jakarta and Putrajaya, patterns of Islamisation, and the ideological orientation of the government administration that manages Islamic education. To pursue this contention, the author traces, in chapter three, the formative trajectory of institutional identity of institutions dealing with Islamic education in Aceh and Kelantan and the rationales for different institutional identities, as well as how they have managed to become embedded in these two locations. Tayeb demonstrates how the current nature of Islamic education in Aceh and Kelantan is linked most profoundly with the historical dynamics between key socio-political groups at the local level and the oft-contentious centre-periphery relations in the post-independence era. The comparative historical institutionalist approach is again put to use to gauge how particular institutional identity is shaped by local institutions in the two case studies.

The case of Kelantan exhibits a top-down approach due to the increasing bureaucratisation of Islamic affairs in the state of Kelantan from the early 19th century. Islamic education in Kelantan is flourishing but its functions are slowly being taken over by the federal government in Putrajaya. An interesting finding is that the changes within Islamic education in Kelantan indicate that it is class, and not religion, that shapes the oppositional dimension of the Kelantanese Islamic identity in the form of the Islamic opposition, led by the

PAS (Partai Islam Se-Malaysia). The case study on Aceh illuminates how the institutional identity found in Aceh is much more resilient, reflecting the aspirations as well as interests of Acehnese society and the role of the reformist ulama in Aceh in moulding and reforming the local institutional identity.

The question of Muslims as a minority in Islamic education is a subject of inquiry in the fourth chapter. Titled as "On the image of tolerance: Islamic education in Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) and Sarawak", this chapter investigates how Islamic schools in NTT and Sarawak have managed to keep going from the colonial era up to the present. Notably, there is a marked difference in the influence of the Muslim minority in local politics in the two regions. In Sarawak, Muslims have played a leading role by enjoying the backing of the Putrajaya federal government, whereas in NTT such a leading role for Muslims is largely absent in the politics at the provincial level. It is this difference that elucidates why Islamic schools have flourished in Sarawak, whereas the dwindling conditions of Islamic schools in NTT provide a pale comparison. Both regions exhibit similar factors, such as the institutional frameworks that oversee Islamic education, patterns of Islamisation and control of resources by the central government. The last factor allows the state in Malaysia better leverage as regards Islamic education, compared to the state in Indonesia. The lack of funding from the Ministry of Religious Affairs has propelled the *Kanwil Agama* (religious affairs local office) in NTT to be more self-reliant and search for further sources of funding. This is a determining factor in the formation of a localised institutional identity in NTT.

Ethnic group identity in NTT, however, is not discussed. It would be intriguing if the inquiry on the formation of institutional identity also looked at ethnic group identity. Are the Javanese the most influential ethnic group in NTT? Another methodological note for this chapter is the fact that confidentiality and anonymity should have been thoroughly ensured, especially with regard to principals in local schools. In a vigorously historical and richly nuanced tone, the author argues that the poor state of Islamic education in NTT is a consequence of the politically weak position of the Muslim community in the province. The Muslim community in NTT is unable to attain a certain political advantage and challenge the Christian-centric policies and values promulgated by the provincial government and local society. It is evident that the much healthier state of Islamic education in Sarawak is mainly due to the politically dominant position of the Malay-Muslims in the state, which is in turn supported by the federal government in Putrajaya. The author rightly points out how for the case of Sarawak, patronage assumes a more decisive role for Malay-Muslim politicians than for non-Malays, ensuring Malay-Muslim political dominance despite their minority status. Moreover, the politicians selectively take advantage of money from the federal government to garner support in various constituencies. This includes redressing grievances from among the Christian majority.

Integrated Islamic Schools in Malaysia and Indonesia are the focus of chapter five. Notwithstanding the diverging ways in which Malaysia and Indonesia manage differences in their Islamic education system, integrated Islamic schools continue to flourish as regards popularity. In so doing, these schools persist in their ideological indoctrination unhindered by the state. The origins of the schools can be traced back to Islamic propagation (*dakwah*) that was largely campus-based and stimulated by the Islamisation surge that commenced in the late 1970s (p. 176). Much later in the book, the author notes that the integrated Islamic schools serve their original purpose: to lay the groundwork for the Muslim cadres and citizens who will be able to initiate these *dakwah* transformations. Two explanations are given for the different qualities of integrated Islamic education in the two countries. To begin with, it is the pluralist nature of state Islamic orthodoxy in Indonesia that tolerates the diversity of religious ideologies in Islamic schools, including in SIT (Sekolah Islam Terpadu, "Integrated Islamic School"), whereas in Malaysia the admittedly conservative curriculum in integrated Islamic schools is aligned with state Islamic orthodoxy. Financial autonomy allows integrated Islamic schools to function in much more stable circumstances than other kinds of Islamic schools that rely on the state.

I do not necessarily agree that with the opening of the Indonesian political system since the *reformasi* era in 1998, there has been a "marketplace of Islamic parties" bringing an assortment of varied ideologies. Indonesia's democracy may well be called "an illiberal democracy", a term used by Eve Warburton and Edward Aspinall (Explaining Indonesia's Democratic Regression: Structure, Agency and Popular Opinion. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 41(2), 2019, pp. 255–285). In this category, "a regime is described as one in which free and fair elections persist alongside denial of substantive and political rights, such as freedom of speech or freedom to choose and practise one's religion" (Warburton / Aspinall 2019: 280). One might argue that, in such a scenario, the "marketplace for Islamic parties" might well be restrained, if not limited in terms of pluralist ideas and or the pluralist nature of the political parties bringing ideologies of Islamic orthodoxy, despite the seeming democratic nature of the regime.

All in all, the book would have benefitted from more theoretical recommendations. However, it can well be recommended for readers who are keen on area studies on Southeast Asia. To sum up, the book is energetic in its narrative prose as well as historically and processually oriented, which will shed light on what sociologists refer to as "social change". Last and not least, it shows how it is possible to compare two countries without being too positivistic about methods.

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